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## SPAIN — NO REAL CHANGE

AT THE moment of writing (Sunday 1st February) there has just been a massive demonstration (upwards of 10,000 people) in the centre of Barcelona, demanding not merely an amnesty for all political prisoners, but an end to the present government, and freedom. The demonstrators built barricades in the main thoroughfare of the city by overturning cars when they were attacked by police on horse and foot, wielding batons, and shooting tear-gas grenades and rubber bullets. The skirmishing lasted four hours, and many people were injured, though we have heard of no fatalities yet.

The demonstration was in response to Arias Navarro's speech outlining the proposed "liberalisation" of political life, which amounted to the continuance of Francoism under the facade of "a unique type of Spanish democracy". No concessions were made to the widespread demand for an amnesty for all political prisoners, for liberty of expression and assembly, for regional autonomy; and Sunday's demonstration made it clear that that is what most Spanish people (workers, students, housewives were all involved in the demonstration) want. The only opposition to the demonstration came from the regime's hired men, all the onlookers were sympathetic.

It is transparently obvious that the vagueness of Arias' proposals for the "democratisation" of the country is due to the fact that he has no idea whether he can outmanoeuvre the "moderate" Fraga Iribarne, whose plan is to introduce Western-style "social democracy", i.e. a parliamentary system run by businessmen and top bureaucrats in their own interests.

Fraga's "moderation" is supposed to be demonstrated by the fact that the police are no longer arresting the striking workers and demonstrators at whom they fire their rubber bullets,

and whose heads they beat with their batons. Admittedly this is "liberal" in comparison with the systematic torture that goes on inside the prisons. However, Frente Libertario for January reports that two books, Fragmentos de un discurso libertario and Los anarquistas have been banned and seized from their publishers, who had previously been able to put out books about anarchism. Fraga no longer feels that it is necessary to have the window-dressing of "freedom of the press", now that agreement has been achieved with the Americans over bases and economic policies, and there is no longer the urgency to get into the E. E. C.

Fraga's and Arias' separate plans for the future of Spain may both however come unstuck. There are other forces to be reckoned with than the fanatical hard-core of the National Movement, and the techno-bureaucrats,

Firstly there are strong movements for regional autonomy, which have not abated during thirty-six years of Francoism. The guerilla wing of the Basque nationalist movement have made their presence known in the past few years, and they are only a part of it. We are promised a demonstration in favour of autonomy for the Catalan region, in Barcelona next week, which will dwarf last Sunday's.

Secondly there are the struggles in the economic sector, which have been, and will be, grossly under-reported in the British press. Since Arias' speech specifically excluded the Communists and all to the left of them from participation in the political sector, there is bound to be increased activity, particularly strikes, on the industrial front.

We have received documentation from the "Equipo Juvenil Cenetista" in Paris, which makes clear a vast wave of strikes that have been going on since the end of December in many sectors :

the car industry, shipyards, telephones, docks, an almost national strike in the banks, in addition to the well-publicised strikes of the Madrid Metro and the Post Office workers.

The current issue of Sindicalismo (in a theoretical way since it is not a clandestine publication) says that the vaunted Workers' Commissions play a by no means preponderant rôle in these struggles, which are mostly managed by the workers themselves. (See the article on "Workers Commissions" p. 2). And the current issue of Frente Libertario carries an interview with a militant in the Madrid construction workers union, which is linked with the "CNT in reconstruction", and which maintained a lorry strike recently quite independently of the Workers' Commissions, and of other leftist parties which tried to intervene. This union has its own clandestine magazine, Construcción (illustrated on this page) and is also engaged in disseminating propaganda in the Central Region (see the illustrations on this page).

Whilst it cannot be said that the CNT has made really spectacular progress amongst Spanish workers, the basis for its reassertion of its historic position in the labour movement is there. The CNT in Spain is now propagandizing against all areas of oppression: the subjection of woman in a "macho" society, the subordination of young people to ruling value-structures, the repression of ethnic minorities and the refusal of a federalist solution, and the destruction of the Spanish ecology to rapid industrialization. The anarchist movement is one of the few that offer Spain a future of freedom. It must be supported.

D. L. M.

Both a speech by Brezhnev at a meeting in Warsaw of Communist Party Secretaries from nine "Communist" countries, and an article in the ironically titled Soviet newspaper, "Pravda", lay great emphasis on "proletarian internationalism, solidarity and mutual support". Therefore, they argue, Western "propaganda attacks" against the Soviet Union make the struggle against "anti-Sovietism" an obligation on all Communists. The independent-minded parties of Yugoslavia, Italy, France and Spain must either accept the leadership of Moscow or risk being edged out of the Communist movement. The principles on which emphasis were good, but sod the Soviets, or anyone else, as leaders!

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# Workers' Commissions

The working class movement and the workers' demands and aspirations, are judged by the middle class (which only comprehends the egoistic world it lives in) in a really infantile and simplistic way, as if they lacked all capacity for understanding and perception.

For many years official propaganda presented the middle classes with a single crude alternative: francoism or communism. Now, it seems, the possibilities are much more complex and varied. Nevertheless, the impact of the crude choice, sustained for many years, has left its traces. Thus, for many workers the entire opposition to francoism could only be communism, or, the communists were the only opponents of francoism, the only ones who fought it, and they had therefore to be supported. In reality, however, things were not, and are not, so.

Since the end of the civil war many non-communist men and groups have undertaken the struggle for change and, on occasions, have been persecuted and condemned as communists even though they were not. The middle classes' oversimplistic analysis has rendered good service to the friends and supporters of, for example, Santiago Carrillo.

The Comisiones Obreras have been presented as the sole representatives of militant workers, controlled by the Communist Party. And a few days ago Marcelino Camacho was represented by Luis Apostua, a journalist on "Ya", as the leader of all clandestine workers' groups...

In the last thirty-six years many other currents of the workers' movement have built up forces and suffered the sacrifice of militants: the Federacion Solidaria de Trabajadores (Christian in origin), the Union General de Trabajadores (socialist), the Union Sindical Obrera (councillist), the Union de Trabajadores Sindicalistas (revolutionary syndicalist), the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (anarcho-syndicalist), the "Solidaridad" groups (also of syndicalist orientation)... Some, such as the Union Sindical Obrera, were in favour of intervention in the last official Syndical elections, and achieved important results; taken as a whole as important as those of the Comisiones Obreras, [Workers' Commissions]; others advocated abstention, and even so attained noteworthy percentages.

The Comisiones Obreras are only one sector of the workers' movement (and the workers know it). One sector which has demonstrated that it is capable of co-ordinating demands in an attempt to serve political ends, and which can count on ample economic resources and on men situated in high places who take it on themselves to publicise everything the Commissions do. But the Comisiones Obreras are not the entire labour movement despite the francoist propaganda's insistence that they are. They are a presence to be counted with. But the labour movement is much more...

Juan Echeverria in "Sindicalismo" January '76.

A RECENT opinion poll survey carried out in Italy by the political weekly L'Espresso asked the question which type of coalition would be the most suitable form of Government in the present "crisis". The second largest result went to a Communist Party-Socialist Party coalition (20%). The largest result (27%) went to those who gave no answer to this stupid question.

# PRODUCTION FOR NEEDS

THE LATEST unemployment figures have not caused any outbursts of indignation or demonstrations of discontent. In the recent past, when one million men and women were without work, we marched behind our trade union banners with the TUC's official blessing for a Sunday viewing of London's streets. But now that the official representatives of the labour movement are in power, the corridors and not the streets are used to make feeble protests. Mr. Murray, TUC general secretary, did not threaten the government, but said: "Don't take trade unionists for granted."

The trade union leaders are now well versed in economics. They know that under state aided capitalism the government could pump money into the economy which would create more jobs, but that this very remedy could bring about higher inflation and a subsequent return to high unemployment. But these leaders are followers of the labour politicians in power. They, like the labour politicians, do not question capitalism as a system, but use the state to safeguard, to reform and perpetuate the exploitation of man by man. Capitalism



"We've all been watching him for the last three hours, and twice the lazy bastard's stopped to light a cigarette."

changes, but it does so to remain the same. That exploitation has changed from the harsh, inhuman and cruel exploitation of the last century. Today we are not worked to death, but most workers are bored to death. So much of work is mere employment and produces little that is useful. Then there are the jobs that are not only useless but positively harmful, like working in an arms factory, the armed forces, the police and the other directly oppressive organisations and institutions that serve the state and the corporations. So many people work in jobs that produce nothing but which only serve the interests of the ruling class. We could now produce for real needs by working only a small number of hours a week, but we still spend at least 7-8 hours a day in some form of employment without counting the time spent in getting to and from our place of work. Work is just a job from which most of us hurry away as fast as possible the moment the hooter signals the end of our working day. How most of us hate Monday mornings, the

thought of another week gives most people the horrors and yet we cling to our job because the money it pays gives us the wherewithal to live.

Do we as anarchists cry out for more work of this kind? Do we demand more useless work and the continuation of our own exploitation? No, we should no longer demand the 'right to work'. Historically we have passed the stage when there might have been some justification in 'he who does not work does not eat', but we no longer depend on everyone working to survive. We can, given the right values and objectives, produce enough for all in a short number of hours. Today production has become an end in itself. In any just and free society production would only be used to satisfy needs and everyone would have access to the necessities of life as of right.

It is true that successive reforms have softened the effects of unemployment. But every effort is made to make the unemployed feel that they are getting 'benefits' under sufferance and not as a right. Articles in the 'popular press' highlight those who have 'fiddled' the social security or those who 'won't work'. These attacks are used not only to drive a wedge between those with a job and those without but to belittle all without jobs and to warn those with of what could be in store for them. Those out of work are made out as a threat to those who still retain a job. Such are the tactics of divide and rule, but whether we are in work or not, we are entitled to the necessities of life. We should no longer be demanding jobs as the traditional 'left wing' does, but access to the land and to the means of production. In a sane and free society unemployment would not exist, because production would be geared to needs. The more people working to satisfy these needs the less work each of us has to do. The huge number of people who now carry out useless and non-productive jobs could work at useful and productive work. What this work should be would be decided by those who perform it and by the community they supply.

Decisions on what is produced and how much are now made by a few whose main consideration is profit. Economics and decision-making are centralised. A social revolution would bring about a decentralised society. We could live and work in smaller units instead of in the vast and complex factories and cities which express the centralised control of our present society. Anarchists think that ordinary people can organise both the production of necessities and their equitable distribution. We do not need the state and its institutions; we no longer need employers either state or private; people can achieve a saner, happier world free from hunger, homelessness and war. Where everyone has free access to enjoy what they consider the necessities of life.

P. T.

# MORE CODSWOLLOP

WHILST AT the time of writing the official reply from the Icelandic Government to recent British proposals for ending the Cod War is unknown, unofficial reports suggest that the two sides are still a long way from agreement.

Meanwhile, three main issues are now becoming clear. The main problem for British fishermen is obviously one of employment, for whatever form the agreement comes in, it seems certain that the British fishing industry/fleet will be reduced. With 12,500 men unemployed in Hull (over 10%, one of the highest in the country) there are now two men after every job that is available and further reductions would mean less chance still of a job. For every ship that is scrapped 20 fishermen and at least 100 people in kindred trades are out of work. Chances of alternative employment in areas such as Hull are almost non-existent to those made redundant, and after spending, say, on average 20-40 years in one job, the urge to "start afresh" is not very appealing. Meanwhile the industry is reluctant to invest in new ships for the Icelandic fishing especially with the proposed 200-mile limit expected to come into force, and 36% of British catches within this limit. An inefficient fleet means greater costs and outlay (repairs, breakdowns etc.) to the owners which is directly passed on to the public. Due to Government indecision, it is now paying out £100,000 in compensation to owners for loss of trawl wires etc., and loss of earnings.

The second main issue that has become clear and is providing the basic stumbling block for agreement is that of depletion of fish stocks. In 1973 at the height of the last dispute in the Cod War, various reasons were given as to the vital need for reduction of catches and replenishing the stocks. What this means is leaving enough of the fish alone for long enough to multiply and not being bloody greedy and fishing to excess. Past experience has shown that only after it has been too late has the relevant scientific information been obtained. This was particularly true of the herring stocks which were over-fished by Norway, Russia and Iceland and which led to the collapse of the herring fishing. The main problem connected with this question of stocks is the different interpretations and emphasis placed on the information, with the result that the fishing industry and governments apply conservation measures rather more slowly and less effectively than is advocated by research organisations. The Icelandic government in the present situation tends to be over-exaggerating the dangers of stock depletion, in that the measures needed are not so drastic as those they are advocating.

British scientists involved, and others in the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea (ICES) agree that the catch should be reduced. The ques-

tion is by how much. A consistent level of around 350,000-450,000 tons a year is now being fished. The British suggest a figure of around 300,000 tons for the next 3 years would be enough fish and time to replenish stocks. The Icelandic government suggests - no, demands - an immediate reduction to 230,000 tons, increasing trawl mesh size from 135mm to 150mm, which obviously means bigger but less fish, and restrictions on catching areas (which will come anyway with the 200-mile limit).

The ability of Iceland to dictate terms to Britain in this manner reveals the extent to which the NATO alliance has entered matters.

Now, I always thought of NATO as a some absurd joke, but I'm assured it is a serious game/business. With the Iron Maiden's recent talk of democracy, freedom of speech, etc. I prefer my theory. However, the conventional argument in this defence-of-the-free-western-world-from-Communism goes something like this. Iceland is in a strategic position between Greenland and the Faroes and the American base at Keflavik is important for screening operations by Warsaw Pact navies in the Norwegian Sea or in the attempt to threaten Western supply lines. Or conversely with Iceland on their side, NATO prevents the Russian navy having a clean sweep into the Atlantic from the ice-free region of Murmansk.

That to me is pure fantasy; all that argument is probably true, but bloody irrelevant. The Cold War means something else to deep-sea fishermen.

That American obsessions about Communism should threaten the domestic and economic livelihood of workers in this country in what is virtually home waters, is an insult which should not be tolerated under any circumstances. The American attitude is summed up nicely in the comment that Iceland "is the most important piece of real estate in NATO", and thus the U.S. desperately wants to see Britain give way on concessions to Iceland. The Americans are involved much more directly in the economic welfare of Iceland, which despite everything else remains very much a one-industry country. As much as a third of Iceland's own fishing catches go in export, 70% of which goes to America and around 23% to Russia, which puts Iceland in a very nice middle position. Recent U.S. hygiene regulations meant new and expensive investment, both in new factories and in ships, for Iceland, making it imperative that these are kept busy to supply the much-needed American market.

Perhaps the most ironic part of the saga (worthy of the Icelandic tradition) is the news that the future fishing policies of the Common Market countries will probably be decided by the European Commission. Complications will arise when the 200 mile limit comes

into effect. (West Germany catches 61% of its fish within the 200-mile limit of non-EEC countries, with Britain at 36%). Hence new quotas will have to be reached, all the while with American pressure over NATO, and most absurdly with Russia who gets 19% of its catch from Common Market waters but does not even recognise the EEC.

Francis A. Wright

## F.B.

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# ITALY'S PENAL SYSTEM

COMRADES WILL be aware that since the imprisonment of Giovanni Marini the abuses of the Italian penal system have become matters of court-room discussion with full press coverage of what was being said. What amount to cumbersome and stupid attempts by the state's judicial system to silence Marini have, in fact, resulted in a lengthy exposition of the state's oppressive barbarity. Despite the fact that Marini has been falsely convicted (because he did not allow several fascist thugs to kill him) and despite the number of cases of "grievous perjury" being brought against him: in which the case is dismissed (i.e. he was telling the truth about the prison guards' thuggery), he still faces further trials of this sort.

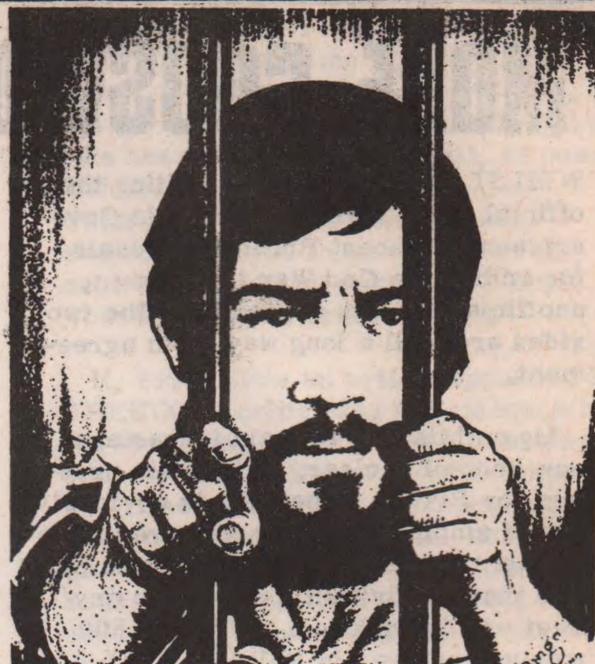
The state has now discovered a new method of silencing dissent in the cells. In the San Vittore prison in Milan three members of extraparliamentary left-wing groups were recently attacked and knifed by "persons unknown". The attack took place in the morning period for washing oneself and walking about, etc. The attackers numbered four, all of whom were masked. The incident lasted several minutes and despite the fact that prisoners should have been walking in and out of their cells nobodys saw anything or heard the shouts for help. The guards also conveniently arrived many minutes later to find the three victims not dead, fortunately, but covered in blood. The authorities tried to blame the attack on some internal prison conflict between those politically-minded detainees and the prison's mafia. This may well be true but since two of the victims were actively engaged in the prisoners' struggle, there is a strong reason to believe that the prison's mafia (self-managed repression) and the prison authorities have the same interests to protect and are probably part of the same organisation.

This "incident" coincided with the consignment to a magistrate of a statement made by one of the detainees of San Vittore prison in which he described three cases of hideous abuse of power by the prison guards and the prison doctor. The statement also names the guards involved. The first was an Egyptian who was beaten up badly and put into solitary confinement for four days because he did not understand the guard's order to undress (he did not know any Italian, at all). The second was an inmate who firstly asked to see the doctor because he was not feeling well. He was told to shut up because they were well aware of prisoners' antics. Two days later he asked for a glass of water because he was feeling thirsty due to his increasing illness, which resulted in his systematic beating up. The third is a young prisoner who, along with another young cell-mate, has been the object of regular beatings by the

guards. One of these two was beaten so badly on one occasion that he went into an animal-like state wherein he groaned in a hideous dishuman manner day and night. The doctors' proposed cure was to pump him full of sedatives and tie him down to the "letto di contenzione" (a sophistication on the solitary confinement system whereby the victim is tied down to a hard table for days at a time). His groans got louder and louder as the sedatives wore off.

The director of San Vittore prison denied that the solitary confinement cells existed anymore since they had been abolished by the recent prison reform. Furthermore, the director was at a loss to understand why the complainant went to the magistrates and did not complain directly to him.

Giovanni Marini has been frequently appearing in court because he described similar incidents and murders even in the prisons of the South of Italy. All over Italy (and the rest of the world) people come into conflict with their law and their order even by taking a walk along the seafront and being attacked by fascists, or by being in bed ill when a bomb goes off in Milan, or by being hungry and stealing a loaf of bread. They then pro-



MARINI

ceed to beat this law and order into your sane mind.

The sobering fact to bear in mind is that through the increasing demands of the prisoners themselves and the bumbling inefficiency of the prison officials and magistrates, the abuses of the Italian penal system have become public knowledge. If Italy has its mafia with its code of honour to protect the high and mighty, Britain has the old boys' clubs which carry out the same function. Are conditions in British prisons any better or is the old boys' network more efficient than the mafia.

Francesco.

LISBON

## DEATH OF A COMMUNE

ON THE 2nd December, at four in the morning, eight libertarian comrades (six men and two women) were brutally attacked by 40 mercenary 'commandos', armed with grenades and a heavy sub-machine gun. We were brusquely stood against the wall with our arms behind our backs. We thought it was the end. In the meantime the house was searched, as if it contained an arsenal; menacing us with their weapons they kept on demanding to know where the weapons were. But the whole affair did not end there; before they left, the captain of the 'commando', known as "The Mercenary", raped one of our comrades.

On the 6th, just when we had got over this experience, we were attacked again by eight soldiers armed with machine-guns and pistols, in such a state of nervousness that they would have fired at the slightest movement from us (this is due to the attitude of the Portuguese authorities towards anarchists). This time there were only four of us (three men and a woman) and we were taken, under armed guard, to the police headquarters, where we remained for three hours. As we came out of the house, we noticed a large number of police surrounding the commune (about sixty men, two helicopters circling round overhead, and three men with mines). At the headquarters we became aware

of the great number of foreigners living in Lisbon and of the fact that a witch-hunt against foreigners had started that day. On the 12th the Lisbon press announced that six ETA militants accused of having participated in the burning down of the Spanish consulate and embassy, had been released on the frontier (they didn't say which frontier but Portugal only has one frontier). Up to now over 160 people have been expelled from Portugal, amongst them many Italians, Brazilians, Chileans, Spaniards. We were held for several hours and when we were released, the commune was in ruins.

We are relating what we have experienced personally, because we want people abroad to have an idea of the situation in Portugal, where rebellious soldiers are being eliminated, where an attempt is being made to disarm the people as completely as possible, where politically conscious foreigners who might act as a stimulus to the people to take up arms are being expelled. Quite probably, there will be no leftist (and certainly not any anarchist) for foreigners in the country by the end of the year 1975. It must be realised that Portuguese fascism has not been eliminated but is still latent.

Spanish Comrades in Portugal.  
(Umanita Nova, 17.1.76)

# TRUE MEANING OF DETENTE

IN HER role as the blue feather duster waving, tank driving Boadicea of a free Britain, there is something pathetic and absurd about Margaret Thatcher, which inclines one to join in the surprise at the strength of Russia's reaction to her gestures of defiance. Firm Conservative traditionalist (to call her a traditional Tory would be, after all, misleading), that "petty-bourgeois-speculating-Iron Lady-and-Cold-War Warrior" reflects the military man's distaste for detente - at least in the sentimental sense in which it is often understood by liberals and labourites. Yet what is detente but a policy whereby the more or less repressive ruling classes of the different power blocs, decide together how best to support and maintain the status quo?

Though anarchists may be excused for not appreciating much the fine differences between fascist and socialist regimes, academician Inozemtsev's pronouncement that the crises and depressions of western society are as liable to serve the interests of the former as the latter, have become a widespread view in Russia since the advent of the savage Chilean junta. Thus, Brezhnev's concept of detente as formulated at Helsinki last year, and namely that "Nobody should try to dictate to other peoples, on the basis of foreign policy considerations of one kind or another, the manner in which they ought to manage their internal affairs" may, for all its cynicism, contain a grain of sincerity. As for the opinion of the chairman of the USA's Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Brown, it is, in the American way, more forthright. "In none of the meanings (of the word detente) is there any hint that detente means friendship, trust, affection or an assured peace." Detente means nothing but the "relaxation of tensions that exist - for real, not imaginary reasons." It is not inconsistent with the arms race, since the relaxation of tension between the superpowers can take the form of strengthened national defence budgets; in other words, it is the relaxed kind of warfare that might exist between two hideous and experienced monsters of equal strength, content with a periodic sharpening and exhibition of their claws.

But, of course, the rather more than

THE electoral campaign for the presidency of France next year has already got under way. A recent report by the French Socialist Party accuses the French Communist Party of having adopted a more liberal line merely because of the pressure of events and not because of any genuine change of heart. Obviously the Socialists find the Union of the Left an acute embarrassment and are trying their best to dissolve it in time. What the Socialists are saying is probably true but it does make us wonder what on earth it is that makes the Socialists so genuine!

70,000million dollars worth (£35,000m) of new missiles and bombers and warships that the USA plans to build within the next decade, will in no way damage economic, technical and cultural cooperation! Signs of this, the general could have added, have already been seen in the importation of western profit-making techniques to eastern Europe; the increased isolation of political rebels through the exile or selective release of dissidents to a (triumphant) West; the reluctance, when engaged in exercises of detente, not only of governments but of "human rights" organisations to publicise particularly bad cases of repression that could interfere with more long-term hopes (?); and the present damming up in the interests of diplomacy of the outflow of samizdat (unpublished material). Moreover, since 1970 and detente, ideological pacts to prevent "undesirable" influences have been signed between the Soviet Union and its smaller satellites; that almost breathtaking disregard of the individual and of minority communities has continued unabated; and if Plyusch, some months after Helsinki, was finally brought out of the Dnipopetrovsk and put on a train to Austria, Kovalyov has been clobbered; The Crimean Tartar Dzhemilev, now on hunger strike, is reported to be dying; Bukovsky still languishes in Vladimir prison where conditions have worsened still further (and where he and several others have recently hunger struck in protest against vicious beatings); a whole series of harsh economic and riot laws have been promulgated; police power has been reinforced and KGB chiefs have been promoted into the republican politburos to stem that "threat of working class protest (which) has become a dominant fact in the political life of the Soviet Union" yet about which we still know so little. And, partly, because of detente!

Detente, in short, is a highly successful policy of governmental *laissez-faire* which should suit Thatcher well - yet, for all her hardheadedness she is no realist. For this "Amazon" Russia is Antichrist, Apollyon, a solid force of evil and destruction in the struggle against which (together with her strange new ally, chairman Mao) she urges the citizens of a "free" country to sacrifice themselves with a massive show of force, and all the consequences that may bring. It has evidently not occurred to this shrewd future premier that eastern Europe is not solid, that it is no more politically stable than the West; that, like the Roman empire which in many ways it so closely resembles, or like Austro-Hungary, it will sooner or later collapse through sheer size and in the midst of warring sectional interests, unless it first succeeds in relinquishing, let alone gaining, ground.

While knowing this, but also that power can be at its nastiest when at its

most precarious, anarchists and all antimilitarists should concentrate on the radicalisation of scientific research and its diversion away from the 30-year old arms race into sophisticated methods of civil defence and effective resistance to all military power, especially that closest to us. Technologically much of value could be done in this field, and combined with a long hard campaign to open up communication with anarchists, libertarians and antimilitarist movements in the East it may well be the anarchists' only answer to so-called detente, whatever that of the rest of the world's growing nuclear powers and their apologists.

G.F.

\*M. Holubenko, *Critique*, no. 4

## MEETING

### PORTUGAL

#### COMUNIDAD DEL SUR

A TALK with film slides on the Community of the South in Uruguay was given at Centro Iberico on Saturday evening to about 50 people. Speaking half in English, half in Spanish, the South American comrade explained that the community had originated about 25 years ago through the meeting of a group of anarchists with some anti-church Christians of German origin who had been forced to leave England on the outbreak of war and had settled in Uruguay, living there on a communal basis. Though attracted by their way of life the anarchists were unable to remain with the Christians because of their ideological differences and set up on their own with a printing works and eventually acquired some land. The community had about 60 members and printed as much as 40 per cent of the books in Uruguay. Other groups who didn't wish to actually live within the community lived and worked around it, and in close contact with it, and many of the children from the poor shanty towns of the surrounding areas came to the community school, which, shared with the workers in general (who came from different social strata) a high cultural level. Classes were not compulsory and the children were able to run their lives independently of the adults - which meant, for instance, that when the police on occasions took the whole adult population away, sometimes for a month at a time, the children were able to continue managing the place on their own. Work roles were exchanged freely, and hours of work left to the discretion of the individual worker - though weekly meetings were held to discuss production and problems relating to it. There was also a financial committee which allocated money for clothing, entertainments, etc. and a large library.

The speaker mentioned the important role that psychoanalysis had played in the survival and success of the community, which nevertheless had its crises, and the influence of the educationalist, Colombo, now living in France. The treatment of children and old people, who were never obliged to retire and played a full part in the life of the community, owed much to this. Men and women were on an equal footing; the women didn't have the same problems that faced women in the outside world, for example unmarried mothers or women with children from different men. These became part of the children's community, where they cared for one another.

Freedom correspondent.

# MAGGIE McCARTHY

AT FIRST glance, Mrs. Thatcher's comments on the Soviet Union are seemingly deserving of light treatment. Whilst ridicule may be a useful vehicle for attacking the ideas implicit in her comments we must also be aware of the sinister content of her words.

What we read in the newspapers and see and hear on the TV and radio are the fluty plum-obstructed incantations about the nasty Russians building up their military strength and about the subversion which they are encouraging throughout the Western "free capitalist" world. Is she really concerned about the Russian military build-up? Does she really want "freedom"? "Tune in some time etc., etc."

Part of the reason for her unprovoked (have the Russians only now started building up their military strength?) outspoken (Henry Kissinger has said the same many times and he is even able to quote statistics) warnings of the Red Menace is an attempt to gain some early popularity and attention for her boring self in time for the next, unfortunately, inevitable electoral spectacle. The papers are now able to print headlines like "Iron Lady visits heart of capitalism", "New attack on Iron Lady", "Iron Amazon", "Iron Lady wears red chiffon dress", etc., etc., and most importantly, "Popularity Polls show Iron Lady in front".

The mentality of Mrs. Thatcher and her ardent followers is that of the world of the small businessman with high capitalism's interests at heart. They argue that it is in man's nature to be unequal, some are stronger than others, and sod the weakest 'cos I'm all right! Any calls for greater social justice are Marxist-inspired plots, and Marxist plots are hatched and financed in and from the Kremlin. If these "KGB agents" get their way we will no longer be free to exploit, maim, kill, lock away anyone we choose. Of course, they don't seriously believe all this in its entirety but it's useful if the masses are encouraged to think that way.

The Third Report from the Royal Commission on Distribution of Income and Wealth carried the following sentiment in an addendum:-

"The major question raised by the level of top salaries is the relationship between economic efficiency and social justice. We have seen... a steady trend in the direction of a rise in the standard of living of the majority of wage and salary earners and this has been accompanied by a substantial fall in the differentials between the highest paid and the manual and lower supervisory grades."

The anti-red hysteria can, for instance, serve a useful purpose in helping to raise pay differentials again. A minister seeking a rise in pay for his members is now a "red extremist in



"I HAVE A LIST OF NAMES."

the pay of the Kremlin". Moderates are anti-red, anti-higher-pay, anti-Russian, etc...

Anyone who questions the authority of the British Government, phoney justice system and so forth, is also implicitly supporting a carefully planned Russian invasion. We have "free speech" after all, but if anyone starts to listen to what you have to say you could be in trouble.

If this propaganda does not work the National Front dogs of thuggery can be unleashed on all dissenters. The public will not worry about such attacks because the papers and other objects of the mass media will be too full of stories about how the Red Army eat Western babies for breakfast (grilled with a light sprinkling of caviar of course!).

However, the propaganda is likely to succeed owing to the beneficial effect of ignorance on fear. How many people do you know closely who are living in the Soviet Union, in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, and so forth? You may say, none, because the Soviet authorities will not let them communicate. But does the Western world let them communicate if they do not have a particular point of view? We are the first to admit that the Soviet system is oppressive but it is difficult to determine how different the Western system actually is because we lack the information to be able to compare fairly.

The "iron curtain" is impenetrable not solely because of the Russians' attitudes but also because of the fact that the Western world's "raison d'etre" is also the "iron curtain". Without the "red menace" how can President Ford ask for more arms money to be allocated? How can the "iron lady" win the next election? How can publishers make a fortune out of accounts of human misery behind that "iron curtain?"

To make the "iron curtain" disappear we have to sweep the cobwebs away on both sides of it. One system kills you

in the name of "freedom" and the other kills you in the name of "social justice". The existence of Soviet-made Flats, of the Moscow-Narodny Bank in the City (the heart of free capitalism), of power and privilege in both systems, of Chilean torture and Siberia, etc. should make you think very hard the next time someone asks you, "But where would you prefer to live?"

If, every time an article appeared in FREEDOM criticising the madness in the Western, capitalist world this was reported in the East European countries as "Leading Western Dissidents complain of Torture in Britain" and Kosygin made regular trips here to ask the authorities what they were going to do about it, how long would we retain the right of free speech? "Free speech" is admissible on both sides of the iron curtain as long as nobody listens to what you have to say. We have libel laws here to protect the high and mighty, and failing that the Iron Maiden can always depend on the Special Branch.

N. Staffa.

## Revolutionary Technology

IT IS NOT sufficiently recognised that the purposes, results and structure of technology reflect the aims and nature of the society in which it is developed. Existing technology is essentially exploitative, wasteful and concerned with power. This does not mean that some aspects of technology cannot be adapted to revolutionary purposes. After all, pre-industrial technology mainly served an exploitative authoritarian society. What industrial technology has done is to add a new dimension to the power of technology to affect man and his environment, and no doubt it is the exploitative element in the purpose of that technology that has proved so dangerous.

A group of "Street Farmers" involved in alternative domestic and agricultural technology in London were invited to help in a novel programme of slum renewal among shanty-town dwellers in central Portugal. The site was some 40 kilometres from Lisbon, at the head of a valley. About 200 dwellings were clustered on one side of the access road and narrow cartways ran between them. The dwellings were mostly built by their inhabitants and ranged from shacks lashed together out of car packing and beaten-out petrol tins to rendered concrete blockhouses. During the previous regime an absentee landlord had charged a ground rent of about £20 per annum. After the military coup the village renamed itself "Bairro de Liberdade", formed a residents association and was put in touch with a government housing agency (S. A. A. L.) consisting of virtually autonomous groups of planners, architects and sociologists.

The local agency advised the dwellers to pay this year's annual rent to their

own association. The association's survey found that 40% of the 'houses' needed replacement and others needed repairs and modernisation. Roads, water supply and drainage were also essential.

Links forged with workers' councils in occupation of local firms and factories brought an abundance of cheap materials and free earthmoving plant and volunteer skilled labour.

One of the technical reasons for the invitation to Street Farmers was to demonstrate the use of solar energy for domestic hot-water supply. Essentially (for those unacquainted with the technique of using solar energy) it is a panel, usually in the roof, comprising a web of copper or (as in Portugal) alkathene behind a glass or transparent plastic panel, with, behind the panel, insulation usually of glass fibre, but any material could be used. In the northern hemisphere the panel faces south and is placed at the appropriate angle to capture the sun's rays.

One of the difficulties in Portugal was the inadequate water supply, so naturally the team found that there was at first a lack of comprehension of what they were doing. The team built a pyramid about 4ft. high and wound 15 metres of  $\frac{3}{4}$ " alkathene in a spiral around it and insulated the inside with screwed up newspaper. The whole thing was then covered with sheets of transparent polythene. This model demonstrated that the water that came out was hot, having gone in cold.

The next step, using two 40-gallon oil drums, was to build a model of a domestic hot water system, using one drum as water storage and the other insulated to store hot water. Cork was used as insulation. This model was connected with the conical solar panel. The team also tried using corrugated iron with alkathene wired to it. The heat was limited by the area of the panel.

Another object of the visit was to examine the problem of sewage disposal and drainage. The drainage system merely spewed out sewage on to a field half a kilometre from the village. Sketches for small sewage treatment plants were drawn up and it was suggested that organic wastes enable the poorer villages' soils to grow crops

The group visited local factories with a view to using cork as insulation but it was suggested that the solar panels could be manufactured in slabs of cork, and the factory is experimenting on these lines.

To quote from the group's own words

"Having constructed a domestic hot-water system and two simple collectors, we felt informed enough of the local problems to search out a cheaper and more efficient partially manufactured item. In England we had always rejected the idea of mass-produced 'alternatives'; however the consciousness of the Portuguese workers and their enthusiasm to change capitalist production ideals to those of social benefit makes the compromise of using factory components for alternative technology valid. With this in mind, we met workers from

from the cork industry, the nationalised steel works, a glass factory and a ship-builders."

And further:

"The actual thing we built is not that important; it is not really necessary that people use it. We intended it as a symbol that technology need not be alienating, that there are alternatives to big centralised systems, that work can be directed to social benefit, and that people from other countries are willing to help."

Alan Albon.

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Students' Union  
University of Keele,  
KEELE, Staffs.

## LETTERS

### TALKING TO THE POLICE

Dear Comrades,

In the last instalment of the Battle for the Soul of Nicolas Walter, Nick explained (24.1.76) that he could not accept David Wieck's advice (10.1.76) "to explain to policemen what anarchism really is" as the artificial environment of the police college would make him unhappy.

Might I suggest that the police have perfectly good authorities of their own to advise and explain what anarchism is. What the police wanted was to see, examine and question an Anarchist which is an entirely different thing from listening to a social philosophy being expounded no matter how competently. There is a story, apocryphal therefore true, that a private soldier was asked why he refused to accept an officer's commission and he replied, "Because I cannot bear to mix with them on social terms" and I think that this is why one should not lecture within a Police Establishment. Social convention decrees that one is introduced, indulges in pleasant small talk, wines or sips tea before the lecture and when it is over must surely be invited by the host to join them informally for a pleasant hour before leaving. There is nothing sinister in this but as one individual who gets dry mouthed and stomach sick at the thought of entering even the garage manager's office I cannot conceive of myself, in Nick's position, being wise and witty and at the same

time balancing a wine glass surrounded by, name it comrade, The Law.

Fraternally,

Arthur Moysé,  
39 Minford Gardens,  
West Kensington,  
London, W14 0AP

### CORRECTIONS

In the January 10th issue of FREEDOM, the next-to-last sentence of my letter ("Irish socialism") was not published. As it was the argumentational basis of the whole letter, encapsulating my perspective, I request that it be published. The sentence follows:

"Furthermore, I suggest that the mainstream of traditional Irish socialism is libertarian, directactionist, and Industrial-Unionist."

This sentence also modifies the meaning of the final sentence. Obviously, I do not regard the stalinist-trotskyist Milieu . . . in Ireland; and the dissolution of the Irish CP, at Stalin's directive, because of Stalin's war policies . . . as other than an aberration away from that Mainstream. The final sentence should begin "Finally . . ."

\*

In the August 2nd issue of FREEDOM, in my article about "the village Militias", words were dropped by the typesetter, to the effect that I seemed to make a stalinist critique of the "Ultra-left". To the contrary, I do not think that IWW and Guild Socialist influence crippled the effectiveness of the FLP (. . . as far as I am concerned, they were the only dimensions of interest in it).

I underline the unpublished words:

"Minnesota alone of all the states had a Farmer-Labor Party (relatable to the Labor Parties in Europe) take power. The FLP, however, was not very European at founding, it was metamorphosed and americanized by Guild Socialist and IWW influence. And was destroyed by the Stalinists and Hubert Humphrey . . . merging it with the Democrat Party and expelling all the (independent) FLP militants."

Yours for workers' freedom,  
Seamas Cain.

THE world's war machine received two big fillips last week. France, it has been announced, is planning large increases in military spending and has also agreed to join and take part in a new European military body (supposedly independent from the Americans) known as the Independent Programme Group (I.P.G.). At the same time the United States "Defence" Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, announced the stepping up of U.S. arms spending over the next decade. The same old excuse of the "counterweight to the USSR" is used. However, the amount of time that Henry Kissinger is spending in Moscow makes us wonder whether the two "super-powers" aren't starting to get worried about becoming two of four "super-powers". The manufacturers are happy whatever happens!

# PRESS FUND

15 - 28 January

LONDON SE14: G.B. £ 2.70; STOCKHOLM: O.H. £ 2; BIRMINGHAM: G.O. £ 5.70; LARBERT: B.W. £ 5.70; STONE, Staffs: S.G. 35p; ENFIELD: R.B. 70p; LONDON SE27: C.H. 70p; WIGAN: E.H. 35p; EDINBURGH: W.M.C. 70p; HILLSBOROUGH, Calif.: L.M. £ 2.70; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1; J.K.W. 10p; LLANWRST: M.B. £ 2.70; ANON: £ ; LONDON N8: V.P. 6p; EXMOUTH: A.B.H. 15p; DOUGLAS IsM: B.C. 34p; FAYETTEVILLE, Ariz. B.M. 38p; LONDON E16: G.I. £ 2.85; CLOQUET Minn: S.C. £ 2.85; BOXFORD: A.A. 19p; NEW YORK: N.M. £ 2.70; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p.

TOTAL: £ 42.56

Previously acknowledged: 150.48

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 193.04

THE LONDON Borough of Camden is to consider spending £64,000 a flat to converting nine 18th Century houses into 28 council flats. Repeat £64,000 on each flat.

Two semis in the process of restoration in Belsize Avenue (Camden Borough) have had to be demolished because they were unsafe. After expenditure of £73,000.

IN HIS Scottish Court the other day Sheriff Euen Stewart said, "Everyone has his price when it comes to turning to crime." He went further. He told us what his price would be -- "I reckon £100,000 would be a generally acceptable return. Offer me that amount and I am your man."

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### MEETINGS

LONDON Sat 7 Feb. AWA Open Day School, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. 10 am-6pm. Creche provided. 30p in advance, 40p at door.

BOLTON, N.W. Anarchists. Meeting at The Balmoral, Bradshaw Gate, opp. Studio One, 7 Feb. 7 - 11 pm. Details tel. Bolton 387516. (Anarchism Lancastrium).

GLASGOW. Spain: The Struggle in Spain, Speakers Miguel Garcia & Albert Meltzer. Feb 10, 7.30 pm at McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall St., Glasgow.

MANCHESTER. Syndicalist Education Meeting : Luddism and Alternative Technology Wed, 18 Feb, 8pm at the Laf-o-Gowrie, Charles st. M/cr.

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next review section is Monday 9 February; news/features/letters/announcements Monday 16 February

DURHAM. Martin Spence, 17 Avenue St., High Shincliffe, Durham

EAST LONDON Libertarians write c/o Ken Weller, 123 Lathom Rd., East Ham E6  
 GLASGOW has a centre at 17 Bute Gdns. Hillhead, Glasgow.

EDINBURGH, Bob Gibson, 7 Union Road, Edinburgh.

HARROW, Write Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Gdns, Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB

IRELAND. Libertarian Communists contact Alan Marc Simoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin

LEEDS anarchist contact Cahal McLaughlin, 15 Brudenell Grove, Leeds.

LEICESTER. Anarchist Group contact Pete & Joan Miller, 41 Norman St. Tel. 549652.

LEICESTER Libertarian Circle meets Thursdays at Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St.

OXFORD anarchist group c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street.

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 21 Haverstock Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants.

# CONTACT

NEW YORK: BAKUNIN CENTENARY. Friday, March 5 at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave., N.Y.C. (SW corner 29 St.):

Sam Dolgoff: Bakunin & Marx : The First International.

Olga Lang: Bakunin and Asia.

Paul Avrich: Bakunin and America.

Free admission, refreshments. Questions & Discussion. (Libertarian Book Club, G.P.O. Box 842, New York 10021.)

SAN FRANCISCO. A mtg. will be held soon to set up a Bay Area organization to carry out libertarian socialist (council communist/anarchist collectivist) perspectives. Independent collectives & interested individuals with anti-Statist, anti-electoral views invited to participate. Write or call to discuss and for copies of proposals:

L.S.F., P.O. Box 1587, S.F. Call 94101, S.F. 552-3762. Oak. 893-6872.

W. GERMANY. 9-11 April. Film review on Sanish Civil War at Schwdbisch Hall. The communal cinema "Kino im Schafstall" will show documentary films, Augustin Souchy will speak on "The Social Revolution in Spain". More details from Paul Zimmermann, 717 Schwdbisch Hall, Johannstr. 17.

LONDON Hyde Park Speakers Corner. Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcomed.

### GROUPS

BATH anarchist & non-violent activists contact Banana, c/o Students Union, The University, Claverton Down, Bath.

BIRMINGHAM anarchists contact Bob Prew, 40C Trafalgar Rd., Moseley, B'ham 13.

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Ave. Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516).

Anyone interested in the Syndicalist Workers Federation in Bolton area contact or write to SWF at this address.

CORBAY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN1 211.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, Univ. of Warwick, Coventry.

DUNDEE. Alistair Dempster, c/o Students Union, Airlie Place, Dundee.

NEXT DESPATCHING date of FREEDOM is Thursday 19 February. Come and help from 2 pm. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for informat get-together and folding session.

### OVERSEAS

#### AUSTRALIA

Anarchist Group Canberra 32/4 Condomine Court, Turner Camil 2601.

Melbourne: Martin Jones Peters, c/o Dept. of Philosophy, Monash University, Melbourne Victoria.

NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hey, 35 Buchanans Rd., Christchurch 4. (tel. 496 793).

### PEOPLE/PUBLICATIONS &c.

SIMON O'D of Eire - please write again, this time including your address, to R.Y.B. C.P. 95, Stn. Place D'Armes, Montreal, P.Q. H2Y 3E9, Canada.

CLAUDE, who from time to time writes articles in FREEDOM and A BATALHA, wishes it to be known that he is not the Claude who wrote an article on Portugal in the French publication LA LANTERNE NOIRE No. 4.

PORTUGAL. The Portuguese Anarcho-Syndicalist paper A BATALHA (sales 5000 copies per fortnight) needs the support of all comrades outside Portugal. Send your donations, books, pamphlets &c. to A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal, 17-2-E, LISBOA.

### PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE (184051) H.M. Prison, The Verne, Portland, Dorset. Serving sentence for action against vivisection &c. Postcards.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore, Noel Murray & Ronan Stenson. Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare

Eire. - MARIE MURRAY is in Limerick Prison.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, Camden High St. London, NW1.

RALF STEIN is still at 5 KOLN 30, Rochusstrasse 350, Germany.

## THE REVOLUTION OF ART

WILLIAM REICHERT'S recent article "Art, Nature and Revolution" (Vol. 36 no. 52, reprinted from the U.S. magazine *Arts and Society*, 1972) discussed anarchism not in terms of political ideology but as regards the applicability of anarchist ideas to art and aesthetics. Anarchism, of course, is not only a political ideology but also a method of creation for a new life which is guided by a desire for freedom. Reichert gave an excellent exposition of how the ideas of Proudhon, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Vanzetti, etc. relate to artistic creation.

Since the article was written for the readers of an American arts magazine and not for an anarchist magazine the emphasis was inevitably placed on the relevance of anarchism to art, and not the other way round. In fact, "art" and "artist" as concepts are not subject to much criticism at all. However, several developments in art during this century call into question these concepts of "art" and "artist" on the general grounds that "art" as it existed at the inception of these movements was/is a negation of freedom. This paradox thus bears some examination.

It was in the period between 1910 and the early 1920s that Dadaism developed as a movement. Many young artists and poets felt a great dissatisfaction with the world they were living in and were mostly of the opinion that the preceding war consisted of a plot by the governments involved for purely autocratic, sordid, and materialist reasons. Art was seen as a dependant of this unacceptable society. Art in turn served to bolster up this society since the artists and poets were wage slaves of the bourgeoisie which had produced and acclaimed them. Consequently (in bourgeois eyes) the Dadaists existed in order to destroy themselves since through working for the destruction of a doomed society and its art they would bring about the destruction of themselves as artists.

The "work of art" for the Dadaist was a thing to be despised, summed up in Picabia's assertion, "The only really ugly things are Art and Anti-art. Wherever art appears, life disappears." Dada thus became a way of life in which the "gesture" rather than the discredited work of art became the mode of expression. As can be imagined, the direction in which the Dadaists moved were numerous thus making it impossible for the "professional labellers" to pinpoint any such thing as a Dadaist style, and the one distinct feature of Dadaist exhibitions was its seeming incoherence. Two distinct kinds of "emphasis" can, however, be identified within Dada. Dadaists like Bail and Arp were searching for a "new art" by which to replace an outworn and irrelevant aestheticism, whilst those like Tzara and Picabia were intent on destruction by mockery to the extent of even fooling the public about their social identity as artists.

Many of the techniques developed by Dadaists of the former "emphasis" (Bail and Arp) were influential in the development of surrealism later on. For example, automatic drawing and automatic composition (the introduction of chance either through spontaneous freely-flowing ink drawings, tearing up drawings and letting them fall in any order, or the tearing up of sentences from newspapers and rearranging the words at random) were an integral part of surrealism, and in the first "surrealist Manifesto" Breton proposes the "newspaper poem" as a surrealist activity.

Dadaists of the latter "emphasis" perfected the presentation of the Dada object as a theatrical gesture and their work was produced for entertainment/demonstration as a baiting ground for the public. An example of this type of work was the first Dada "matinee" in Paris in January 1921. First of all paintings by Gris, Leger and de Chirico were brought on the stage in rapid succession and then Breton brought in a painting by Picabia called "Le Double Monde" consisting only of a few

black lines on the canvas with several inscriptions "Haut" at the bottom and "Bas" at the top) and in enormous red letters at the bottom L.H.O.O.Q (a pun for "Elle a chaud au cul") which caused a tremendous outcry from the audience of invited dignitaries and art critics.

By the early 1920s Dada was already coming to an end as a movement and from the "ruins" produced the Surrealist movement which, although inheriting the bourgeoisie as its enemy, insisted on the drafting of well-defined theories and principles.

This complete cultural turning-point which had been reached by the avant-garde groups of the Dadaists and Surrealists in the years 1910 to 1925 was rediscovered in the years immediately following the Second World War by the Lettrist movement in Paris. The Lettrists started where Dada had left off (the complete dissolution of artistic form) and developed in several directions. Whilst one group was concerned with Dada-type of cultural art, and yet another group developed around Isidore Isou who was concerned with aesthetics and art in itself.

The most famous stunt by the first two above-named groups was the sabotage of the Easter High Mass at Notre Dame in 1950, the story of which is told by Christopher Gray (*Leaving the 20th Century - the incomplete work of the Situationist International - not currently in print*):

"Just before the High Mass, a small group of Lettrists, including one who had previously intended to be ordained, slipped unobserved into the back of the cathedral. In a sideroom they caught, gagged, stripped and bound one of the priests. The ex-Catholic Lettrist put on the priest's vestments and, just before the service was about to begin, gravely ascended the steps to the main pulpit. A moment's respectful silence. 'Freres, Dieu est mort', he said; and began benignly to discuss the implications of this conclusion. Several minutes passed before the congregation actually registered what was happening. He managed to escape out of the back of the cathedral..."

The police had to rescue the Lettrists from the mob.

This type of activity led to the denouncing of these two groups by Isidore Isou. They denounced him back and formed the Internationale Lettrists in which the dominant personality was Guy Debord. An example of Debord's anti-art work at the time is *Memoires* which is an essay in subversion put together from prefabricated elements and bound in sandpaper so that it could never be put on a library shelf next to other books.

The Lettrist International became a way of life "defined

"FRERES,  
DIEU  
EST  
MORT"



both by its refusal to work, and this its penury, and by its grandiose desire to regenerate the nature of immediate experience". Through the development of concepts such as the "society of the spectacle" and the "creation of situations" the International Lettrists became the Internationale Situationiste.

Guy Debord wrote in I. S. 1, 1958, "Art need no longer be an account of pas sensations. It can become the direct organisation of more highly-evolved sensations. It is a question of producing ourselves, not things that enslave us."

Whilst agreeing wholeheartedly with William Reichert that anarchist ideas are of great relevance to "art" it must also be borne in mind that "art" is not an entity which exists independently of everything. Art like anything else evolves and produces conflicts between its various tendencies and the results of these conflicts have much to teach the anarchists.

Even the most sympathetic of commentators on Dada regards it as a beautiful failure at most. Any writings on Dada are swamped by the use of the word "nihilist", the frequency of its use increasing with the amount of hostility felt by the author towards the movement. Anarchists have also been branded by the establishment politicians of "left" and "right" as "nihilistic" and other supposed terms of abuse. In their terms we are "nihilistic" since we wish to annihilate power and privilege, which means them. We can, of course, point to the fact that the "nihilistic" Dadaists were instrumental in the development of the Surrealist movement on which many words have been published extolling its virtues.

Further, the so-called "nihilist" Situationists produced the most up-to-date critique of the capitalist, consumer-oriented society in the concept of the "Society of the Spectacle".

The lesson for anarchists would thus seem to be that, since

deviation has, in the past, produced the only totally-new concepts it would seem that our attack on the system ought to be strongly based on deviancy and the encouragement of "deviants".

Herbert Read in his Anarchy and Order points out how the poster artist is considered to be dangerous if allowed free reign by both Marxists and Fascists. In fact, both the Marxists and Fascists encourage an "official" art which must constantly be at the service of either the so-called revolution or the ideal of the nation. From this we can see that the true artist and poet is our friend since he/she also shares our label of "deviant".

"Art" as an autonomous entity is usually defended by the elitist concept of "genius" and the idea that the genius is, in fact, a rebel. To quote Albert Camus: "...genius is a rebellion which has created its own limits. That is why there is no genius... in negation and pure despair". The so-called "nihilist" will attempt to show everybody that the genius is usually a fraud since he tells you what he has brilliantly uncovered/ done and then sits back to enjoy the acclaim, only getting up to viciously attack any new idea which might threaten his/her genial discovery/work. Tradition and authority will, of course, aid the "genius" in his attacks on the deviants.

What gives this self-appointed "genius" the right to monopolise art/science in the way he claims only he can? We see no justification for such a position to be held by anyone. William Reichert in his article quotes Bartolomeo Vanzetti to whom we give the last word to explain further our "deviancy". "Nature has gave us unphantomed treasures for the security and elevation of life, it breath in our heart an unquenchable long for freedom, and it gifts us of such faculties which, if free and cultivated, would make a wonder of us."

Nino Staffa.

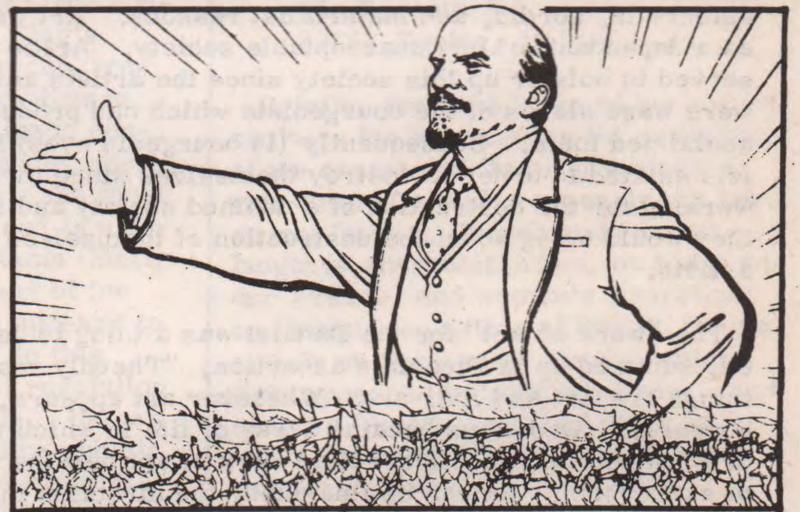
## LENINIST DOGMA

THE CONSTANT splitting of the non-parliamentary Left in western countries and its senseless regrouping into contradictory brands of co-called revolutionary politics is for us anarchists proof enough that the unity of the working class under the red banner of a true proletarian party is a political impossibility and that until the divisive dogma of left-wing politics, so dear to authoritarian followers of Sacro Saint Lenin - the Democratic Centralism - is trampled upon by the workers themselves, no broad and emancipatory movement of oppressed people will ever make the Capitalist Establishment tremble or run for its life.

For this disciplinarian concept of party democracy is paradoxically the dogma which, like a virus, a sickness, undermines the political unity and development of all vanguardist parties of the western Left. Portugal is the best example of how divisive, alienating and counter-revolutionary Marxism-Leninism can be and the disastrous effect it had on the oppressed people of Portugal in its search for a revolutionary solution to the problems entailed from 50 years of Fascism.

It is known by now that Lenin's democratic centralism imposes on dissenting minority factions (which exist in every party) an alienating discipline and a blind acceptance of the views dished up by the leadership, which in turn leads to an inevitable and overt dissent to be followed by accusations from the leaders of ultra-leftism and finally by expulsion from the organisation. The purged factions, still traumatised and imbued with their Marxist-Leninist dogma, regroup and almost automatically launch the base or the nucleus of yet another party (Marxist, Leninist, Stalinist, Trotskyist, Maoist... take your pick!) which at its inception and by heredity is already contaminated by the deadly virus that the scientific arsenal of modern dialectical materialism seems unable to trace, sense and cure without questioning the revolutionary validity of the writings of the jesuitic Lenin.

Usually this splitting/regrouping mechanism repeats itself ad infinitum, increasing all the time the number of vanguardist parties in existence until through an individualistic psy-



MARXISM - LENINISM. A jesuitic disorder ??????????

chological process of ideological disintoxication some former members of left-wing parties decide to search for less alienating games and rightly start paying due attention to libertarian ideas and organisational forms.

Of course this salutary classic process does not happen very often in the so-called socialist countries (with the exception of a handful of intellectual dissidents well known to us) for the simple reason that there is neither time nor freedom to dissent in large scale from the central authority - the Communist Party - which holds in its hands the repressive means of mass control: the judiciary, the armed forces, the secret police, vertical trade unions, concentration camps and if necessary physical extermination.

For us anarchists the answer to authoritarian politics from the left or from the right can be found, according to taste and inclination, in revolutionary pacifism for some and in liberatory direct action and non-hierarchical organisations for others, in which individuals associate freely by affinity groups to a union of will for social change against state and private capitalism. This free union is, within the repressive context of today's society of mass anonymity and manipulation, a revolution in itself against the control that our exploiters have over our own lives in the name of capitalist efficiency, socialist doctrines, militarism, religion, national liberation, unity or independence, etc., etc., etc. Fortunately, more and more individuals all over the world are

# RUSSIAN ANARCHISM IN U.S.

STRANGE AS IT may seem, it is worth mentioning that there were two anarchist movements -- one before the Russian Revolution, the second after it. The former was quite typical of those elsewhere abroad. Its Russian members had become anarchists already in Russia but were obliged to get away from persecution and find a relative freedom of speech. Such movements existed in the past, will continue alongside despotic regimes.

The second movement of Russian anarchists was not as characteristic as the first one. As long as still "prospective" immigrants, these Russians never thought of becoming anarchists once in the U.S.; such phenomena happen exceptionally, not so much in their essence as in their sweep. Alien anarchist movements in the U.S. assumed sometimes a mass character. By the end of the last century, quite marked movements expressed themselves - German and Jewish - but the Russian movement originated only quite soon after the Russian revolution, and it largely surpassed all older ones. No other was as successful and well organized in their publishing work as the Russian one.

Russian anarchists had in 1919 a four-storeyed building on 15th Street in New York, containing an evening school, a library and a printing works. They published two newspapers, a daily and a weekly, and - on top of that - appeared an important monthly magazine. German, Jewish and Italian anarchists didn't have such a well equipped centre of coordinated action; and this with the Russian population in the U.S. much less numerous, less materially secure, than the other mentioned minorities. The swing of Russian anarchism seems surprising for, not long before the beginning of the year 1917, there were no symptoms or possibilities of such a mass movement. A Russian language press existed already -- The Voice of Labor, which began to appear in New York at the beginning of the year 1911. It had no success, even as an anarchist press. Many Russian newspapers and magazines existed before the first world war, having, seemingly, a good ground for them. Alas, it didn't exist.

There were already many Russians in the U.S.; more and more as ships brought from Russia crowds of new immigrants. These new people were not interested in reading newspapers. They never read them where they were born, never imagined the necessity, and once in the U.S. continued to ignore them as they had in their villages. They changed their village attire for an American jacket, which didn't change them inwardly. They were still the same village folks. The thoughts of all of them lingered about their farms left behind. A sheer necessity of improving them had driven them to the U.S. for earnings, and they never forgot it. Day and night dreamed they of saving as much as possible, to come back one day to their villages. As newspapers had no bearing on that, they never took them into their hands. Their forefathers didn't, and they continued to live without them.

All that changed when in summer, 1914 the guns started shooting in Europe. The war affected these Russian people in two ways. First, it struck them by burning their dreams: there was no way of going back to their villages, with money or without it. Second, the war awakened their jingoism, the wish to know that Russians were winning victories. And if so -- buy and read newspapers. As nobody could read English, they had to turn to the Russian ones. That improved their circulation, but didn't affect such papers as The Voice of Labor for two reasons. It appeared very rarely and everyone wanted to have news of the war every day. Also, that ideological newspaper was against the imperialist war. Common village folk expected Russian troops' successes, while the Voice of Labor wouldn't print them, disapproved of war, criticised Russian and German militarists. Such a point of view displeased our patriots and they ignored The Voice.

becoming aware that politics of mass manipulation are social cancers leading inevitably to the destruction of mankind.

As individuals, these people feel the social need to replace our rotting societies by more humane and equalitarian ones, in which freedom of the individual and not the economics of one class over another is the only barometer of man's emancipation and happiness! That is what anarchism is all about. A stateless, equalitarian and free society! The only revolutionary challenge known to me.

Claude.

It is suitable to mention here a few oddities. As told above, the war whipped painfully Russian people in the U.S. It shattered their dreams, blocked their way home. Some of them couldn't face it and started drinking. It would seem that all of them should stand on the same position as did the Voice of Labor, that all of them, as one man, should blame the war. But they didn't, and, rather, wished to hear that Russian troops were already in Berlin. Their blind patriotism, grafted from childhood, revealed itself as being stronger than reason.

There was another oddity. A purely monarchist newspaper was published then in New York. Titled first Russian Emigrant, it became later Russian Earth. It wrote exactly what Russian people wanted - of the victory of Russian arms. But our folks rather ignored it, preferring to read another one which nearly abused the Russian Tsar. This testified to their patriotism for Russia - not for her existing order and government. No love for the Tsar but pity for the country and its people. And it was wholly confirmed when came the news of the Russian Revolution.

The fall of the House of Romanoff brought no regrets - on the contrary, everybody felt an ineffable joy. Never before were Russian people in such an elated mood as in those first days of the revolution. One could compare that period with the Easter holiday. Everything was forgotten, save one single thought of what was happening in Russia. And so hands reached out faster for a newspaper; new readers and people on the way leading to the Voice of Labor. Alas, the time came for that newspaper to say goodbye to New York and move to Petrograd.

One of the first important acts of the Russian Provisional Government was an amnesty for all political prisoners, fighters for freedom, which opened their jails. It meant as well all opponents of the Tsarist regime wandering somewhere abroad, and for them the way home was open. The Provisional Government was, too, paying all expenses of going back to Russia. As political emigrants, the publishers of The Voice of Labor couldn't miss that opportunity, offered to them too. They discarded the fact that the U.S. offered them a wide field of action; the long expected revolution called them -- all their lives were dedicated to it and that is why they had fled from Russia. As a mother seeing her child forgets everything and rushes to it, our people rushed back to Russia and her revolution.

The publishers of The Voice carried there all their typographical instruments. They didn't bury the newspaper but dreamed to succeed better in Petrograd than in New York. And their dearest hopes would have been fully realised if the Bolsheviks hadn't buried the Russian revolution the next October.

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With the transfer of the newspaper ended that quite typically Russian anarchist movement in the U.S. And after that it seemed there wouldn't be more of it. Luckily, that didn't happen -- a new one was born, altogether unlike that of The Voice with its more or less outstanding contributors, Voline for instance. The new one couldn't boast of such a one. Intellectually it stood rather lower, but in its swing it surpassed The Voice. If the latter's count of member-cells reached tens of hundreds, the new movement could count tens of thousands. It became a movement which carried away nearly all the Russian colony. It grew suddenly and spontaneously. The people were carried along by the revolution and became -- anarchists.

It began with frequent mass meetings, for everybody to greet the revolution. All kinds of political outlooks took part in them, anarchists included. -- those who later went to Russia and those who, for some reasons, stayed in the U.S. All of them admired the success of the revolution and discussed it. The partisans of an unlimited private property as in the U.S. would be eradicated in Russia, said they. Socialists tried to prove that everything should come under the control of the State, in which case there would be no rich and no poor. Anarchists claimed that inequality comes not only from unequal distribution of material blessings but from the fact of the rulers and the subjects: State power machinery creates the same inequality as private property.

Simple village folks, coming to these meetings, liked that anarchist point of view. Very few could dream of becoming a millionaire or a minister in a socialist government. But to have a sufficient piece of

## RUSSIAN ANARCHISM IN THE U.S.A.

land, to live comfortably in the village -- everybody dreamed of that. And anarchists just told: people should live in free communes in large villages. Literature, including anarchist, was sold at every meeting.

Russian people lived already in quite peculiar communes, here in the States. Usually, though there were quite a few in the families, they kept many lodgers, sometimes up to ten. If one of them bought literature it was read by everybody. In this way, acquaintance with anarchism went its peculiar drift, and its quintessence was propagated orally too. The urge to organise it arose in them. Nobody "called" them, they themselves came to the conclusion: anarchism was exactly what they, village folk, needed. A small organisation, hardly noticeable in past years, fast became a crowded group of people. If Voline, then already in Russia, had come back to New York in summer, 1919, he wouldn't have believed it. Quite tiny anarchist cells in 1917 were now huge organisations with a People's House on 15th Street. At the time when Voline was still in the U.S., there appeared, quite rarely, an anarchist newspaper, but in 1919 -- three organs of the press: one daily, one weekly and a monthly magazine. No anarchist cooperative restaurant, no school or organisation before, but in 1919 every town had a school by the anarchist house, and later, singing, music circles, companies of actors. And the smell of borsch or cabbage soup in a cooperative restaurant! Quite an effect of the revolution in Russia.

It is fashionable to blame revolution, to say, too, that in its circumstances it is possible to kill somebody else. But the Russian anarchists disproved such a statement -- one couldn't detect in them such a feeling or yearning. Nobody had firearms, no mention or talk of them, but about a beautiful life in prospect in the spacious Russia.

The revolution promised land, more of it, to Russian peasant folk and to those living then in the U.S. It seemed to them that given land, plus American technology, one could create a happy life -- and every town had a tractor school. To go back to Russia, not empty handed but with rural agricultural machinery. The talk was about the creation of free communes on the vast Russian fields. People readied themselves for a peaceful life -- not for killing a brother. None of the Russian anarchists had a leaning toward gangsterism -- on the contrary, everyone endeavoured to get rid of bad habits so common before. Once anarchists, people stopped haunting bars and drinking, smoking and playing cards. In a word, everybody strove to improve himself.

The revolution regenerated people for better, not worse. Lights gleamed in the distance, not criminal acts. And if this vision has not realised itself, the guilt is with the Bolsheviks, who destroyed the Russian revolution. Without their October uprising Russia would be covered by free rural communes. No criminal acts would be possible but a quiet, brotherly life would reign.

Quite mistaken are those who identify the revolution with the Bolchevist arbitrariness. Only the February revolution was genuine -- the October one was a counter-revolution. The Russian revolution was then buried, after having lasted nearly eight months. All that time one couldn't observe any terror; on the contrary, an unusual liberty. Before February there were no anarchist organs, after it their count reached up to 36, with a whole possibility to speak freely. Bolsheviks immediately suppressed all anarchist press.

The October revolution was met in the U.S. quite coldly by the Russian people. The delight of the February events vanished and the October ones engendered nothing. Of course, there were Bolshevik organisations but their members and staffs in comparison with the anarchist ones were as a fly by an elephant. Bolsheviks had no such influence among the Russian colony as had the anarchists.

A genuine revolution, not an aspiration for power, is closely linked, it seems, with anarchism. Anarchism can provoke revolution and a revolution could result in anarchism. There was no mass anarchism in the U.S. but just little groups. The mass movement appeared after the Russian revolution -- it was its child.

No doubt if the Bolsheviks had not seized the Russian revolution by the throat it would have followed the way of Russian people in the U.S. In the very midst of the peasantry in Russia the same urge would have appeared: to cultivate the soil in communes and have one's own dwelling. Russian folks here were part of the Russian peasantry, and what is inherent in a part is inherent in a whole. By his nature, a Russian peasant is an anarchist without being conscious of it, and as a proof -- their mass movement in the U.S. As immigrants just for earnings, they never knew it until the revolution. And many people in Russia felt the same but in other conditions. To manifest oneself was possible before the revolution in October -- and after it one felt obliged to keep one's tongue behind the teeth.

J. Karpick.

# THE MONUMENT

The Monument: The Story of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, by Robert Barltrop, Pluto Press, 1975, 200 pages, £ 3.90.

IF IT'S NOSTALGIA YOU'RE AFTER, then this book, to a large extent, is that. It is an "unofficial" history of a political party -- the Socialist Party of Great Britain -- by a member of that party, who wrote much of it during the period between the time he left it, and before he returned. Today Robert Barltrop is a member under his own name; but previously he was known as Bob Coster, an individual often mentioned in the book in the third person!

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is, of course, a political party. Its aim is the conquest of the powers of government: that is control of the state machine; nevertheless, as a political party the SPGB is unique. Unlike anarchist and libertarian organizations, it does not argue that the majority must subvert and destroy the state before they have the power to institute a classless society of production for use, though it has always had its libertarian and anti-parliamentary "wings" and tendencies. William Morris, and to a lesser degree, Oscar Wilde, have had their devotees among SPGB members. Organizationally, the Socialist Party of GB is highly centralised, with its executive committee always meeting in London; but, at certain times, federalist, even quasi-anarchist views, have come to the fore.

THE SPGB WAS FORMED in 1904 as a breakaway from the old Social Democratic Federation. Its members were dubbed "the Impossibilists". Its object was, and still is, "The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by, and in the interests of, the whole community". It stood for what, at that time, was called socialism, but which in the past -- and probably today -- would be called communism; and nothing else! And by socialism, the SPGB did not mean nationalisation or state ownership and control. Its socialism or communism was, however, a little ambiguous. And, though not mentioned by Barltrop, many of its members at first equated socialism with what they termed "the socialist commonwealth" or the "socialist republic". With Engels, authority was still accepted, at least in the early days of socialism. Today, the SPGB emphasises the world-wide nature of socialism.

The SPGB's "Declaration of Principles" are of interest, partly because much of them can be accepted by anarchist-communists; and partly because the last three would be rejected by all anarchists and libertarians. The SPGB argues, and has always argued for over seventy years, that "society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e. land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced"; in society, therefore, continue the Principles, "there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess". This antagonism can only be abolished by the emancipation of the working class from the capitalist class, through the conversion into common property of the means of production and distribution and their democratic control by the whole of the people; "this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself".

So far, so good! But then the "traditional" political, governmentalist, party contentions are trotted out in Clause Six. It is worth quoting in full. "That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including those forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic". (Emphasis mine.) As mentioned by Barltrop in his book, the implications of this clause -- the converting of the powers of government, including the armed forces, into an instrument of emancipation -- have caused argument after argument within the SPGB; and have probably been responsible for hundreds of members leaving the organization. The last two clauses, claiming that all political parties represent class interests, and, therefore, that the SPGB must be opposed to all other parties (but not necessarily all other organizations), and that the Socialist Party is determined to wage war on

all other parties, have caused far less trouble.

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JUST OVER 140 people formed the Socialist Party of Great Britain. What kind of people were they? Robert Barltrop observes, quite correctly, that almost every one was of the working class, and most were artisans - carpenters, print-workers and the like. The overwhelming majority, as in all other organizations, were men.

For its size, the SPGB was by far the most active working class organization in the country before the first World War. Often those one hundred to two hundred men held between forty and fifty outdoor meetings a week, as well as regular weekly branch meetings, lectures and weekly executive meetings. Some speakers, travelling on bikes, sometimes spoke at three and four meetings a day on a Sunday. Most expected socialism to be "around the corner", at least until the war almost decimated the Party.

Though the SPGB was almost torn asunder over the issue of whether to support any reforms, it was quite clear over the issue of war. It opposed all capitalist wars; and during the first World War, most of the members, particularly those of army age, went on the run, either to remote parts of Britain, or to Ireland, and even to Canada and the United States. The SPGB is very proud over its view of the Russian Revolution. Though sympathetic towards the Bolsheviks' withdrawal from the war, within weeks it was arguing that the revolution could not be a socialist revolution. Barltrop brings this out. In latter years, the Party has claimed that it was the only organization who argued, literally from the start, that the only system that could emerge in Russia was state-capitalism. This, however, is not quite the truth. In 1918 the SPGB said that the future for Russia would be capitalism; but it was not until about 1924 that it really put forward the state-capitalist thesis which it has, in my view quite rightly, held ever since. It is of course true, that in England, it was almost alone; but in Russia itself, within weeks of the Bolshevik coup, many anarchists and libertarian communists were, in varying degrees, arguing the same: that Lenin was establishing a state-capitalist regime. Neither the SPGB nor Barltrop recognise this today, though they may have done so twenty or thirty years ago.

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THE BEST PARTS of this book are the descriptions of many of the characters who became prominent not only in the party but elsewhere. Surprisingly, for members of a "disciplined" party, many were out-and-out individualists - far more anarchic than the supposed anarchists of the same period! A few became well-known politicians in other parties after leaving the SPGB. Today, Joan Lester M.P. is one.

There was Con Lehane, Jack Fitzgerald and Alex Anderson, probably the best outdoor speaker in Britain before the first World War; then there was George Hicks, who later became Minister of Works in Attlee's government; there was Tommy Jackson, who left the SPGB to join the ILP and, though Barltrop does not mention it, became a leading member of the Communist Party. Moses Baritz, a brilliant musician, but a passionate socialist, who once climbed on to the roof of a hall where Hyndman was speaking and poked his clarinet into a ventilator shaft and blew piercing obligatos into the hall, is mentioned by Barltrop; and so is Adolph Kohn, who went to America during the War, and was arrested there for his socialist and anti-war activities.

But after the War, the SPGB went through a very bad period until the Thirties. Then, once again, the Party sprang into life; and a new, quite different type of member joined. Many of these were ex-Communists; almost all were out of work; they were typical London "back-street boys" with very sharp tongues, tough, and with no respect for anyone. The SPGB was not, at first, too keen on these types. They were too brash - even if they did understand their Marx and Engels! The most infamous of all of these was a young lad by the name of Tony Turner. Another was Ted Wilmott, and another was Frank Dawe. Frank knew his Marx; but when he was accidentally jostled by a Bishop, he shouted: "Clumsy pot-bellied bleeding old ponce!" Such were the men who rejuvenated the SPGB. But it was Tony Turner who really left his mark on the SPGB; so much so that, for many, many years the Party was often called "Tony Turner's Party". Barltrop says that Turner filled the gap left by Anderson. At last, the SPGB had a "mob" orator. And Barltrop suggests, as have many others, that Anderson and Turner may well have been the greatest orators of the twentieth century. Having heard Turner myself for many years, I would say that he was the best out-door speaker that I have ever heard - and he could speak for as long as six hours at a time. Mosley was a dwarf compared with Tony.

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TURNER'S - and probably the SPGB's - greatest day was Sunday, September 3rd, 1939. War had been declared. The SPGB was, as before, against the war. All the political parties had their platforms in Hyde Park. Throughout the morning and afternoon, and into the evening of

that eventful day, vast crowds assembled and listened to speaker after speaker. Turner began in the morning. Barltrop quotes an eye-witness, the journalist Dale Kenway:

"A plague on both your houses", growled Turner in his husky bass. He mocked his silent audience. "Men and women; what business is it of yours if the German bosses oust Nuffield and Imperial Chemicals? What does it matter to you what landlord charges you rent?" He was taking it easy, welcoming interruptions to rest his voice... Labour Party platform yielded and closed late in the afternoon, by which time its audience was near thousand; the vast crowd moved on to the two remaining platforms.

And then a strange feeling came over that audience. Two remaining platforms were vying with each other for the last word; the Communist Party speaker was, willy-nilly, the last remaining advocate of war against Germany... with all the vast experience of outdoor speaking at his command he strove to hold the great crowd.

By nightfall, the Communist speaker's voice was a whisper; it cracked and fell silent...

The whole of his audience surged across to the opposite platform, the platform of the SPGB. An audience of ten thousand stretching as far as the eye could see, silent and solemn, the soldiers and sailors and airmen of tomorrow, the wives and mothers of departed men, listening with the deepest attention, the most complete respect, and on the day of the declaration of war...

Like a sprinter who has been saving just that extra burst of speed for the last lap, Turner thundered out his denunciation in a climaxing bout of oratory during which he called them every kind of imbecile and willing dupe. Then the meeting closed. A burst of applause greeted his closing remarks, and in silence the great army streamed out of the Park homewards."

But Tony Turner, with all his oratory and his vast crowd of ten thousand, could not stop the impending slaughter.

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FORTUNATELY however, though the workers in the main supported the war, there was not the blatant, unreasoning patriotism of the first World War. Hostility there was towards the SPGB and the anarchists who opposed the war. And at first the SPGB was somewhat disorganized by the conflict. But slowly it re-formed itself. In the last war opponents could present themselves at the Conscientious Objectors Tribunals. Most SPGBers of military age did, though the Tribunals did not recognise political objection to the war. Most Objectors were Quakers, ILPers, anarchists and SPGBers. Party members generally stated their opposition to the war on ethical or humanitarian grounds, backed up by their class attitude to war. Turner spoke on behalf of most of them at the Tribunals. Almost all were exempted. A few went to prison or went on the run as in the first war. And a handful allowed themselves to be called up, mainly due to family pressures. These were not expelled from the Party.

Barltrop mentions how many of the SPGB Objectors worked on the land with religious and opponents of the war; and how the SPGBers and the anarchists would, during "working" hours, argue over Marx, Proudhon and Bakunin, only to unite in their arguments with the religionists! Unlike in the first World War, the SPGB was not decimated. As the war dragged on the Party went from strength to strength. Crowds went to hear Turner, Sammy Cash and many other speakers - even during air raids, though Barltrop omits to mention this. Members flocked in. By the end of the war, there were probably over 750, almost all of whom were active. By 1948 there were 1,000 members. "One recalls", writes Barltrop, "Joyce Millen shouting deliriously: 'We've got a thousand!'" By 1949 the membership was over 1,100. Once again, as in the days of its foundation, the SPGB was holding as many as forty and fifty outdoor meetings a week.

But, yet again, a new type of member was beginning to join the "Small Party of Good Boys". Writes Robert Barltrop: "New and unattractive individual attitudes appeared". He mentions the Glasgow bookies, the petty crooks, criminals and fraudsters and, of course, the "notorious" Langtrys. Bob Heelas was an active member of the Party. He quite often spoke in Hyde Park, and he always kept the large red SPGB platform in his luxurious flat just around the corner in Mayfair. Then the "bomb" burst. Many SPGBers knew what he and his wife, Joyce, were up to. They did not say much until the trial, his imprisonment and the sensational front-page stories and photographs in the Sunday tabloids. Comrade Heelas was "Mark Langtry", king of the London call-girl racket; and Joyce was, according to the papers, the "madam" of madams! The Party did not expel any of these members: there was nothing in the Declaration of Principles which said: "No member of the SPGB may be a mobster or run a call-girl agency". Some members asked why such types didn't resign - and some did. Barltrop observes that "Mark Langtry resigned, but his wife remained a member and, immediately after the case sat as a delegate to the annual Conference". He omits to mention, however, that she sat in her seat clad in an expensive fur coat! "The cow! Sitting here among decent working people", remarked Bob Ambridge. (cont. P. 14)

In fairness, it should be stated (though Barltrop does not) that such people were not peculiar to the SPGB; though the small branch to which I then belonged in west-central London had, at one time, three of its members in jail for theft! They were a symptom of the times - the first beginnings of the "We've Never Had It So Good" era, and the tail-end of the wartime Blackmarket. Except for a few highly respectable, but quite successful, businessmen, the SPGB of today is once again predominantly proletarian. The "wide-boys" and racketeers have gone.

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BY THE 1950s, the SPGB began to decline. Except in certain "lace curtains and kippers" areas, like Earls Court and Gloucester Road, street corner meetings began to decline. As Barltrop says, "This was not obvious at first". Speaking places could not be found as, often or not, there was a new car parked there (I used to carry a platform in the boot of my car, park it on a good speaking spot, and then put the platform up, and move the car, for the meeting, up until around 1960 when street meetings became impossible). Yet in the early Fifties, we would have to fight the Communists and the Mosleyites to get the best corners! Then came Television. No one anymore wanted to listen to speakers, outdoors or indoors; and this applied to all political groups and parties. Cabinet ministers could often only draw half-a-dozen people to a hall.

All this had a demoralising effect on political groups and parties, and particularly on the SPGB which was the "street-corner" party par excellence. By 1951, the controversies, which were to tear the Party apart, began. Turner began to describe socialism as a medieval paradise even more utopian than Morris's in *News from Nowhere*. There would be no mass production. Everyone would be a poet and a potter. One member even suggested that we went back to rush lights. Then, Tony Turner and others denied that socialism was a class issue. Socialists should not prosecute the class struggle...and so on. Others began to attack the SPGB's parliamentary approach, particularly after its two or three ignominious parliamentary campaigns. Socialism will not be brought about through Parliament, they said. The state must be destroyed first, they argued; not after the revolution (I was among these).

By 1955, the membership had fallen to around 600. For many years it remained at about this number - with an ageing membership to boot. Meetings, both in halls and outside, became fewer and fewer. Large branches, like Hackney, Ealing and Glasgow, with up to 80 members, declined and the largest branch in London, Hackney, later disappeared altogether. There were years of apathy.

Nevertheless, after 1960 or so, the SPGB began very slowly to get going again, and by 1970 had many new, much younger, members, often from Redbrick universities. Some of these have remained. However, some of the new members soon began to shake The Monument again. In 1969 a writer in the *Socialist Standard* managed to get an article in that journal saying: "We support the squatters"! Even worse, Barltrop mentions that "To their anger and embarrassment, the members read in the *Standard* that they were supporting political strikes and the anarchist doctrine of 'smashing the state!..'". They - the youngsters - even started up a faction within the Party, and brought out their own magazine called *Libertarian Communism*. Things belatedly came to a head. Almost the entire Aberdeen branch were expelled. Two or three others were also expelled; and about another dozen or so resigned or dropped out a year or so back.

But The Monument still stands. But for how long no one can tell. The need for a revolutionary, libertarian, socialist/communist organization will always be there as long as world capitalism continues. But whether the SPGB can ever evolve or develop into such an organization is more than problematical. In many ways, it has been well ahead of its time - particularly over war, Russia, leadership and racism - yet on other matters - such as using the state machine, including the armed forces, as a means of class emancipation - it has been well "off beam". Nevertheless as one who spent many years as a member, I feel that one should not "throw the baby out with the bathwater". The SPGB taught me much of value.

Despite everything, I still say: "Up The Monument"! But, then, when I began this review, I commented that if it's nostalgia you're after, The Monument is that...

PETER E. NEWELL.

ART REVIEW

## OPEN HOUSE AT THE CASTLES

Thracian Treasures and Japanese paintings & prints at the British Museum : Spanish Paintings at the Tate : Millet at the Hayward :

WE ARE Metropolitan Man. Not for us the golden apples of the sun heavy upon the garland bough, the pale wine fermenting in cool cellars, the warm bread broken upon virgin table cloths. For us the gas sprayed tomatoes, the plastic wrapped bread, the tinned fruits and beer and all our visual culture in mass reproduction and our information diluted, distorted, edited, censored, leaked and spewed at us by radio, television, magazine and newspaper. We will never walk bare footed through the dew-veiled grass or steal the honey from the wild bee but for 50,000,000 people in an overcrowded island the choice is not there, and if I live to die at eighty years of age able to eat, drink, shit, see, and hear with a reasonable degree of comfort, able to disagree with the pedant and the expert without being explained away as a senile relic of the romantic left then I shall die laughing. I will agree that the simple peasant with his television set, his Sunday newspapers and their supplements and a reliable 'bus service into town is not only nearer to God but lives a happier life than the town bred prole imprisoned in some drear industrial scab but with a multitude of tinned choices of chemically adulterated foods within the supermarket, good beer in dirty noisy pubs, crowded cafes where wit and ptomaine poisoning flourish, cinemas offering escapism, avant garde and intellectual porn on every corner and the State and commercial art galleries crawling across each other's backs to offer the visual wealth of the west for the cost of a slow walk can be dismissed as hedonism but then it was always so, only the social or individual definitions of happiness change, The Golden Age of Spanish Painting or the Thracian Art Treasures from Bulgaria, the Royal Academy or the British Museum. Choose the age and the object was personal happiness and social conformity and the end result was the shifting grave.

I have great respect and affection for the British Museum

for their taste in exhibitions is not only civilised in our meaning of the term but they beat no huckster's drum. The Turner exhibition of watercolours is still displayed and the visitors move quietly from case to case unlike the mob queuing to trudge through the Royal Academy exhibition of Turner's OILS to the call of culture, and there within the Oriental Gallery we bow a reverent head in the direction of Ms. Bruce-Mitford and Mr. Hamilton the Press Officers, drink two glasses of sherry and view with pursed lips the paintings and prints of the Japanese Maruyama-Shijo School. With the westernization of Japan there has been a small trickle of Japanese culture to the west but it has little impact for it lacks the revolutionary core of Chinese art. Be that good or bad.

Until the middle of the sixth century Japan was a primitive tribal society but with the introduction of Buddhism came the mainland cultures of Korea and then China to form Japanese culture as artificial as an artificial pearl. To the western observer it would appear to be an art without any serious social or religious context, superficial, shallow but always very beautiful. The culture of any particular society is invariably the product of an isolated leisure class and what we see in the expensive antique shops and the great State exhibition is the accumulated grave droppings of groups completely divorced from their agrarian background. It is through the Oriental Gallery that one should enter the British Museum's exhibition of Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria, for while the Japanese Maruyama-Shijo School exhibition goes back only two hundred years (and unfortunately there is no catalogue) the Thracian exhibition goes back in time 6,000 years and again at almost any point in time the exhibitions are the product of a static leisure class. It is a truly magnificent exhibition with case after case of beaten gold and silver from a vanished people of whom Homer sang and Herodotus wrote. Gold vessels from the Panagyurishte hoard of 3,000 B.C. Bronze leg-shields from 4th century Assenovgrad. A stone drinking vessel, gold harness ornaments from Letnitza created 2,500 years ago and an iron helmet with a silver mask from a grave in Plovdiv whose wearer died two thousand years ago. And all this and more yet to come from the yet unlooted graves within Bulgaria. I have no strong feeling regarding grave robbing provided it does not offend the living and no one waits

## OPEN HOUSE AT THE CASTLES

more eagerly than I for news from Dr. Martin and his university of their fresh excavation of the tomb of King Horemheb. There might be those comrades who will raise an inquiring eyebrow asking who King Horemheb was; strictly for the record Horemheb was a high official cooking the books in the reign of King Tutankhamun and the plump middle aged man became king when the Tutankhamun line died out. But again these excavations in Saqqara south of Cairo will go back in time 3,500 years and the Thracian exhibition was almost 3,000 years old then. Yet for all that the romantic must play the cynic for the names of ancient and long buried cities that drift off the tongue were no more than castles without walls. Athens, yea even Atalantis, name them how you will they were no larger than the area of Trafalgar Square and beyond the palace and the barracks the endless fields and the bending peasants, for I tell you this, that when they dig deep into the sands of Saqqara for the grave treasures of Horemheb they will find, as they did with the excavations of the pyramids, the bodies of the common labourers who died and were buried unwrapped, and mummified only by the hot sands.

The Thracian exhibition is indeed a magnificent exhibition and all the jewellers in Bond Street have nought to offer more fair, yet among all the gold and the silver and the jewels I felt that the key to it all was the two stone moulds carved over 3,000 years ago for casting a bronze sceptre. This stone carved mould was the work of the artist. All else was mass production and cast it is silver, gold or bronze and you have created a name-able civilisation.

### "VIVA LA MUERTE"

Of late the Royal Academy has been getting a bad press but with whisky, asparagus and the cautious smile of Griselda Hamilton-Baillie I can only stand and applaud the finest exhibition they have mounted for many a long winter. Many years ago the Tate Gallery staged an exhibition of Spanish abstract paintings and it was the finest of many great exhibitions that the Tate has given the Town and his gaping frau, for there is a wealth of artistic talent within Spain as yet unseen by Paris, London or New York. Within this exhibition of Spanish Paintings huge and exciting canvases fill the wall and all offering a homage to death. Each painting a poster for the Inquisition, each canvas a glorification of the fruits of the grave. There is no anger, no struggle, no revolt, only the Spanish adoration of a Hell that they choose to call Heaven. If the organiser of this exhibition were to be thanked, apart from for the whisky, it must be for the opportunity to view El Greco's Purification of the Temple yet note the masochistic pleasure of the beaten beneath the lasn. Zurbaran's lovely still life and Velazquez De Silva's homage to arrogance in the lordly trappings of high office. For make no mistake about this, comrade, the painter is the creature of the market as with us all and the great, the good and the competent painters are no longer painting God and his earthly saints for the religious trade but female tits and arses for the gelt now flows from the pink palms of the mass soft porn industry and if the price is right... There within these Spanish paintings is that same society wherein the struggle for individual liberty is still being fought. The smouldering smoking scarlets rising from the centre of each canvas in a painted nihilistic infinity of painted blacks are the manifesto of an age and a society then and now wherein innocence is suspect and there is no mercy for the guilty, only the terrible beauty wherein murder is sanctified and freedom is heresy.

### "LET THE DEAD BURY THE DEAD"

Could one say anything of this of the exhibition of paintings by Jean Francois-Millet and the answer is sadly sadly no for all that we are offered is no more than painted wallpaper by the yard. Like the Pre-Raphaelites and the Socialist Realism of Russian State Art we have an idealised picture of peasant workers, bovine, God-happy and completely unrelated to the physical task before them. Millet painted his models posing as non-sweating peasants and sold the results to a bourgeoisie happy to own an image of a non striking labour force flealess and non-smelling, and comrade do not tell me that Millet used your actual real peasant for the dismal overall effect is still one of mild boredom. Let the Hayward Gallery on the Styx bury Millet in their own fashion for the living call.

Arthur Moyse.

# Purity of Anarchism

ANARCHISM HAS so few supporters because it is seemingly unpractical. It is seemingly unpractical because, unlike other isms, it has no recourse to power in order to further its cause, and because it promises no power to its adherents as a reward for their devotion. It has no proper organization by joining which one can assure oneself, and be assured by others, that one is fighting for right against wrong, light against darkness, and progress against reaction. But this assurance given by parties and revolutionary movements induces a double conscience which is worse than hypocrisy. Hypocrisy is falseness for outer consumption; a double conscience feeds on its inner falseness. By joining an organization and by pledging himself to its lofty programme a man does not suddenly shed his peculiar wants and vices. Aggressive as the organization may be, it does not necessarily satisfy all his resentments, and may be the cause of new ones. The purposes and slogans, the sacred texts and latest directives of the organization only too often becomes the outer cover of glory-appetence and ambition, the tentacles of self-promotion and greed. As a soldier is made to understand that he bears no moral responsibility for the orders he is bound to obey, so the member of a political organization is persuaded that, providing his loyalty to the organization cannot be questioned, he will act righteously, whatever his motives and deeds. If then he becomes a leader, he will think of his will as the soul of the organization, which axiomatically there to serve the cause of right, endows his will with the god-like prerogative of showing what is right by the wake it leaves behind as it sails along.

Embracing anarchism does not automatically give an incorruptible conscience, although it may be embraced precisely because it presupposes purity of intentions. As a doctrine anarchism is unassailable; it is married to the cause of right, so that anything wrong can only wrongly be called anarchist. Thence the delusion that by becoming an anarchist one cannot but be right. A lofty ideal is a notorious subterfuge, charitably said to be a subconscious one, for dispensing one from knowing oneself as one really is, and for letting fine words do the job of fine deeds. Anarchism, however, becomes such a subterfuge only if anarchy is understood as a condition of society in an indeterminate future, and not also, and above all, as a way of dealing with human beings, whatever the conditions of one's society, here and now. As a well-founded criticism of all politically inspired and controlled activities, anarchism may be flaunted to justify social apathy and irresponsibility. Since there is some rot somewhere whenever a social problem is politically dealt with, to denounce the rot is an activity some anarchists overindulge and too exclusively relish, in preference to a constant attempt at behaving as one would in a fully anarchist society, that is, by treating people whenever they make it possible, as worthy members of this society.

Without this constant attempt, and without the insistence that anarchy is a thing of the present, there would be nothing of substance to distinguish anarchism from other political creeds. Most parties and movements, not only the revolutionary ones, proclaim their devotion to the cause of a better humanity, to a society based on justice. Parties disagree, mistrust and bitterly oppose one another because each is convinced that it is by the means of its choice, and by the men and organizations committed to these means, that the right conditions for a better humanity will be achieved. By fighting one another, and by finding new enemies when the old ones have been dealt with, they do not give one another a chance to test the validity of their means. Because anarchist methods and principles lay no emphasis upon means there would not be, were they to be adopted by those proclaiming to have a better humanity in view, such waste of energies and shedding of blood which accompany political strife. Political and revolutionary fighting is only vaguely about ends, and most explicitly about means, about which party or organization is to be entrusted with providing the conditions necessary for the attainment of the ends. Whether men involved in political strivings really care about ends, or whether they forsake them anyhow in straining after victory and seizure of power, the better humanity of their proclaimed intentions never comes. It never comes, and no wonder, for a better humanity cannot be reared in conflict, and by people wanting and specializing in conflict. Successful means have such a way of growing that the ends that fathered them are unceremoniously devoured or squeezed out of all significance. Contrary to the general practice, anarchism sacrifices the means to the end. It does so by its condemnation and renunciation of power, whatever its form and name. Power, always a means to enforce a personal or sectional will upon others, either destroys or lays right of property upon anything it encounters, not excluding discourse about ends like freedom, justice and equality, not to mention fraternity, which, it should be obvious to all reflective minds, are the negation of power.

# THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

THE ITALIAN anarchist movement is one of the most active in the world at the present time (which is not to say that it is one of the most united: there are, in fact, at least three federations and groups which adhere to none of these federations) and along with the French/Spanish-in-exile movement it produces the largest number of regular anarchist journals. It has the advantage of the existence in Carrara (a traditionally anarchist town in the North of Italy - and a stronghold of the F.A.I., the Italian Anarchist Federation) of an anarchist printing collective, "Il Seme", with modern typesetting and printing machinery, which prints three of the regular periodicals.

The most regular is Umanità Nova, which is basically a weekly paper though it does take holidays over the summer (when it holds a festa in a small hill-town above Carrara, to raise funds) and at the other times of festival when the whole of Italy seems to put the shutters up. The original Umanità Nova was founded by Errico Malatesta in 1920 as a daily, but the present weekly dates from the period of partisan struggle and clandestine publishing of 1943-5. It takes a critical syndicalist/class struggle position, and as the paper of the FAI, is printed by "Il Seme".

The second most regular paper, L'Internazionale, comes out fortnightly, and is a more recent creation dating from 1966. It is the paper of the G.I.A. (Groups for Anarchist Initiative), and is not printed by "Il Seme" (this may be due to its size - whereas Umanità Nova is midway in size between the old letterpress FREEDOM and the new offset FREEDOM, L'Internazionale is a single folded sheet giving four pages of 22" x 14"). In conformity with its traditional format, the paper takes a traditional anarchist line in its comments on the Italian political scene, and its inside pages are more filled with essays on the theoretical problems of an anarchist society than those of Umanità Nova, which concentrates more on analysis of topics in the news.

The best-produced of the periodicals is the monthly (i.e. it comes out nine or ten times a year) A - Rivista Anarchica. It's about the same size as FREEDOM with about 24-30 pages printed by "Il Seme" (though it appears to have returned to its original commercial publisher for the current issue, this possibly being due to loss of sheets of the present issue through the theft of a binder's van) inside a glossy photographic cover. In fact, the use of photographs inside the magazine gives it a superficial resemblance to commercial magazines like L'Espresso. Its basic content is detailed commentary on the international scene, and analysis of the functioning of the recent phenomenon of huge, autonomous bureaucratic structures, such as IRI, which dominate the Italian, and much of the world, economy. It also gives space to articles on current social issues, such as abortion, divorce reform, the drug problem, etc.

Finally there are two bi-monthlies. Volontà is the size of the Colin Ward Anarchy, usually about 30 pages, and is basically a theoretical/historical journal. Once again it is well-printed by "Il Seme", and is, in practice, a kind of cultural magazine for the Italian anarchist movement - it frequently carries polemic (indeed a recent issue contained a translation of Black Flag's misleading version of the Marcus Graham - Fred Woodworth - symbionese Liberation Army - Angry Brigade controversy, for no apparent reason other than scandal). Anarchismo is the most recent of these periodicals, and is edited by Alfredo Bonauro in Catania (Sicily). Bonauro is not in any of the federations, and his position appears to be akin to that of Black Flag in this country, seeing the anarchist revolution in terms of an armed struggle. He has written quite a few books and pamphlets, and anyone wishing to sample his writing can do so in the current Black Flag, which prints his essay, "Whither Italian Anarchism" (taken from his book, La Dimensione Anarchica).

But in addition to periodicals the It-

alian anarchist movement produces a lot of pamphlets, fly-posters, manifestos, mimeographed bulletins, etc., and a Centro Documentazione Anarchica has just been set up in Turin to collect, catalogue and make better known through a bulletin, this kind of material, in addition to periodical and book material. The motive for this activity is to improve the quality of information available to anarchists on matters of contemporary urgency, to put people engaged in similar activities in touch with each other, to enable use to be made of other people's experiences.

Obviously the first issue of the bulletin concentrates almost exclusively on the Italian scene, but its aim is to gather material from the entire international anarchist movement, on the basis of exchange or donation. Obviously, the project needs some subscribers straight away to keep it afloat. It seems as though it's going to be the Italian equivalent of monthly, i.e. 10 issues a year; and the sub is 2000 lire inside Italy, 3500 for abroad. The address, both to obtain the bulletin and to send material to the centre is:

Barbieri, Claudio  
c/o Centro Documentazione Anarchica,

Via Ravenna 3  
10152 Torino, Italy.

Briefly, the first issue of the bulletin contains the reasons for the setting up of the centre and its programme; a run-down of articles appearing in the recent Italian, French and Spanish-language anarchist press, on Spain under Franco, and women's liberation; an Italian translation of Ramon Puig's article on Spain after Franco which first appeared in Interrogations, and reviews (mostly brief) of books relevant to the anarchist movement which have recently appeared in Italy.

It's a well-produced 24-page brochure. Let's hope they will be able to keep it up.

D. L. M.

## THE PURITY OF ANARCHISM

We can understand the accusation of impracticability and utopianism levelled against anarchism when it comes from ordinary men used to a condition of exploitation and justifiably sceptical about promises of equality, happiness and freedom. We can understand it even more when it comes from people fundamentally satisfied with the status-quo insofar as it offers their native abilities, unscrupulousness and luck the possibility of getting whatever they most keenly want. But when it comes from parties and movements professedly devoted to the emancipation of the oppressed and the establishment of an unimpeachable social order, the accusation would definitely have to be ascribed to feebleness of mind, if actions in keeping with it were not so perfidious, and if both perfidy and feebleness of mind had not the habit of hiding inside an ideological edifice outwardly all bulging rationality and glittering candour. Not anarchism, but parties and other movements are utopian, and that because of their operative belief that the good of society can be achieved without letting society decide what its good is. Utopian is the claim of revolutionary organizations to know what the purpose of life is, and which things are most desirable and obtainable for everyone. Whatever the brand of the purpose of life or the quality of the most desirable things defined by their pronouncements, they show in the purposes and behaviour of their leaders that the purpose of life and the most desirable thing are to be a leader and to have power to decide what other men should

have and do. Man is an incorrigibly imitative animal, and examples speak louder than words, so that as long as there is a leader, a ruling party, and a whole apparatus of propaganda, exploitation and repression, there will be strife and discontent coming from, or waiting for, some other leader. The more political power makes itself felt at the expense, say, of the power of money or ecclesiastical rulers, the more it will be sought by eager and frustrated men, sometimes with no mean abilities. As a revolution has now been proven as the surest, and has been sanctified as the most glorious, means of conquering and exercising political power, revolutionary movements and parties proliferate, each with its message of redemption, and are made utopian by their very number. Each and all are steeped in hypocrisy and steeled in a false conscience; for in a revolution and in the seizure of power, and already before, in organizing for either, love of humanity, of one's society, or of one class in one's society, becomes an excuse for playing the role of saviour. All agree that power corrupts, but that is power in someone else's hands. Those who seize it by or after a revolution forget that power corrupts: because man is corruptible. They have no scruple in seizing power in the name of freedom, justice or equality, because they deem themselves incorruptible. The purity of anarchism consists in its having nothing to do with power, and in its rejecting any man or any idea as corrupted and corrupting, that does not come forward alone, but is armed with power.

G. Baldelli.