

* LATIN AMERICA
TOTAL
POPULATION: 1959
ABOUT 202 MILLION
PROBABLY WILL BE
600 MILLION
AT TURN OF
CENTURY
(FAO Estimate)

DO A DIAGRAMATIC
MAP OF LATIN AMERICA
SHOWING LOCATION OF COUNTRIES
ADD A FIGURE TO EACH
SHOWING APPROX. POPULATION
IN MILLIONS.

to 8 1/2 x 11 1/2

PUT IN TRANSLATION

WHAT THE TOURISTS SEE

(THE TRANSLATOR, A MEXICAN,
SAYS THAT THE TOURIST IS
ALWAYS WRONG, IF HE GOES
TO THE TEMPLES HE HAS NO SOCIAL
CONSCIENCE)

THEY DON'T SEE
COLONIAL TEMPLES
BUT THE POOR LITTLE ONES
SELLING PORNOGRAPHY

WHAT A SCENE OF
DEGRADATION,
IN PLAIN SIGHT
OF EVERYONE IN
INDEPENDENCE PLAZA

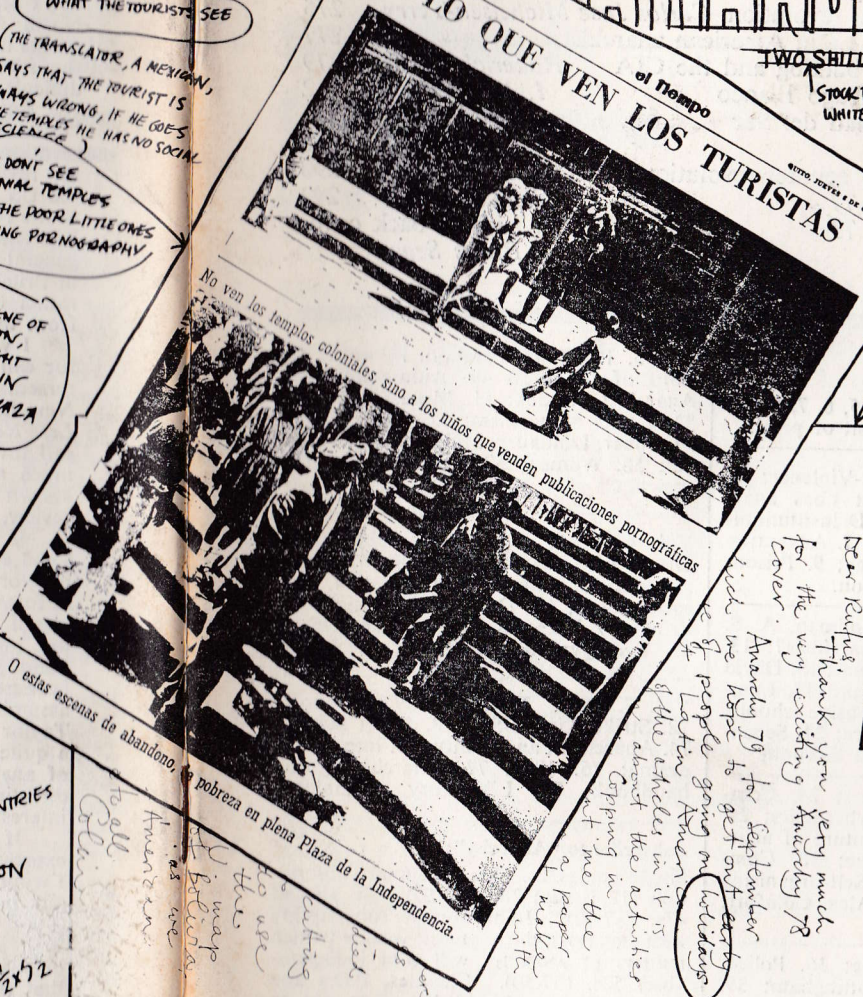
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ANARCHY 79

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Mr Rufus Seagar
34 Hamilton Gardens
LONDON
N.W.8

Anarchy 79 Sept:
Love to Sheila, Jim,
Bruno, B.J and
Daniel from Colin
and Janet etc.

Dear Rufus,
Thank you very much
for the very exciting Anarchy 78
cover.

Anarchy 79 for September
did we hope to get out early
& people going on holidays
& Latin America
The articles in it is
gripping in the
the paper
to make

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23rd July 1967

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The anarchist tradition in Latin America

IAN R. MITCHELL

LATIN AMERICA IS A HUGE, POPULOUS, but as yet largely under-developed continent. Its mineral and agricultural potential, with its 210 million people, are rich temptations for the protagonists in the Cold War, searching for allies or dependencies, and it is largely within this global context that the compelling problems of the continent will be fought out and resolved. These problems are those familiar to most under-developed areas—poverty, imperialism and military rule. In the conflicts ahead anarchists will have an influence amounting to little better than nil; groups are tiny and activity almost non-existent, and the movement as a whole will be hopelessly inadequate for the task of fighting these three evils.

Some anarchists found it amusing and ludicrous when Bertrand Russell¹ recently claimed that America was directly responsible for perpetuating the greater part of poverty and suffering throughout the world, but I suggest to them that they acquaint themselves with Latin American history since 1900 for confirmation of at least part of the philosopher's thesis, for here where children starve in the "Banana Republics", where miners are poisoned in the Bolivian tin mines, the hackneyed word "imperialism" at last takes on some meaning. It would also be highly informative for those who are busy "sociologically chiselling" at the masonry of our society by means of free schools, community workshops, etc., who might kindly please explain to us how to "sociologically chisel" the United Fruit Co. of Boston out of the Central American republics:

*they ravished all enterprise
awarded the laurels like Caesars
unleashed all the covetous. . . .
And all the while, somewhere, in the
sugary hells of our seaports,
smothered by gases, Indians
fell in the morning.²*

The role played by the United Fruit Co. is illustrated by events in

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Guatemala. Here in 1954 a duly-elected pro-communist government was overthrown by an army of mercenaries trained and equipped by America. The pro-communist government was giving untitled land to peasants and supporting striking workers in fights for higher wages. But the United Fruit Co., which *owned* Guatemala—most of the land, all the transport and much of the industry—saw these moves as a threat and insisted that the government be overthrown. Since 1954 the country has been under a neo-fascist dictatorship. There is not a right-wing dictatorship in the continent not financed and armed by Yanqui imperialism, not a country (except Cuba) of any significance where trade and industry are not dominated by American interests.

There is a great likelihood of widespread social revolution in Latin America in the next decade; rumours of revolt are already coming from Peru, Bolivia and Venezuela and it is Castro's guerrillas, Chinese arms and Russo-Chinese propaganda that will be the spearhead of the process, *not* any form of anarchism. But anarchists have not always been irrelevant in the struggle of the working-classes in Latin America for emancipation; they have played a great and honourable part, a part that will be marred if an attitude of "sitting on the fence" is adopted in the coming struggle. I want to give a short account of the rise and fall of the Latin American anarchist movement and to assess its successes and failures, in the belief that anarchists who waste their time reading Lipset, Popper and other bourgeois ideologists should at least be aware of that part of their tradition which they have now rejected.³

After 1850 industrialisation came to South America, slowly in the West but more rapidly in the Eastern countries of Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Foreign capital, especially American and British, and immigrant labour were the two main factors in this process. Now, Spain and Italy were the countries from which emigrants poured in ever increasing numbers at the turn of the century to this area, and it was in these countries that the anarchist tradition in the labour movement was strongest. Many of the exiles had been exposed to anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist influences in their home countries and participated in industrial unrest, and others had come to South America specifically because of their activities in the anarchist movement, either as exiles or refugees. Apart from this favourable circumstance, the violence, fraud and corruption which marked political life in Latin America led many workers to believe that direct, non-political action as preached by the syndicalists was the only way to improve their position. The prestige which the Spanish CNT had earned because of its achievements in similar conditions lent force to this belief, and it is this same kind of prestige among the Latin American masses that Castro possesses today. Finally, the fact that many of the capitalists were foreign and viewed the newly-arrived immigrants as easy meat for exploitation tended to give industrial relations, always violent in a situation of developing capitalism, an especially brutal flavour. It was a natural consequence of all these factors that anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism were the first ideologies

adopted by the Latin American workers, and the anarchist trends dominated the working-class movement of the area until 1930 at least, being especially marked in 1900-1920 when in some countries there was what almost amounted to a civil war between the anarcho-syndicalists and the authorities of the capitalist state.

ARGENTINA

The extent of anarchist activity in these countries was invariably directly proportional to the extent of Italian or Spanish immigration and to the extent of industrialisation, and consequently it was Argentina which showed the greatest development, having a movement which compared favourably with the greatest European ones. As early as 1874 a number of sections adhering to the First International and controlled by Bakuninists were in existence, and in 1877 delegates from the country attended the Saint-Imier International's Conference. In the 1880s some great anarchists including Mattei and Malatesta visited the country and the latter edited a newspaper *Questione Sociale* in Buenos Aires in 1885. He stayed till 1889 and "his activities . . . mark the beginning of a more intense and co-ordinated movement there."⁴ Extensive educational and propagandist activity in the 1890s increased the number of the movement's adherents and enabled it to found newspapers—*El Perseguido* (1890) and the famous *La Protesta* (1897)—which were widely read and influential. The rapid growth of trade unionism led to the formation in 1901 of the Labour Federation of Argentina (FORA). Contrary to popular belief, this organisation was not anarchist from the outset and only became so after a bitter struggle between the social democrats and anarchists was resolved in the latter's favour at the Fifth Congress in 1905. A resolution was there adopted which stated that: "The Fifth Congress . . . declares that it favours and recommends to all its members the widest publicity and education for the purpose of inculcating in the workers the economic and philosophical principles of anarchist communism."

Firmly set on its course, the organisation launched a series of strikes. Successful teamsters', stevedores', and mechanics' strikes were held, but one by bakers was defeated. Solidarity was high, and in one year twelve particular strikes became general ones. Five times in the first decade of the century anarchist-inspired activity was so intense that the government declared a state of siege, outlawing all working-class activity. Anarchist offices were sacked by the police and "patriots" were given a free hand to destroy printing presses. May Day demonstrations were fired upon in 1903 and 1905, with casualties, and a law was passed facilitating the deportation of many leading militants. The usual anarchist answer to police terrorism was to call a general strike, to which the authorities would reply by declaring a state of siege. Intimidation did not kill the movement and the country continued in an undeclared civil war. In 1905 an anarchist tried to kill the president, and two years later an anarchist strike in Bahia Blanca was crushed by

police shootings which killed a child and some workers. The violence culminated on May Day 1909 when, in Buenos Aires, the anarchist procession was suddenly fired on and fifty casualties resulted. In retaliation a Russian émigré anarchist, Radowitzky,⁵ assassinated Falcon, the Chief of Police who had ordered the shootings, and was jailed for twenty years. Next year a nation-wide political strike was called for May 25, but two weeks beforehand the authorities fell on the anarchist movement, and the familiar pattern of arrests, sackings and seizure of papers was repeated. Further, after planting a bomb in an empty theatre and framing an anarchist as responsible, the police stepped up their terrorism. All civil liberties were revoked, savage penalties handed out for even speaking subversively, and many militants jailed or deported.

The illegal distribution of *La Protesta* at about 10,000 copies a week continued until the First World War. With the end of the war and news of the victorious revolution in Russia, activity was again resumed. Clashes occurred in 1917 between the anarchists and police over the cost of living and by 1919 the FORA had recovered its 1910 strength of 200,000,⁶ and in this year occurred the "tragic week" when the country came nearer to revolution than it ever had before or has since. Workers striking at an English-owned company were killed by police gunfire and a general strike covering the whole of the country was organised by FORA. Terror raids against workers and pogroms against Jews were carried out by right-wing forces and the workers retaliated, bringing about, in self-defence, a situation which they had never been able to provoke themselves by the traditional anarcho-syndicalist tactics of strike and sabotage—a situation of street-fighting. Over 1,000 people were killed and the authorities finally proved victorious and imprisoned 55,000 people. Activity subsided for a year or two; the only notable event was the formation of the Argentine CP in 1920, and this organisation was able to profit to a certain extent from the failure of the anarchists in the "tragic week".

In 1921 activity resumed when a strike of Patagonian sheep-herders was smashed by the military and an anarchist, Wilikens, killed the Colonel in charge of the operation and was later murdered while awaiting trial. And it was solely due to the FORA that a United Labour Front formed in 1922 did not affiliate to the Red International of Labour Unions formed in Moscow the previous year. The same year FORA, along with FORU and the IWW sent delegates to the Berlin Congress at which the anarcho-syndicalist IWMA was founded, and to it they affiliated. The rise of international communism weakened the FORA slightly in the 1920s, but it was still the largest working-class organisation in the country, conducting propaganda campaigns, organising congresses and staging strikes. In 1928 it had about 40,000 members. The military coup d'état in 1930 practically wiped out all working-class activity, but the movement struggled on underground. For example, in 1932, 60 leaders of the bakers' section were tried for terrorism, and a police estimate gives 24 unions as affiliated to the FORA.⁷ Enough activity was engaged in to keep the movement alive, and *La Protesta* is still

published today, but it is difficult to assess if FORA has any real influence now.

Even if now insignificant, the FORA has had an effect on the Argentinian workers' consciousness which cannot be erased, and even under Peron claims were made that "We are moving towards the Syndicalist State"⁸ and their immensely successful educational and propagandist activities rate as real achievements: "through their press, publications of all sorts, schools, libraries, meetings and lectures, thousands came under their influence".⁹ But once again its history, especially 1900-20, shows the inadequacy of the traditional syndicalist methods, which are only a *prelude* to revolution and cannot in themselves bring it about as many syndicalists believe. *Never* has a revolution been started by syndicalists, although their preparatory work and capacity for re-organising production after the revolution compare favourably with those of any other organisation.

Before going on to consider the case of Mexico, which is second in importance and development only to Argentina, we must consider the other Latin American countries, many of which show a remarkable degree of anarchist influence; indeed there is hardly a country where the labour movement was *not* specifically anarchist until after 1920.

URUGUAY

Uruguay developed an anarcho-syndicalist movement for the same reasons as we have instanced for Argentina, but this movement was smaller, since the operative influences were less. Immigration from Italy and Spain was not so high, there was less industrialisation, etc. In 1872 a Bakuninist section of the International existed in the country, and agitation among workers and the appearance of short-lived publications began. In 1905 the FORU (akin to FORA) was founded, anarcho-syndicalist in aims and methods, and to it all the important trade unions soon affiliated. The organisation led a violent series of strikes, involving 11,000 workers, for the 8-hour day, but activity ebbed until after 1918, when a successful nation-wide strike to support taxi-drivers and meat-packing workers was called. Success brought new members, and in these years the organisation was at its height, with 25,000 members. It declined in the 1920s partly due to increasing communist activity, but mainly due to the introduction in Uruguay of a Welfare State and a more democratic constitution. In 1929, when a continental congress attended by delegates from 13 countries was held in Brazil, and the Continental American Workingmen's Association was founded, it had about 1,500 members.

CHILE

Chile was a country which was industrialised later than these others, and to which immigration came only in a trickle. Even so, in 1893, the first anarchist periodical *El Oprimido* appeared, and the more important *La Batalla* started publication in 1913. It is difficult to trace any significant anarchist organisation at all until 1919 when the IWW was

founded and declared itself "a revolutionary organisation fighting capital, the government and the church". It was strong in some trades, e.g. maritime ones, bricklaying and baking, but never gained the nation-wide domination of the working-class movement that FORA or FORU had done. Due to its late development, the IWW was rivalled in size and activity by the communist unions, and its maximum strength was about 12,000. After activity was interrupted by the 1927-31 dictatorship, it re-formed on a regional and non-industrial basis and became a more moderate body organising higher-paid sections of workers and one or two of its leaders even joined the government. After 1931 the IWW has not really played a significant role in the country's life.

BRAZIL

In Brazil the anarchist movement was almost totally the creation of Italian immigrants, and found its stronghold in São Paulo, where many periodicals in Italian were published. Tiny groups also existed among Portuguese workers. The anarchists were active in the trade unions from 1892 onwards, and by 1913 had gained complete control of the Brazilian Regional Labour Federation. In the years 1917-1919, the syndicalists were involved in a series of strikes which almost assumed revolutionary proportions. Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and other industrial centres were all affected, and the railways were paralysed by a violent strike; but again the syndicalists, relying on tactics which were basically *defensive*, let the opportunity pass. After 1920, increasing police persecution and a bitter struggle with the communists for control of the unions led to a sharp decline in the anarchists' strength, but there were still about 3,000 organised anarcho-syndicalists in the country in 1929.

PARAGUAY

In Paraguay the anarchist Regional Federation of Labour was publishing a paper in 1906. Delegates from the Paraguayan anarchists attended the Continental Congress in 1929.

PERU

The role played by anarchists in the Peruvian labour movement is a very interesting one. They organised the first unions and strikes in the country, and in 1904 were publishing a paper, *Las Parias*, in Lima. Another periodical, *La Protesta*, began to appear in 1911 and was an important tool in the class struggle until 1926. Throughout the pre-war years the doctrines of the syndicalists were taking root in the coastal centres of Peru, where industry was concentrated. Port and textile workers in Lima were especially receptive to their message. The extent of their influence in these years is shown by the fact that Haya de la Torre, Latin America's most renowned socialist, came into contact with the working-class movement through his studies at the anarchist library in Trujillo.

As with many of the Latin American countries, the immediate

post-war period was one of greatest activity. 1918 saw anarchist-inspired agitation for the 8-hour day, and the following year there was a strike against the 100% rise in the cost of living. Agitation throughout the whole of this summer caused hundreds of workers to be arrested in Lima, Callao and elsewhere; and out of the widespread ferment the Regional Federation of Labour was formed, aiming to "do away with capitalism and substitute for it a society of free producers". Later, in 1923, attempts to organise the indigenous Indian population led to the imprisonment of various anarchists, in a manner similar to the recent persecution of Hugo Blanco for the same offence. With repression, these weak but admirable and heroic organisations disappeared, and Peru was left for decades without any effective working-class or socialist movements.

BOLIVIA

In Bolivia anarchists were active after the First World War, and in 1928 the Labour Federation of La Paz was affiliated to the IWMA, the anarcho-syndicalist international. According to *Direct Action*,¹⁰ there is still extensive anarcho-syndicalist activity among the Bolivian tinminers and if this is correct, the country would be a remarkable exception to the general continental trend.

ECUADOR

In Ecuador, the first strike ever of any importance was one of 600 printers in Quito in 1919, which the anarchists organised. A centre for socialist education was set up to prepare the workers for a general strike in 1922. This occurred, 30,000 taking part, and fighting with the police broke out in several places.

COLOMBIA

The Colombian movement had some participants, but little organisation, since unions were illegal. But still, the anarchists called a demonstration in Bogotá in 1916 at which the police fired, and after which 500 were imprisoned, and they were also the driving force behind a successful and violent port strike in Cartagena in 1920.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Great difficulties have always been placed in the way of organising working-class movements in these countries, since, geographically close to America, they have often been subjected to direct military intervention from that country, followed by the installation of puppet military dictatorships. All this is "justified" by the Monroe Doctrine, the most evil fraud ever perpetrated by a great power on its helpless neighbours. Take, for example, the dictatorships of Trujillo in Dominica (1930-61) and Somoza¹¹ in Nicaragua (1933-58). Both were established after Marines intervened to quell "disorder", then trained and equipped armies under the dictators before leaving. That America has not yet given up this interventionist role was shown last year when 40,000 Marines crushed the Dominican Revolution.

In spite of this, anarchist movements seem to have existed in Costa Rica and Guatemala at least, but information on them is scarce. The former, *Hacia la Libertad*, was represented at the 1929 Continental Congress, and continued publishing a paper until after World War II. The Guatemalan *Comite pro Accion Sindical* has a similar history, and it would be interesting to know what role the movement played in the years leading up to the overthrow of the Arbenz regime in 1954.

CUBA

Although I feel inadequate in dealing with Cuba (there must be many who know more about this most recently active movement), it must be included in order to make our picture complete and coherent. The Cuban anarchists were a vital force in that country as late as 1961, and even today continue their work in exile, from Florida.

Strategically Cuba has always been the most important country in Latin America, and its economic importance is hardly less. The island's soil is among the most fertile in the world, and large, unexploited mineral resources exist. The earliest anarchists (groups began appearing in the 1870s) found themselves in a country with a very backward society. Slavery still existed for the majority of the island's Negro population until 1886, and Cuba was the last country to free itself from Spanish domination. Again, the pattern we have noted elsewhere was repeated in Cuba. Spanish immigrants brought the anarchist message to the country and it was well received.

The first anarchist paper, *El Productor*, was appearing in Havana by 1887 and was widely read, especially among tobacco-workers. The growing movement formed the "Workers' Alliance" which later became the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC) and began to engage in a violent struggle against both the Spanish imperialists and the native ruling class. In this the movement lost many of its best militants. The struggle against Spain erupted into a rising in 1895 during which the Cuban working-class, led by the anarchists, had the active support of the Spanish workers. The battle was fierce; anarchists were shot without trial (including Cresci, secretary of the CTC) or deported to Spanish prisons in equatorial Africa. It was also, sadly, a wasted effort, for as soon as the Spanish were defeated, American imperialism stepped in and occupied the island for eleven years until its interests were safe under the dictator Aleman. All this time the CTC was growing, organising strikes (including the General Strike of 1902) and publishing papers—*El Rebelde*, *Tierra!*—under conditions of great difficulty, very similar to those in Spain. Indeed the Cuban movement seems to have been as tied to the Spanish one as it was to those of the rest of Latin America, and in 1914 a delegate was sent to the Anarchist Congress at Ferrol, but the police broke up the congress, and the delegate, Jerez, was imprisoned in Seville, where he died on a hunger strike.

After the war the CTC was taken over by the communists and

began to play an exceedingly reactionary role, supporting the succession of dictators who ruled Cuba (including Batista in both his regimes) in return for being allowed to control the labour movement. After losing control of the CTC, the anarchists formed the Confederacion Nacional Obrera Cubana (CNOC) in 1924, but this too fell under the communist sway,¹² then struggled against the dictatorship of Machado underground, calling for a general strike which eventually and successfully occurred in 1933, in spite of active opposition from the communists. Here is the testimony of impartial observers: ". . . the role of the CP in the final overthrow of Machado was equivocal. It held back and nearly frustrated a general strike which led to his downfall."¹³

With the example of the Spanish Revolution and Stalinist implication in the imperialist war, a minor revival of anarchism took place in Cuba. In 1944 the Libertarian Association of Cuba was formed and held its first congress, attended by delegates from all over the island. The influence of the Association seems to have spread, for two years after his seizure of power Batista said, "The anarcho-sindicalist influence is as dangerous as communist intrusion!" Although it should be remembered that in the early 1950s the strength of the CP was at its lowest ever, and it soon recovered with Batista's kind help.

While Castro was fighting in the mountains, the anarchists opposed Batista in the working-class organisations, where they spread their ideas and influence. They put out clandestine radio broadcasts and published a paper, *El Libertario*, which was later suppressed. They also produced *Solidaridad Gastronomica* for a wide section of the Cuban food workers, and their influence in all parts of the country seems to have been extensive. When Batista fell in 1959 and Castro took over in Havana, both the above-mentioned papers appeared until late in 1961, when they ceased publication due to financial difficulties. They were not suppressed by Castro despite what many anarchists claim.¹⁴ However, as time passed and America became increasingly hostile to Castro's programme of social reform, the Cuban Revolution did the only thing possible—it looked to Russia for help, and began sliding down the slippery path that led to alignment with the Soviet bloc and the suppression of anarchist, Trotskyite and other left-wing movements. I am not going to end by attacking Castro and thus giving many anarchists pleasure, since I believe that Cuba between 1959 and 1961 was a country nearer to a form of libertarian socialism, anarchy if you like, than any other country has been since the defeat of the Spanish Revolution twenty years before, and since I further believe that it was not the fault of Castro, or of any of the members of the 26 July movement which he led, that things were not to remain that way. I would be very happy if those who attack Castro spent as much time attacking the US which is responsible for the present situation, and whose actions in the sub-continent I have tried to expose.

MEXICO

In Mexico there were two strong strains of anarchist activity. Firstly

in the urban trade unions, assuming a gradual development over many years, and secondly in the Zapata movement, a sudden outburst of primitive peasant anarchism unleashed by the 1910 Revolution. I have told the story of the latter movement at length elsewhere,¹⁵ and may here unavoidably repeat myself. The earliest account of anarchist activity that I can find is the sending of a delegate to attend the already-mentioned Saint-Imier Conference. But there must have been wide support even then, for next year, in 1878, a Bakuninist League was founded in Mexico City. Spanish immigrants brought the anarcho-syndicalist message to the Mexican workers, smarting under the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, and participated in strikes which were brutally suppressed. After 1900 activity became easier and Ricardo Flores Magon began publishing *Règeneracion*, an anarcho-syndicalist paper, in Mexico City. It was suppressed repeatedly in the next two years and Ricardo fled to America where he continued to print the paper and have it distributed illegally in Mexico. Magon planned a revolution for 1906 which was to overthrow Diaz, but it was a total inglorious failure. However, his activities from 1900 to 1910 did much to rouse and prepare the Mexican workers for the Revolution which came in 1910, and until 1918 most of the now legalised trade unions were syndicalist in structure and method. But in that year, with stability returning to the country, a government-backed union, CROM,¹⁶ was set up and strikes by other unions were declared illegal, but syndicalist and communist unions still continued their difficult tasks and the syndicalist CGT was represented at the 1922 Berlin Congress when it claimed 30,000 members and affiliated to the syndicalist International.

Zapata has suffered much neglect from anarchists, compared with, for example, Makhno. This is surprising since he participated in a Revolution which was the world's first nation-wide and recognisably socialist one; and also since the movement to which he gave his name came much nearer to victory than did Makhno's. Like Magon, he was active before 1910 in his home state of Morelos, a small densely-populated sugar-growing area. Prior to 1910 many villages had been destroyed to make way for plantations, and the peon's property seized by the owners of the great haciendas. A case occurred in 1902 when a well belonging to the villagers of Yuatapec was stolen from them, and 60 went to the capital to insist on justice. On their way back filled with promises from the government, 35 were arrested by the police, and put to forced labour in a remote part of the country where many of them were to die of overwork and starvation. Of the 25 who got back, one was Emiliano Zapata. Later, in 1909, he supported a democratic candidate in local "elections" against the same landowner, who, through open terror and corruption, was able to announce that he had won. Because of these brutal conditions, Morelos was a focal point of unrest, initially the cradle, and later the proving-ground of the Revolution.

On the outbreak of the Revolution, Zapata naturally assumed control of the movement in Morelos. The peasants began taking back

their stolen lands and occupying the main towns. At first they were willing to listen to the politicians who told them to be patient, to trust in legal means. But fear of the movement was widespread in conservative circles, and a campaign of lies against Zapata soon began in the press—he was a bandit, he held orgies, he was "the modern Attila". An army sent to crush the rising, under a certain Huerta, who is more deserving of this title, only served to inflame the bitter peons, and the uprising was soon out of the government's control. Their army, called the "Liberating Army of the South", extended its influence and operations. Coming down from the mountains, it invaded the federal district to the gates of Mexico City itself, burnt the haciendas, killed government officials and divided up the great estates. Zapata's final break with the politicians was announced in the Plan of Ayala, where he attacked the "deceitful and traitorous men who make promises as liberators but who, on achieving power, forget their promises and become tyrants".

In 1914 the movement was at the height of its power and was able to utilise the power vacuum caused by the fall of the government, to enter Mexico City in triumph, in alliance with the army of Pancho Villa. For reasons outlined in my article in *FREEDOM*, this state of affairs was not to last. Zapata's army had to flee back to Morelos as Carranza, one of Villa's allies, seized power and established a more "moderate" regime. He pursued the peon army and laid Morelos waste. "Trust to your guns only!" Zapata told his army, and heeding his words they remained invincible in the mountains. The resilience of the movement was explained by a contemporary. "Zapata is something more than a man: he is a symbol for the people of Morelos, a symbol of the socialism which has been awaked in that region." For four more bitter years they fought, rallied by Zapata: "Men of the South, it is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees!" To these days we owe those words, too often attributed to La Passionara. But in 1919, Zapata was captured by treachery, and murdered, and with his death the heroic phase of the Mexican Revolution ended. Zapata was the only leader in the Revolution to remain uncorrupted, and the movement he led was truly egalitarian, retaining an even greater purity of revolutionary idealism in times of acute stress than did the workers of Catalonia or the peasants of the Ukraine.

CONCLUSION

I'd like to end on a note of judgement. Anarchist activity in Latin America from 1900 to 1930 shows many things. On the credit side, there is the undeniable heroism and integrity of its adherents, especially remarkable when the type of society in which they lived is considered. Further, the widespread acceptance of the anarchist message and the effectiveness of propaganda activities shows that the anarchist philosophy fulfilled a definite need in the hearts of the South American workers at this time, a need which no other creed could satisfy. Finally credit must be given to the anarchists for doing more in this period to raise the status of the South American workers than any other organisa-

tion. Their own educational and propaganda activities stood the weak immigrants on their feet, and their fights with the capitalist state won more concessions than the idealistic liberals managed, than the ruthless CP tried, than the "benevolent" dictatorships promised. But there is a debit side. The period shows us the main flaw of the anarchist movement, at least in its revolutionary syndicalist form, i.e. that the "general strike" and other traditional methods are not the cure for all ills and cannot bring about a revolution *in themselves*. It further shows that an anarcho-syndicalist movement is in an extremely precarious position. Defeat in industrial warfare can lead to the collapse of an organisation and even "after winning striking victories in bitter struggles using direct action, the workers have not profited by their experience and extended the class-war till final victory, as the syndicalists hoped they would."¹⁷

The above paragraph may seem more like an autopsy than a balanced judgement, but we must realise that at the present time the movement is, with a few minor exceptions, dead; that it is impossible that it will soon "revive" in any of its traditional forms. Even though libertarian periodicals of all kinds still appear in most Latin American countries, it is merely wishful thinking to claim that the movements round them have, or can in the near future have, any social significance. However, in a speculative historical context, I believe that a guarded optimism need not be too heavily castigated. It is conceivable that the coming to power of communist regimes of one form or another in some of the countries of central and northern South America and the attendant social changes: rise in living standards coupled with bureaucratisation of political and economic life—could generate some kind of libertarian opposition which will at last pose itself as the only real alternative form of society. Similarly, as countries like Argentina, Chile and Uruguay come more to resemble the metropolitan State capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, as their traditional organisations of protest and social change become integrated into the wider society, a milieu in which specifically anti-State doctrines such as anarchism can flourish, will be created. Of course none of this may happen, but I feel that by 1984 we may see the present world situation, where two class-divided, militaristic bureaucracies confront each other, *to some extent* duplicated in the Latin American sub-continent.

NOTES

- ¹Bertrand Russell: *War Crimes in Vietnam* (Allen and Unwin, 1967).
²Pablo Neruda: *The United Fruit Co.* This is an extract from the Chilean communist's poem, taken from *Evergreen Review* No. 44, pp. 84-86.
³See ANARCHY 68 and 74 for accounts of views with which the present writer disagrees.
⁴Vernon Richards: *Errico Malatesta: His Life and Ideas* (Freedom Press, 1965), p. 230.
⁵Woodcock, in his *Anarchism* (Penguin, 1963), p. 402, says that the assassin was a Pole, but he was definitely a Russian, born in Kiev.

⁶Woodcock gives $\frac{1}{2}$ million (p. 402) and Rudolf Rocker in "Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism", appended to Eltzbacker's *Anarchism* (Freedom Press, 1960), p. 262, gives 200,000. Even unsympathetic sources give 100,000. Lack of records and volatile membership make a correct assessment difficult, but in terms of dominant influence, if not actual membership, Rocker is probably right.

⁷Woodcock has a strange view of FORA in this period. He says "(in 1929) it finally merged with the socialist UGT . . . and quickly shed its anarcho-syndicalist leanings," and neither of these things is true. As I have shown, and as Rocker says (op. cit. p. 265) "the FORA was *suppressed* but it carried on underground activity" (my emphasis).

⁸Peron himself said this in 1951 and shortly organised about one million people into "self-governing collectives".

⁹S. F. Simon: "Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in Latin America" in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 26, is a good and fairly sympathetic account, though incomplete, and the present essay owes much to it. She says that in Buenos Aires alone the anarchists held 155 meetings and 50 demonstrations in 1919, and instances a local section of FORA which had two libraries and distributed 15,000 pamphlets and millions of leaflets as late as 1930.

¹⁰See October 1965 issue of *Direct Action*, and elsewhere.

¹¹See FREEDOM, 24.6.67, for an excellent account of his regime.

¹²See Scheer and Zeitlin: *Cuba, an American Tragedy* (1963), p. 121.

¹³Op. cit. p. 121.

¹⁴Op. cit. p. 176.

¹⁵See FREEDOM, 29.4.67: "Villa and Zapata".

¹⁶"Abandoning the vague anarcho-syndicalist doctrines which had hitherto been professed by Mexican labour leaders, (CROM) was organised on a craft-union basis and modelled on the American Federation of Labour" (Parkes: *History of Mexico*, p. 310).

¹⁷Philip Holgate: "Aspects of Syndicalism in Spain, Sweden and USA" (ANARCHY 2).

Latin America

1: Economic Background

CARLOS FUENTES

TWO HUNDRED MILLION PERSONS live in Latin America. One hundred and forty million of them work virtually as serfs. Seventy million are outside the monetary economy. One hundred million are illiterate. One hundred million suffer from endemic diseases. One hundred and forty million are poorly fed.

Today, these miserable masses have decided to put an end to this situation. Latin America, for centuries nothing more than an object of historical exploitation, has decided to change—into a subject of historical action.

During the 19th century, economic liberalism—laissez faire—was superimposed on the feudal structure in Latin America. Side by side with the landlord class of the colonial period, a new class of entrepreneurs sprang up to deal in the business of exploitation. Those capitalists turned us into single-product countries, exporters of raw

materials to the occidental marketplace. The utopia of these entrepreneurs was the following: because of the international division of labour, it was appropriate for some regions to produce raw materials and for others to refine them; such an exchange would produce welfare for everyone. Now we know this is not true; now we know that, in the long run, the price of manufactured goods will always be higher than that of raw materials. Now we know that in a depression of the central economy, those who suffer most are the satellite economies, the producers of raw materials. Between 1929 and 1938, Latin American exports decreased by 70%. In that time, hunger **did** exist in Cuba: 50% of her labour force was unemployed, the national banks failed, the sugar lands were bought at bargain prices by Americans. The myth collapsed. If economies were complementary, as the classical theory states, our standard of living should be equal to yours.

In order to overcome the effects of economic liberalism, many Latin American countries entered another phase after 1930: protectionist capitalism, with the aim of encouraging the internal industrialization of Latin America and making it less dependent on the export of raw materials. But this naive and liberal capitalism was also superimposed on the feudal structure without destroying it. It abandoned to their fate the great masses of peasants and workers, and reserved progress for an urban minority. It ended by crystallizing a dual society in Latin America: the modern capitalistic society of cities and the feudal society of the countryside. The minority society became richer at every turn, face-to-face with a majority society becoming more miserable at every turn. In the last few years, the abyss between the two has done nothing but grow. This is why capitalism has not succeeded in solving the problems of Latin America. It has been unable to destroy the legacy of feudalism. It has been unable to promote true collective development in Latin America.

This is what Latin America is: a collapsed feudal castle with a cardboard capitalistic facade.

This is the panorama of the historical failure of capitalism in Latin America:

Continuous monoproduktive dependence. In Brazil, coffee constitutes 75% of the exports; tin in Bolivia, 60%; copper in Chile, 63%; bananas in Costa Rica, 60%; coffee in Colombia, 82%; bananas in Honduras, 75%; coffee in Haiti, 63%; oil in Venezuela, 95%; coffee in Nicaragua, 51%; sugar in the Dominican Republic, 60%.

A continuous system of "latifundio". In Chile and Brazil, 2% of the population owns 50% of the workable land. In Venezuela, 3% of the population owns 90% of the land. In general, in Latin America, with the exception of Mexico and Cuba, 5% of the population owns half of the land. More than half of all Latin Americans are peasants who work under conditions close to slavery. However, only 24% of the land in Latin America can be cultivated. Of this percentage, enormous expanses are out of active production, either to maintain the earnings of the owners or through pure irrationality. Most Latin American countries must import a good part of their food; only Uruguay and

Argentina are relatively self-sufficient. The productivity of agriculture is extremely low in relation to the manpower employed. And international prices of the agricultural products fluctuate and are constantly declining.

Continuous underdevelopment. The present systems are unable to increase production and use natural resources in the rhythm required by our increase in population. As a result, the average annual increase in production per inhabitant in Latin America, which in 1955 was 2.2%, declined in 1959 to 1%, and in 1960 to zero. In other words, at present, in its double feudal-capitalistic system, Latin American **does not progress.**

Continuous political stagnation. The continued existence of the feudal structure forbids the masses access to education and assures the concentration of political power in the hands of a fistful of landlords and city capitalists. Latin American armies financed and equipped by the United States support this system, as we have just seen in Argentina, Ecuador, and Guatemala.

Continuous general injustices. At present, 4% of the Latin American population received 50% of the combined national incomes. The higher classes have hoarded more than \$14 billion in foreign banks. A great percentage of their local investments are unproductive ones: fixed-income securities, real estate, luxury goods.

Continuous dependence on foreign capital. At present, a good part of the Latin American economy is not serving its own development, but is nothing more than an extension of foreign economies, particularly that of the United States. Iron and oil in Venezuela, copper in Chile, Peruvian minerals, do not remain in those countries to promote economic development: they are a possession of the American economy and benefit only that economy.

The key question is this: How can the causes of underdevelopment in Latin America be chopped away? There is no room for doubt in the answer: stabilization of prices of raw materials in the short run, and economic diversification—industrialization—in the long run.

2: Dictatorship and Revolution

CARLOS JOSE MICHELSEN-TERRY

BETWEEN 1935 AND 1964 SEVEN COUNTRIES, more than one third and thus more than a "few", have had between nought and eight years of dictatorships and between nought and six years of revolutions: Costa Rica, Chile, Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, and Uruguay. Six countries have had between 11 and 19 years of dictatorships: Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Honduras, Guatemala, and Argentina. Finally another

six have had between 20 and 29 years of dictatorships: Cuba, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Paraguay, El Salvador and Haiti. The exact figures with the number of years of dictatorships (first figures) and revolutions per country (second figures):

| | | |
|--------------------|----|---|
| Chile | 0 | 0 |
| Mexico | 0 | 0 |
| Costa Rica | 0 | 1 |
| Panama | 1 | 3 |
| Uruguay | 3 | 0 |
| Colombia | 8 | 2 |
| Ecuador | 8 | 6 |
| Brazil | 11 | 4 |
| Peru | 12 | 2 |
| Bolivia | 12 | 7 |
| Honduras | 16 | 2 |
| Guatemala | 16 | 3 |
| Argentina | 17 | 4 |
| Cuba | 21 | 2 |
| Venezuela | 21 | 3 |
| Dominican Republic | 26 | 1 |
| Paraguay | 26 | 5 |
| El Salvador | 27 | 4 |
| Haiti | 29 | 3 |

Revolutions in Latin America have been largely huge quarrels between powerful elites. The most important exceptions were Mexico in 1917, Bolivia in 1952 and Cuba in 1956, but clearly in most of them a consensus among the elites was achieved after a revolution. One is therefore tempted to reason that if the normal way of rotating the executive in a given country is by revolution, and if there have been several such changes in the last 30 years, then it is not being facetious to remark that revolutions may be a sign of stability.

But with urbanisation and industrialisation having shifted the centre of power from the land to the cities, where a majority of Latin Americans (and two thirds of voters) live, elites have evolved from dichotomous confrontations to a sort of functional paralysis comparable to the divided extreme Left.

This means that the hinterland is increasingly being depleted of that particular type of manpower which could be responsive to guerrilla tactics and propaganda. Debray in his book hopes to find in the villages the younger who after a convincing demonstration of strength by the "guerrilleros" will enthusiastically embrace the revolutionary motto. And yet this young peasant is precisely the one that has migrated to the cities where at least relative freedom is available and where as a result of the Right and the Left's weakness, "populist" mass parties are striving to satisfy his immediate demands for social reform.

3: Interviews with anarchists

1

Q. Is there a future for anarchism in Latin America?

A. It looks as if in fact anarchism has been in fact by-passed by history, but this does not mean necessarily that it may not have a future. As a matter of fact there were only a few places in Latin America where anarchism was really strong: Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and perhaps Mexico. (Note that, apart from Mexico, these are the most "European" countries in Latin America.) But I do not believe that history has by-passed anarchism, but that anarchism has by-passed history because it lacked the capacity to understand what was going on in history and to take a stand in the process. The future may depend on its ability to become an ideology rooted in its own time and place, capable of understanding Latin America and its own people, not from a European standpoint, but from within. What the anarchist movement should be doing is developing such an ideology, trying to understand what is happening around it, and talking to people in a language that has something to do with them, and their own experience. In addition the anarchist movement should remember every day that it is not anyone's redeemer, anyone's messiah, anyone's schoolmaster.

Q. Do you have the impression that the influence of Castro in Latin America has increased or decreased since the events of October 1962?

A. In my opinion, the gradual increment of Castro's influence in the Left has kept its steady rate without being visibly affected by the Russian-American missile crisis. These events perhaps helped, together with such facts as the USSR-China dispute, to increase the gap between the Left and the traditional Communist (pro-Moscow) parties; this in turn may also have helped Castro. On the other hand, it has helped to strengthen the militarist and reactionary groups which feel reassured of the eventual backing of Washington.

Q. What about the revolutionary movement in Bolivia from an anarchist point of view?

A. There appears to be very little anarcho-syndicalist and non-Marxist influence, if one is referring to the guerrillas, which have no formal connection with the other opposition and revolutionary groups, for instance, and especially, the miners' union. The guerrillas seem to have close links with Castro's Cuba, receiving both arms and money, with, very likely, participation from pro-Chinese people, Trotskyites and Moscow-Communists, with some youngsters with no real ideology. The miners, who are the other strong potential revolutionary movement,

are much more under the influence of a left nationalistic ideology with Marxist influence, but with strong typically Latin American roots. The Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario took this ideology, produced the 1952 revolution, nationalised the mines, organised an agrarian reform which was the equivalent of the liberation of the serfs in Europe, and was in power with Paz Estenssoro and Juan Lechin for 12 years. In the Miners' Federation several ideologies are represented and there is also some syndicalist and non-Marxist influence—even an occasional active libertarian. However, it is unlikely to become a determinant factor in crucial decisions, because the Marxists are strong, are well organised, and have external help which the others lack.

2

Q. What do you think about the future of anarchism in Latin America?

A. I think that, for the minority of a minority who will be active revolutionaries in the Latin American countries in the near future, there are more coherent and more attractive creeds. Anarchism has to look at the long-term perspective and in the short term to consider itself as an educative force, which is the role in which it has ultimately been most successful in the past.

Q. Che Guevara is reported to have called for "more Vietnams in Latin America" and the same theme was heard at the conference of the Organisation for Latin American Solidarity at Havana last month. Is this call likely to be answered?

A. A lot of political adventurers and romantic young men are going to get hurt in trying to bring about guerrilla risings in, for example, Venezuela, and several other countries. But a genuine revolution springs from the indigenous people rather than from emissaries of a revolutionary "focus". A genuine revolution, like that of Bolivia in 1952, derives from a people's uprising rather than from guerrilla intellectuals from abroad. In Bolivia, the people themselves, without having read Fanon, Debray or Guevara, rose and disarmed the state's army. The campesinos broke up the big latifundias and the miners seized the mines. Paz Estenssoro hurried after them with his nationalization and his land reform. When the people rise, they rise.

Q. And what do you think the anarchists should be doing then?

A. Organising unions, starting schools, running co-operatives, participating in peasant land seizures in the country, and teaching techniques. In the cities, they should be in the *villas miserias*, the *cayumpas*, the *barriadas*, the shanty-towns on the outskirts of all the big capitals, helping the squatter population to formulate demands, to become industrially and politically conscious. Educate, Emancipate, Organise.

Guyana: The toothless bulldog and the CIA

RODERICK BARRY

FREEDOM FOR THE FATS is a problem. The problem is that the thins are for ever revolting against it. Therefore the fats and their representatives must be ever watchful, ever inventive. In British Guiana (now Guyana) the fats defended their freedom all right. They even won the battle. But they had to resort to desperate measures to carry the day.

In 1953 the first popular government in the colony's history was elected. The PPP, led by Cheddi Jagan, won the election with a big majority. In a country completely dominated by foreign capital, the PPP had promised to try and do something to limit that domination. For that they were thrown out after three months by the colonial power. From 1953-57 Britain once more ruled the country directly as a colony. But in 1957, when elections were finally permitted again—horror of horrors—Jagan and his party were re-elected. Again the fats felt threatened. Jagan had a majority but worse, it seemed unlikely he would ever lose it. A problem. Because the British Government couldn't rule the colony for ever, and yet they couldn't stop Jagan's PPP from being the ruling party if they left.

Presto!—enter the CIA by agreement with the British Government.

It's worth telling the story of this CIA operation. It throws some light on that organisation and a great deal more on America's staunchest ally—the British Government.

The CIA took a leaf from the imperialist bible. They exploited the ethnic situation in British Guiana: they divided; and they ruled. Jagan's party received its main support from the population of Indian origin, those of African origin supported the main opposition party, that of Forbes Burnham. The CIA's chosen instrument in this situation was the local TUC. This was ethnically and politically mixed, with a membership of about 40,000. But the dominant unions in it, the sugar workers and the civil servants union, did not support Jagan politically. The sugar workers had given their support to Forbes Burnham, the civil servants union had almost no Indians amongst its members. A situation ripe for exploitation. If only racial conflict could be created—in this case Africans against Indians—"order" could later be restored by the colonial power.

But first the CIA had to find an entree into British Guiana. They found this in the Public Services International (PSI), based in London, an organisation supposedly formed to export western trade union know-how (we know how!) to "less developed" countries. The Public Services International, by 1958, was relatively inactive and in a state of

financial crisis. It needed a success of some kind to please Papa—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, its parent body. It got it. Its main American affiliate, the Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, suddenly announced to the PSI executive in London that they had found a donor, the money to be used for a “PSI recruiting drive” in Latin America. The 1958 donation was small, only £2,000, but by next year the boss of the American affiliate (Dr. Arnold Zander) could announce to the PSI that he was operating a full-time Latin American section on their behalf. The PSI was delighted.

It was an odd sort of delight for trade unionists. Zander’s union had a monthly income of only £600, barely enough to cover its own expenses. Yet the PSI knew full well that the South American activities carried out in its own name were costing all of £30,000 a year. Why didn’t they ask questions, these exporters of know-how? “We did not ask where the money came from”, said the secretary of the PSI, Paul Tofarhn, “because I think we all knew.” Good. They knew they were exporting the CIA. **Thin trade unionists, please note.**

With a respectable entree into British Guianian trade union politics, the CIA went to work. Its representative, a CIA agent by the name of Howard McCabe, had seemingly limitless funds at his disposal—all supposedly from the PSI of London. For five years they built up their position in British Guiana. Then, in 1963, they picked the Jagan Government’s Labour Relations Bill as the crunch. This laid down that employers should recognise whatever union the workers chose in a secret ballot. It was based on the American Wagner Act. But that didn’t stop the CIA. Their position in the trade union movement was threatened. It was probable that the sugar workers would move over in support of the Jagan Government if the act was implemented. The existing trade unions, permeated as they were by the CIA, therefore called a general strike in April 1963. Jagan estimated they could hold out a month. He underestimated the CIA. The strike lasted 79 days and it brought down his government.

McCabe, in the guise of the PSI representative, provided nearly all the strike pay, distress funds, money for the strikers’ daily 15 minutes on the radio, all their propaganda costs and the considerable travelling expenses these heroes incurred. But the PSI only sent £2,000 from London. The rest, estimated at £150,000, was provided by the CIA via Zander’s union. It was a coup, not a strike. Robert Willis, sent out from London to mediate, returned disgusted. “It was rapidly clear to me that the strike was wholly political,” he said, “Jagan was giving in to everything the strikers wanted but as soon as he did they erected new demands.” Naturally. The demand was for a government subservient to American interests and that meant Jagan’s government had to go.

The CIA achieved its aims. One hundred and seventy people were killed, untold hundreds wounded, the economy smashed up to the tune of £10 million—but Guyana was safe for the fats. It only remained for Duncan Sandys, the then Colonial Secretary, to bring in a new constitution which cynically deprived Jagan of his majority by

rearranging his voters. The majority party was transformed into the minority. James Forbes Burnham has his reward. He is now Prime Minister of Guyana—by grace of the disgraceful means of getting there.

True enough, stooge governments like his cannot do much more than postpone the day of reckoning and confuse the issues to be reckoned with. But that in itself is a triumph for the CIA. In this story they are the only winners.

But what should one think of the toothless bulldog? Perhaps that that is too kind a description. A bulldog without teeth has some dignity. For the British Government none remains. Unable to force British Guiana in the direction the Americans demanded, they agreed to hand the country over as meat for the CIA—so that the Agency could carry out American policy in a British colony. According to the *Sunday Times* (23.4.67), the men responsible were our own urbane Harold Macmillan and that limper round the world’s lost causes, Duncan Sandys, two imperial giants who didn’t even dare tell their own Cabinet of the pact. Under the agreement the CIA operated under consular cover as well as through the trade union movement. When Howard McCabe was exposed as the CIA agent he was, the Governor refused to expel him from the country. The police, equally, refused to co-operate fully with the elected government. What chance did Jagan have? Under orders such as those, “disorder” naturally grew to the point where Sandys could impose his phoney constitution. That of course was the idea. But the story doesn’t end with the Tory Government. It continues its corrupt course under Harold Wilson and Anthony Greenwood in the Labour Government of 1964 and on. They declined to investigate the CIA activities (of which there was now ample evidence) and insisted on pushing ahead with Sandys’s rigged elections. To do this, they had to reverse the stand they’d taken when out of office. Under American pressure of course. This has now become a justification for Labour policies!

In its imperial old age, the British Government, whether Labour or Tory, dotes increasingly on the United States. So faithful a retainer has it become that it retains nothing for itself—neither its dignity nor its possessions. It hands over everything to American safekeeping in the pathetic hope of buying protection for its own privileged position in the world of the fats. It is beneath contempt and beyond corruption, a reflex action to American demands. Nothing but the worst can be expected from such a creature because the Americans will demand nothing less. And no illusion about that is too small to be burnt out of our minds.

As for the CIA, it will go on. It is going on now. Its activities will expand as the threat to American interests grows larger. On behalf of the fattest nation on earth it will invade the world of the thins. It will do its best in its own way: manipulate, manoeuvre, recruit foreign agents, learn foreign customs, control the Congo, assassinate and torture in South America, seek Ché here, Guevara there—yes, it will win a few battles. But the thins are too many, the fats too few. It will lose the war.

Peru and the case of Hugo Blanco

I. R. MITCHELL

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CASE of Hugo Blanco have been publicised in the anarchist press over the last few months; his efforts to organise the peasants around Cuzco in Southern Peru to resist oppression, his imprisonment and subsequent maltreatment. But I think that his case deserves more detailed treatment, firstly since it will illustrate the kind of social climate which exists in many Latin American countries and secondly because it shows the type of problems which those who, like Blanco, struggle against oppression, have to face—and what awaits them if they are defeated. This issue of ANARCHY offers the opportunity for such a treatment. Most of what follows is a rearrangement of other, easily accessible material which should be consulted, viz. *Peru* by R. Owens (OUP, 1963) and *The Case of Hugo Blanco* (available from 100 Henderson Road, London, E.7, at 8s. 6d. a dozen, including postage). Before considering the man himself, it would be useful to have some idea of the economic and political structures of Peru, so typical of those mainly primary-producing countries which constitute the vast majority in the sub-continent, and to these structures Blanco's activities can be related.

PERU: THE SOCIAL SET-UP

Peru has a very unpleasant political environment to say the least. Many of the governments in the present century have been those of military dictators (this was true of the period 1914-24 when the labour movement was anarcho-syndicalist) who served the interests of the Peruvian oligarchy and American capitalism. While 3% of the rural population own 83% of the land, the condition of those they exploit is pitiable. The millions of Indian peasants live, if lucky, on subsistence wages, receiving no education, no medical care, no social benefits at all—even the government estimated that only 5½% of rural dwellings are in reasonable condition. The position of those who crowd the slum shanty-towns of Lima, Callao and Arequipa is hardly better. Although some of the better-paid workers, e.g. those in the rubber industry, can earn £3 10s. a week, the average wage for Lima (by far the highest in the country) is a little over £2.

These urban workers are terribly degraded: 15% live in shacks made of tin cans or packing cases, with no sanitation of any kind, and many who are "better" housed sleep 12 to a room. The moral and physical effects of these conditions can readily be imagined.

All the responsibility for this state of affairs does not lie with the corrupt and despotic Peruvian ruling class; as already mentioned, America has its nasty finger in the pie as well. Its total investment in the country comes to \$530 million, i.e. 71% of all foreign investment, and it has a stranglehold on trade which is tightening:

| PERCENTAGE OF PERU'S TRADE DONE WITH USA | |
|--|---------------|
| EXPORTS | IMPORTS |
| 1936 23 | 1936 34 |
| 1960 35 | 1960 45 |

As a consequence, Peru's economy fluctuates directly with that of the United States. Given these things, and the fact that the Peruvian dictatorship, like most of the Latin American dictatorships, is in receipt of much military "aid" from the US, it is not unlikely that both Wall Street and the Pentagon are very interested in the case of Hugo Blanco.

The Peruvian political parties are mostly so corrupt, so plainly the executors of the ruling class's wishes, that a knowledge of them is ideal anarchist propaganda. The present president, Belaunde Terry, came to power as a champion of the Indian cause! His party, *Accion Popular*, is now violently reactionary. Two of the other parties, however, are deserving of fuller attention, the first being APRA. This was founded in 1924 by the most famous of Latin American socialists, Haya de la Torre, when in exile for his opposition to the dictatorship. It was violently anti-clerical to begin with, and it was anti-imperialist, and soon attracted wide support. But Haya "was such anathema to Peru's oligarchy and to the succession of dictators, that he was banished and had to seek refuge again and again" (Pendle: *History of Latin America*). In 1931 Haya won the first elections on the fall of the dictatorship, but the military took power and he was jailed. An APRA rising in answer was easily and bloodily put down. Exactly the same pattern repeated itself in the 1936 elections. During the war the movement supported the Allies, and consequently its opposition to American imperialism waned a little. Still persecution continued, and in 1949 Haya had to seek refuge in the Colombian embassy, which the Peruvian army surrounded with trenches, searchlights and tanks for five years. Becoming increasingly hierarchical in its structure and mild in its policies, by the time APRA stood in the 1962 elections it was in favour of American investment and anti-communism. However, from force of habit, the tired old rituals were repeated, and when Haya headed the poll there was a military coup. The new militancy of the Indians and their utilisation of direct action *must* be seen in the context of the collapse of APRA as a viable force for social change.

The Peruvian CP is more militant, but cannot really be said to be revolutionary. (It should be remembered that Russia has recently greatly extended her trade with certain Latin American countries, especially Chile and Venezuela.) Since declared illegal in 1961, it fights elections under a front organisation, the NLF, and has control over some trade unions. It is a force in Lima and in some parts of the south.

A brief word should be said about certain other political "institu-

tions". The Catholic Church plays its expected role as a bulwark of reaction; a great landowner, subsidised by the government, its teachings are compulsory in all schools. Owens comments rather naively, "Relations between State and Church are good. . . ." The administration of "justice" is farcical. An enormous bureaucracy of lawyers gets rich while 70% of those in jail still await trial. The prison in Lima, built 100 years ago when people were not over-generous in prison space, to house 300 prisoners, today has 1,600.

The above historico-empirical account tries to give some idea of what it must be like to live and die in Peru. The whole terrible state of affairs awaits a popular insurrection to sweep it all away. "The time is near when accounts will be settled before revolutionary tribunals of the people!" cried Blanco's comrades after their trial. Let us hope so.

BLANCO: HIS EARLY LIFE

Hugo Blanco was born in Lima in 1934, in a middle-class family, and after studying in Peru, went to the Argentine to take a course at La Plata University. The Peruvian, like many Latin American student movements, tends to be very radical: "They are committed to social reform and ally themselves with working-class groups" (Owens, p. 85). The reason for this is probably that since Peru has only a small middle class (due to its industry, commerce, etc., being in foreign hands), those scientists, teachers, technicians who are being produced for its programme of economic "development" are drawn to a great extent from working-class groups. They are kept in contact with the workers, since they are driven by necessity to work at week-ends and holidays, in the same conditions of brutal exploitation.

In Argentina Blanco experienced working-class life in a meat factory and came under the influence of Trotskyite ideas. Officially Blanco is still a Trotskyite, but anarchists should not on this account oppose him. For in a country with an economy such as that of Peru (i.e. producing mainly primary products and related to Western capitalism by means of imperialistic domination) being a "Trotskyite" cannot really mean anything more than being in favour of a social revolution against imperialism and opposing the Soviet bureaucracy. Which are not bad ideas.

A further influence on Blanco was the Cuban Revolution, in its officially described form, i.e. as a peasant revolution into which the workers were swept (many would dispute this—see, for example, Draper's *Castro's Revolution*), which is obviously a workable model for the Peruvian one.

STRUGGLE ON HIS RETURN TO CUBA

Among his first activities when he returned to Cuba was his participation as one of the organisers of the famous violent demonstration in Lima in 1958 against Vice-President Nixon. Throwing himself into the task of organising the peasants in the south into unions, Blanco soon became respected and accepted by them, the head of a peasant federation 10,000 strong. Campaigns for day-to-day objectives soon developed into one of land reform, in which an old law giving squatters the right to till unused land after occupying it for a certain period was

utilised.

The widespread land seizures in 1961-62 have, predictably, been blamed on the communists (see Owens, p. 98), but it is certain that it was individuals like Blanco who were instrumental in rousing the Indians, wherever the seizures took place.

Naturally the oligarchy reacted. The army and police were sent to evict the squatters who "stood their ground when the police came to turn them out" (Owens, p. 98). Skirmishes followed, and in one of these, Blanco with a few other comrades attacked a police station and killed a particularly vicious policeman responsible for repressing the peasants. Pursued by the military, they ambushed them, killing two soldiers, and escaped. However, six months later, in the summer of 1963, Blanco was captured and held for three years in prison. Here those arrested were tortured, one so badly that he went insane. Finally he and his comrades were brought to trial last year.

The trial was a shoddy affair, illegal, both since it took place before a military tribunal, and because it took place in a town 600 miles from the skirmishes, Tacna. Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in jail, and received his sentence by saying, "Tacna has passed down its sentence. The people will soon pass down theirs. Land or death!" His co-defendants received lesser sentences, up to 22 years for one of them, Pedro Candela.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Since his imprisonment, the campaign for Blanco's release has gained momentum. Unfortunately, so has the repression. The prosecution is now seeking to have his sentence increased to the death penalty, and he has been severely beaten up in El Fronton, the prison in Lima, whose acquaintance we have already made. He is now in hospital, probably without medical care. It is a very heartening development that organisations such as the British Committee for Solidarity with Victims of Repression in Peru, wage struggles for the release of Latin American revolutionaries and give wide and unwelcome publicity to the actions of the dictators, making them a little more cautious. Such a campaign would have been unthinkable over the Peruvian anarchists jailed in the 20s, and it is good that there is now more understanding of the sub-continent's problems, and that its militants are less isolated.

Somehow, among these persecuted militants, of whom there are many, Hugo Blanco has come to *represent* the social revolution most fully. Bolivia trembles on the brink of civil war, yet her martyrs, no doubt as brave as Blanco, have not achieved the same recognition. It is felt that Peru is the *most* typical, if we can use such a phrase, of all the Latin American countries, and that Blanco's struggles are also most typical of those of the revolutionaries in the sub-continent: "The case of Hugo Blanco is by no means unique either in Peru or in the other countries of South America; why his case is brought forward is because it epitomises the struggles of the oppressed and those who would help them".

Uruguay: The Comunidad del Sur

RUBEN PRIETO

In the middle nineteen-fifties, a group of people in Montevideo decided to start a community where they would live and work in common, practising various crafts, like pottery and printing, and hoping to exert an influence in the neighbourhood, the Barrio Sur. Some of them, like Ruben Prieto, were influenced by anarchist ideas, others, like Pedro Scaron had been impressed by Los Barbudos, the Hutterites, some of whom had moved from their farming communities in Paraguay to Uruguay. We asked Ruben Prieto to report on the present progress of the community.

* * *

THE COMUNIDAD DEL SUR was twelve years old in August. It was founded in a big house in a densely populated district of Montevideo, and three years ago moved to the outskirts of the city. It was started by anarchists, but, even at the beginning, some members had a less defined social attitude. I don't think we can call it so much an anarchist experiment as an experiment in integral co-operation, of libertarian socialism. In the beginning the community was influential among students, some founder members were in fact well-known student leaders, but in course of time this influence has come to an end.

Its influence in the co-operative movement is more difficult to assess. The Comunidad is a member of the Workers' Co-operative Production Federation. On several occasions the Federation has adopted measures initiated by the Comunidad, for instance in the formation of new co-operatives, and it has also influenced many individual co-operators. In the interior of the country there is an agricultural co-operative organised on a communitarian basis, and three other groups with a similar orientation have been started.

The influence on the surrounding neighbourhood has been different in the two locations. In the first period, members of the Comunidad belonged to local neighbourhood committees, and as such, were successful in some projects. With the Union Society of Students of Architecture and of Medicine, an investigation of housing and health was carried out, and a housing improvement scheme was prepared in collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture. The impact of the Comunidad was very obvious in the character of the architectural solution proposed, and also in the means suggested.

A consumers' strike was also strongly pushed by the Comunidad. A baking co-operative jointly administered with the Bakers' Union was proposed. Bread was sold for some time in the streets by neighbourhood volunteers. However, this joint project did not succeed, because of the lack of interest of the Union. A hospital was organised and administered by the locals with the backing of the Institute of Hygiene.

Once in the new quarters, this type of activity has not developed. There could be several reasons: lack of money, different type of population, lower density. However, there is a very good relationship with the neighbourhood, which becomes evident in the relationship with the local children.

The relationship with the anarchist movement has been informal. Sometimes we have occupied positions of responsibility and taken over specific initiatives, and our influence has been obvious.

The present membership of the community is 22 adults (average age 27) and 15 children (the eldest 11 years old). Some are of peasant origin, some from small towns, from Montevideo and from Buenos Aires. There are three Spaniards, two Paraguayans, and three Argentinians, mainly of lower middle-class origins.

Our economic situation is relatively good, but certainly insufficient to cope with the requirements of growth. It is very hard for a small group to survive and expand with only its own money. Some external help has been used in expansion. The main industry is the printing house, small but with modern automatic equipment. The community has two hectares of land, but poor housing. There is an appropriate housing project, but not enough money. Anarchists from Argentina, Peru, Chile and USA have helped, but funds are far from sufficient. This is our major difficulty.

As to the psychological atmosphere of the community: symptoms of disintegration occur without warning: the influence on people of their previous environment is permanent. The type of difficulties experienced by the Kibbutzim are applicable to us. The old social life appears often to be more secure, just because it is more familiar. So far we have overcome our difficulties in this respect. Since we moved to the new place, internal and external militancy has suffered, probably due to such factors as the trouble of the move, the housing situation and distance from people's work, and the economic difficulties of minimum expansion.

Probably the most important thing is the way the children are growing up. In spite of the difficulties, their life is more social, and integrated and responsible. They are obviously different, and in this respect the future looks good.

It may appear paradoxical, but an increase in the number of members is essential, for the convenient division and organisation of work, but the inadequacy of housing and the lack of funds make it impossible to tackle a campaign for growth seriously.

Many people move around the Comunidad with obvious sympathy, and several are actively interested. Usually the sympathisers are very young, which seems to me to be a good sign.

Gopping in Ecuador

TONY GIBSON

A NUMBER OF COMRADES MAY REMEMBER Robin Copping before he left this country to go to Ecuador in 1954. Here he was regarded as a crank with weird and impracticable schemes. He ran a school called Horsley Hall which outdid all other progressive schools in the un-conventionality of the methods used. It obtained brief notoriety when they invited a purveyor of canes to come and lecture to the children on corporal punishment. This he did, and was caned publicly by the boys, to the delight of the press photographers who were lying in wait. Such antics made most serious educationalists utterly scornful of Robin Copping. When Copping's school was closed down* he came to live in London and sometimes came to anarchist meetings. He attracted a circle of young delinquents and proposed to write a book exposing the Approved School system, taking verbatim accounts from ex-inmates. Always he was on the side of the boys, and was utterly at loggerheads with most do-gooders in the social work field, who regarded him as a pernicious influence. I well remember Copping's comic parodies of youth leaders talking down to their boys.

I do not think that Copping was an anarchist. I got to know him well enough to realize that his extraordinary social orientation was quite individual. Later I heard that he was a Quaker converted to Catholicism; he was the most untypical of either sect that I have known, if this is true.

He went out to Ecuador to make a living by collecting zoological specimens, and I never expected to hear of him again. Last year I heard that he was dead, but that before his death he had introduced into Ecuador the revolutionary concept that children with no parental protectors should be properly looked after by the community. Robin Copping, the crank, had been responsible for some far-reaching changes in Quito and Guayaquil, where by tradition parentless children lived like pariah dogs.

Below is a quotation from a contact in Ecuador to whom I wrote to get news of Robin after his death. This man had little knowledge of his past activities in England:

"Long before I knew him he was helping Ecuadorean children in various ways and with varying degrees of success. I cannot tell you whether he had any peculiar philosophy about dealing with the young. Words like kindness or goodness are a bit vague but I cannot come any closer to explaining his motives—and I do not know whether he could

*See "The Copping Case", FREEDOM, 14.4.49.

have done so himself. About three years ago he became particularly concerned with the young boot-blacks and pedlars, so numerous in the streets of Quito and Guayaquil. You speak of delinquency but all these thousands of kids are by their circumstances potential 'delinquents'. At that time, as before and since, they were frequently in trouble with the police. In Guayaquil the municipality imposed a 9 p.m. curfew on unaccompanied children, an authoritarian measure which outraged Robin. I do not know whether he had any special intention other than to get them off the streets and out of mischief and the hands of the police but, with the aid of friends and sympathisers, he organised clubs in both cities. Obviously I cannot tell you what would have happened if he had lived but, as things turned out, we had great difficulty in keeping them going. The one in Quito ceased to function for months but with the aid first of the American Peace Corps and nowadays of the British Voluntary Service Overseas and material support from a wide variety of people—particularly Anglo-Ecuadorean Oilfields—we manage to keep them going and I think that the Quito Club is now much bigger than perhaps Robin ever contemplated.

"As nobody now connected with the clubs knows what Robin had in mind, successive leaders do what they think best. The main thing is still to get the boys off the streets and keep them happily engaged—or, in case of failure, to get them out of gaol next morning! Games play a big part but there are also 'academic' lessons; also an increasing number of boys are taught useful trades and are being paid to attend classes in order to compensate them for lost earnings. I think something like 400 breakfasts are now served daily in the Quito centre and I do not know how many other meals; beds are provided for the homeless but only as a last resort.

"Things are on a larger scale and better organised than in Robin's time but I cannot think of anything that is being done that would not meet with his approval—including the modest degree of organisation. I do not know quite what you mean by Robin's 'unorthodox methods' but to me it all seemed straightforward enough. He tried to occupy their time, to find jobs for some, to settle family troubles for others, and to extend charity. He knew innumerable boys personally, offered them his friendship—and his money—and concerned himself with their troubles. Perhaps I missed something but I never found anything particularly unorthodox about his methods. To me the only things that were extraordinary were his personality and his dedication. But then I never did pretend to understand him."

I think that Robin would have chuckled a bit over that last paragraph. Had it not been for his "unorthodox methods" I doubt if he would have got very far in a Latin American republic, but perhaps the least said about his unorthodox methods here, the better. No doubt pious do-gooders will erect a memorial to him in Quito, and all the people in England whom he enraged so with his goings on, and championship of juvenile delinquents against the police, if they hear of it will wonder if it is the same man. But before they canonise him a Catholic saint or a Quaker saint (whichever side wins), I would like

to record what Robin told me was his guiding maxim: "Whatever you do in life, half the world will think that you are a bloody fool to do it—so that you might just as well do precisely what you want."

Doing precisely what he wanted meant, for Robin, enabling children to be happy. Finding himself in a country where unwanted children were so much refuse to be tidied out of sight by the police, he found he could do a great deal of effective work. The same energies applied in England, where we have an established machinery for dealing with delinquent and unwanted children, led him into complete opposition to those who wanted to "do good" to children. From what I knew of Robin I think that in a sense he preferred the comparatively barbarous attitude of the Ecuadoreans to unattached children, to that of the British. Here we feel that they should be tamed, and the taming process involves much hypocrisy and covert cruelty, and this particularly riled Robin. No doubt a more Anglo-Saxon attitude to children is now beginning to influence the public authorities in Ecuador, with all its advantages and its demerits. Money from the American Peace Corps, the British VSO, and Anglo-Ecuadorean Oil will change many things, and indeed introduce the professional do-gooder type whom Robin abhorred. So he himself has been unwittingly the agent of penetration of one aspect of the Welfare State to Latin America. When last I saw him, before he went there, he told me, half-seriously, that he was really emigrating to escape from the Welfare State.

Cuba: Revolution and counter-revolution

THE HEROIC IMPETUS OF A PEOPLE that overthrows a dictatorship and expels the tyrant and his assassins—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to assume absolute power in order to accomplish by dictatorial methods that which the recently liberated people should themselves do—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To cleanse the country of the abuses of the regime that has been overthrown—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to establish terror for the shameless, pitiless extermination of those who will not conform to the new dictatorship—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To assume the direct participation of the peoples in all of the new creations and accomplishments—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to dictate by decree how things should be done and to canalize the accomplishments under the iron control of the State—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To seize the lands for those who work them, organizing them in free peasant communities—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to twist the Agrarian Reform, exploiting the guajiro as an employee of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To expropriate capitalist enterprises, turning them over to the workers and technicians—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to convert them into State monopolies in which the producer's only right is to obey—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To eliminate the old armed forces such as the army and the police—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to establish obligatory militias and maintain an army subservient to the governing clique—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To oppose foreign intervention in the lives of the people, and repudiate all imperialism—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to deliver the country to some foreign powers under the pretence of defence against others—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To permit the free expression and activity of all truly revolutionary forces and tendencies—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to recognize only one single party, persecuting and exterminating, as counter-revolutionaries, those who oppose communist infiltration and domination—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To make the University a magnificent centre of culture, controlled by the professors, alumni and students—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to convert the University into an instrument of governmental policy, expelling and persecuting those who will not submit—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To raise the standard of living of the workers through their own productive efforts inspired by the general welfare—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to impose plans prepared by State agencies and demand obligatory tribute from those who labour—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To establish schools and combat illiteracy—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to indoctrinate the children in the adoration of the dictator and his close associates, militarizing these children in the service of the State—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To give the labour unions full freedom to organize and administer themselves as the basic organs of the new economy—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to stamp these with the seal of subordination to the dominant regime—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To sow the countryside with new constructive peoples' organizations of every sort, stimulating free initiative within them—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to prohibit them or inhibit their action, chaining them to the doctrine and to the organisms of State power—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To call on the solidarity of all peoples, of the decent men and women of the World, in support of the revolutionary people who are

building a new life—THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to identify with Russian totalitarianism as a “Socialist State” of the type acceptable to the Soviet Empire—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

All those forward steps that were taken by the Cuban people under the banner of liberty, which shown forth as a great hope for all the Americas and for the World, WAS THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

The bloody dictatorship of Fidel Castro and his clique, whatever the mask it may wear or the objectives it may claim to have, IS THE REAL COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

—from *Accion Libertaria* (Buenos Aires).

COMMENT ON ANARCHY 77

I AM GLAD THAT ANARCHY reprinted Ken Weller's article on “Shouting slogans about Vietnam”, because I thought it was one of the best articles ever published in *Solidarity*, but I should like to correct three points in it.

Ken said that “politics by proxy” has been going on in the British left “over the past 20 years at least”. I would say it's more like 200 years, since it's been going on now ever since the French Revolution. He also said that in the First World War, “virtually the whole socialist movement (and not a few well-known anarchists) flocked to the colours of their respective countries”. I would say it was nowhere near the whole socialist movement, and it was a few well-known anarchists. There was Kropotkin, of course, and there was a handful of his friends, mostly from Russia or from French-speaking countries. But when they tried to defend their position, they produced the *Manifesto of the Sixteen*, and that was just about it.

Then Ken told a cautionary tale, which I quote in full: “A story is told of Durruti, the anarchist leader in the Spanish Civil War. When Emma Goldman, the American anarchist, asked whether she could become a nurse in his column, he replied to the effect that they had plenty of nurses. If she really wanted to do something she should help the struggle in her own country.” It's a good story, but I doubt if it's true. Ken didn't mean to insult the memory of Emma Goldman, but in the absence of any editorial comment I should like to make her position clear.

Emma Goldman wasn't American, but Russian. She emigrated to the United States at the age of sixteen, and became an anarchist. For thirty years she was active in the American movement, going to prison four times, and finally being deported in 1919 for anti-militarist propaganda. She returned to Russia, and became one of the main defenders of the anarchist victims of the Bolshevik tyranny, until she had to leave her native land again in 1921. After that she had no country, wandering round Europe without papers until a British miner married her in 1925 to give her a British passport. For ten years after that she lived in poverty, in Canada and France mostly, until the Spanish Civil War.

As soon as the Spanish Civil War began, Emma Goldman was invited to Spain by the anarcho-syndicalist leader Augustine Souchy, and when she arrived she was asked to take over the anarcho-syndicalist publicity campaign in London. It was during her preliminary tour of Republican Spain, in the autumn of 1936, that she met Durruti. In the circumstances it would have been odd for her to ask whether she could become a nurse in his column—but not as odd as all that, since she was in fact a qualified nurse. It would also have been odd for Durruti to make such a rude reply, since she was then 67 years old and he must have known her past record and present position. Anyway, she did her job in London for two years, only leaving it to represent the CNT at the Paris International Congress in 1937 and to raise support in Canada in 1938. She died in 1940, worn out by struggling for the movement in every country that would let her in.

N.W.

COMMENT ON ANARCHY 73

I AM SORRY that Jeremy Taylor finds a “shrillness” and a “stridence” in my review of *The Anarchists* and *Patterns of Anarchy* (ANARCHY 70). I have re-read the review carefully, but I don't find it shrill or strident. Even if it were, I don't see how it could have “strained, but not broken, the credulity of several North American anarchists”. In fact, I am not sure what this means. If it means that these anarchists believe everything they read in ANARCHY and FREEDOM, the sooner their credulity is broken the better; if it means that they find it difficult to believe my review, they can easily check everything I said.

But let me answer Jeremy Taylor's specific criticism. He agrees that my “estimation of the two books is essentially correct”, and he agrees that I did mention the “recent revival of interest in anarchism”, but then he complains that my review “ignores totally the importance of the publication of these books in the US and Canada at this time, and the special importance of these two books to the New Left and the Movement” there. I must point out that I was reviewing *The Anarchists* and *Patterns of Anarchy* as books which are about anarchism in general rather than about the current revival of anarchism, and which are sold in Britain as well as North America. I was therefore interested in their contents rather than their function, though I did mention that they “refer to and result from the recent revival of interest in anarchism”.

I would suggest that the kind of review Jeremy Taylor seems to be asking for can be written only by an American reviewer. (When it is, I hope he will remember—what Jeremy Taylor has forgotten—that Wright Mills' *Letter to the New Left* was written to the British and not the American New Left [see *New Left Review*, 5, September-October 1960, pp. 17-23], and that it did not in fact call for a “re-formation of an American libertarian movement”.) I don't know much about the American anarchist movement, but I must say that if I had known what Jeremy Taylor says about it and had taken it into account in my review, I would have been *more* critical of the books, not less.

If it is really true that *The Anarchists* and *Patterns of Anarchy* “have to some extent directed, or at least influenced, the intellectual and activist ferment in North America”, and have partly “provided a framework for the task of re-formation of an American libertarian movement”, then I think my review was if anything too mild. I criticised the books in as much detail as I dared—too much even for the generous Editor of ANARCHY—but I concluded that, although they are both bad in themselves, they are still “extremely valuable” because of the great need for available sources of anarchist material. I was assuming that this was how they would be used by their readers. But Jeremy Taylor has changed my attitude. If I had realised that they were being used in a quite different way, that they are being taken seriously as authoritative accounts of anarchism by young people whose experience has led them in a libertarian direction, but whose knowledge of the anarchist background lags behind their interest in the anarchist attitude, then I would have said something quite different.

If the gap in people's understanding of anarchism is filled by the versions expressed by Irving Horowitz and by Leonard Krimerman and Lewis Perry, then I would describe *The Anarchists* and *Patterns of Anarchy* as not only unbalanced and inaccurate but as positively dangerous, and I would suggest that American—and British—sympathisers with anarchism would do a lot better to work out their ideas without reading these books at all. I am sorry if this sounds shrill or strident, but I have been re-reading both books carefully, and I can only say that they are valuable as sources of some original anarchist material and that is all. I repeat, it is time we raised *our* voice again.

NICOLAS WALTER