

# FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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TWELVE PENCE

***The Starving Rich P3 • Portugal P4 • Organising Anarchy P9***

## NOEL MURRAY

### ONLY 10 DAYS LEFT TO LIVE ?

THE LATEST INFORMATION we have received on the fate of the two Dublin anarchists, Marie and Noel Murray, is that Noel has asked to withdraw his appeal to the Supreme Court. If this court decides to accept his request when it sits on October 1st, Noel Murray will have between ten and eighteen days left to live. Because he is being kept completely out of contact with the outside world at Curragh Military Detention Camp, we have no knowledge of Noel's reasons for withdrawing his appeal, and similarly there is no information whatever concerning Marie, held under the same conditions at Mountjoy Gaol.

The physical and psychological brutality to which the three accused were subjected on arrest and up to their trial is still continuing. In spite of the Dublin Government's assurance over Radio Eir-



Noel Murray escorted by police July 30, 76.

ean that the Murrays were enjoying all possible privileges, they are actually being held under conditions so stringent that they contravene the United Nations convention on the detention of prisoners. Unable to receive any visits and letters whatsoever, except from Noel's parents, both over seventy and in poor health, in conditions of solitary confinement in condemned cells, without newspapers, radio or books, the Murrays are thought to be unaware of the defence campaigns now underway in their favour in most European countries.

At last week's (September 10th) packed public meeting of the London Defence Committee, Marie McMahon outlined the worsening situation in the 26 counties. British police complicity in this state of affairs is clearly illustrated by the fact of Ms McMahon's three hour

detention on arrival at London airport, and her subsequent surveillance by the Special Branch for the duration of her stay.

With the passing last week of the Emergency Powers Act in almost its entirety, the Dublin government has completed another giant step towards the formation of a police state in which all freedom of expression ceases to exist. At least eight members of the Dublin Defence Committee have been arrested for trying to publicise the case through leafletting and flyposting, in the face of the wall of silence and censorship constructed around it. Faced with harassment of this kind a group has no option other than to channel more and more of its energies into simply defending itself. In spite of this the Dublin Defence Committee is still active and has called for two International days of action, on the 8th and 21st of October. A torch light march from Marble Arch to Kilburn is being planned in London for the 8th. Watch out for further details. Meanwhile the picket of the Irish Embassy, 17 Grosvenor Place S.W. 1., each Saturday between 10 and 12 am, and the Allied Irish Bank, Kilburn High Road, between 2 and 4 pm Saturday afternoons, continues and urgently needs your support. The regular weekly meeting of the London Defence Committee is held every Friday night at Rising Free 138/142 Drummond Street, N.W. 1.

Reporting the case has been effectively silenced by the Dublin Government's prosecution of the Irish Times and Hibernia for contempt of court by publishing criticism of the Murrays' trial. Using this and earlier press reports, a pamphlet presenting the background to the Murrays' case has been published in Dublin. Called "No Hanging Here" it is available from Rising Free, also the address (Box 2) for all correspondence.

In its attempt to quietly return capital punishment to the 26 counties, widespread publicity about the case is what the Dublin government must fear most. Hopes that the British press, including the Left press, would break its own virtual silence over the Murrays, beginning with a lead article in the Sunday Telegraph last week, were severely set back when that paper failed to appear through an industrial dispute.

PW & RS



Marie Murray escorted by police July 30th. "We are anarchists. We have no interest in the state except to abolish it." Statement in court, May 20, 1976.

## SUPPORT THE DEFENCE COMMITTEE

The objects of the Murray Defence Committee:

- The total abolition of capital punishment
- To ensure that the sentence of death is not carried out on the Murrays or any other Irish citizen
- To secure the establishment of an independent commission to enquire into all the circumstances surrounding the arrest, charging and sentencing of the Murrays to death
- To endeavour to have the trial of the Murrays reopened on the grounds of natural justice and human rights and that fresh scientific evidence not hitherto offered in Irish courts be admitted for the purposes of re-considering the issues involved

# SEAMEN



Arthur Moysé

## THE SACRIFICIAL BLOCK

TEN YEARS AGO the National Union of Seamen took on Harold Wilson's Labour Government in a struggle in which, not only the kept press took every opportunity to attack the union and its left-wing members, but also Wilson himself gave the newshounds plenty of copy with his "tightly knit group of politically motivated men" speech. That strike, the union's first official strike since 1911, was supposed to have "blown the economy off course" and led to the devaluation of the pound 15 months later. That's as may be, but in fact, the strike did not have such a damaging effect on the economy as was predicted. Ships, once they had been unloaded by the dockers, were allowed by them to be moved and so prevented any big blockage of ports. Exporters found foreign ships to carry their goods, and oil companies used only foreign registered tankers to bring in the much-needed oil to keep the economy going. But the strike did add another £25 million to the balance of payments for the second quarter of the year.

That is why this year's strike could be so harmful. It will also, if it comes off, affect the value of the already weak Pound.

However, all that is really beside the point. The seamen had voted for industrial action to press their claim for a £6 a week increase. They felt cheated by the twelve months clause of the social contract. Their last agreement ended last January with a second part increase from an arbitration award granted in July 1975. The £6 pay limit started only 29 days after that arbitration award.

Since then we have had the TUC and the government working together to hold their Social Contract intact. And, in the same week as the seamen's union opts for industrial action, the trade unions vote to renew this TUC government collaboration.

It really shows just how good a Labour government is for capitalism and the profit motive. Under a tory government it would be very unlikely, if not impossible, for their cabinet to secure this degree of co-operation. The leaders of TUC, including the so-called militants Scanlon and Jones, have delivered up the trade union movement on the sacrificial block of profit. The worker is tied hand and foot

while the employers are given a free hand. We now have the sort of situation that the trade unionists in Sweden have faced for something like forty years. The trade unions, through their central body have become the agents of the State. As trade unionists we no longer belong to independent organisations where we can decide on policy and how our affairs are conducted. All that has been taken from us, not by the terrible Tories, but by the very people the same trade unionists put into power.

We now witness the TUC leaders telling the seamen what they can have. The seamen have first to jump the TUC's fence before they can negotiate with the employers. They have not only the government and the employers to contend with but also the opposition of the TUC.

But how nice and cosy life has become for the august leaders of the trade unions! We now have, we are told, "our people in power"; work together and we can build a better life, socialism, a just society or whatever you like to call it. That's what we are told. But it means that everything must be sacrificed in order to strengthen our economy, balance our payments, and increase the profits of the employers.

But anarchists have always pointed out that trade unions as organisations are not vehicles of social change. They will not affect the social and economic relationship we now have in society. And, in fact, they are doing their best to keep them intact. They, like the employers and the government, want working people to work harder to increase their productivity and for their members to collaborate in their own exploitation.

Whether the TUC is just managing to keep to keep the lid on and prevent the pot from boiling over, remains to be seen. But what is needed is a revolt from below. The seamen's vote for industrial action is a sign, be it only a small one, of the general unrest among working people. That unrest needs to grow into a genuine revolt against the TUC collaboration and against the system that brings this sort of collaboration about. We as workers are not just producers of profit for a minority, but we also have the skills and the ability to create a free society where the means of production and distribution are controlled by the people who actually do the work and then production can benefit and supply the needs of the whole of society. P. T.

## Save your services!

AFTER THE CONSTANT PROPOSALS FOR CUTS in public spending, and, yet more cuts in public spending (the wonderful formula for increasing investment in private enterprise) it was surprising to see, in the first half of this year, the dynamic staff association's (to describe NALGO as a union would seem to be a misuse of the word) "Save Your Services" campaign get under way.

Despite the appallingly low level of campaigning being carried out by NALGO, and especially by the IS ginger-group, Nalگو Action Group (the level of noise is high, but the quality leaves much to be desired), the campaign must be supported. However, the type of support given by anarchists and libertarians should not consist of hopeless rearguard activities of the type being practised by the IS gloom-mongers. We should take this as an opportunity for pin-pointing the many bad aspects of local government and aim for, at least, a temporarily better situation before moving on to a situation where the services really do belong to the people.

### THE PRIVATE INVESTMENT ARGUMENT

The reason why the British industrial economy is in a mess, as the politicians and industrialists would have us believe, is that there is too much public expenditure. The real reason is that these idiots who pretend to be capable of running our affairs for us are just incompetent. Several decades of heavy investment in property and in other non-productive investments abroad have ensured that British industry has reached the remarkably backwards stage of development in which it now finds itself. For these same incompetents to pretend that if public expenditure were to be cut that same money saved would be used to invest in private industry is lunacy, and they know it.

Unfortunately, we are also "blessed" with a remarkably stupid left-wing organisation known as IS. Their brand of lunacy consists in pretending that the present economic crisis is the same sort of crisis that we had in the 30's. The nine days of the General Strike are the dream and

ultimate solution of the crisis as far as the budding IS militants are concerned. They are noted for addressing NALGO meetings and alienating most association members with a lot of boring codswallop about the 30's.

The public services existing now, however, just did not exist in the 30's. The public services have come into being after many efforts by the labour movement to guarantee the right to live for people in a world where the only guarantee to life was the availability of lots of money. Exactly how the provision of the services was achieved, and their shortcomings, have been criticised by anarchists in the past. However, we cannot deny that the public services such as housing, and the previously free national health service, benefit those who cannot afford to pay out the money required for the right to live, as would be necessary if the government and their lunatic city-friends get their way.

Furthermore, to suggest that the public services are unproductive and, therefore, not worth saving (the implicit argument behind the city-men's campaign) would seem to deny that workers (producing nutritious steel bars, cars and machinery to be used in other industrial processes) need shelter, need to have their teeth fixed, need to have their bodies, mis-shapen by industrial exploitation put into shape.

### LIBERTARIAN ACTION

The way that these services are run leave a lot to be desired. The low standard of service provided to the public is also reflected in the manner in which the lower-paid employees are treated. The fact that in local government departments there are "Directors" earning £10,000 a year and more, should not blind the public from the fact that there exist over-worked clerks and typists on £2,000 a year, if they are lucky. It may also surprise some people to learn that some local government employees sweep the streets, collect the garbage, and dispose of your shit and industry's shit. These "unproductive" workers are helping to stop you catching cholera.

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# ARTHUR MOYSE On The Starving Rich

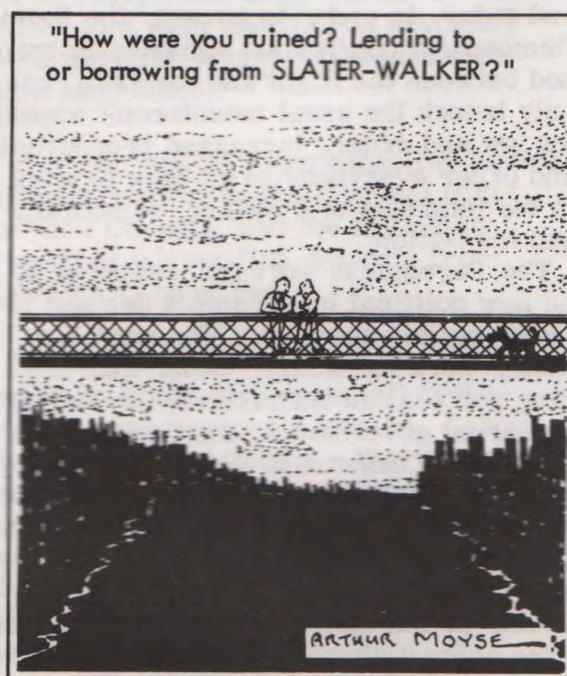
Robert Heller is a man cast in the mode managerial. Impeccably tailored, tall, slim and well-groomed, with heavy-rimmed spectacles that can break the spirit with but a single sightless glance, he is the editor of the economic magazine Management of which I can claim to be among its longest non-readers. I will read Punch, Queen and the Morning Sun but all those graphs and columns of figures, sexless and Lewis Carrollish, are strictly for night readings for failed clerks - for all the millionaires I know, and I never knew one, not one of them ever read an economic magazine for they were always too busy making the second illegal million. To you, the world's common clay, Robert Heller is that financial expert who fades onto and away to on your television screens whenever the £ is in danger or we, the proletariat, go bolshie and won't "Dig for Victory", and Robert, looking like a healthy version of Robin Day, gives out the message of doom for the west in relation to the dollar, and we shiver and giggle and wait for Kojak to breath "Who loves you baby" into the dying face of the Mafia hood - but to me Bob is Mr Heller and I meet him in Angela Flowers' Soho Gallery among the drinks and Molly Parkin's hat feathers, and ever the fool in the face of danger, I explain the western world's economic plight and its solution to him, and in a quiet flat voice he hands me the answers computer style and I am beaten, for it is like attempting to argue with an Irish Nationalist or a Jehova's witness, the answers have been honed over the years and as they do not relate to reality it is impossible to find a question or an answer that have anything in common.

This month sees the publication of Robert Heller's "The Naked Investor" Weidenfeld (£5.25) and I would be lying if I said that I had read it or even intended to read it for the second page of Karl's Das Kapital still lies unturned somewhere under my bed, and with the beginning of the season's wrestling starting at the Albert Hall life is too short for trivialities no matter how pleasant. I have little, nay no, faith in economic experts for, to me, they always appear to work from hindsight and their varied opinions cancel each other's out, and every time a high-rise block of flats, a bridge or a bank collapses, or an old woman or child dies through medical treatment, then is heard the sound of the expert explaining why the other experts went wrong.

Every Social Democratic government appears to me to have been destroyed by its permanent corps of experts, and this has surely been the

tragedy of the militant left in government that the bonny fighter at the barricades has found himself the bound creature of the State's board rooms and the dreams, fashioned and fired in the slums of the heartland, become dry dust to be pecked and parsed and rejected by the experts.

Heller is not speaking to you and me comrade for we are the tools of the class for whom he speaks - the Naked Investors - for he talks of people with a weekly wage of about £1,000 in America and £200 a week in Britain, and with my take home pay of £40 a week we are two entirely different people, shadowed by the same flag, buried in the same soil, but in our lives and our life styles as apart as the black and white South Africans.



Heller sees his society as a great solid, wealthy, middle-class strata, aware of their social responsibilities and intelligent enough to be allowed to keep back most of the profits from their investments, for this, says Heller, is the seed corn and the State that takes away these profits and uses it for vast programs of public works is destroying its own society. Like most spokesmen for the middle classes Heller accepts the teachings of Keynes, but only in the time of past recessions, for when the living is high on the hog then the middle class must have the first, longest and biggest bite, for there is felt to be no need for industrial pump priming not even with a 1,250,000 unemployed. If I do Bob Heller wrong then let him forgive me, but

This aged trendy does not seem to realise that similar concepts should apply to the running of his own department as well. The Hammersmith housing department's shop steward committee has already clashed with the trendy director over seven underpaid, overworked clerical assistants, and is in the middle of another clash with him over a proposed "temporary" empire-building scheme for his two power-hungry assistant directors, and an O&M review which appeared out of the blue.

On both these occasions the shop stewards committee has fought the director over the issue of an attempted cutting down of jobs (and thus services) in the areas in which the people employed were less likely to complain. I'm glad to say he lost the first struggle and, we believe, will lose the next one too. The result has been

it is he who writes that the State takes more and more money and "returns less to the saving classes than to the lower income groups" and writing as one of the "lower income" groupies excuse me for laughing like a drain.

It is easy to dismiss Keynes and Galbraith's The Affluent Society as no longer relevant but then comrades, sense and sensibility never was the fashionable mode. Of course, there is much sense in many of the things that Heller writes but a collection of obvious commonsense statements become no more than an intellectual folly when assembled on an unsound premise and his unsound premise is to advocate that the health and wealth of this nation lies in the pockets of a speculating middle class. This is his society as I assume he sees it, and not having read his book I am probably completely falsifying his position, but I see our future as a society as an agrarian one with major heavy industries and various light industries in a secondary role. With a fertile soil, nationwide storage of food and raw materials, economic inflation is a sick joke for no one, not even the Irish politicians can cure it, for it will only burn itself out when the surplus of food and raw materials of the world begin to refill the warehouse of the world.

To indulge in world markets is to indulge in national suicide, and if in 1945 our society had seen to its own fields and then its factories, we would have no problems in 1976. I am not talking of some weekend footsie-tootsie commune but the way the living of 50,000,000 could have been salvaged. We are among the world's beggars, cap-in-hand to the international bankers on behalf of our parasitical middle-class and their tainted seed corn. The history of man is the history of the peasants in the valley and the court high up in the castle, and for centuries they in the castle have taken the food from out of the valley telling us that without the intellectual elite within the castle we could not feed ourselves.

Comrades, in our lifetimes, over half the world has learned by death, by fire and by bloody war, that the earth and the fruit of the earth is our common heritage and that we need no dictat from the castle to grow and share and eat the fruit of our own labour. Robert Heller speaks for a class whose only claim to attention is that within these islands they still hold the key to the seed corn and their price for turning that key is that we shall continue to surrender the fruits of that seed corn.

Not only must anarchists and libertarians want to save services but they must work towards better public services (i.e. services run by and for the people). Colin Ward, in his book, Housing: an anarchist approach quotes Derek Fox (Director of Housing at the London borough of Hammersmith) as saying (in criticising Ann Richardson's schemes for tenant representation): "These proposals seem to be essentially methods of improving communication with and representation of tenants, from the top (i.e. housing committee) downwards, rather than building up from the bottom (individual estates); a method of allowing tenants self-management of their own estates." The implication is obviously that participation by the public must take account of public initiative and not that the public merely carry out the wishes of a housing committee.

an increase in interest taken by clerks and typists in the running of the department and slowly but surely Derek Fox is being forced to negotiate with people whom he had previously dismissed as irrelevant.

It is interesting to note that in the struggle for adequate pay for the clerical assistants mentioned above the union branch merely encouraged these people to take the official channels (a laborious technique which guarantees that grievances are hardly ever dealt with). The shop stewards committee, however, was instrumental in forcing the union to support an unofficial partial strike. Hence the quickest dispute ever seen in Hammersmith NALGO's history was resolved in three weeks.

continued on page 6:

# PORTUGAL

"We want work, not starvation!"



## revolution or deadend?

The recent publication by the British press of a wave of articles and editorials about Portugal, the poor health of its economy, its bad industrial relations and the efforts of Dr Mario Soares, the Socialist Prime Minister and his minority government to impose its authority and an austerity programme on the Portuguese people, always fail to emphasise and inform us of the social and economic situation of the country, which is the cause of such apprehension in financial circles in Europe.

After Turkey, Portugal is the poorest of all the Western European countries. Unless the abject poverty, endemic unemployment, economic, religious and sexual oppression that burdens the lives of the vast majority of the Portuguese people is willingly or forcibly abolished, no social or economic peace will ever flourish in this beautiful country, paradoxically known, for the fifty years it endured fascist rule, as the "Garden of Europe".

Since the 25th April 1974, to add pain to misery, all the political parties, regardless of their persuasion, have, in their megalomaniac race for power, further contributed to Portugal's hundred years of political catastrophe, the poverty of ideas defined by the counter-revolutionary ideologies of Marxism, Bolshevism, Trotskyism, State Socialism, Nationalism, Militarism, Capitalism, Christianity, Racism, etc., etc...

The so-called politicization of workers and peasants under the influence of apparently progressive parties only managed in reality to divide those who produce all wealth—the working population—into antagonistic sections (lumpen v. the proletariat, the proletariat v. the intellectuals, urban workers v. rural workers, etc...) according to the leadership of the vanguardist parties. This scientific killing of the spontaneity of the exploited classes and of any possibility of releasing the necessary solidarity needed for the

final assault against the State and its institutions is the sole responsibility of the political forces of the Left, who consciously took an anti-anarchist position in relation to the Portuguese Revolution.

The most oppressed sectors of the population, namely women, children, the lumpen, the unemployed, ordinary prisoners, lesbians and homosexuals, the shanty town dwellers, the so-called reactionary workers from Northern Portugal, were deliberately ignored by the vanguardist drum beaters, simply for not having the industrial and economic power to participate in the struggle, according to sacrosanct Leninist theory. Those who initially would have benefitted from the social revolution were allotted the secondary role of spectators at the two-year circus, clowned by bourgeois politicians.

The pseudo-revolutionary adventure of 25th November 1975 only opened the door of the circus to those right-wing forces not totally smashed by the Revolution, and today, in order to govern, the Social Democratic politicians, classically trapped between the Right and the Left, can only launch the usual monotonous appeal for law and order, increased productivity and order everybody to go back to work in the interests of freedom, democracy and the Nation.

The Portuguese workers' response to the new political leadership's demand is a very simple question: "But work for whom, work for what?" Other than creating political embarrassment for Dr Mario Soares' government, the Communist Party, the Communist-controlled Inter-sindical, the defunct FUR and the already disintegrating GDUPs\* have no answer to this fundamental question either, for they are blinded by political hate and sectarianism, by the violent urge to take up arms seize control of the State, paint it with the mythical colours of a Workers' State and eventually align themselves with Russian or Chinese imperialism.

As the only options presented, up to now, to the Portuguese people have been either to be democratically exploited by Western capitalism and be governed by

soft-speaking social democrats (with inherent dangers of a fascist come back, à la Pinochet) or to be more dogmatically exploited by State Capitalism disguised as Socialism and be bossed around by militarized Party Commissars or bureaucrats no wonder the "Portuguese Revolution" of the 25th April 1974 has ended peacefully in a depressing cul de sac. The answer to this impasse can only be a libertarian social revolution, but unfortunately revolutionaries are the scarcest commodity in Portugal.

As we wait for better times, it is good news to learn that 25 libertarian groups have federated themselves in a national regional organization under the name of F.A.R.P. (Anarchist Federation of the Portuguese Region-FAI). The current address is: F.A.R.P., Apartado 5, Alameda, Portugal. Let us hope that with the help of our international solidarity, F.A.R.P. will be able to present to the exploited people of Portugal a revolutionary alternative that will freely motivate people interested in radical changes to smash the walls of the Portuguese cul de sac.

\* Major Otelo de Carvalho's supposedly libertarian-anti-party-organization set up after he obtained 16% of the Presidential vote. The GDUPs are breaking up under the strain of attempts to control them by the UDP, the PRP-BR, and the FSP.

P. S. Please watch for the publication by the Solidarity Group London of an illustrated book on Portugal called "Portugal, the Difficult Revolution".

I have had the opportunity to read it during the correction of Portuguese words and spelling which I did for the author. This book is the only one which presents us with a libertarian analysis of the Portuguese Revolution. Order your copy now from Freedom Bookshop, price around £1.50 per copy. This book is essential reading for us anarchists to understand the shortcomings and successes of the Portuguese Revolution.

Claude.

## The Right To Work March Unemployment Politics And The State

UNTIL socialists recognise the authoritarian content of their political creed and examine the politics of power, the solution to the unemployment problem is likely to be one of forced labour, for that is how both Hitler and Stalin solved the problem.

The right to work march was not without controversy at its stop at Wandle Park, Croydon on 4th September, for it was this mixture of authoritarianism and political chicanery that aroused the controversy. There was, of course, the CP kettle calling the IS pot black in suggesting that the right to work campaign is an IS front organisation which no doubt to some extent it is. The way in which the organisers dealt with opposition was very like CP behaviour

within many of the similar organisation fronts they set up during their history before they dropped the title Daily Worker and became respectable.

The gay right to work group had their banner removed by force by the organisers and the women's right to work group was refused permission to carry a banner. Both groups contended that they had special problems in relation to employment which were often overlooked. The way the meeting, to discuss the matter, was manipulated under a facade of democracy was a symptom of left authoritarianism that has dominated the revolutionary left and resulted in the frustration rather than the development of mass revolutionary consciousness that is essential if a real revolution

ion is to be achieved.

It was suggested that one should not upset the susceptibilities of the trade union supporters of the march and pander to the puritanical prejudices of the radical left. In fact it is high time the prejudices and the acceptance of privilege in the form of differentials in workers movements should be challenged. To suggest that the problem of unemployment can be solved by nationalisation is patently not true, with a large sector of the economy nationalised we still have 1½ million unemployed. The problems are not the same as in the thirties when with a very rudimentary social security there was widespread hardship and malnutrition of a different kind. People as a whole are not now going to accept this. To contain the situation and to maintain a privileged society may well lead to corporate state development.

Although the march was reminiscent of the Aldermaston marches in the enthusiasm and humour it did not have the spectrum of people as at Aldermaston but a similar isolation of a particular symptom of privileged society was a feature of this march. The anarchist participation was small so unable to add some breadth to the proceedings, even had the organisers been willing to accept different viewpoints.

However a large section of the march were well aware of the dangers of the authoritarian tendencies and there was much discussion and leaflets printed in criticism by the gay and women's groups and a group called "Workers' Action" whose leaflet suggested:

"That's their (the TUC bureaucrats) total idea of 'fighting for jobs' - whispering sweet nothings in the ear of the Labour government. Reflate the economy; impose import controls; get rid of foreign workers first; put a few coppers into training. That's what they're saying. And when the government pays no attention to these whisperings, they're quite willing to go along with pay curbs so that the bosses can get richer and the workers can get - perhaps - a few more crumbs off their masters' table. Well, that's one way to 'fight for jobs.' The only trouble is - IT DOESN'T WORK."

This is OK as far as it goes but it is time to connect this with the whole question of the type of work, its relationship with resources and the need for creative expression, completely lacking in capitalist and state socialist societies. The leaflet continued:

"Today's march, called by the Right to Work 'Council' from London to Brighton to lobby the TUC is a call for a break with Healy and for a fight against the anti working class policies of the Labour government. And as such the march is important to every trade unionist and socialist who wants to do something about unemployment. Des-

pite the importance of the Right to Work march and the need to make it a success we disagree with much of the programme and organisation of the Right to Work Campaign.

"Because it is vital to achieve the maximum possible unity of those genuinely prepared to fight unemployment - since such a campaign can only be organised on a democratic basis the failure to hold an open and democratic conference to decide on perspectives is disturbing. And the following aspects of the march are particularly disturbing:

† The ban on leaflets, banners and contingents imposed on the Gay Workers and the Women's Right to Work contingent, and the exclusion of representatives of these bodies from the 'Council' running the march.

† The rejection of an invitation from the Crawley Joint Shop Stewards Committee to a joint meeting on unemployment when the march makes its overnight stop there.

† The secrecy that surrounds the nature and composition of the National Right to Work Council, and the exclusion from it of a bona-fide delegate from Chorlton Labour Party.

"To correct these mistakes and really build the campaign, all bodies - trade unions, women's groups, Labour Parties, student unions - that support the march should be summoned to a delegate planning meeting as soon as possible (preferably within a month). This conference should be organised openly and democratically to decide the next steps of the campaign, to discuss its political programme and elect an open leadership.

"All this is absolutely necessary if we are to build the campaign and nail as lies the CP's allegations that the Right to Work Campaign is nothing but an IS front."

The failure of socialist groups to grapple with the problem of power and authority which is connected with the development of consciousness rather than leadership has led to revolution being countered before it begins. Therefore it is the writer's view that anarchists should spread their activity to try and have the same impact as in the days of Committee of 100. For the times are coming when this is more than necessary.

The unwarranted presence of police in large numbers indicates the critical state of a society that does not know where it is going. The special squad appeared to prevent the march from going where it wasn't going anyway. This "social service" remains uncut to contain social unrest without solving the basic problems of a privileged society.

The march went on to Brighton to confront one section of the corporate state - the TUC.

Alan Albon

## Peter Newell I WORKED FOR THE CIA: More On The AFL-CIO

I SUPPOSE MOST OF US have at least one skeleton in our cupboard. I have a number. But one of them was my-at the time unknowing-brief connection with the CIA.

Following my resignation from the SPGB in the early 60s, I worked as a freelance writer for a number of mainly Postal Workers' journals, and in particular for The Post, the official journal of the Union of Post Office Workers. In that journal, I wrote a regular fortnightly column under the nom-de-plume of "Bellman". I was, of course, an anti-communist. But under the "protection" of the then editor, Norman Stagg (now Assistant General Secretary of the UPW), I often attacked the Communists, both in the UPW and elsewhere, quite mercilessly. And, in turn, they-including a number of "undercover" Communists in the union-began a concerted campaign against "Bellman". In the end, this resulted in the well-known, but "undercover", Communist "Dick" Lawler threatening me with violence! Later, after a "leftward" turn in the UPW, Lawler became an Assistant Secretary (Postmen's Section). He has since died.

During this period, I also campaigned against Moral Re-Armament. Moral Re-Armers, like the CPers also deeply entrenched in the union, did not threaten me with violence, but they persistently harassed me with a number of their people calling at my home when I was out but members of my family were in.

However, it was my anti-Communist views which were of interest in certain quarters... I began to receive, among other journals, a publication called Free Trade Union News, published by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and edited by one Jay Lovestone, a one-time leader of the American Communist Party. Shortly after, "someone" asked me to write an article for the Free Trade Union News. I wrote a fairly well-researched article on the repression of the Jews in the Soviet Union, and sent it to Jay Lovestone. I was somewhat surprised (and, at the time, pleased) to find that the article had not only been given prominent treatment in the English-language edition of the Free Trade Union News, but had been printed in French, Spanish and German editions as well. Since then, I like many others have discovered that both Jay Lovestone and the Free Trade Union News were recipients of CIA funds.

At about the same time, I met a person who undoubtedly was a top CIA man within the US Trade Union movement. At a UPW conference in Blackpool, I was introduced to one Joseph Biern, President of the Communications Workers of

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## I Worked For The CIA:

America, and "labour" advisor to President John Kennedy. Biern and I met on a number of occasions during his stay in Britain. Later, I reviewed a book he had written-and, naturally! -my review in *The Post* was most sympathetic. Joe Biern, through his connections with President Kennedy, the CWA and particularly the Free Labor Development (IFLD) in Latin America, was obviously a CIA man-but I did not know this at the time. He is now dead.

CIA involvement in the international Trade Union movement is, of course, a dirty business; but it is no worse than Communist-KGB involvement. Who knows how many of us, at some time or another, have been "conned" into working for the CIA or KGB?

## Save Your Services:

Colin Ward also quotes the dynamic duo of Trevor MacMurray and Tony Shoultz (another set of planning trendies) extolling the virtues of co-ownership housing schemes. Tony Shoultz is now one of the two assistant directors of housing at Hammersmith and Trevor MacMurray is employed by the management consultants McKinseys who were responsible for a housing study which said nothing and then charged the council £ 33,000 for it. Had the shop stewards committee been in operation at that time it is almost certain that such a rip-off would never have come about.

The struggle to increase worker participation in the public services could eventually result in increased real participation by the people. Struggles in the work-place are noticed outside the work-place too. Rip-offs and the whittling away of the public services (people's right to live) are only possible when that section of the population nearest to the source of trouble - the council's employees - fail to take an interest in and act against the malpractices found in all spheres of government. So let's not fight a useless rearguard action but let us push for better and real people's services. Nino Staffa

# WHOSE FREEDOM

## An Open Letter to the National Association for Freedom

Dear NAFF,

I have been reading the aims and objects of your founders as they appear in your journal, "The Free Nation". Some of them I find to my taste and unhesitatingly endorse. I am all for freedom of movement, speech, publication, freedom to belong or not to belong to a trade union, to own private property, and so forth and so on. But there are certain "freedoms" and "rights" that you propose that are not to my taste and I do not endorse.

You state, for example, that "We believe that citizens have the right to be governed by the laws and customs of this realm, duly enforced without fear or fav-

our."

Now, why do you assume that I have a "right" to be governed and what is the source of this "right"? It is true that I am governed, but this is without my consent and against my advantage. Indeed, the cost of this governing to me, both in terms of taxation and of restrictions upon my being and having, is such that I consider I would be much better off if I had no such "right" and was free to order my life as I see fit. I care little whether the "laws and customs of this realm" are "duly enforced without fear or favour." It is how to evade this enforcement that worries me-not its mode of implementation. A man condemned to death has only a marginal interest in his manner of execution. Whether he is killed by hanging, electrocution or firing squad, they all amount to the same thing as far as he is concerned. And this is my position vis-a-vis government. Governments may differ in degree-they do not differ in kind. I doubt if the mass of mankind will ever learn to dispense with government, but at least one can recognize the nature of the beast for what it is and treat it as such.

Then you want me to have "the right to be defended against the country's enemies." As it stands, this "right" begs several important questions. Who is to decide who are the "country's enemies"? And if such a person or body of persons is identifiable why should he/she or their decision be binding upon me? If "freedom" is involved then surely I can decide who is my enemy and how I am to fight him? I suspect that by "country" you mean "state" and, as has been shown all too often, when a war occurs the State, which ostensibly exists to protect me from the "country's" enemies does not hesitate to conscript me to protect it. You really ought to spell out more clearly what you mean by this "right", for in its present form it is no more than an excuse for the age-old sacrifice of the individual to the collectivity in the name of "defence".

You also want me to have "freedom of assembly and association" and to this I heartily assent. Unfortunately, however, you qualify this "freedom" with the words "for a lawful purpose" and thereby render it useless. Neither Hitler nor Stalin had anything against people assembling and associating for lawful purposes. Their subjects could assemble and associate to demand the internment of Jews or the liquidation of "kulaks" without any trouble. But of what use is such a "freedom" to

me? If "the law" is to be more to me than myself, then this "freedom" is a mere mockery. To be of any consequence it must include the "freedom" to call into question "the law" itself, and to repudiate it if it is found wanting.

A similar stricture applies to another of your "freedoms" which allows me the freedom to withdraw my labour "other than contrary to public safety." This formulation is nothing more than a *carte blanche* to condemn any and every strike that threatens or appears to threaten the interests of employers. What employer is ever going to agree that a strike against him is not contrary to public safety? Of course, the question of who are the "public" and by what criteria their "safety" is assessed will be ignored, since any investigation "in depth" would show that the "public" is simply a verb-

al abstraction disguising the existence of warring interests, and that its "safety" is the safety of whatever group happens to be dominant at any given moment. Stuck as I am near the bottom of the social pyramid I have the sneaking suspicion that what I consider to be my safety and what is considered by others nearer the top of the pyramid to be the "public's" safety will rarely coincide. And I write this not out of any belief in the superior virtues of the "proletariat" compared to those of the "capitalists", but simply because this has been, is, and is likely to be, the reality of any society composed of human beings.

I do not propose to consider the other "rights" and "freedoms" you propose that seem to me to be against my "right" and "freedom"; except to point out that the "freedom... from oppressive, unnecessary or confiscatory taxation" is yet another piece of question begging. You do not define what you mean by "oppressive" or "unnecessary", nor explain just what sort of tax there can be that is not confiscatory...

You will have gathered from the above that I am not exactly satisfied by your proposals for my freedom. Nor is my dissatisfaction allayed by another statement you make that "rights... must be established as inalienable subject only to amendment agreed by the sovereign electorate". "Inalienable" means that which cannot be taken away (alienated), yet you believe it can be "amended"! What a relative kind of inalienability! Having been given these "rights" and "freedoms" as "inalienable" it now appears that my enjoyment of them is to be subject to the whim of "the electorate". I suggest that such "rights" are not worth the paper that they are printed on, for what "freedom" can I exercise if I am always to be at the mercy of what Ibsen called "the damned, compact majority"? I do not accept the authority of the "sovereign electorate" any more than the authority of the "sovereign king". You may shower me with as many "rights" and "freedoms" as you please, such freedoms as I do have derive not from any notion of "right" but solely from my "might". Only when I have the power to determine my own life am I "free". You will understand, therefore, why, dear NAFF, I cannot count on you as an ally in my power struggle-that of the individual against the perennial encroachment of Society. However sincere you may be in the various shibboleths you propose for my "freedom", in the end they amount to no more than yet another plea for Authority. Whose freedom? Not that of the "Nation", but mine!

S. E. Parker.

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# Smoke with Fire

Fire symbolises those two aspects of human nature, warmth and destruction. Artificial heat, probably, often now replaces the warmth of human contact.

As with many places in Europe this summer, the East Anglian sky has been endlessly blue, that is, until the corn harvest started. Then the sky was darkened by columns of black smoke as farmers continued their recent practice of burning the straw. In a situation that was tinder-dry, hedgerows and trees were scorched and the atmosphere was full of carbon particles in the interests, we are told, of economic food production.

The extent of the burning went on to such a degree that a firm in Haverhill had to suspend the production of certain diagnostic chemicals owing to air pollution. The director of the firm, Dr Koch, said, "The amount of carbon particles in the air has reached an astronomical level."

Industry would never get away with causing that degree of pollution...but it seems that farmers can.

There was a time when straw was regarded as a valuable by-product of corn production as fodder and bedding. The mixed farm was a place where nothing was wasted and resources economically used, and all organic wastes ultimately returned from whence it came.

Since that time farming has seen the increased use of chemical fertilisers and the specialisation of farming enterprises into arable and animal husbandry sections and the increase in size of holdings. Without animals the straw became a nuisance and only occasionally in unusual circumstances is it financially economic to bale, transport and sell it.

It is interesting to note that the various authorities who calculate the potential grain harvest are having difficulties owing to the tremendous variation in yields this year. This variation probably could be related to the organic content of the soil which under existing methods of cultivation is declining. This content influences the ability of the soil to retain moisture.

The burning of straw contributes to the decrease of this organic content. There is a Suffolk farmer who secured a very good two and a half tons of barley to the acre (some only got a quarter of a ton this year) but he is one of the few mixed farmers left.

All this is mixed up, of course, with the rights of property owners, industrial or agricultural to do what they please regardless of the ultimate consequences to the future or the present community. Organic material on earth is a consequence of countless years of photosynthesis, the basis of all fossil fuels and a resource that is necessary for continued food production. The desert is completely devoid of it, and more of it can be created by the intervention of man.

The production of arable crops on an industrial scale tend to deplete this organic content most. This is indicated by the rapid recovery of grassland after drought conditions, which is why it is bad

to divorce these two aspects of husbandry.

The excuses for many modern farming practices are economic ones, but the true costs of industrial farming are hidden. It seems that the peak of production by industrial methods has been reached and the eco-structure is no longer able to sustain the malpractices without serious damage to the environment. By its nature the control of pests and disease by chemical means becomes increasingly fraught with dangers as the chemicals used become more dangerous to manufacture and transport.

The safe way of using chemical resources is by photosynthesis or by growing things which trap these resources into a carbon trap, which is life in all its complexity. Its simplification into the farmers' NPK is alright for commercial interests in a commodity structured society, but must increasingly rely on diminishing resources.

Early farmers burnt down forests to grow their crops and then moved on when the soil was depleted. Modern industrial agriculture does the same thing, except that with so many of us around there is no place to move on to. Alan Albon



IN THE HOUSE where I was born the family has, before and since, lived fifty-nine years. Actually, in half of the house for the first twenty, occupying one living room about nine feet by nine, one bedroom about ten feet by nine, and one smaller bedroom, sharing a dark concrete or stone floored scullery with a cold water tap over the shallow sink that used to be called a "slop-stone", and the outside lavatory with the old lady who occupied the other, and about equal, half of the house.

During those years the first improvements began to be made by my family - a door being put in to make a "vestibule" to interrupt the access to the living rooms from the long narrow lobby which ran from street to scullery, gaslight inserted and a gas ring provided in the living room to supplement the cooking done on the hearth with its by then sometimes smoky oven. On the death of the old lady, around the beginning of the last war, her rooms were occupied by a married member of the family whose husband had gone to the army, and in the intervening years to this day that couple have occupied the whole house, raised and seen married their five children.

The rent was low, of course-I remember in childhood the rent of the half house we occupied being ten shillings a week, or one fifth of the wage of a working man when he was in work. The elderly landlord came weekly to collect it and that was about the extent of his impingement. Over the years the rent has of course gone up at every permissible interval and to the permitted amount. All improvements have been carried out by the tenant - ripping out the iron hearths, building in "sitting room" fires, turning the scullery into a kitchen with gas

stove and sink geyser, replastering the aged walls, wiring the whole house and installing electricity, and finally a hot water system and bath.

The years taking their natural toll, the old landlord died somewhere in their passing, and his property fell to an heir who was easy going but a prey to the bottle, which necessity got in the way of his paying the rates, which were inclusive in the rent. Now it fell to a well-known and highly placed official to deliver the summons calling our unfortunate heir to answer in court for his failure, an experience not relished in small communities. The official arrived with the summons not at the landlord's house but at my relatives', was not admitted for a tour of inspection, being told he knew the landlord's address and to go there, but nonetheless...He, being a wily old bird as well as of envious hue, knew more than that - he knew the unfortunate's favourite pub. There he repaired, and there persuaded the landlord to extricate himself from this unpleasantness by selling the house to the official for one hundred pounds, whereby the summons was withdrawn.

This made no difference to my relatives other than rent increases which would have occurred anyway, until uncheatable death made its winning move, as it will over even such artful dodgers as our late unlamented official. His heir finds himself in unearned possession of a cosy little money raiser, and has decided to sell. My relative offered him £1,500 - but of course through years of loving labour he's made it worth more than that on the market. So, after fifty-nine years of exemplary tenantry, my relatives, on the point of retirement age, find themselves for the first time faced with the prospect of eviction.

A story of, and for, our times, a story, one would have thought, to bruit abroad and raise the hackles of others in the grip of greedy power and property, but the distaff side doesn't want any publicity or unpleasantness, only to be given a small council house or flat to finish their years quietly. Which is why the story appears, anonymous, in a minority paper, where it can do no more than remind us how much we still have to do to rouse people to the consciousness of their indignity and the will to revolt against it. It is over seventy years since Kropotkin said: "The expropriation of dwellings is the cornerstone of the revolution." C.M.

## LETTERS

Dear Editors,

A. A. tries to dispose of my individualism by the old socialist trick of bracketing it with capitalism - in this case, the Keith Joseph version. The trick, however, is useless. No capitalist regime is individualist. All, in common with socialist regimes, demand the subordination of the interests of the individual to those of the collective when the two clash. Whereas the touchstone of individualism is Stirner's dictum: "Nothing is more to me than myself."

Nor do apologists for capitalism defend it in terms of egocentricity (granted there are a few exceptions like the followers of Ayn Rand). I have pointed out these things time after time in FREEDOM during the last fifteen years, but it seems I have been wasting my time as far as A. A. is concerned.

continued over page:

A. A. claims that "no living creatures ... can be isolated from the biological entity that we call the earth." I do not share this mystical monism. I know of no "biological entity" called "the earth". I do know of a collection of separate entities, some of which are biological, to which we refer by the abstraction, "the earth". I am one of the entities, but the rest are not me and I am not them.

A. A.'s last paragraph reads like a case for biocracy. Who defines the "collective of which we are all part"? And what does he mean by "our freedom is within the biological restrictions of our place within that collective"? Again, who defines what? Despite A. A.'s statement that he is not a socialist he nonetheless reasons like one. His socialism rests on "biology" rather than economics, but like all socialists he grants authority to the collectivity. To me, anarchism is a protest against all authority over the individual in whatever name it is exercised.

S. E. Parker

Dear F.P.,

In the next month I'm writing a pamphlet on work, unemployment, the work ethic, malemployment, male identity and work, alternative community possibilities, surviving on the dole, etc. If any of your readers have material (from articles to personal accounts to graphics) they'd like to see included, could they send them to me for a month and I'll return them in due course.

Best Wishes,  
Keith Paton,  
32 Anderton Park Rd.,  
Moseley, Birmingham

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NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is **Thursday 7 October**. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get together and folding session.

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. NOTE NEW SCHEDULE: Latest date for receipt of copy for next review is **Saturday 25 September** and for news section **Saturday 2 October**.

# CONTACT

SPACE in libertarian, anti-militarist communal house hold for four people - adults and children - preference for people with 'direction'. Karla, 22 Royal Rd., Ramsgate, Kent.

ANARCHIVE NEEDS: Freedom No.38/1971; Anarchy (Ser.1) 4, 6, 7, 21, 23, 60, 66, 70, 83, 89, 90, 95-99. Buy or swap. Beni, P.O.B. 609, Ann Arbor MI 48107, U.S.A.

ARGENTINA: A group of young libertarian comrades wish to exchange correspondence about the political reality of their country and ours. They're also into rock music and publish

an underground magazine. All letters can be passed on, in the strictest confidence, via Freedom.

PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY Liberation Front Box 1976, c/o Rising Free, 142 Drummond St London NW1.

NORTHANTS, A. S. Neill Association group Contact Susan and Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby.

ANARCHIST TRANSPORT WORKERS, an attempt to organise. Contact Adam 01-247 4829

## PRISONERS

THE STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, 240 Camden High St. London NW1

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane and Columba Longmore, Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire. MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY - see news pages, but protest letters to the Justice Minister, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2; the Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7HR.

Defence Committees: (Dublin) 155 Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Eire. London: c/o Rising Free, 142 Drummond St. London NW1

## MEETINGS

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Fall Lectures, Thursday evenings, 7.30 at Workmen's Circle Center, 8th Avenue and 29 St. (S.W. corner), free admission, coffee & cakes.

Oct. 14: Abe Bluestein, "Recollections of the Spanish Revolution";

Nov. 11: Paul Berman, "The Haymarket Martyrs"

Dec. 9: Murray Kempton: "Radicalism as a career".

SUNDAY 26 September "The Fight to Live". Public meeting organised by the Federation of London Anarchist Groups. Speakers from the claimants' union movement, Campaign Against the Criminal Trespass Law, Anarchist Workers' Association, and other organisations. Starts at 8 pm at the Roebuck public house, 108a Tottenham Court Road (Warren St/Goodge St).

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble Arch) Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcomed.

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation, for meetings, activities & newsletter write 165 Rosehill Road, Burnley, Lancs.

EAST LONDON Group holds regular fortnightly mtgs at 122 Lathom Rd., E.6. Phone Ken 552 3985.

SOUTH-EAST London Libertarian Group meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina 460-1833.

KINGSTON Libertarian Group. Interested persons contact Paulin, tel. 549 2564. Anarchists/Libertarians Colchester area interested in local group contact Hilary Lester, 32 Wellesley Rd. Colchester for mtg. details.

## GROUPS

BATH - term time BIRMINGHAM Black & Red Group, Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Road, Moseley, Birmingham 13

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

THAMES VALLEY Anarchists: Contact Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 4 Coxgreen Road, Maidenhead, SL6 3EE. 0628 29741.

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians. Contact Martin Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

CAMBRIDGE Ron Stephan, Botany School Field Station, 34a Storey's Way, Cambridge (tel. 52896)

CORBYP anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NNI 2LL

COVENTRY Peter Come, c/o Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry

DUNDEE - term time

DURHAM Martin Spence, 11 Front Street, Sherburn Village, Durham

FIFE - see West Fife

HARROW c/o 10 Kenton Avenue, Harrow (Chris or Nick H.)

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12 Winston Gardens, Leeds 6

LEICESTER, Peter and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street, Leicester (tel. 549652)

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst St., Oxford

PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

WEST FIFE write John Deming, 164 Agin Crescent, Dunfermline

Proposed Yorkshire Federation - interested individuals or groups contact Leeds group.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:

Aberdeen: Blake c/o A.P.P. 167 King Street. Dundee: Malet, 1 Lynnewood Pl. (tel. 422063)

Edinburgh: B. Gibson, 7 Union St. (557 1532) Fife: "Haggis" c/o Students Union, Univ. of

St. Andrews Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Benneray St. Milton, Glasgow G22 (336 7895)

Stirling: Jackson, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

CONFERENCE: 4th Scottish Liberation Federation Conference early November. Details from Aberdeen group.

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## ORGANISING ANARCHY

### PART TWO

ANOTHER ATTRACTIVE ANARCHIST theory of organization is what we might call the theory of spontaneous order; that given a common need, a collection of people will, by trial and error, by improvisation and experiment, evolve order out of chaos — this order being more durable and more closely related to their needs than any kind of externally imposed order. Kropotkin derived this theory from his observations of the history of human society and of social biology which led to his book *Mutual Aid*, as well as from the study of the events of the French Revolution in its early stages and from the Paris Commune of 1871, and it has been observed in most revolutionary situations, in the ad hoc organizations which spring up after natural catastrophes, or in any activity where there is no existing organizational form or hierarchical authority. You could watch it at work in, for instance, the first Aldermaston March, or in the widespread occupation of army camps by squatters in the summer of 1946. Between June and October of that year, 40,000 homeless people in England and Wales, acting on their own initiative, occupied 1,000 army camps. They organized every kind of communal service in the attempt to make these bleak huts more like home — communal cooking, laundering and nursery facilities, for instance. They also federated into a Squatters Protection Society. One remarkable feature of these squatter communities was that they were formed from people who had very little in common besides their homelessness — they included tinkers and university dons. In the following winter, a correspondent of the *News Chronicle* reported on one of these camps in Lancashire as follows:

"... There are two camps within the camp — the official squatters (that is, people who have been placed in the huts after the first invasion) and the unofficial squatters (the veterans, who have been allowed to remain on suff-erance).

Both pay the same rent of 10s. a week — but there the similarity ends. Although one would have imagined that the acceptance of rent from both should accord them identical privileges, in fact, it does not. Workmen have put partitions in the huts of the official squatters — and have put in sinks and numerous other conveniences. These are the sheep; the goats have perforce to fend for themselves.

An interesting commentary on the situation was made by one of the young welfare officers attached to the housing department. On her visit of inspection she found that the goats had set to work with a will, improvising partitions, running up curtains, distempering, painting and using initiative.

The official squatters, on the other hand, sat about glumly without using initiative or lifting a hand to help themselves and bemoaning their fate, even though they might have been removed from the most appalling slum property. Until the overworked corporation workers got around to them they would not attempt to improve affairs themselves."

To my mind this is a very revealing story, not only about the squatters, but about the difference between the state of mind that induces free independent action, and that of dependence and inertia: the difference between people who initiate things and act for themselves, and people to whom things just happen.

Another example of the theory of spontaneous organization in operation was the Pioneer Health Centre at Peckham. This was started in the decade before the war by a group of physicians and biologists who wanted to study the nature of health and of healthy behaviour instead of studying ill-health like the rest of their profession. They decided that the way to do this was to start a social club whose members joined as families and could use a variety of facilities in return for a family membership subscription and for agreeing to periodic medical examinations. In order to be able to draw valid conclusions the Peckham biologists thought it necessary that they should be able to observe human beings who were free — free to act as they wished and to give expression to their desires. There were consequently no rules, no regulations, no leaders. "I was the only person with authority," said Dr. Scott William Williamson, the founder, "and I used it to stop anyone exerting any authority." For the first eight months there was chaos. "With the first member-families," says one observer, "there arrived a horde of undisciplined children who used the whole building as they might have used one vast London street. Screaming and running like hooligans through all the rooms, breaking equipment and furniture," they made life intolerable for everyone. Scott Williamson however, "insisted that peace should be restored only by the response of the children to the variety of stimulus that was placed in their way." "In less than a year the chaos was reduced to an order in which groups of children could daily be seen swimming, skating, riding bicycles, using the gymnasium or playing some game, occasionally reading a book in the library... the running and screaming were things of the past."

In his book *Health the Unknown* about the Peckham experiment, John Comerford concluded, "A society, therefore, if left to itself in suitable circumstances to express itself spontaneously works out its own salvation and achieves a harmony of action which superimposed leadership cannot emulate."

More dramatic examples of the same kind of phenomenon are reported by those people who have been brave enough, or confident enough, to institute self-governing non-punitive communities of delinquent youngsters — August Aichhorn, Homer Lane, and David Wills are examples. Homer Lane was the man who, years in advance of his time, started a community of juvenile delinquents, boys and girls, called the Little Commonwealth. Lane used to declare that "Freedom cannot be given. It is taken by the child in discovery and invention." True to this principle, says Howard Jones, "he refused to impose upon the children a system of government copied from the institutions of the adult world. The self-governing structure of the Little Commonwealth was evolved by the children themselves, slowly and painfully to satisfy their own needs." Aichhorn was an equally brave man of the same generation as Lane who ran an institution for maladjusted children in Vienna. In his book *Wayward Youth* he gives this description of one particularly aggressive group:

"Their aggressive acts became more frequent and more violent until practically all the furniture in the building was destroyed, the window panes broken, the doors nearly kicked to pieces. It happened once that a boy sprang through a double window ignoring his injuries from the broken glass. The dinner table was finally deserted because each one sought out a corner in the playroom where he crouched to devour his food. Screams and howls could be heard from afar!"

Aichhorn and his colleagues maintained what one can only call a superhuman restraint and faith in their method, protecting their charges from the wrath of the neighbours, the police and the city authorities, and "Eventually patience brought its reward. Not only did the children settle down, but they devel-

continued overpage.

oped a strong attachment to those who were working with them . . . This attachment was now to be used as the foundation of a process of re-education. The children were at last to be brought up against the limitations imposed upon them by the real world."

Time and time again those rare people who have had sufficient moral strength and the endless patience and forbearance that this method requires, have been similarly rewarded. But in daily life situations it is, or at least it appears to me, very difficult to apply. The fact that one is not dealing with such deeply disturbed characters should make the experience less drastic, but in ordinary life, outside the deliberately protected environment, we interact with others with the aim of getting some task done, and the apparent aimlessness and time-consuming tedium of the period of waiting for spontaneous order to appear would, it seems to me, bring a great danger of some strongman type intervening with an attempt to impose order and method, just to get something accomplished.

This is the point at which to mention an experiment which you may be thinking of. In 1939 and 1940 three social psychologists, Lewin, Lippitt and White, conducted experiments on the effect of different leadership techniques on behaviour in groups of 11 year-old boys. These groups were led by adults using three different methods or styles of leadership. In one method, the adult determined the policy, procedures and activities in the group; this technique was called "authoritarianism". In another the adult encouraged participation by members in deciding these matters and behaved in a friendly, helpful way to the members, giving technical assistance and suggesting alternative procedures as they were needed; this technique was called "democratic". In the third, the adult leader allowed complete freedom for decisions and activity, keeping his own initiative and suggestions to a minimum; this technique was called "laissez-faire". The autocratic method was found to lead to a submissive attitude on the part of the children towards the leader, and some apathy towards the tasks before them, but little co-operation among themselves and a lack of self-control in the absence of the leader. The laissez-faire group seemed overwhelmed by the number and complexity of their problems and were able to achieve little. The democratic group were helped by their leader to find constructive channels for their efforts and so avoided the impotence to which the laissez-faire group seemed doomed. At the same time, because their efforts were largely self-directed, and they had been enabled to establish a degree of group-solidarity, they were also more creative, peaceful and self-disciplined than the autocratic group. In comparing the same group under different adult leadership it was noted that reaction to a particular leadership style was also affected by the group's previous experience with other techniques. Thus one group was fairly passive under an "authoritarian" leader but after it had a leader using a "democratic" technique, a second leader using authoritarian methods was reacted to with discontent.

Now in the context of our present preoccupations we could make a number of comments about this experiment. The laissez-faire technique presumably is the one which should result in the spontaneous order phenomenon. Perhaps not enough time was allowed in the experiment for order to grow out of chaos. The "democratic" technique wasn't really democratic in that the leader was not selected by or from the group. His role in fact seems to have been the helpful but self-effacing one of the good teacher. Of course, as Muzafer Sherif points out in his commentary on Lewin, Lippitt and White's experiments, a given technique may not have the same significance when exercised by an external leader and by an informal leader who is also a member of the group.

But the role of the leader does make us enquire about the nature of leadership and how it fits into an anarchist theory of organization. Anarchists believe in leaderless groups. If this phrase is familiar to you it is because of the paradox that what was known as the leaderless group technique was adopted in the British and Australian armies during the war, as a means of selecting leaders. The military psychiatrists learned that leader or follower traits are not exhibited in isolation. They are, as Major Gibb said, "relative to a specific social situation—leadership varied from situation to situation and from group to group." Or as the anarchist Michael Bakunin put it over one hundred years ago, "I receive and I give—such is human life. Each directs and is directed in his turn. Therefore there is no fixed and constant authority and subordination." This point

about leadership was also made in the reports on the Peckham Experiment which we cited as an example of the spontaneous organization theory.

Don't be deceived by the sweet reasonableness of all this. The anarchist concept of leadership is quite revolutionary in its implications as you can see if you look around, for you see everywhere in operation the opposite concept; that of hierarchical, authoritarian, privileged and permanent leadership. There are very few comparative studies available of the effects of these two opposite approaches to the organization of work. Two of them I will mention later, another, about architects' offices, was a couple of years ago for the RIBA under the title The Architect and His Office. The team which prepared this report found two different approaches to the design process, which gave rise to different ways of working and methods of organization. One they categorised as centralised which was characterised by autocratic form of control, and the other they called dispersed which promoted what they called "an informal atmosphere of free-flowing ideas." This is a very live issue amongst architects. Mr W. D. Pile, joint head of the Architects and Buildings Branch of the Ministry of Education (in which capacity he has helped to sponsor the most important and striking successes in post-war British architecture, the school-building programme) specifies among the things he looks for in a member of the building team that: "He must have a belief in what I call the non-hierarchical organization of the work. The work has got to be organized not on the star system, but on a repertory system. The team leader may often be junior to a team member. That will only be accepted if it is commonly accepted that primacy lies with the best idea and not with the senior man." And one of our greatest architects Walter Gropius proclaims what he calls the technique of "collaboration among men, which would release the creative instincts of the individual instead of smothering them. The essence of such technique," Gropius declares, "should be to emphasise individual freedom of initiative, instead of authoritarian direction by a boss. . . synchronizing individual efforts by a continuous give and take of its members. . ."

This leads us of course to another cornerstone of anarchist theory, the idea of workers' control in industry. When we are faced with the objection to the idea of workers' control on the ground of the complexity and scale of modern industry, we resort once again to the federative principle. There is nothing outlandish about the idea that large numbers of autonomous industrial units can federate and co-ordinate their activities. If you travel across Europe you go over the lines of a dozen railway systems—capitalist and communist—co-ordinated by freely arrived at agreement between the various undertakings, with no central authority. You can post a letter to anywhere in the world, but there is no world postal authority—representatives of different postal authorities simply have a congress every five years or so.

Now, if any of you are familiar with cybernetic thinking, you will find relevant here some of the ideas of Gordon Pask and Stafford Beer on self-organizing systems. Beer, in his book Cybernetics and Management, remarks that the fact is, "that our whole concept of control is naive, primitive and ridden with an almost retributive idea of causality. Control to most people (and what a reflection this is upon a sophisticated society!) is a crude process of coercion." He also tells a story about the visitor from Mars who examines the activities at the lower levels of some large undertaking, the brains of the workers concerned, and the organizational chart which purports to show how the undertaking is controlled. He deuces that the creatures at the top of the hierarchy must have heads yards wide.

I asked the neurologist Grey Walter to write an account for Anarchy of the relevance of cybernetics for anarchists. He wrote a good account of the development of cybernetics (in Anarchy 25) but apart from his conclusion that the central nervous system was a model of an anarcho-syndicalist community, he did not stress the significance of the idea of self-organizing systems. However, his article inspired a computer programmer, John MacEwan, to write for us an article which made just those connections which the writings of Pask and Beer led us to believe existed (published in Anarchy 31). His conclusions are relevant for consideration of anarchism as an organizational theory. He seeks to contrast two modes of decision-making and control:

"First we have the model current among management theorists in industry, with its counterpart in convention-

al thinking about government in society as a whole. This is the model of a rigid pyramidal hierarchy, with lines of 'communication and command' running from the top to the bottom of the pyramid. There is fixed delineation of responsibility, each element has a specified role, and the procedures to be followed at any level are determined within fairly narrow limits, and may only be changed by decisions of elements higher in the hierarchy. The role of the top group of the hierarchy is sometimes supposed to be comparable to the 'brain' of the system.

The other model is from the cybernetics of evolving self-organising systems. Here we have a system of large variety, sufficient to cope with a complex, unpredictable environment. Its characteristics are changing structure, modifying itself under continual feedback from the environment, exhibiting redundancy of potential command and involving complex interlocking control structures. Learning and decision-making are distributed throughout the system, denser perhaps in some areas than in others.

Has any social thinker thought of social organization actual or possible in terms comparable with this model? I think so. Compare Kropotkin on that society which 'seeks the fullest development of free association in all its aspects, in all possible degrees, for all conceivable purposes: an ever-changing association bearing in itself the elements of its own duration, and taking on the forms

which at any moment best correspond to the manifold endeavours of all... A society in which pre-established forms crystallised by law, are repugnant, which looks for harmony in an ever-changing and fugitive equilibrium between a multitude of varied forces and influences of every kind, following their own course..."

We once quoted a remark by Richard Titmuss that social ideas may well be as important in Britain in the next half-century as technical innovation. I believe that the social ideas of anarchism: autonomous groups, workers' control, the federal principle, add up to a coherent theory of social organization which is a valid and realistic alternative to the authoritarian, hierarchal institutional philosophy which we see in application all around us. Man will be compelled, Kropotkin declared, "to find new forms of organization for the social functions which the state fulfils through the bureaucracy" and that "as long as this is not done nothing will be done". I think we have discovered what these new forms of organization should be, we have now to make the opportunities of putting them into practice.

Colin Ward.

Note: This article first appeared in *Anarchy* 62 (April 1966), hence the examples are slightly dated, but still, we think, relevant to the theme of the validity of anarchism as a theory of organization. Part 1 of the article appeared in the last *Freedom* (11/9/76). Of the issues of *Anarchy* (first series) mentioned in the text, only no. 25 is still available from Freedom Bookshop (15p + 7p post).

# SPANISH ANARCHISM NOW

## PART THREE

### 1975: Reconstruct the C.N.T.!

The demoralisation which had taken hold of the majority of the libertarian groups at the end of 1974 was succeeded in the first months of 1975 by a certain enthusiasm. The Movement seemed to be recouping its strength, not only in Catalonia, but also in Aragon, in the Centre (Madrid) and the Levant (Valencia). New groups were springing up in many different places.

In Catalonia, after an abortive attempt at co-ordination of the totality of libertarian groups, the Movement seemed to be split up into several tendencies. Amongst them, the following stood out:

- a "specific" tendency composed of anarchist groups based almost entirely in the university sector;
- an anarcho-syndicalist tendency present in several factories and developing a practice of struggle in the "barrios" (neighbourhoods);
- a tendency rather close to the former G.O.A., indisputably libertarian, in contact with anarcho-syndicalist groups, but still hesitating to merge with them;
- a diffuse anti-authoritarian current, vaguely libertarian marxist, adopting the theses of "workers' autonomy". Extremely sectarian, this current, more "ultra-left" than libertarian, was particularly reticent over all attempts at co-ordination with other libertarian groups, particularly the anarcho-syndicalists.

It is interesting to note also the appearance of groups in provincial towns and the consolidation of already existing ones (Mataro, Badalona, San Adrian, Santa-Coloma, Hospitalet, Gava). From now on two "co-ordinadoras" were functioning, one taking in the "northern sector" of the outskirts of Barcelona (Badalona, Mataro, Granollers, etc.) and co-ordinating almost entirely groups of workers, the other covering the "southern sector" (Bajo Llobregat, Hospitalet, Viladecans, Gava, etc.). In Barcelona itself militant work in working-class districts produced unlooked for results. Active groups developed in the outlying districts of San-Andres, Guineveta, Horta, Verdun and La Veneda.

Parallel with this activity, workplace or production sector groups experienced a similar spectacular development. In the building sector, the anarcho-syndicalists played an extremely important role in the radicalisation and popularisation of struggles<sup>1</sup>; at S.E.A.T., the stronghold of the Communist Party and the Workers' Commissions, they organized themself-

ves and constituted the driving force in the unleashing of struggles<sup>2</sup>; in the bank sector, the libertarian syndicalist group, "Solidaridad" and other anarcho-syndicalist groups had implanted themselves to such an extent that they almost constituted a majority... Everything seemed to indicate that the heavy fall-out from activism, which had to a large extent paralysed the movement in Catalonia, had not had any other effects thanks to the tactical repair work carried out by many libertarian groups.

The Valencia region had been characterised in preceding years by the development of informal libertarian groups. It seemed however to be a little backward in the organizational process when compared with Barcelona or Madrid. But in 1975 the groups of this region caught up by leaps and bounds and the recently set-up anarcho-syndicalist nuclei grouped themselves together under the title, C.N.T. of the Valencia district. In Valencia, but also in Alicante, Alcoy, Castellon, Villena, Elda, Lucena, Cheste, Orihuela and even Cartagena and Murcia, anarcho-syndicalist groups formed local federations of the C.N.T. and rebuilt syndical structures. The Alicante group brought out a journal called *Amanecer*, the Alcoy group took a very active part in local workers' struggles<sup>3</sup>, the libertarian teachers of Valencia published *Escuela Libre* and set up the C.N.T. teaching syndicate. There was a certain implantation of libertarian militants in several production sectors, particularly metal... Despite this, the anarcho-syndicalists of the reconstructed C.N.T. came up against certain problems of, shall we say, internal order. In Valencia, as in Barcelona, there remained an anti-authoritarian current composed of autonomous groups in total disagreement with the strategy of reconstructing the C.N.T. Amongst them there ought to be noted the existence of a confusedly councilist group publishing the magazine called *Autonomia Proletaria*. These very small groups refused all contact with anarcho-syndicalist militants. Similarly the "Solidaridad" group of Valencia, whilst defining itself as libertarian syndicalist, remained marginal to the process of reconstruction of the C.N.T. It is hard to explain "Solidaridad's" attitude given that the militants who were initially members of "Solidaridad" in Barcelona and Madrid (hence belonging to the same tendency as the group in Valencia) were totally involved in the reconstruction of the C.N.T. The Valencia group was moreover fairly active in certain work places... Despite these divergences, the anarcho-syndicalists got down to providing themselves with the structures they wanted. *Amanecer* soon became the regional voice of the C.N.T. of the Valencia region. Local federations (Valencia, Alicante, Orihuela, Villena, Castellon, etc.) and syndicates (construction, metal, teaching, etc.) were reconstructed and a Regional representative Committee was elected. Locally the C.N.T. maintained good contacts with the U.G.T.

In the Centre region (Madrid), the progress was even more spectacular. Less affected by internal conflicts than other regions, the Madrid region, from a strictly organizational point of view, was progressing much more rapidly than the Valencia area or even Catalonia. As has been previously said, a process of amalgamation of the different libertarian groups favouring the reconstruction of the C.N.T. had been put into practice at the end of 1974. Continued throughout 1975, this attempt at unification on the basis of a clear political project paid off particularly well. What had only been a long term objective quickly became a reality. The nuclei of workers structured themselves into syndicates and displayed

cont. overpage

great militant capacity... Organised into the "Autonomous Federation of Building Workers", the libertarians belonging to this sector of production set up the construction syndicate of the C.N.T. and replaced Libertad, the organ of the "Autonomous Federation" with Construccion, the organ of the construction syndicate of the C.N.T. The same phenomenon occurred in other sectors of production amongst which we ought to mention the book sector (Artes graficas), health (Sanidad), metal industry (Metal) and banking (Banca). Giving priority to the reconstruction of the C.N.T., the majority of libertarian militants devoted themselves entirely to this task. The presence in Madrid of an anti-authoritarian tendency on the margin of the process of reconstruction did not present the same problems as in other regions. The anti-authoritarian students, gathered together around the magazine, Federacion formed a very heterogeneous whole in which could be found simultaneously "specific" anarchists, "neo-anarchists", "peri-situationists", "anarcho-marcusians", councilists, libertarian marxists, etc. Agreement between these various tendencies could only be achieved on certain ideas such as the demand for autonomy or on anti-Leninism. Extremely anti-sindicalist to start off with, the groups around Federacion gradually evolved towards much more conciliatory positions. Some of them even set in motion a plan to set up a "Federation of Libertarian Students" which would work in close relation with the reconstructed C.N.T., and more particularly with the C.N.T.'s education syndicate. Other student groups preferred to identify with a reconstruction of the F.I.J.L., the organization of libertarian youth. This evolution towards "organizational" positions by groups who, first of all, rejected anything which came remotely close to it, was not a local phenomenon, restricted to the Madrid area. It was experienced in different degrees everywhere and was to develop subsequently.

So that this picture of the Movement in the year 1975 doesn't have too many gaps, it ought to be said that the process described with relation to Catalonia and the Valencia and Centre regions was also happening, though less spectacularly, in other regions: the Asturias, Euzkadi, Galicia, Andalucia. In Aragon the situation was a little special since the main cells of libertarian workers were organized in C.O.A. (Autonomous Workers' Commissions). These C.O.A. brought together the Left of the "official" C.O. (Workers' Commissions). They were most often composed of libertarians and Maoists. The conflicts between tendencies often made these autonomous structures ineffective. In this region the groups of libertarian workers and students had also tried to set up a co-ordinating body: the "Anarchist Revolutionary Movement" (M.R.A.). In September 1975 the M.R.A., a grab-bag structure, disappeared and numerous libertarian groups had seriously to confront the problem of what strategy to follow. Noting the progress of the reconstruction of the C.N.T. in other regions, the anarcho-sindicalist militants decided to group themselves by their branch of industry (metal, textiles, construction, etc.) and created their own journal called Accion Libertaria. A little later other sectors got organized (publishing, wood, commerce) and a regional co-ordination of sectors of production was set up. In Valladolid, the situation was similar in all but detail to Zaragoza. Libertarian groups are co-ordinated by a local bulletin, Apoyo Mutuo and they seem near to reconstructing the C.N.T.

Obviously the organizational project which made most progress in 1975 was the reconstruction of the C.N.T. Although it was particularly advanced in Barcelona, Valencia, and above all in Madrid, it was happening all over. The fact that many groups which, in a far from distant past, had made anti-sindicalism the core of their political thought, rallied to anarcho-sindicalism, proves indisputably the mobilisatory nature of the strategy of reconstruction, which rapidly became the only coherent alternative for libertarians in general. That is why many specific groups gave it priority over the reconstruction of the F.A.I. which would have been more in accord with their concerns as anarchist militants. At one point or another the reasoning, put schematically, was: "The C.N.T. is not everything; but without the C.N.T., there is nothing."

There are other elements in the explanation of the majority adoption of the project of anarcho-sindicalist reconstruction. Amongst them the important part played by the Madrid magazine, Sindicalismo, in the co-ordination of groups, ought to be underlined. It started at the beginning of 1975 and was severely criticized by purists and the guardians of orthodoxy because it wasn't specifically anarchist. It served as a magnet to many militant workers who made their first contact with libertarian ideas and revolutionary syndicalism through it. The editorial group of Sindicalismo, which was rather heterogeneous to begin with, was intelligent enough to understand that it had to be able to turn the contradictions of the system to its advantage. At the moment when the "apertura" policy permitted the publication of progressive magazines and allowed a little more freedom to publishers<sup>4</sup>, the founders of the magazine played their card and legalized the magazine. In a few numbers, Sindicalismo established itself a libertarian syndicalist magazine. In the eyes of many readers, it even passed as a semi-official journal of the C.N.T. A network of worker correspondents fed the magazine with information on struggles. Supported by anarcho-sindicalist militants, Sindicalismo was both distributed com-

mercially and sold by militants. The contradictions apparent in reading the magazine were those that inevitably permeate a Movement in formation. Sindicalismo in fact, found a place in the process of libertarian reconstruction, corresponding to a particular stage of its development, and it contributed to the popularisation of the concepts of self-management and autonomy by presenting a libertarian alternative to the workers' movement. Its role, consequently, was far from negligible.<sup>5</sup>

Libertarian restructuring around the project of the reconstruction of the C.N.T., made great progress during 1975. Repression and imposed clandestinity indisputably put a brake on the process. Several meetings on national or local level could not take place. The terror which descended on the country between September, the date of the execution of the five extreme left militants and the death of Franco was absolutely not propitious to mass work. But the organizations that had been set up resisted police attacks whilst many small groups saw their apparatuses dismantled. The death of Franco and the accession of Juan Carlos and new ministers to power created a completely new situation. Politically, it was to allow the acceleration of the process which had been begun.

## 1976: Illusions regained

In the course of the last few months, an extraordinary wave of strikes by workers, disturbances among the people, and a whole of manifestos and declarations have shaken Spain. The militant capacity of a movement, and its implantation can only be verified by the role it is able to play in these struggles. No organization can claim to have a mass implantation in Spain today. The tolerance which the powers that be are showing to various sectors of the opposition must not give rise to illusions. Clandestinity is still a way of life, although more relaxed than before...

In its January 1976 number, Frente Libertario published a series of interviews with anarcho-sindicalist militants in the interior. In one of these interviews, a militant of the C.N.T. of the Centre region placed the reconstruction of the C.N.T. within a total strategy of restructuring the libertarian Movement as a whole. Laying aside all dogmatism, it is a question of understanding that the class struggle is only one aspect, a fundamental one it is true, of the struggle against capitalist and state oppression. The struggle of women, of young people, of ethnic minorities, anti-militarism, and the ecological battle are equally part of this total strategy. In Barcelona and Madrid "Mujeres Libres" groups have been reconstituted. In the same way, libertarian militants are trying to form "Libertarian ecological groups" or to reconstruct the "Libertarian Youth" groups. This many-sided activity will only however be possible if the Movement can reconnect with its mass tradition and dispose of a sufficiently strong and structured class organization to intervene in real life struggles. In this sense, the C.N.T. remains the nerve centre of the Spanish libertarian movement. Its consolidation is, therefore, considered one of the most urgent tasks on the agenda. Since the beginning of the year the process of reconstruction of the C.N.T. has been strikingly confirmed. The relaxation in the repression has allowed the holding of regional assemblies (the most important still being the one held in Barcelona on 29th February attended by 700 anarcho-sindicalist militants). Some sectors of the C.N.T. are practicing a policy of "unveiling" (destape), whilst others consider that before appearing publicly the organisational level ought to be improved. Whilst the movement is consolidating itself in Madrid and Barcelona where the C.N.T. has become a palpable reality, it is also gaining ground in other regions like Andalusia, Euzkadi, the Asturias. Gradually, internal problems are on their way to solution. Locally, they sometimes exist between the C.N.T. and the "Solidaridad" group, but generally there is a consensus for unity. In the recent past, personality clashes, often imported from exile, played a particularly negative role in hindering the process of organization in the Interior. The "consulates"<sup>6</sup> faithful to their mission, kept a sharp look-out. As fast as the Interior has emancipated itself from its guardians in exile, these elements of discord have tended to disappear. Today their future is extremely compromised. The centre of gravity of the Spanish libertarian Movement has been well and truly displaced from exile to the Interior. A future national congress for the reconstruction of the C.N.T. of Spain will have the problem of the exile on its agenda. From information recently received it seems that this congress will favour the disappearance of the "official" representation of the exile, since the split C.N.T. of Spain/C.N.T. in exile has less and less of a raison d'etre. By this shift, the Spanish libertarian movement has opportunities of getting out of the long bureaucratic crisis which had diminished it so.

Not long ago the future of Spanish anarchism seemed dim, even to the most optimistic. Most libertarian groups, cut off from all contact with the reality of struggles, only survived by reference to a glorious past. Of course, libertarian practices could be discerned here and there, or an anti-authoritarian ferment could be perceived within authoritarian organizations. Organized anarchism, however, was in the domain of dreams or illusion... Today, without sinking into abysmal triumphalism, it seems possible to speak of illusions regained FREDDY, Paris, May 1976.

# KROPOTKIN Presented Anew

KROPOTKIN, Martin A. Miller, University of Chicago Press, \$15.00.  
 THE ESSENTIAL KROPOTKIN, Edited by Emile Capouys and Keitha  
 Tompkins. Liveright, \$12.50

WHEN Ivan Avakumovic and I wrote the first biography of Kropotkin (*The Anarchist Prince*) almost thirty years ago, we were very much aware of three major difficulties. First, anarchism had been under a cloud of almost unknowing since the triumph of Leninist Marxism in Russia in 1917, and the virtual destruction of the great Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement at the end of the civil war in 1938 had given - in the eyes of most outsiders - the almost antiquarian look of a lost cause to the tradition that stemmed from Proudhon and Bakunin and Kropotkin; our readership was therefore uncertain. Secondly, in 1948 and 1949, when we were preparing our book, some of the most important sources of information regarding Kropotkin were incompletely available; in those years of the Stalinian twilight, western scholars were not welcome in Russia, and though we knew there was much material still unpublished in both Moscow and Leningrad, we received replies to our enquiries neither from Russian libraries and museums nor from Russian cultural representatives in western Europe. In addition, the rich collections of the anarchist historian Max Nettlau, housed in the Amsterdam International Institute for Social History, were still unsorted and closed to scholars. Thirdly, we were faced with a formidable rival in Kropotkin himself, whose autobiographical *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* was a work of vivid recollection that challenged anyone who presumed to reconstruct the anarchist's life from outside.

In writing his new study, *Kropotkin*, Professor Martin A. Miller has had to face only one of these difficulties. The past decade and more has seen a remarkable renaissance of anarchist thought; this phenomenon had affected attitudes and actions in dissident leftist movements throughout the world, and has changed men and women like Proudhon and Bakunin, Kropotkin and even Goldman, from apparent has-beens to ideological forerunners, so that their works have been salvaged from obscurity and new books on them have proliferated. If the public has in this way been created for books on the classic anarchists, the sources of material for such books have also been vastly expanded; Professor Miller has been able to travel and work in Russia, and he has found the Nettlau collections in Amsterdam catalogued and fully available. For all these advantages, he has not been able to escape the testing challenge of writing a biography as arresting as Kropotkin's own memoirs.

Professor Miller has not in fact passed the test, and anyone who comes to his *Kropotkin* after reading *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, or even such vividly rendered unautobiographical works by Kropotkin as *Mutual Aid* or *The Great French Revolution* will have little difficulty understanding why. Kropotkin's tone is always that of the wise enthusiast, concrete and immediate in perception, live and imaginative in interpretation; Miller's is that of the cautious scholar writing in a serviceable but rather wooden academic prose, proud of his footnoting (he even crams so vital an event as Kropotkin's marriage into a long footnote), but essentially abstract in approach and mechanical in interpretation.

Miller betrays something of his limitations in the first page of his Preface, when he tells us of his interest "in the application of Eriksonian psychology to the study of Russian revolutionaries" and goes on to tell how he "decided to abandon the method and instead to attempt a full-scale biography of Kropotkin."

What he has produced is, in fact, neither full-scale nor a biography. Biography, by definition, is the telling of a life, in all its aspects and dimensions; the art is to select the details one uses in such a way that the essential balance between grand and trivial, fleeting and enduring, emotional and intellectual aspects is sustained to produce a living and constantly growing portrait of the subject.

One searches vainly in Kropotkin for such an achievement or for the awareness that might produce it. The absence of illustrations is paralleled by an equal absence of any physical description of persons or places. We are given no hint of what Kropotkin looked like, of his mannerisms,

of the characters of the people he encountered; we are led blindfold, as it were, through the scenes of his life. He is, for the most part, a hand writing, a voice talking. The only incident that stirs Professor Miller to anything approaching lively prose is the celebrated escape from prison in St. Petersburg - and how much more excitingly Kropotkin told it! Whole important areas, such as Kropotkin's Siberian explorations and the geographical theories emanating from them are virtually ignored, and in discussing personal relationships Miller shows himself surprisingly unperceptive; asking why - in 1872 - Kropotkin never met Bakunin during his visit to Switzerland, he neglects the obvious possibility that, having just burnt his fingers with one apparently promising young Russian revolutionary, Sergei Nechaev, Bakunin may have been disinclined to repeat the experiment immediately with another enthusiastic unknown from St. Petersburg.

*Kropotkin*, then, is in no way a full-scale biography, and mainly, I suspect, because Professor Miller does not understand the difference between biography and history. What he has presented is a fragment of the history of European ideas, viewed through the glass of one man's thoughts. But that man, as flesh-and-blood-and-feeling, is absent from his book. What Kropotkin did is as pedestrianly told as if it were being written in a report of the Third Division. What he felt is hardly more than inferred. It is the thought of Kropotkin that is dominant throughout, discussed often almost in vacuo, and this explains many curious biographical distortions, for Miller is interested mainly in the documents that show how Kropotkin's theories developed, and these have survived erratically, so that one is subjected to many pages on adolescent intellectual development, principally because youthful letters between Kropotkin and his brother Alexander have survived in Russian archives, but is given very little on periods when Kropotkin lived actively yet left nothing the historian of ideas can firmly grip.

Thus Professor Miller's *Kropotkin* presents much new detail, though it leaves out masses of facts vital to an understanding of Kropotkin's personal life; he has made no dramatic discoveries and leaves many problems of Kropotkin's life unsolved. His lack of true biographical flair means that his book has little real unity, and one apprehends its new facts fitfully and fragmentarily. It is a dull book, and Kropotkin deserves better. Yet, with its bibliographical information about recently opened sources, it provides one of the basic hoards from which a definitive biography of Kropotkin will one day be written.

Kropotkin's own books have been abundantly reprinted during the last decade or so. Most of his major works - *Mutual Aid*, *The Conquest of Bread*, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, *The Great French Revolution* and *In Russian and French Prisons* - are now available. So is Roger Baldwin's 1927 collection of Kropotkin's *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, and a number of smaller individual works like *The State* have also been reprinted.

Yet the need remained for a Kropotkin handbook extracting typical writings that have a relevance to modern times and issues, and this is what Emile Capouys and Keitha Tompkins have provided in *The Essential Kropotkin*. This is not, as the publisher's blurb claims, "the first general selection from all his works." Herbert Read prepared an excellent handbook of this type, *Kropotkin: Selections from his Writings*, which Freedom Press published in 1942, but that unfortunately has been long out of print; *The Essential Kropotkin* provides a serviceable substitute.

In their introduction to *The Essential Kropotkin*, as well as in their selections, Capouys and Tompkins repeatedly show how well and clearly Kropotkin speaks of problems that are still with us. His attitude to crime and to law as its prime cause; his stress on an integrated education "of the mind, the senses, the muscles" as a prerequisite for social harmony; his fervent advocacy of decentralization in relation to both administration and industry; his stress on methods of farming that would increase production without exhausting the soil; his conviction that the simplest and most direct solutions to social problems are always the best; "his inveterate habit" of dealing with "social problems as if they were

cont. on page 14.

## Notes cont. from page 12.

1 These groups played a determining role in the general strike of the building sector on the 17th April 1975 in Barcelona, organizing strike pickets and workers' self-defence.

2 The anarcho-syndicalists are also firmly implanted in the metal industries, and notably in the Baix Llobregat region.

3 On the 15th September 1975, seven Alcoy comrades were arrested as "leaders" of the general strike which had just paralysed the town.

4 This "apertura" allowed some publishers to bring out books to do with anarchism. Amongst them notably, "Tusquets" which has entrusted Carlos Semprun Maura with a collection called "Acracia".

5 The magazine has now stopped publication due to a large gap between expected and actual circulation, and disagreements between the founder and the rest of the collective.

6 The "consulates" in question were entrusted with making sure that the directives of the "official" C.N.T. were followed.

## KROPOTKIN Continued:

necessarily susceptible of solution", and of solution by the people most directly involved in them: such are the themes they stress, and in doing so they present Kropotkin as an exemplary thinker for our "era of forced and sharpened choices".

The result is a readable and timely selection which the editors have made bearing in mind that "Kropotkin's naiveté is a good part of his genius." There is, indeed, nothing from Kropotkin's time of early militancy in Tsarist Russia, or from his final disillusioned period in Tsarist Russia, but the selections from the pamphlets are drawn largely from the era of his greatest agitational activity in western Europe when he founded *Le Révolte*. Most of the three-fifths of the book taken up by extracts from the major works represents the three English decades when, without severing his contact with the anarchist movement (for it was now that he founded *Freedom*), he devoted himself principally to large polemical and scholarly books, many of them written in parts for journals like *The Nineteenth Century* to augment his scanty income. Thus the most significant periods of Kropotkin's life, so far as his appeal to posterity goes, are represented.

The enduring relevance of the major works - even of a book like *The Great French Revolution* which always talks of the past with an eye to the future and so extracts from the events of 1789-93 many lessons useful in our time - will be of no surprise to anyone who has been aware of the part Kropotkin's works have played in developing the arguments of radical sociologists, of environmentalists and ecologists, and of revisionist evolutionaries, for a whole generation. What does strike one, reading them again with memories of the Paris insurrection of 1968 and similar recent events in mind, is how fresh and relevant are some of the pamphlets like *The Spirit of Revolt*, written to encourage rebellious French and Swiss workers almost a century ago. And when we are tempted to drop into the habit of thinking that Kropotkin was too naively devoted to sweetness and light, there are the salutary flashes of dark realism, for it was no idolator of human nature who could say - and mean - that "Man is the cruellest animal upon earth."

George Woodcock

## Medieval Revolts Against

## Church And State



IN A FAIRLY RECENT BOOKLET, I came across a very standard view of pre-modern class society. It was stated that the life of the individual was completely controlled, and based on something quite external to him.

"The central mode of experience in pre-capitalist society was the event, principally the religious/historical event - Christ on the cross," it explained further.

This general view prevails, of course, and is put pretty much identically by orthodox textbooks, historians and marxists alike, nostrums about the universality of class struggle by the former notwithstanding. Yet certainly the natural history of the revolt tradition is grotesquely maligned by the notion that somehow authentic revolutionary movements do not begin until the nineteenth century.

Marc Bloch, historian of the "Dark Ages," admits that even

the most fabled of feudal rulers were constantly beset by revolts. And we find, for example, the inhabitants of Cambrai engaged in insurrection between 959 and 962, and an analogous rising at the same time in Liege in France.

Elsewhere in Europe, other revolts were taking place; on the part of the weavers of Milan from before 1050, and in other northern Italian cities, in Lyon and other cities of southern France, in German cities of the Rhine region, and in the Netherlands by the 1100's.

The most popular method of banishing the fact of social revolt from the "Dark" or "Middle Ages" has long been that of assigning to it a merely religious character. Revolutionaries are called heretics, the class struggle portrayed solely in the context of the Church. Thus the most famous work of this genre, Norman Cohn's *Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchism of the Middle Ages*, is found in libraries under church history. Recently, however, this method or point of view has been losing its persuasiveness.

It is true that violent heretical movements abounded - the Albigensians in France in the 1200's, the Lollards in England in the 1300's, the Hussites in Bohemia in the 1400's, to name a very few. But as the Norwegian historian, Halvdan Koht, and others have begun to recognize, rebellions were not basically theological in nature at all but were generally clear-sighted and thorough-going struggles against oppression, and only occasionally and partially motivated by a religious consciousness.

It becomes easier to see the non-religious character to challenges to authority by the latter half of the Middle Ages, when we can see past the power of the Church for evidence. If the quiescence and stability before this time was largely a fiction, it is far more obvious that by the 1200's both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Church was in ruins. Strikes and riots were common from 1250 on in the industrial regions of Europe, such as Lombardy, Tuscany and Flanders.

In 1244 there was a riot of the workers of Douai and in 1248 a general revolt broke out in Bruges, Ypres, Ghent and Douai. There was much initiative shown by rural workers too, including but not limited to strikes at peak harvest times. Similarly historian Daniel Waley notes that "movements of the cloth-making proletariat had led to violence in Flanders and some parts of Italy well before the close of the thirteenth century."

### MEDIEVAL CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

And though we might well detect a note of condescension in Miriam Beard's discussion of "the hearty frankness characteristic of the medieval mind" (in her *History of Business*), the appreciation of the deep class-consciousness of medieval people is well-founded indeed. In Italy, for instance, the ruling classes were called the fat ones, or *popolo grosso*, while working people were known as the small or lean folk, the *popolo minuto* in the popular usage.

Before the 1200's were out, the ruling merchant-industrialists of Flanders were forced to seek aid from the King of France to keep the workers in subjection. This move, however, brought defeat for King Philip and the French army for it precipitated a powerful alliance between the textile workers and the artisans. At Coutrai in 1302 the united urban proletariat slaughtered Philip's army, and dominated Flemish city governments until the end of their partnership.

Also in Flanders occurred the most violent and prolonged of the many peasant revolts of the 1300's, lasting from 1323 to 1328. Once again the urban wool-workers took up arms, too, and the peasants plus these allies waged a war of extermination against landlords, capitalists and clergy.

As Friedrich Heer pointed out in his *Medieval World*, the watchword of the rising was "War against the rich and the priests!" Another civil war in 1348-49 ended in the massacre of weavers in Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, but the weavers (plus artisans in this case) of the three cities rose again in 1359 and for two years held out in the face of all opposition. These struggles embody an organized political and social revolution which flared up repeatedly and contained radically democratic demands.

In 1357 and 1358 northern France saw the unrestrained outburst of peasant fury known as the *Jacquerie*, for the common

Continued on p. 16

# Who Cares Who Killed TROTSKY ?

It is reported in the press that Harold Robins is in London and has volunteered to sit on a committee of inquiry into the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in August 1940. This proposal for an inquiry is launched by the Worker's Revolutionary Party in Britain.

The medieval schoolmen used to debate such questions as "how many angels can balance on the point of a pin?" Their modern counterpart the Trotskyists (of which the WRP is a fraction) used to debate whether Russia was a workers' degenerate state or a degenerate workers' state, and have now turned themselves to the question "How many Trotskyists can balance on the point of an ice-pick?"

The Guardian's Martin Walker suggests that "some kind of dramatic recruiting drive is now overdue" and hints at the denunciation of Robins "as a Soviet agent" with counter-accusations by Robins that Joseph Hansen of the SWP "reported to FBI agents and had boasted of contacts with Soviet secret agents in New York in 1939". One hears the sound of ice picks sharpening; all this is familiar stuff and the type of thing one can only expect from Trotskyists of whatever school.

By a foul coincidence, the Daily Mail of August 19th. features an expose' of the "Red House", the WRP study centre, by a Daily Mail journalist who infiltrated its portals in search of a scandal. It is remotely possible that the reporter was a "believer" who was so put off by the WRP's techniques that she, in pique, told all to the Daily Mail. However, knowing the shifty standards of the Daily Mail and its gutter journalism one doubts if this was the case. Besides exposing the journalistic ethics of the Daily Mail, as if that were necessary, it all exposes the lamentable failure, once more, of cloak and dagger politics.



When Trotsky was killed by a young man who infiltrated his fortress-household, this was the second attempt on Trotsky's life in Mexico within four months. On May 23rd. 1940 the house was raked by machine-gun fire by a group (including the Mexican painter Siqueiros), Trotsky and his wife escaped by sheltering under the bed. On this occasion too a contact inside the house was suspected of allowing the group to enter the house. He, Robert Sheldon Harte, was found dead after the attempt, allegedly kidnapped or disposed of, after having done the GPU's work (the Russian secret police, once the NKVD, now the KGB, it, like many criminals, keeps changing its name to avoid detection). Such was the situation at the Coyoacan "fortress" that it seems at times that Trotsky was the only Trotskyist on the premises if we are to believe everyone! Perhaps philosophically Trotsky was the only true Trotskyist.

The assassination of Trotsky occurred in August 1940, during the Nazi-Soviet pact era, so it could have been done at the behest of the Nazis. The German invasion of Russia did not occur till June 1941 when the Soviet Union was anxious to repudiate any world revolutionary aims of Communism; then would have been the time to dispose of Leon Trotsky, the brilliant gadfly of the "permanent revolution".

Although Trotskyists are keen to promote Trotsky as a better alternative than Stalin or, at best, by some apologists, as a lesser evil, it was recognised by Lenin, in what is described as his "testament", that Trotsky had his faults. He had an inclination to oppose the central committee. He displayed a "too far-reaching a self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs". Lenin was suspicious of Trotsky's "individualism"! "Personally" though wrote Lenin "comrade Trotsky is, to be sure, the most able man in the present central committee". Lenin also had reservations about Trotsky's non-Bolshevik background. Deutscher paraphrases Lenin as saying "the party should remember their old vices, but it should not bring up those vices against them".

Lenin in his "testament" also praised Bukharin (purged in the trials of the 30's) as the "greatest and most valuable theoretician .... the favourite of the whole party".....but unfortunately in whom there was "something scholastic".

The apparatus of the purges was set up in 1921 with the approval of Lenin and Trotsky. In its original form it was "self-critical" of the party and was used against "anarcho-syndicalists, waverers, doubters and dissidents" (Deutscher). When Stalin concentrated all the power

in his hands he used this instrument to initiate the series of purges under which most of the original old Bolsheviks (including Bukharin and ultimately Trotsky, were tried, condemned, exiled and executed) and thousands, if not millions, of lesser functionaries followed them to death, imprisonment, and exile.

It is ironic that one of the articles written by Radek was in praise of the NKVD (as it was then) which eventually saw to his dispatch to penal servitude, and disappearance, in Russia's prisons. It is also ironical that in 1921 a book by Trotsky was published in England called "The Defence of Terrorism", which to be fair to Trotsky was originally called

"Terrorism and Communism", the same title as Karl Kautsky's polemic, but, in fact, it was a defence of stern measures (which might by some unthinking victims be called "terrorism", against the enemies of the revolution.)

On page 55 of the Labour Publishing Co. edn. (1921) of the "Defence of Terrorism" Trotsky writes - replying to Kautsky - "The revolution "logically" does not demand terrorism, just as "logically" it does not demand an armed insurrection. What a profound commonplace! But the revolution does require of the revolutionary class that it should attain its end by all methods at its disposal - if necessary, by an armed rising: if required, by terrorism. A revolutionary power which has conquered power with arms in its hands is bound to, and will, suppress, rifle in hand, all attempts to tear the power out of its hands. Where it has against it a hostile army, it will oppose to it its own army. Where it is confronted with armed conspiracy, attempts at murder, or rising, it will hurl at the heads of its enemies an unsparing penalty. Perhaps Kautsky has invented other methods? Or does he reduce the whole question to the degree of repression and recommend in all circumstances imprisonment instead of execution?"

"Or" Trotsky goes on "perhaps Kautsky wishes to say that execution is not expedient, that "classes cannot be cowed". This is untrue. Terror is helpless - and then only "in the long run" - if it is employed by reaction against a historically rising class. But terror can be very efficient against a reactionary class which does not want to leave the scene of operations. Intimidation is a powerful weapon of policy both internationally and internally".

Trotsky soon had a chance to put these ideas in practice. In March 1921 (presumably while the book was still printing) he issued an ultimatum to the Kronstadt sailors who were revolting against the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party and for the re-institution of the Soviets.

"The Workers' and Peasants' Government has decreed that Kronstadt and the rebelling ships shall submit immediately to the authority of the Soviet Republic. I order, in consequence, that all who have raised their hands against the Socialist fatherland lay down their arms without delay. Recalcitrants should be disarmed and brought to the Soviet authorities. The Commissars and the other representatives of the government who have been arrested must be set free on the spot. Only those who surrender unconditionally can expect mercy from the Soviet Republic. I simultaneously give the order to prepare for the suppression of the rebellion and the subjugation of the sailors by armed force. All responsibility for injury that the peaceful population may suffer rests entirely on the heads of the white-guard mutineers. This warning is final. Signed Trotsky, President of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. Kameneff, Commander in Chief."

"This ultimatum" says Voline in the 'Unknown Revolution' was followed by an order from Trotsky containing the historic threat "I will shoot you like partridges". The rising was suppressed by troops under Tukhachevsky (later executed in the purges) with the brutal slaughter of the sailors who believed they were furthering the revolution.

There was a certain poetic nemesis in the death of Trotsky by the "terrorism" which he condoned and, given the opportunity, practised. It is probable that had Trotsky obtained the power over the Russian people he would have been as great a tyrant as Stalin regardless of the differences of personality and supposed differences in philosophy, economics and politics.

Trotsky, Stalin, Lenin, Bukharin and Radek were all prisoners of a machine of their own making which, in the end, devoured its makers.

16 peasant name Jacques. The rebellion was especially alarming to the rulers because it involved an alliance between the peasants and the people of Paris. In fact, though England was at war with France at the time, this more pressing class interest took immediate precedence and English help was rushed across the Channel to suppress this great explosion.

#### MASS REVOLTS

In 1378 the day labourers, or *ciompi* of Florence were successful in revolt for a time, succumbing mainly to proletarian divisions rather than the power of the rulers. Returning to northern Europe and Flanders again, 1367, 1370 and 1377 saw further insurrections in Ypres. And in 1379 cloth workers throughout the country rose in a mass revolt against the nobility and the bourgeoisie, being defeated only by these combined forces plus much aid from the French monarch, after three years of fierce civil war.

The peasants' Revolt in England took place in 1381 when free and generally prosperous peasants joined city workers in a highly class-conscious rebellion. London was quickly captured and occupied after a general and well-planned uprising broke out simultaneously throughout the eastern counties.

Though its success was short-lived, the undertaking showed once again how tenuous was the hold over the labouring classes. And while most accounts still try to drag Wycliffe and others in as supposedly providing an important religious character to the revolt, it was clearly quite anticlerical in nature.

In 1380 Parisian revolutionaries known as the *maillotins* from the hammers or mallets they carried, attacked the government buildings, burning the archives, killing tax collectors and opening the jails. Similar risings took place in Rouen and other French cities, and again in Flanders until the middle of the decade.

Continuing this thumbnail survey, revolts occurred in Catalonia from 1409 through 1413 (and from 1462 onwards), Denmark in 1411, Finland in 1438 and many others throughout the century. The *Bundschuh*, or peasant league, was the organized expression of revolts which became increasingly widespread in central Europe by the last years of the century. Alsace in 1493, Speyer

in 1502, in the Breisgau area and many other regions in 1513-14, in Austria in 1515, and again in the Black Forest area in 1517—these were to culminate in the great Peasant War of 1524-26.

Meanwhile in Spain, the peasants of Valencia rebelled in 1520 as the bloody revolt of the *Comuneros* spread through the cities of Castile. The woolcarders, traditional rebels in the textile industry, were among the most advanced in the armed urban uprising at Segovia in which the people hanged officers of the crown and seized the city. In Burgos, a few days later, workers invaded and destroyed the houses of officials; they made a great pile of documents relating to property and taxes and burned them in the public square.

#### ROBUST VANDALISM

At the beginning of an otherwise mediocre book, *The Peasant War in Germany*, Engels accurately compares the German revolt of the 1520's to the 1848-9 revolution. As to the power and fury of that earlier conflagration which engulfed central Europe and smashed nobility and clergy alike in its heyday, Engels is forced to say that here was a time "when the German peasants and plebeians were full of ideas and plans that often made their descendants shudder." He concedes, in a fleeting honesty, that the 19th century brand of insurrection rarely approached the "robust vandalism" of the Peasant War.

And next, the 1600's. French historian Roland Mousnier has called them "a century of revolts all over the world." It was in the middle of that century that the Diggers and Levellers and their even more radical allies in England called all the values of hierarchical society into question and produced a time when "literally anything seemed possible," as Christopher Hill put it. According to Gerrard Winstanley at the time, "the old world ... is running up like parchment in the fire."

The point of this very brief and incomplete list of cases is only the reminder that contrary to what is taught, revolt has always been alive. And that it runs not according to anyone's theoretical conceptions or classifications but by the real class struggles of individuals, however obvious this may be. Herein lies a rich history: have heart and take aim.

John and Paula Zerzan.

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## BOOKSHOP NOTES

THIS WEEK I will concentrate on another of the giants of the Anarchist Movement - Michael Bakunin. Maximoff's long serving anthology of Bakunin's writings is unavailable at present, but in its stead Freedom Bookshop has obtained a limited number of the remaindered hardback edition of Sam Dolgoff's *Bakunin on Anarchy*, 400 pages of Bakunin's writings with a preface by Paul Avrich and a biographical note by James Guillaume and good value at £1.50 (plus 70p postage).

In French we have a new title from CIRA, by Jeanne Marie: *Michel Bakounine; Une Vie d'Homme*, £4.95p (plus 47p post), a detailed biography of Bakunin's life; and *La Pensée Constructive de Bakounine* by Gaston Leval, £2.95p (plus 20p), an interesting analysis of Bakunin's ideas with copious illustrations from his works, by the author of Freedom Press' *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*. From the same publisher as the Leval (Spartacus, Paris) we have H.E. Kaminski's *Michel Bakounine: La vie d'un Revolutionnaire*, £2.00 (32p post), another biography.

In English, Bakunin's *God and the State*, £1.40p (plus 14p post) is in stock; it has a new introduction by Paul Avrich, the author of Freedom Press' *Bakunin and Nechaev* (£0.20p plus 9p post) which is, of course, still available. One of the few analyses in English of

Bakunin's ideas is Eugene Pyziur's fascinating *The Doctrine of Anarchism of Michael Bakunin*, £1.50p (plus 20p post).

The Bookshop has a number of other titles published by Spartacus of Paris in stock, *L'Anarchisme Aujourd'hui* by Jean Barrue, £1.25p (plus 14p postage), which also includes Bakunin's *La Réaction en Allemagne*; also Arthur Lehning's *Anarchisme et Marxisme dans la Révolution Russe*, £0.90p (plus 14p postage) and *Les Anarchistes Russes et les Soviets*, £0.90p (plus 14p postage), an anthology of anarchist writings from and about the Russian revolution, edited by Alexandre Skirda and including contributions from Rocker, Arshinov, Valevsky, Yartchouk and Makhno. Also Rudolf Rocker's *Les Soviets trahis par les Bolsheviki*, £1.25 (plus 14p post).

*1848 in France* is the title of an anthology of writings from the events of that year, with which Bakunin was closely involved. It is edited by Roger Price and is in Thames and Hudson's *Documents of Revolution* series, £1.95p (plus 26p postage). Many of the writings it contains are anonymous tracts, posters and newspaper articles from the time; also letters, speeches and other material by Blanqui, de Tocqueville and many others.

*Manas* is a "journal of independent enquiry" which has been appearing regularly in the United States since the late 1940s; an anthology *The Manas Reader* has just appeared, £2.95p (plus 55p post) in paperback, £4.95p (plus 70p post) in hardback, giving a characteristic cross-section of the wide variety of contributors to the magazine, including the writings of Carl Rogers, Vinoba Bhave, Marc Chagall, Henry Miller, E.F. Schumacher, Theodore Roszak and many more.

Lastly, Bratach Dubh Publications in Glasgow have produced a translation of Alfredo M. Bonanno's *Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle*, £0.15p (plus 7p post) with an introduction by Jean Weir. The pamphlet was originally an article in Bonanno's fine magazine *Anarchismo* (in Italian), copies of which are available from Freedom Bookshop at £0.50p (plus 11p postage). This pamphlet is an important contribution to a somewhat sensitive area of anarchist thinking, a creative critique of national liberation movements from an anarchist standpoint, it is long overdue. Some time ago Nigel Young wrote a pamphlet, *On War, National Liberation and the State*, £0.15p (plus 7p postage) which did a fairly similar kind of job, but this time from a pacifist viewpoint. The two pamphlets complement each other quite well.

J. H.

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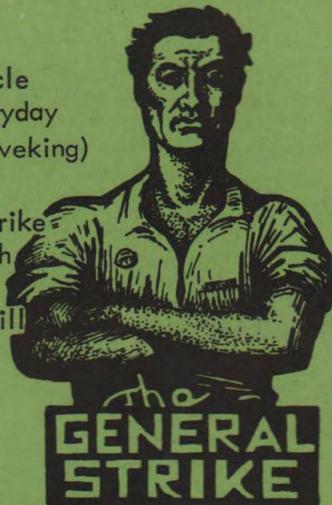
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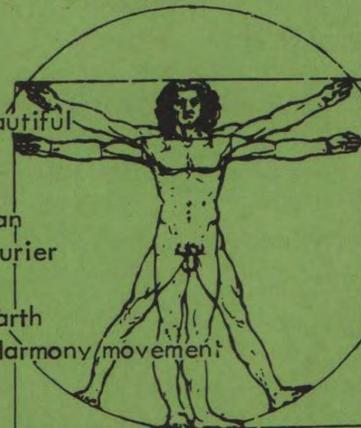
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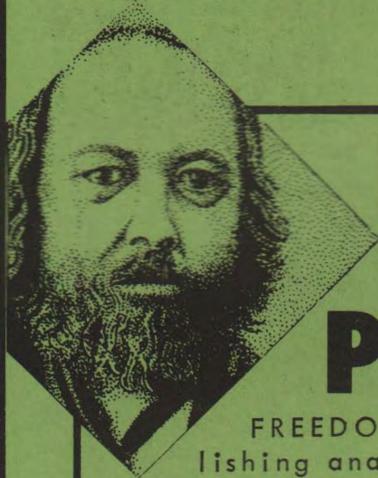
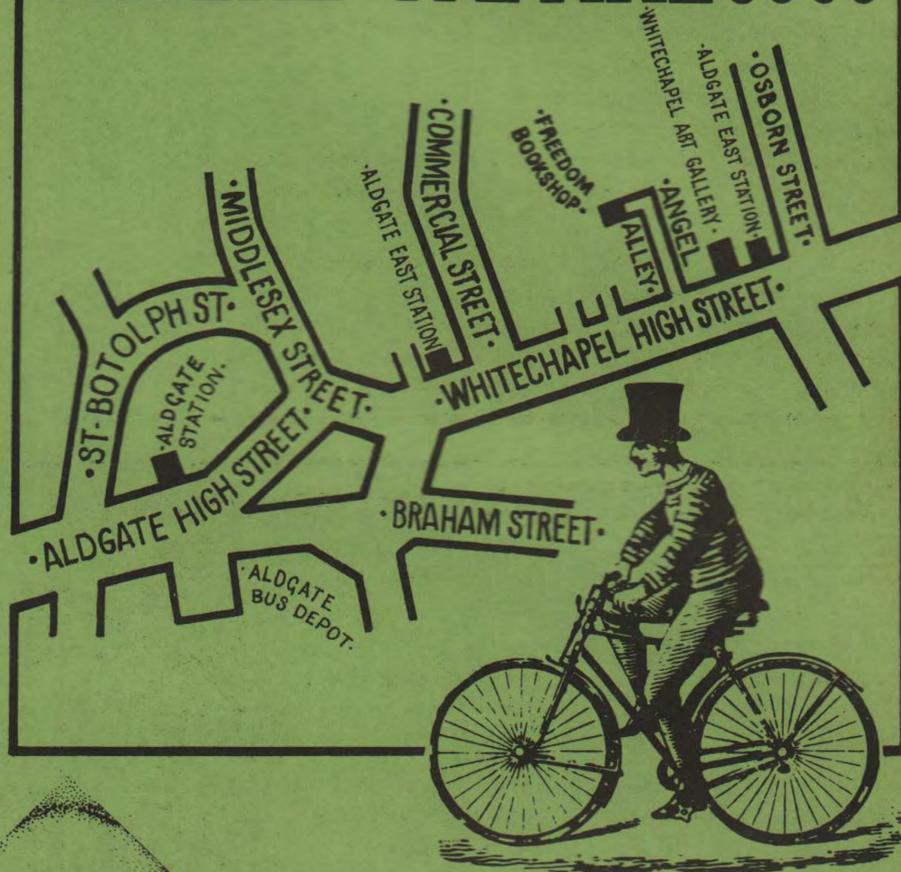
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