

Ricardo Flores Magon, although almost unknown outside his native Mexico was the most important anarchist active during the Mexican Revolution, and through his influence large areas of land was expropriated by the peasants, many former slaves, and worked in common by them. He not only opposed and fought against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, but also against all the so called revolutionary leaders who came to power after the latter's downfall in 1911. Ricardo ceaselessly strove to direct the struggle of the working people away from mere helpless participation in a political revolution to creating for themselves a truly social revolution based on anarchist communism, where they could live and work without the recourse to leader or master.

Ricardo Flores Magon was born on September 16th 1874 in San Antonio Eloxochitlan, Oaxaca State, the second of three sons of a Zapotec Indian father and a Mestiza mother. While still young his family moved to Mexico City where Ricardo was able to attend the Escuela Nacional Primaria and later the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.



Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon - 1917

It was while at this school, in May 1892, that he took part in his first protest against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz for which he was charged with sedition and sentenced to five months imprisonment. The following year he graduated to the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia and also joined the editorial group of the opposition newspaper *El Democrata*. Within a few months though the paper was banned by the dictatorship and its staff arrested. Ricardo however managed to escape and was obliged to hide with friends for several months before returning to school.

In 1895 Ricardo was admitted to the Mexican bar and practised law a little while continuing his studies at school until he was expelled in 1898 for his political activities. Together with his two brothers he then worked as a clerk in several law offices in order to save enough money to start a new opposition newspaper. With money thus saved they were able to bring out the first issue of *Regeneracion* on August 7th 1900 with Jesus, Ricardo's elder brother, and A. Horcasitas as editors. For the first few months of its life *Regeneracion* was careful not to openly attack the dictatorship, but in December of the same year it changed its position from being just a law journal to an "Independent Journal of Combat" and from then on vigorously attacked every aspect of the Diaz regime, based as it was on actual slavery and official corruption on the

grandest of scales. This change coincided with Ricardo becoming an editor in the place of Horcasitas.

In February 1901 Ricardo participated in the first Congress of Liberal Clubs held in San Luis Potosi. These clubs had been formed throughout the country at the initiative of Camillo Arriaga a mining engineer and former senator. Their aim was to combat the ever growing influence the churches exercised in the running of the country. It was here that Ricardo was to make his first open attack on the Diaz dictatorship. While the other delegates were content to make speeches of simply an anti-clerical nature, when Ricardo's turn came to speak he stood up and denounced the Diaz administration as a den of thieves. After that the wrath of Diaz was not long in descending. Ricardo and Jesus were arrested in the following May and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment for insulting the president. Despite the imprisonment of its editors *Regeneracion* continued, printed clandestinely with the younger of the Flores Magon brothers Enrique, taking over the editorship. Ricardo, though, still contributed articles written in

joined by Enrique and later by Librado Rivera, Juan Sarabia and Antonio I. Villareal all co-workers on *El Hijo del Ahuizote*.

Ricardo and his comrades first settled in Laredo, Texas where they found work as labourers. Some months later though he moved to San Antonio with Enrique and Juan Sarabia where they were able to resume the publication of *Regeneracion* in November 1904. However during the following months an attempt was made on the life of Ricardo by an assassin paid by the Diaz dictatorship, the attempt being averted only by the quick intervention of Enrique. Because of this the exiles were forced to move again, this time to Saint Louis, Missouri, where *Regeneracion* appeared again in February 1905.

While in Saint Louis Ricardo attended lectures given by Emma Goldman. Her ideas were not new to him, for as early as 1900 he had become familiar with the writings of Bakunin, Malatesta, Faure and Kropotkin, all of which he read with great enthusiasm, especially the latter; and it was through Ricardo that the anti-Diaz journal *Vesper* of Mexico City brought out *The Conquest of Bread* in booklet form in 1902. Through his contact with Emma Goldman, with whom he was later to become friendly, and the Spanish anarchist Florencio Bazzora, a former comrade of Malatesta, Ricardo was able to both expand and clarify his anarchist ideas.

In September 1905 Ricardo founded the Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano with himself as President, Juan Sarabia as Vice President, Antonio I. Villareal as Secretary, Enrique as Treasurer and Librado Rivera as a committee man. The function of the Junta was, and remained so until its disbanding in 1918, simply as a co-ordinating centre for liberal activities both inside and outside Mexico.

Less than a month after the founding of the Junta the offices of *Regeneracion* were raided by Pinkerton detectives. The presses and office equipment were taken and Ricardo, Enrique and Juan Sarabia arrested. Released later on bail the three were forced to flee to Canada fearing, not without reason, that they would be handed over to the Mexican authorities. Meanwhile a reward of \$20,000 was offered for the capture of Ricardo. While Ricardo was being harassed in Canada by Diaz agents the programme of the P.L.M. was published in July 1906. This programme was written after as many liberals as possible had been consulted about its contents. For example the section on labour was compiled after consultation with workers who had participated in the famous Canadian copper mine strike that had taken place hardly a month before the publication of the programme. Yet it was decidedly reformist in tone, even though it went far beyond the Mexican Constitution of 1917 (which was partly based on the PLM programme). While reformist though many of its fifty two clauses were very advanced for the time, they included the abolition of the death penalty, the suppression of compulsory military service, complete secular education for children, a maximum working day of eight hours, the restitution of communal lands to the villages and the protection of all indigenous races. Ricardo himself wrote the accompanying manifesto and the programme itself would no doubt have been a truly radical document had Juan Sarabia not moderated much of Ricardo's contributions.

In early September 1906 Ricardo and Juan Sarabia left Canada and went secretly to El Paso, Texas in order to finalise plans for an

his prison cell and smuggled out by a group of sympathetic prisoners. At the end of the year however *Regeneracion* was forced to cease publication.

On his release from prison in April 1902, Ricardo took over the editorship of the anti-Diaz satirical weekly *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, aided by Enrique; Jesus having had enough of illegality, abandoned the struggle to practice law. In September the offices of *El Hijo del Ahuizote* were raided by the police and the presses etc., confiscated. Ricardo and Enrique were arrested and sentenced to four months imprisonment after being held incommunicado for over a month in a military prison. *El Hijo del Ahuizote* was forced to close down but appeared again in November under the direction of Juan Sarabia. Ricardo and Enrique resumed work on the paper in January 1903 on their release from prison, until April, when the offices were raided for a second time. Now the entire editorial group of ten people were arrested and imprisoned for five months for "ridiculing public officials." Ricardo was again held incommunicado, this time for two and a half months. While in prison the Supreme Court of Mexico forbade the publication of any article written by Ricardo. On gaining his freedom at the end of 1903 and faced with the bars on his writings Ricardo was forced to leave Mexico and seek exile in the U.S., from where, or so he thought, he could continue the anti-Diaz struggle without persecution. In exile he was

armed uprising against the Diaz dictatorship, preparations for which had been going on for many months. Despite the arrest of Texas liberals by the U.S. authorities and the discovery of a large quantity of hidden arms, and the suppression of *Regeneracion*, which had been run by Librado Rivera in Ricardo's absence, the uprising began on September 26th 1906. The first armed PLM action was the taking of the main plaza of Jimenez, Coahuila by a group of thirty liberals. They managed to hold the town for a day before being forced to withdraw. Four days later three hundred liberals attacked Acayucan Veracruz. They were near to success when their leader was wounded and the ill armed liberals decided to withdraw. Several small scale actions took place in the north of the country but the liberals were soon forced into a merely defensive position by the *federales*. In October, Sarabia, who had crossed the border into Mexico was arrested in Ciudad Juarez and subsequently imprisoned by the dictatorship. On the same day the home of the Junta in El Paso was raided and all but Ricardo, who managed to escape by jumping from a window, were arrested. At the same time important documents on the PLM groups within Mexico together with the subscription list of *Regeneracion* were found and immediately handed over to the Mexican authorities. The dictatorship then began the systematic repression of liberals throughout the country. On their side of the border the U.S. authorities followed the same example.

Ricardo meanwhile, on the run with the price of \$25,000 on his head went first to Sacramento, then San Francisco, finally, after narrowly avoiding arrest several times, he settled in Los Angeles. There he was joined by Antonio I. Villarreal. Although he had been captured at El Paso, Villarreal had escaped as he was about to be handed over to the Mexican authorities. In June 1907, working clandestinely, they brought out the first number of *Revolucion* which replaced *Regeneracion*. Some weeks later they were joined by Librado Rivera. In August their hiding place was discovered and the three comrades were arrested *without a warrant*. During the arrest Ricardo was beaten unconscious when he tried to attract the attention of passers-by. The following day the "detectives" who had made the arrest, employees of the Furlong Detective Agency whose sole aim was the tracking down of the PLM activists for the Diaz dictatorship returned to the offices of *Revolucion* and removed all important letters and documents. *Revolucion* continued publication under the editorship of several comrades who were arrested one after the other until the journal was finally silenced in January 1908.

Ricardo, Enrique and Villarreal were tried in September 1907. The initial charge of "resisting an officer" was dropped and replaced with four other charges ranging from the murder of an unknown man in Mexico to the violation of the neutrality laws. One by one all the other charges were dropped leaving only the latter and for this "crime" the court decided that the three should be deported to Arizona where the offence was supposed to have taken place.

While in Los Angeles jail awaiting deportation Ricardo made the final preparations for a second uprising against the Diaz dictatorship, the plans being smuggled out of the jail by Ricardo's companion Maria Talavera. In June 1908 PLM groups rose up in the state of Baja California, Coahuila, Chihuahua and Tamaslipas. But despite the taking of the towns of Viesca

and Las Vacas, Coahuila, the latter being taken by a liberal force of only forty men against the local garrison of over a hundred *federales*, the uprising was again a military failure. After the rising followed the usual repression and at the request of the Mexican government Ricardo, Librado Rivera and Villarreal were held incommunicado in Los Angeles jail for several months.

In May 1909 Ricardo and his two comrades were deported to Arizona where they were sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment for the violation of the neutrality laws. While they were serving their time in Yuma and later Florence jail, the propaganda work of the PLM was carried out by Enrique and Praxedis G. Guerrero.

On their release from prison in August 1910 Ricardo, Librado and Villarreal returned to Los Angeles where the publication of *Regeneracion* was resumed in September, and the planning of a third uprising was started. While in prison, events in Mexico had given Ricardo much hope of the success of a new rising. The discontent of the people had manifested itself in many acts of petty revolt, and in May 1910 the town of Valladolid, Yucatan was taken by fifteen hundred armed peons and held for four days until retaken by a large force of *federales*. The following month the towns of Bernardino Contla, Tlaxcala was taken in the name of the PLM and held for a day.

Now Ricardo was convinced that any new uprising must be anarchist in nature, although until then he had been careful to avoid any mention of anarchism for fear of alienating people, or so he thought, from the PLM. In a letter to his brother and Praxedis Guerrero written in 1908 he said:

"... if we had called ourselves anarchists from the start, no one, or at best a few, would have listened to us. Without calling ourselves anarchists we have fired the peoples' minds with hatred against the owner class and government caste..."¹

Regeneracion which now had a circulation of about 30,000 was preparing the minds of the people for a revolution they would make without the need for leaders. In *To The Proletariat* Ricardo wrote:

"... Men of labour, friends, listen then. You must needs arise, but in full consciousness of the needs of an epoch, and just as urgent it is that your strong arms represent the spirit of the century. If you fail to be in it with your brains as well as your brawn, the cherished revolution we see approach will not differ in anything from the almost forgotten revolts fomented by the bourgeoisie and directed by military petty chiefs as pioneers for a conviction, but acted in the ignoble role of nobodies, fit for cannon food. You have fought in the past the revolutions for your masters; learn to fight the battle for your own selves.

Impress in your minds once and for all the truth, that to shed blood only to place in power another robber who oppresses the people is nothing but a crime, and such a crime will be accomplished by you again if you should take up arms for no other object than to unseat Diaz to put in his place another master..."²

In October the motto of the PLM was changed from Reform, Liberty and Justice to Land and Liberty. While the PLM were preparing for their plans for an uprising, in Texas, Francisco I. Madero was planning his revolution. Madero was from one of the most wealthy families in Mexico and had stood as the anti-re-electionist candidate against Diaz

in the 1910 presidential elections. Madero lost, or rather Diaz was declared the winner. Madero then protested that the elections had been rigged and was promptly imprisoned by Diaz. However he was able to escape and fled to the U.S. In Madero's revolution though, the PLM were to be ignored, despite their great knowledge of the anti-Diaz groups within Mexico. Yet during his pre-election campaign the preceding April he had gone to great lengths to make liberal groups believe that Ricardo supported his candidature and the PLM and the anti-re-electionists were working together. In addition he addressed a manifesto to the nation calling himself the "Provisional President" and claiming that Ricardo was the "Provisional Vice-President." He was careful to do this while Ricardo was still in prison and unable to refute these lies.

Madero's new found revolutionary ardour was very surprising considering that only four years before in 1906, he had refused to give either moral or financial aid to the PLM during their first anti-Diaz uprising, claiming that the uprising was unpatriotic, and that Diaz was not such a tyrant as the PLM made him out to be.

Now accomplishing a complete volte-face Madero timed his revolution to begin on November 20th 1910 and Ricardo advised all those PLM groups who were ready to time their uprising to coincide with the anti-re-electionist to work independently. While giving this advice though Ricardo continually clarified the relationship between the PLM and the Maderists:-

"... Governments have to protect the right of property above all other rights. Do not expect then, that Madero will attack the right of property in favour of the proletariat. Open your eyes. Remember a phrase, simple and true and as truth indestructible, the emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves..."³

Despite this warning though many PLM members joined Madero's movement, believing his earlier lies and failing to receive any clarification of the situation from the Junta. All this fell in with Madero's plans.

Madero's revolution began on the appointed date but met with near defeat. Groups that survived fled into the hills and began a guerrilla action until their numbers were of sufficient strength to attack major targets. The first independent actions taken by the PLM were the attacking of several towns in Northern Chihuahua by a group of liberals under the leadership of Praxedis Guerrero. Unfortunately Guerrero was killed while trying to take the towns of Janos on the last day of 1910. The death of this important organiser was a great loss to the Junta.

By the end of January 1911 PLM groups were active in the states of Sonora, Tlaxcala, Veracruz, Durango, Oaxaca and Chihuahua. In Baja California the town of Mexicali fell to a PLM group on January 29th and on February 5th a large PLM group under Prisciliano Silva took the town of Guadalupe, Chihuahua. On 14th Madero crossed the border into Mexico and assumed command of all revolutionary groups then engaged in the fighting. Madero's plans were upset though when the following day Gabino Cano, a PLM member who had been fighting with the Maderists decided to join Silva's column with all the men under his command. The united force would then undertake action independently of the Maderists. Before joining Silva, Cano wanted to take a number of wounded men over the border into the U.S. for medical treatment. Being inform-

of this Madero alerted the U.S. immigration authorities who arrested Cano for violating the neutrality laws. The following day Silva was arrested for refusing to recognise Madero as the "Provisional President". The day after Silva's group were disarmed and arrested after they had followed his example. On February 25th Ricardo denounced Madero's treachery in an article entitled, "Madero is a Traitor to the Cause of Liberty":—

"... The wolf has taken off his sheepskin and shown us his fangs and talons. . . Mexicans: your "Provisional President" as he styles himself has begun to deliver blows against freedom. What will happen when the "Provisional" becomes actual? . . ."⁴

The following day Antonio I. Villarreal deserted the PLM to join the Maderists, an act which hurt Ricardo deeply. Juan Sarabia joined Villarreal on his release from prison in June 1911.

The months that followed saw a great increase in PLM activities throughout the country, and in Baja California a large part of the state was under PLM control. To combat these advances Madero resorted once again to the same treachery he had practised on Silva, claiming that by operating independently PLM groups were "in rebellion against his government," and in Altar, Sonora twenty-eight liberals were murdered by Maderist soldiers.

In May a peace treaty was signed between Madero and Diaz and with the latter's resignation some days later Madero believed his political revolution had come to a victorious end. Not so Ricardo. For him the social revolution that he had for so long fought for was only beginning. He refused to accept Madero's treaty and PLM groups continued the struggle, this time against Maderist forces. On June 13th Madero sent Ricardo's eldest brother Jesus and Juan Sarabia to Los Angeles to induce Ricardo to lay down his arms. The mission was a failure. Ricardo refused, saying that until the land was distributed to the peasants and the instruments of production were in the hands of the workers, the Liberals would never lay down their arms.

The following day the offices of *Regeneracion* were raided and Ricardo, Enrique, Librado Rivera and Anselmo Figueroa were arrested and accused of violating the neutrality laws. Later Ricardo was freed on bail of \$2,500 which was raised by PLM groups around Los Angeles.

In September 1911 Ricardo issued a new manifesto to replace the 1906 programme. This new manifesto was uncompromisingly anarchist in content and in one of the most moving and practical examples of Ricardo's revolutionary writing. While recognising the great number of land expropriations that had taken place during the first months of the revolution, both under PLM propaganda and action, and the Mexican peons own natural anarcho-communism, the manifesto urged yet more revolutionary actions:—

"... expropriation must not be limited to taking possession of the land and the implements of agriculture alone. There must be a resolute taking possession of all the industries by those working in them, who should bring it about similarly that the lands, mines, the factories, the workshops, the foundries, the railroads, the shipping, the stores of all kinds and the houses shall be in the power of each and every one of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex . . ."

The manifesto ended:

"... Liberty and well being are within our grasp.

The same effort and the same sacrifices that are required to raise to power a governor — that is to say a tyrant — will achieve the expropriation of the fortunes of the rich keep from you. It is for you, then, to chose. Either a new governor — that is to say a new yoke — or a life redeeming expropriation and the abolition of all imposition, be that imposition religious, political or any other kind.

Land and Liberty!"⁵

The PLM, now resisting the new Madero administration with as much force as they had resisted Diaz, were joined in November 1911 by the Zapatistas, who rebelled against Madero when he failed to fulfil the promise he had made about the redistribution of land. The Zapatistas were the only revolutionary group that the PLM were to have any links with at all, although Zapata, in reality was a statist and not an anarchist. Yet his approach to the agrarian problems was truly radical. Under his influence much of the land in the state of Morelos was expropriated by the peasants and worked by themselves. In the very early days of the revolution Zapata had made contact with the PLM and soon after adopted the motto Land and Liberty. Ricardo's influence can be seen also in Zapata's *Plan de Ayala* which was based on the PLM manifesto of September 25th 1911. Ricardo's brother Enrique later explained the connections between the PLM and Zapata:

"... These Agrarians (Zapatistas) and the Liberals work together owing to the fact that the former are direct actionists, although they still think a government is needed . . . They go after the rich, the authorities and the priesthood. They too, as the Liberals, have burned to ashes the private property deeds as well as all official records; have thrown down that marked private properties; the jails have been destroyed and everything has been turned into the property of all.

So Liberals and Agrarians work in conjunction and good harmony, while the former propagate our principles and put them into practice amongst the latter to the extent that there are now several communities living practically in accordance with our theories. . ."⁶

In June 1912 Ricardo and the other Junta members were tried in Los Angeles for the alleged violation of the neutrality laws and sentenced to twenty-three months imprisonment. During their confinement *Regeneracion* continued publication, edited by a group which included Antonio de P. Araujo, Blas Lava and Teodoro Gaitan.

Ricardo again threw himself into the struggle on his release from prison in January 1914. In June of the same year, through Ricardo's initiative, the International Anarchist Congress that was to be held in London the following September decided to put the Mexican Revolution on its agenda, and it was hoped to send a representative of the Junta to participate and explain the Mexican situation fully. One of the reasons for this was to refute the very anti-Magonist attitude adopted by Jean Grave in *Les Temps Nouveaux* and Luigi Galleani in *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Unfortunately owing to the outbreak of war the congress never took place.

In 1915 Ricardo and the other Junta members together with their families and friends rented a small farm on the outskirts of Los Angeles, where they founded a small commune. Towards the end of the year *Regeneracion* resumed republication after it was forced, for financial reasons, to stop in December 1914. It was here that Ricardo wrote his first play, *Land and Liberty*, which

was first staged in Los Angeles at the end of the year.

In February 1916 Ricardo and Enrique were again arrested, this time for attacking the regime of Carranza. During their trial Ricardo was so ill that he could only attend the court to hear the sentence of twelve months imprisonment, Enrique receiving three years. The following month Ricardo was released on bail, which was put up by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, pending an appeal. During the remaining months of 1916 and all of 1917 Ricardo continued to bring out *Regeneracion*, although now only on an irregular basis, while recurring ill health forced him to stop writing for some of the time.

Ricardo was again arrested, together with Librado Rivera, in March 1918 after they had issued a manifesto to the Anarchists and Workers of the World in which they predicted the impending fall of the capitalist order, and urged all anarchists to prepare the peoples' minds for this great event. Charged with sedition under the espionage laws Ricardo was sentenced to a savage twenty years imprisonment and Librado to fifteen years.

While serving his sentence, first in McNeil Island prison and later in Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas (where he was regarded as the most dangerous prison in the prison) Ricardo's health began to deteriorate seriously and his eyesight began to fail. Despite this all medical treatment, other than the most basic was denied to him. In 1920 he was offered a pension by the Mexican Government which he declined to accept, saying that as an Anarchist he could not receive without shame and remorse money that had been stolen by the government from the poor.

In 1922, with the founding in Mexico of the anarcho-sindicalist CGT a campaign for the release of both Ricardo and Librado grew, and several strikes and the boycotting of U.S. goods took place. Unfortunately this action came too late. On November 22nd 1922 Ricardo was found dead in his cell. According to the prison authorities the cause was a heart attack, but it seems almost certain that he was in fact murdered.

Now offering no threat to the authority of the Mexican government the Chamber of Deputies offered to pay for the return of Ricardo's body to Mexico. This his companion and comrades refused, instead his body was transported by the Confederation of Railway Societies at their own expense. He was buried in Mexico City on January 23rd where a crowd of over ten thousand workers followed the coffin to the Panteon Frances. In 1948 Ricardo's body was exhumed and re-interred in the Rotunda de los Hombres Ilustres.

Dave Poole.

Notes:

1. Letter written on June 13th 1908 reprinted in Manuel Gonzalez Ramirez, *Epistolario y textos de Ricardo Flores Magon* Mexico D.F. 1964 pp 202-209.
2. *Regeneracion*, September 3rd 1910.
3. *Regeneracion*, December 10th 1910.
4. *Regeneracion*, February 25th 1911.
5. *Regeneracion*, September 25th 1911.
6. Letter of Enrique Flores Magon dated October 31st 1916 printed in *Freedom*, February 1917.

November Publication!
LAND AND LIBERTY! — Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution — Ricardo Flores Magon, Cienfuegos Press, Orkney, £2.35 p/b, £5.00 h/b (*Free to C.P. subscribers!*) (1980p).



ERIC MUEHSAM 1878 1934 THE MAN AND HIS WORK

THE PUBLIC IS UNAWARE OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF ERICH MUEHSAM, the anarchist militant whom Rudolf Rocker called "an unshakable opponent of every tyranny". Some works devoted to the history of contemporary Germany recall, however, that he played an important role in the revolutionary Bavaria of 1918–1919, and that he was one of the first victims of the Hitler regime.

Erich Muehsam is one of the most interesting figures of the German libertarian movement. He was born in Berlin on 6 April 1878. He came from a Jewish family. His father was a pharmacist. The family settled down in Luebeck where the young Erich went to secondary school. His spirit of revolt and taste for action soon showed themselves. He published, in the town's social-democratic newspaper, several anony-

mous articles on life at boarding school. His descriptions were not academic but just and his criticisms did not spare anybody. His articles caused quite a stir. He was found out and expelled from school for his "socialist activities". However, he graduated at Parchim. His father advised him to follow in his footsteps, and he was for a while an apprentice then an assistant pharmacist.

He soon met Gustav Landauer, the famous writer and anarchist militant.² He became his friend and disciple. Both belonged to the New Community, a literary liberal group which had strong influence on the intellectual life of Germany. Apart from Gustav Landauer and Erich Muehsam, this cultural circle included the Hart brothers, Peter Hille, Paul Scheerbart. Muehsam travelled to Switzerland, Italy, Austria and France. In 1909 he settled down

in Munich where he earned his living by contributing to various newspapers, notably *Jugend* and *Simplicissimus*. In April 1911 he created and activated the monthly review *Kain*, which lasted until the first world war (a new series appearing from November 1918 until April 1919). During the ten years which preceded the war, he also published many other works: an essay on homosexuality, children's stories, collections of poems, and plays.

In January 1918 the workers in the munitions factories decided to demonstrate against the war. They launched a general strike which extended throughout Germany. This action, however, did not last long. Muehsam had approved of this kind of struggle and had addressed the Krupp factory workers at Munich. Furthermore, he had refused to be recruited into the auxiliary patriotic service which had just been established. The police arrested him and sent him under house arrest to Trauenstein. He was released on 5 November. During the three days which followed his release he delivered anti-war speeches in front of the Munich barracks.

The revolutionary wave broke all over Germany. During the night of 7-8 November, the king of Bavaria abdicated and the republic was proclaimed. The independent socialist Kurt Eisner formed a coalition government with the majority social-democrats. He relied on the workers' councils and broke away from the central power of Berlin. He conceded, however, to the pressures from his right wing and was soon practising a

policy of concessions that in turn brought him hostility from the far left.

Muehsam had restarted the publication of the review *Kain* and founded the Union of Revolutionary Internationalists. He was a member of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council which soon transformed itself into a Central Revolutionary Committee. Gustav Landauer and the poet Ernst Toller were also members. On 7 December, 400 men led by Muehsam and the sailor Rudolf Eglhofer, one of those mainly responsible for the Kiel mutiny, occupied the Munich press buildings. They tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain the resignation of the Interior Minister, Auer, who represented the right wing of the Bavarian government.

In his monumental history of the German Army, Benoist-Mechin recounts this episode as follows:

"Disquieted by the growing progress of the counter-revolution, and inspired by the example of their Berlin rivals, Eglhofer and Muehsam decided to take action before it was too late.

"In the night of 7 December, they attempted, on their own initiative, a coup. Accompanied by 400 armed men, they invaded the editorial premises of the principal newspapers of Munich and declared the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Eisner, woken in the middle of the night, dressed in great haste and went to the spot to try to calm things down and to oppose the violence. Impressed by his courage,



Erich Muehsam with fellow revolutionaries – Berlin, 1928

the red guards went to Auer, at the Ministry of the Interior, where they broke down the doors. Amid the hue and cry they insisted on the minister's resignation. At revolver point Auer was obliged to sign the following declaration:

"In the night of 7 December I was attacked by 400 armed men, and was compelled to give up my commission. Under duress I declare my resignation as Minister of the Interior."

"Then the troops loyal to the Government jumped into lorries and drove to the Ministry of the Interior, rushed up the stairs, entered Auer's office, dispersed the extremists and finally became masters of the situation."

On 11 December, the Spartacists founded their first Munich group. Until the spring of 1919, they had less influence in Bavaria than in other German states. During many months, the presence and action of the anarchists constituted an obstacle to their efforts in this region. On 29 December 1918 the Spartakusbund merged with the Left Radicals and became the Communist Party of Germany.

On 10 January 1919, fearing trouble during the legislative elections, Kurt Eisner had Muehsam and eleven other revolutionary militants arrested.

The Workers' Council made him release them the following day. Polling day was 12 January.

The independent socialists were defeated in every constituency. They received only 2.5 per cent of the votes. The electorate voted en masse for the candidates of the majority social democrats (centralist tendency) and for the Bavarian People's Party (catholic). Encouraged by these results, the bourgeoisie took a harder line and tried to overthrow the government. On 21 February, when going to present his resignation, Kurt Eisner was assassinated in the street by a young officer, Count Arco-Valley. The popular conscience made a martyr of him; about a hundred thousand attended his funeral.

On the same day as his death, the Central Revolutionary Committee declared a state of siege and a general strike throughout Bavaria. Furthermore, a new government was immediately formed, presided over by the majority socialist Hoffman. Fearing a trial of strength, he made a few concessions to the extreme left who were soon to find them insufficient. At the beginning of April, the workers' councils of Augsburg launched a political strike, of which Muehsam was the protagonist. This action rested on the following watchwords: unlimited dictatorship of the proletariat, creation of a republic of councils, alliance with soviet Russia and soviet Hungary, breaking off of relations with the central government of Berlin, formation of a revolutionary army.

Several towns in Bavaria joined the movement. Seconded by Gustav Landauer and Ernst Toller, Erich Muehsam invited the Central Revolutionary Committee to proclaim without delay the republic of councils. The proposition was adopted by 234 votes to 70. The communists voted against because they judged it premature. They estimated that the economic and political conditions were not yet ready for the realisation of such a project.

The Bavarian republic of councils was proclaimed during the night of 6-7 April. Hoffman and his cabinet took refuge in Bamberg, whence they organised a counter-offensive. At Munich, a council of peoples commissioners was immediately formed. Ernst Toller was its president. Gustav Landauer became commissioner of public instruction. Despite the pleas of his friends Muehsam accepted only a secondary post. The new government had a brief existence. It lasted only six days. This short period was however the reign of pure idealism. It was described by Erich Otto Volkman as follows:

"Toller and Muehsam establish the principles of the new art. This art must come into the service of the revolutionary socialist ideals, must impregnate uniformly all the manifestations of the human spirit, architecture, town planning, sculpture, literature, painting and journalism, and lead men to a superior order of civilisation. The theatre must belong to the people. The world must flourish like a meadow upon which each can make his harvest."

"Landauer reforms the educational system. He declares: 'Everyone will work at what he thinks he is good at; all compulsion is abolished, the juridical spirit is gone.' The teachers and civil servants in charge will be dismissed as soon as possible, exams and university degrees will be reduced to the minimum. Any civilian of eighteen is entitled to attend university. The teaching of history, that enemy of civilisation, is forbidden."

"A people's commissioner appointed to the housing department orders the requisition of all dwellings on Bavarian territory. From now on each family will be allowed only one living room, with kitchen and bedrooms."

"Other measures are aimed at integrated socialisation, with the complete renovation of the financial and currency systems."

Some initiatives were excellent. Others lacked realism. Despite the good intentions of its protagonists, the Bavarian republic of councils was not established on solid ground. As Ernst Toller later recalled, it also had to face a lot of practically insuperable obstacles:

"The inadequacy of its leaders, the opposition of the Communist Party, the disunity which reigned among the socialists, the disorganisation of the administration, the increasing scarcity of food, the confusion of the soldiers, all these components contributed to its fall."

On 13 April, the first government of the councils was overthrown by the troops of the Hoffman cabinet, who had succeeded in regrouping. One part of the Munich garrison, helped by the republican guards (majority socialists), occupied the principal public buildings of the Bavarian capital. Muehsam and twelve people's commissioners were arrested and taken under escort to Ebrach prison, near Bamberg. The same day the workers and soldiers, led by Ernst Toller, defeated the counter-revolutionary army. In the confusion which followed a new government of councils was formed under the aegis of three Russian communists: Levine, Levien, and Axelrod. They kept Landauer away from any responsibility. Toller was too popular to be completely set aside and was nominated as commander-in-chief of the north sector of Munich. The military supreme command was entrusted to the sailor Eglhofer. A few days later, Hoffman reassembled his troops and sent them in the direction of the Bavarian capital. Toller smashed this second counter-revolutionary offensive at Dachau on 16 April.

Hoffman and the members from his cabinet then appealed for help from the central government of Berlin. Gustav Noske, the Minister of National Defence, agreed to come to their aid and supervised the operations himself. He sent to Bavaria a considerable and well-equipped army. The generals von Luettwitz and von Oven were in command. The main attack started on 27 April. The revolutionary troops resisted bravely but could not contain the enemy advance. On the first of May, the government army occupied Munich and started a severe repression. There were about seven hundred executions. Landauer, Eglhofer and Levine were among the first victims. Axelrod and Levien fled to Austria before the capture of the town. As for Toller,

he was arrested and sentenced to five years' gaol. He was granted a relatively mild sentence because he had prevented the execution of several counter-revolutionary prisoners.

The trial of Muehsam and twelve of his comrades took place in July at Munich. It lasted eight days. The court martial condemned Muehsam to fifteen years' detention. He was sent to prison at Ansbach then to Niederschoenfeld. During his imprisonment he wrote *Homage to Gustav Landauer*, some poems and his famous drama *Judas* which was to appear later on in the repertoire of Erwin Piscator.

As with Ernest Girault and so many other libertarian militants, Erich Muehsam believed that the October revolution would reconcile marxism with anarchism. In 1920, he wrote:

"The theoretical theses and practices of Lenin on the achievement of the revolution and of the communist tasks of the proletariat have given to our action a new base. . . No more insuperable obstacles to a unification of all the revolutionary proletariat."

His illusions were short lived. After the crushing of Kronstadt and of the Makhnovists, he understood that it was impossible to reconcile the differences between the two currents of the working class movement. Until the end of his life, however, he tried to unite their struggles in the fight against the bourgeoisie and national socialism. For propaganda purposes the communists presented him as their fellow traveller. They exploited with success his good will and his conciliatory attitude.

Muehsam was granted an amnesty on 21 December 1924. Thousands of Berlin workers were waiting for him at the station the following day. For six months he travelled across Germany and spoke on behalf of political prisoners. After that he helped individual cases and took up more particularly the defence of the famous militant communist Max Hoelz who had been sentenced to life imprisonment. He also took part in the campaign to free Sacco and Vanzetti. In October 1926 he founded the monthly review *Fanal*, which lasted five years. He also created his own publishing house and published many works: his memories about the Bavarian councils republic, a recital of his literary encounters, an essay on communist anarchism. . . up until the advent of the Third Reich he attended many meetings and urged the German workers to unite against national socialism.

On 28 February 1933, a few hours after the burning of the Reichstag, he was arrested when he was getting ready to leave Germany. He spent time in several of Hitler's gaols: Lehrterstrasse prison (Berlin), Sonnenburg camp, Ploetzensee prison (Berlin), Oranienburg concentration camp. Nazi propaganda blamed Muehsam for the execution of twenty-two hostages at Munich on 30 April 1919. As he pointed out to his executioners, this accusation did not stand up to the facts: he was arrested and taken to prison at Ebrach on 13 April. This legend (of the hostages) was used as a pretext to justify treatment of the worst kind. Despite humiliations and tortures, Erich Muehsam kept a very dignified attitude. His agony lasted seventeen months. He was assassinated at the camp of Oranienburg during the night of 9-10 July 1934.

The nazis claimed that he committed suicide. Many details and many testimonies proved that he was coldly killed by the SS. He was buried on 16 July 1934 in the cemetery of Dahlem.

The same day his companion left Germany and took refuge in Czechoslovakia. A few months later she was invited to the U.S.S.R. She took with her all her husband's manuscripts as she was promised that an edition of all his works would

be published. She had the imprudence to give these documents to the Soviet archives where they are probably still kept. The censorship allowed the publication only of some poems and literary memoirs. Zensl Muehsam was not deceived for long and showed her disappointment. During the Stalinist purges of 1936, she was arrested and condemned to eight years' of hard labour and deported.⁷ She only left the hell of a concentration camp fifteen years later. She was then gravely ill and starting to lose her mind. She was sent to East Germany where she received a few medals and a pension. The Pankow regime made her sign documents and used her name on many occasions. She died in East Berlin on 10 March 1962.

The history of the German libertarian movement has still to be written. It is however surprising to note that in most books on anarchism the names of Gustav Landauer and Erich Muehsam are never mentioned. These two revolutionary militants played an important role that seems worthy of acknowledgement. Their main works deserve to be translated and distributed. They would, now, constitute an excellent instrument for reflection and discussion. Thanks to the recent work of a few comrades the life and works of Gustav Landauer were rescued from obscurity. We hope that it will be the same with Erich Muehsam.

Roland Lewin

NOTES

- (1) This study appeared previously in *Recherches Libertaines* (No. 4, Sept. 1967) and *Volonta* (Vol. XX, No. 11, Nov. 1967), and as a supplement to *Le Monde Libertaine*, No. 143 (June 1968).
- (2) See especially: "Gustav Landauer et la regeneration social, by Rene Forain, *Le Monde Libertaine*, No. 125 (Sept.-Oct. 1966), "La Revolution et l'esprit unifiant" by Gustav Landauer, *Le Monde Libertaine*, Nos. 126 (November 1966) and 127 (December 1966); "Gustav Landauer et la Revolution allemande," *Le Monde Libertaine*, No. 128 (Jan. 1967); "Gustav Landauer", by C.W. *Recherches Libertaines*, No.1 (Dec. 1966). The principal work by Gustav Landauer has been re-edited: *Aufruf zum Sozialismus* (Call to Socialism), Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt-Main, 1967, 195 pages (with a preface by Heinz-Joachim Heydorn).
- (3) Benoist-Mechin: *Histoire de l'armee allemande* Vol. 1, "L'effondrement (1918-1919)". Editions Albin Michel, Paris, 1964, 379 pages.
- (4) E.O. Volkman: *La revolution allemande*. Librairie Plon, Paris, 1933, 310 pages.
- (5) Ernst Toller: *Eine Jugend in Deutschland*. Querido Verlag, Amsterdam, 1933, 293 pages. This autobiographical work is also to be found in the selected works of Ernst Toller published in one volume by Rowohlt in 1961. *I was a German: an autobiography*, Ernst Toller, trans. by Edward Crankshaw, John Lane The Bodley Head, London, 1934, 298 pages plus X prelims.
- (6) *Bulletin communiste*, 22nd July, 1920. Cited by Pierre Broue: *Le parti bolchevique* (history of the C.P. U.S.S.R.). Edns. Minit, Collection "Arguments", Paris, 1963, 628 pages.
- (7) Consult on this subject the writings of Alexandre Weissberg (*L'accuse*; preface by Arthur Koestler; Editions Fasquelle, 1953; 591 pages) and of Margarete Buber-Neumann: *Deportee en Siberie*; afterword by Albert Beguin; Editions de la Baconniere et du Seuil, collection "Cahiers du Rhone", Paris, 1949, 255 pages. Also "How the Berlin journal of the Unified Socialist Communist Party, New Germany, tries to distort the fate of Zensl Muehsam", *Le Libertaine*, No. 185 (10 June 1949).

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- La Revue Internationale Anarchiste*, No. 1, 15 November 1924.
- La Revolution Proletarienne*, No. 4, April 1925.
- Le Nouvel Age*, No. 11, Nov. 1931.
- Le Libertaine*, Nos. 391 (24 March 1933), 422 (3 Aug. 1934) and 435 (8 Feb. 1935).
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(Translated by A. and J.W.)

THE MIASNIKOV MEMOR- ANDUM

In his *Guillotine at Work*, Gregory Maximoff explodes the myth that Stalin betrayed the Russian Revolution because he did not follow Lenin's example. His massively documented book establishes the incontestable fact that Lenin, not Stalin, was the real architect of the counter-revolution: that Lenin was directly responsible for the massacre of the Kronstadt sailors, the exile, persecution and murder of political prisoners, the atrocities against workers and peasants, and the enslavement of the Russian people. All these crimes, in addition to Lenin's purge of dissident members of the Russian Communist Party, was carried forward on a wider scale by his disciple Stalin with his liquidation of the old Bolsheviks, the notorious Moscow Trials, persecution of tens of thousands of anonymous party members, etc.

In this connection Maximoff discusses the persecution of Gabriel Miasnikov and the C.P. organisation in Motovilikha (Perm Province), headed by him. The worker Miasnikov, one of the oldest and most respected members of the Russian Communist Party, was sincerely devoted to the emancipation of the workers. Miasnikov could not tolerate the abandonment of the original 1917 principle of democracy within the Party; the domination of the Party by Lenin's apparatus; the growing power of the Party oligarchy and the all powerful Central Committee. In Petrograd, Miasnikov witnessed the moral corruption of the privileged layers of the Party, their bourgeois style of living, the drunken debaucheries of Zinoviev and other Party leaders, and inevitably, the total divorce of the Party from the workers and peasants.

In 1920 in a massively documented memorandum, addressed to Lenin and the Central Committee of the Party, Miasnikov exposed these violations. Miasnikov disagreed with Lenin's reply. Since Lenin broke off all correspondence, Miasnikov published, in pamphlet form, (500 copies exclusively for C.P. members) the memorandum, Lenin's letter and Miasnikov's recommendations. To make the meaning clearer it was necessary to edit the following extracts from the pamphlet cited by Maximoff:

"When I came to Petrograd the Press boasted that the hard times were over. 'The sleeper was awakening' Petrograd industry was reviving, etc.

But... upon closer examination, I began to see that the propaganda machine had deliberately projected a totally false picture of the real situation. Mills and factories were frequently on strike; the workers no longer trusted the communists. They felt it was not *their* government; that it was something remote from them; not in the least responsive to their needs. To get any thing at all they must exert constant pressure on the government..."

"... The government blamed the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionist Parties for the strikes Italian style [a reference to the occupation of the factories in Italy, 1920.] The Mensheviks and Social-Democrats were arrested on the pretext that in so doing, the communists were 'saving' us the workers from their allegedly 'seditious propaganda'. The strikes continued in spite of the repressions..."

"... In Moscow, Petrograd, in the Ural regions, in the factories, the workers now show their absolute distrust of the communists. Groups of ordinary workers gather informally to discuss their problems. But as soon as a communist approaches, the groups scatter or change the subject. In the Izhorsky plant the workers bar all outside communists from their meetings including those working in the plant... On the eve of what was virtually a general strike in Petrograd [just before the Kronstadt revolt, March, 1921] we [the Party] did not even know that the strike was imminent. This in spite of the fact that we had communists in every department... What does this mean? It means that the working class has fenced itself off from the Communist Party by erecting an impenetrable wall of secrecy. The Party is no more aware of what the workers are up to than were the Czar's secret police... You [Lenin] argue that the workers have not the slightest reason to distrust the communists and maintain that the workers are allowed full freedom of the press and other civil liberties. I must tell you plainly that this is not true. The workers hate the Party because the very same measures it invoked against the bourgeoisie in 1918-1920 are now [1921] being inflicted upon the working class... This situation must not be tolerated..."

"... If an ordinary rank-and-file Party member

refuses to swallow the Party line, dares voice an opinion of his own, his comrades ridicule him, taunt him: '... so you're a wise-guy - a know it all? Wouldn't Lenin have come to this idea if it were timely, without advice from you? Conceited ass! Do you think that you are really smarter than Lenin?...' "

"During the three district Party conferences, comrade Zinoviev, in the presence of many comrades, warned me: 'You'd better stop talking or we will have to expel you from the Party'... Anyone who ventures a critical opinion of his own is reviled as a "counter-revolutionary" Menshevik or Social-Revolutionist with all the sadistic consequences such an accusation entails - expulsion from the Party, arrest or worse..."

"Life is unbearably complicated by red tape. In soviet institutions people trying to see important officials must run the gauntlet, be screened by hordes of minor bureaucrats..."

Miasnikov is shocked by the moral 'disintegration' of the top Party leadership. "... one hand washes the other is the motto of the upper strata of the Party [actually an exclusive fraternity protecting and promoting the privileged status of the bureaucracy]. Political 'pull' is essential for anyone attaining office. Drunkenness is rife. The notorious Astoria [Petrograd hotel for Party officials], guarded by machine guns, is a sporting resort for Party chiefs..."

Miasnikov tells Lenin that he fails to grasp the significance and the root cause of the Kronstadt revolt. "For you, Kronstadt is a comparatively minor incident: just a few hundred communists against us. But whose fault is it that the higher-ups in the Party do not relate to the mass of the people or to the rank-and-file communists? Whose fault is it that the friction sparks violent outbursts like Kronstadt, the strikes, the peasant revolts?"

"... This situation provides the background for the emergence of a special type of communist psychopaths. His post depends upon his ability to obey and flatter his superiors. Whether he relates to the workers or not is of little concern to him..."

"... Party members are permitted to hint only of very minor, unintentional, harmless mistakes. But they had best remain silent about major, serious violations involving the credibility and infallibility of the Party or the State..."

"... It stands to reason that workers' democracy presupposes not only the right to vote, i.e. ratify the decisions of the leaders, but also real freedom of speech and press. If workers are to govern the country and manage the factories there must be full freedom... freedom of speech, civil rights for all, from monarchist to anarchist... such as the world has never seen before..."

[Miasnikov also demanded the abolition of the death penalty.]

Miasnikov counsils Lenin to trust the workers and the peasants. The reconstruction of Russia depends upon "... the working class and the peasantry... to believe that without the active co-operation of both it is possible to restore the productive forces of the country and create even a minimum of material welfare... is to put our faith in communist saviours who will protect us from all misfortunes... you workers and peasants, stay put. Don't strike. Don't rebel... trust your leaders. They are fellow workers and peasants just like you. These nice people will manage everything so well that you will, without realising it, miraculously find yourself in the communist paradise..."

"The leaders argue that if we grant freedom of speech to all, everything, that has hitherto been hidden from the masses of the people and the enemies of the Soviet Union will be revealed... We contend that the masses know all too well from their own bitter experience that there

are revolts, strikes and disorders. They don't get their information second hand from the Press. They know more about what is actually happening than the provincial officials of the Cheka. The Cheka arrests people for spreading 'false rumours', but the people know that the 'rumours' are true. . . they don't believe the papers. . . those who are afraid to let the people speak out always see counter-revolution everywhere. . ."

"To this Lenin replied:

' . . freedom of the Press in the Soviet Union, when we are completely surrounded by bourgeois enemies, means freedom for the bourgeoisie. . . To grant freedom to the bourgeoisie is to commit suicide, and this we will not do. . . I hope that after you will have overcome your panic you will set yourself to work, help maintain connections with the non-party people; find out how effectively the Party people are doing their work. . . in this field there is no end of work. And this is how these defects should be treated and gradually corrected. . . It cannot be done by filling your head with silly notions like 'freedom of the press' and similar grandiloquent but empty phrases. . ."

Miasnikov retorted: ". . . words, words, and more words. You yourself must realise that this empty verbiage of yours cannot be taken seriously. . . Your letter is strongly worded, but far from convincing. You say that I want freedom of the Press for the bourgeoisie. Not so. On the contrary, I want freedom of the Press for myself, a proletarian who never had anything; a proletarian who has been in the party for fifteen years in *Russia* not *Abroad*. And while you and the other leaders were safely abroad I spent eleven and a half years, before the 1917 Revolution, in prisons at hard labour with a total of seventy-five days in hunger strikes. I was mercilessly beaten and subjected to other tortures. . . I escaped, not abroad, but for Party work here in *Russia*. To me, one can 'grant' at least a little freedom, at least within the Party. Or must I leave or be expelled from the Party as soon as I disagree with your policies? . . . Such treatment evades but does not tackle our problems. . ."

" . . . To break the grip of the international bourgeoisie is all very well. But the trouble is that while you lift your hand against the bour-



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geoisie, you also strike the worker. What class now supplies the greatest number of people arrested on charges of 'counter-revolution'? Of course, the workers and the peasants. There is no communist working class. There is just the working class - pure and simple. . ."

" . . . Don't you know that workers are in jail because they talk the way I do? That bourgeois people are not arrested on such charges for the simple reason that they are never concerned with such questions? If I am still at large it is only because of my reputation as a communist who suffered for my communist ideas. . . Moreover, the workers know my record. Arrest would antagonise them. Were it not for these facts, were I just an ordinary anonymous worker in some factory, where would I be now? Undoubtedly in the clutches of the Cheka: or I would be killed on the pretext that I was trying to escape . . . 'escaped and shot to death'. . . like Rosa Luxemburg, like Karl Liebknecht. Again, I repeat you raise your hand against the bourgeoisie, but it is I who am spitting blood, and it is we, the workers, whose jaws are being smashed. . ."

This reply sealed the fate of Miasnikov. Lenin was not the type to allow back talk from people he regarded as "inferiors". On August 23, 1921,

the Central Committee of the Communist Party revoked Miasnikov's right to "proclaim his views at official meetings of the Party." He was transferred from his base of support in Motolvilka and placed under the surveillance of the Central Committee in Petrograd. Six months later, on February 22, 1922, Miasnikov was officially expelled from the Party for ". . . anti-Party activity and infraction of Party discipline." But Miasnikov was not intimidated. In 1923 or 1924 he organised, in opposition to the Party, *The Worker's Group*. He was arrested and jailed.

Available information, though not specific, intimates that Miasnikov succeeded in escaping. He made his way to Constantinople and on November 11, 1927, sent a letter to the Russian section of the Industrial Workers of the World (unpublished) in which he wrote:

" . . . Since 1922 I have been continually harassed, sometimes by the G.P.U. (successor to the Cheka) or by the Intelligence departments of foreign governments. . . " Miasnikov left Constantinople and settled in Paris in 1927 where he remained until 1945 or 1946 when he returned to Russia, never to be heard from again.

Sam Dolgoff

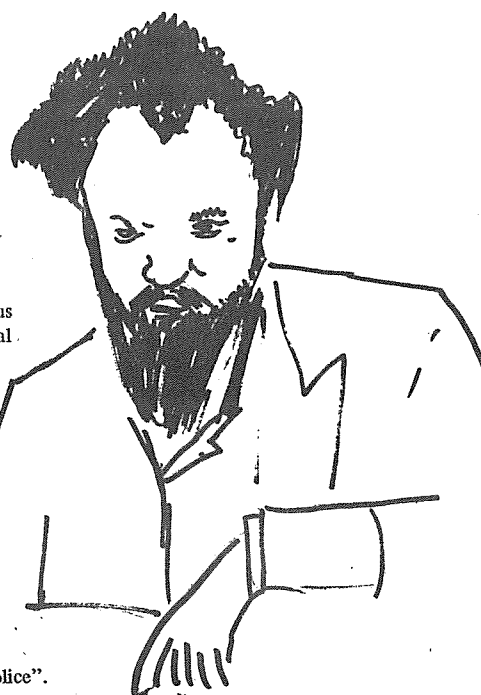
Stepnik

Portrait of a Nihilist

Sergeii Mikhailovich Kravchinskii (also known as Stepniak) was born in 1853, in Southern Russia, where his father was a military surgeon. At the beginning of 1860 he entered the St. Petersburg Artillery School, passing out in 1868 when he was appointed officer of the artillery battery at Kiev. After about a year he became a student at the St. Petersburg Forest Institute, where he renewed his contacts with the Artillery School, and organised among the pupils several groups with a view to self-education, delivering lectures on history and political economy. Around him formed the nucleus of a small group called the "Artillery Society", almost all members of which took an active part in the revolutionary movement. It was here that he was first introduced to Bakunin's writings, and where he helped to distribute the periodical *Narodnoe Delo*. In 1872 he joined the Chaikovskii Circle, and began his active revolutionary career as an agitator.

During his early life he was greatly influenced by the radical egalitarian sentiments of some of the small Russian protestant groups, and he wrote one or two admiring critiques of contemporary religious organisations, which he believed would be potential sources of revolution. He used his knowledge of religion and his familiarity with the Bible as agitational tools, adapting biblical quotations, when speaking to peasants, to prove that they should start the revolution.

It was at this time that Stepniak first worked with Kropotkin, who describes Stepniak as being completely unconcerned about his own security, "the result of a complete absence of fear", although he was extremely careful not to compromise others. He became very well known for his propaganda among the circle of workers in the St. Petersburg area, and, Kropotkin adds, "was very much wanted by the police".



More or less at the same time, police broke up the Chaikovskii Circle in St. Petersburg, arresting Kropotkin. Stepniak, who had begun his work again in Moscow, fled to Odessa where, with other Chaikovists, he planned to organise armed peasant uprisings.

From there he went to Paris, but when he received news of the Serbian rising against the Turks in Herzegovina, he and M.P. Sazhin determined at once to recruit fighters for the ideal of a Slavic Federation, and go to their assistance. He went first to North Italy to see Velkhovsky (former head of the Odessa Chaikovskii), raising a number of small groups of fighters, composed mainly of Slavic emigres and former members of Garibaldi's legions which were involved in a number of armed clashes in Herzegovina, before they were forced to adapt to partisan tactics in the Dalmatian mountains. Stepniak soon became disillusioned with the social character of the war and its religious fanaticism.

The next period of his life is confused, as some reports credit him with being in Geneva again by 1876, although others ascribe him a role in Kropotkin's prison escape during the same year.

By 1877, however, he was in Italy, taking an active part in the ill-fated Benevento uprising. Stepniak, Malatesta and Cafiero succeeded in rousing the peasants of two villages in the traditional brigand stronghold of the mountains of Matese, near Naples. Municipal buildings were seized in the name of the social revolution. Primitive arms distributed, tax registers burnt and the *macinato* tax meters smashed. Government troops quelled the revolt and a small armed band of 26 people were arrested, among them Stepniak, who was condemned to death. He luckily escaped as a result of an amnesty, and became active again in Switzerland, among the conspiratorial groups of exiles there.

He returned secretly to Russia where he became editor of *Zemlia i Volia*. On August 4th, 1878, he assassinated the chief of the Imperial Third Section (secret police), General Mezentsev, stabbing him in broad daylight in a St. Petersburg square. Although Mezentsev's assassination had been planned well in advance, it took place only two days after the revolutionary Kovalsky had been shot in Odessa, and it gave the act an appearance of sudden retaliation, which increased its impact.

Stepniak, in a pamphlet *Smert' za smert'* (a death for a death), justified the assassination as being revenge for all those ill-treated in prison, the sentences against revolutionary propagandists, and as an act of retaliation for the famous "Trial of the hundred and ninety-three". But, Stepniak explained was not just the end of one epoch, but the start of another, which it was, for both the revolutionary movement in Russia (halting the slide from populism to liberalism), and for Stepniak himself — he left Russia after two more years of continued clandestine activity. Traveling first to Geneva, then to Italy, and finally to London in 1883 to raise support for the Revolutionary movement within Russia.

Within the framework of Victorian Britain he set out to justify the dramatic and often violent acts of Russia's nihilists, explaining the real nature of the repression there and the problems that the revolutionaries faced every day. His arguments remained those of *Smert' za smert'*... acts of terror against the authorities were essentially defensive measures, the only channels left open to people within Tsarist Russia. People were being tortured and killed for engaging in purely political and propaganda activities — and often on the suspicion that they had done so. This official violence could only be countered by revolutionary acts.

Underground Russia (1883), was his first

English language publication, although the articles were originally written during his stay in Italy.

It was Hyndman, who on first reading an Italian edition, suggested that it might be translated into English. The book's vivid biographical profiles of many well-known revolutionaries (including Kropotkin, Vera Zasulich and Sofia Perovskaia) and its colourful descriptions of the operation of clandestine printing presses and prison escapes captured the imagination of those who read them, and shaped opinions towards Russia and the revolutionary movement for several years.

Underground Russia made exactly the same points as *Smert' za smert'*, but it did so in a much more sophisticated way, detailing the demands of the Executive Committee of Narodnaia Volia, and the massive support given to the revolutionaries by the majority of the people.

Stepniak's audience grew as he began writing for magazines. In 1884 he wrote for *Today* (a paper published by socialists, E. Belford Bax and J.L. Joyes) about political prisoners in Russia and the brutal behaviour of the authorities towards the prisoners. He also contributed articles on student life in Russian universities and on the Russian press to *The Times*, and in 1885 contributed his first article to *Commonweal*, 'The actual position of Russia'. The influence of his articles was felt as far away as Russia itself. According to a *Times* reporter who described "an extremely sore feeling" among government officials, at what they regarded as press bias in allowing the publication of "prejudiced" writings by Stepniak and other exiled nihilists.

Underground Russia was translated into several languages, including German, French and Danish, and its success, and the impact of his magazine articles in Britain and North America convinced him that he could "conquer the world for the Russian revolution", and "throw upon the scales the huge weight of public opinion of civilised nations". He decided to abandon clandestine activity and instead devote himself to becoming a propagandist for the revolution.

The *Times* articles and those he wrote for other papers formed the nucleus of material for *Russia under the Tsars* (1885), which resembled *Underground Russia*, but expanded on the original themes of that book, by describing the forms of village and peasant democracy that existed prior to the autocratic rule of Moscow. Nearly 200 pages of this volume were devoted to detailed instances of police searches, censorship, imprisonment and exile, an impressive body of evidence that profoundly influenced contemporary Victorian society, which was what Stepniak had hoped. That book was followed by *The Russian Storm Cloud* (1886), again compiled from contributions Stepniak had made to leading newspapers. Subtitled "or Russia in her relation to neighbouring countries", the book set out to prove that the Tsar's territorial ambitions were intended to divert attention away from internal unrest.

In 1888 his fourth book was published, *The Russian Peasantry*, and within less than twenty years had been reprinted in four editions. As well as discussing the social plight of peasants in Russia, it discusses the revolutionary potential of non-orthodox religious sects as the Dukhobors and the Stundists. Despite his friendship with prominent Marxists such as Engels, G. V. Plekhanov and Bernstein, Stepniak remained uninfluenced by Marxist socialism, preferring to rely upon his own knowledge of conditions in Russia, and seeing the peasantry as the backbone of any revolution.

For the first few years of his residence in England, Stepniak preferred speaking to small discussion groups, and it wasn't until 1886 that he spoke at his first large meeting which was organised by the Hammersmith branch of the

Socialist League, when William Morris took the chair. Stepniak spoke without notes, answering questions for quite a long time. Although a resolution of sympathy with the Russian people was passed at the meeting, Stepniak wasn't anxious to repeat the performance and declined other Socialist League invitations until his grasp of the English language improved.

Nevertheless, he spoke at many small meetings throughout the country, and often spent as much as ten to twelve hours a day, writing, researching and organising. His activities won him a wide circle of supporters, not only among anarchists, socialists and Fabians, but among such people as orthodox Tory W. Earl Hodgson. Stepniak was a stout man, with an oriental cast to his brown eyes, and a mass of black hair crowning his square head, but his soft-spoken, reticent manner was in complete contrast to the media presented image of the nihilist, so that he often completely disarmed opponents who met him in the flesh.

His fifth book, *The Career of a Nihilist: a novel*, (1889) was designed to describe the degree of self-sacrifice and devotion shown by the Russian revolutionaries in a fictionalised framework. It drew him more attention, but the book itself received a mixed reception. Following its publication Stepniak threw himself into the organisation of a society that would channel aid from British intellectuals to the revolutionary movement in Russia. Several Members of Parliament supported this organisation, the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, Edward Pease (Secretary and chronicler of the Fabian Society) became its secretary and Stepniak edited its paper *Free Russia* for two years. At the same time, with other exiles, Stepniak was working to establish a Russian Free Press Fund to print Russian language material for opposition movements in exile and in Russia. He insisted on a "moderate stance" for the Fund's propaganda, considering it "ignoble" to incite others to commit violent acts or to call for insurrection when he was "safe" in a foreign country.

By 1891, however, his views were changing, as can be seen from his essay 'What is wanted' (later republished in *Nihilism as it is*) in which he wrote:

"We utterly disbelieve in the possibility of reconstructing economic relationships by means of a burst of revolutionary inspiration. That is a huge work which needs great mental efforts on the part of many people, much preparation, much practical experience and correction, and therefore, much time."

It is important to emphasise, however that his views did not change as much as has been made out. He continued to support, with all his efforts, the revolutionary movement both inside Russia and in exile.

Although he was a close friend of Kropotkin's, and although he believed anarchism contributed greatly to the ideas of change, he remained a nihilist, believing anarchism impractical. It is not surprising that he made friends readily with Marxists like Engels and Bernstein, or with Fabians such as Pearce and Shaw. Writers of our time often forget that these tendencies were found within the same organisation in Stepniak's day, and that his ideas were not so far removed from theirs. He was also determined to secure the widest possible support for his work and was naturally intent on seeking it within the most influential quarters.

With the help of a sympathetic American journalist, George Kennan, with whom he had co-operated before, he organised a tour of the USA during the winter and spring of 1890-1891. He and Kennan created an American branch of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom, although it doesn't

ARMS & THE WOMAN

One of the symptoms of the weaknesses of the revolutionary movement today is that it has not yet reached the point of giving birth to a qualitative and autonomous expression of *revolutionary women*. It is known that the degree of development attained by the forces of negation in existing society finds its unequivocal, decisive and obvious manifestation in the relations between revolutionary men and women, and in the manner in which the direct and natural relation of the sexes is conceived.

The division of roles of the sexes in alienated society, inherited from feudal society and the first stages of industrial society, can be schematically defined in this way: *femininity* concentrates the anti-historical tendencies of alienated life (passivity, submission to nature, the superstition that follows from this, repetition, resignation), *masculinity* its pseudo-historical tendencies (a certain degraded taste for struggle, arrogance, pseudo-activity, innovation, confidence in the power of society, rationalism). Femininity and masculinity are two *complementary* poles of the same alienation. In modern industrial society, these two poles tend, in losing their material bases, to blend into each other to constitute the specific traits of the modern proletariat, where the differences between the sexes are less marked.

In all epochs, and according to the nature of those epochs, men and women have never constituted two *pure* types. Whatever their sex, individuals unite, in various ways, the character traits and behaviour of the two sexes. Nevertheless, femininity has up till now always been the dominant trait of the alienation of women, and masculinity that of men. But, fundamentally, it is the traits of the old femininity which re-appear at present in the generalised passivity of the reign of the modern economy, although femininity and masculinity, free from their material roots, are recaptured and used indiscriminately by the two sexes, as modes of spectacular affirmation.

While in alienated society, woman and man find themselves more and more on a plane of equality (except in cases where patriarchy still prevails) because the woman cannot find in her



THE FEMALE PIRATES. (FROM AN OLD PRINT.)

male companion — who is as unarmed as she is — an admirable and all-powerful protector; in the modern revolutionary movement, in contrast, the woman begins by being sharply confronted with her old femininity in the face of the domination of a certain theoretical prestige. Because, for the individual *who is not involved in theoretical activity*, theory appears as “an ability to write,” to “think,” a product of intelligence, an individual creation full of mystery. This is the spectacle effect; the fetishism of theory for those who find themselves outside it. The woman often finds herself forced to admit that she has “not yet written anything,” and that she has no active role in the elaboration of revolutionary theory, in apparent contrast to certain of the men she sees. In matters regarding theory, her first impulse is to rely on men, who seem to her “more qualified” than her. She ends up by distrusting her own thought, paralysed by external criteria. When she happens to penetrate unexplored terrains,

she stops short, thinking that if it hasn't been done been done before it must have been because it wasn't worth the trouble. Her thought, when in spite of everything she manages to have some, remains a dead letter: the woman never on her own follows through to the practical consequences of her thought. Often, she judges an individual very quickly, making a pertinent, perceptive critique, even before her male friend or friends; but in her passivity she stops there. When it comes to practical consequences, she hides behind men. Her reflections and her critiques are made in private, leaving masculinity to attend to *putting them into practice*.

But in this way she deprives herself of a direct grasp on her social environment; she never directly influences anything and thus cannot become a theorist. For theory is the critique of daily life; it is the operation of each individual conducted in this daily life; it is a succession of renewed and corrected *interventions* in relations with people

Stepniak: Portrait of a Nihilist cont.

seem to have functioned much after Stepniak's return to Britain. They also organised a petition of support for the Russian revolutionary movement, but Stepniak was forced to moderate its tone before American intellectuals would sign, writing out support for the violent section of the movement. During one newspaper interview he even went so far as to deny his role in the assassination of Mezentsov, although it is well documented.

Back in Britain he continued his propaganda work, extending their range by writing a play, *The New Convert*, which wasn't performed until

after his death, as well as several novels and working on a number of translations of Russian literature. His final book, *King Stork and King Log: a study of persecution in modern Russia* (1896) described yet further instances of persecution and the continuing activities of the revolutionaries.

On December 23, 1895, he was in Chiswick, on his way to attend a meeting at which yet further propaganda plans and organisational details were to be discussed, when his old devilry got the better of him. Approaching some railway lines, he noticed an approaching locomotive: impatiently he decided to leap across the path of the passing train rather than wait until

it was safe to cross. Older than he realised, he was caught by the heel and killed.

Throughout his life Stepniak was an untiring fighter for the things in which he believed, becoming the leading propagandist of the Russian revolutionary movement in exile. The last word belongs to his contemporaries:

“All who knew him intimately could not help admiring the pure, idealistic soul of this tender-hearted man who, with astonishing zeal, untiringly devoted himself to work for freedom”. Vassily Zhook, in *The Torch of Anarchy*.

“As a revolutionist Stepniak was our hero — as an author our glory.” W. Tchorkesoff, in *Liberty*.
Martyn Everett

(which are also the effective terrain of alienation) and, what amounts to the same thing, it is also a series of interventions in society. Theory is an undertaking of *revolutionary transformation* that implies that the individual theorist accept his own uninterrupted transformation. Theory lies therefore in the comprehension of and action on blocks (individual and social-historical).

If men have an *apparently* preponderant place in the revolutionary movement, it is because many among them enter the revolutionary struggle with the character traits of *masculinity* – that is to say, in reality with as few aptitudes as women, and with the same unconscious *complacency* regarding their character traits as women have their femininity – which can create illusions, since the practice of theory demands imagination, real struggle, confidence in oneself and in the power of the individual, aptitudes which the masculine character possesses in a degraded form. To convince oneself of this hidden misery of the modern revolutionary movement, it suffices to note that femininity would not be allowed to exist in it without the assent of masculinity, or at least would not be tolerated for long. Feminine passivity has its flip side in masculine activism. Up till now, it is primarily the passivity that has been noted, because it is the most glaring contradiction in a movement founded on the autonomy of individuals.

Women are only colonised by the spectacle of theory insofar as they are totally exterior to theory. And it is not the example or the *intervention* of men, themselves largely colonised by this spectacle, that can precipitate women's demystification, that can make them comprehend *in vivo* what theory is. Henceforth, the passivity of women must be criticised, not superficially because they don't write or don't know how to express themselves autonomously, but at the root, because they don't have any direct and practical efficacy; notably in their relations with others. Equally, it must no longer suffice a man to "express himself" abstractly. His writings and his thought must have direct concrete effects. Masculinity and its activism must no longer have femininity and passivity as its foil.

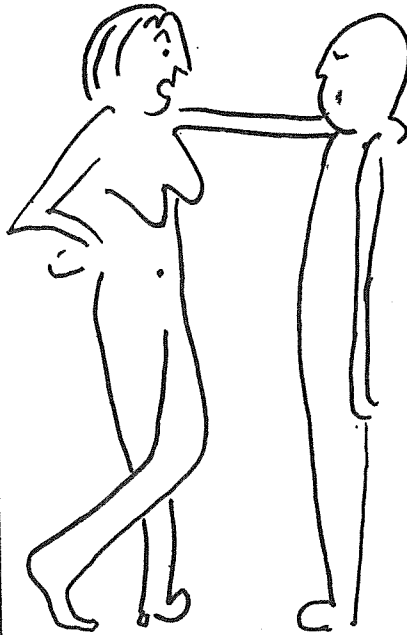
There is an obvious complacency present in the maintenance of these roles. The alienated individual is reluctant to root out what he has repressed; and since masculinity and femininity are complementary, they have all the solidity of a natural and inevitable phenomena. In the refusal to combat these roles, there subsists the fact of the global acceptance of alienated society. Those who claim to be revolutionaries say they want to change the world and their own lives. But in reality these individuals hope that *they will be changed* by a revolution. They thus remain passive individuals, ready to adapt themselves, *if they have to*, but who fundamentally fear all change. They are quite the opposite of situationists.

The resolution of the deficiencies of revolutionary practice at the beginning of the new epoch now passes directly through the resolution of the deficiencies of revolutionary women; which is to say, also through the supersession of a certain limited masculine practice which has up till now accommodated itself to these deficiencies and their maintenance. It is an urgent objective for the critique of daily life to definitively destroy the inequality of the sexes in revolutionary activity; that is to say, to destroy the respective roles which both sexes establish in alienated life, the character structures of femininity and masculinity and the limitations that they impose on revolutionary experience.

There are two principal types of women in the revolutionary movement: the most numerous at present are the women provided with a protector.

They are admitted into the revolutionary milieu with the traits of femininity, because they are presented by a man. The others present themselves: they are admitted as the result of a prestigious past which they have participated in, or for an ideology which they have assimilated well. These latter are admitted with the traits of masculinity, as men are.

Some of these women say absolutely nothing in public, contenting themselves with making remarks in private that they wouldn't otherwise dare to make; or they don't open their mouths except in response to the futile sort of questions that are believed to be the only ones that can be asked of them; or again, arbitrarily thrown into "theoretical discussions," anxiously watching out of the corner of their eye for the approval of their protector. They won't dare admit their ignorance of the subject, and entangle themselves in the confusion of their thoughts, or repeat what they have heard said, their difficulties in this domain seeming shameful to them; others openly display their insufficiencies, finding excuses for themselves in the difficulties they have in writing –



**I SOMETIMES WONDER
IF YOU'RE THE RIGHT ONE
FOR ME TO BE SUBMISSIVE TO**

but only in writing, as an inexplicable calamity – implying that they nonetheless think admirably; or perhaps they recognise in this a feminine defect, and fancy themselves protected, supposing that their honesty guards them from any more direct critique; still others express themselves by means of an aggressive demonstration towards men to show that they are not under any man's thumb and that they think autonomously. Each time, it is their colonisation by the spectacle of theory which paralyzes women.

Thus, for the most part, the only relations which remain to women are amorous ones. There they flaunt their sensitivity, ranting in private against theory as being something cold and abstract, and lauding "human relations." Women are often recognised as having greater "sensitivity" and subtlety when it comes to judging people. In addition, men, having a certain minimum of practical exigence, are considered more prudent when it comes to critiques that will entail practical consequences. They prefer to admire their female companion for such a capacity, which they claim

to possess only in a lesser degree – they had to repress it – and thus justify their relation with this woman: the passivity and public non-existence of the woman must be compensated by a greater hidden richness, and the monogamic justification of the couple is this complementarity of the man and the woman. If sensitivity is still an attribute of femininity, it is because theory is not understood for what it is, since men who are considered to be theorists are considered to lack sensitivity; whereas in fact theory includes the practical application of this sensitivity and subtlety.

The modern revolutionary movement must destroy this opposition of pleasure/activity, sensitivity/lucidity, conception/execution, habit/innovation, etc. The femininity/masculinity opposition corresponds to a reified stage of human development.

The individuals colonised by the spectacle of a revolutionary theory are in fact colonised by the need to appear autonomous; they are subject to appearance. As long as theory continues to be understood as a product of intelligence, as the individual faculty of thinking and of writing, and as such, as a possible source of personal prestige, men will continue to want to "express themselves" at all costs and women will lament not being able to imitate them.

It is now a matter of understanding theory for what it is. It is essential that women (and men) no longer accept one's acts being in contradiction with one's words, and no longer accept the existence of critiques without consequences. It is essential to restore to subjectivity all its rights by giving it practical follow through. No one should be able to be lucid about others without being lucid about himself, or lucid about himself without being lucid about himself without being lucid about others. The modern revolutionary movement must become unliveable for masculinity and femininity. It must judge individuals *on their life*.

Jeanne Charles

(This article, originally entitled *La critique ad mulierem* is from the *Chronique des Secrets Publics*, Vol. 1, June 1975. Translated by Ken Knabb, Bureau of Public Secrets, Berkeley, USA)

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ANARCHO FEMINISM TWO STATEMENTS

We feel there is a need to develop a communist anarcha-feminist ideology because communist anarchism and feminism joined together would be a logical and complete union of principles and ideals. Neither would have to be altered or apologised for to suit the other. Both would be enriched by their integration.

There is much to be studied, new concepts to be thought about and acted on. Many feminists are searching for a framework in which to actualise a revolution. Feminism alone means many things to many women. Women all over the country are seeking specific political ideologies with which to attack all of the conditions which oppress all people. Because of their dedication to non-hierarchical relationships, working in small groups and deriving power from the masses, feminists are called natural anarchists. Though this is true, it is time to concretely explore the association. Anarchism comes the closest to providing a clear analysis of political, economic and statist oppression and should, by its very nature, encompass feminism, but this has not been the case.

Most anarchist and feminist language is common; changing what is contradictory to feminism in traditional anarchist thought is one of the tasks before anarcha-feminists. One of the key reasons anarchism and feminism are so well suited to each other is that both are root concepts, humane enough to encourage movement and flux; to recognise the need for a continuous revolution within themselves. The idea of freedom of association, inherent in both, offers to women and men a framework for total personal, political and social revolution.

Why Anarchism? What does Anarchism bring to Feminism?

Anarchism is based on freedom of association. It is a clear understanding of hierarchy and authority and how they work politically and economically to oppress. Anarchism gives us an economic analysis, suggests a system of organisation, a workable plan for revolutionary action. Here we must say that the anarchism we are talking about is communist anarchism, the only kind of anarchism compatible with our feminist principles and our history of co-operation and sharing.

Revolution is an ongoing process in anarchist thought. It takes seriously the spiritual, emotional and individual aspects of human nature, which also is basic to feminism. Anarchism relies on the belief that humans, regardless of their mental and physical capacities are basically constructive,

when given the chance. Anarchism reinforces feminism's intuitive understanding of the need for a mass movement, the necessity of the masses to carry out a revolution, rather than an elite group of professional revolutionaries.

What does Feminism bring to Anarchism?

Revolutionary feminism is the first political ideology to challenge all caste oppression, whether based on sex, class, age, race or mental and physical attributes. Since many women experience oppression, not only on account of sex but also class and race, we have a concern for and a material base for uniting all oppressed people. Feminism recognises patriarchy, capitalism and statism as cores to caste oppression. Feminism also challenges all assumptions about revolution and relationships in a liberated society. Feminism recognises that oppressions are always inter-related, that personal and economic and political oppressions are manifested in all our lives. Feminism offers to anarchist men an unlocking of the masculine inheritance that cripples emotion and expression. Feminism brings to anarchism the sense of the circular, of connection, the finishing touches of existing anarchist awareness, of the human need for beauty, joy and expression.

Ends and Means

What is it, then, that we mean when we talk about communist anarcha-feminism? There are many aspects that are important, that should be stressed. We will start by talking about the unity of ends and means. We have an understanding of revolution as an on-going process. The values we foresee for the future must be put into practice now. What we do and how we do it determine what we get. We believe that a liberated society would not be a static one given to the people after a magic revolution but one that is achieved through direct participation, consciously revolutionary in all its phases. This means the way we live and communicate our ideas during, before and after a revolution will affect the success of it: and without this process working, a revolution will never be achieved.

Individuality, Collectivity, and Deprivitisation

As part of our process we understand the compatibility of individuality and collectivity. When we talk about individuality we are not talking about the individualistic competition that hierarchical society breeds. We are talking about freedom for individuals to develop in ways they choose. That freedom can be had by collective or community work toward meeting individual and broad-based needs. Through collective analysis and feedback individuals will be better able to under-

stand the forces that have shaped and continue to influence their personalities and lives. Living our concepts directly leads to the realisation that the personal is political, a basis for people to daily affirm their beliefs and needs.

Personal and Political

Anarcha-feminism recognises the unity of the personal and political. Our analysis must be applied to everyday life — we must live our lives in a revolutionary way. Our way of thinking, acting and perceiving reality must change along with the social and economic fibre of society. We must, with the support of others, become self-actualising individuals, take control of our lives and struggle to free ourselves from the restraints on our freedom that we have internalised. This implies an attitude toward revolution that includes an understanding of the need for joy and celebration. Renewing our energies through play and celebration is considered important to revolution. We see the personal life as *one* stage of the revolution. We must always keep in mind that revolution is *social*, and we must strive to make the liberatory ideal a common one.

Culture

Art is perhaps one of the most obvious means for melding the personal and political, though the connection is often misused or brushed off. Art is more than a means of celebration for those who enjoy it. For many serious revolutionary women, art is a way of life and work. Anarcha-feminism recognises that cultural diversity and freedom of choice are important aspects of a liberatory society and must be encouraged now. Because of our background in an authoritarian society, there are aspects of cultural freedom we must immediately become aware of and advance. One aspect is sexuality. The freedom to guiltlessly develop sexually and sensually and self-determination as to who, when, where, and how we relate sexually are essential aspects of a liberatory society.

Feminist analysis growing from women's experiences in the nuclear family extends anarchist analysis of hierarchy into the vital areas of family and daily life. We see the nuclear family as the base unit for a possessive, authoritarian society. People's energies are directed from constructive, creative work to the struggles of maintaining life in that unit. The nuclear family isolates women and young people, seriously restricting the cultural, intellectual and physical development of youth. Our revolutionary process should include development of alternatives to the nuclear family. Alternative ways of providing for the

functions now performed by the family, especially ways relating to the care of young people. The concept of private property, so intimately linked to the nuclear family, must be destroyed and the concept of ownership by use replace it. *Use it or lose it*, my mother always said. One way to begin destroying the private property concept is by neighbourhoods holding certain tools in common – rakes, lawn-mowers, etc., or by forming housework or snow shoveling brigades.

Organisation

Anarcha-feminism recognises the need for organisation. It is important that organisation is voluntary. In other words, organisation is a self created and intentional. Organisation must be non-hierarchical. No one person or group should control others. One way to advance equalitarian structure is by using a consensus decision making process. With consensus each individual or group has equal power. And we understand with consensus information sharing is a necessity.

Leadership is an important concept to discuss. Individuals are leaders because they exert influence on account of their experience, personality, etc. Keeping in mind the unity of means and ends, we understand there are ways to facilitate

sharing of leadership – task rotation, skill sharing to insure the same people do not continually occupy the same roles. It is important that people exercise self-discipline in taking initiative. Women – and men – have been prevented from developing skills because of our obsession with efficiency. Because of this “religion of efficiency”, anarcha-feminists must destroy the mystique of leadership by encouraging and actively supporting unskilled persons in taking leadership roles.

While groupings based on sex, class and race are expected and encouraged, we do realise that we are/will be involved in a movement that is mixed. Therefore, we have looked into what we call an anarcha-feminist ideology, and we have certain expectations from the people – especially the men – we will work with.

People must have an active understanding that many of their most habitual, everyday attitudes and actions are oppressive. We must examine even such mundane things as humour, language, fads in human relationships, commonly used in all unequal power relationships – by corporations against workers, individuals against individuals.

People, because of their sex, class or race privilege or oppression, have developed and learned ways of acting and thinking that are incompatible

with a revolutionary ideology. We expect an understanding of the essential nature of recognising, expressing and fulfilling emotional needs and a willingness to act on that perception. We also expect and encourage gatherings of affinity groups, such as women, men, class groups and race groups to further explore and understand their oppressions and to give and receive support in overcoming them.

As we said earlier, feminism – up till now – has intuitively developed along anarchist lines. The time has come to consciously merge these two – feminism and anarchism – to come up with a workable revolutionary ideology and analysis. We understand that it is from our practice that we are able to build theory, and we know the theory we develop will enable our practice to be more clear and directed. Thus, anarchism and feminism will continually supplement and support each other. It is to this end we have presented this statement of anarcha-feminist ideology.

Nancy Evechild, Margot Rideau, Beverly Adams, Mary Hastings. [We gratefully recognise and thank the women of the Des Moines New World Collective – a communist anarcho-feminist collective – for inspiration and ideas.]

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ANARCHA-FEMINISM.... ONE WOMAN'S RESPONSE

Pluffy Golod (Re-printed from Soil of Liberty, Vol 2, No.2)

I could almost hear my brains sizzle as I read and re-read the paper on anarcha-feminism. I was overjoyed to know that women in my own city were serious anarchists. I looked forward to meeting and working with them, to an easing of the political loneliness and frustration I felt in relation to so much of the radical community in this city. But I was annoyed by the vague generality of the paper and found myself warring with the language which is inclined towards the dogmatism and abstraction I'd campaigned against so unsuccessfully in the past.

Because anarchist ideas are so deeply important to me, because I am stuck with my own radical commitment in spite of my cranky cynicism, and because I love and respect the women who wrote the paper, I feel obliged to speak out my deepest criticisms of the paper so that I can work most confidently with all of you, unhampered by reservations or scepticism.

I need to retrace my own political past a bit in order to give clear ground for the things I want to say. All my political work has been with feminists. Although I was first radicalised by the anti-war movement and by hippies, I was unable to fit myself into any concrete anti-war work, mostly because I had a baby and enormous responsibilities to finish school and, you know, make something of myself. I didn't have the time to hang out and fit myself in. The defiant, colourful, freedom-loving hippies I knew attracted me but I was characterologically incapable of being a hippy, ambitious and mouthy as I was and am.

But feminism spoke to every part of my character and social situation. It helped me describe my miserable school experience, the terrible conflict I felt between wanting to be smart and important in the world and wanting to be pretty and feminine and loved and desired. The two seemed irreconcilable to me. My early adult years found me haphazardly educated, practically incapable of

serious study or thought, trapped in a boring marriage which had been entered accidentally and desperately and, most frighteningly, responsible for the future of a small child who I loved but feared because her needs seemed so crushing to my own vague hopes. Feminist ideas and models gave me the impetus to crash out of my marriage and begin to think about other ways to live my life. They legitimised the preference I'd always felt for female company and conversation. Feminism did not mitigate my need for approval and attention from men, but it made me conscious of the self-defeating and phoney ways I related to men and strengthened me intellectually and psychologically so that I shed some of my worst defensive postures. Ironically, in the course of taking myself seriously as a woman, I slowly learned genuinely friendly responses to men.

But I wanted to work for feminist ideals politically as well as to make use of them to help me personally. I worked hard to help run the Woman's Studies programme through the resistant University bureaucracy and fought the good fight to get childcare on campus. I did these things because, it seemed to me, they needed to be done. I was naive politically. Once Women's Studies became an actuality, I saw it co-opted by our administrators and female faculty using their gender as a way of making a niche for themselves at the University. The classes were often just as boring, large and competitive as any I'd experienced before.

I saw graduate school as a dead end and left but continued to work for childcare on campus because I knew how important that was. That effort, too, was co-opted. We got a centre, care for 70 children. But the centre was seen as the final goal, a “victory”, and there was no coherent group to push for more. Complicated relations between administrators, liberal goody-two shoes, conservative leftists and well-intentioned but

innocent types like me screwed that one up. I knew that political ideas more specific than feminism had affected those efforts. I set myself to figure out my own political ideas more clearly and to find other women who I could work with more confidently.

This brought me to the Women's Union. Socialism was one of those words which I equated with the SWP and boring leaflets. I preferred to say that I was a radical and leave the technicalities to others. But I was attracted to the Union because the women were warm and seemed to share a political ideal above and beyond their relation to issues. I found the language of their political principles boring but I agreed in a general way with the idea that women's problems need to be understood in terms of all kinds of political oppression. Socialist-feminism seemed more generous and practical than radical feminism and more committed to women's lives and feminist process than other socialist types who only used a feminist issue as an organising vehicle, never really addressing deeper problems. I wouldn't have used the word libertarian at the time but the dedication to small groups and the commitment to a plurality of concerns made intuitive sense to me.

But I found myself at odds with the language used by socialist-feminists, at odds with what I thought then was a romantic attraction to the revolutions of China and Cuba. The anti-imperialist focus of much of the work seemed guilty and unlikely to produce creative, immediate responses to women's lives. Finally, I couldn't swallow the abstract, rather grandiose insistence on a “correct analysis” which we could discover and implement to make a revolution. But the Union helped me develop much of my political seriousness to take seriously much larger consideration than had ever been my wont before. I began to read a little anarchist writing. For a

long time. I walked a kind of political tight rope, knowing those writings expressed what I really thought but trying to work them into the activity of the Women's Union and the Left in this city. The Socialist-Feminist conference brought the conflict to a head. I realised that I had been operating off a completely different set of expectations than most of the women working on the conference. I saw myself as a kind of knowledgeable co-ordinator, willing to put in time to bring women together to share their experiences and ideas. I'd hoped to learn some practical working schemes for change and some theory to guide those projects.

But the other conference planners saw themselves as a leadership and were threatened by the diversity and self-assertion of women who came to the conference. They saw the conference as some crystalising event which would bring Socialist Feminism to the fore and launch it as a national, cohesive political force. While I shared their opposition to the sectarian madness of many of the women there and advocated a fairly rigorous exclusion of sectarians, I also saw that the conference planners could not distinguish between a sectarian power play and a legitimate request for more participation and room to air different ideas. And I saw that their own Marxist-Leninism made them susceptible to the attacks on their leadership credentials because they really were not clear on just how or why they were different from and better than other political voices of that time.

Then I read the Anarcha-Feminist paper. I came to it tired, discouraged and confused. In some ways, that political misery has only increased in the wake of the Co-op organisation's assault on Left work here. But the latter force has impelled me to state my own ideas more forcefully and give whatever energy I have left to make the anarchist ideas presented the best and brightest possible.

My major problem with the paper is the use of the word "ideology". I find ideology to be a constricting, self-limiting construct.

I know that we exist inside a dominant ideology which we need to understand and expose and that we need to define our own principles and social remedies. This amounts to the development of an anarchist or feminist ideology. But ideology as it is put forward by the Left usually amounts to a formulaic unrealistic set of guidelines which define the word narrowly. Ideology is usually expressed abstractly, propelled along by "musts" and "shoulds". We need to avoid the falsely scientific, doctrinaire world-view which so much ideological thinking promotes.

Specifically, I think that the attempt to construct an ideology dried the paper up and led to generalisations rather than concrete examples and moving pleas for a humane, flexible approach to revolutionary work.

I'd like to examine a few of the generalisations which I found most vague or misleading. This won't be an exhaustive critique, just a few examples of the problems we need to tackle.

First of all, the paper cites "freedom of association" as a vital anarchist principle. But what is freedom of association? How is it different from other ways in which people are organised? What are some examples of how it has worked in practice? If it is such a good idea, why does it have so little currency?

The paper asserts that a combination of anarchist principles and feminist ways of operating would result in a "framework for total, personal, political and social revolution." I suggest, first of all, that "total" liberation is almost inconceivable for most of us and that we fool ourselves and fail to convince others by such blanket statements. What might it feel like to be personally liberated?

How would that work in terms of our relationships with children, old people? What would happen to our current notions of love or ambition? And what are the exact distinctions between social, political and economic problems and solutions?

The paper says that anarchist theory asserts the basic good, constructive nature of most human beings. I know that most anarchist writing has a sunny, optimistic glow to it. Is this, perhaps, one of the reasons why anarchism seems anachronistic to most of our contemporaries? What can we do to promote practical, hard-headed anarchist schemes so that we're not dismissed as sweet but ineffectual utopians?

One very basic problem which the paper needs to clarify is just whose anarchism and whose feminism we're talking about. Part of my problem was some puzzlement about just who the paper was addressed to. Other anarchists? Feminists? Marxist-Leninists? It contains many allusions to such concepts as "statism", "hierarchy", and "efficiency" all classical anarchist pot-shots at Leninists and the structural similarities between communists and "democratic" state structures. I agree, but, if the paper is addressed to women who've moved towards Leninist ideology, then it must be scrupulous about explaining what exactly the anarchistic alternative to a given centralised concept is, how it would work, why it is better. At this point, we're bucking history, and we really must be concrete in order to win any audience there.

If the paper is addressed more generally to a feminist audience, then it should be more explicit about what revolutionary feminism is and how it is different from other kinds of feminism. Also, each principle of anarchism needs to be dissected, concretised and presented in a sympathetic, colourful and tangible language. Feminists are justifiably suspicious of Left rhetoric — they fear co-optation. This paper offers no real alternative to socialist-feminism in terms of spirit or practicality.

Feminism is an idea about how things might be better for women and finally for men. Feminists have offered some analysis of families, and sexual relationships which build from but are far deeper and more penetrating than almost anything out of Left or psychological theory. But these insights have led them full circle back to other, older revolutionary criticisms of society. These re-discoveries seemed so pressing, so vital to me when they directly described my own life, that I felt that I and other "women's libbers" were the first to really feel, really know.

I think this led many of us to an insistence on feminism as a politics. We took our involvement in a social movement and tried to make out of it a set of principles which would describe all the world's problems in terms of ourselves. Inevitably, this led to radical feminism which asserts biology as the primary contradiction, women as the first slave and nigger and, as day follows night, insists on women as the vanguard of the revolution.

The paper does suggest that anarchist theory has been around a while and that it is the most useful political perspective for realising feminist goals and for liberating most people. We should talk more about what feminist projects — the consciousness raising group, the early Redstockings, all the feminist collectives — were anarchistic, how they exemplified freedom of association. We should talk about feminist organisations such as NOW, which have imitated traditional American political structures, have failed feminists and about how separatist theorists have missed the boat by trying to isolate women from society.

There are many ways of being an anarchist,

even communist-anarchist. I'm thinking that the statement that anarchism, of any kind, is a "clear understanding" of hierarchy, authority, and political and economic oppression is another over-statement, typical of Marxist dogma. It promises "the answer." I think an important anarchist assertion might suggest that no one is entirely clear about what's wrong with our society or how to fix it. We all have some areas which we have paid more attention to and can help with, but finally the responsibility for analysing a problem and doing something about it rests with whoever feels the pinch.

Let's watch out for the concept of caste. That word means a rigidly exclusive social class. We experience class conflict in subtler, complicated ways. Given all the undefined, guilty gobbledegook about the working class so current, we should be very careful about our words.

Let's watch out for personal dogmatism and purist thinking. The paper says we "must" live our lives in a revolutionary way. First of all, I bridle at the order. Secondly, I maintain that it's impossible. We were raised in nuclear families, educated by the state's schools, mesmerised by TV serials and popular songs. We carry a lot of old baggage deep in our characters. Our days find us at odds with our jobs, our grocery stores, our movies, our children, and our men. We should challenge each other when we're being less than we might but let's not insist on too much at once. Too much stress on revolutionary life-style leads to a self-consciousness which puts a political person out of touch with the daily concerns of most women.

Finally, let's be specific. This is hard work. The liveliest section of the paper was the example of neighbourhood common ownership. There were more concrete nouns in that sentence than most anywhere else, and it worked. Let's use our novels, poetry and music for these sources. If art is vital, let's work with it in our political statements.

We must make our ideas real and lively for each other before we can hope to move others with them. The discontent of women in this country is overpowering. Hours in front of typewriters, days in kitchens and laundromats, money and time wasted on mascara, platform heels and stained glass window kits. Women sit lonely in parks while their children play awkwardly on boring, alien "recreation" equipment. Women stare past their children, their faces lined and vacant, or they listlessly sift through magazines filled with pictures of Jacqueline Onassis and recipes for asparagus casseroles when asparagus costs \$1.09 a pound, can't be found in a city grocery store, and the whole thing takes two hours anyway. Doctors are poisoning our younger sisters with birth control pills and numbing our mothers with tranquilisers. Movies and songs sell us phoney images which we knock our brains out trying to live out. They even co-opt our best ideas and package Erica Jong's for the amusement of liberated women. It's a rotten mess but we're still here, even optimistic sometimes.

Why? We know we're a new generation of freedom fighters, and that others have gone before us. Let's talk about our ancestors, their lives and their ideas. Let's make movies and poems, history books and pictures about cities, the way they are, the way they might be; about women's lives as they exist and as they change; about the ladies who took over the park; who sat in at the welfare department. About the new schools, the food co-ops, the taking back of the resources, the re-making of social structures. We know that the only counter for despair is involvement. Let us put forward practical proposals in a language filled with poetry, humour and love.

MARIUS JACOB'S SPEECH TO THE COURT

"Sirs,

Now you know who I am: a rebel who lives from the fruits of his robberies. Moreover I have set fire to various hotels and defended my freedom against the aggression of the agents of the state. I have laid bare my struggle for existence and submit it as a problem to your intelligence. Not recognising in anyone the right to judge me, I am asking neither for pardon nor indulgence. I am not soliciting what I hate and despise. You are the stronger, dispose of me as you think best. Send me to prison or to the gallows, it matters little to me. But before parting, let me say a last word

You have called a man: "thief" and "bandit," applied the letter of the law and now you ask if it could have been otherwise. Have you ever seen a rich man become a bandit? I have never known any. I, who am neither rich nor a property owner, had only this arm and a brain to assure my conservation, which is why I have had to act differently. Society allowed me only three means of existence: to work, to beg, or to steal. Work, contrary to repelling me, pleases me. Man cannot abstain from work: his muscles and his brain, possess a combination of energy which must be got rid of. What disgusted me was to sweat blood and water for a salary, that which must be got rid of. What disgusted me was to sweat blood and water for a salary, that is to create wealth from which I should be exploited. In one word, I was repelled against consigning myself to the prostitution of work. Begging is degradation, the negation of all dignity. Every man has the right to enjoy life: "The right to live is not begged, it is taken."

Theft is restitution, the regaining of possession. Rather than be closed in a workshop like in a prison, rather than beg that to which I have a right, I have preferred to rebel and fight my enemies face to face, making war on the rich, and attacking their property. I understand that you would have preferred me to have submitted to your laws, that as a docile worker I should have created wealth in exchange for a miserable wage and that, my body exploited and my brain brutalised, I should have let myself curl up and die in a street corner. In that case you would not have called me a "cynical bandit," but an "honest worker." Fawning upon me you would have given me a medal at work. The priests allow their believers a paradise, you are less abstract, you give them a piece of paper.

I thank you very much for so much goodness, for so much gratitude. Sirs! I prefer to be a cynic aware of his rights, than an automat.

From the moment I had possession of my consciousness, I gave myself to theft without any scruples. I do not accept your moral pretence which imposes respect of property as a virtue, when the worst thieves are the property owners themselves.

Consider yourselves lucky that this superstition has grown in the people: in that it is exactly they who are your best policemen. Knowing the weakness of the law, or rather, the strength, you have made them your firmest protectors. But, beware, everything comes to an end. All that which is built by force and cunning can be destroyed by cunning and strength.

The people are evolving continually. Instructed in these truths and conscious of their rights, all the famished, all the exploited in one word, all your victims, will arm themselves with a "pig's foot" attacking your houses to take back the wealth which they created and which you have stolen. Thinking about it carefully they will prefer to run any risk rather than fatten you, while moaning in poverty. Prison . . . forced labour, the gallows . . . are not such terrible perspectives in the face of a whole life of brutalisation, full of every kind of suffering. The boy who struggles for a piece of bread in the bowels of the earth without ever seeing the sunshine, can die from one minute to the next, victim of an explosion of *grisou*. The bricklayer who works on the roofs, can fall and reduce

himself to crumbs. The sailor knows the date of his departure but does not know when he will return. Numerous other workers contract fatal illnesses in the exercise of their trades, they become weak, poison themselves, kill themselves in creating everything for you. Including the policemen, the bodyguards who, for a bone that you throw them, often die in the struggle against your enemies.

Enclosed in your egoism, you remain before this vision, isn't that so? The people are afraid, you say. We govern them with the terror of the repression; if they shout, we shall throw them in prison; if they grumble, we shall deport them, if they become agitated, we shall send them to the guillotine. Bad calculations, Sirs, believe me. The sentences you inflict are not a remedy against acts of rebellion. Repression, instead of being a remedy, or a palliative, does nothing but aggravate the ill.

Coercive measures can only sow the seeds of hatred and vengeance. It is a fatal cycle. For the rest, since you have begun cutting off heads, populating the prisons and penitentiaries, you have perhaps stopped all the hatred from manifesting itself? Reply! The facts demonstrate your impotence. In my case you know exactly that my conduct could not have any conclusion other than the penitentiary

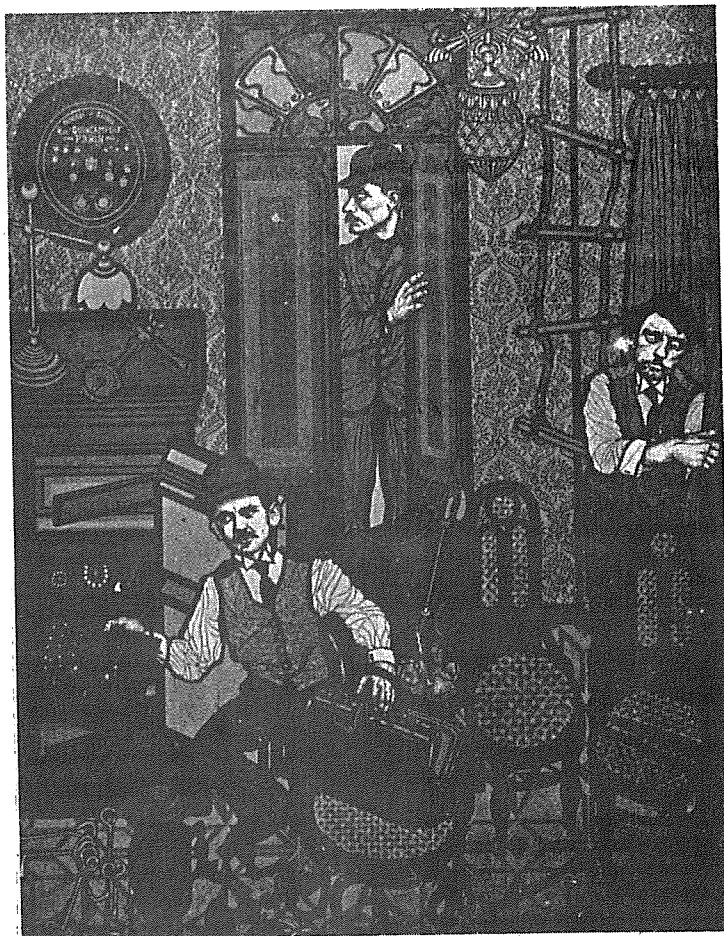


Illustration by Flavio Costantini

On a Sunday in 1902 the anarchist Alexandre Marius Jacob, helped by two of the forty members of his group, broke into a jeweller's in the Rue Quincampoix in Paris, in broad daylight, using an umbrella and a hole in the floor above. The money taken was to assist in financing the anarchist movement. They got away with jewels to the value of 13,000 francs. Arrested at Abbeville in 1904, he was condemned to life imprisonment with hard labour and deported to the Îles de la Santé. In 1929 he was released and died in 1954 at the age of 75. His exceptional personality suggested not only characters such as Arsene Lupin but also, many years later, the robbery technique used by Jules Dassin in his film "Rififi".

or the guillotine, yet, as you see, it is not that which has stopped me from acting. If I have given myself to stealing it is not for gain or for the love of money, but for a question of principle, of right. I prefer to conserve my freedom, my independence, my dignity as a man, instead of making myself the artifice of fortune or of my employer. To put it more crudely, without euphemism, I prefer to be a thief than to be robbed.

Certainly I too condemn the fact that a man violently and cunningly takes possession through the work of another. But it is exactly for this that I have waged war on the rich, robbers of the produce of the poor. I too

should be happy to live in a society where all thieving would be impossible. I do not approve of theft, and I have only used it as a means of revolt to combat the most iniquitous of all thefts: individual property.

To eliminate an effect, it is necessary, preventively, to destroy the cause. If theft exists it is because "everything" only belongs to "some." "The struggle will only disappear when men put together joy and pain, work and wealth, when everything will belong to everyone."

Revolutionary anarchist, I have made my revolution, Anarchy will come!"

(Translated by Jean Weir)

Marius Jacob.



Maurice Leblanc, creator of Arsene Lupin — a character who stands beside Sherlock Holmes, Raffles and Dr. Nikola among the leading figures of pre-World War I detective fiction. Arsene Lupin was based on anarchist Marius Jacob.

THE BENEFITS MORAL AND SECULAR

OF ASSASSINATION

If authority success and eugenic usefulness can sanction homicide, then history records numerous murders which have fulfilled the expectations of their perpetrators, and the names of the assassins command the respect of all who value statecraft, wisdom and courage; for they were the very pillars of all the most successful of older governments. Those most pleasant to live within and most high in achievement.

In the best of these the strongest assassin was the king, for so long as his courage and administrative ability sustained his right to office, and degeneration or abuse of power was corrected by violent dethronement or assassination. The wiser public opinion of the ancient world everywhere approved of assassination as an instrument of political or racial improvement. Works of art abounded.

Since that golden age, it must be confessed, the art has seen only retrogression, almost unchecked. Occasionally some generation or isolated community, by an effort of intellectual emancipation has freed itself temporarily from the domination of the superstitious, the crafty and the stupid; but even in the brightest of these periods the clouds of false civilisation have blinded truly great assassins to the august nature of their deeds, and they are found spoiling some of their own greatest strokes by paying lip-service to the tenets of the mystagogues. Nevertheless encouragement can be found for the hope of a truly universal renaissance (if only the pragmatic sanctions for this art can be made clear to the well-disposed and instructed persons everywhere) in the recurrence, by force of necessity or through individual genius, of natural assassins throughout every generation, persisting even to our benighted day.

The history of Italy furnishes so many successful and repaying murders, that it is difficult to select any one of them as a singular

example. So we shall more profitably study the apostles granted to the less enlightened northern countries. It is to be regretted that in these cold countries a sad misguided moral rectitude clouds and confuses (and so prejudices the success) of the deed; as in the attempt to assassinate William the Third of Holland. The idea of killing that experienced assassin when he was innocently out riding (an ideal moment) was regarded as ungentelemanly.

Again: Cadoudal, a man of monumental courage who wished to kill, but not murder Napoleon; Napoleon is not known to have concerned himself with such nice scruples. In the pursuit and maintaining of power assassination is the most effective means of control or elimination.

The original assassins were Mahomedans of the Shiite party who flourished from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries; being a manifestation of religious enthusiasm they soon sank to the level of Christians. Religion always has a bad effect on assassination, inflating it first to wanton massacre and then to the folly of communal war.

But an even greater corrupting force has been the development of mechanical and chemical devices which, placed in the hands of the ignoble, uninspired and unenthusiastic masses, serve to deprive the assassin of an environment suited to his art. This democratisation of war led to the further refinement of highly indiscriminating means of destruction which threaten not only the assassin's field of action but also war itself. An earth barren of our race could not be the scene of our conflicts.

To fish for trout with the appropriate fly is a noble and self-justifying activity — to poison the stream is the act of a cretin.

In the medieval world the arbitrary action of the assassin was looked upon as better than no justice at all. The assassin, generally

speaking, ceased to function when recognised law became powerful enough to fulfil his function.

"Recognised law?"

"Is not the assassin an amoral anarchist?"

On the contrary; as a rule he is usually useful, if sceptical citizen in any country regardless of its system of government. Assassination is able immediately to benefit any society without causing violent change of political forms; by freeing it from dangerous impurities, removing all anti-social or otherwise unfit persons, venal or incompetent leaders and publicists, thus giving any political system the best chance of attaining its ideal development. All political systems deserve this chance; they represent at their worst and most misguided a dream of progress; and to the objection that a really knave-proof society is impossible to build with human material, the assassin can point out that only a very foolish rogue will risk injuring a society internally (say by commercial monopoly or false news, wanton strike or lockout) if he is likely to be killed by doing so; and politicians will carefully consider the necessity of declaring war in the name of one people upon another if they are certain to be among the earliest casualties.

The least amiable and socially minded of assassins is rendered so by his restless anxiety and impatience for human progress. The assassin knows that in war (especially modern war) the most bestial side of human nature triumphs. The army, that asylum for nits and half-wits, who are unfitted to live in a civilised society in time of peace, is thrown open; the regular inmates become our warders. At such times who dares to be reasonable? And what would be the point.

(Cuddons)

A.C.

BERUFS VERBOTE

State repression in West Germany in the last six years has taken on a new dimension. Police attacks on demonstrators; increased armament for the police force; police raids on flats, houses, bookshops; observation of organisations and individuals by the secret police; employment problems for the left oriented; all these things are new neither in West Germany nor in any other capitalist country. What is new is the use of technology, computers and a wide spread computerised network in order to destroy and prevent opposition from the left systematically and more effectively.

The introduction of such methods of political repression in West Germany have a model character. For this reason, those of us working in the Campaign against the model West Germany feel it is important to inform others about the form of repression in West Germany in order to support comrades in other countries in the early recognition of and in the fighting against such repressive measures. At the same time, we want to contribute, with the information in our articles, to a wide mobilization against these developments in West Germany.

The Civil Service in West Germany "Berufsverbot" is a word that has become integrated into the Dutch, the French, the English, the Danish, the Finnish, the Swedish and the Italian language during the past five years. This German word has been adopted in all these different languages because a similar word for Berufsverbot does not exist in other languages since the practice of Berufsverbot does not exist in other western countries. And what is Berufsverbot? It is the practice of prohibiting people with particular political views to work for the state, that is to become civil servants – a practice proposed, sanctioned and carried out by the government.

In every capitalist country, certain sectors of the society are directly controlled by the state in order to assure the continued existence of capitalism. For instance, the state needs teachers to educate qualified workers who can be plugged into the capitalist production machine who are already so conformed to the social norms of the capitalist society that the production machine continues to run smoothly despite the turnover of individual worker parts. However, the West German form of civil service (Beamtentum) has reached a degree of integration of public sectors in the state apparatus and of infringement on the human rights of the civil servant that can be found nowhere else in Europe or North America.

The West German Civil Service not only includes the administrators, their assistants and office workers etc., it also includes post office workers, railway workers, social workers, teachers, judges. Even the

professional training for lawyers and for teachers is government controlled and those being trained for these professions come into the civil service for the length of the training period and can consequently be subjected to Berufsverbot.

Beamtentum is deeply rooted in a long tradition. It goes back in fact to the feudal times of the 17th and 18th centuries where the building of a state apparatus (of a modern type) under the power of the monarch had begun. From its beginning up until the present, Beamtentum has changed very little. The main characteristic of this civil service is that it demands loyalty to the state from those appointed to it. This traditional element has been carried through from the beginning of the Beamtentum to the present. In other words, the Beamte were or required to be loyal to the government whether it was or is the Feudal system, the Weimar Republic from 1918 to 1933, the Nazi-fascism or the present SPD government. It doesn't matter what the government is – the Beamte has to be loyal to it. In 1937: "The Beamte must defend the National Socialist State at all times and without hesitation and must demonstrate with his entire conduct, the fact that the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) together with the German people are the sole carriers of German State spirit." ¹ In 1971: "The Beamte must support the free democratic basic order according to the Constitution with his entire conduct and must defend its existence." ²

Consequently, the same Beamte who served the state under Nazi-fascism, served the state after 1945 and some are still serving the state today. Although the Allies made an attempt to remove the Nazis from the schools and dismissed many of them, the resulting deficit forced the re-employment of most of them. From the 12,000 teachers in Bavaria who were dismissed because of their membership in the NSDAP, 11,000 were re-employed as teachers by 1948. And the other 100 – likely retired! The same goes for the other branches of the civil service.

Listed in the book *War and Nazi Criminals in the Federal Republic* published by the Document Centre of the state archives of East Germany are 830 names of people who held influential positions during the Nazi-fascism and who are serving the West German state today, or did so up until recently, as judges or district attorneys. Another 11 such cases are to be found in West Berlin. ³

Heinrich Krebs, district attorney at the time, demanded the death penalty for Heinrich Fehrentz (trial in Stuttgart 1943) because he was caught listening to radio broadcasting stations from abroad (which was forbidden at that time) and for

discussing the news from abroad with friends. The death penalty for Fehrentz was carried out. After 1945, Krebs became a judge for the highest court for social cases – e.g. pensions, accidents in factories. ⁴ Erwin Schule, a member of the NSDAP became an officer during the war and commander of the 253rd Infantry Division, a disciplinary battalion. In 1965 the government appointed Schule head of the Central Office for Solving Nazi Crimes. ⁵ Hans Filbinger, a military judge then, condemned a soldier to the death penalty after the cease fire in 1945; the soldier had left his unit to go home. Filbinger is now the prime minister of the state of Baden Wurttemberg and one of the top CDU politicians. Heinrich Lubke, president of the Federal Republic from 1959 to 1969 had been one of the architects who designed concentration camps during the time of the Nazis.

The slow replacement of the old Nazis in civil service is only due to the fact that they are literally dying out. In effect there has been no change over in personnel, in administration, in the education branch, in the legal branch, in the police force, in the armed forces, or in the Intelligence Agencies after 1945.

The State guarantees the Beamte a life job; it is not possible to fire the Beamte as long as he carries out his duties. The state also assures that the Beamte receives a generous monthly income with built-in rises independent of the periodical crises in capitalist production; the wage scale is calculated according to age group – the older the Beamte is, the more money he or she receives. In addition, the state pays a large percentage of the hospital and social insurance for the Beamte as well as providing him with a large pension when he retires.

In return for these advantages, the Beamte has to guarantee his loyalty to the state; the Beamte is, for example, not allowed to strike. "The Beamte serves the people and not a party. (This applies in practice only to the left-wing parties and not to those parties which share the state power). He has to carry out his duties in an unbiased and fair manner and, while administering, he has to keep the well-being of the general public in mind. He must support the 'free democratic basic order' according to the Constitution with his entire conduct and must defend its existence." ⁶ "His conduct both in and out of service must show the respect and loyalty required of his position." ⁷ "The Beamte must keep secret, all matters that have become known to him through his service as a Beamte. ... The Beamte is not permitted to testify in court or inform out of court any such affair without special permission." ⁸

The New Wave of Berufsverbot
The new wave of Berufsverbote in West Germany (in the 1950s there was a similar

campaign during which the Communist Party of Germany was declared illegal in 1956) was officially set in motion by the "Radicals Decree" (Radikalenerlass) from January 28, 1972. The Radicals Decree, a joint proclamation (not a law) from the ministers of each state and the Chancellor (Willy Brandt at the time) states:

"The chancellor and governmental heads of the states have released a set of principles concerning the membership of civil servants in extremist organisations.

According to federal and state laws for civil servants (Beamte) and the corresponding stipulations valid for state employees and workers for the state, civil servants are obliged to profess their loyalty to the free democratic basic order according to the Constitution and to engage themselves for its preservation. Endeavours in opposition to the Constitution represent a violation of this obligation. The membership of civil servants in parties or organisations which oppose the constitutional order – as well as the other demands of such parties and organisations – will lead as a rule to a conflict of loyalties. Should this lead to a violation of the obligations, the employer must decide in each individual case which measures are to be taken.

Appointment to the public service takes for granted, that the applicant guarantees that he will actively defend the Constitution at all times. A reasonable doubt of this, as a rule, justifies a rejection."⁹

Before describing the impact of the Radicals Decree, it is important to point out the basic contradictions between the Decree and the Constitution (1948). From the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany:¹⁰

Article 3:

1. All men are equal before the law.
2. Men and women are entitled to equal rights.

3. No one can be prejudiced or privileged due to his sex, his descent, his race, his language, his native country, his belief, his religious or political opinions.

Article 4:

1. The freedom of belief, of conscience and the freedom of religious creed and ideological belief are invulnerable.

Article 12:

1. All Germans have the right to choose freely, their occupation, their place of work and their place of education or training. The practising of an occupation can be regulated by law.

Article 33:

2. Every German has equal access to positions in the civil service according to his suitability, his abilities and his professional achievements.

Countless Numbers of Berufsverbote

It is difficult to estimate the number of Berufsverbote in West Germany at this time. The liberal press and of course the left press frequently report cases of Berufsverbote; all over West Germany, committees against Berufsverbote have been formed. However, the cases of this are so numerous and the communication between the individuals and the countless committees so poor, that it is impossible to statistically compile all the cases. The government departments responsible for the Berufsverbote are reluctant to publish any data regarding the number of people effected by it.

One committee working against Berufsverbote had collected as of June 1975, only

three years after the emerging of the Radicals Decree, information about 308 cases, including 171 teachers, 86 university instructors, 18 social workers, 16 lawyers, 10 employees in health departments and 7 in administration. In addition, another 837 cases were known by name, so that the committee estimated a total of 1200 Berufsverbote. According to a documentary report in a television programme, (Panorama) on February 14, 1977, there are now over 2000 cases of Berufsverbote; other sources give estimations of over 3000!

The Radicals Decree, according to the politicians, was designed to remove the right and left extremists from the civil service where they could have an important influence. Consequently, a large number of "extremists" have been banned from the civil service. But strangely enough, many more "left extremists" have Berufsverbote than right extremists. A count made by the magazine *pad.-extra* in July 1975 showed a total of 553 Berufsverbote for the left oriented and only 5 for the right.¹¹

Although almost every sector of the civil service has been hit by Berufsverbote (lawyers, professors, social workers, post office workers, teachers, train drivers, doctors), the majority of the cases come from the teaching sector. An analysis of these cases that the reasons for Berufsverbote fall into the following categories:

1. membership with extra-parliamentary organisations.
2. sympathising with extra-parliamentary organisations.
3. running in student council elections as a candidate from a left student group.
4. demonstrating solidarity with the interests of the pupils.
5. teaching lessons with an anti-capitalist content.
6. openly criticising school administration.

The following is a sample of some of the cases:

Michael Gorski, living in Mainz, received Berufsverbote in April, 1976 from the Minister of Education in the State of Hessen. The reasons for banning Michael Gorski from the teaching profession are as follows:

1. Gorski attended a teach-in organised by the Communist University Group, Mainz (KHGM) that was held in preparation for a demonstration on December 8, 1972 against the repressive events at the University of Heidelberg (police occupation). At this teach-in a resolution was read (not by Gorski), in which the SDP/FDP coalition government's programme of intensified inner security was criticised as the reaction of the bourgeoisie against the growing socialist movement in West Germany. "With the reading of the resolution, Gorski identified with the politically extreme meaning. At the same time he supported the endeavours of the Communist University Group which strives towards substituting the free, democratic basic order in the Universities of West Germany for a totalitarian system." (From the official justification from the Ministry of Education). The KHGM was a forerunner of the KSV (Communist Student Group), which is the student organisation of the KPD (Communist Party of West Germany), the aims of which are unconstitutional, according to the Ministry of Education.

2. Gorski continued his unconstitutional activities on January 12, 1973 by distributing a leaflet from the KHGM; Gorski himself denies this and the leaflet is oddly enough nowhere to be found in the files!¹²

It should be emphasised here that neither the KPD (which is not the same party that was forbidden in 1956) nor the DKP have been declared illegal. These parties run in state and federal elections. However, the members of these parties are not allowed to work for the state, and not allowed to be Beamte!

Krimhilde Johanne Lenhart took her case to the highest court, but lost the case in February, 1975. The verdict states that she is not allowed to be employed as a teacher (she had just finished her teacher training and should have begun her probation year) because her membership in the DKP lead to doubts that she would stand up for the Constitution at all times.¹³

Ulrich Topp, a high school teacher in Heidelberg was dismissed in February 1972 because as chairman of the high school teachers' group in the teachers' union (GEW) in Heidelberg, he sent a letter to other branches of the union supporting the pupils at his school in a dispute between the pupils and the principal. The pupils had written a leaflet concerning the opinion of one teacher who had told the pupils, they must obey all laws because they are laws. The principal accused the pupils of having an anarchistic disrespect for laws and threatened to set disciplinary actions in motion.¹⁴

Ulrich Scherler received notice of his dismissal as a doctor at a hospital in Berlin in 1975 because he was a KPD candidate for the elections in West Berlin in March 1975.¹⁵

Thomas Kram was not placed in a school in August 1974 after having completed his teacher training. The reasons given for doubting his loyalty are as follows: running in student council elections in 1971 at the Pädagogische Hochschule (PH) as a member of the Rote Zelle; taking part in disturbing lectures at the PH in Berlin in 1971; being a member of a maoist-communist organisation in Berlin; sticking posters announcing a demonstration for the 1st of May; painting slogans on a factory wall (slogan: Equal Pay for Equal Work); covering street signs in West Berlin with the names "Hanoi Place" and "Vietcong Path". After receiving Berufsverbote, Kram took over the management of a left book shop in Bochum. In August 1976, he was arrested and held for a week for selling literature supporting the "use of violence" against the state, a violation against a new law passed in January 1976.

After having successfully completed his teacher training, Bernd Leimann was not placed in a school on February 1st 1977, as were the other teachers who had completed their training with him. The official reasons for his rejection were: running in student council elections in 1972 at the Ruhr University in Bochum for Spartakus, the student organisation of the DKP; taking part in a dance in 1973 and again in 1974 organised by the DKP; attending two meetings of members of the DKP in 1975 in Bochum; being a delegate for a regional DKP conference in 1975.

Juliane Strobele-Gregor, wife of one of the lawyers in the Baader-Meinhof case (who has now been removed from the case) was not employed in December 1976 after completing her teacher training because the administration had doubts concerning her loyalty to the Constitution, although the administrators were not able to provide any evidence. It seems the only disloyalty! Juliane Strobele shows is having married a lawyer who took

on a case to defend members of an urban guerrilla organisation.¹⁶

And what about the right wing extremists? Nobody hears of a member of the neo-fascist NDP (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands) getting Berufsverbote. And there are countless former members of the NSDAP who were placed in prominent positions after the war. Aside from those Nazis already mentioned who remained in the legal sector, hundreds were appointed to positions in the police force. For instance:—

Johann Blankenbach, SS-Unterrufhrer and member of the Gestapo in Karlsruhe became Criminal Inspector in Munich¹⁷ Werner Riese, officer for tactic in the SS and major in the police force became political detective in Hamburg¹⁸. Albert Radtke, spy for the SD, became vice president of the Federal Investigation Department (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz)¹⁹. Reinhard Gehlen, the second man from the top in Hitler's Intelligence Organisation, was appointed president of the Federal Intelligence Agency (Bundesnachrichtendienst) after 1945 by the USA and held this position for nearly twenty years.

Still others became diplomats or received positions in administration. And how many of these extremists have received Berufsverbote? None.

And what do the German politicians have to say to the practice of Berufsverbote? Here are a few samples:

Berufsverbote Doesn't Exist.

Prof. Maihofer, FDP, Minister of Home Affairs:

"The word Berufsverbote is misleading, according to the opinion of the German government, because with this word one understands measures of a punishable character. Applicants that are not accepted are personally or professionally not suitable."²⁰

Bernhard Vogel, CDU, Prime Minister of the State of Rheinland Pfalz:

"He who over the years openly declares that he doesn't want to serve the state, that he instead wants to change it, cannot become a Beamte. It would, however, be terrible if we held against a young girl for life, the fact that she joined the Spartakists because her boyfriend was a member."²¹

Hans Filbinger, CDU, Prime Minister of the State of Baden Württemberg:

"It's not half as bad as it sounds. In Baden Württemberg since October 1973, there have been 64,000 investigations of applicants for the civil service and only 55 of these have lead to a refusal."²²

The mayor of Darmstadt, in a reply to a letter from the mayor of Alkmaar in Holland protesting against the Berufsverbote in West Germany:

"There are no Berufsverbote in our country. There is only a very active communist propaganda on the subject."²³

Helmut Schmidt, SPD, Chancellor, to seven Berufsverbote victims:

"There are no Berufsverbote here. You say, you don't have a job? Then I would say you are unemployed and unemployed teachers are to be found, unfortunately, in many countries."²⁴

More from Helmut Schmidt:

"The question, if young communist teachers should be allowed to teach, I don't think is a cardinal problem of the present German society or even the mass of our workers and tax payers I think, that one can only answer this in each individual case, that each individual case should be investigated and that by these investigations

it is not the point to treat the individuals categorically all the same."²⁵

More and More Investigations

We can be quite certain that parts of Mr. Schmidt's advice are taken very seriously in all the states of West Germany, namely, that every applicant should be investigated before being employed. The intensive investigations of all those working for the state has lead to an extensive expansion of the state apparatus necessary to carry out these investigations and to store the information collected.

Each state has its own Investigation Department (Verfassungsschutz) which is responsible among other things, for collecting information about every civil servant and about every applicant for the civil service, for filing a report about each individual investigated and for holding the necessary inquisitions in "doubtful cases." Since 1972, there have been over 800,000 investigations.

The Federal Investigation Department is the co-ordinating centre for all information about the individual civil servants and the applicants for the civil service from every state in West Germany. During the five years of Berufsverbote practice, 2.5 million files have accumulated in the Federal Investigation Department.

The government is proud of its undertakings in increasing the "internal security" and at the same time protecting the "freedom of its citizens" as it is described in an advertising campaign leaflet from Werner Maihofer, the Minister for Home Affairs. Maihofer also publicises the increases in the budget allotted for internal security:

Federal Investigation Department	1969:	29.9million DM
	1975:	76.9million DM
	Increase:	157.2%

The Reaction of Foreign Countries to Berufsverbote

Not only the leftist but also the liberal and conservative press in the western European countries, Canada and the USA frequently report about and criticise the practice of Berufsverbote. In many countries, committees against the Berufsverbote in West Germany have been formed. The most eye-raising of these was founded in May 1976 when Mitterand, the chairman of the French Socialist Party announced the founding of a "Committee for the Defence of Civil and Professional Rights in the Federal Republic of Germany." However, at the Socialist International in the summer of 1976, it was agreed that all socialist parties in other countries would refrain from openly criticising the West German Berufsverbote policy until after the election in October that year. Notably, Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of West Germany, is chairman of the Socialist International.

In December 1976, various organisations in West Germany, representatives of the PSU (Socialist Party of France) and representatives of the Bertrand-Russell-Peace-Foundation began working out a basis on which a Russell-Tribunal against "Repression in the Federal Republic of Germany" can be built.

Perhaps the concern that is expressed outright or as an undertone, by all the critics in other European and North American countries can best be summarised by the words of the Dutch Senator H. Wielek: "What presently is happening in West Germany — yes, the word happening, it is so neutral — what is being done, that is so nearly a nightmare, when you know people, who are condemned with Berufsverbote, when you sleep in their home for

a few nights, when you live with them, how great is the fear; and then you think, then I think — and that is not a theory — how already in 1932, some months before Hitler became the official leader of the people, you couldn't go into the streets, and how friends of mine, when the telephone rang, were frightened — and this I have also experienced now, this fear, this compact fear, that stands before the people; the fear to open your mouth, the grey conformity that now rules here."²⁶

The Reaction of the Unions to Berufsverbote

Not long after the Radicals Decree became public, the Board of Directors of the United German Unions (DGB — Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) issued the so-called "Incompatibility Decisions" in which it was declared that "the activities for or the supporting of a leftist organisation, group or party is not compatible with membership in a DGB union."²⁷ This lead to the expelling of many teachers, metal workers, auto workers etc., from their unions, who were members of or supposedly supported certain communist parties or organisations.

As of yet, members of the DKP have not been expelled from the unions. Interesting to note, is that before a teacher can receive financial support for legal aid from his or his union in a dispute with her or his employer, she or he must sign a statement to declare that he or she does not belong to or actively support any organisation which is listed in the DGB "Incompatibility Decisions."

The Board of Directors of the Teachers' Union (GEW) at the federal level expelled the Berlin Branch from the union in August 1976 because this branch was not willing to accept the Federal Teachers' Union statute. But the statute question was only the official reason for the dispute; the dispute was really over the basic principles of democracy within the union and the question of "Incompatibility Decisions". Aside from the entire Berlin Branch, a total of approximately 13,000 members, there have been 151 (figure from Sept. 1976) expulsions from the Teachers' Union in accordance with the "Incompatibility Decisions."

However, Erich Frister, the Chairman of the Teachers' Union, is perturbed over the lack of uniformity regarding the enforcement of the Radicals Decree. "There are members of the DKP or other communist parties or groups, who get jobs and others who don't. Communists, whose parents or grandparents were held captive (in concentration camps) or murdered by the Nazis have a much better chance of getting a job than those who are not able to hide behind the curtain of their ancestors. This has, without a doubt, nothing to do with a democratic, constitutional state."²⁸ He goes on to call the activities in foreign countries against Berufsverbote part of a "slander campaign against the Federal Republic and the organs of her state."

Conclusion

It is clear that the Berufsverbote policy assures the establishment of a selected civil service — a civil service with an enormous scope and free of individual "infiltrators" who are striving for a democratic, socialist or communist society. However, the far reaching and indirect effect of this policy is much more significant. The tactic behind the Berufsverbote policy is to create such a fear in the minds of the people, that no one will dare to belong to a communist or other left oriented organisation, that no one will dare

A BELATED OBITUARY:

Good Riddance To Bad Rubbish

Death of A Salesman



Chou En-lai 1898-1976

TIME Magazine wrote in its eulogy of Chou En-Lai that he never forgave John Foster Dulles for refusing to shake hands with him at the 1954 Geneva Conference. That was where he engineered the famous "compromise" in which he convinced the Vietnamese Stalinists to accept a divided Vietnam and thus paved the way for the genocidal U.S. intervention to come.

Nixon never denied him such an honour, and was toasted by Chou during the period of the most intensive bombing of Vietnam by U.S. B-52s. Indeed, no one could shake hands and toast murderers with the style of Chou En-Lai — which is what undoubtedly led Strangelove Kissinger to dub him "the greatest statesman of our era."

A great statesman he was — an adept hustler with an unmatched rap who could swap off revolutionary movements for trade deals with the grace of a Mandarin trading slaves. Who else could rub the shoulders of the Shah of Iran with such class?

Who else, but possibly Mao, could claim to be fighting fifth columnists while bayoneting the Shanghai proletariat? (Mao and Chou now have worthy successors to follow in their Laurel and Hardy routine of nationalist Chinese business "communism.")

Chou's greatest daredevil feat during the 1930s, by the way, was saving the life of butcher Chiang Kai Shek from imminent execution by militant peasant troops. Thanks to Chou, Chiang went on to his own eminent career. Chou was also good for business and was a chief architect of the Chinese party and managerial bureaucracy of which he was a leading model and prototype.

He is survived by a horde of faceless bureaucrats and party bosses who will certainly continue in his sanguinary tradition of working class treachery and betrayal. Good riddance to bad rubbish!

(Fifth Estate)

to contradict governmental policies (eg. building of atomic energy plants). The whole strategy is aimed at political conformity.

After all it wasn't necessary to release the Radicals Decree; what is stated in the Radicals Decree already appeared in the laws governing Beamte (Beamtengesetze). The content of the Radicals Decree is nothing new. What then could be the reason for making such a fuss over something that already has existed for hundreds of years other than to create a fear? And unfortunately it is working the way the government had planned.

Political involvement towards the left jeopardises the personal future of every individual. Consequently, the future teacher doesn't dare to get involved during her or his years at the university; during the 18 months of special teacher training she or he doesn't dare to raise a critical tone or to teach a critical lesson; during his or her probation (usually 3 years), she or he is very conscious of the constant surveillance under which she or he stands and thus doesn't dare to criticise the administration, to work with students, to demonstrate against atomic energy policy, in support of political prisoners, for smaller classes etc., etc. After all these years of repression, cautious and opportunistic attitudes become internalised, become a way of life. Grey conformity.

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Abbreviations:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| CDU | Christlich-demokratische Union |
| | Christian Democratic Union (conservative) |
| DKP | Deutsche Kommunistische Partei |
| | German Communist Party (Moscow line) |
| FDP | Freie Demokratische Partei |
| | Free Democratic Party (liberal) |
| KPD | Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands |
| | Communist Party of Germany (maoist) |
| NDP | National-Demokratische Partei Deutschlands |
| | National Democratic Party of Germany (neo-fascist) |
| NSDAP | Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei |
| | National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazis) |
| SPD | Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands |
| | Social Democratic Party of Germany. |

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The Organisation of Armed Struggle

COMRADES and EDITORS of
"Il Grido del Popolo"

On the eve of the London Congress it is urgent that every opinion be expressed concerning immediate *revolutionary* action, action that is aimed at bringing the outbreak of revolution nearer.

At this Congress the legalists and parliamentarians will be conspicuous by their absence, and all those present will be in perfect agreement concerning the need for violent means. Therefore, the whole order of the day will be reduced to the following question: How shall we organise the violence?

Two solutions will be proposed: one from the classical school, the other from the modern one. The first will propose the disciplined order of the army division and well-defined battle lines. The second, on the contrary, will support the scattered order of the maniple; the first will require a great concentration of strength, the second, an immense dissemination of strength.



Carlo Cafiero

The first will propose the formation of a colossal body capable of confronting and attacking the State, the other will support the creation of a boundless number of very small organisms or groups into which the monster will become fatally entangled, as in a net. In other words, the whole field will find itself divided between revolutionaries of the authoritarian kind, and anarchists, who will reply to the problem of action: Anarchism.

It is about thirty years since Carlo Pisacane told us how it is necessary to "conspire and plot without idols, without leaders, without anyone having the pretence of commanding and no one bending to obey" (*La Rivoluzione*, Vol. III of *Saggi*, p.155), and his maxim is being confirmed today splendidly by the actions of our brothers in Russia who, organised precisely in circles independent of each other, but all united by the common aim of action, have demonstrated quite clearly how only scattered groups can today succeed over the most tyrannical and Colossal State.

The anarchists in France are organising with the same system: their strength is growing and is already imposing itself on the government.

All the other types of oppression which constitute the remaining States of Europe can be situated between the Russian autocracy and the French republic.

The problem, therefore, is practically resolved. The phalanx and cohort authoritarian military type of organisation has seen its day and is now absolutely impotent, even if it is strong enough to withstand the first clash with the State.

The centralised revolutionary organisation has been broken like a pane of glass in Germany by Bismarck, without a single drop of blood being shed, while the Romanovs, with their gallows and tortures, cannot overcome the scattered organisation of small groups in Russia.

It is true that in Germany the defect was not only in the form, but also in the content of the action. But after all, this compact strength had been so greatly exalted in the electoral field, and so much hope attached to it once the legal field had been barred, that with good reason we can attribute its defeat not only to its legalistic aims, but also to its authoritarian form. Today it has been demonstrated that the doctrine of similitudes will be relegated to the museum along with the armour of bygone times; the strength of the revolutionaries is its antithesis — the doctrine of opposites. To the centralising State,

disciplined and disciplinary, authoritarian and despotic, we must oppose a decentralised force, free and anti-authoritarian. Need we enumerate the advantages of the new system? Apart from the greater strength of attack and resistance, action proceeds far more easily and quickly, everyone *sacrifices* more willingly *possessions and life* for the work of his own initiative, betrayal becomes difficult and of limited damage, defeats partial. All attitudes and all initiatives, finding their full development, give prodigious results, like the *cabiliek* bomb and masterly construction of mines. Therefore, no more offices of correspondence or statistics, no more general plans worked out in advance. That each comrade seek to form in his own locality a group around himself, a handful which will act infallibly. Ten men, six men (*and women*), can carry out actions which will find echoes all over the world.

Hardly will the actions of one group have begun, when the whole country will be covered in groups, and action become generalised. Every group will be its own centre of action, with a plan all of its own, and a multiplicity of varied and harmonic initiatives. The concept of the whole war will be one only: the destruction of all oppressors and exploiters.

Salute e rivoluzione anarchica

Carlo Cafiero

(from *Il Grido del Popolo*, Naples, 4 July, 1881)
Trans. by J.W. from *Anarchismo*

GROSTICISM Ancient Heresy or Kick up the Cassock

The fundamental problem of any religious interpretation of the world is the problem of evil. Only the most credulous of sects, such as the Christian Scientists, endeavour to explain evil as an illusion. Traditional Christian theology accepts that we live in a corrupt or fallen world and, moreover, that suffering is no simple consequence of wrongdoing. Whether satisfactory explanations of why this is so have been proffered is another question. Before Christ, the author of the book of Job wrestled with this problem and came to no conclusion except self-abasement before the vastness of the universe and the unknowable ways of its Creator. Christ himself, according to orthodox theology, was fully human as well as divine and died a real death on the cross. Only a belief in his historical

resurrection can resolve that problem and it still leaves doubts as to whether an omnipotent creator would leave other people — without faith or hope, in many instances — to die or to suffer the multitudinous forms of pain that assail mankind (starvation, disease, torture of body or mind) and make no intervention. Faced with such contradictions of divine order, the Gnostics (not a recognisable sect in themselves but rather a tendency and tradition within other religions) put forward a novel interpretation of evil in creation.

The Gnostic's view of the material world was that it was so corrupt that it had to be entirely repudiated. Creation could never have been the work of a benevolent and omnipotent God. In

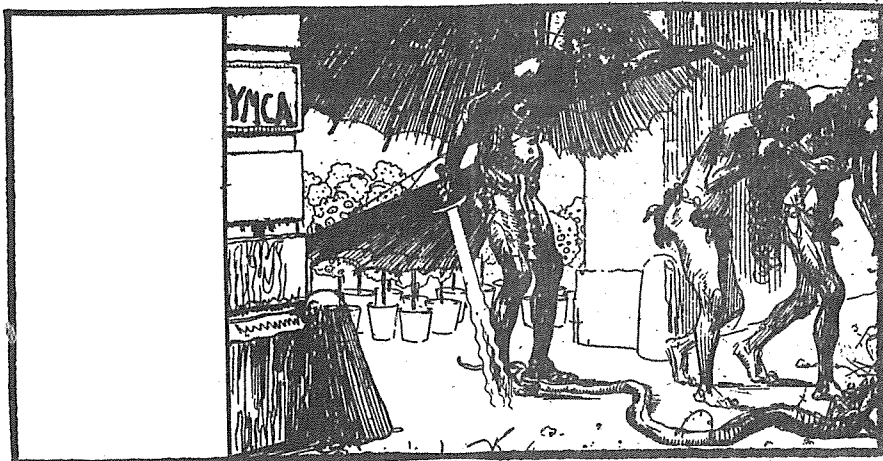
(cont. over)

their view, the true God was beyond creation and almost unknowable – only those initiated into 'gnosis' (special knowledge) could have any inkling of his divinity. The creation of the world was the work of a lesser being, a rebellious demiurge or Archon who in Promethean fashion seized some of God's divine light and, in the process of doing so, found himself kicked out of heaven and fused in fragmented fashion with matter. He became thus the source of individual life in myriads of people on a far less than satisfactory world. Seeing what had happened, God provided a redeemer to lift the broken spirits of men back into fusion with his own divine light. Such ideas were around before the coming of Christ, but it was easy for those conversant with them to accept that Jesus Christ was the true redeemer. Thus began a long struggle in the early centuries of Christianity between orthodox belief that the world and the people within it were, however fallen, the work of God and to be redeemed to Him because he loved them for their own sakes, and the Gnostic view – derivative in many ways from oriental religious philosophy of the Bhuddist type ('bhodi' in bhuddism = 'special knowledge') that the world and individual personality were evil things that required resolution by a redemption which would absorb them back into the transcendent divine being. Because of the differences in these two superficially similar philosophies, the Gnostic Christology was quite different from the orthodox: like the present day Christian Scientists, the Gnostics believed that the divine spirit could never really be touched by evil. Therefore, Christ's body, inasmuch as it was subject to suffering and death, was an illusion – a phantasm necessary only to let mankind know that God had acted. Thus they would have approved of – indeed, laid the foundations for – the later Docetist elaboration of the view that Christ had no human body at all.

The consequences of the belief that the world was fundamentally evil led to two opposite ethical trends in Gnostic behaviour. There developed two reactions to the teaching: the ascetic and orgiastic. Similar essentially dualistic views of the world, splitting reality into two warring halves of light and darkness, good and evil, such as the Persian Zoroastrianism – inevitably contributed to a climate of religious fervour where only two kinds of behaviour could be envisaged. For the strong there was the way of renunciation – monastic and masochistic self-repudiation which tortured the undisciplined body into feats of renunciation – pole squatting for months or years, fasting from food and sex – the whole hair-shirt and beds of nails gamut.



Only the wildest orgy could make plain their spiritual sense of disgust. . . .



For the less strong, the impossibility of a temperate, sanctified way of life in this condemned and useless physical body took the form of deliberately exaggerated self-abuse, organised into communal ritual and worship. Only the wildest orgy could make plain their spiritual sense of disgust. If sex was the profoundest energy of their physical lives, and the mode of bringing more imprisoned souls into a condemned existence, then marriage and having children were themselves evil and the most acceptable offering to God was not family worship but another kind of Christian love feast in which sperm, produced in promiscuous orgy, could be offered directly up to God along with menstrual blood in a religious repudiation of the procreative process. According to Saint Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (A.D. 315 – 402), in the Gnostic rites the supreme offering – probably rarely practised but certainly theologically consistent with their world-repudiation – was achieved when, if a woman became accidentally pregnant through religious orgy, the foetus was aborted as soon as possible and, broken up and mixed with honey, pepper and herbs, was offered up and consumed by the congregation as the embodiment of the God, saved from earthly life, in the 'perfect Mass.'

Strong stuff, both literally and metaphorically, for any stomachs. Less revolting, but equally interesting is the Bishop's description of the use of snakes at Christian communion services. On Cyprus the goddess Aphrodite and her serpent husband had been traditionally for many centuries the chief divinities. It is not surprising therefore that snakes, interpreted in Gnostic quasi-Biblical fashion, appeared in Christian observances. Going back to Genesis, the Serpent in the Garden of Eden was seen by the Gnostics as the representative of the true God in leading Adam and Eve to the tree of 'knowledge' and back to the gift of eternal life. The serpent raised by Moses to comfort the people pestered by snakes was seen the same way. ("The Lord told Moses to make a serpent of bronze and erect it as a standard, so that anyone who had been bitten could look at it and recover," Numbers 21.⁸) The idea of a Serpent Saviour was amenable to former followers of Aphrodite. In John's Gospel – the most philosophical of the four, appealing to those conversant with Greek thought and Gentile religions – the theme is specifically recognisable again:

"No-one ever went up into heaven except the one who came down from heaven, the Son of Man whose home is in heaven. This Son of Man must be lifted up as the serpent was lifted up by Moses in the wilderness, so that everyone who has faith in him may in him possess eternal life."

(John, 3. 13 – 14)

The reference to Moses would please Jewish Christians but the idea of the serpent had a multiple appeal.

It was the tendency to abuse the world and creation which Paul had to struggle against when defining his understanding of Christian grace and salvation by faith. Although Gnosticism was not fully developed until the second century, he had to guard against those who would too readily accept his teaching that the law of the Old Testament had been superseded by salvation through a Saviour. The Gnostics saw the God of the Old Testament as the evil God of Creation and if creation was evil, so was the law. For Paul, Christ had fulfilled the law on behalf of mankind. Their moral shortcomings were forgiven, but if a man was a true Christian he would keep as much of the law as was truly relevant as he could, aided by the spirit of Christ, and ask forgiveness when he erred. Paul was walking a tightrope between re-assuring those, especially Jewish Christians, who still felt condemned by the law of God:

"The conclusion of the matter is this: there is no condemnation for those who are united with Christ Jesus, because in Christ Jesus the life-giving law of the Spirit has set you free from the law of sin and death."

(Romans, 8.1)

and those who were only too ready to accept an alternative to salvation by deeds and, like the Gnostics of all persuasions, saw *disobedience* to moral laws laid down by the God of Creation as a prime necessity:

"What then? Are we to sin, because we are not under law but under grace? Of course not." (Romans, 6.15.) was Paul's reply to them.

Gnosticism, linked with the Jains of India, with the Zoroastrians of Persia, its 'gnosis' comparable to the 'bhodi' of Bhuddism, went on to trouble the orthodox church for many centuries, especially in the form of Manichaeism – the dualistic teaching of Mani which was very influential in the third century onwards. St. Augustine (354–430) was a Manichaean for nine years before he became a convert to Christianity and his theme of the struggle against the flesh continued throughout his Christian writings (e.g. 'The City of God'). But what has Gnosticism to say to us now? The present philosophical trends away from dualism in the analysis of mental phenomena which has led to the definition of our age as post-Cartesian (Descartes believed the physical and mental worlds were distinct but somehow interrelated) has probably saved us from the kind of excessive spirituality which leads, as we have seen, to repudiation of our physical bodies – we live in a more positive age which, despite the Bomb, does not, like the

ages of Christ, Paul and their contemporaries expect an eschatological intervention by God to put an end to human history. If it happens, it'll be our own bloody fault.

One element of Gnostic thought may linger, however, at least in the questions it can raise. For the Gnostics, the world before them was too horrible for it to have been the work of an omnipotent God. We may agree with them on this, although not sharing their fascinating but improbable solutions to that problem. For them, too, the burden of the self – the individual personality – was something to be escaped from into divinity. This is where Christianity is different from not

just Gnosticism but from pretty well all great religions and monist as well as dualist philosophies. The centrality of Christianity is a man – this is why it is often called a humanistic religion. Christ came to confront and not to escape from the human condition. For the orthodox Christian, he has provided all necessary solutions. I have already indicated areas where I believe objection must still be made. Not everyone – even everyone calling on God – triumphs over disaster in this world. Far from it. And if not in this world, how can we be sure things are any different in the next, if such there be? But if the possibility of courageous living which Christ puts before us

is acknowledged, Christianity may have something to offer still, although stripped of its special offers and its guarantees. But that's another issue. Sufficient that Gnosticism has raised a few interesting questions and suggested that the palace of Philistine complacency which we call orthodox theology needs pulling down before we can make something of this world – our promised land.

Geoff Charlton

(Acknowledgements: J. Campbell, *The Masks of God*, Condor/Viking, 1968; A. Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*, S.C.M., 1958; C.E.M. Joad, *God and Evil*, Faber, 1942; *New English Bible*, O.U.P., 1970).

SCIENCE: IMAGE AND REALITY

"The scientist should be a man willing to listen to every suggestion, but determined to judge for himself. He should not be biased by appearances; have no favourite hypothesis; be of no school; in doctrine have no master. He should not be a respecter of persons but of things. Truth should be his primary object."

This quotation of Michael Faraday (1791-1867), discoverer of the basic principles of electricity, summarises the qualities of 'science'. Like many aspects of society, science has an image and a reality which do not coincide. Those who have been exposed to a 'scientific training' are presented with a concept and methodology generally going under the name of 'scientific method'. This is presented to the neophyte and lay public alike as an ethos, elevated almost to the status of a creed, by which professional scientists live. Essentially, it is the concept that the scientist must be an ever doubting, ever-questioning, open-minded seeker after truth. The only guide, so the concept preaches, is evidence deduced by painstaking experimentation and observation. 'Nothing but the facts', so to speak.

Unfortunately, image and reality scarcely ever coincide – especially when a power structure is dependent upon the unchanging image. Those who have studied science and worked at the laboratory bench know all too well that the ideal is observed more in the breach than in the practice. Like all histories, the history of science is littered with egotism, vanity and authoritarianism. Time and again, the power of academic orthodoxy has been brought to bear upon ideas and observations which contradict the prevailing atmosphere of 'official' opinion. Just as the Church in its periods of power suppressed contrary opinion with the rack and the scaffold, so the new orthodoxy carries out comparable crusades against heresy.

The trials and tribulations of Galileo are well-documented. Indeed, scientists often quote his story to show how enlightened they are in comparison with the mediaeval church. However, when confronted with the appropriate 'heretic' like Isaac N. Vail (meteorology), Alfred Watkins and Tom Lethbridge (archaeology), Immanuel Velikovsky (astronomy), Wilhelm Reich (psychology-physics), Oliver Bulleid (locomotive engineering) or Albert Szent-Gyorgyi (biochemistry), the upholder of the appropriate orthodoxy will not hesitate in reacting in the selfsame way as the church did with Galileo. Unfortunately, there are many celebrated instances where a new idea, theory or invention has been actively suppressed by whichever establishment it chanced to offend. Almost every branch of investigative knowledge

has its heretics and its orthodoxy.

A well-known case which immediately comes to mind is that of Immanuel Velikovsky, whose theories of catastrophism in the Earth's immediate past were in direct conflict with the opinions of established geologists and astronomers. Whether or not Velikovsky was correct, he was not given a fair hearing by the established 'leaders' of science. Instead, he was attacked with remarkable ferocity, first in the early 1950's when his books emerged, and again in 1974, when the American Association for the Advancement of Science attempted to re-evaluate Velikovsky. In the 1950's, they tried to ban his books altogether, and, when non-scientific publishers produced them, to get them suppressed. In the 70's, ridicule was the weapon. When space research verified one of Velikovsky's predictions, the very hot surface of the planet Venus, the orthodox dismissed the prediction as a fluke, even though it was totally contrary to the expectations of scientists conducting the experiments. (*Velikovsky also predicted the recently proved theory that the polarity of the earth has changed not once but a number of times in history*, eds.)

The reason for suppressing Velikovsky and others like him is clear. The power of an establishment is built in part upon its credibility. Theories which totally oppose those espoused by an elite establishment have to be prevented from reaching the ears of the lower orders of the set-up. If they were allowed to be fairly evaluated, they might prove to be correct, which would then destroy the position of the orthodox elite. As the prestige, power and livelihoods of the established depend upon the maintenance of the status quo, thought control is an easy option. However, by this method, advancement can be and is seriously retarded.

The fanatical upholders of the work of Isaac Newton succeeded in suppressing Young's wave theory of light for over a century. The idolisation of 'great' men of science like Newton or Darwin, like the political idolisation of Marx or the traditional methods of the academy in art and engineering, leads to the establishment of a rigid, self-reinforcing orthodoxy presided over by those for whom the main objective is the guardianship of the status quo.

The organs of knowledge, Journals of the self-styled 'learned societies', directly under the control of an elite, the upper echelons of a hierarchy, serve merely to present evidence to reinforce the status quo. Scientific censorship and thought control, under the guise of the 'peer review' and 'referee' system where papers are sent to anonymous experts (high-up members of the elite) to be

accepted or rejected, is practised in these journals. Since the way to rise in the hierarchy is through publication of work, those who try to publish outside the 'acceptable norms' are refused publication whilst being 'noted' as rebels. Those with ideas which run counter to the cherished paradigms of the establishment are given the cold shoulder. A policy statement from the editors of the *American Journal of Physics* is probably the clearest exposition of this restrictive attitude:

"Controversial or isolated new results yet to be judged in research literature are not acceptable. Included in the latter category are papers purporting to discredit bodies of physical theory (such as specialised relativity, quantum mechanics and thermodynamics) which are part of the generally accepted physics curricula..." (my italics) *American Journal of Physics*, Vol. 43, p.1, 1975.

The vested interests of education and research grants do not want to rock the boat. Funding of new research is under the control of the same elite either directly or indirectly, through experts or committees or as advisors. Money is allocated to areas which are extensions of existing work – i.e. in the 'mainstream'.

Those who are interested in the ideas, theories and inventions of the unorthodox outcasts are themselves dismissed as cranks or labelled as dangerous. Official abuse is heaped upon them. In archeology, those who investigate the works of Maltwood and Watkins are invariably referred to in the orthodox journal *Antiquity* as the 'lunatic fringe of archeology'. No unbiased attempt to evaluate the work has ever been made by the orthodox – it is dismissed, as to accept it would sweep away the cherished theories of respected professors who have spent a lifetime on building up their power and reputations.

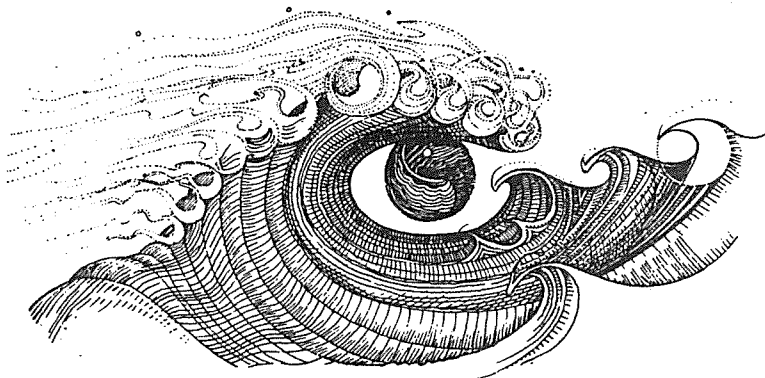
What relevance has any of this to the real world of neutron-bombs, torture and repression? One may ask. The cloistered existence of the academic scientist, whether of the orthodox or 'crank' persuasion may appear to have little to do with the lives of the 'person on the Clapham Omnibus' (if it still runs). However, the stifling of creativity, the exclusion from the culture of the world of ideas which may enrich life, is a hidden form of censorship far more insidious than the incessant banning of books so beloved by governments the world over. In Szent-Gyorgyi's case, it may delay the discovery of a cure for cancer. In other cases, the cause is even more fundamental. It underlines the control which an elite few wield over the many, a model for the other fields of human life where those who believe they should rule have not yet encroached.

Nigel Pennick

SCIENTISTS IN COLLISION

The anthropologist, Lord Raglan, pointed out that "one of the most surprising things about anthropological literature is the number of utterly unproved assumptions that succeed in passing muster as unquestionable facts." He had in mind the once supposed dire results of incest; equally one could point to the horror of the effects of masturbation — "it comes to be believed that such laws were instituted by supernatural authority, and cannot be broken without bringing down upon the transgressors punishments unconnected with the crime by the ordinary laws of cause and effect."

This passing muster equally applies to assumptions supposed to be scientific which become orthodox beliefs. Today, the only penalty of questioning orthodoxy is to be regarded as a crank . . . it was once more serious. Some cranks incidentally, do very well with such aberrations as Scientology, but scientists trying to make valid points are dismissed by the scientific establishment with all the force at their command which nowadays only means exclusion from academic faculties and facilities, but often to financial success via literature, where they are snapped up by a public eager to follow heretical paths and believing no longer that mysticism is the prerogative of religion.



Newtonian Physics

Would you take seriously a man who explained the motions and laws of the universe; who had a brilliant scientific brain and was a mathematical genius — but had never heard of electro-magnetism and did not understand the part it had to play; and assumed that errors in the universal system were corrected by the Lord somewhat like a watchmaker corrects a clock?

No? But the scientific world still accepts Isaac Newton. None of his assumptions are questioned and in particular the one that says that as the universe is today and as we now see the arrangements of the stars, so it has been fixed — maybe not "since the Creation" as Newton would have said, but for an incalculable space of time, and we can date back our calendars from here. While there may well have been a big bang and a global catastrophe in a period long before life arose on the earth, no such catastrophe could have taken place since.

Why Not?

Immanuel Velikovsky says that "we are survivors of survivors", that there has been a repeated major cosmic catastrophe within recorded history, and that we have records of it both written and by rocks, fossils and remains. This entails stating that a large part of the Bible is literally true, at any rate from the time of the Exodus onwards (that is to say, when it was written down rather than telling of ancient beginnings). Had he been writing 200, 150 or even 100 years ago, he would of course been regarded as the leading scientist and would have pre-empted Darwin and Huxley. All scientists had to pay lip service to the truth of the Bible. With the growing scepticism of the early part of the Bible, science came into conflict with religion. Now it has all been discarded. Though it is regarded as true, it is apparently only so on Sundays and is otherwise worthless. If miracles happened it was in Palestine and affected nowhere else — an absurdity which the education curriculum perpetuates. Velikovsky takes a rational approach to the Biblical or other legends: "If cosmic upheavals occurred in the historical past why does not the human race remember them and why was it necessary to carry on research to find out about them? . . . historical inscriptions and legendary motifs often play (*in the collective amnesia*) the same role as recollections (infantile memories) and dreams in the analysis of a personality." His

theory about the collective-amnesia of the world in regard to catastrophes of the past is not so far-fetched when you consider the collective amnesia in face of the nuclear death threat facing the globe now; and all people can fear are the wicked "terrorists" who may take action *against* the implementation of the threat.

If catastrophes occurred they would have been recorded but miraculous theories ascribed to them. The latter would be the suppositions of mankind; but that would not be to say the events did not happen. According to Velikovsky, for instance, the sun did seem to stand still — but obviously not at the behest of Joshua. A major catastrophe happened at the time, which he goes on to record, because of a disturbance to the world's axis by cosmic disturbance. The plagues of Egypt followed by the crossing of the Red Sea, did take place — though not because the Lord had intervened in the inner politics of Egypt. The Jews ascribed this major world catastrophe, entailing destruction of the oppressor, in terms of the Lord stepping in, a unique interpretation which gave their religion its special place in subsequent

history. For the rest of the world these events were a major catastrophe, and Velikovsky draws on the history of the Mediterranean peoples, and of the rest of the world, tracing all folklore, legends and histories into the same sources — the Fall of Troy, the legends of Mexico, the histories of China; all telling the same story.

It is very difficult for a layman to contradict him and he must be read in extenso; he has the advantage of being intensely readable, forthright and convincing in style, and either a major scientist or a major story-spinner (not a contemptible role either). He ascribes no supernatural or mystical origins; on the contrary if he is correct, he makes all supernatural and mystical stories rationally explicable. Never before have I heard explained really well the Greek "gods" or how they were supposed to join in the fighting for Troy, for instance; and his explanation of miracles from the time of Moses to those of Hezekiah would satisfy the National Secular Society as well as those who would say the Bible was right . . . the only reservation being that Velikovsky would draw different morals — not that the "Lord was wroth" but simply, that worlds come into collision at times. Briefly, these "gods" were the planets; Mars and Venus, then comets, he says, came into collision, affecting the earth.

Censorship

The cogent point is that, while this may not seem to represent a major difference with the Establishment — it rather would have afforded a chance for religion and science to co-exist had it come along at the right time — in making his points, Velikovsky has to demolish a lot of "authorities" who owe their eminence solely to being unchallenged; he doesn't mind who he takes on, and he rakes some of the strongest held scientific fortresses with fire, and while it may be said that only a few of his assumptions have been proved right beyond doubt, certainly none of his criticisms have ever been answered. He has been met with abuse and censorship by the academic authorities and has appealed over their head to the general public, being well able to do so, unlike other scientific rebels, by virtue of the fact of his readability.

For instance, purely as a side issue to the major theme of worlds in collision comes the revelation, or allegation, that the Egyptologists are out 600 years in their reckoning which has caused major mistakes not only in Egyptian history but in all histories of the Middle East; whole civilisations have been invented by the academics to cover up their errors, entailing major endowments devoted to non-existent cultures. But granted that he is right in his assumption, he makes out an entirely logical correlation between Israelite and Egyptian history, and the history of the rest of the ancient world, particularly of Greece — throwing in, in one fascinating book, the identity between the Pharaoh Akhenaten and Oedipus Rex, with arguments that even to a layman sound convincing.

What is revealing of academic weaknesses is the way in which the background and personality of the scientist colours their interpretation. For instance, Lyall was a sober, conservative man who dreaded accidents and hated revolution; he pronounced in favour of the evolutionary theory

having appeared for ever, against catastrophism — solely because he hated the idea of catastrophes. As Velikovsky remarks quite rightly, catastrophism does not contradict evolution, it defends it; but we must look at evolution in the light of Hiroshima, not from the deck of the Beagle. It would take millions and millions of years for the east change in evolution; but cataclysmic changes speed up the process. A nuclear explosion might produce a variation in the genes involving — who knows? — pigs with two heads. We know this now; it was inconceivable to Darwin. To visualise how long it would take by evolutionary process is to see its impossibility.

Velikovsky too is very influenced by his Jewish background; for a correlation of the histories of Israel and Egypt very much adds to Israel's glories. For instance, he ascribes anti-Semitism originally to the mistake of Manetho in identifying the Jews with the Hyksos who (as a result of the 600 year theory) are identified as the Amalekites — enemies of the Jews and of all mankind generally, whom

the Jews destroyed but with whom the Egyptian historian Manetho, much later, confused with them (the oppressors with the oppressed). Yet it can be seen much more clearly that if, in a world catastrophe in which all the world suffered, as Velikovsky says, the Jews alone celebrated this as a deliverance from bondage and indeed boasted their God had caused it, it would be a much more potent cause of anti-Semitism in the ancient world.

Another reservation of Velikovsky is his reliance on the corrected mistranslations from Hebrew and other ancient languages by which one can prove almost anything — like the gay vicar on the radio explaining that the Bible doesn't condemn buggery as an abomination, if one understands ancient Chaldaic one would know that what it was condemning was unkindness. . . well, it's a pity the Lord couldn't find more reliable means of communication than some of the languages he picked. . .

The Velikovskyan reconstruction of ancient history and the capitulation of cosmic world disasters, involving as it does clarification of the

cause of myth and explanation of natural disasters, has no ulterior motive. Unlike those deservedly relegated to the crank ranks, he ascribes nothing to one or more gods, and regards them all as mankind's attempt to explain natural disaster. The best conceived gods have a habit of coming down to earth and appointing prophets who run a nice little business explaining their ways; but this has nothing to do with his approach which is scientific enquiry, and he has deserved better of his critics than suppression, vilification and abuse. But it is something which those who tilt at the establishment have found in many fields other than the academic.

Albert Meltzer
(Books by Immanuel Velikovsky include: *Worlds in Collision*, £1.25; *Earth in Upheaval*, 80p; *Ages in Chaos*, £1.25 (all published by Abacus); and his latest work, *Peoples of the Sea*, £5, 95, Sidgewick & Jackson).

A PARTIAL CHECKLIST OF INTERNATIONAL

Anarchist Papers

AROUND THE ANARCHIST PRESS

Details are extracted from the most recent issues that we have seen, and we have attempted to be as accurate as possible in compiling this list, but readers should bear in mind that subscription rates and frequency of publication are likely to change without notice.

Against the Grain: a libertarian socialist newspaper, PO Box 692, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011, USA.

English language. bi-monthly. sub. rates: \$5 annual. (USA, so add extra for overseas postage.) \$2 for unemployed or unpaid. single copy, 25¢ plus post. Special sustaining subs. available. Presents a coherent libertarian approach to workplace organisation and related issues. Well illustrated.

BASTA. B.P. 105, 31013 Toulouse, Cedex, France. French language. bi monthly. sub. rates: 10 issues for 15 Francs..

Examines contemporary issues from a libertarian standpoint. Very imaginative graphics.

Black Eye. Available from Black Eye Collective, 30 Belmont Avenue, Clifton, Swinton, Manchester, M27 2WL. English language irregular, sub. rates: free.

Duplicated magazine intended for local propaganda, but interesting to most people.

BRAND. Anarkistisk tidskrift. Box 150 30, 10465 Stockholm, Sweden. Swedish language. bi-monthly. Sub rates: single issue 4 kr, plus p. Anarcho-communist paper that contains really good coverage of state terrorism in Europe. Well illustrated and recommended.

Boletín de la Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores. Sec. A.I.T., J. Munoz Congost, 38 rue Victor-Chabot, 87000 Limoges, France. Other details please enquire.

Bulletin of the International Workingmens Ass.

Bulletin of the Anarchist Federation of Baden. ABF Info-Buro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwabish Hall, Germany. German language: appx. monthly. sub. rates: free.

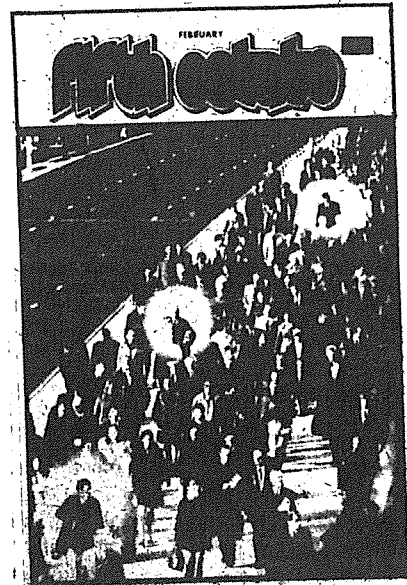
Good detailed coverage of events in Germany, plus international news.

The Dandelion. Michael E. Coughlin Pub., 1985 Selby Avenue, St. Paul, Min. 55104, USA. English language. quarterly. Sub. rates: \$3.50 annual, USA. \$4.50 elsewhere.

New libertarian journal which appears to be taking its stand in the Spooner/Tucker "stream" of anarchism.

FIFTH ESTATE. 4403 Second Avenue, Detroit, MI 48201, USA. English language. Monthly. Sub. rates: \$4 annual, USA. \$6 elsewhere.

A really excellent paper that combines sharp insight with a practical perspective to produce one of the best anarchist papers published in the USA. Highly recommended!



Free Socialist: an occasional paper of anarchist opinion. PO Box 1751. San Francisco, Ca. 94101, USA. English language. irregular. Sub. rates: no rates but donations welcome payable to Harry Siitonen.

This is a kind of bulletin made up from a few stapled sheets of duplicated paper. Much too short to allow the development of some very good ideas. Every issue contains something of interest.

FREIE ARBEITER STIMME. 33 Union Sq. West, Room 808, New York, N.Y. 10003, USA. Hebrew language. Monthly. Sub. rates: \$7 annual. single issue \$50.

Now in its 87th year of publication, this paper is published by the Free Voice of Labour Ass.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER. 752 West Webster, Chicago, Ill. 60614, USA. English language. Monthly. Sub. rates: \$2.50 annual (USA, so add extra for overseas postage). Single copy 25¢.

Paper of the Industrial Workers of the World. A good paper that includes coverage of industrial organisation in many countries of the world. Always a good read.

LE REFRACTAIRE: organe libertaire pour la defense de la paix et des libertes individuelles. May Picqueray, B.P. 27 Le Pre St. Gervais, 93310, France. French language. Monthly. Sub. rates. 25 F. annual, France. 30 F. abroad. Libertarian paper concerned with civil liberties.

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD. Domingo Rojas, Apartado Postal M-10596, Mexico 1, D.F. Spanish language. Monthly. Sub. rates: unknown. Produced mainly by Spanish exiles in Mexico. Good news coverage of the Spanish speaking world. Most issues contain extracts from the works of well-known anarchist writers (e.g. Malatesta, Kropotkin, etc.)

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The Golden Ka OF DARRIS WHEATLEY

The Victorian middle-classes were so enraptured with the gentility of Sir Walter Scott that even those with a non-conformist background swooned over the religion of the 'nice sweet-scented gentry' in his novels – George Borrow's Romanising priest in *Lavengro* knew at Birmingham 'the daughter of an ironmonger, who screeches to the piano the Lady of the Lake's hymn to the Virgin always weeps when Mary Queen of Scots is mentioned, and fasts on the anniversary of the death of that very fine martyr, Charles the first.' In the States, negro slavery made possible the whole way of life known as the old South, a genteel veneer over bondage that came direct from Scott's pretensions, and disappeared forever with the first shots at Fort Sumter. The disinterred relics of the current Down South have been dug up by the latter novelists of the *Gone With The Wind* type, harping on a vanished society that would not have admitted such Yankee scribbles within its gates and re-enacting a parody for the benefit of a highly race-conscious society that does not dare to dig too far back into its grassroots.

Americans scorn the dastardly Yankees in the Civil War, Britons the Parliamentarians in theirs. Borrow's priest laughed at the Dissenters' daughters in their boarding schools singing:

*Would you match the base Skippon of Massey
and Brown,
With the barons of England, who fight for the
Crown?*

'He! He! Their own names!' he cried. If Dennis Wheatley dared to write about Scott's period, he too would be scornfully deriding the Anglo-Saxon men of Wheat who were his forebears, and swooning over the gallant Norman who subdued them. Perhaps for this reason he has missed over that period, and his historical novels – while jumping back as far as Ancient Egypt (Did you know there was a communist rebellion then?) jump to the French Revolution and onwards. Ambitious young men read his novels and scorn the lowborn peasants. Mr. Wheatley's sympathies are always with the blueblooded and powerful Roger Brook (one of his typically aristo-fascist heroes – not indeed the typical fascist, but as the typical fascist would like to see the typical fascist) is worried when there are merchant seamen who do not attend the Church service. Naturally, the Puerto Ricans on board, being Catholics, would not attend a C. of E. service, but when some English seamen do not, it is a sign that they have been corrupted by the Methodists, and are well on the way to communism.

But the type of seaman he describes at the ships' head prayer meeting is just the sort of seaman who reads Dennis Wheatley. In the Merchant Navy he ranks as the best-selling author after Westerns, science fiction and the current erotica; and bookselling experience shows him to be the most widely read author in police hostels and the lower ranks of the man who invariably gets outwitted by the

army. Indeed, he appeals to that class of young elegant heroes of his own creation, while the middle class barely tolerate him (those on the same level of bad reading prefer Ian Fleming), and the aristocracy do not even choose to acknowledge his existence. It is doubtful if even his own characters would care to have much to do with him – I can only think that the Duke du Richleau might think him a jumped up cur, at best, and Roger Brook would suspect him of communism (as being too clever by half for a working man).

It is no laughing matter to see an author snubbed and cuffed by the creatures of his imagination, and if at times I think harshly of Mr. Wheatley and his effect upon public taste, I always soften to pity when I think that he carries around with him his own private hell: a fashionable salon in his heart from which he is ever excluded.

On the whole, English proletarians in the Wheatley world doff their caps respectfully to the clean limbed heroes – if they do not, watch out, they are planning revolution. Sad that Wheatley too must touch his forehead deferentially to the Duke of Richleau, his favourite and most class-ridden creation, who is utterly unable to understand why Simon Aron, a Jew, almost his adopted son, whom he saved (literally) from the Devil himself, feels some repugnance towards the Nazis for their anti-Semitism which overcomes his scruples as a capitalist against communism. Surely, the Duke asks him, he cannot compare the minor discomforts suffered, most regrettably, by a few Jews, with the methodic wiping out of an entire propertied class, as happened in Soviet Russia?

This would be understandable if Wheatley himself were anti-Semitic; but on the whole he is not (he is genuinely appalled by the indignities inflicted on a propertied class as being of a greater magnitude than anything else he could conceive of), he even is another opus, recognises the innocence of Dreyfus, while taking the Catholic and Royalist line that the whole thing was a plot by Freemasons and Socialists to destroy the Church and Army.

Mr Wheatley is a Catholic by politics, as has been observed; but he is hardly a Christian by religion (none of the one man to one woman stuff for him) and this enables him to get the best of both worlds as a Romanising Royalist and frankly pagan amoralist, with an additional world to be enjoyed as an occultist, as the practice of devilry and witchcraft is constantly combatted by his smart young thugs who act as exorcising Fathers between women. His witchcraft is that admitted by Montagu Sommers and the lunatic wing of the Roman Church; one sometimes wonders if it might not be possible to exorcise the evil spirit that has taken hold of Mr. Wheatley which leads him to bedevil history.

He is not a Dumas pere who claimed that he might commit rape on history provided it led to the birth of a child: Wheatley's casual rape upon history is committed solely to perpetuate a trauma.

His mystique of history is the ramification and codification of prejudice, and if this makes it readable, it is because his readers cope principally from the institutionalised class that doffs its cap along with the author before the upper class of history. They reject Rafael Sabatini (today read, it would seem, only by women), though a much better writer of historical swashbuckling, because they prefer in an indistinct way the brutality and casual approach to life of the Wheatley heroes. The cool way in which Wheatley's women are taken by the ever-confident, never flustered heroes, appeals to those who are still in the stage of fumbling inexperience. And daringly (to them), such men are above the Christian monogamous ethic; and while they never divorce, their wives do not always survive much beyond the years of passion.

His particular mystique of history leads to fascism at the present time – and only British patriotism saves him from supporting the Nazis after 1939 (even then, Gregory Sallust feels some qualms since he has always been anti-communist, and still feels Mussolini was a good guy anyway).

Wheatley even presumes to deal with the Spanish Revolution when he has finished with the French. He has a rough idea of the divisions of the Left, though he never quite manages to sort out the Anarchists, for whom he has a horrible fascination – they are clearly villains who want to destroy everything and everybody, and yet one cannot get away from the fact that they are anti-Soviet. A feeling of dismay clutches one when one realises that the *Golden Spaniard* is all the history whole generations will get of the Spanish Revolution, and that Wheatley's distorted camera may set the viewpoints of many yet unborn, just as one novel by Dickens, based on one episode in Carlyle, has led various generations to think of the French Revolution as one long succession of horrors.

But such writers as Wheatley are dangerous not only because of their impact upon the public. He wrote for George VI's personal use a fictionalised version of what would happen in the event of an invasion. George knew Wheatley would always show the upper classes in a good light, and that Wheatley could show them a way, in the event of defeat and national humiliation (such as that with which Revolutionary France was threatened) in which they retained their self-respect and ruling positions, and kept down the rabble. Was it just divertisement? For the king, originally, it was a way of keeping up his spirits. But these stories were actually passed on to Churchill's War Cabinet, which seriously used them as an ethical and tactical reserve of ideas as to what to do when the Nazis came. You may be quite sure that just as Dr. Johnson saw in his reports of Parliament that the Whig dogs did not have the best of it, the literary whore chosen for this exercise saw to it that the working classes, yes, and his own readers in particular damn their eyes, did not get the best of it. (Cuddons) Albert Meltzer



Dmitrov, 1921. Anarchists assemble at the railway station to pay their last respects to Peter Kropotkin whose body was being taken to Moscow for interment. The funeral of Kropotkin was the last major and legally permitted demonstration of Anarchists in Russia and heralded the end of that brief period of open activity between the death of the old regime and the final establishment of the new dictatorship. Anarchists were released from prison to take part in the march (on parole, which nobody broke).

The Death of Kropotkin

Emma said there had been snow
and a cold wind sighing in the wither'd branches
I imagined trivial details
sheepswool caught in the thorns
red berries
and a prophet's dead face on the pillow.

She said he had died in peace
and the eternal intelligence on his brow
had seemed like a light
in the dark unlit hut.
I imagined
his steel-rimmed glasses on the side-table
and a book abandoned.

She said there had been no great concourse of
people
walking out from Moscow
or from the nearest station
poor humble people — Lenin had let them come
to sidle lovingly past
his silent form.

Several hundred people, simple people
fur caps down to their ears
padded trousers criss-crossed with string
standing there on the obliterated road
waiting for the cortege.

Dmitrov was the name of the place.
They took his body to Moscow
and there formed a procession
perhaps a mile long
old revolutionaries, young students
and children carrying wreaths
of holly and laurel.

They marched five miles
carrying the black and scarlet banners.
The feathery snow was falling
gently on his bier
gently on the bowed heads
and the patient streets.

But when they reached the burial place
the snow had ceased
and the winter sun
sinking red
stained the level glittering plain.

A river of glowing light
poured into the open grave
all the light in the world
sank with his coffin
into the Russian earth.

It was seven versts outside Moscow.
On the steps of their museum
the Tolstoyans had gathered
to play mournful music
as the cortege passed.

It was dark then and silent.
I remembered, said Emma, the cairn he had
found

or: the last mountain ridge
a heap of stones and broken branches
with tokens attached of horsehair or rag
and the cry: "The waters before us
flow now to the Amur.
No mountains more to cross!"

No mountains more to cross
dear comrade and pioneer.
You have crossed the Great Khinghan
travelling eastward into rich lands
where many will follow you.

Herbert Read

The Anarchists song:
— to all men of power.

Fange

we are kept in poverty and ignorance
by the projections of your fear,
of your greed for power.
we are kept in terror and confusion
by your protection racket politics,
by your nursery rhyme propaganda.

but slowly, like a crystal forming,
self-awareness liberates our minds,
cell by cell, person by person,
until we are truly free,
until we are truly human beings,
separate yet united in mutual trust;

your awkward puppets shall dance no more,
and you, the puppet masters will vanish
into the shadows of our fulfilled dream.

Fange

Gift For A Believer (For Flavio Costantini)

It is Friday, a usual day
in Italy, and you wait. Below
the street sleeps at noon.
Once the Phoenicians came that way,
the Roman slaves on foot,
and later the Nazis. To you came
the Anarchists chanting, "We shall inherit,"
and among them Santo Caserio
who lost his head for knifing
the President of France, the ambassador
to hell. Came little Ferrer
in his long gown who taught
the Spanish children to question.
His fine hands chained behind
his back, his eyes of a boy
smeared, he swings above the stone trench
of Montjuich. The wind came
to blow his words away, then snow
that buried your childhood
and all the promises, that rusted
out the old streetcars and humped
over your father's graves.

In your vision Durruti whispered
to an old woman that he would
never forget the sons and daughters
who died believing they carried
a new world there in their hearts,
but when the doctor was summoned
and could not stop his wounds
he forgot. Ascaso, who fled
with him to Argentina, Paraguay,
Bruxelles, the first to die
storming the Atarazanas Barracks,
he forgot. The rail yards of Leon
where his father doubled over
and deafened, forgotten. That world
that he said is growing here
in my heart this minute
forgotten. When old Nathan Pine
gave two hands to a drop-forge
at Chevy, my spit turned to gall
and I swore I'd never forget.

When the years turned to a gray mist
and my sons grew away without faith,
the memory slept, and I bowed
my head so that I might live.
On the spare hillsides west
of here the new lambs stumble
in the fog and rise. My wife kneels
to the cold earth and we have bread.
I see and don't believe. Farther
west the ocean breaks
on cold grey stones, the great Pacific
that blesses no one breaks
into water. So this is what
I send you, friend, where you wait
above a street that will waken
into dark shops, sellers of flour
and onions, dogs, hawkers
of salt, iron, lies. I send
water to fill your glass
and overflow, to cool your wrists
in the night ahead, water
that runs like a pure thread
through all my dreams
and empties into tears, water
to wash our eyes, our mothers' last wine,
two palmfuls the sky gave us,
what the roots crave, rain.

Philip Levine



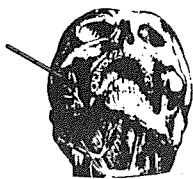
Woke one bright morning – not so long ago – heard
the sound of shooting from the street below:
Went to the window and saw the barricade of paving
stones the workmen had made – not so long ago.

Met a man that morning – not so long ago – handed
me a leaflet, on the street below. Lean and hard-
faced workingman with a cropped head – held
me for a moment. He said: Read it,
read it, read it and learn what it is we fight for,
why the churches burn.

Down on the Ramblas she passed me on her way, weapon
cradled in her arm – it was but yesterday. Not
just for wages now, not alone for bread – we're
fighting for a whole new world, a whole new world,
she said.

On barricades all over town – not so long ago – they
knew the time had come to answer with a simple Yes
or No. They too were storming heaven – do you think
they fought in vain; that because they lost a battle
they would never rise again; that the man with the
leaflets, the woman with a gun, did not have a daughter,
did not have a son?

Hugo Dewar
(*Socialist Worker*, 23 Aug. 1975)



Ecological Poem

Well may you sing of the sickness of men
spilling and spoiling, consuming the earth;
gross grabbing of ungodly gain,
burning, brass-faced, or in bastardly fear.
Who putrifies the pothered smoke,
chokes the tubing of the carriageways?
Murmuring heart of the heaving metropolis,
who exhasts you of leaf, tree, sunlight and air?
You have shown me the hangmen, oh hawk-eyed
friend

with your gentle wife and your laughing child;
They have buttons for eyes, and a bag of bones
computing the logarithm of each of our deaths.
Roots of the fall-out of atomic years,
flowering in exotic cancers of the flesh,
flourish without fallow, a fatal digging
fertilised by freedom in her concrete coat.
I see the black sheep, poisoned legs in the air,
jab his umbrella ineffectually
while his pin-stripe suit disappears beneath
the rushing hordes who outrace the clock.
Float me off further, to festering coastlines,
the shit shallow-swimming from skittering homes;
sweaty the sewagemen's seamy shirt
as we barge back through bends under tower-
block flats.
Teach me, my friend, through my sightless steel
frames

to gaze with desire at monotonous walls
and stiffen my interest in the cardboard curves
of billboard beauties and subway love.
Never, you say? Well, then, break me and blast
me!

grip me and grout me in girders of iron;
I through "Computerize!" now can see nothing;
and fixed smiles betray empty brains, bland and
blind.
No, lead me away to your countryside dwelling,
your crops and your creatures, though few, will
suffice;
Here, nature, by nature both tender and tearing,
is drained of blood, held in the jaws of a vice.

Geoff Charlton.

Farewell!

We cannot break our chains with weak desire,
With whines and supplicating cries.
'Tis not by crawling meekly in the mire
The free-winged eagle learns to mount the skies.

The gladiator, victor in the fight,
On whom the hard-contested laurels fall,
Goes not in the arena pale with fright
But steps forth fearlessly, defying all.

O victory, O victory, dear and fair,
Thou crownest him who does his best,
Who, perishing, still unafraid to bear,
Goes down to dust, thy image in his breast.

Farewell, O comrades, I scorn life as a slave!
I begged no tyrant for my life, though sweet it was;
Though chained, I go unconquered to my grave,
Dying for my own birth-right – and the world's.

Ricardo Flores Magon

(Written just before Magon's death while imprisoned
in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in Kansas.
Magon was an active Mexican anarchist who was
arrested by the U.S. Government at the behest of
the Mexican Government. See article by D. Poole
in this issue.)



Armageddon

We sit there and whisper and wonder
Of the woes that are coming on earth,
When the stooped, silent toilers in thunder
Shall ask what the ages are worth.

There'll be curses and cries for the reasons,
And a tempest of feet on the stairs;
And kings will turn white in their treasons,
And prelates grow pale at their prayers.

There'll be cries – there'll be beating of hammers,
For the anarchists will gather again!
There'll be knocking at gates – there'll be clamors
By night – there'll be whirlwinds of men.

Edwin Markham

Ode To Amazon Nation

My mother was an Amazon
my daddy was a whore
I am a liberated woman
I don't struggle anymore

Mama fought the System
and confronted Daddy's power
Mamma made her revolution
it was her finest hour

Mom and Dad are old and tired now
living with memories
I spend my time in barrooms now
drinking gin and herbal teas

Amazon Nation has triumphed
and women run the show
we're politicians, cops and generals now
keeping our sisters in tow

The hand of the lady president
is the hand of a woman at war
the sex of the hand on the trigger
functions the same as before

Oh sisters, what have we done
in asserting our womanly might?
we've castrated old Father Wrong
and deified good Mother Right

We looked for simple answers
avoiding struggle along with pain
not learning the lessons of his-tory
Sisters, we've lost again

False consciousness divides us
and women on power trips
fragmented lives and egos
the fabric of sisterhood rips

Opportunists lust for power
others grab token reform
confused, we avoid the conflict
Sisterhood dies being born

The rule of State is Force and Fraud
theft and murder bloody its hand
the revolution founders in crisis
Sisters, where do we stand?

We need a woman's revolution
but change must begin in our heads
to mend our ravaged selfhood
with strong and vital new threads

All Power to the People
does not mean power to the few
let's cast out vanguards and dogma
and begin to struggle anew.

Arlene Meyers

(from *No Governor*, No.3, Spring '76)

Ulrike

With expertise
they tried their best
That you, Ulrike
would come to your death

You were, Ulrike,
an honest rebel.
And so one morning
lined up in your cell
they slipped you a noose
their only hope
thus finally their hangman
performed his task

Nothing to say
but a lot to be done
we will avenge our dead,
you too, Ulrike, you too.

(Based on a poem by Erich Muehsam
and dedicated to comrade Ulrike Meinhof
murdered at Stuttgart Stammheim.)

PICTURE BOOKS FOR LITTLE ANARCHISTS

When our daughter, Natasha, was born three years ago I had nightmares about the "classic" children's literature riddled with authoritarianism, religion and racialism which we were likely to receive from well-meaning relatives and acquaintances. However, I was pleasantly surprised to see that there were many good children's books available — and a lot of rubbish which booksellers stock on the momentum of years of high sales.

I am now inclined to be less hysterically concerned about the effects of bad literature on children. It seems to me that the good and bad experiences of living relationships have much more influence. I also suspect that the best literature in the world will have little effect on young children if it conflicts drastically with their crystal-clear perception of relationships and role-playing within their families and wider communities. Gunilla Wolde's books include some delightful attempts to show children that a variety of different roles and relationships exist: mothers/fathers at work, mothers/fathers at home, one parent families, etc. However, I've noticed that our daughter seeks confirmation of our own particular life-style, roles and relationships in books. The important point is that books should be available which allow all children to do just that. In the past the only available model was the "respectable" middle-class family doing all the "respectable" things, and protected by the forces of law and order.

I think that the main purpose of books for young children should be to amuse them, encourage their imaginations and generally to open their eyes to the exciting possibilities of books. I've seen very few consciously political picture books which do all or any of these things. The Maoist morality tales are dreary and crudely moralistic about the "need to defend collective property" or "study the words of Chairman Mao." One of the few books with a clear political/ethical message which I would enthusiastically recommend is Sharon Loree's *The Sunshine Family and the Pony*.

When Natasha bursts into life at some unearthly hour demanding that we read books I am a harsh literary critic. The picture books mentioned below have maintained both our interests even in such adverse conditions. All are easily available including, I hope, from your favourite anarchist bookseller.

The Sunshine Family and the Pony, Sharon Loree, Macmillan, 95p. A group of adults and children move into the country to live together. They hold a meeting to decide how

they will share the work. A neighbour gives them a pony and they tie it to a tree during the day and keep it in a barn at night. The pony isn't happy and runs away. Eventually they realise that ponies, as well as people, need to be free.

Different Peter and Emma, Gunilla Wolde, Hodder & Stoughton, 70p. Peter and Emma are the same age but they are different. They live in different sorts of houses, have different families and pets, and they have different tastes. But they are friends.

All of Gunilla Wolde's books attempt to break away from sex-stereotypes. Other titles in print include *Thomas Bakes a Cake*, *Thomas and Sarah Dress Up*, *Emma's Workshop* and *Emma Quite Contrary*.

The Doctor, Leila Berg, Macmillan Little Nippers, 9p. Leila Berg is a well-known advocate of children's rights and is responsible for the Little Nippers series of books for very young children. They are well-produced and incredible cheap. *The Doctor* is about a boy who finds that his fear of going to see the doctor is unfounded. I only hope that your doctor allows children to play with the stethoscope like the fictional ones always do!



The Friend, John Burningham, Jonathan Cape, 60p. This is one of a series of simple books for very young children which are directly related to their experiences and interests. All are pleasantly illustrated in an almost child-like style with a sense of humour. Other titles include *The Baby*, *The Rabbit*, *The Dog*, *The Snow* and *The Cupboard*.

Boy, Was I Mad! Kathryn Hitté & Mercer Mayer, Collins Picture Lions, 45p. Ted is feeling so angry that he decides to run away from home. But he meets so many friendly people and does so many interesting things that he forgets how cross he is.

Milton the Early Riser, Robert Kraus, Jose & Ariane Aruego, Picture Puffin, 50p.

Milton the bear wakes up early one morning and goes out to play. Everybody else in the world is still asleep and they stay asleep no matter what he does.

Playschool Humpty's Rhymes, BBC Publications 55p. This is a humorous collection of rhymes — and there isn't a queen, policeman or sadist in sight!

Meg and Mog, Helen Nicol and Jan Pienkowski, Picture Puffin, 50p. Meg the witch is one of the most popular fictional characters in our household. Aided and abetted by Mog the cat and Owl, her spells are guaranteed to go wrong with hilarious results. Other titles are *Meg at Sea*, *Meg's Eggs* and *Meg on the Moon*.

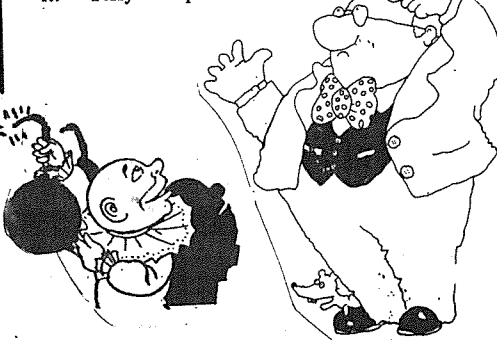
Where The Wild Things Are, Maurice Sendak, Picture Puffins, 75p. One night Max's bedroom gradually turns into a forest. He sails away across the sea and meets the ferocious Wild Things. As he tames them so he overcomes the childhood fear of shadows and darkness, and then he returns happily to his bedroom.

Father Christmas, Raymond Briggs, Picture Puffins, 75p. Raymond Briggs' Father Christmas is a lovable, tetchy, boozy character who would really prefer to be sunning himself on a beach far away from it all rather than clambering over snowy rooftops!

Big Dog, Little Dog, P.D. Eastman, Collins Picture Lions, 30p. This book humorously records the differences between Fred and Ted. It is a pleasant introduction to concepts of size, colour, etc.

How A Baby Is Made, Per Holm Knudsen, Pan Piccolo Books, 50p. This book is probably of value to children over five, but every child's sexual curiosity develops at a different rate. It's the best, reasonably cheap, sex education book for young children I've seen. The cartoon illustrations are explicit and full of humour. It's an ideal book to have around for children to satisfy their curiosity.

Fanshen The Magic Bear, Becky Sarah and Dana Smith, New Seed Press, 50p. The king sits in his castle doing nothing and getting richer and richer. Laura and her pony, Marigold, collect rent for the king from all the people in the country. Laura doesn't like her job because she realises that the people have to work very hard and sometimes they don't have enough food, or warm clothes in winter. Laura sees how unfair things are. Then one day she meets Fanshen the magic bear who suggests a simple solution: why don't they stop paying rent! Laura persuades the people to tell the king that they don't intend to pay rent again. The king is angry but he knows that there is nothing he can do about it. The people divide up the land equally and give the king a piece too. Eventually even he is happy working on the land. Laura has a new job: taking care of the park. And as in all the best revolution, everyone lives happily ever after.



BOOKS

Hitler's Children, Jillian Becker, Michael Joseph, £6.50.

Jillian Becker must by now be familiar to all those in Britain who followed T.V. and radio news reports of the Schleyer kidnapping. The publication of *Hitler's Children* (no, not secret revelations from Eva Braun's diary but a study of the "Baader-Meinhof gang") was so conveniently timed as to make her a handy 'authority' on West German terrorism in the eyes of the nation's news editors. And if appearing on every news bulletin helps sell a few more copies of her new book, as well as lending a hand in the crusade against the terror international, so much the better! For *Hitler's Children* is many things but one thing it isn't is objective.

Other studies of contemporary urban guerrilla groups have been published. Gordon Carr's *Angry Brigade* being perhaps the most sympathetic; and John Bryan's *This Soldier Still At War* giving a useful insight into the SLA. We should not expect writers who are not revolutionaries to do more than present the facts with an open mind. Carr's book was published after the Angry Brigade bombings, and so could afford to be honest. When the fighting is still in progress the state demands that every weapon be used against it. No one has yet attempted to publish an account sympathetic to the Provo IRA operations in England, and if they did would certainly not be allowed to air their views in news broadcasts after each fresh IRA action. A book presenting the truth about armed revolutionaries in West Germany is unthinkable. Even if published its author, printers and any bookseller in possession of a copy would immediately face prosecution: this was the case with Michael Baumann's *How It All Began*, even though that book was not even sympathetic to armed struggle.

The over-reaction of the German state is in some part simple paranoia, mixed with a genuine concern for the safety of its rulers' own skins (for each is thinking that after von Drenkman, Lorenz, Buback, Ponto and Schleyer, they might be next!) But it is not

so much those guerrillas fighting now which worries them so much as those which might follow the example of the RAF. With the appearance of the "2nd June Movement" and "Revolutionary Cells" just when the police were congratulating themselves on smashing the original RAF "hard core", and more recently the spectacular reappearance of a "new" RAF, West Germany's rulers are seeing their worst fears confirmed and are desperately cracking down even harder lest the rot spread. It is not small isolated bands of guerrillas which worries them, but the very real prospect of successor groups forming which are not isolated – the appearance of open class warfare.

Accordingly, the main thrust of West German 'national security' is aimed at containing and destroying the guerrilla before the scattered sparks of resistance break out into a conflagration. This applied equally, one might venture, to the Angry Brigade in Britain and the SLA in North America. What worried the police during the trial of the "Stoke Newington Eight" more than anything else was that an 'angrier' Angry Brigade would emerge; it explains too the savage massacre of six members of the SLA. It is the old formula of kill one and scare a hundred! This explains both the physical destruction in prison of captured guerrillas, and the anti-guerrilla campaign waged through the written word, which (and Becker's book is a classic example) concentrates on discrediting the guerrilla.

Becker convicts people in print of crimes that even the courts have not judged; she presents police statements (views as well as 'facts') as gospel without bothering to examine anything which conflicts with her own preconceived and fixed concepts. All those comrades shot down by the police suddenly become killed in "gun battles" . . . even though only the police were doing the shooting. So it was with Petra Schelm, shot dead by a trigger-happy cop whilst obeying the order to get out of her car. And George von Rauch and Tommy Weissbacker, two members of the Black Cross, each gunned down unarmed and with their hands in the air are here transformed by Becker into armed terrorists, "members of the RAF, who deliberately got themselves shot so as to provide the Black Cross with a couple of Martyrs!" Holgar Meins, one of the bravest of the RAF guerrillas, died whilst on hunger strike, even though that strike had been called off and he was under force feeding

by prison doctors; and Ulrike Meinhof did, according to Becker, hang herself. Medical evidence to suggest rape and murder by prison guards is simply discounted as fabrication! The list of deliberate factual distortions is as long as the book itself. For that is really all it is.

Not once does the author venture beyond the police version on anything. She denies the guerrillas all claim to an ideology; for her they are all simply criminals who choose to "express themselves" through violence. All the time the message is hammered home that the guerrilla has no motivation other than frustrated ambition. Meinhof turned, we are told, to bombs because her marriage failed and she sought emotional security amongst a group of crazies; Baader was a failure at everything except sex, a gangster who imitated Brando and cared more for fast cars than revolution; Ensslin only cared about Baader, and the rest joined the RAF out of guilt complexes for their wealthy backgrounds or because drugs, sex and hippy communes had twisted their brains! Any yet, whilst these made bombers have no ideas of their own and are simply 'criminals,' the state must find some political justification for singling them out for special treatment once in prison; so we are asked to believe that the books of Herbert Marcuse and Carlos Marighela are really to blame. What the defenders of the state cannot admit is that the guerrilla may have a point; for that would be to concede victory in what – however much it is publicly denied – is class war. And as in every war there can be no holds barred on either side.

Viewed against this background it is not surprising that the guerrilla campaign continues and grows more violent. The more serious the struggle, the more bitter the fighting, and the less room there is for those who sit on the fence. Becker has clearly chosen her side in the battle. Her book is one more weapon in the State's armoury. As a collection of lies, half-truths and distortion it excels. Rather than pay £6.50 or waste a library ticket, anyone curious to know Becker's views could more cheaply read them in the daily press reports – for they are no more than the drivel served up by crime reporters to show us that resistance doesn't pay.

Erwin Heimweh.

The Technology of Political Control, Carol Ackroyd, Karen Margolis, Jonathan Rosenhead and Tim Shallice, Penguin, 1977, 320pp £1.25.

In this book the authors have assembled useful descriptions of methods of surveillance, intimidation, disruption and destruction available to the governments of liberal and quasi-liberal democracies, principally Britain, in order to deal with those who actively dissent from the ruling political philosophy of class collaboration via parliamentary representation.

The authors use the term technology to cover everything from government manipulation of the legal process, through police and military strategy to drug torture and psychosurgery. Some of the practices described, such as mail opening and telephone tapping, or solitary confinement, are so well established as to make nonsense of the authors' claim that "The technology of political control is a new type of weaponry." The book is also marred by their standpoint of more or less orthodox Trotskyism, which makes the first eight chapters, some 60 pages, contentious to say the least.



Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin on trial in Frankfurt, 1968

Nevertheless, a vast amount of useful information has been gathered and the list of sources is over 16 pages long. The index is just about adequate. Simple but effective counter measures employable against several of the techniques are given and deserve the greatest possible publicity.

Mark Hendy.



Leopold Trepper — the "Direktor"

The Great Game, Leopold Trepper, Michael Joseph, £6.95p.

Of all the exploits of the anti-Nazi resistance, none have been so woven in legend or so little understood than those of the "Red Orchestra". A Soviet intelligence network set up under the direction of Leopold Trepper, operating throughout occupied Europe (and even within Germany itself), it set an astonishing record of success and personal heroism in a persistent and nerve wracking battle of wits with Nazi counter-intelligence, before finally betrayed by Moscow. Its story has since been the object of deliberate falsification in the West and the East, and has had to endure much sensational and ill-informed writing, resulting in, amongst others, the myth that it alone made possible the victory over Hitler.

Until now, only two books dealing with the "Red Orchestra" have emerged from this mass of pulp fiction and post-war propaganda that have been worthy of any serious consideration. The first, *The Red Orchestra*, by Giles Perrault had, as Trepper puts it, "the great merit" of enabling "specialists and the general public alike to know and understand the truth about the Red Orchestra in spite of the lies of the Nazis, the shadow of the cold war, and the omission of our adventure from the great chronicles of the resistance." Even with the subsequent publication of Heinz Hoehne's impressive *Codeword Direktor*, Perrault's book is still the most comprehensive and comprehending of the two. For the most authoritative account of the Red Orchestra we must turn to *The Great Game*, written by the man best qualified to know the truth — its "Direktor", Leopold Trepper is one of the great figures in spy history. A close friend of the legendary Richard Sorge, protege of Jan Berzin and a contemporary of our own Kim Philby, he became a communist because he was a Jew and entered into intelligence work as a logical progression of his revolutionary activism within the underground communist movements in Poland, Palestine and France. Trepper's intelligence activity was not a separate episode of his life but the climax of his work as a revolutionary communist and bitter opponent of fascism. It also enabled him to escape certain liquidation in

the Moscow of the 1930's where he had already begun to voice opposition to Stalin's purges. Seeing all the best comrades around him disappear one by one, he agreed to work under Jan Berzin, head of Red Army Intelligence (GRU), an old Bolshevik who himself fell victim to Stalin's internal terror policies. Explaining this decision, Trepper writes:

"Between the hammer of Hitler and the anvil of Stalin, the path was a narrow one for those of us who still believed in the revolution. Over and above our confusion and our anguish was the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, even though it had ceased to be the homeland of the socialism we had hoped for. This obvious fact forced my decision, and General Berzin's proposition allowed me to save my conscience. As a Polish citizen, as a Jew who had lived in Palestine, as an expatriate, as a journalist on a Jewish daily paper, I was ten times suspect in the eyes of the NKVD.

"My path was decided. It might end in a prison cell, a concentration camp, or against a wall. Yet by fighting far from Moscow, in the forefront of the anti-Nazi struggle, I could continue to be what I had always been: a militant revolutionary."

Undoubtedly, his departure to France to organise the Red Orchestra saved him from the purges that left not only Soviet Intelligence but the whole of the Red Army decimated and deprived of their most experienced men. Those few who escaped did so only because they could not be reached or, like Sorge, who was suspected of being a trotskyist, because they were still valuable for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Though heroic, the activities of the Red Orchestra naturally raise the question of how useful their contribution to the resistance was, and for that matter how much is the use of agents worth generally in the business of intelligence gathering. Heinz Hoehne pointed out that "... governments or General Staffs only take notice of and accept information provided by their own Secret Services when this tallies with their own preconceived ideas: when it cuts across some course of action already decided or some preconceived opinion on the part of authority, it is generally ignored." By way of illustration, Hoehne mentions the process as employed by the Germans: "The high-level picture of the enemy situation was built up from five sources: ground reconnaissance at the front, air reconnaissance, radio interception, study of enemy and neutral press and secret service reports. In order of reliability agent's reports came last. ... account was generally taken of agent's reports only in so far as they fitted in the overall appreciation of the situation." Trepper freely admits that much of the information he sent to Moscow was inaccurate or not used, and makes no wild claims for the effectiveness of his work. "No intelligence service determined the outcome of the conflict. ... The Red Orchestra was one of the essential elements of Soviet Intelligence, but it was not the only one ..." (Trepper).

Whilst not of decisive significance to the outcome of the war, the Red Orchestra did remain a constant thorn in the side of the Nazis and supplied rather more important intelligence to Moscow than is generally acknowledged. It was not that Trepper did not deliver the goods, but that the "Centre" did not choose to make use of what he supplied to them. Members of the Red Orchestra worked with the double disability of having to combat Nazi counter-intelligence and their own secret service. For, ultimately, intelligence is only as good as the use it is put to and Trepper's book is full of instances

where the intelligence was of the highest importance but was simply disregarded by the analysts on the personal orders of Stalin. This, as Trepper discovered after the war, whilst imprisoned in Moscow, was partly out of political considerations on the part of Stalin:

"... My activities in the Red Orchestra were not in question. ... what they could not forgive me for was having been chosen by General Berzin. The examining officer who had the guts to give up my case had spoken the truth: I had been suspect since 1938."

Inside Germany the Red Orchestra was represented by the Schulze-Boysen/Harnack group, described by Hoehne as "... a conglomeration of young communists, Marxists and left-wing pacifists; it drew its recruits from the working class and left wing intellectual bohemians; though it had sectarian undertones, it was determined to fight the Nazi dictatorship without compromise." Schulze-Boysen was a young anti-fascist aristocrat who feigned conversion to fascism, married into a family close to Goering and rose to a high post in the Luftwaffe, whilst passing information on to Moscow. He also organised at the same time physical resistance against the Nazis; in Trepper's view a mistake, as he maintained that the two functions (intelligence and resistance) should be strictly separated as a safety precaution, a precaution that Schulze-Boysen did not take, and events were to prove Trepper right.

What is revealing in the passages dealing with Germany is the picture which Trepper builds up of judges, policemen and military figures engaged in the counter-offensive against the German resisters. All had one thing in common — the belief that the state, even though founded on concentration camps, had a valid claim to the loyalty of its citizens. Resistance to the state, particularly in time of war and helped by the Soviet Union at that, was in their eyes the greatest of evils to be stamped out ruthlessly. "It is undeniable", Trepper writes, "that German resisters working on the inside played a very special role in the struggle against Nazism. Obviously, for a Frenchman, a Belgian, a Pole or a Czech, commitment to the struggle raised no problems of conscience ... but for a German, did it not amount to betraying his own country?" "The Schulze-Boysens did not hesitate over the answer. They had close experience with the monstrosity of Nazism ... I am aware that often this choice is held against them, and that in West Germany they are frequently regarded as traitors, while agents who worked for the English are celebrated as heroes. As if, because they collaborated with the USSR, these men and women had not contributed to the same victory."

What the 'patriotism' of those who labelled the German resistance as 'traitors' meant in practice can be seen by what one of Trepper's Gestapo jailers, Willy Berg, told him after he was arrested in 1942: "I was a policeman in the time of the Kaiser, I was a policeman under the Weimar Republic, and now I'm a cop under Hitler. Tomorrow, I could just as well serve Thaelmann's regime." It is the very same people who welcomed Hitler who today denounce the resistance of groups like the RAF from behind democratic masks.

Most of the bravest members of the Red Orchestra are now dead — executed, killed by the Gestapo under interrogation or snuffed out slowly in concentration camps; a few even preferred to commit suicide rather than betray their comrades. Theirs is a story of quiet and uncelebrated courage. For those few that survived their struggle has never ended. The "liberation" brought Trepper ten years in

Soviet prisons as his reward. Others have since died naturally or disappeared (Rado, head of the reserve network in Switzerland, surfaced only recently with the publication of his own account). One survivor was raided by the French police as late as 1963! Though only one, a Czech, has been proven to have continued her work for the GRU since the war.

It has been a much different story for the Red Orchestra's Nazi enemies. Many found work with the security forces of the German Federal Republic — like SS Untersturmfuehrer Johan Strieberg (Gestapo), once in charge of the Red Orchestra investigations and until 1963 a member of the West German secret service — and others, like Manfred Roeder (the Nazi judge who condemned the members of the Red Orchestra to death and was known as Hitler's bloodhound), live as comfortable members of the new German middle class. Roeder now lives a prosperous life as a lawyer and mayor of a small town; and is still keeping old habits alive as a leading figure in several neo-Nazi organisations as well as maintaining links with the National Front and British Movement here in Britain.

The western bourgeoisie who today hail "dissident" intellectuals like Solzhenitsyn as champions of freedom are silent over Trepper. And with good reason, for despite everything Leopold Trepper remains a convinced revolutionary:

"We wanted to change man, and we have failed. This century has brought forth two monsters, fascism and Stalinism, and our ideal has been engulfed in this apocalypse. The absolute idea that gave meaning to our lives has acquired a face whose features we no longer recognise. Our failure forbids us to give advice, but history has too much imagination to repeat itself, it remains possible to hope.

"I do not regret the commitment of my youth. I do not regret the paths I have taken. In Denmark, in the fall of 1973, a young man asked me in a public meeting, 'Haven't you sacrificed your life for nothing?' I replied, 'No'."

"No, on one condition: that people understand the lesson of my life as a communist and a revolutionary, and do not turn themselves over to a deified party. I know that youth will triumph where we have failed, that Socialism will succeed, and that it will not have the colour of the Russian tanks that crushed Prague."

Many others fought as bravely as Trepper but remain in anonymity. As Giles Perrault pointed out: "Like every other art, spying has its unknown men of talent; they are, needless to say, its greatest practitioners." Trepper is rare only in surviving to tell the tale. His life and work remain as a lesson and inspiration for all who come after.

D.T.



Obras de Teatro, Ricardo Flores Magon;
Discursos de Ricardo Flores Magon;
Articulos de Combate, Praxedis G. Guerrero,
Ediciones Antorcha, Mexico, 1977.

These three books are the latest to appear from "Ediciones Antorcha", a small anarchist publishing house in Mexico City directed by our comrade Omar Cortes. At the moment Antorcha is engaged in reprinting anarchist "classics", in particular the collected works of Ricardo Flores Magon, the most important and influential of all Mexican anarchists. Magon's works, first published between 1923 and 1925 in 10 small volumes under the title *Vida y Obra*, are now sadly unobtainable, so Antorcha's work in re-circulating them is of the greatest value.

Already Antorcha have brought out Vol. I and 2 of Magon's works, in 1975 and 1976 respectively. Vol. 1, *Epistolario Revolucionario e Intimo* (Vols. VIII, IX, and X of *Vida y Obra*) comprise letters written by Magon from Leavenworth prison, Kansas, between 1920 and his death in 1922, and Vol. 2, *Para que sirve la autoridad y otros cuentos* (Vols. IV and V of *Vida y Obra*) is a collection of beautiful little dialectical stories and dialogues written for the semi-literate and the young.

Before all else a word of congratulation must be given to the comrades of Antorcha for the quality and presentation of these three new books. They are beautifully produced in paperback form with the best cover design the writer has seen for a long time. All anarchist groups engaged in publishing and printing throughout the world should take special note to see how well fairly cheap propaganda can be produced.

Obras de Teatro is volume 3 of Magon's works (Vol. VI and VII of *Vida y Obra*) and contains the plays *Tierra y Libertad*, written in 1915, and *Verdugas y Victimas*, written in 1917 (and as far as the writer knows never staged). Both these little four act plays are in fact dramatic propaganda, and bring home to people, possibly more forcibly than read propaganda, the evils of society and the ways to overcome them. In passing it is of interest to note that Magon wrote two screenplays for films while he was in prison, his intention being to make these films on his release; but on his death in Leavenworth these were never handed over with his personal effects by the prison authorities.

Discursos de Ricardo Flores Magon is Vol. 4 (Vol. III of *Vida y Obra*), a collection of speeches given by Magon between 1910 and 1917. While most of them were made at meetings that dwelt directly with the Mexican Revolution, there are two that honour Francisco Ferrer and the Chicago Martyrs.

The third book, *Articulos de Combate*, is a collection of the writings of Praxedis G. Guerrero, Magon's comrade in arms and secretary of the Partido Liberal Mexicano, whose untimely death in December 1910 while leading a P.L.M. group at the very beginning of the Mexican Revolution at the early age of 28, robbed the P.L.M. of one of its best organisers. Guerrero's writings are taken from Magon's papers *Revolucion* and *Regeneracion* as well as his own *Puerto Rojo*, and deal with a wide range of subjects including women's emancipation, rationalist education and the condition of Mexican workers and the Chicanos in the United States. Also included are Guerrero's accounts of three episodes of the 1908 uprising, the attacks on Viesca, Palomas and Las Vacas. His epitaph for the latter could well be the epitaph for the Mexican Revolution of 1910 — 1920:

"A failure, murmur some voices.

Example, teaching, stimulation, immortal

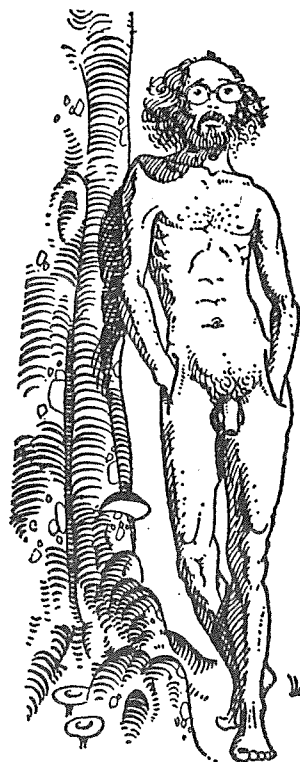
episode of a revolution that will triumph, says logic".

This selection (which should be read in conjunction with Pietro Ferrua's excellent study *Gli Anarchici Nella Rivoluzione Messicana: Praxedis G. Guerrero*, La Fiaccola, Ragusa) is the only edition now available of Guerrero's writings and is supplemented with some of Magon's letters to Guerrero and Guerrero's letters to Manuel Sarraha, as well as a very useful chronology.

With the revival of interest in Ricardo Flores Magon and the anarchist involvement in the Mexican Revolution, the timely appearance of these three books is one of the greatest value.

Dave Poole

(Cienfuegos Press intend to publish the complete works of R.F.M. in English at some future date.)



Socialism and the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis, Sheila Rowbotham and Jeffrey Weeks, Pluto Press, 198pp, p/b £1.80.

Edward Carpenter (1844-1928) was an influential writer on sexual matters. A wealthy homosexual, he first became a clergyman but abandoned the Christian belief and sought refuge from respectability in the socialist movement and a rural retreat. He did not abandon his wealth, and his socialism was of a moderate kind.

The fashioning of a new life style while retaining a position of privilege finds echoes today in the revolt against male domination and sexual orthodoxy within the middle class. It is less easy to see why anyone should want to read about Havelock Ellis (1859-1939). He was a pioneer advocate of freer sex and wrote prolifically but he never abandoned the authoritarian position that sex is basically for procreation. His politics were close to fabianism and he advocated eugenics, i.e. selective breeding. Despite his widespread

influence, the National Stud is, nevertheless, so far confined to racehorses; although, as the birthrate drops, there is once again talk of test-tube babies . . .

"Personal and sexual politics" are essentially preoccupations of the middle class, the professional petty bourgeois. This class is the principle upholder, within society, of property, country, and obedience to authority – the cornerstones of ruling class morality which the ruling class flouts at will but which serves to conceal exploitation and justify domination, confusing the workers as to their real interests. The middle class spends its life narrowly obsessed with professional ambition and rivalry but one of its basic social functions is to drum bourgeois ideals into the proletariat through the churches, schools, the law, the press and TV. Emotional starvation and sexual repression are major factors in securing the rigid structuring of middle class life. As bourgeois restraints upon sex ease slightly, "personal and sexual politics" surface to reformulate middle class mores.

For anarchists, the approach to personal and sexual behaviour is rather different. Anarchism takes its ideals from the daily life of the working class. The working class is exploited and must struggle for its emancipation, indeed to survive. In the course of their daily struggles the workers come into conflict with exploitation and domination in every form, including the bourgeois moralising of the middle class. The working class evolves instead its own morality of equality, solidarity, freedom. Anarchist ideas on personal relationships, like anarchist ideas on anything else, simply strive to clarify or develop or perpetuate the best ideas produced by the working class; they boil down, in the end, to "live and let live."

Human beings, to be sure, have undeniable needs. Without a certain level of satisfaction of those needs the human organism cannot function in everyday life. But the central fact of everyday life for the working class is exploitation and this denies the workers any right to the satisfaction of their needs. This is why the class struggle comes about, and it will continue until the workers put an end to their exploitation by taking over the means of production and establishing a classless society. People who really want that will live as equals in their common fight to achieve it.

Mark Hendy.

A New World For Women : Stella Browne – Socialist Feminist, Sheila Rowbotham, Pluto Press 1977, paperback £1.50, hardback £3.60. 128pp.

Stella Browne was a tireless fighter against sexual oppression, who stood out from many of her contemporaries by her refusal to accept "ameliorative welfare, the neutrality of the state" or the demand for a separate women's sphere in politics, although she understood the emphasis on women's biological situation that was predominant within the feminist movement during the early 1920s.

Most of the "new" feminists of that time looked only at particular aspects of sexual oppression and so tended to think almost solely in terms of partial, state-directed reforms, which could be absorbed by the status quo, without directly challenging the root causes. There also existed, however, a more radical, direct action "wing" to the feminist movement, represented by people such as Rose Witcop, and Stella Browne's friend, Margaret Sanger.

It was to this group that Stella Browne was allied.

Margaret Sanger, an American and friend of Big Bill Haywood, was a strong influence on Stella from the time of their first meeting in 1914. Although she later moved to the right in an attempt to gain wider political support for birth control, Margaret Sanger came from a controversial and radical background. Her pamphlet *Family Limitation* was distributed in the USA by members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and an earlier tract *The Woman Rebel* was seized by the authorities on obscenity grounds. In England *Family Limitation* was published by her anarchist friend Rose Witcop (and her companion, Guy Aldred).

For this, both Rose and Guy were prosecuted on an obscenity charge during 1922 and 1923, and Stella Browne was one of the people who became active in their defence, although this represented only a single aspect of her campaign. She was continually travelling the country, addressing women's meetings on practical methods of birth control, abortion and the right of all women to control their own lives and bodies.

Although Stella Browne was a member of the Communist Party for two years, she belongs to that branch of socialism (as does Sheila Rowbotham herself) which is uncompromising and libertarian in perspective, and it is perhaps fitting that she should have a biographer who echoes so much of what Stella herself stood and worked for all her life.

As an added bonus two articles by Stella have been included as Appendixes to the biographical account. They are: "The sexual variety and variability among women" and "The right to abortion."

I do have two grumbles with this book, however, and the first is perhaps only technical. I would have preferred to have the references either as footnotes, or gathered together at the end of the book, as it is, they're situated about two-thirds of the way through, which I found a little awkward. Secondly, while Sheila Rowbotham places Stella very accurately within the political and social context of her time, there was very little by way of personal detail, and while I enjoyed the book, I was left feeling that I still did not know Stella Browne as a woman, only as a politician.

That said, the book still provides a useful brick in the reconstruction of the history of socialism in this country during this century, and as such it can give us a much more clearly defined sense of self, and so is to be welcomed.

M.E.

Communist Politics in Britain: The CPGB from its Origins to the Second World War, Hugo Dewar, Pluto Press, 1976, £1.80.

The author of this analysis of the 20 year political evolution of the major UK revolutionary party was himself expelled from it as a Trotskyist in 1932. That he is well qualified for the task undertaken is proved by this valuable and readable book based on study of what must have been a quite daunting mass of CP Press verbiage. It is not a history which he points out may be found elsewhere. His theme is the political reaction conditioned through the Comintern by the Bolsheviks, demonstrating the side-stepping, somersaulting, back-stepping of the King Street puppets as their strings were manipulated from afar.

That influence was natural enough in the beginning. Whilst a CP was being born in England Willy Gallacher was a Clyde shop

stewards delegate to the 1920 2nd Comintern Congress. Lenin sought him out and successfully persuaded him to drop his anti-parliamentary ideas and intention to form a Scottish Communist Party in favour of joining up with the English. That was particularly unfortunate for it resulted in the break-up of the strong partnership and friendship of Gallacher and John MacLean and disunity of the revolutionary elements in Scotland.

It was also understandable that during the formative years of the USSR foreign parties be exploited to aid the young republic and to combat the machinations of the capitalist countries. But Stalin was to go further. His own internal machinations became his obsession with everyone exploitable being suborned. Thus the outside parties had to twist as he did and for his benefit, not theirs. Most disastrous was his refusal to allow the German party to join the Social Democrats in fighting the rising Nazis – until too late – and to fight them instead, thus aiding, not hindering Hitler.

Most notorious of the CPGB's twists was in 1939. Stalin made his incredible pact with Hitler in August because Chamberlain had dilly-dallied too long over his proposed pact. Britain declared war when Hitler invaded Poland in September and the CPGB pledged complete support, issuing Harry Pollitt's pamphlet "How to Win the War" nationwide. But Stalin then marched into Poland and that country was sliced in two. Both called for peace and then labelled the Allies the warmongers when that was refused. The CPGB still called for all-out war against Hitler and their CC was in session in King Street drafting a manifesto to that effect when they were interrupted. Their National Organiser Springhall, thought then to be in Moscow, marched in unexpectedly.

"Springie" read the draft manifesto, ripped it up and slung the bits into the waste-paper basket. "This is an Imperialist war. The Party must fight against it, not for it!" was his message. The manifesto was re-written to that effect, the pamphlet withdrawn from the branches and author Pollitt sacked, for the moment, from his job as secretary. Of course when Hitler later attacked the USSR and the Allies and Reds shook hands the CPGB had to turn again and declare the war a worthwhile one after all!

Brevity and purpose preclude much mention of personalities by Hugo Dewar, even Springhall isn't identified in the tale above although his death is cited later in showing the CPGB's utter disregard of personal loyalty as being vapid bourgeois sentiment for the *Daily Worker's* obituary amounted to only a couple of lines. "Springie's" devotion to the Party had been lifelong and included four years in gaol (reduced from seven) for obtaining secrets for the USSR during the Hitler war as well as being wounded in the Spanish war. He was active in China when he died a decade ago and certainly had earned a long obituary in the *DW*.

An amusing sidelight on the mentality of the CPGB was thrown on them when Pollitt organised all-out canvassing for the Liberal at the 1938 by-election because the Labour candidate was erstwhile member Reg Groves who had been expelled as one of the first Trotskyites six years earlier.

There is certainly much ammunition in this book for anarchists or any others seeking to know their enemy.

Barry Duncan.

Peoples of the Sea, Immanuel Velikovsky (*Ages in Chaos*, Vol. iv), Sidgwick & Jackson 1977, £5.95.

A new Velikovsky is a rare event. His first book *Worlds in Collision* (1950) where he established the world catastrophe that occurred, he claims, in historical times, was followed by a revision of history *Ages in Chaos* (1952). He then turned to support his cataclysmic theory – *Earth in Upheaval* (1955) – and in 1960 published *Oedipus and Akhnaton*, an identification arising from his redating of ancient history.

He has now expanded *Ages in Chaos* into four volumes. Vol. II has not yet been published, and Vol. III is about to be published. This is to correct the story of ancient history and his facts seem unchallengeable, always with the proviso – at least to a layman. It is surprising how tenuous is the thread by which the whole science of Egyptology hangs. Yet the entire history of the ancient world is related to it. Revising the dates affords at the very least a fascinating jigsaw puzzle. It also awakens an intense interest in the ancients.

There is no particular hope of any sort to be gained from Velikovsky; most scientists agree there could be cosmic collisions in the future, he maintains they were the historical past. But if his theory is correct, and his revised chronology is correct too, it affords some ecological hope to those depressed by the effects of the State and capitalism. Even the greatest disasters have been suffered in the past, and yet there have been survivors. The human race may yet survive atomic explosion and relentless erosion, and a flowering of civilisation could even come after it. Only we won't be there to see it.



The Cuban Revolution : A Critical Perspective, Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1976, £4.00.

The people are eating better, have free health care, subsidised or free housing, mass transit fares are only token – claims like these unite the apologists of state capitalist tyranny from China westwards to Russia, ports in between, then southward to China. Written with well fed righteous indignation, these decent “liberal” people breath condescension to all that question the lack of freedom in the so-called Communist States – “Freedom is a bourgeois luxury!” they sneer, echoing Lenin, wallowing in their calorie counted guilt complexes. They they go on to tell us about the increase in the tons of pig iron produced or sugar cane cut under the ever glorious current Five Year Plan, blithely ignoring the prison camps, the repression of all civil rights (in the name of the Revolution!), revelling in the mindless

uniformity of appearance, ideas and mass demonstrations. They like to tell us that the uniformity is proof of the on-going democratic impulses of the Revolution, rather than the forced results of Statist repression . . .

Of course these are the very same people that raise their dainty hands in horror at fixed union elections, pornography statutes and the displacement of left wing mini-parties from election ballots. Filled with guilt about having three square meals a day they cast their sneering pearls before us swine, in the self-fulfilling prophetic hope that we will continue to be the same boors we always have been. You know the type: they get a free trip behind the iron/bamboo/sugar cane curtain and tell us of the wonders of the regimented life in the workers’ fatherlands. “Free” for them; the regimented working stiff foots the bill without being asked, courtesy of “his” State.

Serve the People! (who are, after all, too dumb to serve themselves); Cheap Bus Fares on the road to Socialism, don’t need a car, cause the trains now run on time, thanks to the Wisdom of the Selfless Conductor; the only songs to be sung are *lider*.

Fidel Castro as a variation of the “traditional” Latin American *lider maximo*, a *caudillo* sprinkled with Stalinist rhetoric – this is one of the most interesting aspects in Sam Dolgoff’s latest book, *The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective*. Dolgoff gives example after example of Latin American dictators – all of whom were looked down upon by our fine feathered fellow travellers – who ensured their mass support through the implementation of social reform policies. The only difference between them and Castro is the rhetoric department. The traditional *caudillo* was propped up by Yankee Imperialism; Fidel, by the Soviets.

Going back to the 1924 Ibanez dictatorship in Chile, we see that social welfare policies were pursued; the *Junta* that grabbed power in Peru in 1968 instituted social reforms as well (and he quotes Castro as saying that the Peruvian agrarian reform was much more “radical” than what was done in Cuba after the Revolution).

The best example of a right wing *caudillo* following social welfare policies – is that of Juan Peron in Argentina. Although the original basis of Peron’s power was the military, his real base of support lay in his own (and Evita’s) popularity with the *descamisados* – the “shirtless ones.” That and control of the labour movement.

In this regard, Dolgoff documents the actual links between Peron and Castro – the latter’s proclamation of days of mourning on the occasion of Peron’s death; that Super-Revolutionary Che Guevara was in informal contact with leading Peronists. The idea of Castro as *caudillo* is more than just a matter of interpretation; it was an affinity recognised by Castro himself.

Castro’s accession to power, too, is not so far from the palace coup tradition as we have been led to believe. There is no doubt that his 26 July Movement fought hard and bravely against Batista – but the 26th July Movement was not the only anti-Batista force operating in Cuba – there were groups all over the country, all of whom wore down the Batista regime to the point of collapse – groups both in the country and the city (the role of urban anti-Batista forces has been consistently downplayed – they did not support Castro). Among the many fascinating documents included in this book (many for

the first time in English) is a series of articles (“Revolution and Counter-Revolution”) written by the veteran Cuban anarchist, Abelardo Iglesias. One of those articles, “History of a Fraud: the ‘March on Havana’,” describes exactly how Castro came to actual power. We can do no better than quote Iglesias:

“The romantic aura surrounding Castro’s legendary exploits must be dispelled. The myth of his alleged “March on Havana” captured the imagination of his deluded sympathisers, must once and for all be debunked. We who lived in Cuba, who witnessed, and to a certain extent participated in the events, have too much respect for the truth to remain silent in the face of such serious misconceptions.

The facts are the following: Weeks before Batista fled Cuba, when the rebel forces advanced in Las Villas Province without meeting serious resistance from government troops, Fidel Castro, almost immobilised in Oriente province, contacted Colonel Rizo Rubido, military commander of the fortress at Santiago de Cuba, and began negotiations with this officer of the Batista army for the surrender of the city, the capital of Oriente Province . . . With the help of a Catholic priest . . . Fidel Castro and General Cantillo reached full agreement and General Cantillo surrendered Santiago de Cuba and the whole province . . . to Castro. These events were related to Castro himself on television and reported in 1959 in the magazine “Bohemia”, which reproduced actual photographs of the notes exchanged between Fidel Castro and General Cantillo.

Fulgencio Batista then summoned General Cantillo to Havana and told him of his decision to abdicate and appoint him (General Cantillo) as Commander in Chief of the army to maintain order and return the country to normalcy. General Cantillo accepted Batista’s offer and immediately contacted Fidel Castro, informing him that he was ready to not only surrender Oriente Province, but the whole country. A few hours later, Batista . . . left Havana for Santo-Domingo . . . This happened at dawn, January 1st, 1959.

With the flight of Batista, all the armed forces surrendered without firing a single shot. General Cantillo transferred command of his army to Colonel Ramon Barquin who had just been released, after being sentenced to imprisonment for conspiring against the Batista government.

Upon assuming command . . . Colonel Barquin told Fidel Castro that the army and he personally was at his disposal and under his orders and that he (Barquin) would remain only as long as Castro wants me or until he was replaced.

Fidel Castro immediately ordered his rebel troops to occupy all installations, barracks and fortresses. In line with these orders, Camillo Cienfuegos with a force of only 300 men, occupied Camp Military City after 12,000 Batista troops, including aviation, artillery and tank units, surrendered without firing a shot . . . (Dolgoff, p.91f.) Power then was handed to Castro.

Castro – in common with traditional Latin American *caudillos* – has made great strides in the area of social welfare policies – this cannot be denied. And through the Communist Party, he controls the labour movement. The biggest deviation of Castro from the traditional *caudillo* pattern is his relations with the Communists. The traditional *lideres maximos* took power claiming that their coups were the country’s only alternative to communism; and repression of communists

followed. But this does not take into account the history of the Cuban Communist Party (CPC) – a history of collaboration with brutal right-wing dictators. Founded by 10 people in 1925 during the Machado dictatorship, the CPC (then known as the PSP – People's Socialist Party) began its career of treachery to the working class as Machado's regime collapsed. It was during the reign of Machado that the Cuban Anarcho-Syndicalist movement was dealt near death blows – it took Fidel to finish them off. In August 1933 a general strike started the downfall of Machado – spearheaded by the Anarcho-Syndicalist-influenced trolley workers union and the Communist-controlled bus workers union. In a desperate last-minute attempt to preserve power, Machado negotiated with the Communists – if they would call off the general strike, he would recognise the Party and place its bureaucrats at the head of some of the labour unions. This agreement was made between the regime and the Central Committee of the Communist-controlled CNOC (National Confederation of Cuban Workers). The rest of the story is told in the "Manifesto to the Cuban Workers and People in General" written by the Federation of Anarchist Groups:

The communists made frantic appeals to the workers to go back to work because the employers granted their demands. But the workers (including even the Havana bus and transportation union, controlled by the communists) refused. They decided to obey only their own conscience and to continue resistance until the Machado regime is overthrown or forced to flee.

Machado and his communist allies retaliated. No labour union was allowed to meet. The Havana Federation of Labour (FOH, founded by the anarcho-syndicalists), to which the largest number of non-political labour unions were affiliated could not meet because it did not have a signed authorisation from the government. Only the communists, thanks to their betrayal, were allowed to meet. Armed with revolvers while all others were forbidden to hold or carry arms and constitutional rights were suspended, the communists held meetings, rode in automobiles burning gasoline supplied by the army because the filling stations were closed by the strike . . .

. . . in conclusion we want the workers and the people of Cuba to know that the rent for the offices of the communist party labour front the CNOC is paid by the Machado regime, that the furniture was forcibly taken away from the Havana Federation of Labour offices with the permission and active help of Machado's Secretary of War . . . (Dolgoft p.48f)

To gain a power foothold, the Communists were ready to betray the popular rising. Twenty-one days after Machado fell, the Batista dictatorship began. Under Batista, only one "union" – "Labour Front" is the better word – was recognised: the CTC (Cuban Confederation of Labour). In 1940, the PSP, then led by Francisco Calderio (alias Blas Roca) agreed to and did support Batista's candidates in the elections. The pay-off – and I am not using the word sarcastically – was to turn over the leadership and control of the State-sanctioned CTC to the Communists. Installed by the gangster regime as its head was the Communist Lazaro Pena. And as if that act of betrayal were not enough, Communists were given positions in the presidential cabinet – partners in crime! Sam Dolgoft notes:

"... In exchange for these favours the

communists guaranteed Batista labour peace. In line with the Communist Party's "Popular Front against Fascism" policy, the alliance of the Communist Party with the Batista was officially consummated when the Party joined the . . . government. The Communist Party leaders Carlos Rafael Rodriguez and Juan Marinello (who now hold high posts in the Castro government) became Ministers Without Portfolio in Batista's Cabinet". To illustrate the intimate connections between the communists and Batista, we quote from a letter to Batista to Blas Roca, Secretary of the Communist Party:

June 13, 1944

Dear Blas,

With respect to your letter which our mutual friend, Dr. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez Minister Without Portfolio, passed to me, I am happy to again express my firm unshakable confidence in the loyal cooperation the People's Socialist Party . . . its leaders and members have given and continue to give myself and my government . . . Believe me, as always, Your very affectionate and cordial friend,

Fulgencio Batista. (Dolgoft, p.53). The Communists collaborated with Batista in writing Cuba's 1940 Constitution – a "democratic" constitution that coexisted with Batista's dictatorship in the same way that Stalin's "democratic" constitution coexisted with Stalinism. Blas Roca wrote:

Together, Batista and ourselves, with the energetic mobilisation of the popular masses, achieved the convocation of the free and sovereign Constituent Assembly, the normalisation of the University, the amnesty for political prisoners; measures that created a climate of guarantees and liberty in the country, that brought the legalisation of activity, together with our Party, to all parties and revolutionary sectors, thus initiating the process of normal and peaceful development of all civic activities.

Thanks to our collaboration with President Batista, we can affirm today without arrogance that the people of Cuba have the magnificent Constitution of 1940.¹

Batista lost to Grau Martin in the early 40s. In 1947, Grau turned against the Communists; a drive to purge communists from the CTC was instituted. But the communists were not just mere victims of government-organised red-baiting; a reflection of their loss in popularity was shown in their dismal performance in national elections. When Batista regained power in 1952, the party zigged and zagged – at the same time! – a difficult feat, even for those most adroit of zig-zaggers. Officially the Party opposed Batista – at the same time leading Communists served in the government.²

When Fidel Castro entered the stage with his ill-fated attack on the Moncada Barracks in 1953, his act was roundly condemned by the Communists:

"We repudiate the putschist methods, peculiar to bourgeois political factions, of the action . . . which was an adventurist attempt to take both military headquarters. The heroism displayed by the participants . . . is false and sterile, as it is guided by mistaken bourgeois conceptions. But even more we repudiate the repression dictated by the government. . ."

The entire country knows who organised, inspired and directed the action . . . and knows that the Communists had nothing to do with it. The line of the PSP and the mass movement has been to combat the Batista tyranny and to unmask the putschists and

adventurist activities of the bourgeois opposition as being against the interests of the people . . .³ It was not until after Batista's generals handed power to Castro that the Communists started to openly support Castro – an extremely embarrassing position for a "revolutionary" collaborator with a right-wing dictator. It was the influence of Soviet bloc aid and Fidel Castro's opportunism that led to the Castro-Communist fusion – prior to that time, he had talked in terms of "neither capitalism nor communism."

On Dec. 2, 1961, Castro delivered his famous "I am a Marxist-Leninist and will remain one until the last days of my life" speech. H. Zeitlin and Scheer, in their *Cuba: Tragedy in our Hemisphere*, maintain that he never made the statement.⁴ Whether he made the statement or not, I don't know; that he did is supported by what Herbert Mathews wrote about conversations in Cuba after the speech:

"... On my next trip to Cuba I complained to him and everybody I met, not that the embrace of Marxism-Leninism was now open, but that his . . . speech was so badly constructed and confusing that his enemies could pick sentences out of it . . . to give the impression that Fidel was confessing he had been a Communist since his college days. He agreed with me that, of course, he had not meant to imply this. . . My Cuban friends commiserated with me over the way Fidel had made his startling announcement, but the damage was minor and it could not be undone".⁵

In the final analysis, of course, whether he made that particular statement is of little importance: there can be no doubt today that he aligns himself wholly with the Communists – not to mention that he is the First Secretary of the C.P.'s Central Committee. . .

Let us return to the theme of the Communist betrayal of the working class and collaboration with the dictatorship. The C.P.C. control of the C.T.C. (Castro, incidentally, turned leadership of the C.T.C. over to one who had experience under Batista: the Communist Lazaro Pena) is similar to the activities of Portuguese Communists – setting up one state sanctioned union under Communist control. In Spain, there are tendencies within the same direction: witness the Communist participation in the closest thing Spain had to a state-sanctioned "union" – the so-called "Workers' Commissions." And the recent announcements by Santiago Carrillo that the Communists are willing to recognise the monarchy! Franco's boy, Juan Carlos, embracing the old Stalinist hack – or rather vice versa. Memories of Uncle Joe and Adolf! Communist betrayal is nothing new (only a *caudillo* welcoming it is) – remember the K.P.D. collaboration with the Nazis? May 1974 – a million railroad workers in India go on strike – the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.) opposing it. More than 60,000 workers were imprisoned. When Indira Gandhi declared her State of Emergency in June 1975, only two political parties supported her: the Congress Party (her own) and – you guessed it – the C.P.I.

Let us return to our professional "liberal" apologists who see free medical care, free/subsidised housing, cheap bus fares and free education (but not education to think, to develop, to create, to be free; education to do what the State requires) as the be-all and end-all of social existence. The Cuban economy (as with the other so-called "communist" states) is in reality State Capitalism: wage slavery, managerial hierarchy, extraction of profits from the workers' labour power, leaders

and led, masters and slaves, "alienated" labour. As in the other so-called Communist countries, workers' self-management of the means of production does not exist; everything in the hands of the State, for the State, by the State. How does it pay the State to provide so many "free" services? Since the communists have destroyed every attempt by the people to develop social institutions, practices, etc., under their own control and at their own initiative, it cannot be that the State is simply being solicitous of its subjects' (victims') well-being. Then why? One, it goes towards assuring popular support for the regime; two, by providing all of these "free" services, wage costs are cut – hence more profit – to be ploughed back into the economy to be used for the financing of coercion, and enable the Party leaders to live in the style to which they have become accustomed. "Free" social services as a factor in reducing production costs (wages) was analysed particularly well in a document written in 1964 by the two Polish communist dissidents – who both received jail terms for their efforts – "An Open Letter to the Party" by Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. In regard to free medical aid, they noted:

"The workers receive medical care free and can buy medicines at a discount, but these are necessary in order to preserve his labour power; they are the ingredients of his subsistence minimum. If free medical care were abolished and rents increased, the workers' wages would have to be raised in proportion to the increase in his necessary expenses. These non-returnable benefits and services are a necessary part of the workers' subsistence minimum, a wage supplement as necessary to the workers as wages themselves, and therefore a constituent of production costs".⁶

Healthier wage slaves make for healthier production norms; in a developing economy such as Cuba's, the need for more educated wage slaves is necessary – hence the educational reforms. Social reform policies – no matter how beneficial and/or well-meaning – are not signs of Revolution. They can be and have been granted just as easily under reactionaries – witness Bismarck's social security programmes. They serve to increase profits, insure mass support, and thus perpetuate the system (whatever that system may be). In other words – give it to them, before they start taking it for themselves.

Theoretically, the end product of Castroism-Communism is supposed to be the "New Socialist Man" – people motivated by higher ethical/moral imperatives. The social welfare reforms are supposed to be supplying the pre-conditions for true freedom. Freedom, however, cannot be given. *IT MUST BE TAKEN*. Dolgoff notes:

"But all attempts to institute socialism by decree, as Bakunin foresaw over a century ago, leads inevitably to the enslavement of the people by the authoritarian State. They (sic) attempt to build communism failed because the "new socialist man" can be formed only within the context of a new and free society, based not upon compulsion, but upon voluntary co-operation. The attempt failed because it was not implemented by thoroughgoing libertarian changes in the authoritarian structure of Cuban society. Communisation and forming the "new socialist man" actually camouflaged the militarisation of Cuba. . ."

(Dolgoff, p. 154)

Authoritarian means result in authoritarian ends: and the "new socialist man" has become the voluntary slave. That "thoroughgoing libertarian changes" were not implemented was

not due to the lack of trying, as this book demonstrates. The Cuban anarcho-syndicalists fought the good fight. They tried to show and tried to implement these changes. The answer by the Moulders of "New Socialist Man" was – Repression. The results we see today: the Cuban economy in a shambles, life and labour militarised, children militarised.

This book must be read. I have only touched upon one small aspect of the book – there is so much more. It represents the first full-length, comprehensive view of the Cuban Revolution from a revolutionary perspective. It is an important book.

Shelby Shapiro

Footnotes:

1. Maurice Zetlin & Robert Scheer, *Cuba: Tragedy in our Hemisphere* (N.Y., Grove Press, Inc., 1963), p. 114.
2. *Ibid.*, 115ff.
3. *Ibid.*, 117 f.
4. *Ibid.*, 217 f.
5. Herbert L. Mathews, *A World in Revolution* (N.Y., Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1971), p. 319f.
6. Jacek Kuron & Karol Modzelewski, *An Open Letter to the Party* (London, International Socialism, n.d.), p. 13.



Persona Non Grata : An Envoy in Castro's Cuba
Bodley Head, London, 1976 translated from the Spanish by Colin Harding, £6.95.

From the jacket blurb we gather that "... Jorge Edwards, a Chilean writer, poet and career diplomat was appointed his country's first envoy to Cuba by the late President Allende when diplomatic relations were re-established in 1970. . . ." Edwards' critique takes on added significance because he was an enthusiastic Pro-Castro spokesman on the cultural front, for whom (as he writes) "... fundamental solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, as Latin-Americans came before everything else. . . ." It should be emphasised that despite his indictment of Cuban totalitarianism he remains a pro-Castroite, who is unable to transcend his subconscious loyalty.

Edwards' description of the disastrous economic situation for which Castro and cohorts are directly responsible, which among other ill effects, resulted in rationing of formerly plentiful supplies of sugar, coffee, tobacco, milk; forced labour, the militarisation of Cuban life etc., are documented in much greater detail in the works of Rene Dumont, K.S. Karol, Maurice Halperin and others and also in my *The Cuban Revolution : A Critical Perspective*.

By far, the greater portion of his book deals with the all pervasive network of spies and (as Edwards puts it) "... censorship and freedom of expression . . . the harrowing conflict

between the interests of the State . . . and the demands of independent thought and creation."

Edwards incurred the hostility of the dictatorship when he "... found himself in disagreement with Castro's repression of the Cuban intellectuals and was accused of hostility towards the Revolution because of his long-standing friendship with dissident writers . . ." and poets like Heriberto Padilla and others, which aroused world-wide protest even from pro-Castroite intellectuals like Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Bouvoir and others. Castro, the "Stalin of the Carribean" was particularly incensed by Padilla's poem *Out Of The Game*, for which he was awarded the Casa de las Americas literary prize, we quote extracts:

The poet, get rid of him
He has nothing to do around here
He does not play the game
lacks enthusiasm

... does not even notice the miracles
He spends the whole day thinking
always finds something to object to
That fellow, get rid of him . . .
... No one can make him smile
each time the spectacle begins

Padilla's poem *Instructions for Admission into a New Society* is even more explicit:

In the first place: optimism
Secondly: be correct, circumspect, submissive.
(Having undergone all the sports tests)
and to finish, march
as do all other members:
one step forward,
two or three backwards:
but always applauding.

In the chapter, significantly titles: *The Poets and the State* Edwards tells how he was summoned to the Foreign Office where Castro told him to his face that "... we have followed in every detail every meeting you have had, every step you have taken, and every conversation you have ever held . . . you have allowed yourself to be surrounded by . . . enemies of the Revolution set upon giving you a negative picture of the situation in Cuba . . . we have already sent our opinion of you to Salvador Allende. . ."

As a diplomat Edwards mingled with the heads of the Cuban government, including Castro himself. His routine diplomatic and social obligations brought him into close contact with almost all levels of government and enabled him to observe, at first hand, the intricate operations of the bureaucratic apparatus. Edwards' vivid account of the inner workings of the Cuban Police State lends reality to Orwell's, by no means "fantastic" description of life in a totalitarian society.

Sam Dolgoff.



Traven's Jungle Novels: *Government* (£2.50); *The Carreta* (£2.00); *The Troza* (unpublished); *Rebellion of the Hanged* (30p); *General from the Jungle* (£2.00); *March to Caobaland* (30p)

Sometimes in the course of trying to lead a self-consciously political life with all its attendant reading and discussion, a person can start to feel bogged down. Political writings and the reading of them can, at times, have the debilitating effect of using more energy than the effort generates. After any extended submersion, one is left gasping for air.

Recently, feeling the need to take a brief vacation from the stacks of non-fiction anarchist books and pamphlets that await my attention, I began reading a series of inter-related novels by B. Traven that are known as the Jungle Novels. It was pure oxygen for my fires.

The Jungle Novels (*Government, The Carreta, March to Monteria, The Troza* [unpublished] *The Rebellion of the Hanged*, and *The General from the Jungle*) graphically portray the pre-revolutionary period of Mexico by following the lives of the "common" people, especially the native people who occupy the lowest place in Mexican society. During this time, fully half of the entire rural population of Mexico was bound to debt and slavery. The alliance of government, capitalists, police, and the church conspired to keep things that way.

The rural worker could not escape the clutches of this alliance for one simple reason. The employer was the source not only of the workers' meagre wages, but also of the necessities of life at prices cruelly in excess of the former. For example, Andres, an ox-cart driver in the novel *The Carreta*, finds himself sold in a card game to a new owner for 25 pesos. Says Traven, describing the economics of the deal, "By the time Andres had worked out that debt of twenty-five pesos, he had run up a debt on his own account with don Laureano of forty-two pesos for goods he had bought from him and sixteen pesos in cash he had needed for other things. Now that he had served his employer well and truly and with proper Christian humility and submission for over three years, his debt with don Laureano amounted to ninety-four pesos. A mathematician could have told him in two minutes, not as a guess but with precision, that if he continued serving him so well for forty years he would by that time have a debt of nine hundred and twenty-four pesos, thirty centavos."

While the proletarian characters in the first several novels feel the full force of these arrangements, they are powerless in the face of them, remaining largely unconscious and necessarily submissive.

But each new novel brings further degradation of the workers' conditions, a strengthening of their resolve and a growing disposition to strike at the immediate root of their problem, the owners. Finally, in the brutality of the remote mahogany lumber camps, where they have been sold to work off their debts, it becomes imperative for these workers to rebel. Faced with inhuman demands for productivity and fiendish punishment for failing, the mahogany cutters destroy their tormentors and go on to form the beginning of a guerrilla army. In the final novel *General From The Jungle*, the oppressive state-church-capitalist alliance reaps what it has sown as the guerrilla army comes out of the Jungle conscious of their role and unable and unwilling to allow their own and their class brothers and sisters lives to continue under the old conditions.

One of the most striking aspects of these novels in Traven's ability to write a good story by itself and also punctuate it with wry political observations which stand on their own. The relationship of the two is not at all uncomfortable; simple human terms stimulate the reader to a more profound understanding of the destructive effects that an exploitative, authoritarian society has on its people.

This relationship between story and political comment is important to the continuity of the novels. I was initially disconcerted by the contrast between the passivity

of the exploited and Traven's stinging comments in the first novels, but this tension prepared me all the more for the explosive ferocity of the last ones.

Traven's interjections ring with the libertarian communist message. Take for example, this ironic discussion of the economic freedom of one of Mexico's rural working class.

"He was a free labourer. He only had to pay his employer what he owed him and then he might go where he liked. The whole world was his and all it produced. No one forced him to run up debts, neither the law nor the state compelled him to. He was entirely free to choose whether he contracted debts or not. If he did not amass capital in order one day to be a forwarding agent, a factory owner or a finquero, it was only because he did not choose to save. The way was open to anyone who wanted to start a bank. If the labourer did not become a banker it was only because he blew all he got. The capitalist system is all a myth, trumped up by agitators and anarchists in order to fan the flames of a world revolution and take over the banks and perfumed daughters of the directors. Save, workingman, and then you can acquire the bank at the first corner you come to . . . without the bother of a world revolution."

Traven doesn't avoid throwing out more serious advice either. After describing a tribe's unique annual process of electing and keeping their chief honest, he says,

"Workers would be advised to adopt this well-proven Indian method of election, particularly with the officials of their trade unions and political organisations — and not only in Russia, where it is most necessary. In all other countries, too, where Marx and Lenin are set up as saints the militant working class could achieve success much more surely if they lit a good fire yearly under their leaders' behinds. No leader is indispensable. And the more often leaders are put on red hot seats, the more lively the political movement would be. Above all things, the people must never be sentimental."

Traven (a pseudonym) is an interesting story in himself. He has been the subject of much speculation, because since first becoming known with the publication of *Death Ship* in Germany in 1926, Traven has refused to meet the press in public or in person, or to divulge many details about his life. Traven insists that readers meet him through his writing, saying that in large part, his novels are drawn from personal experience. (See *C.P. Review*, No. 2.)

But the general relief of Traven's life has been pieced together. He was born in Chicago in 1890 to Norwegian-Swedish emigrant parents. As a child, he started working at a very early age and then shipped out as a cabin boy at about age ten. Traven played some role in the political life of Germany during 1913-1919.

He was an actor in Munich at the time and began publishing a semi-clandestine anarchist journal *Der Ziegelbrenner* (The Brickburner) under the name "Ret Marut." He continued publishing for several years and threw himself into the abortive German revolution in 1918 in an attempt to influence it in a radical-libertarian direction. When the revolution failed, Traven was arrested, but managed to escape. As a fugitive, he published a dozen further issues of the Brickmaker. Then in 1920, he emigrated to Mexico where he began to write novels.

Traven as a writer has been very well-known to European readers, but he has remained relatively unknown in the United States. Part of this neglect is undoubtedly due to the reluctance of American publishers to

publish novels with such strong, pointed class-conscious content. Indeed, Traven's books have on occasion been banned. Nazi Germany did it, confiscating his German royalties and threatening his life. The Jungle Novels in particular made the big landowners in Mexico uneasy to the point where they too threatened to do him in.

But this kind of reaction is easily understood. Our enemies know good, subversive literature when they see it. They are afraid of the oxygen it brings to our fire. They know it fans the flames of discontent.

If you're finding the weather a little cold this winter and politics a little tepid, nursing a Bicentennial hangover during Jimmy Carter's honeymoon, I would highly recommend stoking your fires with the Jungle Novels.

(from *Soil of Liberty*) Nhat Hong

Faraway World: An Orkney Childhood, W. Towrie Cutt, Illustrated by J. Sloan, Andre Deutsche, £2.95.

In *Faraway World* William Towrie Cutt has emptied his boyhood pockets of all the detailed fragments of experience that have remained with him into adulthood. He presents them to us without the cleverness of judgement of an adult capturing instead, the unsentimental, simple, intense sense of involvement he had in life as a boy on the Orkney Island of Sanday. There being so many romantic accounts idealising the past it is a welcome evocation of 'ordinary' life. There are moments of excitement, as when a barque broke in two on a sunken reef and its "bowswirled round and sank. The stern half came turning end over end to the back of the pier." But most of the book is a careful presentation of small details: games played at school, words used, harvesting methods, the Christmas Party, a description of how when there was ice "Van men and carters screwed frosters into the shoes of their horses, heavy screws with wedge heads, preventing the horses from slipping on icy roads."

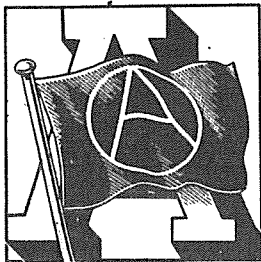
We see a world where some things have not changed: human kindness, the need for young people to leave the island for employment, bullying at school, the giving of livelihoods and the taking of lives by the sea. And of course the island itself. It is also a world that has greatly changed. In his boyhood he had a sense of the wholeness of life — he could see boats being built, wool spun, shoes made, animals being born and dying: "Today, not even in our island, far less in the cities, does much knowledge of the natural processes come first hand to the young." Toys and belongings were valued as being rare. Mechanisation has taken over from the old farming and fishing rhythms.

The book is not, however, merely interesting. A true sense of wonder arises out of an acute awareness of the ordinary. Many descriptions in this book are filled with the magic of boyhood, "The oarsman saw seaweeds of different shapes and colours, and patterns in the water made by the sunlight that changed so quickly that one pattern never stayed in the memory. The sea is never monotonous." Or again, "Some of the harvesters sang as they worked. I remember especially one young man binding sheaves behind a maid he later married. At times she joined in, singing a line or two . . ." and by tying a knot at the end, "As the two soon had a small farm of their own, they worked each year in the field of yellow barley, but perhaps never again carefree as they were when young and unmarried," he tightens it into a perfect cameo.

All of which is lightened by his sense of humour as in the exuberance of the passage where a new headmaster told the schoolboys to raise their caps to their teachers, something they had never seen done, and one, on greeting a Miss Sinclair "pulled off his cap and waved it vigorously round his red head while she rode on laughing."

The wood engravings are a solid and apt accompaniment to a book that is clear, not over-ambitious and which suits the old-fashioned phrase 'a delight to read.'

Alan Cameron.



The History of the Paris Commune of 1871, P.O. Lissagaray, New Park £3.00.

This is the definitive history of the Paris Commune by one who took part in it. It has long been out of print, while learned professors dipped into it, and then gave their own interpretations.

The Commune of 1871 was one of those periods in history which light up the way to social revolution. France had been raised by the military adventurer and dictator, Napoleon III – in imitation of his famous uncle – to a pitch of exaggerated nationalism; it fell headlong into the mire, being defeated by the Prussians. "Napoleon the little" just surrendered (like the famous Napoleon, he was prepared to fight until France had been bled to the last man provided it wasn't him); simultaneously with the surrender, the whole of the Paris working class had been ruined by the war.

The artisans, radical and Proudhonian in sympathy detesting the militarism and especially the defeat of the braggart, seized power. When Marx first (as a sympathiser with Prussian victory) heard of Paris anti-militarist sentiments, he remarked irritably that the Paris workers should go and put their head in a bucket. But he later conceded that now they had "stormed the heavens." Paris has never reached those heights since.

The Republic was proclaimed at Versailles and Thiers led the attack on Paris. His counter-revolution was so savage and bloody that it crushed the workers' revolution in blood, until the so-called "propaganda by deed" of the 80s and 90s when the actions of some workers proved to all that the bourgeoisie had not crushed everything. (Needless to say, "history" and the press denounced the victims of mass murder and weeps over the few individuals in great positions who suffered the consequences later).

Lissagaray's monumental work was translated by Eleanor Marx – she fell in love with him too, to the dismay of her father who broke it off – Lissagaray was by way of being an Anarchist, and no daughter of his was going to disgrace him that way (he was a man of his time all right!)

Lissagaray was a journalist, and a soldier of the Commune; he lived to fight on against the regime and left this imperishable record of the struggle.

Albert Meltzer

Jesus – A Myth, George Brandes, published in the United States in 1926 by A.G. Boni, and in England by Brentano's in 1927.

George Brandes has and still is considered one of the world's outstanding literary critics, and his four-volume work of *Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature* has become a classic. He also wrote introductions and books on Julius Caesar, Byron & Shelley, Goethe, Heine, Kropotkin, La Salle, Nechaev, Nietzsche and Voltaire. It is of particular interest to see what the supposed literary critics said about the study that Brandes made of the various Bibles. Only two quotes are given from the United States and two from Great Britain in the *Book Digest* for 1927. Excerpts from these are:

"... a tissue of the most preposterous statements without any real attempt to prove them." – *Catholic World*, Feb. 1927.

"Brandes' book, weak as it is because of its brevity, becomes even weaker because of the form in which the author advances his arguments and proofs." – *Boston Transcript*, Feb. 5, 1927.

"Too prejudiced and too flippant to merit serious criticism." – *Nation and Atheneum*, March 1927.

"... its appearance in English does no service to the writer's reputation." – *Spectator*, Feb. 12, 1927.

Reason for Re-Examining Brandes' Work

The current re-emergence of all sorts of mystical religions can only be explained as the result of the chaotic uneasiness that has troubled mankind ever since the United States Government disregarded Japan's plea to surrender and instead proceeded to lawlessly and inhumanely carry out the first experiments with two atom bombs that killed hundreds of thousands of people in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, destroying both cities. This inhumane act was followed by the same Government's unleashing the equally unlawful invasion of Vietnam that resulted in the killing of untold hundreds of thousands of children, men and women, and the destruction of hundreds of cities, towns and villages. Finally, the human race now faces momentary destruction at the whim of either one of the two most armed ruling powers – Soviet Russia and the United States.

It is therefore most timely to bring forth the critical examination that George Brandes made of the various Bibles centred around the Jesus myth, which lays at the root of all religions that gullible people are still being misled by. It will likewise show the insincerity of the criticisms that were made by those who reviewed his work.

Brandes' Examination of the Various Bibles

"A new reader of the Bible would, for instance, be startled by the fact that the crucifixion of Jesus, if it ever took place, could be laid at the door of the Jews then living. For it is a proved fact, after all, that the Jews inhabiting the Palestine of those days had no jurisdiction whatsoever. Consequently they were quite unable to pronounce sentence on anybody." p.27.

"The act of healing itself (John 5:17) is described as a symbol of the entire activity of Jesus... The miracle of Jesus walking on the water implies that the Messiah is victorious, that he is a spirit, that he is the Word returning once more to its original eternity. The curing of the blind man means that the Messiah is the light of the World; the raising of Lazarus from

the dead, that he is life... The mysticism of numbers recurs everywhere. Jesus walks three times through Galilee, and three times through Judea. The number of miracles wrought in each case are three. Three times (John 13:18-21-26) he denounces Judas as the one who is to betray him. Jesus rises from the grave on the third day, and three times he lets himself be seen thereafter." p.41-42

"As far as we can make out, there exists in contemporary Roman literature no genuine reference supporting the existence of Jesus." p.55.

"... the one great truth that long ago dawned on men who had liberated themselves from the academic prejudices of professional theologians... men like Arthur Drews in Germany, J.M. Robertson in England, Alfred Loisy and Paul Louis Couchod in France... It is from this fundamental view on existence, this duplication of Jahve into a Jahve-Messiah or Jahve-Jesus, that Christianity starts. This Jesus was not born by Joseph and Mary, but by faith, hope and charity (Couchod)." p.70.

"As an earthly mortal of flesh and bones, the Jesus mentioned in the Gospels has passed out of contemporary memory within a few years... Not even Mark... had any idea of how he looked... Even in the Gospel named after Mark, he appears not as a true human being, but a magician, a worker of miracles, and one who heals by the touch of his hands... Such miraculous cures are numerous in all the gospels, but as the writers of these had no conception of science... it occurs to no one among them to let Jesus, like a Pasteur, provide a remedy that can be used for the curing of any number of cases." p.76.

"Mark is concise and comparatively sparing with the miraculous. He is aware of no genealogy of virginal birth and has no stories to tell from the childhood of Jesus." p.77.

"... the Catholic Church claims to know the exact date when Peter and Paul were executed at Rome, it is not aware of the day when Jesus was crucified..." p.84.

"A logical way of finding what is really historic would be to start by eliminating what cannot possibly be held such, and see what remains. It is to be feared that the outcome would be the same as when Peer Gynt began to peel the onion... in the end he discovered... that... the onion was nothing but layers." p.85.

"... the story of the twelve apostles as we have it in the Gospels is a myth... The legend concerned with one of these apostles has caused great mischief. That it ever gained credence does not speak well for man's acumen. For nearly two thousand years this legend of Judas, as an expression for the hatred felt by one group of men toward another, which set a devil up against the figure of light for the sake of an effective background, has caused hundreds of thousands of human beings to be tortured and murdered." p.104-105.

"Jesus calms the storm and walks on the water. But Moses had already mastered and divided the waters of the sea (Exodus 14:21). Joshua had already mastered the waters of the Jordan so that the bearers of the Ark could walk across dryshod (Joshua 3:13). Elijah had only to smite the waters with his mantle in order to divide them hither and thither so that he and Elisha could walk across the Jordan as on dry ground (II Kings 2:8)... Jesus ascends to heaven, but already Elijah had been taken up to heaven in a chariot of fire, drawn by horses of fire (II Kings 2:11)... It is impossible to overlook the extent to which miraculous actions ascribed to Elijah and his disciple Elisha in the Old Testament have become



ascribed to Jesus in the new one. At Nain Jesus recalls the single son of a widow from the dead (Luke 7:12). But this miracle of Jesus' had already been performed by Elijah (I Kings 17:17 *et seq.*). p.106-7.

"The anonymous writers of the Gospels, whom we now call the Evangelists, did not succeed in producing a consistent single image of Jesus... p.112 One can feel that the Evangelists lived in the belief that the end of the world was imminent. Therefore they let Jesus cry woe to those that were with child and to those that gave suck, just as Paul warned men to keep away from their wives at a time when the kingdom of God was at the door." p.119. "In its character, that Gospel (according to St. John) is no more historic than the Revelation... Details obtained from the other Gospels are treated quite nonchalantly in the Fourth as mere material that can be used for the erection of a many-storied theological structure only after having been saturated with symbolism and re-interpreted in a spirit which strips it of all connection with reality." p.162. "The fourth Gospel simply refers to Jesus as the son of Joseph from Nazareth. Here, as in Mark, no attention is paid to the virgin birth mentioned by Mathew and Luke." pp.172-3. "If the synoptic Gospels were what they are alleged to be, namely records by eye-witnesses, their historic value would, of course, be great. As it is, they lack this particular kind of value." p.183.

"In his 'Address of Gratitude to Lessing' Soren Kierkegaard voiced his passionate agreement with the great German passionate writer's assertion that incidental historic truths can never be used as evidence on behalf of the perennial truths of reason. It was on this basis that, in the book he named 'Training in Christianity,' he put the question: 'Can history tell us anything about Christ?' And his answer to this question was: 'No!'"

George Brandes evidently expected the kind of distorted reviews that his exposure of the Bibles and their contradictory versions about Jesus provoked when he wrote in the same volume: "Whoever proclaims the truth upsetting beliefs dear to the people must be prepared for some persecution and much abuse." p.13.

Marcus Graham.

The Whores of War, Wilfred Burchett and Derek Roebuck, Pelican 75p.

An unfortunate title to a well written book on mercenaries by two people who attended the Angolan trials.

The authors say their title shows 'no male insensitivity' and that 'the analogy of the mercenary and the prostitute is apt. In each case economic power is abused to hire human bodies.' But the insult of comparing prostitutes

to mercenaries is that the former don't set out to kill.

This said, I hope it won't discourage people from reading the book which helps to clarify the need of governments for the use of 'military operations, without the support or even sometimes the knowledge of their electorates.' Angola was particularly relevant in this context and Rhodesia's war is now the main area of mercenary operation. Imported cannon fodder becoming Smith's main source of armed force as his own white population get the 'bum's rush.'

Those interested in the ease with which John Banks was able to operate in Britain in recruiting mercenaries for Angola might well look at his involvement with the Provisional Sinn Fein as an agent provocateur as revealed in the *Leveller* No. 6. As is shown in 'The Whores of War' it looks as if some deal was made with Banks to allow him to operate here: it seems that the deal involved getting the Provisional Sinn Fein organiser in Britain into prison.

One danger of the approach adopted by Burchett and Roebuck to mercenaries is that the Official killers hired by the State are somehow legitimated. We thus get the wicked illegitimate soldiers making the official war machines seem respectable. The only violence worthy of respect however, is that of the oppressed ridding themselves of tyrants.



Prisoners In Revolt, Mike Fitzgerald, Penguin £1.00. *The American Prison Business*, Jessica Mitford, Penguin £1.00.

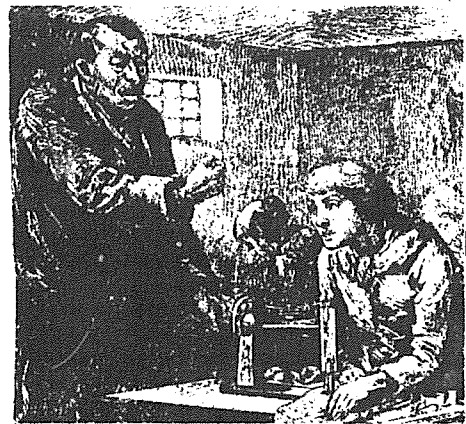
In 1969 the old *Anarchy* magazine devoted an issue to 'Libertarian Criminology' with such writers as Jock Young and Stan Cohen making contributions. Since those days these two have become leading members of the National Deviancy Conference, the former with Walton and Taylor has written 'The New Criminology' a criticism of liberal deviancy theory in sociology as exemplified by David Matza and 'Critical Criminology' a more or less Marxist attempt at criminology which makes the debate more political. Stan Cohen has maintained a fairly libertarian position and

not gone over to Marx for academic refuge.

The influence of these two gents can be felt in an excellent book by Mike Fitzgerald on *Prison in Britain*. Chapter 1 is a fine summary on 'The Functions of Imprisonment' in which he destroys the reformist argument for prison and shows abolition is the only viable answer. "Prisons have to be seen as an integral part of the control apparatus of industrial capitalism," thus we need to show to whom prisons are useful as "reinforcing the prevalent ideology that it is individuals, not social institutions, that are to blame for social problems and for social failure." With over 90% of the prison population working class it can be seen that prison is "a mechanism by which the most powerful group within the ruling class imposes its viewpoint upon the class as a whole, and guides and educates the masses." Fitzgerald then points to the prisoners' movement as a response to prison and argues for a redefinition of the relationship between working class movements and prisoners. As Marx called the lumpen proletariat scum and parasites Marxists have certainly some re-defining to do!

A lot of Fitzgerald's book then describes the activities of PRO-P and examines testimonies of prisoners. Jessica Mitford's outraged account of American prisons is amazingly readable: add the black population in high percentage of the working class in prison and one can see that prisons are internal colonies in which class and race war are engaged with one side holding nearly every weapon. Prison is the price only the anarchists have never to pay for their philosophy for our prison policy was shown for the world to see by Durutti who freed Spanish prisoners in 1936 and engaged them in his own Iron Column for carrying out expropriations and waging the war against the common enemy - fascism.

Jerry Westall.



Working in Canada, edited by Walter Johnson, Black Rose, hardback \$12.95, paperback \$3.95.

When Walter Johnson went to work in a car factory near Montreal he had, like many young workers, been through the "usual variety of jobs", but hoped for some sort of job fulfilment and needless to say didn't find it. He began looking around at industrial society, and his conclusions as to what makes it tick are contained in this book, which is contributions from a number of mainly young Canadian workers. The job alienation and frustration is pretty universal and (though it's a tribute to the writers who contribute to the book) sounds like a refreshingly novel approach to work study, when it's really what every worker knows.

But sheer lack of organisation and

independence will amaze readers in more advanced countries — and it is amazing to find how backward Canada is. Pete Taylor, writing about working in the Post Office, describes a situation where the unions might as well not exist. “On the shop floor, our struggles were conducted almost totally outside the union . . . During a strike, however, the union made itself felt . . . they are sort of like supervisors who were always telling us what we could and couldn’t do (*in strikes*)”. That is not uncommon elsewhere, but the sheer lack of concern when there is no industrial dispute on is echoed by others.

Claude Petelle, “working in an auto plant” says when he was a union official “he always had to go to the rank and file workers on the shop floor and tell them they didn’t have any problems” — which is why he didn’t run for re-election.

He and Johnson make a shrewd point about the new intellectual “involvement” whereby one “receives a grant to write among other things about conditions in the automobile industry.” They say “you’re free, you can write about what’s bugging you,” and be subsidised to do so. But your friends back at work “must continue being miserable.” This is one of the growth-industries of modern times.

There are also interesting sidelights on working in a printshop, in an office, on an assembly line and so on. Only Jean-Marie Gonthier — who works in an aircraft plant but is involved on fairly extensive union activities outside, gives an indication that there in any real organisation of Canadian workers — otherwise, our continued supply of immigrant labour from Britain to Canada looks as if it’s kept the level of resistance down to what it was here in the thirties.

Of a completely different nature to other essays in Gary Jewell’s autobiographical essay, showing how he began his “life long hate relation with the inanity of American society.” . . . a culture which keeps a boy in “a fantasy cocoon until he is 18 . . .” then sends him to Vietnam or a factory which “rapes its youth and cripples its soul.” It is about the USA rather than Canada, and written well in the vein of the hobo rail-hopping heroic past of the IWW — which he clearly, and rightly, admires.

A.M.



Revolution is Fun

Down the Road : unemployment and the fight for the right to work, Sarah Cox and Robert Golden, Writers & Readers Publishing Co-op, £1.50, 128pp, 95 photos.

This book is beautifully produced, carefully laid out, with just the right amount of balance between text and pictures — in fact its so well “finished” that it reminds me of nothing so much as the type of booklets that the Careers Advisory Service stock, or prospec-

tive employers dole out to prospective wage-slaves in an attempt to sell them an image.

Which perhaps it is, as the whole purpose of this volume seems to be to drum up more support for the Socialist Workers Party’s ‘Right to Work’ campaign. (Incidentally, although it’s not mentioned anywhere in the book, the authors are giving their ‘royalties’ to the Right to Work campaign). Being a slick bit of advertising for SWP (formerly IS) doesn’t, however, mean that the book is without value — just that it has to be dug for among the Socialist Worker phraseology and the photos of the 1930s (which SWP are in danger of turning into visual clichés).

The real strength of this book lays not so much in the line of reasoning, which tends to overlook many of the factors that have lead to the current crisis (such as ecological considerations, the emerging individual challenge to authority in all its forms, and the decline of the work ethic), but in the way in which the authors provide hard facts and case histories within the text, and skillfully place the acts and thoughts of individuals within their social context.

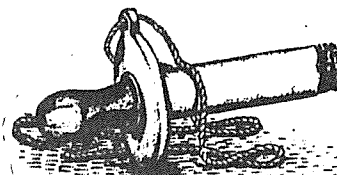
For all its faults, SWP are the only far left organisation that appears to be seriously trying to build up an industrial organisation (most of the others pay lip-service to the idea, but opt out of anything that doesn’t have associations with the Labour Party). In doing so they are adopting many of the ideas of British syndicalists, and the Minority Movement, albeit under the guidance of their own “party.” But times and circumstances have changed and so has the nature of unemployment and methods once used to fight the dole queues may not be the best to use now.

Unemployment is traditionally the weapon used to discipline an organised and self-assertive working class (or sections of it). “Create a reserve of unemployed people and you keep wages down through the natural mechanism of supply and demand” is how the argument does. In times when long periods of training are often required to fill jobs, and when the unemployed are cushioned (to an extent) by a better dole than before, such methods don’t always work as well as they should. Unemployment is best sabotaged, it seems, not by demanding to be given shitty jobs, but by refusing to work even when jobs are available. The fight to control our own lives naturally results in fighting redundancy, but the struggle must not end there, — all too often people on the left support the demand for a “right to work” at the expense of the many other rights we should have.

In my opinion, though, the book’s most serious omission, is a lack of any comparison with countries where large-scale, long-term unemployment is normal, and where the people have organised themselves to overcome the many problems caused by lack of paid work. It’s not that I’m attempting to idolise the self-organisation that has taken place, but it does carry important implications for us, even though the technological level of society and the nature of unemployment in those countries is not the same as we experience. The authors also lack any understanding of the way in which groups like SWP subvert social struggle by re-directing energies into “building the revolutionary party.”

That said, I seem to have been more critical of this book that I intended, as a lot of thoughtful work has gone into its preparation. It could have been better but it is worth reading.

Paul Wilson.



On The 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S., Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer, News & Letters, Detroit.

The News and Letters Committees have come out with a new pamphlet: *On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S.* It’s a very handsome work, richly illustrated, and appears — at first glance — to fill a very crying need. The great Railway Strike of 1877 was perhaps the single greatest uprising of the American working class. That it swept from the Atlantic to Pacific and spawned dramatic occasions like the St. Louis General Strike and full-scale military battles on the east coast is something that should be more widely known. In fact, the Age of American Socialism 1877-1947 began with this strike.

Unfortunately, the pamphlet at hand does not give the full story — although its illustrations give some hint. The pamphlet focuses on one primary incident, the St. Louis General Strike — led, of course, by German Marxists — and includes other themes well expected from *News and Letters*: “The Black Revolt,” “Forgotten Women Hegellians,” and “Marx and the First International.”

Let’s weigh up the good and bad points. The coverage of the St. Louis events is good, especially the emphasis that it transcended a strike and became an armed Commune put down only by U.S. troops diverted from the Indian Campaigns. Good too is the coverage of the Black worker participation in the strike. Hegel, on the other hand, is for them that likes it. The pamphlet fails on three points:

1. It does not give adequate coverage to the continent-wide railway strike.
2. ‘Marx and the International’ blows Marxism way out of proportion and grossly under-rates the Anarchists.
3. The ‘Black Revolt’ section itself is good — but *N&L* fails to face up to the most crucial racial question posed by the 1877 revolt. Namely, the ‘Yellow Peril’. In Salt Lake City and San Francisco the strike degenerated into an anti-Chinese pogrom — white workers accusing Chinese immigrants of scabbing and undercutting the pay scale. Chinese were beaten in the streets, shops looted and fired.

The criticisms, in order: 1. The Railways strike became a generalised worker revolt. Armed mobs of workers captured trains, rail terminals, entire towns and looted and burned millions of dollars worth of railway goods. Armies of police, Pinkertons and State militias swept working class environs in massive search-and-seize operations. Pitched battles flared in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg and across Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio. In one engagement workers captured canons and Gatling machine-guns and decisively defeated the State Militia. Sharp fighting occurred in Chicago and St. Louis until Federal cavalry were dispatched against the strikers. 2. Marx and the International leaves one with the impression that Marx headed the International Workingmen’s association and that his followers dominated the movement in the United States. This was untrue. In the U.S., the Marxists controlled only the St. Louis section, with strength in New York City.

Anarchists headed the equally important Chicago and Pittsburg sections. Untrue therefore is the *N&L* assertion that the anarchists became activated only by the later 8-hour day movement of the 1880s.

Marx had expelled the anarchists from International in Europe, but had done so with a minority at a rump Congress. At a Congress two days later the Anarchists following Bakunin – over one-third of the International, including the majority Italian, southern French and Spanish worker federations – declared themselves still operable and a challenge to the less than one-third Marxist wing, mostly German Socialists. Moreover the one-third plus centrist faction – trade unionists, libertarian socialists and Lasalleans, representing Switzerland, Belgium, Britain (to which Marx himself belonged), the United States, etc. – voted motions of censure against Marx's precipitous manoeuvre.

Marx had also moved the headquarters of the International to New York, but to no avail. In the United States the Anarchists remained in the same federation as the Marxists. The American section, still mostly German immigrants, split along three lines: Marxist-Bakuninist-Lasalleans. Then, in the economic crisis of the 1870s, native-born workers began joining. In 1876 the International in New York disbanded in favour of the new Workingmen's Party of North America. Among key leaders was Albert Parsons, a labour organiser in Chicago (who was originally from Alabama and had married a Black woman, Lucy Parsons). Parsons was an important figure in the 1877 strike. In 1878, the Workingmen's Party became the Socialist Labour Party, but a dispute brewed between Marxists and libertarians and in 1881 Parsons led-out the rebel majority to form the Revolutionary Socialist Labour Party (leaving the SLP a pitiful 1,500 members). Anarchists held a Congress in Pittsburg in 1883 to establish the International Working People's Association – the famous Black International. Parsons joined and with German anarchist militants built up the Central Labour Union in Chicago which, to the consternation of Marxists, still affiliated to the larger world International (defunct as an organisation but alive as a movement). In 1886 they led the 8-hour day movement in Chicago – which culminated in the McCormick strike and Haymarket Square massacre. Parsons and four German anarchists were condemned to death by hanging. Nationwide persecution crushed the anarchist movement, from which it was not to recover until anarcho-syndicalists joined with Marxian Socialists in 1905 to found the IWW.

News and Letters mentions none of this. Albert Parsons figures most prominently, in fact, in the section titled "Marxists in America." Anarchists are singled out but once and then as a tag-end element, *N&L* inferring that not until the 1886 events did they become active. Otherwise, they are mere "labour radicals." That is cheating, *News and Letters*.

3. Racism. . . Although the 1877 events had a strong Black component, the strike degenerated along racial lines in the West, with attacks on Chinese immigrants. Similarly, the Knights of Labour of the 1870s and 80s organised Blacks but refused admission to Chinese and agitated for exclusionist immigration legislation.

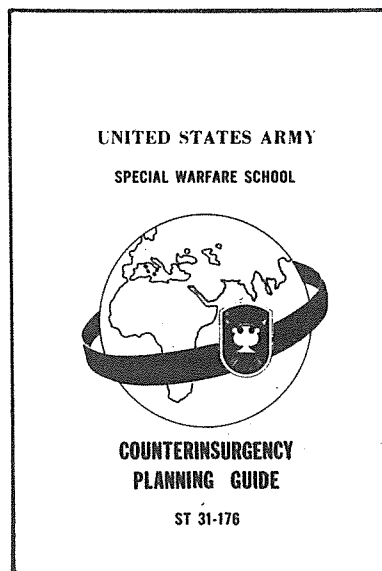
There are two sides to the issue, tragically. One, is that White racism, exacerbated by capitalist provocation, is to blame. Two, is that many Chinese – starving, desperate, fleeing invaded and civil-war-torn China,

manipulated by mafia-style Tongs – were indeed scabbing and undercutting the wage rates on the West Coast. Anti-Chinese bias was not confined to Whites. Mexican *mestizos* also attacked, even mass-murdered Chinese – including guerrilla leaders Joaquin Murrietta in California and Pancho Villa in Mexico.

Had white, black, yellow and brown workers united, the problem would have been erased. But they did not and so we are left with an appalling mess. It was to arise again in 1919 during the great Steel Strike, the most crucial of the period. The Steel Trust, foreseeing trouble in the Red Year of 1919, sent agents into the South offering Black families 'good' jobs in northern steel mills and special seating on chartered trains. The Ku Klux Klan stepped in to clinch the deal; the entire Black populations of whole towns were herded at gun-point aboard the Steel Trust trains. The Blacks were unknowingly brought in to scab and did in fact break the Steel Strike, confined to shanty towns by night and escorted by gunthugs into the mills by day. In Chicago the sudden influx of Black migrants into a city already swollen with White migrants and East European Immigrants touched off a racist explosion. Already holding a number of racist attitudes, it was all too easy for the defeated White workers to turn on fellow victims of the plot. Assaults, looting, arson, murder (the latter on both sides).

These are the facts and the tragedy. If we do not face up to them, we will be defeated before we even start.

G. Jewell.



Guerrillas and Terrorists, Richard Clutterbuck, Faber & Faber, £4.25 and *Policing a Perplexed Society*, Sir Robert Mark, George Allen & Unwin, £2.50.

The police in Britain are fast changing their traditional image, from a collection of unarmed and politically independent forces linked to the community through public acceptance of their presence, to a European style centralised force playing a key role in a national (and increasingly international) strategy, along with the military and intelligence services, aimed at containing and destroying opposition in what the state now views as a future of increased political strife and violence. As the state prepares its weaponry and technology to be ready to meet its role, it is interesting to note a parallel appearance of a growing body of literature discussing the theory behind

'the practice of policing and counter-insurgency. Two such books are Sir Robert Mark's *Policing a Perplexed Society* and *Guerrillas and Terrorists*, the latest in a series of works by Richard Clutterbuck, who besides lecturing at Exeter University and preferring to be known as "Dr." is well versed in the application of the technique with which he deals in print, as an ex-Major General in the British Army. The reason behind this sudden flood of writing is summed up by Clutterbuck: "My purpose in writing this book is to contribute to the understanding and cooperation between the police, the public and the media."

Clutterbuck's book carries on from his previous works in studying past guerrilla and terrorist campaigns, and drawing lessons from them which he hopes will teach the state to deal more effectively in meeting what he sees as "the prevalent form of conflict for our time." His general remarks are in themselves revealing of the state's attitude to violence. Terrorism, he writes "... is the recourse of a minority . . . it is primarily an attack on the rule of law, aimed either to destroy it or (as in more recent times) to change it radically to conform to the terrorists own idea of society." He sees "Individual violence . . . is proving more effective than public demonstrations and riots for exerting internal pressure." And so, perhaps, is a little clearer in his thinking than many of those hailing themselves as "revolutionaries." What really upsets people like Clutterbuck, who belong to a minority which has been inflicting its violence upon society for centuries, is that "Guerrillas now exercise a power previously exercised by governments."

He is quite correct in saying that "... the most important battle in guerrilla warfare . . . (is) . . . the battle for the support of the people." And he admits that this is why he has written the book! He fails to, or doesn't want to, take note of the interrelationship that undoubtedly exists between the strengths of rival parties and public support. Military spokesmen such as himself always talk about winning people over to their side, but in practice their superiority of arms means that the actual proportion of people they need to win over is relatively quite small. The stronger you are the less active support you need, just as in the case of most successful guerrilla movements the weaker the guerrillas are the more support they need from the community to offset the imbalance of arms.

He manages to be quite interesting at times in discussing guerrilla campaigns in South East Asia, and writes with grudging admiration of the IRA and obvious appreciation of Mao's qualities as military commander (kindred spirits no doubt!) for he can readily understand why someone should wage war for power and state control. But in dealing with revolutionary groups like the Angry Brigade, SLA and "Baader-Meinhof gang" he can only conclude that they are all "Situationists", and "mad" to boot: "This dangerous form of madness seems to be the product not of poverty, but of affluence and higher education."

"All the convicted members of the Angry Brigade had been to university. The members of the Baader-Meinhof gang (Red Army Faction) were recruited from a sports-car set and, unlike some, used the proceeds from bank robberies to maintain that style of life."

This is fairly typical of Clutterbuck's dual technique of writing. On the one hand he is saying things which he wants his readers (who for him, are those who will fight terrorism) to take note of, but he is also in passages like

these simply making propaganda aimed at discrediting those guerrillas nearer home.

"Ultimately, terrorism can be defeated only if it can be seen not to pay, both in the long term and the short term. This is primarily a task for good police work, supported by cool and determined government, and by a co-operative public, and the media have a vital role to play."

Mark is rather more candid about what "good police work" and "determined government" mean. "A minority which attempts by armed force to prevent government by consent or to usurp the function of government is engaging in revolutionary activity . . . If that minority is sufficiently large, sooner or later it will be necessary to decide whether the ultimate sanction of force rather than the ordinary democratic process of law is necessary to contain or suppress it. Northern Ireland is a classic example . . ." But the main bone of contention seems who does what, and between the police and army, who gets pride of place?

Police and army links are rather more formalised than they would have us think, for all their public rivalry. Every two weeks a committee composed of high high representatives from the police, army, intelligence services, the Home Office and Ministry of Defence (chaired by J. Harwood head of Section S8 at the Home Office, and a civil servant) meets in Whitehall to discuss co-ordination and future trends. One of the most powerful voices on that committee is the army — confident, after long experience in political conflict and counter-insurgency in Northern Ireland, that they would have the know how to work in that direction on the mainland too, given the chance.

Ironically, for all Mark's unwillingness to be seen to be getting tough, in trying to maintain their position in the face of army rivalry, the police have begun to turn themselves into soldiers. Armed specialist squads are fast turning them into the sort of 'Third Force' that they are most anxious should not be set up. At any one time, in London alone, there are up to 200 armed police out on the streets. At least six units in the capital have been set up to fight terrorism and carry arms (in addition to the 'normal' armed capabilities of all policemen). The Special Patrol Group is the best known, but the most dangerous is the D.11 Squad which made its first and only public appearance at the Balcombe Street siege. They have a highly armed capability, using weapons which are neither standard nor recommended for other police units including the army issue Belgian FN self-loading rifle and Israeli Uzzi sub-machine gun. The provincial forces, besides being able to call upon the talents of London based specialists, also maintain an armed presence with their own marksmen (trained on army ranges) and Regional Crime Squads.

If the police will not accept the army's presence on the streets, they are ready to borrow from their expertise in other areas, most noticeably in intelligence gathering (and the employment of formidable computer systems). As Clutterbuck points out, "Apart from the cost in money and manpower, effective police work against terrorism depends above all on intelligence and intelligence depends on public co-operation." When Mark says, "My fundamental belief . . . is that the reputation of a police force basically depends on its acceptability . . .", and stresses the importance of involving the public in the work of the police, Clutterbuck puts it in a nutshell: they should be used as ". . . the eyes

and ears of the police Special Branch . . ."

The army, post Kitson, is more and more turning its attention to the possibility of dealing with internal trouble through extending its long existing role of "military assistance to the Civil Authorities" (usually thought of in terms of clearing up flood damage, or at worst maintaining essential services during strikes) to cover every counter-insurgency role, from providing the S.A.S. on three minute stand-by, ordering soldiers to use force to keep public order, or putting troops around an airport. Indeed, most major airports have been recently handed over to the local police forces for policing. They have visited every airport in Britain to study the layout and set up lines of communication that might be used in an emergency.

Mark is very clear about where he thinks the army fits in. The army "... who does not act, as a police force does, on behalf of the community as a whole, but on the orders of its political masters to whom it is, through its command structure, accountable."

"The ultimate objective of the army is to contain the situation . . . until return to government by consent permits the resumption of ordinary policing." "... there is a need for contingency plans for military aid to deal with situations in which defensive armour, sophisticated weaponry and specialised training. . . (are needed) . . . in dealing with armed and dangerous men inspired by political motives; in other words political terrorists as distinct from armed criminals."

Both the police and the army are having difficulties which contribute to the idea of having a formalised and separate 'Third Force' it is now argued. The police are strained by rising crime and serious undermanning; the army is under strain in Northern Ireland and has a NATO commitment to maintain. Though this hardly fits the facts as Clutterbuck sees them. "If terrorism reaches such a scale as to be beyond the control of the police, even backed by the most stringent emergency legislation, how then should society react? The army forms the ultimate defence of the state against internal destruction. Most countries, however, also have a 'Third Force,' or several such forces, between the army and police to deal with either riots or terrorist attacks, and policemen themselves are unarmed unless specifically detailed to deal with armed criminals or terrorists."

In what circumstances should the police call upon the army for assistance in Public Security? Where the attack or threat can be adequately dealt with by a small number of individual marksmen, this is best left to the police.

"Soldiers should be called in when it seems likely that the attack may lead to a tactical battle involving fire and movement . . . The British police are neither equipped nor trained for such a role, and it is better that they should not be. That is why Sir Robert Mark had no hesitation in calling on the army to meet the threat at Heathrow.

Britain does not need a 'Third Force' because there is nothing it could do which either the police (with marksmen) or the army (with infantry platoons or the S.A.S.) could not do better."

Clutterbuck thinks a police riot squad, suitably equipped would do better than either a 'Third Force' or the army, and indeed the appearance of plastic riot shields for the first time in England during the Lewisham riot recently suggests this is what is happening in practice. The police (Mark prominent amongst

them) believe in the 'social contract' between the police and the public (suitably backed up by a sympathetic media) will prevail long enough to make a 'Third Force' unnecessary. Mark repeatedly stresses that policing is dependent on "public approval and consent," which should not be damaged by over-reaction by the police. "Attempts to achieve political objectives by coercion or violence are, of course, unlawful . . . but to counter them by excessive violence may in practice go far to help militants to achieve their aims or allow them a degree of public sympathy or support which they would not otherwise receive. The police therefore, both as a matter of law and of strategy, adhere strictly to the doctrine of minimum force . . ."

Both Mark and Clutterbuck agree that the appearance of the military or a para-military 'Third Force' (except in exceptional circumstances) would damage this special relationship. And that realising that if control is to be maintained then the public must accept (or at least not actively oppose) it, then only the police have a sufficiently 'low profile' image to do the enforcing and escape people's anger. "The unarmed policeman can only operate," says Clutterbuck, "if people accept that they are responsible for his safety as much as he is responsible for theirs."

For those of us on the receiving end, the police/army rivalry is not at all crucial. When things get out of hand the army will certainly be brought in at some point; and life under either a military regime or police state is not vastly different for those who must suffer it. It is not possible in advance to predict how the state forces will react in any given situation with any accuracy. Clutterbuck is right (from his point of view) to say that the state has to increase co-operation at all levels. But unless we had the chance to drive a wedge between the police and army the discussion is one which gets the first shot is irrelevant. What is important is that we are prepared to fight whoever the enemy is and that we choose the right weapons to do so. Reading these two books might help.

Des Perado.



Critique of Syndicalist Methods: Trade-unionism to anarcho-syndicalism. Alfredo M. Bonanno. Bratach Dubh, Port Glasgow, 1977, 30p.

The Sicilian anarchist Alfredo Bonanno is a prolific writer. In the young Scottish comrade Jean Weir (his English translator) and the shipyard welder Andy McGowan (his Scottish distributor), Bonanno has found hard-working propagandists. Their last collaborative effort, *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*, was taken from a larger piece on Sicilian separatist agitation and its CIA link (a portion of which *Black Flag* also published). I liked the piece and pushed its distribution. Most readers objected, however, to the far too literal translation from the Italian and refused to wade through the encumbrances. A pity.

In *Critique of Syndicalist Methods* Jean Weir has taken McGowan's advice and put the piece into simpler English. Much the better

and more readable. Problem this time is content. Bonanno's argument rings false, like so many other critiques of syndicalism. Mutual problem for them all is two-fold. One, they don't know what syndicalism is and can't differentiate it from trade unionism. Two, they romanticise 'worker councilism' and 'worker spontaneity', as if they were the much-sought Holy Grail, found at long last, dear Parsifal! So much so that it loses touch with actual economic and social reality and becomes the self-indulgence of intellectuals.

Trade unionism and revolutionary syndicalism (including anarcho-syndicalism) were never the same phenomenon. Trade unionism is a further development of medieval guild societies into the capitalist epoch. A defensive, insular bargaining unit ensconced within the prevailing socio-economic system, it made its transition from guild to craft union in the 1700s, at the onset of the Industrial Revolution. First to emerge were the printers' unions in Europe and North America, which, taking in related shop workers, became trade unions as we know them. These craft-cum-trade unions stratified in the 19th century and formed the bedrock of the TUC and AFL-CIO, to name two. The only change occurred under the challenge of revolutionary syndicalism, when the craft and trade unions adopted semi-industrial formations. (e.g. the CIO semi-Industrials after IWW agitation, the TUC after the syndicalist shop stewards movement on the eve of the First World War).

Revolutionary syndicalism originated where craft and trade workers were forcibly shut-out by reactionary regimes and among the mass of mixed-industrial workers scorned by the crafts and trades. Examples of the former were the reactionary systems in Italy, France and Spain, of the latter the mining, metal foundry and railway workers in mass-capital nations such as Britain and the USA.

Bakunin saw, as early as 1866, that an extension of the Proudhonist concept of producer co-operatives into the mass-industrial field was feasible. He advocated the formation and federation of worker associations on a global scale. It was possible, he argued, for the producer federation to co-ordinate industrial production without benefit of nation or political State, and, coming from the directives of the worker co-operatives themselves, this new system would regenerate the social life of mankind.

This idea, adopted after the bloody failures of the Paris Commune and defencist period of the Propaganda of the Deed, became the cornerstone of syndicalism, as it historically manifested. The idea took two forms:

1. Anarcho-syndicalism – expressly anti-State and decentralised. As it turned out almost all, if not all, were a hodge-podge of craft, trade and semi-industrial unions loosely federated. Examples: CNT in Spain, CGT in Portugal, FORA in Argentina.
2. Revolutionary syndicalism – less anarchist, although anti-State, often more centralised and open to socialists including 'libertarian' Marxists. Examples: SAC in Sweden, FAUD in Germany, pre-WWI CGT in France. Variants were the revolutionary industrial unionism of the IWW and the socialist industrial union government of the Marxist-DeLeonists.

Both revolutionary and anarchist syndicalism were dedicated to the overthrow of Capital and the political state (even the DeLeonists, who claimed their Socialist Labour Party would dissolve itself in favour of the industrial union congress the very day it, backed by the unions, took legal power).

Both advocated total control by the workers – varying from the loose federative and communal system of the CNT to the screwed-down mass-industrial One Big Union of the IWW. Both prided themselves on the check-and-balance measures, based on the experience of the Paris Commune, which would, they said, assure control by the rank-and-file units.

The emphasis was never on the daily struggle but on the daily struggle as the *means to the final solution*. That was Historical Syndicalism – and, success or failure, a far cry from trade unionism, both in origin and method.

Yet Bonanno, like others, debases history and renders "syndicalism" to its crude Latin root words and uses the term to denote the most opposite of things. In his pamphlet, he begins by discussing the Communist CGIL in Italy, skips over to the fascist 'vertical syndicates' in Spain, moves on to the Communist CGT in France, then flies on to the UAW in the USA, back to the reactionary F.O. in France, to the Socialist CFDT in same . . . what the hell is Bonanno trying to prove? Syndicalism this may be in strict Latin, but not in the *real* world of the last 100 years; certainly not to revolutionary workers who fought and died for it. With the exception of the French CGT (captured by Socialists in WWI and Communists in WWII), none of the unions cited above were ever part of the syndicalist movement.

Finally, however, Bonanno – having already stacked the deck by innuendo – comes down to historical reality. He begins to discuss revolutionary syndicalism. Right off the start he places his foot in his mouth. "Sorel," he says, as every good Marxist or bourgeois historian, " . . . theorised revolutionary syndicalism." That is crap. Sorel was a petite-bourgeois intellectual, an engineer in semi-retirement, originally a Marxist, who in 1906 published a few articles in an obscure magazine, which, collected into a book in 1908, became a big seller. Rather late in the story, one might add: the Charter of Amiens was already promulgated in 1906 after earlier draftings. What Sorel, disenchanted with legalistic French socialism, said was that the general strike and direct action sabotage and violence practised by some CGT workers might very well break the spell of parliamentary pacifism in France and incite the workers to actual revolt.

Revolutionary syndicalism, however, had already been 'theorised' by Bakunin in 1866 and by the Jura Federation of the 1870s in their pamphlet on general strike, sabotage and guerrilla warfare. Which Bonanno is forced to touch on in the next section of his piece, "Limitations of anarcho-syndicalism."

Here Bonanno castigates the revisionism of SAC in Sweden and the authoritarianism of the Spanish CNT, uplifted only by the pinch of anarchism in both. Bonanno errs immediately by calling the SAC "anarcho-syndicalist." It was not, nor was the International Workers Association established in 1922 (which was a coalition of: anarcho-syndicates and revolutionary syndicates). Only after the demise of the revolutionary syndicates at the hands of Fascism did the SAC use some mention of 'anarcho-syndicalism,' in deference to the remaining anarcho-syndicalist fragments. SAC was revolutionary syndicalist and became 'libertarian syndicalist' under the impact of Swedish social-democracy in the WWII era. Bonanno also falsifies when he claims for anarcho-syndicalism *alone* the *pretence* of 'control of production by the producers themselves.' Are we to believe that the IWW,

for instance, favoured control in the hands of the Capitalists?

Syndicalism, he argues, is revisionist or authoritarian. Only the anarchist content smells of the sweet virgin birth. SAC lost sanctity as the result of Satanic conspiracy. The SAC Leadership sold-out to the pacific social-democratic mainstream of Swedish society. What the Swedish Workers really crave is "destruction of work . . . destruction of the State." But the SAC pacifists managed to tie-and-gag these would-be bloody Insurrectors. Oh glorious Swedish workers, Bonanno will defend you if SAC will not!

In point of fact, it was the SAC rank-and-file who demanded that SAC forswear 'class war' and adopt "libertarian syndicalism." Many of the SAC leaders and militants were ousted when they objected . . . *Yet to Bonanno, workers are always revolutionary; only their leaders sell them out. What arrogant condescension. (*We know this for a fact in the IWW, as many SAC militants were two-card SAC and IWW members and informed the IWW of such).

Finally, Bonanno gets to the old whipping boy. "Poor Bakunin . . . poor working class," he cries, sold out by the CNT. And here Bonanno falsifies as if the sky were the limit. All – 100% – of the CNT leaders were Big Bureaucrats in the Popular Front government, or else masturbating in a dark corner. All – 100% – of the collectivisation and street fighting with fascists and Communists – was done by the great faceless masses. In fact, everyone, 100% – of the FAI were bureaucrats on the side of the CNT.

The 'Friends of Durruti' fighting in 1937 were simply "anarchists" or POUMists. The fact that they were CNT and FAI members, as were the FAI pistoleros executing Stalinist commissars and secret police, is not to be mentioned. That would hurt Bonanno's argument. No, they were just nameless "anarchists." Only the leaders were CNT or FAI. Imagine, a union of one million leaders.

Now we approach the Last Station of the Cross. Be ye not led unto Temptation. Look ye not at that positive which the CNT hath done, but only at the negative . . . But when it comes to the Russian Soviets in the very next section, Bonanno argues that we should not dwell on how easily they were captured by Bolsheviks, but rather at their positive worker base. Yet in Hungary 1956 we should note the dangerous reliance on 'good' Communists. Bonanno covers just about every position. 1918 Germany, Red Hamburg, the worker rebels were betrayed by the parties and unions, says he. True enough, but they were also defeated by the bad organisation of their miserable councils.

Yet Bonanno argues that co-ordinated action – sabotage, strikes, etc. – by strong revolutionary unions is bad, because the co-ordination makes for leadership, which is bad. Sabotage and strikes should be committed by small groups of workers. It will thus spread – voila! – la Revolution! The historically-backed fact that the minor upsurges would more likely be surrounded and liquidated, that the rulers' press, radio and T.V. would black-out the news – that is not to be considered. The whole relationship between autonomous guerrilla units and the overall unifying strategy, that is lost to Bonanno.

Trade unionism and revolutionary syndicalism are the same in content: counter-revolutionary. Because some anarcho-syndicalists have sold-out, all will sell-out. The only solution says Bonanno, is that on the eve of the

Revolution (which will be clearly marked on the calendar") the anarcho-syndicalists should dissolve themselves. And, I suppose, await the Butcher's Block with the rest of God's Elect. In fact, Bonanno doesn't even want councils this time. Just tiny cell groups.

Bonanno concludes with the crudest 'Back to the Trees' appeal I've ever read. Somehow small "grass-roots cells" of anarchists and their worker friends (dumb guys who don't like dem fancy speeches at union meetings'. "I'd rather go home and screw sa Wife," says Joe Blow), — somehow they're going to overthrow Capital and the State and reorganise the World. Bonanno's means: "sabotage, attempts at self-management, destruction of work, etc."

It reminds me of LSD-guru Timothy Leary in the 1960s. The system is evil, he said, and must be destroyed. "Hundreds of millions will have to die," but in the end a sane world will exist on my hippy commune in the California mountains.

G. Jewell,



Le Mouvement Anarchiste en France, Jean Maitron, Maspero, Paris, 1975, 2 vols (486 & 440 pp.), £12.00.

This is a serious and well-documented work which, despite the memoirs of Kropotkin and Jean Grave, describes situations and indicates texts which are no longer known to the militant. In addition, Maitron has studied police files which adds to his work the possibility of comparing anarchist and anti-anarchist sources.

However, in spite of his goodwill, Maitron does not go beyond the perspective of a university professor in pursuit of the theme which allowed him to thrive (his original work appeared in 1955). This becomes obvious after only the second page of text on which he acknowledges the assistance of three "big fish" in the field of academic investigation and also for "some chapters certain participants in the anarchist movement". Not even James Joll in his silly book *The Anarchists* or Hugh Thomas in the first edition of his *The Spanish Civil War* makes this aristocratic distinction between diploma-laden and everyday run-of-the-mill militant sources.

The first section concerning the origins of anarchism is weak because it underestimates the importance of Kropotkin's *The Great Revolution* (pp. 27/28). He pays hardly any attention to the Paris Commune (nine lines on pp. 54/55) nor to the ideological consequences. However, Jules Valles's memoirs show that in many aspects the Commune was very similar to May '68 in Paris with its spontaneity, happiness, barricades, committee struggles, etc. But, as Maitron believes that May '68 was in no way libertarian, simply a spirit of revolt, it is understandable that this criterion should be drastically restrictive (vol. 2, p. 134). The one thing the author has overlooked is the anti-authoritarian concept of anarchism and of May '68 which helped the ideological encounter with anti-leninist currents of thought such as council communism and situationism of whom there is not even one word.

It is the same lack of grasp on the reality of the situation which prevents Maitron understanding that the expulsion of the Bakuninists from the Hague Congress of 1872 was by individ-

ual votes and *not* by delegates and number of affiliates (p.65).

One of the few qualities the work possesses is the description of anarchist violence during the last century, with its parallel of spontaneous explosions among the workers: "Bande Noir" from the north of the Massif Central in 1882 (similar to the 'Mano Negra' in Andalusia, but Maitron always remains within the geographic limits of his country), the assassination of the cruel overseer Watrin in Decazeville in 1886. At the same time the anarchist press called very firmly for violence, for the revolution, before and in opposition to any immediate demands. And, from 1892 to 1894, at the height of the public governmental scandals, there was the wave of *attentats* carried out by Vaillant, Ravachol, Caserio, and Emile Henry.

In addition, Maitron shows very clearly the transition from the tactic of *attentats* to syndicalism with Pelloutier's *Bourses* and the propaganda of Kropotkin and Pouget. Through the quotes used by Maitron one can see quite plainly how anarcho-syndicalism — in spite of all its affirmations as to the impossibility of bureaucratisation, due to the concept of revocability (p. 272) — arrived at a purely leninist position: The union organisation "only recognises *real men, workers*, who join together in the defence of their material and moral interests (. . .) As we only have real men, workers who do not have all the same qualities nor the same action, a necessary differentiation is created among them. The more conscious, the ones who are more capable of professional defence and the social struggle tend to group together, indicating the road to take to the others who follow after." (Lagardelle, 1911, p. 314). Up to this point it is not serious, but what the anarcho-syndicalists don't see — nor Maitron either, and in this case he is not unusual — is what Pouget expressed somewhat cynically: "Each time a group is created in which the conscious ones are in contact (with each other) one should not take into account the apathy of the masses. It is lamentable enough that the non-conscious ones refuse to use their rights, and furthermore, one would have to grant them the strange privilege of acting as a brake on the proclamation and the realisation of the sway of the conscious ones." (*Les bases du syndicalisme*, 1904.)

Another aspect which doesn't appear is the demagogy of the Charter of Amiens of 1906 which passes for a declaration of anarcho-syndicalist faith when it was a conference manoeuvre that satisfied the reformists ("a raising of the standard of wellbeing of the workers by the realisation of immediate improvements"), the politicians ("complete liberty for the union member to participate, outside the corporate group, in the forms of struggle corresponding to his/her philosophical outlook") and anarcho-syndicalists ("with the general strike as means of action"). Of course, outside its context the Charter could have its own logic.

But the proof that it was purely and simply a circumstantial declaration is that in spite of the Malatesta — Monatte polemic, anarcho-syndicalism was incapable of counting on the rank-and-file, for which reason the reformists were able to capture control with relative ease. It is a shame that Maitron takes no interest at all in this evolution. For a serious study of French anarcho-syndicalism one should consult *Capitalisme—Syndicalisme: meme combat* by Corale, Spartacus, 1974.

Maitron's habitual inability to understand anarchism jumps to the eye in the chapter "The dispersion of the tendencies. A: The anarchists and the question of the population; B: the anarchists and education, (. . .)" Evidently, an author-

itarian cannot understand that there can be various tactics at the same time. And in spite of what Maitron writes in 1972-74 he is incapable of recognising the ecology which anarchism has preached since the time of Kropotkin (p. 380).

The second volume offers the same agreeable and insipid sauce, such as the French movement and the Spanish Civil War and later (sic) the Russian Revolution. On the other hand, anarcho-syndicalism is very badly treated: three and a half lines on page 166 on *Le monde nouveau*, which awoke so much interest in Spain during the years 1931-36. And we won't mention Pataud and Pouget's *Comment nous ferons la revolution?*, which is classed as a "novel" (p. 165).

The present day groups are presented very briefly and in an extremely questionable manner. There is an extravagant chapter on the anarchist press in order to measure the impact of the movement, but without taking into consideration the circulations of the papers and, thanks to this trick, Maitron reaches the conclusion that anarchism has lost influence.

A systematic criticism is added on May '68 — which was not libertarian — to a chapter on organisation which ends with the statement concerning a mortal enmity between "Platformists" and others (as if anarchists would consider taking power on their own rather than acting as an example immersed within the people); a chapter on libertarian communism which goes as far as stating that the economic experiments that took place during the Spanish Revolution "have led certain comrades to doubt the spontaneous character of the harmony which has to be established the day after the revolution" (and, incidentally, with no notes to provide proof for this contention; furthermore, Kropotkin and Bakunin never affirmed any such thing in black and white terms.) "So far as the practices of self-management are concerned, they are vindicated by too many tendencies without its content being well defined, for anarchism to be able to claim it for itself alone." (p. 170) Why does Maitron quote the magazine *Noir et Rouge* and its articles on self-management only to forget so easily afterwards?

Incidentally, again, the last chapter is "Marxism and anarchism" which is an extensive description of marxism and which ends with a quote from Bakunin in favour of the invisible dictatorship of the secret organisation. Instead of explaining that this quote comes from a period in Bakunin's life in which he believed in the immediacy of the revolution and therefore allowed himself to go against his own ideas, but neither in Spain nor in the Ukraine, nor in any other part did the anarchists abandon their anti-authoritarian practices of rotation and recallability — instead of this, Maitron here lets slip an anodyne remark: "Need one comment? We have just explained — and this should be sufficient — the marxist and anarchist points of view on the revolution and its continuation." (p. 206)

I should add that the bibliography is in fact a mixture of titles and magazine articles. This way he can quote both our friends (such as Y. Bourdet, Pluet) and the anti-anarchists (such as Dubief, Duclos, Lenin and Marx).

Therefore, Maitron's work can throw some light on certain periods, but its overall orientation is to prove that anarchism (French) is disappearing and that at heart Bakunin was a Leninist.

One last disappointment. There is absent from Maitron's work any criticism of Freemasonry and its crude attempts in France — nor is there any criticism of the universities and education, and the vindication of violent action (*Noir et Rouge, Passez Outre*).

Frank Mintz



'Portugal: The Impossible Revolution?'
Solidarity, London, Phil Mailer, £2.25.

Solidarity is a curious splinter group of ex-Trots who have become libertarians. They have a good reputation for their pamphlet publications, particularly the translations of Paul Cardan's attempts to relate libertarian socialism to industrialised society.

Now the London group have published a first rate account by a sympathiser (but not a member) of the group, covering the events in Portugal from April 25th, 1974 to the end of November, 1976. It presents a breathless vision of the situation at a time of considerable upheaval in Portuguese life after the ending of fascism. There is a useful chronology and a glossary of the vast number of political groups.

Maurice Brinton has also provided an introduction.

The main conclusion is that a new problem of revolution has emerged: the revolutionaries. 'The revolutionaries — on a massive scale — were found to be part of the problem, not part of the solution' or as Brinton puts it: 'An alarming risk now looms on the horizon. It is the risk of genuinely radical upheavals being deviated into state capitalist channels. It is the danger that any new creation will immediately be pounced upon, penetrated, colonised, manipulated — and ultimately deformed — by hordes of power-hungry 'professional revolutionaries', midwives of state capitalism, and all the more dangerous because draped in a red flag.'

Certainly the experience of Phil Mailer sends one back to the basics of revolution: the liberation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves. Jerry Westall.



Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, Jose Peirats, Solidarity Books, Toronto, 1977, 400pp, illustrated, £2.35.

Peirats is known as the author of *La C.N.T. en la revolucion espanola* in three volumes (1952; republished 1972), which is essential reading on the social history of modern Spain. In 1961,

Peirats contributed a series of articles to the Italian review *Volonta* which were collected in the book *Breve Storia del sindacalismo spagnolo* in 1962. These articles were used again for a Spanish edition in Argentina in 1964, with slight modifications, and this edition — recently published in Spain — is now available in English.

So Spanish and English readers have the same text with which to become acquainted not only with the history and problems of anarchist Spain, but also with the history and problems of modern Spain.

Forty years of Francoism have obliterated the past and today it is necessary to explain everything to Spaniards. Moreover, although Peirats large history is available in Spain, its price and its great number of pages make preferable a cheaper and clearer presentation, which is in fact a summary of the larger work, a digest very well done and also a true history of Spanish anarchism from 1868.

The presentation adds depth and perspective to all the events, and although since 1962 there have been a lot of studies on many aspects of modern Spain and anarchism, this book remains accurate. For example, the three chapters on self-management which deal with industry, the poverty and backwardness of the rural areas and self-managed agriculture. Ministerial collaboration and the quite curious transformation of the F.A.I. into a political party are presented without demagogery. Every page is useful, crammed with material.

Compared with Richards' *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, the range is greater in Peirats, who begins in 1868 and ends with the sixties (a page on September 1976). There is the same critique of deviations; Peirats is not so sharp but he produces more evidence. Richards interprets more while Peirats detects a greater division in the attitudes of the rank-and-file to the leaders. Both books are good and deserve to be read and compared.

What I appreciate specially is the description of the reconstitution of the C.N.T. in 1931 after nine years underground, because it compares to the actual situation today: dissension in some unions (pp. 75, 76). The epilogue is admirable for its lucidity and self criticism: nothing was to be hoped from the exile and the last page is a salute to the new generations who are the backbone of the Spanish movement, although an important minority of the exiles have achieved much or sacrificed themselves — like Sabate and Facerias — for the sake of Spanish anarchism.

I myself would have emphasised more the period 1919-1923, to show that capitalism was frightened by the Revolution and that the coup of 1923 was the logical consequence of the repression managed by the Catalan bosses, just as in 1922 Mussolini took over the state to avoid a new occupation of the factories. The military importance of the C.N.T. does not appear, and we now have Cipriano Mera's memoirs and Bolton's chapters on the Iron Column (no Curtain as p. 359) which gives many examples. But the book is very interesting and the translation (specially p. 358) is more concise than the original.

Frank Mintz

The Spanish Civil War, Hugh Thomas, Pelican, 1976, £3.50 (1115pp).

If obliged to answer directly and brutally the question "Is Hugh Thomas's book worth reading?" I should say "Alas, yes!" because it's a mine of information. So saying, I don't want to appear anti-Hugh Thomas on principle,

for the reasons given by Vernon Richards: 'plagiarist,' 'not serious' *Anarchy*, No 5, 1961, 'the most cynical book on the Civil War that I have read' *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, p.220, basing his assertions on comparisons between Thomas, Burnett Bolloten and Gerald Brenan.

Obviously, unlike these authors, Thomas wants to give a global, total account of the Civil War without dogmatism: "So in my book I sought to avoid polemics, to state the facts as far as I could, with such serenity as I could muster, and, so far as possible, avoiding recriminations" (p.xvi). Compared with the 1961 edition "The result is undoubtedly a new book" (p.xviii). "I now think that the anarchists' ideas for the regeneration of society were more original, provided they were put into effect in a mixed society, than I thought in 1960" (p.xviii). "I also hope the reader will find that the economic and social side of the war has been treated better . . ." (p.xix).

For all these reasons I shall focus here on Thomas's study itself, while stating clearly that Chomsky's article — in fact a booklet — against Jackson's *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War in American Power and the New Mandarins* will be mainly my position.

First of all I have to criticise my own and almost all books written on Spain because they are the contributions of one person and the range, the complexity of the Civil War obliges in fact to collective writing. And Thomas's aim of giving life to the whole war is evidently impossible. Thomas may blind, dazzle the reader with information on politics, leading figures, parties, economics, armies, battlefields; in fact by his individual method he is condemned to be superficial in some — and many — aspects, despite the great volume of pages so easily reached in a book of this sort. (For example, Broue and Temime's global story is 542 pages with print a little bigger than Thomas's; Peirats' *La CNT en la Revolucion Espanola*, three volumes, is 1178; the CP's *Guerra y Revolucion*, three volumes, is 895; a commercial edition from Geneva, *La Guerre d'Espagne*, three volumes, is about 740; and lastly Luis Romero's evocation of the first three days of war is 640).

Jokes and Flattery

I shall divide my remarks — making some slight comparisons with the Spanish version of the 1961 edition — between on the one hand a first reading and impression (of course it will be necessary to check every aspect, but my particular field of interest relates only to self-management during the Civil War) and on the other the anarchist movement as seen by Thomas.

What annoys me is the oddity of the criteria: the first page — with the pretence of literary style — focuses on the parliament, and all the first chapter, ending with "Will there be a revolution?" and "Could it be war?" (p.11), is in deep contradiction to the eleven following chapters which prove that the burden, the fate of social exploitation could only end with a violent confrontation, so that political life was only the tip of the iceberg the base of which was the people and anarchism.

This pressure, however, of people and anarchism, scarcely appears because as in the first edition Thomas presents a huge, vast volume of information but seems to dodge all synthesis about social problems. On the contrary, he emphasises with elephantine lightness that for him francoism and the republican side are the same: for violence, for foreign intervention, for economic organisation.

If this were a truly international point of view, it would be pleasant: new hierarchy and demagoguery on both sides; the use of jingoism to produce cannon fodder for Franco, ^{III} Caballero or Negrin, and, indeed, Churchill: how Germans, Italians and Russians were testing new war materials as did the British in Palestine and the Soviet Union and the USA in Vietnam. But in 98% of cases Thomas remains on the level of a detective novel with a joke, some gossip and the supposed goofy tendencies of some Spaniard or group of Spaniards. In fact Thomas made and makes a hit because he understands that an easy description of the Spanish Civil War with a neutral "liberal" position will be read by all political tendencies and non-specialists. At the same time he flatters readers by limiting his focus on Spain: so they may think "We are lucky not to have all that," as if there were no clear trends towards racism and governmental violence in Great Britain – not to mention the Western and Eastern blocs . . .

Treatment of Anarchism

For all these reasons it is interesting to see how Thomas deals with anarchism. The earliest mentions, as in the 1961 edition, are quite superficial and based on Brennan though without quoting him (pp.16, 19, 23) – as Richards showed then; elsewhere Thomas gives abundant information, but so scattered and so devoid of any depth that the picture is far from clear.

Thus, the misery, difficulties and starvation of the working class, either in industry or in agriculture, are presented (pp.23, 42, 80, 334, besides almost a whole new chapter, p.186); and that misery, over the centuries explains the explosion of violence into immediate revolution. Against the Catholic clergy the hatred was all the greater because of all the hypocrisy. Why did anarchists in Barcelona open the graves in monasteries and convents? Because in them lay the corpses of pregnant women, of babies (not to mention the pornographic novels found in monks' cells). Again, it is certain that the slaughter of francoists in the republican zone was in revenge for the slaughter by francoists of their opponents in the occupied zone; many anarchists protested and protected, however, as Thomas more or less admits (pp.277, 298).

It is quite amazing that there are more pages on violence than there are on self management. And on violence while there are the usual tremendous stories which are accurate there are also some errors, such as calling Garcia Lorca "the greatest Spanish poet of the time": he was not – think of Felipe Leon, Cernuda, Guillen, Machado; so such as to end one paragraph (p.279) with the presumed liquidation of prisoners by anarchists and, two pages later, to end the chapter on violence with the execution of a general by francoists with the words "[He] knew how to die like a Spaniard. Many did." (p.281). Thus anarchists appear as sadists and Spaniards as heroes – special, extravagant people, since all these problems could not have occurred at home . . .

Another interesting point is the observation that Largo Caballero, leader of the socialists and the socialist trade unions, "had agreed to collaborate (even if briefly) with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera as 'councillor of state'" (p.40). But that "briefly" was from October 1924 to the end of 1926 i.e. some two years. Also, Thomas points out the influence of Mussolini of francoism. Why does he not go deeper and see that at the beginning fascism

attracted socialists like those in Italy (D'Aragona) and Spain because it was a way to nationalisation and co-management such as exists now in Germany and is in preparation in Britain. That was why the anarchists did not trust the socialists and why the socialist Prieto was ready to make a pact with Franco just like all the other bourgeois republicans.

The absence of ideological problematics from the book makes difficult the understanding of two basic elements at the start of the war: gold and weapons. For anarchists, self management was at one and the same time the possession of the means of production and the possibility of transforming normal industry into munitions factories; the gold of the central bank was essential to buy arms or machinery to produce arms. For republicans, on the contrary, there was always an opportunity to make a pact with Franco in order to prevent what was the main goal, the revolution; so the gold had to be kept intact.

Finally, the republicans were so clever they gave it all to the Soviet Union to pay for future shipment of war materials!

Thomas's study neglects some important books on the Civil War, for example Fernanda Romeu on the economic background (1970); Cruells for the militias and Mallorca (1974 and 1971); Siemenov, Vietrov for Russia (1969, 1972). In the bibliography the worst neglect is that of English anarchist books: Richard's re-edition of 1972, Christie's translation of Tellez's *Sabate* (1974). Also, Dolgoff's *Anarchist Collectives*, Gomez Casas, and Souchy are all listed in alphabetical order, but not with anarchist books.

Of course, all is not so confused; the biggest improvement is on self-management. Also it is obvious that Thomas has made a real effort to update his study and has framed it stronger.

For instance, "had the government distributed arms, and ordered the civil governors to do so too, thus using the working class to defend the republic at the earliest opportunity, the rising might have been crushed." (p.220). And Thomas justifies this assertion by quoting the "indefatigable German historian of the anarchist movement, Max Nettlau": "Where a measure of autonomy existed . . . the people could and did get arms at the right time. Where autonomy did not exist, little or nothing could be done and the enemy thus – and only thus – gained a temporary advantage." (p.220).

Thomas therefore knows to evolve, sometimes. On the CP, its recruitment of non-communists and bourgeois is well presented (pp.522, 523, 646), as is Togliatti (pp.650, 658, 709) who, I maintain, was one of those responsible for Berneri's murder. Thomas omits the quotation from *Pravda* of December 1936 about Trotskyites because it wasn't true. However, he maintains his impression of strong communist forces at the defence of Madrid; although he lists Mera's memoirs he seems not to have read them (about Mera, the note on p.788 from a francoist is quite stupid) and so his account of the battle of Guadalajara is incomplete.

Anarchist actions during the war are split into two by Thomas, one kind obtuse and hateful, the other somewhat tolerant and self-critical (more or less like Jekyll and Hyde).

Self-Management

On self-management, Thomas gives first a general survey which, as usual, ends badly: "Anarchist theory had not envisaged a situation in which they would gain power in some factories, but not destroy the state or their political opponents" (p.296). This is an

interesting sentence, because many anarchists of reformist tendency said the same during the war (Montseny in September 1936, M.R. Vazquez in April 1937, etc). But a bearded granddaddy called Bakunin wrote in 1870 (*Letter to a Frenchman*) on a situation very similar to Spain in 1936 not to mention Malatesta's anarchist programme of 1920.

What is more painful is when Thomas says seriously that the question arose of turning a lipstick factory over to arms production and that "the anarchists of Catalonia improvised" (p.297). Firstly, as Thomas demonstrates, Spain had possessed the impetus towards revolution for many years and, secondly, in many cases the anarchists had a plan and knew what to do, while thirdly, and much more important, the workers were taking initiatives. In many cases, Thomas says "anarchists" when he dislikes one thing and "workers" when he points out a global idea; so do the trotskysts, as *Black Flag* pointed out on F. Morrow (March 1976, p. 14).

Chapter 32 "The land – agrarian collectives – did they work?" is a very interesting example of Thomas's conception of writing. It is a summary of a study first published in 1966 and reprinted in Carr's book on Spain (1971). From 18 pages it has gone to 13 and instead of an internal study of the varieties of management we now have less material and the insertion of the testimony of a communist – Lister – who was charged with destroying the Aragon collectives (pp. 723 – 5). And so the reader is led to take the communist vision of the failure of the collectives.

Wages in some collectives are presented but without it being said that the figures are of several and different times and different provinces. No interpretation is given. It is affirmed as evident that collective sending of food did not reach the front and were "wasted," (p. 564), but why are the united exports of oranges, lemons, etc., by anarchist and socialist trade unions not mentioned? Yet they were the main source of money for the republican state. The chapter ends with the opinion of Horacio Prieto criticising the merger of shops, but why not mention that Prieto was against self-management and spontaneity before and during the war? The question about rich collectives and poorer ones, and whether they would have practised solidarity, is pointless, because there was in general a great solidarity within and between the provinces. The final attack on J. Ascaso may be accounted to communist influence on Thomas and lacks proof. Nevertheless Thomas admits "it is evident that they [the collectives] articulated the enthusiasm of many poor, but dedicated, men and women." (p.565).

The presentation of the Iron Column (quoted from Bolloten) is very meagre. An effort is made for the May days of 1937 with a personal interpretation about the spontaneity of the fighting: "the communists could have taken more trouble, and taken more men from the front, if they had planned a coup in Barcelona." (p.655). In fact, such an argument does not stand up to the evidence that only where there were communists were there clashes, as Cruells has demonstrated.

The book ends with a quote from the bourgeois Azana on "Peace, Pity and Pardon," and Fatherland, of course. It is a pity that exploitation and class struggle keep on in Spain and all the world making Spain only a stage in the vast Civil War between privileged people and their slaves – inside or outside the society of consumption.

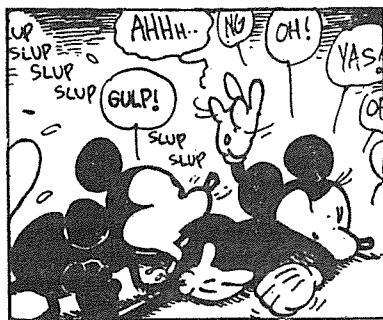
Frank Mintz.



The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book, Compiled by Albert Meltzer, Cartoons by Phil Ruff, £1.00 (+ 9p p+p).

A veritable mine of useless information, a gusher of North Sea sedition, the only book in the world to provide the answers to such questions as where is the smallest police station in London? What was Anatole France's view of the role of the Pope after the revolution? What is the connection between tea-drinking and secularism? Where were anarchists blamed for an earthquake? On what occasion did Bakunin go to church? What were Bradlaugh boots? How did Marlene Dietrich upset Hermann Goering? Who were Two-Gun Cohen and 'Sugar-Baby'? Who was Wagner's Siegfried based on? Where did selling your wife at the market constitute divorce?, and who embodied the link between Trotskyism and cricket? Now you will never know the answers (well, not all of them, even if you have been around a long time) unless you buy the *Anarcho-Quiz Book*, a Simian Publication from Over The Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL, £1.00 plus 9p postage. Well-printed, visually attractive with amusing cartoons by Phil Ruff.

Geoff Charlton.



Catching Them Young 1: Sex, Race and Class in Children's Fiction.
Catching Them Young 2: Political Ideas in Children's Fiction, Bob Dixon, Pluto Press.
 Each volume £1.80 paperback, £4.50 hardback.

Everyone who wishes to see a free society must be concerned about the influences to which our children are subjected as they grow up in an authoritarian and exploitative society.

Bob Dixon has produced a scholarly study of the warped view of the world presented in many children's books. However, his book does not develop beyond a piece of radical literary criticism, sometimes tediously laboured but often thought-provoking. There is no

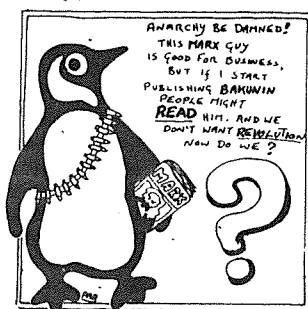
serious attempt to place the literary critique in a wider perspective of the various influences on children: their experience of relationships at home, at school and in the community; and the relative influence of books and television. (For instance, I'm sure Biggles doesn't stand a chance against TV's Bionic Man or Woman!) Although Dixon makes fleeting references to sociological and psychological studies in order to give authority to some of his assertions, he exhibits a writer's confidence in the power of the pen — whether to maintain the status quo or to change society. Although he is aware of the importance of other influences, and the psychological processes which make some people more susceptible to manipulation, he leaves consideration of these vital questions to others.

The book comes in 2 volumes. Volume 1 is subtitled *Sex, Race and Class in Children's Fiction* and is the more significant of the 2 volumes. It is the one I would recommend for anyone without time to read both.

The chapter on racial prejudice expressed in children's books is by far the best part of the book — and also the most worrying. Enid Blyton who has dominated Children's books for over thirty years has produced some of the most dangerous racist propaganda. In 1970, two years after her death, the magazine *Books* estimated her English language sales totalled seventy-five million. Dixon puts his finger on Blyton's mental outlook when he says it is based on fear — "fear of what is different or unusual, a fear of the non-conformist and the unconventional, a fear of anything that's new and threatens change." Blyton has written in such a way as to transform childhood fears of such things as darkness and strangers into fear of black people by connecting them in the minds of children. The potential psychological damage is obvious.

One of the saddest effects of racial prejudice is the rejection by black children of their own identity. Dixon mentions the results of a sociological study carried out with black children in America in 1947. Basically, the children were presented with black and white dolls and asked various questions to reveal their attitude to colour. The majority of children expressed a preference for the white doll. Furthermore, 59% of these children stated that the black doll "looks bad" while only 17% stated that the white doll "looks bad." This is only part of the sad story of self-denigration by black children. In case anyone thinks that this was peculiar to America thirty years ago, Dixon reports that a similar study was recently carried out in Britain with Asian and West Indian children with similar sad results.

In the chapter on class ideas in children's books, Dixon shows how they have traditionally given a middle-class view of the world with working-class people appearing as mere supporting characters, or as figures to be ridiculed or feared. In the last nine years the *Nippers* and *Little Nippers* series of early reading books



edited by Leila Berg have attempted to show working-class people realistically in working-class surroundings. With ninety-five titles in print and over two and a quarter million sold they present a readily available alternative.

In the chapter on sexism Dixon shows how children's books define narrow sex-roles for girls and boys. He comments on the common impression gained by very young girls that they could only be nurses, not doctors. He quotes from *The Psychology of Sex Differences* which mentions a four-year-old girl who insisted that girls could only be nurses and boys doctors, in spite of the fact that her mother was a doctor! Unfortunately, Dixon does not give further details. On the face of it, it certainly seems to challenge the view (which I share) that this misconception simply springs from the fact that the vast majority of doctors seen by young girls are men; young children are often dogmatic about generalising from particular experiences and observations. The relative importance of the influence of books compared with a child's perception of what he or she observes of roles and values in society is still highly debatable.

Dixon advances the view that young girls are inclined to make progress in reading — and are more imaginative — because they are frustrated in their physical activity. As I have spent my life avoiding unnecessary physical exercise and conscription to sport I find this quite amazing! He obviously shares the authoritarian's mystical faith in the efficacy of "healthy exercise."

Generally, Dixon accepts the shortcomings of aspects of contemporary feminism and uncritically. Freud, who admittedly deserves criticism on many scores, is denounced for daring to suggest that there might possibly be innate psychological differences between most men and women, accepting the obvious variations within the same sex. Dixon seeks to demolish Freud with one poke at his "penis envy" and then feels free to ignore what many men and women have to say about their different psychological fears and desires. He also asserts, with the confidence of a man, that the maternal instinct is a myth — despite the fact that many revolutionary women have recognised it, have taken satisfaction in it, and have been inspired by it.

Volume 2 is subtitled *Political Ideas in Children's Fiction* and includes chapters on comics, imperialism and religion. It contains some rather obscure and dated references but this is inevitable because part of the intention of this volume is to give an historical account of the development of reactionary political ideas in children's books.

I found the chapter on comics most interesting in Volume 2, if only because of the vast circulation they receive. *Valiant* published by IPC has a circulation of half a million and Dixon reports that World War 2 is still raging in its columns with "British pigdogs" and "krauts" going strong. In other comics "law and order" propaganda is very common.

Perhaps Dixon's demand for working-class culture to be reflected in comics is intended as mere rhetoric, but does he really expect capitalist publishers to run comic strips about the Tolpuddle Martyrs, the Luddites and the Tupamaros? Yes, he actually suggests this! Dixon goes to great lengths to defend the medium of the comic as an art form, but I find it crudely emotive and easy-game for manipulation.

In his critique of some comic heroes such as the Lone Ranger and Superman (both easy targets) Dixon reveals his own politics quite

clearly. The Lone Ranger suffers from "individualism . . . a fundamental strand of capitalism." Surely modern techno-bureaucratic capitalism needs an ideology of dependence and conformity not "individualism"? Dixon approvingly quotes another writer who states that "instead of teaching obedience to law, Superman glorifies the 'right' to take the law into his own hands." Thus Superman is a proven fascist. It seems to me that in this simplistic view Dixon completely misunderstands the appeal of the super-human, individualistic hero to children who are made painfully aware of their weakness and dependence by hostile adults. Generally, Dixon seems unwilling to accept that children are capable of taking what they want from books, regardless of the author's intentions.

Although Bob Dixon has written a book which is essentially (and deliberately) a work of literary criticism, it is a useful contribution to the wider debate about how we can create an environment in which children can grow up free from fear and prejudice.

Terry Phillips.



THE PROTESTANTS OF ULSTER by Geoffrey Bell. (Pluto Press, £2).

The decision by Pluto Press to release Geoffrey Bell's book so close on the heels of their previous production, *Northern Ireland, the Orange State* by Michael Farrell, is hard to understand. Much of the copy in *The Protestants of Ulster* is a rehash of material contained in numerous books dealing with the Irish problem, including Farrell's. Mr Bell, himself an 'Ulster' Protestant, goes over old ground without ever making a conscious effort to analyse the underlying reasons why the Protestant working class cling to the right wing Conservatism embodied in the Unionist spectrum.

As a handy reference book for the student of Irish politics Geoffrey Bell's work can be recommended, as a serious contribution to the literary efforts of the past seven years it cannot. Much of the book is of 'scissors and paste' format with numerous references to existing publications. The extent to which the author relies on notes can be gauged from the fact that acknowledgement is made to a staggering 220 references, at the rear of the book. Considering that the entire work, including preamble, index and references comes to a mere 160 pages of 11 point type the author's bottlegging is hardly justified.

Taken solely as a reference book one can gain a measure of satisfaction from the work. Bell has laid his bevy of facts concerning the evolution of Protestant sectarianism in 'Ulster' in an easy to read manner. Ten chapters, with sectarianism in 'Ulster' in an easy to read manner. Ten chapters, with Vaudevillian headings like: "Oh God Our Help In Ages Past" are devoted to the varying and mystifying aspects of Loyalist life. A chapter on 'Ancient Privileges'

contains some interesting tables which are taken from a number of sources including British Parliamentary Papers. Comparisons of weekly wage rates between areas in England and Belfast show that the Irish worker employed in the building trade came rock bottom in the earnings scale . . . a situation which prevails today.

The complete failure of Geoffrey Bell to recognise the realities behind the child-like attitude of the Ulster Protestant to cling to Britannia's tattered petticoat is evident in his dismissal of the May 1974 Loyalist putsch with four sentences. The 'strike', which toppled the Northern Ireland Executive, headed by the late, unlamented Brian Faulkner, was masterminded by the Protestant bourgeois who felt threatened by the unholy alliance of Faulkner's Unionist Party and the Social Democratic and Labour Party which was comprised of the Catholic middle class. Although the front men for the 'strike' committee were, on the face of it, from the Loyalist working class the manipulators were politicians and businessmen worried that the Executives' commitment to a 'Council of Ireland' would have adverse effects on an already fragile economy. Almost every mass action by the Protestant people has been instigated by big business. Geoffrey Bell glosses over the '74 putsch as: Protestants told to share power; Protestants go on strike. Efforts to break strike fail; Executive collapses.

While *The Protestants of Ulster* fails to get to the heart of the problems facing the Unionist masses, and the accompanying problems which beset the Nationalist population, the last paragraph of the Bell book is worth quoting. Commenting on the words of Sir William Spencer: "I am not an Ulsterman but yesterday . . . as I followed their amazing attack on the Somme I felt I would rather be an Ulsterman than anything else in the world!": the author says:

"The words are quoted with pride, they are woven into Orange banners, the Orange Order distributes a booklet entitled 'Rather Be An Ulsterman'. Such is the tragedy of the ordinary Ulster Protestant, if Ulster be the adjective they prefer. They quote the words not with anger at the senseless carnage, at the way they were sacrificed so that well-fed, high living Englishmen could enjoy themselves for a few more years. They are not bitter at the slaughter of their own people in one of the most pointless military battles the world had ever seen, a battle judged necessary at the time by those not of their class, not of their country. They are not angry, they are not bitter, they do not protest; they are proud.

That is their tragedy."



"Bakunin on Violence: letter to S. Nechayev" Come, Unity Press, 30p. The publication in pamphlet form of this letter from Bakunin to Nechayev, written in Locarno Switzerland 2nd June 1870, is a very welcome event; though "Bakunin on Violence" is not really what it is about at all.

Bakunin wrote it near the end of his revolutionary career, with his relations with Nechayev at a low ebb, strained by financial problems and understandable fatigue, and in the midst of his struggle against the scheming of Marx and Utin on one side and the internal debate with Nechayev over the character and aims of their existing and envisaged underground groups inside Russia. It has been wrongly, and one suspects purposely, constructed as a denunciation by Bakunin of Nechayev's "violence". Sadly a barrier to real discussion on revolutionary ends and means which persists today blown up out of all proportion. The publishing co-operative who have produced the letter in pamphlet format betray their pacifist (and dishonest) bias not only by their curious choice of title, but by reproducing a short quote from Bakunin inside the back cover which, taken out of context, conveys the exact opposite of what its author explains in the text:



"For myself I cannot tolerate either brigandage or thieving, nor any other anti-human violence."

But in the text Bakunin continues immediately by saying "But I confess, if I had to choose between the brigandage and thieving of those occupying the throne and enjoying all privileges, and popular thieving and brigandage, I would, without hesitation, take the side of the latter. I find it natural, necessary, and even, in some sense, legal . . . I am on the side of popular brigandage and see in it one of the most essential tools for the future people's revolution in Russia." (p.20).

Not exactly what the publishers would like to come out of Bakunin's mouth perhaps, but it is, nonetheless.

Most of the pamphlet in fact deals with the far more important debate over the aims of the revolution, the relationship of revolutionaries to the people, their role in the struggle (before during and after the hoped for victory) and the form of underground organisations best suited to those ends. Nowhere does Bakunin disagree with Nechayev's basic idea that some sort of clandestine group is required.

"I was convinced that even if you were few, you represent a serious undertaking, the only serious revolutionary movement in Russia." (Bakunin p.6.)

What really forms the basis of the Bakunin/ Nechayev debate was two differing concepts of the internal structure of the underground revolutionary movement inside Russia - which by virtue of the severe Tsarist repression (and in the process distorted by Nechayev's enemies) by the personal rift between the two men, brought on by Nechayev's rather over zealous fund-raising activities and his ham-fisted treatment of Marx concerning Bakunin's translation of "Das Kapital" into Russian. Given the social conditions in Russia then (and more so today) there was no other realistic means by which the revolutionary movement could organise other than in secret cells. On this Bakunin and Nechayev never differed.

Unfortunately because of the break in personal relations, followed by Nechayev's imprisonment and death during which he displayed exceptional personal courage and revolutionary integrity, their debate on the question of clandestine organisation was never finally resolved. And no one suffered more as

result than Nechayev himself, whom ever since has become one of the most little understood and unjustly slandered of all Russian revolutionists.

The surviving documentation from this exchange of views (chiefly Nechayev's "Catechism of the Revolutionary" and Bakunin's later correspondence, of which the pamphlet under review here is an illuminating fragment) warrants a closer and more open-minded scrutiny than received so far from the anarchist movement. There is much in both documents which still holds good today as a general guide to carrying on the struggle. The present version of Bakunin's letter would have been better served by a more accurate title – "Bakunin on Revolutionary Organisation," or "Ends and Means of the Revolutionary," for example – and a decent introduction making some attempt to treat the contents honestly, with the purpose of examining what Bakunin actually said rather than what his pacifist editors wished he would have said.

Without doubt Bakunin would have poured more scorn than I on those who delude themselves that open 'non-resistance' brings results. His editors are entitled to believe what they wish; but the text they present here tells it differently:

"He who wishes to retain his ideal and virginal purity should stay in the study and dream, think, write discourses or poetry. He who wants to be a real revolutionary in Russia must take off his gloves; no gloves will save him from the deep and all-embracing Russian mud. The Russian world, both privileged state and popular, is a terrible world. A Russian revolution will certainly be a terrible revolution. Whoever is frightened of horrors or dirt should turn away from this world and this revolution. He who wants to serve the latter must know what he is facing, must strengthen his nerves, and be prepared for anything." (Bakunin p.21).

Henry Black.



The Science and Politics of IQ by Kamin. Penguin, 1977, 95p.

"Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels . . . (we) might consider that heritability is the first."

The concept of IQ has become so all pervasive in the Western World over the last century, that its application has probably affected us all at one time or another during our lives. Few will, for example, deny the importance of the 10+ and 11+ examinations in determining the future lives of millions of children. Those examinations were little more than IQ tests dressed up in academic masquerade. The concept taken in a wider sense, as a part of an increasing "rationality" forced upon us in this society of ours, has played a large part in determining the social climate under which we live, and the "common sense" of many generations. IQ is a term which possesses a clear and well defined meaning for millions of people, and its common usage implies a belief in a reality which is beyond question (i.e. scientific reality). It is, after all, quite natural that working class children

should fail at school, fall foul of the law etc., – they are innately, socially and intellectually thick (yes?). Further, as Kamin says, "The underprivileged are demonstrated to be ineducable, a message as soothing to the public purse as to the public conscience." It is then of vital importance that we have at least a cursory understanding of the nature, history and implications of IQ and IQism.

Perhaps the most vehement and at the same time noxious protagonists of IQism discussed by Kamin are those two heroic figures of most right wing social philosophers, Jensen and Herrnstein (curiously enough, Kamin makes no acknowledgement of Eysenck's existence – perhaps the best attitude to strike in that particular case). It is noticeable at once how neatly IQism provides scientific legitimization for both these "scientists"



socio-political views – Jensen with his belief in the innate supremacy of the white race and the West European in particular, and Herrnstein with his aspirations toward a strict and rigid caste system, based solely upon one's IQ and evolving through encouraged high grade inbreeding and "discouraged" inbreeding (i.e. sterilisation) of low grades. Such differences apart, however, what these two bastions of our intellectual integrity hold in common not only with themselves but also with all who advocate the scientific/social legitimacy of IQism, is a belief, in essence, that the poor are poor, the underprivileged underprivileged etc., because they are intellectually incompetent, and that this incompetence is particularly intractable as it is rooted in the genetic structure inherited from poor and intellectually incompetent parents. Thus, the existence of such a natural, intractable and fixed limit on intellectual possibilities, transmitted intergenerationally, provides us with a picture – and a neat one at that – of the reproduction of the class system.

Such theories do not, however, represent any radically new direction in, or divergence from the science of psychology itself. IQism has nothing if not a long, contentious and totally unsavoury history. The practice of positing "rational" scientific explanations for what are essentially social phenomena is as old as Western science itself. Thus, we find in the mid to late 19th century, an intellectual climate characterised by a desire to understand the plight of the flotsam and jetsam of a laissez-faire capitalist economy, not in terms of that situation, but rather by means of studying the individual isolated from his environment (e.g. physiological measurement to determine the criminal "type". With the development of the IQ test by Binet in 1905 (i.e. a method of determining absolutely any individual's intellectual capacity), IQism took off with a vengeance; and thus began a correspondingly rapid and intractable decline from

what level of scientific integrity it may have had at its genesis, to a theory clearly enmeshed with, and inseparable from its protagonists' politics. It is clear, for example, that the main advocates of IQism in the U.S.A. earlier this century, Yerkes, Goddard and Terman, were well aware not only of the theory's manifest cultural content, but were more than happy at even its most heinous and overtly oppressive political applications, for example a law passed by the Iowa legislature, providing for "the prevention of the procreation of criminals, rapists, idiots, feeble-minded, imbeciles, lunatics, drunkards, drug fiends, epileptics, syphilitics, moral and sexual perverts, and diseased and degenerate persons" – just about everyone except the legislature itself apparently. Sir Keith Joseph is not alone with his proposed "discouragement" of the procreation of socio-economic groups 4 and 5.

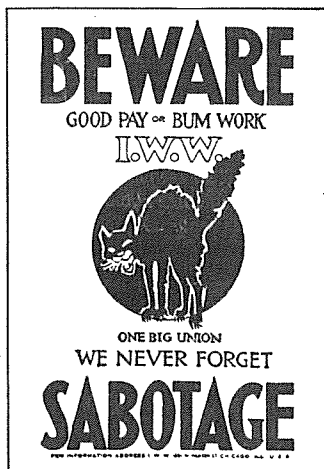
The relationship IQism has enjoyed with overt (and covert) establishment political activity is amply exemplified in Kamin's chapter covering "Psychology and the Immigrant." Here, we can see the enthusiasm with which the U.S. legislature embraced the new science, creating a situation where that discipline was little more and no less than a legitimization of otherwise totally unacceptable immigration policy; proving to the great American public that all immigrants were less intelligent than they; whilst simultaneously warning of decline in moral/intellectual standards as a result. In short, as an instrument of oppression – overtly scientific, but covertly political. Francis Kinnicutt of the Immigration Restriction League, testifying before the U.S. Senate Committee on Immigration, in February 1923, stated that he desired "to further restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe . . . (since) the evidence is abundant that . . . it is largely of a very low degree of intelligence . . . some of their labour unions are amongst the most radical in the country."

But Kamin's evidence damns deeper. Tracing through 150 pages of statistical manipulation, we are shown convincingly what we all knew, suspected or hoped already – the unscientificity of a self-professed unbiased and uncommitted scientific study. The bodies of statistics relied upon by people such as Jensen do not, it seems, demonstrate any convincing relationship supporting either a genetic or hereditary theory of IQ. This, even ignoring the blatant cultural content of both the IQ tests and IQism itself, is remarkable, given the degree to which both are held up to the world as scientific "facts" or "entities." The history of IQism is a history of misconception, the manipulation of data of at best dubious scientific merit, and the use of such resultant theories as blatant scientific oppression. Even if we accept the existence of a measurable IQ (and few would accept even that), then we cannot accept either the genetic or hereditary traits attributed to it. It is science (and not true science at that) meddling in purely cultural phenomena whilst pretending to be non or a-cultural.

On a more critical note, however, the book suffers greatly from its title. No single volume, however large, by any single author, can ever cover the science and politics of IQ. This said, then, goes some way to excusing Kamin for failing to make explicit certain aspects of his study; which, once so rendered, show that there is a great deal more to the subject than discussed in his book. (For example, the relationship between IQ and ideology, or the relationship between science

and politics generally, of which the IQ debate is but a part). The book is at best a brief summary of a hot and tiresome, but nonetheless important debate, which blew up in the mid sixties after the apparent failure of the environmentalist oriented "compensatory" education programmes in the U.S.A., and which crops up in (if it doesn't actually fill) the pages of American education journals. It is at its best when Kamin tears himself away from tedious but necessary statistical mystification. This said, however, *The Science and Politics of IQ* is both readable and informative — not an easy combination for a book dealing with such an involved and complex subject.

Icarus.



Sabotage: a study in industrial conflict, by Geoff Brown. Spokesman Books 1977, £8.50.

When I first left school I went to work in the local plastics factory. It was an intimidating experience having to work at a pace dictated constantly by a machine. I can still visualise the huge grey-painted machines that towered either side of me as I attempted to keep pace with the 20,000 plastic beer-bottle separators a day that it produced. It wasn't the noisiest place I've worked in, but everybody needed to shout to be heard.

My job entailed breaking a small spigot from the separators that was left by the injection moulding process. I had to break the spigot, examine for "short-ending" (where the plastic has not quite filled the mould), hang to cool, count and box for 8 hours a day. The pace was fast and the job required a certain amount of concentration that ruled out any chance of day-dreaming. The sheer bulk of the machines and the constant noise (the machines worked 24 hours a day, non-stop) meant that I never saw anyone and couldn't break for a chat.

One day my machine developed a fault. It stopped, I stopped, and one of the engineer came over had a few words, and put the machine right. I quickly realised that every time the machine went wrong someone came over and broke the monotony, and it wasn't long before I was experimenting with some of the buttons on the machine in an attempt to duplicate a fault. The best way, to get the machine to break, however, turned out to be a quick flick of the wrist, which sent the separator back up the machine hopper, to be caught in the closing mould.

Production on my machine fell, but I was a lot happier, especially as the Time and Motion people couldn't find out why the machines I worked were slower than any of

the others. They even used to break down mysteriously while I was being carefully watched. Life is tough in T & M . . .

It wasn't that my political consciousness was high, what I did was purely an individual revolt against unreasonable working conditions. I was pissed-off (Marxist term "alienated") and it was the only way to do something about it.

Several years later I picked up a copy of *Solidarity* (or was it one of their pamphlets?), and in spite of being alienated by the language in some of the articles a piece on sabotage caught my eye, and I could relate it to my own life. Sabotage as a whole philosophical and theoretical system was opened up in front of my very eyes — I saw the light!! Seriously, I'd never been on strike, and most of my revolts against authority (even at school) had been individual efforts, noteworthy only in their consistent failure. I'd never been able to relate to the Trot papers and talk about striking, 'cos like most people I'd never been on strike. Skiving, however, truancy from school, and fiddling the time clock — we've all done that. (Haven't fiddled the time clock? well, briefly, here's how: automatic time clocks stamp the card, and cut a piece out of the side of the card. Next time you stamp the card, it goes in slightly further (because of the piece cut out). By pushing the card in hard on one occasion, but only lightly next time round, and so on, varying as necessary, the times get over-stamped. If you are late, by a few minutes, no-one can tell from your card, and you can get it signed by the foreman (and he's always late to show his status of not having to stamp in, and consequently doesn't know you were late) while cursing the uselessness of modern technology.)

I'm still interested in the whole idea of sabotage, both as a conscious weapon in the struggle for better pay and conditions at work, and as an act of instinctive rebellion against work itself. Especially as the complexity of modern industry, its technology and bureaucracy render it increasingly vulnerable.

So, a couple of years ago when I noticed in a Spokesman booklist that Geoff Brown was writing a book about *Sabotage* I paid my 85p in advance, and waited for its promised publication a couple of months later. The book took a lot longer to prepare than intended and during that time its impact has been partially sabotaged by a price increase of 1,000% which is a pity. This is a book which needs to be widely read and discussed, because its implications for the development of a revolutionary strategy challenge the foundations of Leninist orthodoxy.

Geoff Brown is a tutor in the Dept. of Adult Education at the University of Nottingham, and has made an important contribution to the current revival of interest in syndicalism and its tactics. He has contributed introductions to the Spokesman reprints of *The Industrial Syndicalist* (1910-1912) and *The Syndicalist* (1912-1914), and is currently engaged on writing a biography of Tom Mann.

Geoff's book traces the history of sabotage back to Emile Pouget although the origins of sabotage as an industrial and social weapon go back beyond the Ludéites. Pouget, a French anarchist, was impressed by the successful use of "ca'canny" in the Glasgow dock strike of 1889 after traditional strike tactics had failed. He wrote a short book advocating sabotage:

"... sabotage is in the social war what guerrilla warfare is in national wars, it flows

from the same feelings, responds to the same necessities and has identical consequences in workers' minds.

"We know to what extent guerrilla warfare develops individual courage, daring and decisiveness — the same can be said for sabotage: it keeps the workers going, it prevents them from getting bogged down in a pernicious flabbiness, and as it necessitates permanent and ceaseless action, it had the happy result of developing the spirit of initiative, of accustoming the working class to self-activity, and of stimulating combativity."

In America the idea of sabotage spread rapidly, and Arturo Giovannitti, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World translated Pouget's booklet. (Giovannitti was thrown into prison in an attempt to break the 1912 textile workers strike in Lawrence, USA) describing sabotage in the introduction as "any conscious or wilful act on the part of one or more workers intended to slacken and reduce the output of production . . ." This translation was rapidly followed by Walker C. Smith's *Sabotage: its history, philosophy, and function* (published in this issue of the Review). Two years later Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, another wobbly, wrote *Sabotage: the conscious withdrawal of the workers' industrial efficiency*, but this was withdrawn from publication by the IWW because of some concern that it encouraged the smashing of machinery and the burning of grain in the harvest fields.

Nevertheless, the IWW remained firm advocates and practitioners of sabotage in industrial disputes, and Wobbly locals around Los Angeles began to publish a semi-official weekly paper called *The Wooden Shoe*, a reference to the origins of the word "sabotage", which is derived from the French "sabot" wooden shoe.

If sabotage developed in one way as a tactic to be used in the struggle for higher wages and better conditions, it also became increasingly used to combat speed-ups and higher productivity, even in the 19th century. It became an individual challenge to a discipline that was irksome and being increasingly imposed by the nature of the technology itself.

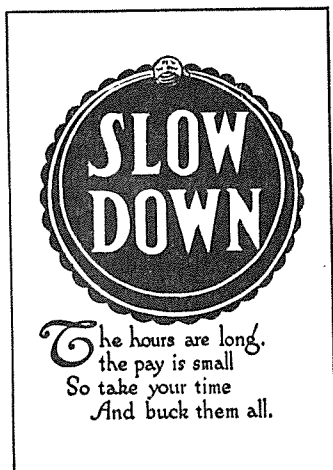
This opposition was not confined to the 'capitalist' countries such as Britain and the USA, but also developed in response to similar conditions in the USSR, where the idea of Stakhanovism was assiduously fostered by the state, and opposed by the workers. (Stakhanov was a creep who cut 102 tons of coal a shift instead of the normal 7 tons, by using a more rigorous division of labour). Trade union papers in Russia reported "The wrecking and breaking of machines is the favourite method of struggle against the Stakhanov movement." Since the riots in 1976 in Poland, many factories have seen production drastically reduced by workers' use of go-slow tactics.

Britain also has an honourable tradition of sabotage. "Ca'canny" (go slow) was widely practised, and a number of I.W.W. influenced papers carried articles on the nature and principles of sabotage. These papers, included the wobbles own *Industrial Worker* (its title borrowed from an official IWW paper in the USA) and the Industrial Democracy League's *Solidarity*, named after the paper of the militant Chicago branch. The advice in these papers ranged from exhortations for waiters to put oil in soup, to an anonymous article advocating "open-mouthed" sabotage: the exposure of shoddy goods and the leaking of

manufacturers' secrets.

This tradition has continued right up to the present day and Geoff Brown describes how in 1962, a member of the Solidarity group "working at Ford's Dagenham plant was fined £100 for writing a pamphlet advocating sabotage as a legitimate weapon in the class struggle in the factory. He continues: "Apparently an 'experimental speed up' at Dagenham on the day of the trial led to production losses on account of 'accidental mechanical breakdowns'." More recently we have seen an increasing number of stay-in strikes and factory occupations, and last year saw the successful conclusion to a newspaper strike at the Express plant, when workers simply removed some vital clips from plate-making machinery.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica reports the colourful incident in France when some barbers are alleged to have shaved the whole head of customers who demanded attention after hours. While amusing in themselves, and interesting to see the inventiveness that saboteurs have employed, such descriptions



perhaps tend to conceal the qualitative change in the use of sabotage, because while it is still a tactic used to fight redundancies, speed-ups and to gain pay rises, it has now become increasingly used against work itself.

As technology has changed, so has the nature of the class struggle, and over the last few years, a considerable number of books about "the revolt against work" have been published, and as a result a truly libertarian theory about industrial and class struggle is evolving. It is a theory which reflects the complex nature of these struggles, which attempts to explain the way in which even the most apparently radical demands can be subverted by the system which uses them for its own ends. It is also a theory which refutes the simplistic ideological class analysis of the traditional left.

Although the revolt against work isn't something that Geoff Brown has gone into in any real depth, this book contains a substantial amount of material on which to continue building a theory around this concept. Like all good theories it is one which draws its ideas from the every day practice of working people, and it is constantly being tested and revised in action.

The importance of sabotage as a tactic in this revolt, is that it returns the power during mass action to the shop floor and to the individual, giving each one a measure of control over the struggle in which she or he is engaged. As such, it is a weapon of revolution.

Paul Wilson.

Economic Genocide in Chile. Monetarist theory versus humanity, Andre Gunder Frank, Spokesman Books, 95p.

I really wanted to read Geoff Brown's new book *Sabotage*, but at £8.95 I couldn't afford it, so I chose this substitute. It is written in the form of two open letters to Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman who are among the foremost theorists of currently fashionable "monetarist" economics. Andre Gunder Frank is amply qualified to write such critical letters, as not only is he a brilliant marxist economist who worked in Allende's Chile, but he is a former pupil of Harberger and Friedman.

Strangely, Milton Friedman has gained the reputation of being a libertarian, and has taken to prophesying (in magazines such as *Encounter*) that the only alternative to dictatorship is monetarist economic policy. Of course, Friedman is not a libertarian in any sense of the word. He is an advocate of laissez faire economics and 'the encroachment of the market into every sphere of life. He makes no attempt to challenge the power and the authority of the state — in fact his ideas rely to a crucial extent upon the repressive nature of the state.

The Chicago 'school' to which both Friedman and Harberger belong, has had a growing influence in recent years, and in reading Frank's book I was struck by the similarity of the proposals now being put into effect in Chile, Brazil and Argentina, with those of the British government. Andre Frank provides a convincing, well-argued case demonstrating that the monetarist theories of the Chicago school (eagerly adopted by Keith Joseph and other Tory party hacks) merely provide a legitimising ideology for large scale repression.

A few years ago Frank wrote an important and pioneering pamphlet, systematically demonstrating the role played by modern sociological theories of economic development in perpetuating the unequal distribution of power and wealth throughout the world (see *Sociology of Development*, Pluto Press, 1971, 20p). Here his incisive mind does an effective demolition job of monetarist economics which is useful because if genuine libertarianism is ever to prevail (i.e. anarchism) then the pseudo libertarians need knocking on the head first.

I now look forward to the time when Andre Frank's sincere belief in social justice leads him to an understanding of how marxism, in the guise of a liberating ideology, has provided the rationale and justification for the enslavement of entire nations. He may then undertake a critique of state socialist neo-imperialism which is every bit as devastating as this appeal for humanity in the face of barbarism.

Paul Wilson

Self-Management. Economic Liberation of Man, edited by Jaroslav Vanek, Penguin, London, 1975, 479 pp., £2.00.

If we compare this publication, which is written from a capitalist point of view, with that of the Trotskyist Ernest Mandel, *Contrôle ouvrier, Conseil ouvrier, Autogestion*, we find the same adoration for hierarchy and the same attitude to anarchist vision and experiments.

Vanek's study ignores almost wholly the revolutionary concept of the violent seizure of the means of production and his treatment, although good in parts, is generally superficial — even from a classical economic viewpoint. But more difficult to accept is his personal vision of self-management "carried out through an efficient system of delegation of authority" (p. 14): — if revocation and rotation are not emphasised automatically follows the creation of a class of leaders — and "the equalisation of income per

worker (of equal skill, of course) among industrial branches" (p. 35), so that in Vanek's interpretation of self-management, an engineer at Ford's will maybe earn the same amount as one in mining or in banking.

A last point on Vanek's lack of seriousness: he says "the Czechoslovakian case was not given time to develop enough for us to be able to categorise it exactly now, but there can be little doubt from the spirit of the reforms that it would have come somewhere under our category, that is, self-management" (pp. 25, 26). We agree with Vanek; and Spain 1936-1939? Is not it a longer and more profound example of the brief year of experience granted from the top in Czechoslovakia? (See the French review *Autogestion*, 1970, No. 11, p. 6)

The article on marxism and self-management fails to present the Soviet, Yugoslav and Chinese positions in their polemics on the Yugoslav case (for this see the good study by the French anarchist group "Noir et Rouge" and the analysis of Spain, Yugoslavia and Algeria: *Autogestion, Etat et Revolution*).

On Yugoslavia, nobody points out the variations of laws along the years and the need of the State to control the excessive freedom of collectives or to stimulate — with apparent privileges — the low output.

Big news: "Catholic church and workers' participation": I supposed the author was to describe the gunning down of self-management in Spain during the civil war. Not at all: on the contrary, not a word on the francoist repression of workers' rights, but an article on the falange-controlled case of Mondragon: *Spain's Oasis of Democracy*, a city made famous — or infamous — by the assassinations of Basque ETA militants.

G.D. Garson gives an interesting study on "Recent developments in workers' participation in Europe", but what has it to do with self-management? Another example of the editor's confused outlook. Garson shows that co-management in Germany was not created by laws in 1951, but was "tied to Allied efforts to restructure German industrial power" (p. 164). So in the same period, 1948-1950, a marxist system under Tito and a capitalist system in Germany gave more phoney rights to workers in order to bring about a considerable rise in output. German co-management is copied increasingly in Norway and Denmark.

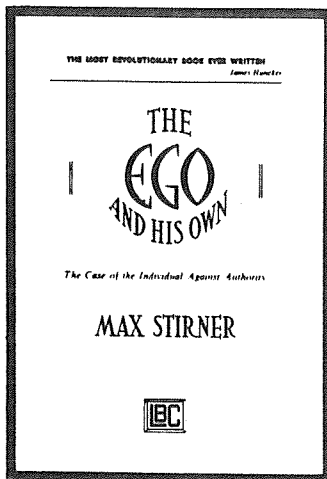
Two other examples of the absurd are a study on the development of eastern and western countries, which is useless because all statistics on the East are falsified, and a study by P. Blumberg on participation which concludes on prisons: "... those... (with) the idea of inmate self-government tend to believe it worthwhile... It creates a situation where staff and inmates are conceived as part of a co-operative unit" (p. 337).

However, a clear study of Israel tells us that the "average kibbutz has a population of 400" with a total close to 100,000 in 1970, that is 3.6% of Jewish population (of course, there are no Arab kibbutzim). Compared with Spain, it is on a very small scale.

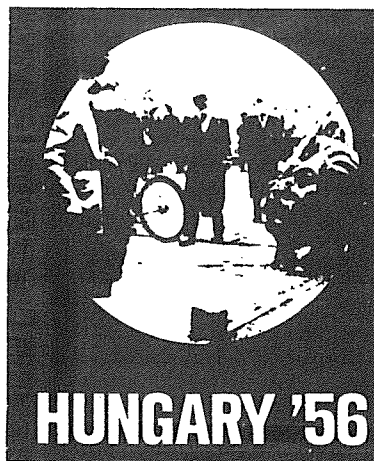
A clear observation by J.C. Bellas on the U.S., which we apply to all cases: in a production co-operative "when owners are interested in maximisation of worker income at the expense of profit or company survival as a co-operative is impossible." "Under their current methods of operation, the key of longevity appears to be in their ability to reach peak operating efficiency while rejecting over expansion." (pp. 211, 212).

The book ends with a very technical chapter on economics with mathematics and graphs, but no mention of strikes, crises or revolutions, wars, or above all, workers' attitudes.

Frank Mintz



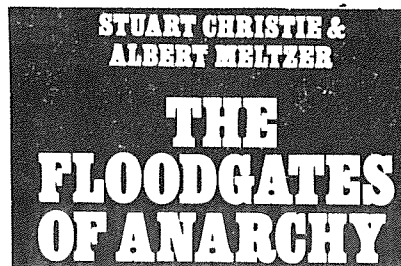
The Ego & His Own, Max Stirner, 388pp, h/b £3.75 (+ 35p p+p).



Hungary '56, Andy Anderson, Black & Red, 137 pp, £1.00 (+ 25p p+p)



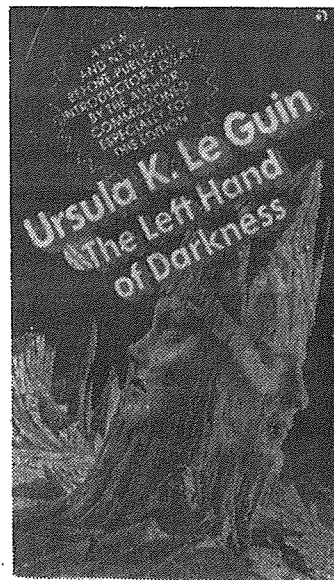
Homage to Catalonia, George Orwell, Penguin, 246pp, 70p (+ 25p p+p).



The Floodgates of Anarchy, Albert Meltzer & Stuart Christie, 160pp, h/b £1.30, p/b 50p (+ 25p p+p) – few copies left!
"Extremely important and interesting exposition of anarchist theory" – Sunday Times
A lucid examination of anarchist theory and practice by anarchists active in the revolutionary struggle, this is a book that defines not only libertarian thought but helps clarify the whole contemporary scene by the hard light it throws upon politics.



The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: A study of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-73 with particular reference to the First of May Group and the Angry Brigade, ed. A. Meltzer, £1.35.



The Left Hand of Darkness, Ursula LeGuin, 334pp, 60p (+ 25p p+p).
An exciting science fiction story calling contemporary socio sexual roles into question.

Shorts



HOW IT ALL BEGAN, Bommi Baumann, Pulp Press, Vancouver, 136 pp, illustrated, £2.35.

A personal account of the rise of the West German New Left and urban guerrilla movement. This book was seized by German security police when it first appeared in 1975. The resulting trial caused an international outcry. The English version will be available in October, 1977, through the Cienfuegos Press Bookservice and will be reviewed next issue.

On Organisation, Jacques Camatte, 25p

An English translation of an article first published in 1972 under the title *De l'organisation* in the French journal *Invariance* (Annee V, serie II, no 2). The rather precise, almost semantic use of words tends to conceal the very interesting contribution to the theory of libertarian communist organisation that Camatte has to make. It's also a pity that so much of his writing has been backed by theoretical extracts from people like Marx, rather than by examples drawn from an application of ideas to practice. Nevertheless, well worth reading. Available from Beni Memorial Library, POB 609, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, USA.

The Kronstadt Uprising of 1921, Lynne Thornycroft.

Interesting 20-page pamphlet that places Kronstadt in its historical context and clearly examines the issues that the ruthless suppression of the rebellion raise. "Avrich suggests that the tragedy of Kronstadt is that one can sympathise with the rebels and yet justify the Communists' suppression of them. I suggest that the real tragedy is just that: from Kronstadt to Berlin, to Budapest and Prague, tyranny has been justified as somehow progressive."

Left Books Pamphlet No.1. (50p)

The ARM statement is a "draft theses for principles of unity," originally circulated in draft xerox form for over a year by the Left Bank Collective, before appearing in this printed pamphlet, which incorporates the criticisms and corrections people suggested after reading the original draft.

"Organisationally, we believe that the best form for the present is autonomous small affinity groups and collectives freely communicating with and supporting each other. This seems to give the best chance for initiative and growth, and experimentation, as well as the best defence against repression and infiltration. Gradually, with experience and as the struggle develops, closer working relations based on equality and mutual respect will develop between these groups.

"We believe that both above-ground and underground forms of struggle are needed. In general, we favour forms of direct action of poor and oppressed people that have a liberating effect, both objectively and psychologically; that open up possibilities of initiative and freedom, personal growth and independence from the system; that lead to solidarity and mutual support and increased self-confidence among the oppressed – that is, the large

majority of us."

Left Bank Pamphlet No.2 (30p) ARM c/o
Left Bank Books, 96 Pike Street, Seattle,
WA 98101, USA.

The Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts:
report from Scotland, Margaret Marshall and
Chris Aldred.

This report grew out of the intention to write
a short article about the workings of the recent
Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts.
Research into the situation "confirmed
our most pessimistic predictions," so seven
months were spent preparing and writing
the report.

The body of this report deals with the
decisions of the Industrial Tribunals "in other
words, how far (if at all) the *process of law*
has brought women any nearer equality with
men." Margaret and Chris have produced a
detailed well argued study, which is useful,
not only for the statistics and analysis, but
because of the case studies that are included,
together with an account of the proceedings
of one Tribunal, and a short guide on "Getting
your rights: a guide to using the law" which
briefly describes the step by step measures
required to take a case before a tribunal and
win.

45p Aberdeen People's Press, 163 King Street,
Aberdeen. (Please add 15p postage).

**Towards a new revolutionary socialist
organisation:** a draft manifesto for
discussion.

On page 2 of this manifesto from Big Flame
are neatly letra-setted the words "outline of
a proposal to revolutionaries and working class
vanguards," a phrase which neatly encapsulates
Big Flame's political schizophrenia. Still, the
pamphlet itself contains some original thinking,
(not least of which is the keeping of the price
down to 25p by not stapling the pages together
— or was it the ultimate manifesto for a group
that wants to be all things to all people —
give 'em the pages and let them put it
together how they like?) Big Flame show an
acute awareness of key problems: "The
challenge facing many of us in the revolutionary
left is clear. Can we build an organisation that
is a useful instrument in the struggle and at
the same time does not manipulate its
members..." Strange words for a group
considering a link with the trotskyst IMG.
25p from Big Flame, 217 Wavertree Road,
Liverpool 7.

Studies in Labour History is intended to be
an annual publication. The first issue,
published in 1976, included an article on
Richard Carlile and the Infidel Library; a
letter from a pioneer feminist, Anna Wheeler;
a dissection of the Anatomy Act — the class
nature of body-snatching in Britain during the
early 19th century; and reviews. No.2 to be
published at the end of 1977 is on working
class structure in 19th century Britain, No.3,
currently in preparation and due for publication
in 1978, on feminist history. The publishers
would welcome contributions for issue No.4
(1979) which its hoped will be an anarchist
history.
Individual sub. per issue is 60p plus postage
from John L. Noyce, PO Box 450, Brighton
BN1 8GR.

Red-eye is a new theoretical journal published
by a small collective of libertarian communists.
The leaflet put out by the group to announce
the publication says "Besides, think of the
pleasure of laying your hands on a revolutionary
journal that is coherent without being dogmatic,
intelligent without being academic, that is well

written, well produced... and seeks your
involvement." Its list of contents for issue
sounds interesting and includes: a critique of
the Situationist International; Capitalism
swallows its tail: the new world economic
order; and Some of my best friends are
subjective. Should be good, and if we get a
Review copy, further information in the next
CP review, meanwhile for those who can't
wait, its a dollar fifty per issue, from Red-eye,
Box 1200, 2000 Centre Street, Berkeley,
Ca. 94704, USA.

Creation and its enemies: "the revolt against
work" is the title of a 64-page illustrated
pamphlet of essays by John Zerzan, examining
the changing nature of the Unions and the
class struggle within the capitalist economy.
Some of the essays were originally published
in *Telos* and *The Fifth Estate*, and have been
printed in pamphlet form by Black and Red,
and by London Solidarity. The central essay
in this pamphlet has previously appeared under
the title of *Trade Unionism or Socialism*.
Zerzan is an original and (sometimes) provoca-
tive thinker capable of jolting people out of
established ideas, simply through the relentless
force of his logic. Creation and its enemies
is thoroughly readable, price \$2 from Mutualist
Books, Box 1283, Rochester, New York
14603, USA.

This World We Must Leave, by Jacques Camatte,
provokes mixed feelings when read, because
it is theory for theoreticians, and as such it
needs a grasp of a specialist language. For
example, on page 4 of the pamphlet: "The
presuppositions for the autonomisation of
form are: ... 2. The loss of substance, i.e.
the quantum of labour in each commodity
capital tends to fall continuously (devalorisa-
tion). Hence the contradiction between
valorisation and devalorisation which we have
frequently analysed."

In fact, the language tends to conceal an
interesting philosophical argument that "our
world is dominated, conquered by historical
materialism; progress is conceived of as the
development of the productive forces. Even
those who do not profess this theory are
impregnated by it. For them it is like a
minimum point of reference with reality, for
them it would always be true in the material
sphere, but on no account for the totality. One
must then break with this rationality and with
the world that it controls."

The pamphlet (28 pages) is unpriced, but
30p plus postage ought to swing it, available
from Dave Brown (who did a fine job on a
difficult translation) BM-381, London WC1V
6XX.

The Houseworker's Handbook, by Betsy
Warrior and Lisa Leghorn is a penetrating
libertarian analysis of the role of women, and
their status. Any revolution must be about
changing the relationships, (not just between
the individual and the productive forces, or
between the individual and institutions of
power,) between ourselves, as individuals. The
Handbook does a pretty effective demolition
job on the attitudes of many campaigners for
wages for housework, at the same time as
arguing that "a wage has become a necessary
condition of physical and psychic survival for
women". The 109 pages include many funny
and stimulating cartoons. (\$1.50)

Working on Wife Abuse, by Betsy Warrior, is a
directory of projects, organisations and
individuals concerned with wife abuse, giving
descriptions of established shelters, work on
shelters in progress, printed research studies,
counseling centres, and persons and events

relating to the law. Mainly on the USA, but
there is a section on abroad. 111 large pages
for \$3.

Wifebeating, by Betsy Warrior, examines the
way in which many traditional attitudes to
wife-beating insure the continuation of the
problem. 25-page pamphlet, (40p) excerpts
from the Houseworkers Handbook.

All available from Betsy Warrior, 46 Pleasant
Street, Cambridge, Ma, 02139, USA.

Anarcho-feminism: two statements from Siren
and Black Rose. A short pamphlet containing
'Who we are: an anarcho-feminist manifesto'
and 'Blood of the flower: an anarcho-feminist
statement'. This is a reprint of an American
SRAF pamphlet, but (unfortunately) without
the graphics of the original. (12p plus post).
Feminism as Anarchism by Lynne Farron,
slightly longer and a little more sociological
than 'Anarcho-feminism', (20p plus post).
Anarchism — the feminist connection, by
Peggy Kornegger, a reprint of a long article
from the American feminist magazine
Second Wave this is a clear and lucid pamphlet
detailing the connections between anarchism
and feminism, as the title implies. It's a pity
that it costs 50p, because it can be recommended
to all.

These three from Black Bear, c/o 76, Peckham
Road, London SE5.

META describes itself as a forum for left wing
analysis and discussion on the Ukrainian
question, Eastern Europe and related Inter-
national issues. So far there have been three
numbers of this magazine in just over a year,
the delay caused partly by financial and
physical problems associated with production
and distribution. These problems involved
a lot of work, but the results have been worth-
while, in that the paper is being circulated
much more widely, and has improved in
content.

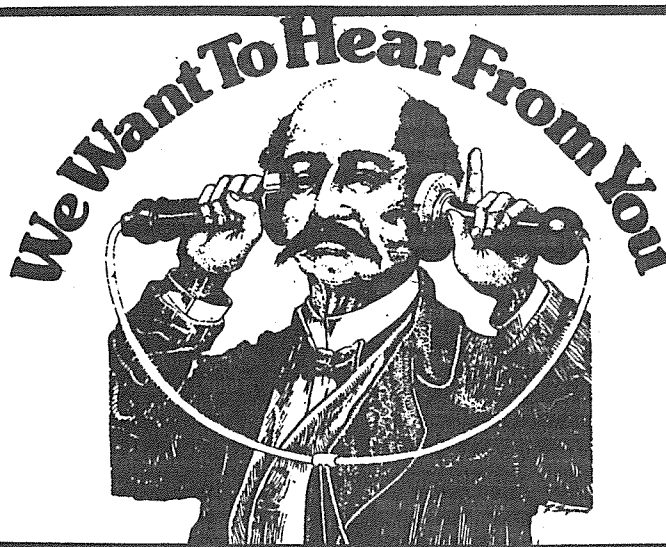
The most recent issue is Vol. 1, nos 3-4,
which contains a detailed statement from the
production collective, outlining the things that
they've been through during the last 12 months.
There is also an interview with Nicholas
Krasso, dissident Hungarian marxist, who was
forced into exile after the crushing of the
Hungarian revolution in 1956. (This interview
is reprinted from *Red Weekly*). Mike Malet
contributes a fourteen page article 'Makhno
and his enemies.'

The "Dossier" section is in many ways the
most interesting, partly because it includes an
article by Polish marxist economist Edward
Lipinski, who has been active in KOR (the
Workers Defence Committee) and a descrip-
tion of recent events in Poland, but also because
of an interview with a twenty-four year old
worker in a car factory.

Wolf Biermann, the socialist singer-poet
from East Germany, is the subject of an
article that examines the implications of his
expulsions from the DDR, and the restrictions
and shortcomings of his politics.

The 1975 **Appeal from Women of the
Crimean Tartar Nation** is reprinted, and there
is a short article about the (British) Committee
in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners. The
news section at the end includes an 'obituary'
of Trofim Lysenko, the scientist whose
theories were adopted by Stalin with the
result that "Soviet biology was stunted for
decades," and an article on UFOs in the USSR.
Subscription for four issues: \$8, from
META, P.O. Box 324, Station P, Toronto,
Ontario, Canada.

[Note: International money orders should
be in Canadian currency].



Dear Comrades,

Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law.

I am most grateful for the three generally favourable reviews of *Illuminatus!* in your current issue, but I would like to reply to some of the criticisms of Albert Meltzer. Meltzer writes: "They are in earnest about their propaganda of anarcho-capitalism." Neither Shea, my co-author, nor I myself are advocates of anarcho-capitalism; Shea is a Tolstoyan anarcho-pacifist and I am an individualist-anarchist in the tradition of Stirner, Warren, Spooner and Tucker. The book itself presents a spectrum of anarchist views including the anarcho-syndicalism of Tim Moon, the Tolstoyism of Molly Moon, the Stirnerism of Simon Moon, the anarcho-capitalism of Mavis, the Taoist (passive) anarchism of the Dealy Lama, the Zen individualistic-anarchism of Hagbard Celine, etc. Meltzer traces anarcho-capitalism to F.A. Hayek, which is more or less correct, although Hayek, a limited government libertarian, is distressed that so many of his former disciples have gone on from limited government theories to the no-government theory. But since Shea's position derives from Tolstoy (and Gandhi) and mine from Josiah Warren, all of whom preceded Hayek in time and held ideas strongly different from Hayek's, all of Meltzer's criticisms of Hayek are misapplied when directed towards Shea and me. Certainly, our position is different from Meltzer's; but let him please, in the future, criticise us for our actual positions and not for those of the anarcho-capitalists.

For instance, the rejection of interest, rent and monopolistic profit, explicitly and repeatedly in *Illuminatus*, is included, among other reasons, to make crystal-clear our ideological difference from the anarcho-capitalists. If it wasn't clear to Meltzer, perhaps he should take a remedial reading course or a refresher course on economics.

Meltzer says of the philosophy of *Illuminatus* that "this theory consoles those who want to smoke pot and all the rest of it but not feel guilty about the way they bought their leisure." Damned right! If there is one central idea behind all the other mindfucks in *Illuminatus* it is the unmitigated and unashamed rejection of guilt in all forms, in all guises, in all cases. But an equally important theme is the acceptance of personal responsibility, which is not identical with guilt but the non-neurotic transcendence of guilt. This doctrine of responsibility is central to

the Laurel-Hardy "Now Look What YOU made Me Do" parable which even Meltzer admits is one of the funniest parts of the trilogy. It is also the most serious part, and if Meltzer understood it he would not wallow in guilt himself or attempt to foist guilt upon others.

When Meltzer says that Shea and I "cannot even spell correctly," let him reflect that it took five years to get *Illuminatus* into print fighting every inch of the way (and with 500 pages finally excised at the last minute leading to hurried re-write and repatching). It is, for instance, not our fault that "immanentize" is spelled correctly consistently throughout volumes I and III and is spelled incorrectly consistently throughout Volume II. Let Meltzer struggle with New York publishers for five years before judging any first novel by what the publishers do to it. I have more clout now in negotiations and take full responsibility for what goes out under my name in the future, but *Illuminatus* is the literary equivalent of a five-car highway wreck, a bare caricature of the original manuscript. Meltzer objects to our use of John Dillinger as an anarchist hero. Oh for Christ's sake, man, satire is not supposed to be reasonable. Besides, I seem to have heard somewhere of some English anarchists publishing posters praising Guy Fawkes as "the only man to enter parliament with honest motives." Such jokes perhaps do not translate well from one culture to another, but since they are satirical, they are not meant to be examined as syllogisms or as history, merely as sarcasm.

Meltzer claims that we "apparently think the working class does not exist." He doesn't seem to have noticed the working-class background of Simon Moon or the continuous running history of the IWW that is perpetually part of Simon's interior monologue. Nor does he realise that Hagbard Celine's "Snafu Principle" ("Communication is only possible between equals") means that all class systems are unworkable. This is the psychological, as distinct from economic, argument against continuing a class-structured society and has special relevance in those capitalist nations (such as the USA) where most workers have a higher standard of living than those in socialist countries. What such workers are still angry about, and can still be mobilised around, is the issue of autonomy – of decentralisation of control – which Hagbard's philosophy directly addresses. This is not to deny that in other less technologically-advanced countries workers have still the traditional

grievances of near-starvation wages and all the economic motives for fighting the class system. But Hagbard is writing specifically for the American unionised worker, who has the highest living standard in the world, and whose only motive for embracing libertarian-anarchist thought is the remaining fact that, even in affluence, the employee role degrades him or her to robohood and sub-humanity.

Despite all this carping I am very grateful for the three reviews in general and am grateful that your journal devoted so much space to our little comedy.

May the force be with you,
Robert Anton Wilson.

Meltzer replies:

The review of the book as such was, as even Bob Wilson admits, 'generally favourable.' It was a superb satire. What was the subject of criticism was the view that it 'presents a spectrum of anarchism' for that just isn't so. They tried to be fair to anarcho-anarchism but it doesn't belong in that spectrum so described. As a couple of characters spiel at great length about how their capitalism isn't the Rooseveltism New Deal bastard State Capitalism but honest to god private enterprise and all, 'and volubly try to justify the contradiction 'anarcho-capitalism' – why not 'anarcho-government?' and 'Right Wing anarchism,' it was fair to assume it was the view of the authors.

Dear Comrades,

I have just read issue no.2 of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review and found it simply stupendous. It is, in fact, the best international anarchist publication I have seen – far superior to all the others circulating at the moment. I really must congratulate you for presenting us with this treasury which carries with it a feeling of urgency and resistance. True heroism, according to some philosophers, is not the single spontaneous gesture but hard perseverance over the years . . .

I was particularly pleased to read the article on Ursula LeGuin and her book *The Dispossessed*. For almost a year now I have been trying to convince the comrades in Spain to translate and publish the book in Castilian as I am convinced science fiction is an important doorway to anarchist ideas – a doorway we have ignored for too long . . .

Un abrazo fuerte y fraterno
Victor Garcia (editor Ruta, Caracas).

We intend to cover science fiction writers in more detail in future issues of the Review. Also, if possible, we would like to publish some short sci-fi (and other) stories from time to time. Any suggestions anyone . . . ?

Dear Comrades,

I received the *Review* just two days ago – it seemed rather long in the mails! – but it is quite an impressive journal and certainly should get a wide audience.

My main impression of the *Review* is that the second issue came a long way in overcoming my prime criticism of the first issue, namely, the impression it gave (to me) that it was primarily a reprinting of reviews appearing elsewhere. (But I now admit that this perhaps is an insignificant and primarily subjective criticism that I had.) I also have an aversion to rightist libertarians or "anarcho-capitalists". This is primarily, again, a personal and theoretical reaction since this tendency (although supposedly anti-statist) has generally supported selected conservative politicians – even running their own candidates

for political office! — also, I believe that capitalism in all its forms should become something of the past. Without having read him at all, I think, for example, that Murray Rothbard is quite simply an outstanding contemporary capitalist theoretician of the *old school* (laissez-faire, free-market, “liberal”), certainly preferable to monopoly and state capitalism, but still a system based on the motive of greed (private profit) dependent upon such things as the police and courts, if not a national government, for the protection of bourgeois property, the maintenance of the exploitation of labour, etc. But be that as it may, the right-wing libertarians (who apparently consider themselves “anarchists” — perhaps as heirs to the American individualist tradition) don’t, if only because of their ignorance, seem to be hostile to social or revolutionary anarchism. I apparently get more upset about “authoritarian” socialism than most anarchists, though the latter is no doubt a more serious threat to freedom in the revolutionary struggle if for no other reason than that the former is “reactionary” and the latter “progressive”. (After writing the above I read A.M. on the *Illuminatus!* trilogy and can see that perhaps I take the “anarcho-agorists” too seriously!)

So I should say that issue No.2 of the *Review* is in my opinion very well done and probably should be a good guide, as it stands, for future *Reviews*. I am not, despite my own attempt to make as few entry errors as possible in the Bibliography (under preparation for the *Anarchist Encyclopaedia*), a stickler for strict organisation of material, slick consistency, or near flawless printing in a *Review*, some of the things which make some journals (such as some academic ones) less rather than more attractive, therefore the negligible typographical and editorial lapses in this issue actually add to its attractiveness as a whole. Also, I should mention that my appreciation of Flavio Costantini’s work has steadily increased, and feel more now than I once did that his work is decidedly an asset to the publications which display it — I would suspect that this would be more true in Europe than in the U.S. although his work seems to have an “educative”, as well as propaganda, aspect which should be effective here. As to the possibility of becoming a quarterly, I should think that would depend a great deal upon how widely read it might be. I do think that an anarchist quarterly *Review* in English is highly desirable, something on the order of issue No. 2, with perhaps more articles (including translated articles), although, as of course you know, many “book reviews” (review - articles) are more “articles” than “reviews”. But I would think a regularly produced journal would add an enormous amount of work for some people (such as yourselves), and might detract from the publishing of books. And I don’t know about the finances but suspect it would be even more precarious than book publishing.

I’m sure I will soon be placing an order, perhaps a rather large one, and based mostly on the books I saw reviewed in *Review* No. 2.

Faternally,
Joe Shaver

We hope this issue of the Review goes some way to improving on the previous one. Just wait until you see the next one! By the way, we'll be doing a critique of the so-called "libertarian" monetarists in a future issue so keep your eyes glued to these pages (thanks for the book order!).

Dear Comrades,

The last issue of the C.P. *Review* was excellent — I’m looking forward very much to the next. I hope that it is getting circulated well...

... Looking forward particularly to the

Berneri material (issue No. 4). I’m really impressed with the way the journal and the press are operating.

Best,
Noam Chomsky

Dear Comrades,

Looking forward to reading *Land and Liberty!*. I’ve read quite a bit on the Mexican Revolution but for the most part have found the perspectives dated, narrow and factional. In that revolution I see one of the best examples of people’s natural inclination towards anarchy. It will be easy to get comments from Chicanos and, of course, you’ll also have to suffer through mine...

In *This Soldier Still at War* the author fabricates a close friendship with me in order to infer that his information on the SLA comes from me and is thus factual. The author follows a scheme throughout of taking minor facts and using his imagination to build romantic stories around them. The ‘Joe Remiro’ in his book bears only the slightest resemblance to me and my life. Some of the quotes are taken from pieces I’ve written while others have been completely invented by the author. The “SLA” that the author puts together isn’t any closer to being real and couldn’t be since for obvious reasons none of us have given up any facts about how it started or where it came from. And even with all this effort on the part of the author the book is still as boring as hell.

I appreciate the sincere and friendly concern that you have shown, and I keep informed through and certainly enjoy what you print.

Love & Regards,

(B66003, Represa, Ca. 95671) niro

Dear Comrades,

Greetings in struggle and with sincere love and solidarity. I’ve been meaning to write to let you know how much I appreciate all the support that you’ve given Joe, Emily, Bill and me. Wish I had some good news for you but about the best I can report is that we’re all still alive and our spirits remain unbroken. Got a letter from Stuart C. saying he heard about Joe being locked up in maximum security after a gun was found inside Folsom prison and the snitch who turned it in to the bulls, implicating Joe in a conspiracy to escape among other things. Stuart asked if I had also been affected by the gun incident — needless to say the answer is yes; I was moved from the maximum security “Adjustment Center” to Death Row which is the most repressive unit in San Quentin and where I am under 24 hours armed guard (even in my cell) among other things. Anyway, you should be getting a statement about what happened from some comrades here soon (see *Black Flag*, September ’77). Although I am only under “investigation” as of now and not charged with any involvement in the incident (after all, it did happen in Folsom while I was in San Quentin), the media has collaborated with state prison officials to manipulate Joe’s and my situation to ensure that we stay locked-up in maximum security indefinitely. At the time this incident happened, I was awaiting word on a proposed transfer to another prison and to a less restricted unit than the Adjustment Center hole I’ve been in the last two years. Unlike Joe, I have been in the hole continuously since we were captured in Jan. ’74 and this was my first chance to get out. Now the prison officials have said that Joe and I can’t be transferred to any other prison because allegedly San Quentin and Folsom are the only two prisons with enough security to ensure we don’t escape; and to make matters worse, the prison officials had the capitalist media publish a story that claimed that not only was the gun found inside Folsom going to be used to kill a number of prison guards during an escape attempt but

it was also going to be used to kill a number of prisoners who are members of a racist white gang that exists in Folsom (as well as San Quentin and most other prisons in the state). So now I am being told that I must remain in San Quentin (while Joe remains in Folsom) and that my life is in jeopardy on the SQ mainline (as is Joe’s) because of the story that was published — so surprise, surprise I will have to remain in the hole regardless of the outcome of the “investigation”. Obviously they are feeling very smug now after manipulating the incident at Folsom to give them the excuse they’ve been looking for to keep me locked up in the hole.

The California prisons are the most violently racist ones in the U.S. The prison staff’s fear and hatred of us is further enhanced by the fact that we are *white* revolutionaries whose example might influence other convicts to stop killing each other because of racial bigotry. The prison officials feel threatened by that possibility (although, honestly, I don’t think we would really have that much impact on this racial madhouse) because racial violence/fear among convicts is their main weapon for maintaining control of their concentration camps. Does this explain why they have manipulated the racist white gang into thinking Joe was going to attack them? Enough about this prison insanity —

I’ve also been wanting to write to you about the review of the book *This Soldier Still at War* in the second issue of the *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review*. The book was a sham published by a hippie opportunist — Joe did not collaborate on it and in fact knew nothing about it until after it was published. The author came to see us a few times in 1974, when everyone (almost) was busy denouncing us, posing as a sympathetic underground/alternative press editor. After a few visits and an article in his paper that we didn’t like, we told him not to come back to visit anymore. What he did was use Joe to publish his theory about what would happen when Vietnam veterans get hooked-up with black militants and members of the prison movement and drug culture — that’s the reason for all the sociological ramblings in the book. The book is totally lacking in facts about what was happening in the SLA — we never discussed any of that with him. He just took a few facts about Jim’s childhood and army experiences and a few quotes from us and created a story based on his theory. It’s funny though — Joe and I hate the book but a lot of people like it. Sad really that of all the books written, that one is the most sympathetic. Of course, look who it is that writes and publishes them. Enough ancient history —

I really appreciate getting *Black Flag* and the *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review* — I’ve read *Sabate* and *Man!* (give Marcus Graham my love and regards) and eventually hope to have copies of all the Cienfuegos published books. Am especially interested in keeping up with the progress of the different action groups in Europe. It’s a drag that all the underground groups in the U.S. are or heavily influenced by the different brands of Leninism but at least there is a dialogue going on nowadays between anti-authoritarians and members of the underground as is mentioned in the third issue of *Open Road* in the article on the NWLF. It was Joe’s and my intention to initiate that dialogue by putting out that last SLA statement. As best as I can determine the split in the Weather Underground was nothing but a sectarian struggle for ‘party’ leadership — they still haven’t done an action in ’76 or ’77 and it wouldn’t surprise me if they never did another one.

Hope you folks are doing fine. Take care of yourselves and we’ll do the same.

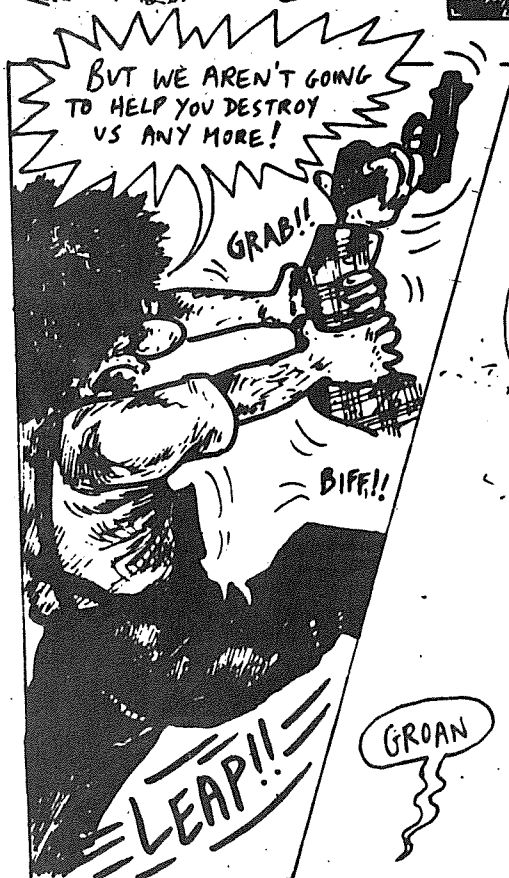
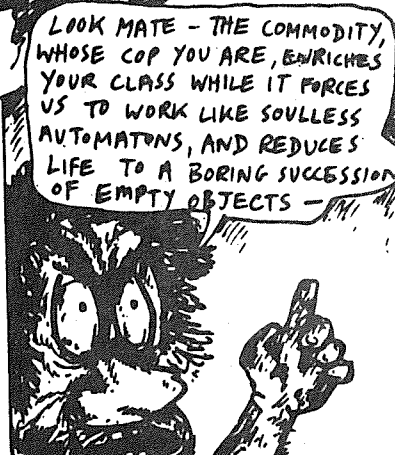
(Russ Little

(B66002, San Quentin-Prison, Tamal, Ca 94964)



AS A FAIR-MINDED MANAGER I WOULD LIKE TO REMIND YOU THAT THERE ARE UNION CHANNELS THROUGH WHICH TO EXPRESS ANY GRIEVANCES

YEH, BUT YOU KNOW AS WELL AS I DO THAT THE UNIONS ARE JUST A MECHANISM TO INTEGRATE US INTO CAPITALIST SOCIETY - TO PREVENT ANY REAL CHANGE



(The Sheffield Anarchist)

Cienfuegos Press Bookservice

Apart from most of the titles reviewed or mentioned in the *C.P. Anarchist Review* we can supply almost any title (h/b or p/b) in print in English – and we'll try our hardest to obtain titles in other languages as well. The following is only a partial list of the books we like to keep in stock. If you do not see the book you want please write in and we'll get it for you. We would like you to look on us as your local friendly anarchist bookseller. Even though we appear only as a dot on the map of the North Atlantic we are only a 9p stamp away from you (much cheaper than the tube!). Also, please remember that every book you order through us brings us that much closer to bringing out a new anarchist title!

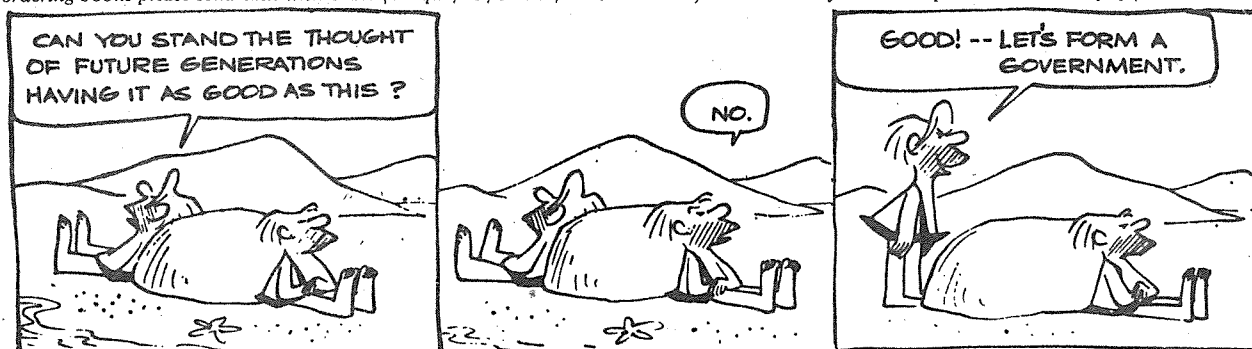
ANARCHISM AND RELATED INTEREST – The Anarchists in London, 1935-1955: A memoir of anarchist activity from the mid-thirties to the present day, Albert Meltzer, £1.00; The Russian Tragedy, Alexander Berkman, £1.50, £4.00 h/b; The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: A study of the origin and developments of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-73 with particular reference to the First of May Group and the Angry Brigade, Albert Meltzer, £1.35; Man! An anthology of anarchist ideas, essays, poetry, and commentaries, (ed.) Marcus Graham, £3.25, £7.00 h/b; Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary, Antonio Tellez, £2.35 (a history of the clandestine anarchist resistance movement in Francoist Spain, 1945-60); The Floodgates of Anarchy, Christie & Meltzer, 50p, £1.30 h/b; The Wilhelmshaven Revolt: A chapter of the revolutionary movement in the German Navy 1918-19, Ernst Schneider (Icarus), 45p; Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas, Camillo Berneri, 30p; Marxism and a Free Society, Marcus Graham, 20p (an anarchist reply to Isaac Deutscher's address on "Socialist Man" with particular reference to the Minutes of the First International and the sabotaging of the Hague Congress by the Marx clique); The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book, (ed.) Albert Meltzer, 95p (over 200 questions on the highways and byways of anarchism); The Unknown Revolution, Vol. 1, £3.25; History of the Makhnovist Movement, Arshinoff, £2.35; The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution, Avrich, £1.35; Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, Gaston Leval, £2.00; The Anarchist Collectives, Sam Dolgoff, £2.50; Ethics, Peter Kropotkin, £3.25; The Essential Kropotkin, Capouya & Thomkins, £2.95; Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow, Kropotkin (ed. Ward), £1.95; The State: Its Historic Role, Kropotkin, 20p; Hungary '56, Anderson, £1.00; Anarchy & Order, Herbert Read, £1.50; Neither East Nor West, Marie-Louise Berneri, 50p; Bibliografia di Bakunin, Rose, £3.25; Bakunin & Nechaev, Paul Avrich, 20p; God & the State, Bakunin, 35p; Bakunin, A. Masters, £5.95; What is Property?, Proudhon, £2.50 (h/b excellent value); Proudhon, Woodcock, £2.95; Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, Berkman, £2.95; The Valpreda Papers, Pietro Valpreda, £6.00; The Origins of Modern Leftism, Gombin, 60p; A Primer of Libertarian Education, Spring, £2.50; The Politics of Obedience, de la Boetie, £1.50; Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rocker, 20p; Anarchy, Malatesta, 25p; A.B.C. of Anarchism, Berkman, 50p; Anarchism & the National Liberation Struggle, Bonanno, 15p; Land and Liberty! – Ricardo Flores Magon, £2.35; The Political Police in Britain, Tony Bunyan, £2.95, £4.95 h/b; The Military Industrial Complex, Lens, 85p; The Failure of the Sexual Revolution, Frankl, £2.50; The Spanish Civil War, Thomas, £3.50; The Spanish Labyrinth, Brennan, £2.40; An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, Godwin, £2.25; Rights of Man, Paine, 75p; American Power & the New Mandarins, Chomsky, 40p; Zapata & the Mexican Revolution, Womack, £1.25; Invergordon '31, Barry Duncan, £1.00; The Inevitable Revolution, Tolstoy, 30p; This Soldier Still at War, John Bryan, £4.95 (the highly sympathetic story of Joe Remiro and the S.L.A.); The Japanese Anarchists, Phil Billingsley, 30p; Handlist of Anarchist & Related Titles at the University of Stirling, Sherington, 30p; The Story of the Irish Citizen Army, O'Casey, £1.00; Civil War in West Virginia, Winthrop D. Lane, £1.20 (the story of industrial conflict in the coal mines); Merrie England, Nunquam, £1.20; The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists, Tresselt, 90p; The History Book, £3.50 (a history of the common people in cartoon format); On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage, Vebien, 45p; Castaways of Plenty, W.E. Hawkins, 90p (a parable of our times); A Dream of John Ball, William Morris, 75p; Facing the Chair, John Dos Passos, £1.20 (the Americanisation of Sacco and Vanzetti); The Ego and His Own, Max Stirner, £3.75 (h/b), etc., etc. . .

GENERAL INTEREST – Cults of Unreason, Evans, 75p (an examination of recent cults based on pseudo-scientific rationality which attempts to fit technology to religious-like beliefs such as Scientology, Flying Saucer cults, alpha-wave feedback churches and the Eastern mystical sects); The Old Straight Track, Watkins, £1.25; Earth in Upheaval, 80p; Worlds in Collision, £1.25; Ages in Chaos, 75p, Emanuel Velikovsky; The Highland Clearances, 75p, Glencoe, 90p; Culloden, 90p; Mutiny, John Prebble, £1.25; Kings Depart, Watt, £1.00; To the Finland Station, Wilson, 80p; Mass Psychology of Fascism, Wilhelm Reich, £1.00; C.I.A. Diary, P. Agee, 95p; The Lusitania, Simpson, 75p (how the British set up the sinking of the Lusitania to bring America into World War I); Seaman's Voice, George Foulser, 80p h/b (recollections of veteran syndicalist); Surrealism, Herbert Read, £1.95; The Joy of Sex and The Further Joy of Sex, Alex Comfort, £1.95 & £2.95; The Cancer Biopathy, Wilhelm Reich, £5.80 (Vol. II of The Discovery of the Orgone), etc., etc. . .

FICTION – Illuminatus! (Vols. I, II, & III (now available), Robert Shea & Robert Anton Wilson, 75p each; Traven titles: The Death Ship, 50p; March to Caobaland, 35p; The Rebellion of the Hanged, 30p; The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, 40p; Government, £2.35; The Carreta, £1.50; March to the Monteria, £2.00; General from the Jungle, £1.50; The Cotton Pickers (Der Wobblly), £2.35; The Bridge in the Jungle, 50p; The Night Visitor & other Stories, £2.35; Hermanos!, Herrick, 40p; Animal Farm, Orwell, 50p; 1984, Orwell, 50p; Homage to Catalonia, Orwell, 75p; Days of Hope, Allen, 75p; The People of the Abyss, London, £1.20; The Fixer, Bernard Malamud, 80p; The Violent Brink, Beevor, £3.50 (novel based on anarchist First of May Group); The Grapes of Wrath, Steinbeck, 95p; The Price, Newman, 60p; The Big Sleep, Chandler, 60p; Fontamara, Silone, 85p; Blitzfreeze, 60p; Reign of Hell, 65p, SS General, 65p, Assignment Gestapo, 65p, Liquidate Paris, 65p, March Battalion, 65p, Comrades of War, 65p, Wheels of Terror, 65p, The Legion of the Damned, 65p, Sven Hassel; All Quiet on the Western Front, Remarque, 50p; The Good Soldier Svejk, £1.75; The Mask of Cthulhu, Derleth, 60p; The Trail of Cthulhu, Derleth, 75p; Horror in the Museum, Lovecraft, 50p; Horror in the Burying Ground, Lovecraft, 60p; The Tomb & other Tales, Lovecraft, 40p; The Shuttered Room, Lovecraft, 40p; The Haunted of the Dark, Lovecraft, 35p; Lurker at the Threshold, Lovecraft & Derleth, 35p; The Dispossessed, Ursula LeGuin, 75p; The Left Hand of Darkness, LeGuin, 50p; The Mote in God's Eye, Larry Niven, 60p; Orbit Unlimited, Poul Anderson, 60p; Beyond This Horizon, Heinlein, 40p; Atlas Shrugged, Ayn Rand, £1.75; Pearls are a Nuisance, Chandler, 70p; Trouble is my Business, Chandler, 70p; Killer in the Rain, Chandler, 90p, etc. . .

CHILDREN'S BOOKS – As we mentioned in the last issue we want to expand our range of kid's books. Please let us know which ones you can recommend . . . Where the Wild Things Are, Sendak, 75p; The Oxford Children's Dictionary, £1.95; The Wind on the Moon, Linklater, 50p; The Weirdstone of Brisingham, Garner, 50p; The Moon of Gormath, Garner, 50p; Red Shift, Garner, 45p; When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit, Kerr, 30p; Baba & Mr. Big, Palmer, 45p; Family from One End Street, Garnett, 40p; Baby Animal ABC, Broomfield, 50p; The Man Whose Mother Was a Pirate, Mahy, 50p; Tombs of Atuan, LeGuin, 45p; Wizard of Earthsea, LeGuin, 50p; The Wind in the Willows, K. Graham, 45p; Asterix & the Roman Agent, Asterix the Gladiator, Asterix at the Olympic Games, Asterix in the Big Fight, Asterix in Switzerland, Asterix in Britain, Goscinny, 50p each; Peter in the Land of Musical Instruments, Robitsek, £1.00; Peter in the Land of Musical Theory, Robitsek, £1.00; Charlie & the Chocolate Factory, 40p, Charlie & the Great Glass Elevator, 40p, Jack & the Giant Peach, 60p, Fantastic Mr. Fox, 40p, Magic Finger, 30p, Roald Dahl; Beastly Boys and Ghastly Girls, Cole, 40p; Meg's Eggs, Nicoll, 50p; A Book of Milliganimals, Spike Milligan, 30p; Benjamin the True, Paley, £1.50; 12th Day of July, Lingard, 50p; The Robber Hotzenplotz, Preussler, 30p; The Further Adventures of the Robber Hotzenplotz, Preussler, 50p; The Final Adventures of the Robber Hotzenplotz, Preussler, 50p; Beyond the Burning Spirits, J. Christopher, £1.50, etc. . .

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