SEPTEMBER 26 1970 Vol 31 No 30

QUESTION: Who wants peace in the Middle East?

Answer: Nobody.

WHY? BECAUSE PEACE can come only from the ending of the situation which makes for conflict, and the end of that situation can come only from the destruction of the power groups and institutions which thrive on conflict and hatred and division. Who wants that? Nobody!

Nobody, that is, except a few cranky, idealistic anarchists and pacifists for whom people are more important than nations, states, oil-fields, homelands, God or Allah or

some other crap.

The whole larger lunacy of our world is crystallised in the Middle East. Absolutely everything is there. All the crazy stupidities which make our planet a pustulating mess instead of utopia-the olive grove surrounded by barbed wire and defended by tanks; the blue skies scarred by smoke from the burning village; the schools teaching history and hate; the black-clad rabbis and the muezzins casting their sinister shadows on the sunlit walls; the children with grenades in their belts and their parents with bitterness in their bellies; the riches of the earth plundered for profit; the complete perversion of necessity; the headlong flight to disaster; living for death.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE

SUPER STATES

Against the background of mad-ness in the Middle East, it is difficult to come up with a solution which

seems to make sense.

Perhaps it would be most honest to say that there is no solution which is even remotely likely to be accepted which could bring peace and wellbeing to the peoples of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Syria,

A cessation of hostilities on the national scale could come about through the total victory of one side over the other and the permanent subjection of the victims—but we already have Arab guerilla organisations prepared to fight when their nation-states are not and these would undoubtedly continue were Israel to overrun the Arab world. We may be equally sure that the Israelis already have in existence an equivalent underground army which would carry on the struggle against Arab conquerers were Israel to be defeated and 'pushed into the sea'.

Such an outcome as this, however, does not take into effect the amount of involvement which the rest of the world has in the Middle East-the support given to one side by Russia and the other by America.

The presence of the two super-

states behind the snarling contestants ensures in fact that complete victory in an all-out fight will not happen. If one side really looks like winning to that extent, the big boy supporting the other might come to its aid and a long-drawn-out shooting war could follow. (Both America and Russia, after all, have their own supplies of oil!)

This is not because the rulers of America or Russia care a rat's piss for the people of Israel or Egypt. It is simply because the enormous oil-producing wealth of this area and its strategic importance make it essential that it shall not fall exclusively into the hands of one side or

the other, thereby upsetting the balance of power which the world has come to live with.

Thus the 'great' powers will exert a restraining influence on the hotheads in both Cairo and Tel Aviv. The USA persuades the Knesset to consider a 'peace plan' and all the talk from Cairo of 'pushing Israel into the sea' should be seen for what it is-strictly for internal consumption. As for the 'revolutionary' content on the Arab side, the first thing that the pro-Arab Left seems to forget is that all Marxist-Leninist organisations in Egypt are banned and their members are in jail-so the Russian support for Nasser is based on any ideological brotherhood. It is pure, naked, political opportunism and the fact is that any revolutionary movement in the Arab countries is faced with the opposition of Nasser and his Russian masters as well as the traditional rulers-King Hussein and the oil

Where the guerilla movements are useful to the Arab governments is in their ability to keep up the tension with terrorist tactics against Israel, while 'Diplomacy' continues at top level to carry of pushess as usual. As for example, the oil deal whereby the Israelis produce crude oil from Egyptian/Italian fields in the Sinai peninsula (see FREEDOM 12.9.70) and have agreed in return not to bomb Egyptian oilfields in not to bomb Egyptian oilfields, installations and pipelines in the Gulf

IF PEACE SHOULD BREAK OUT . . .

At the same time as exerting a restraining influence, however, the super-states do not want to see real peace break out.

Institutions of power demand continuous crises and tensions ('War is the health of the state') and while divisions exist, there is always some gain to be wrung out of the situation. A genuine coming-together of Israel and the Arab states, therefore, would be unacceptable for both Russia and America on several counts. The most important being that opportunities for gaining in-fluence through the supply of arms, being a friend in need, and all that, would disappear, but, even more important, perhaps, is the fact that a merger of Israeli know-how with the immense resources of the whole Arab world would produce in a very short time yet another super-state in a very important area of the world. An Arab-Jewish complex reaching right along the Southern shore of the Mediterranean, with outlets to the Indian Ocean and right down into Africa, with resources set free from war preparation-this would present the trading nations of the world with a frightening competitor, to say the

So at 'Top' level, peace which could lead to real friendship between Jew and Arab is to be avoided; instead a phony 'peace' which is nothing more than an armed truce is the proper formula. Something that will allow the pot to be kept boiling without boiling over.

IT IS UP TO THE PEOPLE

No, the real hope for a lasting peace is the same here as everywhere else: the coming together of the people concerned, who have after all, real interests in common. and the destruction of the squabbling states which keep them at each other's throats.

The bitter pill that must be swallowed by Jews the world over is that the establishment of the state of Israel has not brought the

security which they were looking for after the horrors of wartime Europe. Had they gone into Palestine to work and live and integrate with the Arabs on a basis of equality instead of muscling in with a state appar-atus and creating a legacy of hatred, then their technical skills and social abilities could have created an environment which would have been the envy of the world. As it is they laid the foundations of precisely what is happening today. Having gone the way of the authoritarian state, even to the extent of creating thousands of refugees just like they had been, they set the pace for the Arab states to 'get with it' too.

The Israeli government will not go into reverse; states never do. Nor will the Arab leaders.

The situation is, as everywhere, up to the people. To pull out support from the warring states, extend the hand of friendship across the frontiers-forget the bloody frontiers!-and build an economic reality in place of the political lunacy of the authoritarians.

Difficult? I'll say it's difficult! We can't get the Protestants and Catholics (fellow Christians!) in Northern Ireland to do it, let alone Arabs and Jews in the overheated cauldron of Palestine! Yet there are glimmers of hope. From both inside Israel among thinking Jews, and outside, among certain Arab groups, there are expressions of understanding that for the ordinary people of both sides to get together represents the only true hope. It may be a pious hope, but it is motivated by concern both for the threatened Jews in Israel and for the exploited Arabs surrounding them.

The state is the enemy. Everywhere and in every time. If peace and wellbeing are our yardsticks for sanity, then we must recognise the madness of statism, the sado-masochistic, murderous-suicidal nature of it. Reject it!

To the peoples of Israel and of the Arab states, we say 'Don't go along with this madness—it will do for you all!' Let sanity prevail!

JUSTIN.

THE REJECTION by the Executive of the National Union of Mineworkers of the Coal Board's wage offer could lead to a direct clash between the miners and the Government.

The offered increases were as follows: 48,000 surface and underground workers at present on the minimum wage of £15 and £16 per week respectively to get an extra £2 10s.; 90,000 other workers earning more than the minimum wage to get an additional £2 6s., and 66,000 workers at the coal face, covered by the power loading agreement, to get an additional £1 17s. 6d. Miners are demanding a minimum wage of £20 for surface workers, £22 for the men underground, and

£30 for those covered by the power

loading agreement.

The National Coal Board's offer conforms to the limits set by the Government, but falls very short of the demands of the miners. It also gives the lie to the impression, recently created, that Lord Robens, Chairman of the NCB, opposes the Government's policy on wages. He has said that this was the Board's 'final' offer and it was all that the industry could afford. Miners, however, showed where they stood by backing their demand with a 1,000 strong demonstration at the NCB headquarters. The union executive will now be making arrangements for a strike ballot, for a two-thirds majority is necessary for official strike

FOUGHT ON ALONE

It is ironic that it is the miners who are once again in the forefront of the struggle against Government policy. Whether it comes to an official strike or not remains to be seen, but if it does, it will be the first one since after the General Strike of 1926 when the miners remained out alone to fight a losing battle against a government policy of

The miners also feel let down today. They have seen their industry decline from a labour force of 700,000 to less than 300,000. With the leadership of former Communist Will Paynter, the which have increased productivity to undreamed-of amounts. Piecework agreements have been given up in return for time-rate earnings which have sometimes meant a cut in wages.

These men have made sacrifices, only to find themselves badly paid for their efforts. They have been the Cinderellas for too long. When coal was in short supply, miners gave up their five-day Throughout the ups and downs of the industry, the union has co-operated and never called out the miners to fight against the often senseless closing Successive governments have relied on other forms of power and these have sometimes not come up to expecta-tion. There has been no planned fuel policy and all that has been done is to call for higher productivity from a declining number of pits. But today the miners are in a good position to win their demands by industrial action for coal stocks are low

LAST YEAR'S STRIKE

Last Autumn the miners began to fight back." They came out unofficially against an agreement because it excluded paid mealbreaks. This year the executive the union, knowing how strongly feelings are running amongst its rank and file, are giving a lead. In the mean-time, however, the Government's nerve might give and they will get the NCB to re-start negotiations. But certainly the demands are just and victory for the miners would give the boost that is needed by workers in low-paid jobs in the public sector.

It is also likely that the more militant coalfields of Yorkshire and Scotland will stage unofficial strikes before the result of the ballot is known. Miners are not renowned for this sort of action, but last year they organised themselves in fine style and soon had the dispute spreading and down the country Certainly

cannot help feeling suspicious of a union which for so long has stood by and done nothing. It is true that a left-winger, Lawrence Daly, has been elected as General Secretary and that the union has recently put on a militant front, but it remains untested in a battle with the NCB, backed up by the Government.

The coal miners have been the poor relations of the fuel industry for far too long. What they contribute is as essential and necessary as the others. Ideally no one should have to earn a living some hundreds of feet underground, but while they do, they should get a decent wage

SUPPORTING ACTION

If the strike becomes a reality then it should get the support of other workers. With union funds so low they will need financial support, but sympathy strikes from other workers in the public sector will really show the Government that it cannot solve the problems of capitalism at the expense of workers.

The answer to the closure of the pits

should have been less hours worked by the number of men at the remaining ones. The frustration and insecurity felt by the miners today is a direct result of the failure to fight for this policy. Will Paynter's co-operation with the closure policy has brought him a new well-paid job, provided by the Government, while to others this policy has meant either an earlier retirement with subsequent living standards of near poverty or moving to another part of the country to seek other work. This is the thanks that miners have got for fulfilling the fuel needs of this country.

The fight back is now on and if any section of the working class deserves support it is the miners:

*See Freedom, Vol. 30 No. 33: 'Miners

DERHAPS VOLTAIRE didn't say 'I disagree with what you say but 1 will fight to the death for your right to say it' but hackneyed though it is, it establishes a limited viewpoint on considering issues of freedom of speech particularly in the current case of the German student Rudi Dutschke. A cynical American journalist applying the cliché to Lincoln Rockwell, the American right-winger, said. I will light to the death (that is, Lincoln Rockwell's death). for your right to say it.' Anarchists do not agree with all the views of Rudi Dutschke and his comrades, but one feels that an important issue of freedom of speech is raised once again by this

It is undoubtedly a fact that, were Rudi Dutschke's comrades in power, the question of anarchist freedom of speech would not be on their agenda. (A man who can saddle his child with the names Hosea and Che-after guess who?-cannot be thought of as a responsible parent. A child is not a memorial plaque.) However, the abuses of power make the anarchist case for the abolition of powerrelations, and, as Rosa Luxemburg un-doubtedly said, 'Freedom is freedom for

Mr. Maudling, the Home Secretary, has established—one knows not how perhaps by the fact that he has not been Home Secretary before—the reputation of being libertarian. (Perhaps there has been some confusion in the matter of Mr. Maudling's daughter.) It was, then. with dismay that the liberal press heard of the decision not to extend Rudi Dutschke's permission to stay on in England in order to study at Cambridge This was decided on because, said Mr. Maudling, 'I think it is wrong in principle that people who come to this country should do so on the basis that they refrain from any actions which are lawful for the ordinary citizen. Hurrah for Reggie Maudling and liberty! No work permits, no student permits, no disclosure of bank balances, no turning back at entry ports! 'Nor do I think in practice that such a condition could be enforced.' Hurrah for civil liberty and the permissive society! Reggie Maudling seems to recognise that you can't stop people from breaking the law if they wish to. So away with all job-fiddles, au pair girls, bribing of foremen, smuggling in of emigres.

But now follows the greatest non Continued on page 3

OZ, Number 28. THE STORY OF O by Pauline Réage. £2 2s. From Freedom Bookshop. RESURGENCE, Vol. 2 Number 12. Ed. John Papworth. 5/-. From Freedom

NEW DEPARTURES, Number 5. Ed. Michael Horovitz. From Freedom Book-

THE HIGH TOWER by Frances Horovitz. 6/-. From Freedom Bookshop. MY ONE LEAF HEAD by Bill Butler. From Freedom Bookshop.

AND ALL LIVING THINGS THEIR CHILDREN by Dan Georgakas. From Dave Cunliffe.

H&. Edited and printed by Ted Kavanagh. From Freedom Bookshop.

ONE RECORDS, with regret, that after weeks of cat and mouse tactics, the faceless Authority has now decided to proceed against the magazine OZ and that three summonses have been torn off against Felix Dennis, James Anderson and Richard Neville relating to number 28 of the magazine OZ, claiming that this 'school kids' issue is or was obscene material published for gain. Each time the State stage-manages one of these public trials they fight it on their own terms and the State learns from every defeat.

The OZ summonses are returnable at Marylebone on October 1 and again your collective and individual help will be needed. If the directors of OZ have to go for trial, they will need all the financial help they can command, and whether you approve or disapprove of OZ as an addition or not to the literary or social scene is not important for one thing is inescapable and that it that these three men will have to challenge the State on behalf of our professed personal liberties.

Once again the boring debate on what constitutes pornography and art will have to be listened to and gentlemen of letters will be asked to come forward to defend the publication of erotic writing and at the same time forced to bow to public opinion by raising a tired eyebrow as they disassociate themselves from the general readership of the horn-

It is curious that the week that witnessed the summonses against OZ was also the week wherein a major group of London libraries back-tracked from a secret decision not to accept any requests for the purchase of the Story of O but under pressure from one single person bought one single copy for the whole group of their local libraries. The Story of O was secretly censored on the orders of the library committee because of the adverse reviews regarding its erotic contents but after protest it has won its place in the back room of the 'Reserve Stock', smut hounds apply in person at the desk, because the writer of the protest argued for the freedom of writers not only in Russia but within the London libraries.

OZ is as cheerful, healthy, bawdy, extrovert and as uncomplicated as a seaside comic postcard while the Story of O is a literary freak that, like books on wine, bores the reader by its limitation to a single theme. It concerns itself with ground in our conception of a new

THE POLITICS OF THE UNPOLITICAL

that juvenile fantasy of the debasement and mutilation of a young woman, a theme that has kept Hollywood, the thriller publishers and women's magazines in business for the last half century. and Jean Paulhan in an interesting but debatable essay concludes that there are those who can only find their imagined freedom when someone else is enslaved or they are the slaves who love their master more than their own life.

But Paulhan is wrong, for the sadist or the masochist can be satisfied in the abstract. It is for this reason that the supermarkets sell millions of Mother's Day cards and the sentimentalist loves her little lambs and her lamb-chops and the poison-pen letter, and the voluntary confession are but the obverses of the same document for love and hate are subjective emotions that feed off the physical objects of the material world to their detriment. Paulhan uses as his point of reference the Barbados slave revolt of 1838 and the plea of the slaves to be taken back into servitude, but within a framework of primitive justice, and Paulhan's essay unconsciously makes the point that so many of us relate freedom as a negative thing in that we conceive of liberty as that of a man running from

Much of anarchist thinking concerns not only a rejection of established economic and political frameworks but unfortunately of our fellow man. This is stated clearly in John Papworth's magazine Resurgence in which John writes of creating many many thousands of small communities or 'village republics'. This is pleasant William Morris middle - class libertarian dream - wish escapism of the small community settlements feeding and thinking upon themselves like swine devouring their own guts. Milking the friendly cow, harvesting the autumnal crops and in winter sitting around the open fire singing to the lilting flute, pure TV cowboy soap-

If I am facetious it is with regret for accept that John's idea is workable within our overpopulated earth but only as a parasitical way of life that can never incorporate the hundreds of millions of people on this overcrowded planet and those intellectual fallout shelters have no place for me. It is when John writes of these 'village republics' having their own form of banking and credit control and insurance undertakings to deal with their economic surpluses that one realizes that there is a complete breakdown in the communication between the libertarian left.

Many years ago, in the course of a casual and pleasant conversation, John dismissed my reference to a moneyless society by saying that it would mean that if he wanted a pair of shoes to fit him he would have to go around with a bag of vegetables or some such barter until he found a willing shoemaker short of his greens. It was at that point that I realized that while we talked of a new way of life we had literally no common

That a moneyless society is a coming social eventuality, be it Communist or Monopoly Managerial Capitalist, and that it will happen within the next fifty years must be taken for granted but what concerns the anarchist is as always the liberty of the individual within that society and his and every one else's open access to the products of that society for, while the moneyless society can fulfil the old socialist dream of from each according to his ability to each according to his need, political power will always be sought by control of the distribution of the fruit of the field and the factory.

We are an island of 50,000,000 people and by the sheer virtue of numbers most of us cannot contract out of any society so our society must accept us and the anarchist must come to terms with this sweaty fact that his place is with we 50,000,000 or he is no more than another social dilettante imprisoned within a permanent university, a community settlement or a holiday camp while the world lives his life.

It is for this reason that we must stand up and be counted on the issue of indiscriminate violence for violence is but an amoral weapon that too many of us enjoy at second hand. The indiscriminate slaughter of uncommitted people cannot be justified by a fellow travelling speech after the blood has been mopped up and least of all by members of the anarchist movement. If the end is immoral as with the nationalist movements, or the militant groups scrabbling for political power or the economic hog bin, then the death of innocence as a means to their ends does not have to be justified but if, as with the primitive Christians, we preach a universal morality that we claim can set all men free, then we cannot condone a senseless and selfish act of physical violence merely because the person involved quoted the right slogan as an afterthought and we should have the moral courage, we moralists, to publicly reject not only violence but violence committed in our name.

On July 10, 1892, Claudius-Francois Koenigstein, dit Ravachol, was executed for a killing in the Rue de Clichy after a bomb-throwing that wounded many people and Ravachol used the fashionable argumentat his trial that there are no innocent bourgeois'. It is a sour argument that Stalin and Hitler used to murder millions and when one considers that one of Ravachol's guilty bourgeois was a wor in labour and that Ravachol had already committed four killings purely for personal profit before he saw the light and began slaying for the greater cause, one should surely check his motives if not his methods. Ravachol had already killed an old man of 86 and his housekeeper with a hatchet, and a mother and daughter, and all for personal gain, as with his essay into a little lighthearted grave-robbing, and these actions removes Dostoevsky's student of Crime and Punishment, making his choice between his present evil and his greater

the realm of fiction to a matter of fact and our relationship to Ravachol's actions in our name. What we as anarchists must come to terms with is our acceptance of immoral acts supposedly committed for our ends and also to publicly define what those ends are otherwise we become bogged down in the sheer mindless pleasure of violence as an end in itself. I am no pacifist but I can only conceive of the use of violence as a defensive act and only against the person and the place that houses or operates the implied or practiced violence of an authority that maintains itself in power by the use of violence. It is a political cliché that too too many found their membership of the Communist Party and the Nazi Party interchangeable and this was because in the battle for political power against an entrenched establishment they accepted violence as an amoral and legitimate weapon for winning the control of the State and that was a common prize for both parties.

We have no prize beyond the free individual within the free society and monastic seclusion or an irresponsible explosion in a crowded street cannot be an answer. If it was, then we have nothing to offer, for we shall have justified the selfishness of the bourgeois and the muderous actions of the State grabbing parties.

So little space is left for the gentle sanity of the poets, only to state that Michael Horovitz shares his New Departures 5 with John Papworth's Resurgence and his brave contents are the finest that Horovitz has produced. Extremely well illustrated and with a roll call of worthwhile poetry by poets of standing, it makes New Departures 5 a Horovitz collector's piece.

Michael's lovely wife, Frances Horovitz, in her book of poems The High Tower, shares with Bill Butler, Dan Georgakas and the poets of Ted Kavanagh's H& that introspective charm that will mark the poetry of the last twenty years. It is now being driven out of favour by the militant arts of the American black power artists with their approval of biased violence and while their militant art, like communist art of the 1930's, must be judged on its value as art (and almost all committed political art failed), one will still wish for a return to the sad little soul-searching of the English poets with their whispered lines and their obsession with those small sad moments of human misery.

These last four books have in common not only their subjective matter and their implied rejection of the major issues of our times but that they handle so well as products of people who love the craft of bookmaking and the printed word for its own sake. Each book in its own fashion is a pleasure to the eye and none more so than Ted Kavanagh's H& for Kavanagh is a dedicated craftsman whose work, started in the old Wooden Shoe anarchist shop, has finally flowered in this beautiful magazine and one can do no more than compliment the poets within its pages on being able to marry their own art to what is surely a work of art in the field of printing.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

LETTER

Listen Solidarist!

Dear Editors,

I wish to reply to criticisms recently made in FREEDOM of two texts written by myself: namely to that by I. Sutherland of the pamphlet 'Spartakism to National Bolshevism' and to that by N.W. in last week's issue of my review of the pamphlet 'Listen, Marxist' in Solidarity, Vol. 6, No. 5.

I think it significant that out of these two texts-totalling about 36 pages -the only pieces singled out for criticism are the half-page sections in each dealing with the actions in history of certain anarchists. Anarchist historiography consists chiefly in defending the great figures of the anarchist past, the rest of history is a dark, ignored region. To criticise the anarchist heroes is 'stupid' (Sutherland) or 'sneering' (N.W.)-these reactions are in keeping with tradition.

Sutherland objected to criticisms I made of the role of Muhsam and Landauer in the Munich Soviet of 1919, and to the ill-informed comments on this role by C.W. in Anarchy 54 (see 'Spartakism to National Bolshevism' pp. 12-14 for events in Munich). If he can disprove (not just dismiss) the judgegood by murdering his landlady from ment that the anarchists in Munich were

confused putschists, let us hear from him. If not, we must take the judgement

N.W. objects to the fact that I call Kropotkin a 'consistent supporter of French Imperialism' and challenges me to prove it. This can be done with little difficulty.

As early as 1899 Kropotkin was thinking in National and pro-French terms. That year a series of articles in Les Temps Nouveaux attacked Germany (including the labour movement) as militant and described France as the 'vanguard of the revolutionary movement'. However, Kropotkin's attitude to French Imperialism is more clearly demonstrated in the two great imperialist crises of the period, i.e., the Morocco events of 1905-6 and the first Imperialist war in 1914. In the first case, when the interests of French Imperialism were being threatened by the expansion of German Imperialism, Kropotkin declared publicly that if war broke out between the countries he would take up a rifle to defend 'democracy' against 'militarism'.1 In a letter to Gustave Hervé he spoke in favour of conscription, and opposed

Continued on page 3

All correspondence to Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham 16 *ANARCHIST* **FEDERATION** of BRITAIN

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press. BLACK KNIGHT GROUP, 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesdays.
LAVENDER HILL. Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyne-ham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).
NOTTING HILL. Sebastian Scragg, 10 Bassett LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION.
Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7. NEWHAM. Pat Keen, 26 Farringford Road, E.15.

REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 84B White-chapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row.

BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close. Upton. Poole. Dorset. Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.
CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur
Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall.
Brian & Hazel McGee, Hillcrest Farm, Hicks
Mill, Bissoe, Truro, Cornwall. Visiting comrades

PEACE ACTION. Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peace Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth,

Hants.
CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Laurens and Celia
Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH
(653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, I Langmead
Street, West Norwood, S.E.27, Phone 670 7297.
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact
Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware,
Middr. FARNBOROUGH. 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett,

Camberley, Surrey, Tel.: Farnborough 43811.
HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry
Road, Chells, Stevenage.
LEICESTER. Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne
Street, Leicester. Tel.: 29912.
LOUGHBOROUGH. Peter Davies, 67 Friffin
Close, Sheposted, Leics. LOUGHBOROUGH. Peter Davies, 67 Friffin Close, Shepsted, Leics. MUTUAL AID GROUP, c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.
NORTH-AMPTONSHIRE. Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk, Corby, Northants.
NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne 6.
NORTH SOMENSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abboy Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells. ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP, Knockholk, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 246. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
PORTSMOUTH. Ken Bowbrick, 26 Hambledon House, Landport, Portsmouth, Hant.
READING. 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday.
SOUTHALL. Dave Smith, 102 Abbots Road, Southall. Southall.
TAUNTON. c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley
Road, Taunton, Somerset.
WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings
and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackgray
Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.
MERSEYSIDE. c/o John Cowan, 172a Lodge
Lane, Liverpool 8. Meetings first Sunday in each
month, 8 p.m.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

NORTH ESSEX. Write: Peter Newell, 'Acgean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Coichester. BASILDON & WICKFORD. Mick Powell, Glamis House, 24 Cameron Close, Brentwood, BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview',

Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House,
Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue,
Epping, Essex.
HARLOW. Stephen Murrell, 34 Sharpecroft, LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION N.W. Federation Sec.: Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster.

Secretary: Phil, 7 Trinity Square, Preston.
BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham,
2 Fenper Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool.
BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster.
MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS. Contact Rachel Golditch, 34 Waterpark Road, Salford, Lancs. (740 2516).
PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Rob Wilkinson, 73 Traiford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The
Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdaya, 8 p.m.

SURREY FEDERATION

DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey EFSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806. KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., GUILDFORD. Contact Epsom Group.
MERTON. Ellio Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/e Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton, BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP TOWN & UNIVERSITY. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton. CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.

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Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

FORTNIGHT IN IRELAND

Ist week

BELFAST HAS NOW had its hundred and first explosion since the beginning of the year. I take the Irish Times' word for it. Personally I lost count. The last two were Bord Bainne-the Dairy Marketing Board-and a pub. Presumably the former was the work of a Protestant extremist who objects to the tons of Republican butter being bought by the six counties. As I do not recognise the name of the road in which the pub was, I pass no judgement-the point is that NOT ONE of these explosions by either the UVF or the IRA have achieved anything at all excepting more bitter hatred and more screaming for 'law-and-order' and revenge.

Mr. Staples has bumbled around the six counties without saying anything worth saying, and Ian Paisley stormed out of an interview with him in about three minutes running true to form. Mr. Staples, I gather, refused to call him God.

More Conservative groups call for the resignation of Major Chichester Clark and/or their more liberal-minded Members of Parliament, and the gallant Major says he is certain all is going well and he is standing firm, while William Craig chimes in and says Chichester Clark must and will go. It all gets more unreal and Alice-in-Wonderlandy every moment except that human beings are starving, are jobless and homeless, and are dying, and no one will give in or care for anything excepting their own Power and Comfort.

In the 26 counties the residents of Shantalla won and kept Mrs. Furey and her children out of the house allotted to them by the Council.

One DOES wonder why two hundred police turned up to evict the tenants who were squatters from 148 and 146 Pembroke Road and to defend the landlord speculators so arduously, but when it could do nothing and advised her to 'wait a few days before attempting to go in'. When the few days were over the residents had successfully intimidated her so that now she will not try to enter. though-more power to her elbow-she is refusing to give up the key.

In Dublin some of us feel completely disillusioned and heartbroken. The infighting that goes on not only amongst the 101 different left groups but in the groups themselves. The old story of 'get what I can for myself' is repeated over and over again. In fact the more I see of people the more I like animals. It is nearly impossible for coloured students to get digs in Dublin especially if they are African. WHY? Whatever difference does the colour of the skin make? I feel very badly indeed over this as I have an African granddaughter, admittedly she is adopted but she is just the same as any other member of the family.

Since the demolition of The Island, the Anarchists seem to have vanished off the face of the earth. They are never in O'Connell Street of a Saturday afternoon now. It is our custom to gather there and talk and sell our respective papers, and collect money for whatever cause we need it. Again I did not get FREEDOM last number. I suspect the Branch of confiscating odd copies just to be important, but it is tiresome of them and very silly. That is the trouble, human beings are so damn silly, especially, I think, in Ireland. We have been the playboys of the Western World so long have got stuck in a political adolescence and won't grow up and face real responsibilities for improving life on earth. Turn out on a picket, throw a few stones or petrol bombs, but when it means hard-slogging, dull, backroomboy work, go missing.

Sorry for such a Jeremiah this week.

Much has happened in the world and Ireland to produce this state in me.

2nd week

The result of the voting by the RUC as to whether they should carry arms as of vore has resulted in nothing satisfactory to either side. Nearly one-third of the force refrained from voting at all. The non-carry arms faction only got a majority of 111. Each side claim victory, and each side is scared stiff.

Meanwhile a rash of booklets has appeared in the six counties. The Paisleyite lot have produced one called 'Facts at your Finger Tips', which is about as truthful as Paisley's weekly horror-comic The Protestant Telegraph. It is rumoured that Mr. Trevor Hanna, the Unionist Press Officer, is about to resign. He is an experienced journalist who allowed his political ambitions to lead him into a completely impossible position. Another booklet is 'The Massacre of the Protestants'. This owes its being to William Craig's 'Ulster Loyalist Association', a sort of UDI group of western Burntolleters.

Meanwhile the Citizens' Defence Committee of the Falls area of Belfast has their indictment of General Freeland and the conduct of the troops between July 3 and 6 this year, and the sheer illegal brutality of General Freeland in imposing a blanket curfew without reading the Riot Act or declaring Martial Law which led to the shooting dead of Mr. Patrick Elliman and Mr. Zbigniew. This booklet is called 'Law(?) and Order' and is by O. Fearghal. The author says it was written to show the whole interlude has implications of very urgent relevance to the problem of whether deemed British citizens in the six counties in fact have the same rights as those who live in, say, Glasgow or Birmingham or Cardiff. The General has reacted violently and utterly rejects any idea of disciplining the soldiers who were guilty of excesses during the arms raid, though photographs exist showing the smashed Holy pictures and

more fires all over the 26 counties.

A review called 'A State of Chassis' was produced at the Peacock Theatre in Dublin, which lampooned Bernadette Devlin. Eamonn McCann interrupted and protested at actors being funny about such serious matters. An actor quoted, 'If I should laugh 'tis so I may not weep which he rightly attributed to Lord Byron. Anyhow there was a scuffle, and at the end of the show Leila Doolan of 'Sit Down and Be Counted' fame backed Eamonn, saying she had not had the courage to do it on the spot. The row is still seething in the letter pages of the daily press.

huge destructive fire in Cork and promise

objects, and wrecked homes.

Landlords become more greedy and intolerable every day as land becomes more expensive and further bribes are offered to them to sell to the speculator for offices. We have not had a working bathroom for three weeks in the house where I have a tiny bedsitter. One geyser blew up in a tenant's face and the other leaked gas so that the company had to turn the gas off. When told, did the landlord put in new geysers? Not on your nelly. He has his unhandy man making a geyser out of the two derelicts (circa 1930 according to the gas company). Some people in the house are paying as much as £4 a week for their one room. We dare not make a concerted complaint. If we did we should have the house sold over our heads, and furnished (or unfurnished) bedsitters or indeed any accommodation is absolutely impossible to find. So we endure just to keep a roof over our heads. The man is nearly a millionaire and owns some 20 houses all over Dublin. This is a common story. No one feels safe or has any security.

The cost of living rises and rises. The only place one can shop now are the supermarkets where everything is put up in packets. One is forced to buy 2 lb. of sugar, or ½ lb. of bacon, far too much for anyone living alone sans a refrigerator. Potatoes only retail by the quarter

Oh, Freedom and Justice, how very desirable you seem, and how unobtainable.

H.

The UVF claim responsibility for the



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Airmail

Listen Solidarist!

Continued from page 2 the anti-militarist propaganda of the syndicalists.2 This attitude remained unchanged up to the outbreak of war in 1914, when he decorated his house with French and British flags and exhorted anarchists to join the Allied armies and 'defend themselves like wild beasts'* against Germany. Kropotkin's attitude in 1914 is so well known that we only need quote from Malatesta.

'Kropotkin's old preferences for all that was French were re-awakened in him, and he declared himself an enthusiastic supporter of the Entente. He forgot that he was an internationalist, a socialist and an anarchist , began expressing admiration for the worst Allied statesmen and generals . gretting that his age prevented him taking up a rifle and marching against the Germans. He was truly a pathological case' (Malatesta: Life and Ideas, ed. V. Richards, p. 260).

In 1916 he was one of the signatories of the 'Manifesto of the Sixteen'-signed by various leading anarchists-which set forth his defencist position, to the delight of the Entente Imperialists.8 This Manifesto was published in P. A. Kropotkin i ego uchenie by Maximoff in Chicago (1931) and awaits translation.

On his return to Russia in 1917 Kropotkin joined with those (i.e. Kerensky and French Imperialism) who 'called upon the Russian people to defend their country' and wrote sadly of the 'complete disorganisation of the army' (i.e. desertions, soldiers' councils, etc.). As late as 1919 he was still attacking the 'criminal attitude of those who sought to disorganise the power of Russia to resist . . . and cost oceans of blood to prevent Germany from crushing Europe under the Imperial heel'.4

'Consistency' is normally the last word one would use about anarchists. However, over the twenty years from 1899 to 1919, Kropotkin's support of French Imperialism was truly consistent.

Fraternally, I. MITCHELL. Aberdeen

*'Kropotkin, gentle and gracious, infinitely kind and nobly wise' (Herbert Read) sic.

Rosner Le Mouvement Ouvriere pendant la Guerre (1936) p. 82. ²Woodcock The Anarchist Prince (1950)

p. 375 SAvrich The Russian Anarchists (1967) p. 116, where the question of Kropotkin and the war is fully dealt with.

⁴Woodcock, op. cit., p. 414.)

N.W. replies-

N.W. replies:-I don't agree that 'anar- tion that Kropotkin was 'a consistent defending the great figures of the past'; nor did I say that it is 'sneering' for Solidarity to criticise the anarchist heroes'. I am not much interested in heroes or great figures. I said that Solidarity 'feels obliged to print sneers at anarchism in all relevant (and many irrelevant) contexts'; and I suggest that the main concern of anarchist historiography is to establish the truth, which is my purpose here.

To come to the point, it is of course well known that Kropotkin was an enthusiastic supporter of the Allies in the First World War. Far from defending or ignoring this, the anarchists opposed him from the start. It is also well known that Kropotkin was an advocate of French militarism for ten years before 1914 and of French patriotism for ten years before that. This is a crucial fact in any study of Kropotkin. and no anarchist would wish to conceal or evade it (similar problems arise with Proudhon and Bakunin).

Ian Mitchell rehearses the old drama with references to some of the secondary sources which are familiar to every serious student of the subject. But nowhere does he substantiate his asser-

chist historiography consists chiefly in supporter of French imperialism'. Is it really necessary to explain that imperialism is not the same as patriotism or militarism? Can Mitchell produce a single instance from Kropotkin's writings to indicate that he supported the expansion of France into other European countries or the exploitation by France of countries outside Europe?

From my own reading of Kropotkin. I would say that, while he supported the interests of France as the land of the revolution (an idea which was central to his thought), and therefore the defence of France against an attack from Germany as a revolutionary war, and therefore the extension of conscription to prepare for such an attack, and finally the conversion of defensive into offensive war to prevent the recurrence of such an attack, Kropotkin nevertheless remained throughout a consistent opponent of French imperialism. The distinction may not seem very real to us, knowing as we do how easy it is to slide from one error into another, but it was clearly important to Kropotkin. He tried to keep his support for the France of the Great Revolution and 1848 and the Commune and the syndicalist movement separate

FREEDOM FOR OTHERS

Continued from page 1 sequitur of the Tory Government's brief career. 'I am afraid therefore,' said libertarian Maudling, that I cannot agree that Mr. Dutschke should now continue to reside in this country as a student.' Since Mr. Maudling objects to conditional stays and since he knows conditions are unenforceable, he proposes rather than wipe out the conditions to wipe out the stay. Only by such overwhelming logic of the dialectic could Reggie Maudling retain his passion for liberty combined with the duties of a Home Secretary resolved to please the baying pack of anti-permissives who will doubtless make up the forthcoming Tory conference. First the Cambridge and Brighton sentences, now this. Not since General De Gaulle's refusal to ban the atomique bomb until France had it have re seen such dire logic put into practice.

Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne, hearing approaching tumbrils again, makes a necessity of his vice of illiberalism and in the Sunday Telegraph writes an article entitled 'Dare to be Illiberal' with a subheading 'Should the Government be ashamed of the arbitrary expulsion of Rudi Dutschke?' Worsthorne says, 'Acts like Dutschke's expulsion commend themselves precisely because they are illiberal. The reason for this is not hard

to find. Today, for the first time perhaps since the outbreak of the French Revolution, public opinion is more concerned with the danger of anarchy than with the danger of tyranny, more fearful about the precipitate collapse of authority than undue consolidation. Inevitably, therefore, the bias is moving away from liberalism towards an authoritarianism. This is not necessarily an ignoble or irrational switch. Anarchy is worse than tyranny since, so far as ordinary people are concerned, lack of security is a far more intolerable burden than lack of freedom.

Mr. Worsthorne goes on to give the ill-chosen parallel of the 'anarchy' of the Weimar Republic leading to the rise of Hitler. He omits the factors of wardefeat and guilt, famine, inflation and unemployment which helped to promote He omits the authoritarian, nationalistic and chauvinistic nature of government and opposition in the Weimar Republic which made the choice of Hitler, the choice of 'a terrible end' rather than 'an endless terror' and the German people chose lack of freedom rather than lack of security. The only ingredient of real anarchism in the Weimar Republic was in the artistic field -but this is a thing all artists in all

Continued on page 4

from his opposition to the France of Napoleon III and Thiers and Boulanger and the Dreyfus case and Biribi. The task was impossible, but sincere.

Thus Kropotkin's attitude during the Morocco crisis was not as simple as Mitchell suggests. He stated that 'if France is invaded by some military power, the duty of revolutionaries is not to fold their arms and give the invader a free passage. It is to begin the social revolution and defend the territory of the revolution in order to continue it. And he added that the duty of revolutionaries was 'that of defending with weapons in hand against the bourgeois and imperialist hordes of the German. English and possibly Russian invaders every inch of French territory which has begun the revolution' (Les Temps Nouveaux, October 28, 1905). And when asked to make his position clearer, he explained that he regretted that he was himself too old to take up a rifle to defend France 'not as a soldier of the bourgeoisie, of course, but as a soldier of the revolution, in free legions like those of the Garibaldians and the franctireurs of 1871', and he summed up his attitude in the phrase: 'Let us make the revolution and run to the

frontiers' (Les Temps Nouveaux, Novem-

ber 4, 1905-reprinted from Le Temps, October 31, 1905).*

The double line in Kropotkin's thought may be followed not only in various articles in Les Temps Nouveaux but also in essays printed in such books as Paroles d'un Révolté (1885)-especially the preface to the Italian edition (1904) and the postcript to the Russian edition (1921)-and La Science Moderne et l'Anarchie (1913). He was indeed consistent in his prejudice in favour of France, but I have not yet come across an instance in which he expressed approval of French imperialism. To argue from his alliance with the imperialists during the First World War that he was himself an imperialist is a clumsy use of the old Communist technique of the amalgam.

We should of course be firm in exposing the francophile tendencies which led Kropotkin to the betrayal of 1914; but we should also be fair in recognising the revolutionary principles which held him back from an even worse betrayal of the kind suggested by Ian Mitchell. There is no doubt that was a patriot and a militarist, like Bakunin and Engels before him and the Makhnovist anarchists and anti-Brest Bolsheviks after him: but there is no

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evidence yet that he was an imperialist. (Incidentally, the Manifesto of the Sixteen was printed in several accessible periodicals from the time of its first publication in 1916 onwards; translation

*Kropotkin's italics.

would be a simple, if sad, business.)

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS

BRITAIN, like most countries, has D multitude of political parties of both the 'left' and the 'right', all aspiring to power and to govern us. One such party is the National Democratic Party. And of the various right-wing political groups that have proliferated over the last few years or so, the NDP has, rather surprisingly, attracted the least attention. Nationally, its 'leader' is completely unknown, although he is very well known in his own local area; and its policy even less so. Indeed, Dan Yergin in his recent Daily Telegraph Magazine article, 'Beyond The Left, Farther Than The Right', doesn't even mention the British National Democrats at all, though after discussing various Trotskyist groups and the National Front at length, does waste a whole column one-man far-right outfit calling itself the Christian Nationalist movement. There are, it seems, no shortage of nationalist parties and groups to choose

The National Democratic Party in Britain, which appears to have been formerly known as—or associated with the English National Party and the English Democratic Party, was founded in 1963 by a certain Dr. David Brown, who is still the party's National Chairman and 'leader'. Brown, who is 33, is not a doctor of medicine or divinity; he is a civil engineer who lives in Ipswich, in Suffolk. The British In-dependent (No. 2, 1966), published by the Racial Preservation Society, lists him together with well-known National Front members, Philip Maxwell and George H. Nicholson, as a National Executive Com-BRITISH VERSION

Society. Dr. Brown has contested Ipswich on behalf of the NDP three times all told. In 1964, he polled 349 votes; in 1966, he polled 769; and at the last General Election he received 2,322 votes. He has small, but increasingly solid, support in Ipswich and S.E. Suffolk In 1966 and 1970 he was, moreover, the only parliamentary candidate in Britain to more than double his vote in each successive election.

What is the numerical strength of the National Democratic Party? This has, as far as I know, never been revealed. The Ipswich branch, quite naturally, is at times very active. According to the Guardian (11.8.70) there is a branch in London; and branches or groups have been reported in Manchester, Leicester and elsewhere, but it seems unlikely that there are more than about a dozen branches in the country. Membership of the NDP is probably under 500. But despite its apparent smallness, it does not seem to be all that short of funds. Some of its members and supporters, as we shall note later in this article, have spent considerable sums of money on meetings and advertising campaigns At the last General Election, the NDP contested four constituencies. ford, Birmingham, the NDP candidate received 7,438 votes against the former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer, Roy Jenkins, who polled 22,560, and a Tory who received 15,848. The Communist candidate polled 298! Ipswich I mittee member of the Racial Preservation have already mentioned. At Leicester

the NDP candidate polled 935; and at Southampton the NDP candidate polled 9,581—the latter, however, was a freak vote as the Tories did not stand against the Speaker, Dr. Horace King. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the National Democratic Party, since its for-mation in 1963, has done marginally better than other far-right groups such as Union Movement, the British Movement or the National Front, and far better than such power-seeking, leftwing minority parties as the Communist Party, the ILP or the SPGB. Sur-prisingly, morevover, it has not suffered the stigma of Fascism or Nazism in the same way as Mosley's Union Movement

or the National Front.

What, then, is the NDP's attitude towards the other far-right groups and parties, and what are their views of the NDP? We get some insight of the 'in-fighting' between the NDP and the NF from an editorial, 'Unity? Come Off It Gentlemen!' in the Jan./Feb., 1969, issue of Spearhead. Says the

. there were certain individuals and groups who flatly refused to give up running their own little shows and were not interested in any arrangement with the National Front unless positions of supreme power (sic!) and importance were guaranteed them.

When asked why they cannot do the honourable thing and throw their lot behind the National Front, some them give excuses that are quite One in particular objects to the NF because, in his own words, embraces "foreign associations" Without going into great detail to refute the absurdity of such a statement, it is sufficient to draw attention to the title of his organisation. It called the National Democratic Party-a name better known as that of the reputed Neo-Nazi Party in

Presumably, then, the NF think the National Democrats are tarred with the Nazi brush, and the National Democrats think that the NF is! At local level, however, a certain amount of co-operation between NDP and NF members has been observed, particularly where both are numerically very weak.

What are the policies of the National Democratic Party? At his adoption meeting at the recent General Election,

THIS WORLD

THIS IS A WEEKLY COLUMN, first instalment. Those of you who come to Hyde Park or other such concourse of public address-like the Domain in Sydney-may recognise the style. Briefly, it is my intention to highlight events of the near past-usually the last week-in an attempt to do some anarchic reading between the lines. My little pamphlet, ANARCHY NOW!, apart from being an elementary introduction to anarchism, was verbally illustrated by a series of recollections from my talks in the Sydney Domain which in turn were based on an anarchic reading of the news as indicated above. Now, thanks to Her Majesty the Queen providing me with a free passage close to the centre of her dwindling empire, this work is continued in Hyde Park every Sunday from 1 p.m.

The TUC recommends £16.10.0 as rock bottom for all wage earners. A study, the results of which have just been published, by the Incomes Data Services reveals that seventeen out of twenty negotiating groups covered memberships who earned less than this figure. A substantial number earned as little as £8.13.0.

Before the election Tory propaganda indicated that many families earned less in 40 hours than they could draw in Social Services. Now in office, Mr.

To raise the price of school meals. To spend £3 million on French helicopters for the armed forces.

J. S. Mill, in his famous essay on Liberty, said that the conservative, by his very nature, was the most stupid of people.

Mr. Jeff Crawford, secretary of the West Indian Standing Conference stated at a recent press assembly that 'most magistrates' courts are protection rackets for the police'. The ordinary citizen, with his simple confidence in the probity of the constabulary, is quite ignorant of police methods. A friend of mine, in New Zealand, was once arrested for assault although he was purely an innocent bystander. Despite the perjury of the constable concerned he won an Afterwards he was congratulated by the policeman (their camaraderie is often the most nauseating feature of association with them) and when the latter was asked why he gave such blatantly false evidence he answered: That was what the sergeant told me to say.' Later, in Sydney, I had much the same experience when two plainclothesmen arrested me and swore in court that I went up to their car in a public street shouting: 'All policemen are fucking cunts and should be where Holt is.' Holt · Minister of Australia and had

doubt I had condemned him in the Domain for his part in the Vietnam tragedy. The police, to whom I had said nothing, decided to teach me a lesson by use of normal procedure, namely, giving perjured evidence in court to secure a conviction. The effectiveness of this is demonstrated repeatedly in the lower courts where the magistrate will accept unsubstantiated police evidence as against the evidence of the accused.

'Animal man degrades himself more and more, and without limits' was the Pope's comment on being informed of a nudist congress recently held in England and at which a local vicar per-formed a service. A few days later His Holiness created a new order for lay virgins who could offer up their precious prize to the Almighty.

It seems the US Vice-President used to enjoy the Beatles. During the week he informed us that he found such ditties as 'I get high with a little help from my friends' rather tuneful until some spoilsport let him in on what was hardly a secret (TIME two years ago did a lengthy article on SERGEANT PEPPER where songs like 'Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds' were identified with LSD) and, now, he mournfully relates that friends' were 'assorted drugs'. Back to the foxtrot and whisky, Spiro.

Social problems are ignored by authorities at their own risk. The whole point of the hijackings is that desperate circumstances, such as apply to the Palestinian Arabs, provoke desperate solutions. All civilised people sympathise the Jews for what they suffered under Hitler. Only a fanatical Zionist will be blind to the plight of the Arabs who were ousted from lands to make way for a new racist state. It is ironical that those who now claim the protection of law and order, speaking in the sanctimonious terms of authority everywhere, were, only a few years ago blowing up the King David Hotel and revelling in the exploits of the Stern gang. Justice today demands compromise by both Arab and Jew. Prejudice and fanaticism on both sides will deal only in propaganda and terror.

Not only have the Wednesday night meetings in Freedom Press come to life a programme of regular talks and social functions but anarchists, of all hues, have found a congenial meeting place every Sunday evening-the Marquis of Granby, Cambridge Circus. See you

BILL DWYER.

immigrant or indigenous, who instead should unite to abolish the system which FREEDOM Continued from page 3

countries have in common and the chaotic post-war conditions in Germany called for the new evaluations of Brecht

Worsthorne quite rightly goes on to deplore the hypocrisy of Maudling on this case and Sir Alec Douglas Home on arms for South Africa (Home urging implausible strategic necessity). He then proceeds to foresee that the Government in self-defence, in the streets, campuses and factory floors' will have to commit more and more 'illiberal' actions but Worsthorne thinks it better if these issues are brought out into the open without

In short, in the cause of defending us from 'anarchy', Worsthorne plumps for brutality rather than hypocrisy and says this Government was not elected to be 'liberal'. No government is 'liberal' and it is doubtless an illusion to believe that governments can be. It is equally an illusion to believe that by a conscious programme of repression of radical expression in the streets, campuses or on the factory floor, governments can

Whether this persecution of Rudi Dutschke is part of a conscious programme of repression or a half-baked at firm government by a flabby, kindly Home Secretary pitch-forked into a repressive job and looking for an easy popularity gimmick after two months of masterly inactivity, we shall never know, but it won't do

In this case Dr. Samuel Johnson had a better word for it than the alleged Voltairism. Every man has a right to utter what he thinks truth and every other man has a right to knock him down for it. Martyrdom is the test. It is a tribute to the truth of Rudi Dutschke's doctrines that the Tory Government is persecuting him. The Tory Government have done him a service which his true political opponents would never do. The crypto-Nazi unfortunate who attempted to assassinate him gave him martyrdom. Does Mr. Maudling wish to confer sainthood?

a return to true private enterprise, thus enabling massive tax reductions to be made; reinforcement of the law by the return of capital punishment; the welfare of the British working man to be put first before that of other nationalities; keeping out of the Common Market; lifting sanctions against Rhodesia and the arms embargo on South Africa; stopping foreign aid; the humane repatriation of coloured immigrants to their homelands; and higher old age pensions' (East Anglian Daily Times, Ipswich, 29.5.70). Asked at one of his meetings if the NDP supported equal pay for women, Brown replied that There is a difference of opinion in the Party on this' (East Anglian Daily Times,

Dr. Brown also denied that there was any organisational link between the NDP and Enoch Powell. He said, however, that he wished there was. same, prominent members and supporters of his party have spent quite considerable sums of money during the last year or so on 'Powell For PM' advertisements and campaigns. And these have particularly upset the National Front. Martin Web ster, National Activities organiser of the Front, writing in Spearhead (Feb. 1970), refers to 'One small organisation' recently expended more than £300 on a full-page 'Powell For Premier' advertisement in an East London news paper. In the view of the National Front, says Webster, . . . that £300 would have been much better spent if it had been used as a donation to the election fund of a nationalist candidate in East London, where, thanks to the groundwork of the National Front, many opportunities present themselves. The people who squander these large sums of money on "Powell For Premier" advertisements are not guilty of folly. They are guilty of downright sobotage. No doubt Mr. Webster is also aware that the National Democrats have been guilty of 'downright sabotage' in other areas as well. Full-page advertisements have appeared elsewhere; and meetings promoting 'Powell For PM' have been held. Besides such meetings and campaigns, NDP members run, or are assowith, various 'patriotic', racial society and anti-immigrant organisations.

The National Democratic Party is quite small, but potentially dangerous; its policies are almost identical to those of the National Front, but at present it is not prepared to be swallowed up by the NF, although one of leading members has been described, according to CRAB (May/June, 1970), as a 'staunch devotee of National So-cialism'. Its aim, like all such groups, is to divide and rule workers in the interests of 'private enterprise'—that is capitalism. Like all political parties, it should be rejected by workers, both



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Brown said that his party stood for robs them of the fruits of their labours. Internationalism, not nationalism - socalled democratic or undemocraticshould be their watchword.



Comrades in S.W. Lancs. Activities in Wigan, Saturday, October 3. All Welcome, Contact B. J. Banks, 553 Liverpool Road, Platt Bridge, Wigan.

Non - Straight Psychiatrist. Urgently sought by misfit who doesn't want 'curing' of Libertarianism but who has real but unrecognised hang-up. If you know of one please write, P.B., 60 Catherine Street, Reading, RG3 1DG.

Agit Prop are organising a party to celebrate the victory of the Arbour Square Squatters, at Arbour Square on Saturday, October 3. There will be poetry and music. Anyone able to help with the entertainments, or in any other way, please get in touch with Agit Prop or just come along. Wanted.—Copy of Voline's 'Unknown Revolution'. Box 03, Freedom Press.

Dublin Libertarian Library requires back issues of 'Freedom', 'Anarchy' and any other anarchist or allied publications, any language. Books also welcome but no payment possible. Send to Freedom Press.

Elephant and Castle Project Junior Club. Saturday morning play project for boys and girls, urgently needs reliable helpers. New ideas and cast-off toys, etc., welcome. Contact: Club Leader, Valerie E. Bickers, 26 Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3.

Complete set of 'Anarchy'. Offers to: T. Reeder, 44 Upper Orwell Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

Biographies of Italian Anarchists. Documents on the following: * lian anarchists in the Resistance 1939-45; Biographic and bibliographic material on the following-E. Malatesta, P. Gori, L. Galleani, C. Berneri, L. Pertoni, A. Borghi, G. Damiani, L. Meschi, U. Fedeli. All material returned, postage refunded. Send to: Rene Bianco, B.P. 40 Marseille, St. Just 13, France.

Libertarian Analysis. First quarterly issue out at the end of September. Box 210, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014, USA.

Very urgent. There are several families at Burrell House who need an electric cooker, especially since the gas was cut off last week. Anyone able to help meet our urgent cooker crisis please notify us via Freedom Press, phone 247, 9249—The Tenants of Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.1.

Behaviourism & Revolution. Libertarian Study Group forming to consider the kind of question recently occupying the attention of FREEDOM correspondents. Contact J. Millenson, 111 Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2. 01-723 1587.

Los Amigos de Durruti. A group of active campaigners in London dedicated to the propagation of Anarchy (society organized without authority) and the defence of brothers in need Write to Bill Dwyer, c/o Freedom Press.

Proposed Bristol Group. Alex Bird, 23

Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath. Frank Roach Personal Appeal. Frank Roach at present will Brixton it seems until September Comrades need not be reminded of the stirring deeds of this gentleman but money for cigarettes, etc., would

dom Press, Box No. 02. Anarchists in Enfield area please contact

Leroy Evans 01-360 4324. Please help. Union of American Exiles in Britain: c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian

Road, London, N.1. Proposed Group. Alex Bird, 23 Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath.

Lowestoft Libertarians contact Ann & Gordon Collins, 9 Ontario Road, Lowestoft, Suffolk, Tuesday even-Comrades welcome for short stay by the sea.

formed, contact Dave Archard, Corpus Christi College, or John Humphries, Balliol.

Oxford Anarchists. New group being

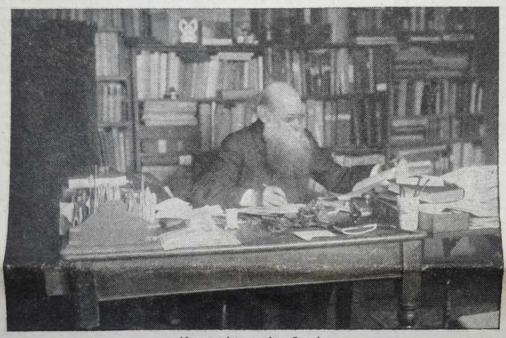
Wednesday discussion meetings at Free-dom Meeting Hall from 8 p.m. Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards...

Freedom

QD.

NO. 4

PETER KROPOTKIN



Kropotkin in his Study

PETER KROPOTKIN's first political book, 'Paroles d'un Révolté'—a collection of articles from 'Le Révolté', the paper he had founded in Geneva in 1879—was published in France in 1885, while he was serving a five-year prison sentence. It has been translated into nearly all the main languages of the world but, though most of its nineteen chapters have appeared in English at various times and in various places as articles or pamphlets or both, there has never been a complete translation. The first English-language edition of the whole book will be published by the Libertarian Book Club of New York next year, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Kropotkin's death, under the title 'Words of a Rebel' (copies will of course be available from the Freedom Press).

This edition is being prepared by Nicolas Walter, of the London Anarchists, a contributor to 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy' for many years, who has recently prepared a new edition of Kropotkin's 'Memoirs of a Revolutionist' (to be published by Dover Publications of New York later this year). Most of the shorter chapters are being translated afresh, and some of these new translations will be printed in another 'Freedom' pamphlet supplement in the coming months. Today we begin with the preface by Elisée Reclus, which was dated October 1, 1885, was first published in the book later the same month, and was reprinted in 'Le Révolté' on October 11/24, 1885.

WORDS OF A REBEL

Preface by Elisee Reclus

FOR TWO AND A HALF YEARS Peter Kropotkin has been in prison, cut off from the society of his fellow-men. His punishment is hard, but the silence imposed on him concerning the things he cares about most is much harder: his imprisonment would be less oppressive if he were not gagged. Months and years may perhaps pass before the use of speech is restored to him and he can resume interrupted conversations with his comrades.

The period of forced seclusion which our friend has to undergo will certainly not be wasted, but it seems very long to us! Life quickly goes by, and we sadly watch the weeks and months running out when this voice—so proud and honest among the rest—cannot be heard at all. In its place, how many common-

places will be repeated to us, how many lying words will afflict us, how many biased half-truths will ring about our ears! We long to hear one of those sincere and forthright tongues which boldly proclaim the truth.

But if the prisoner of Clairvaux no longer has the freedom to speak to his comrades from the depths of his cell, they can at least remember their friend and recall the words he spoke before. This is a task which I am able to perform, and I have devoted myself to it with pleasure. The articles which Kropotkin wrote from 1879 to 1882 in the 'anarchist' paper Le Révolté seemed to me ideal for publication in book form, especially because they did not run after chance events but followed a logical order. The vigour of the thought gave them the necessary unity. Faithful to the scientific method, the author first explains the general situation of society, with its scandals and defects, its elements of discord and war; he studies the evidence of collapse shown by states, and shows us the cracks opening in their ruins. Then he pushes the experience offered by contemporary history in the direction of anarchic evolution, indicates

glorious deeds in the history of humanity.

It is the rebellion of thought on the eve of revolution; it is the upsetting of hypotheses sanctioned by unchanging centuries; it is the breaking of a flood of new ideas, of daring inventions, it is the solution of scientific problems.

Disorder is the abolition of ancient slavery, it is the rise of the communes, the abolition of feudal serfdom, the attempts at the abolition of economic serfdom.

Disorder is peasant revolts against priests and landowners, burning castles to make room for cottages, leaving the hovels to take their place in the sun. It is France abolishing the monarchy and dealing a mortal blow at serfdom in the whole of Western Europe.

Disorder is 1848 making kings tremble, and proclaiming the right to work. It is the people of Paris fighting for a new idea and, when they die in the massacres, leaving to humanity the idea of the free commune, and opening the way towards this revolution which we can feel approaching and which will be the Social Revolution.

Disorder—what they call disorder—is periods during which whole generations keep up a ceaseless struggle and sacrifice themselves to prepare humanity for a better existence, in getting rid of past slavery. It is periods during which

the popular genius takes free flight and in a few years makes gigantic advances without which man would have remained in the state of an ancient slave, a creeping thing, degraded by poverty.

Disorder is the breaking out of the finest passions and the greatest sacrifices, it is the epic of the supreme love of humanity!

The word anarchy, implying the negation of this order and invoking the memory of the finest moments in the lives of peoples—is it not well chosen for a party which is moving towards the conquest of a better future?

Translated by NICOLAS WALTER.

THE SITUATION

FROM WORDS OF A REBEL

IT IS CERTAIN that we are marching with great strides towards revolution, towards an upheaval which, breaking out in one country, will spread as in 1848 into all the neighbouring countries and, shaking present society to its foundations, will end by renewing the sources of life.

To be confirmed in this idea we do not even need to invoke the testimony of a celebrated German historian¹ or of a well-known Italian philosopher,² both of whom, after investigating modern history, have come to the conclusion of the inevitability of a great revolution towards the end of this century. We only need to observe the picture which has been unfolded before our eyes during the last twenty years; we only need to look at what is happening around us.

We can state then that two dominant facts emerge from the gloomy background of the canvas: the awakening of the peoples, alongside the moral, intellectual and economic bankruptcy of the ruling classes; and the ineffectual, dying efforts of the leisured classes to prevent this awakening.

Yes, the awakening of the peoples.

In the stifling factory, as in the dark kitchen, in the store-house, as in the dripping mine-shaft, a whole new world is today being worked out. Among those dark masses—whom the bourgeoisie despises as much as it fears them, but from whom has always come the breath which inspired the great reformers—among them the most difficult problems of political economy and of social organization have been posed, have been discussed, and have received new solutions dictated by the feeling of justice. The wounds of present society are being lanced to the quick. New aspirations are being produced, new conceptions being sketched out.

Opinions intersect and diverge to infinity; but two main ideas are already sounding more and more distinctly through the clamour of voices: the abolition of individual property, or communism, on one hand; and, on the other, the abolition of the state, the free commune, the international union of working people. The two paths converge towards the same goal—equality. Not that hypocritical formula for equality inscribed by the bourgeoisie on its banners and in its codes so as to enslave the producer more effectively; but real equality—land, capital,

and work for all.

The ruling classes have tried to stifle these aspirations in vain. In vain they have imprisoned men and suppressed writings. The new idea is penetrating men's minds and filling men's hearts, as once the dream of a free rich land in the East filled the hearts of the serfs when they flocked to the ranks of the Crusaders. The idea may slumber for a time; if it is prevented from reaching the surface, it can burrow underground; but this will be in order to reappear soon, more vigorous than ever. Look only at the reawakening of socialism in France, this second awakening in the short space of fifteen years. The wave which falls one moment rises yet higher the next. And from the time that the first attempt to put the new idea into practice was made, the idea arose in the sight of everyone in all its simplicity, with all its virtues. Only a single successful attempt—and the consciousness of their strength will give the people a heroic

Gervinus: Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century.
Ferrari: Reason of State.

inspiration.

That moment cannot be delayed for long. Everything is bringing it nearer: poverty itself, which forces the unfortunate to consider their situation, and even unemployment, which tears thinking people from the narrow confines of the workshop and throws them into the streets, where they learn to know the vices and at the same time the weakness of the ruling classes.

And in the meantime what are they doing, these ruling classes? While the natural sciences are taking a leap forward which is reminiscent of the last century at the approach of the great revolution; while daring inventors every day are opening up new horizons in man's struggle against the hostile forces of nature—bourgeois social science remains silent: it is chewing over its old theories.

Are they perhaps progressing, these ruling classes, in practical life? Far from it. They are obstinately determined to wave their tattered flags, to defend egoistic individualism, the competition of man with man and of nation with nation, the omnipotence of the centralizing state,

They move from protectionism to free trade, and from free trade to protectionism, from reaction to liberalism and from liberalism to reaction; from atheism to superstition and from superstition to atheism. Always fearful, always looking backwards at the past, always more and more incapable of putting into practice anything that can last.

Everything that they have done has been a flat contradiction

of what they had promised.

They had promised, these ruling classes, to guarantee freedom of work—and they have made us slaves of the factory, the boss, the overseer. They undertook to organize industry and guarantee our standard of living—and they have given us endless crises and poverty; they promised us education—and have made it impossible for us to educate ourselves; they promised us political liberty—and have dragged us from reaction to reaction; they promised us peace—and have brought war, war without end.

They have broken all their promises.

But the people are sick and tired; they are wondering what has become of them, after letting themselves be fooled and ruled by the bourgeoisie for so long.

The answer is to be found in the present economic situation

of Europe.

The crisis, previously a temporary disaster, has become chronic. Crisis in cotton, crisis in metal, crisis in watchmaking—all the crises are now breaking out at the same time, and are becoming a permanent feature.

One can count in millions the number of people without work at the present time in Europe; and in tens of thousands the number of those who tramp from town to town begging, or rioting to demand with threats 'Work or bread!' Just as the peasants of 1787 tramped the roads in thousands without being able to find in the rich land of France, which had been monopolized by the aristocrats, a patch to cultivate or a tool to till it with—so today the worker is empty-handed and cannot get hold of the raw material or the instruments of labour which are necessary to work it but which are monopolized by a handful of idlers.

Great industries are killed stone dead, great towns like Sheffield are depopulated. Poverty in England-in England above all, for it is there that the 'economists' have put their principles into practice most completely; poverty in Alsace; famine in Spain and Italy. Unemployment everywhere; and with unemployment comes need, or rather poverty-pale-faced children, women aged another five years by the end of a single winter; disease cutting down the workers in great sweeps-that is what has become of us under the present system.

And then they talk to us of overproduction! Overproduction? When the miner who piles up mountains of coal cannot treat himself to a fire in the harshest winter? When the weaver who weaves miles of cloth has to refuse his ragged children a shirt? When the bricklayer who builds a palace lives in a hovel, and the seamstress who makes the finest dressed dolls has only a

worn shawl to protect her against the elements?

Is that what is called the organization of industry? It would be better to call it the secret alliance of the capitalists to subdue the workers by hunger.

Capital, this product of the labour of the human species, accumulated in the hands of a few, runs away from agriculture and industry-we are told-for lack of security.

But where then is it to go when it emerges from the safes? Good heavens! there are more profitable investments! It will go to furnish the Sultan's harems; it will go to foment wars, to support Russian against Turk and, at the same time, Turk against Russian.

Or yet again, it will go one day to found a company of shareholders, not to produce anything in particular, but simply to lead in two years to a scandalous liquidation, as soon as the big shots who promoted the company have retired, taking with them the millions which count as a fair return for floating the scheme.

Or perhaps this capital will go to build useless railways, at St. Gotthard, in Japan-in the Sahara if necessary-provided that the Rothschild backers, the chief engineer, and the con-

tractor each get a few millions out of it.

But above all, capital will be thrown into speculation—the great game on the stock exchange. The capitalist will speculate on an artificial rise in the price of corn or cotton; he will speculate on politics, on the rise produced as a consequence of some rumour of a reform or some diplomatic note; and very

often-as we see every day-it will be members of the government itself who will plunge into these speculations.

Speculation killing industry-that is what they call intelligent management of business! That is why-as they tell us-we must maintain them!

In short, the economic chaos is at its peak.

However, this chaos cannot last much longer. The people are sick and tired of suffering these crises, provoked by the greed of the ruling classes: they would like to live by their work, and not by suffering years of poverty, seasoned with humiliating charity, for two or three years of exhausting work, sometimes more or less secure, but always very badly rewarded.

The worker notices the incapacity of the ruling classes-the incapacity of understanding new aspirations; the incapacity of managing industry; the incapacity of organizing production and

exchange.

The people will soon proclaim the downfall of the bourgeoisie. They will take matters into their own hands, as soon as the right moment appears.

This moment will not be long delayed, because of the very disease which consumes industry, and its arrival will be hastened by the decomposition of the states, the galloping decomposition which is taking place in our time.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

The French revolution on February 1848 was followed by risings in most of the countries of Europe. Georg Gottfried Gervinus (1805-1871) was a German historian who suffered persecution for his liberal views; his Einleitung in die Geschichte der neunzehnten Jahrhunderts was published in 1853 (a new edition appeared in 1967). Giuseppe Ferrari (1811-1876) was an Italian philosopher who suffered exile for his liberal views; his Histoire de la raison d'état was published in Paris in 1860. The French socialist movement, which was suppressed after the fall of the Paris Commune in 1871, revived in the late 1870s and the early 1880s. Increasing distress among the landless peasants of France was one of the causes of the revolutionary movement which began with the economic crisis and the Assembly of Notables in 1787. The last Russo-Turkish war was fought from 1876 to 1878. The St. Gotthard railway through the Alps was built from 1872 to 1882.

N.W.

POLITICS AND SOCIALISM

The following article appeared in three editions of FREEDOM, February to May, 1903. Peter Kropotkin was at that time a member of the editorial board of the paper.

We think this article is still relevant today and the points he makes about parliament and Social-Democratic Parties are equally important. It was published at the time when Freedom had a sub-title 'Journal of Anarchist Communism' and Kropotkin's use of the word Socialism should be seen in the context.

IT WAS IN 1871—immediately after the defeat of France by the Germans, and of the Paris proletarians by the French middle classes-that a conference of the International Working Men's Association, secretly convoked by Marx and Engels, instead of the usual annual Congress, and the composition of which had been cleverly manipulated for the purpose, met in London. This conference decided that the Working Men's Association, which had hitherto been a revolutionary association for the International organisation of the struggle of labour against capitalism, should become henceforward a series of national organisations for running Social-Democratic candidates in the different Parliaments.

Thirty years have passed since this step was taken. And we can fully appreciate by this time the results of the new tactics.

The main argument in favour of it was that the working men were not prepared to accept the ideas of Socialism: that consequently a long preparatory period was required in order to spread these ideas; and that—to say nothing of the prestige of Members of Parliament—periods of elections, when everyone's interest in public affairs is awakened, are the best moments for spreading broadcast Socialist ideas.

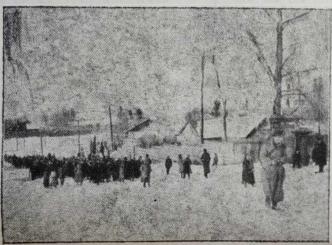
To this the working men, especially those of France and Spain, replied that the International Working Men's Association, such as it was, had already been excellent for the propaganda of

Socialism. In less than three years it had awakened the conscience of the workers' interests all over Europe; it had done more for the theoretical elaboration of the principles of Socialism, and for the practical application of Socialistic principles, than fifty years of theoretical discussions. It had immensely contributed to the spreading of the idea of international solidarity of interest amongst the workers of all nations, and of an international support of their strikes; of International Labour opposed to International Capitalism. Besides, the strikes, especially when they attain great dimensions and are supported internationally, awake general attention, and are infinitely better opportunities for spreading broadcast Socialist ideas than electoral meetings, in which, for the very success of the election, Socialists will often be compelled to compromise with the middle classes—to parliament, and to practise1 with them. In the struggle for political power Socialism would soon be forgotten-it was foretold-for some spurious teachings in which Radical political reforms would be mixed up with some palliative laws (hours of labour, compensation for accidents, and so on) might be enforced upon the Parliaments in a much more effective form if the labour unions took everywhere the great extension which an International propaganda in this direction could give them.

It is for a good reason that we are here re-stating these arguments at such a length. Every one of them has had, within the last thirty years, its full confirmation.

See what has become of theoretical Socialism-not only in this country, but in Germany and Belgium as well, amidst those who take part in the elections under the etiquette of Socialism. There is less of it left than there ever was in a Fabian pamphlet. Who speaks now of Socialism, with the exception of the Anarchists, who precisely therefore are described as Utopians, if not as fools! In 1869-71 you could not open one single Socialist paper without finding on its very first page this discussion:-

Whether we must, and if we must-how shall we expropriate the owners of factories, the mines, the land? Then-and this was especially important-every legislative measure, every political event was discussed from the point of view, whether it was leading to, or leading away from, the aim in view-the Social Revolution. Of course, everyone was extremely interested in obtaining shorter hours and better wages for every branch of trade; everyone passionately took the part of strikers all over the world; the International was indeed a permanent international strike-an international conspiracy, if you like, for reducing hours, increasing wages, obtaining respect for the workers' freedom, and limiting the powers of Capital in every direction. Of course, everyone was passionately interested, too, in widening political liberties, and this is why the International was frankly anti-Imperialist. But it was also something else. It undertook, as its own speciality, the spreading of those ideas, and the conquest of those rights, which neither the old type trade unions nor the political Radicals sufficiently cared for. The Labour Party,



Friends visiting Kropotkin

thirty years ago, had its own special functions, in addition to Trade-unionism and Radicalism, and these were Socialism-the preparation of the Social Revolution. But where is it now? All gone! What is now described as Socialism-all of them are Socialists now!-is the most incoherent mixture of trade-unionism, which trusts no more to itself, and looks for a John Gorst1 to make its business with Toryism-the paternal State to whom you must look for every improvement of your conditions-with State capitalism (State monopoly of railways, of banks, of the sale of spirits, of education, etc., is preached and fought for by the Socialist Party of free Switzerland) with Fabianism, nay, even occasionally with Imperialism, when Socialists declare in the German Reichstag that let the State only declare war, they will all fight as well as the Junkers! Add to this all sorts of theories built up with bits of metaphysics for persuading the workers that a Social Revolution is bosh; that Socialism is only good for a hundred years hence, and those who talk about it now are dangerous Utopians; that all capitals must first be concentrated in a few hands-which every intelligent man sees they never will-and that the peasant owners must disappear, and all become even more miserable than they are now, before Socialism becomes possible. This is what has now taken the place of the distinctly expressed idea: 'The land, the mines, the factories, everything that is wanted for living, must return to the community, which by local action and free agreement, must organise free communistic life and free communistic production.'-Is this

If the working men of Europe and America had only the socalled Socialist and Social-Democratic parties to rely upon for the triumph of the Socialist idea, the general position would be really desperate. We certainly are the first to recognise that the Social-Democratic Party in Germany is doing excellent Republican propaganda, and that, as a Republican party, it splendidly undermines the authority of the petulant William. We gladly acknowledge that the Parliamentary Socialists in France are thorough Radicals, and that they do excellent work for the support of Radical legislation, thus continuing the work of Clemenceau and Rank, with the addition of some genuine interest in the working classes; they are Radicals, sympathetic to the workers. But who is doing work in the Socialist direction? Who is working for bringing the masses nearer and nearer to the day when they will be able to take hold of all that is needed for living and producing? Who contributes to the spreading of the spirit of revolt among the workers? Surely not the parliamentarian!

THE ONLY ONE possible reply to this question is this: It is the Labour movement in France, in Spain, in America, in England, in Belgium, and its beginnings in Germany, and the Anarchists everywhere, who, despite all the above-mentioned dampers, despite all the confusion that is being sown in the ranks of Labour by clever bourgeois, despite all the propaganda of quietness and all the advices of deserting their fighting brothers, continue the old, good, direct fight against the exploiters. The great desperate colliers' strike in America has done more to shake the authority of trusts, and to show the way to fight them, than all the talk in the talking assemblies. The attempts at general strikes in Belgium (despite the opposition of the politicians), at Milan (despite the treason of the leaders), at Barcelona, and at Geneva, have done infinitely more for spreading conviction in the necessity of a complete expropriation of the exploiters than anything that has ever been said in or out of a parliament by a parliamentary leader. The refusal of 400 Geneva militia soldiers to join the ranks, and the attitude of those fifteen who have been bold enough to tell the martial Court that they would never join the ranks of their battalions for fighting against their brother workers-such facts of revolt are doing infinitely more for the spreading of true Socialism than anything that has been, or will ever be said by those Socialists who seek their inspiration in the speeches and the review articles of a John Gorst. Of course, it is those Anarchists whom the would-be Socialists hate so much for not having followed them in the middle-class 'evolution'; of course, it is those blessed Anarchists who have their hand in these movements, and go to prison like Bertoni in Geneva and scores of our brothers in France and Spain. Yes, it is true they have a hand in these movements, and 8,000 workers on strike in Madrid shouted, the other day: Long live Anarchism! This is true. But they are proud to see that the workers trust them more than they trust their gloved 'representatives'.

it became the watchword of a political party, instead of, as formerly, the popular Labour movement. Now, when Socialism is spoken of, all that is meant is: State railways, State monopoly of banks and spirits, perhaps, in a remote future, State mines, and plenty of legislation intended to slightly protect Labour—without doing the slightest harm to Capitalism—and at the same time bringing Labour as much as possible into a complete submission to the present middle-class Government of the State. State arbitration, State control of the Trade Unions, State armies for working the railways and the bakeries in the case of strikes, and like measures in favour of the Capitalists, are, as is known, necessary aspects of 'Labour legislation', in accordance with the well-known programme of Disraeli, John Gorst, 'The People' and like Tory Democrat swindlers.

To understand Socialism, as it was understood thirty years ago—that is, as a deep revolution which would free man by reconstructing the distribution of wealth, consumption and production on a new basis—is now described by the 'Neo-Socialists' as sheer nonsense. We have now 'scientific Socialism', and if you would know all about it, read a few 'authorised version' pamphlets, in which the guessings which Fourierists, Owenites, and Saint-Simonians used to make sixty years ago concerning the concentration of capital, the coming self-annihilation of capitalism, and like naive predictions—retold in a far less comprehensible language by Engels and Marx—are represented as so many great scientific discoveries of the German mind. Only, alas, owing to these would-be discoveries, the teaching which formerly, by its Communistic aspirations, inspired the masses and attracted the best minds of the nineteenth century, has become nothing but a mitigated middle-class State capitalism.

To speak now of the Social Revolution is considered by the 'scientific' Socialist a crime. Vote and wait! Don't trouble about the revolution; revolutions are mere inventions of idle spirits! Only criminal Anarchists talk of them now. Be quiet and vote as you are told to. Don't believe these criminals who tell you that owing to the facilities of exploitation of the backward races all over the world, the numbers of capitalists who

climb on the necks of the European working man are steadily growing. Trust to the Neo-Socialists, who have proved that the middle-classes are going to destroy themselves, in virtue of a Law of self-annihilation' discovered by their great thinkers. Vote! Greater men than you will tell you the moment when the self-annihilation of capital has been accomplished. They will then expropriate the few usurpers left, who will own everything, and you will be freed without ever having taken any more trouble than that of writing on a bit of paper the name of the man whom the heads of your fraction of the party told you to vote for!

To such shameful nonsense the politician Socialists have tried to reduce the Great Revolution which calls for the energies of

all the lovers of freedom and equality.

And in the meantime reaction tries to take the fullest advantage of these suicidal preachings. It concentrates its forces all over the world. Why should it not? Where is the revolutionary party which might be capable of appealing to the people against its oppressors? And so it takes hold of all the channels of power which the present State provides for the ruling middle classes.

Look at education! They destroy with a sure and clever hand all that had been done in 1860-1875 for wresting instruction out of the hands of the clergy. Why should they not, when it was the once redoubtable but now tamed Socialist politicians who have helped at the last election the Conservatives to be so powerful in Parliament? The School Board teacher had ceased to tell the poor, 'Suffer, it's the will of the creator that you should be poor'. On the contrary, he told them, 'Hope: try yourselves to shake off your misery!' The slum mother began to get into the habit of going to the School Board teacher to tell of her needs and sorrows, instead of going to the parson, as she formerly did. Down, then, with the School Boards! And why not? Why should they not dare anything when they know that it was the Socialists, the politicians who had helped them to win such a power in Parliament! Even in France, where they ostensibly fight to free the schools from the clergy, the best and largest colleges are in the hands of the Jesuits-within a stone's throw of the Chamber of Deputies. Everywhere the middle class return to religion, everywhere they work to bring the clergyman, with his ignorance and his eternal fire, back to the school-and the working men are told to take no interest in these matters, to laisser faire and to study John Gorst's programme of paternal State legislation.

There was in the years 1860-1875 a powerfully destructive force at work—the materialistic philosophy. It produced the wonderful revival of sciences, and led to the wonderful discoveries of the last quarter of a century. It induced men to think. It freed the minds of the workers . . 'Down, then, with Materialism', is now the outcry of the middle classes. 'Long live metaphysics, long live Hegel, Kant, and the Dialectic method!' Why not? They know that in this direction, too, the reaction will find no opposition from the Neo-Socialists. They are also dialecticians, Hegelians, they also worship economic metaphysics, as has been so well shown by Tcherkesoff in his

'Pages of Socialist History'.

Happily enough, there is one element in the present life of Europe and America which has not yielded to political corruption. It is the Labour movement, so far as it has hitherto remained strange to the race for seats in Parliament. It may be that here and there the workers belonging to this movement give support to this or that candidate for a seat in a parliament or in a municipality—but there are already scores of thousands of working men in Spain, in Italy, in France, in Holland, and probably in England too, who quite consciously refuse to take any part, even for fun, in the political struggle. Their main work lies in quite another direction. With an admirable tenacity they organise their unions, within each nation and internationally, and with a still more admirable ardour they prepare the great coming struggle of Labour against Capital: the coming of the international general strike.

One may judge of the terror which this movement, unostensibly prepared by the workers, inspires in the middle classes, by the terrible persecutions—which have not stopped even at torture—which they have carried on against the revolutionary trade unions in Spain. One may judge of that terror by the infamous repression of the Milan insurrection which was ordered by King Umberto, or by the measures which were going to be taken against railway strikers in Holland.⁸ These measures, as is known, were prevented by the splendid act of international solidarity accomplished by the British Dock Labourers' Union, and

immediately followed by the menacing declarations of the General Union of the French Syndicates. It hardly need be said that all the Parliamentary Socialists of France, Germany, Spain, &c., headed by the famous Millerand and Jaures (one year ago this last was for the general strike—now he writes long articles against it) bitterly oppose this idea of a general strike. But the movement spreads every month and every month it gains new support and wins new sympathies.

Our first intention was to conclude by a general review of the so-called Labour-protecting legislation in different countries, and to show how far this legislation is due to the Socialist politicians on the one side, and to the direct pressure exercised by the

Labour agitation on the other.

Such a study would have been deeply interesting. Not that we should attribute to this legislation more importance than it deserves. We have often proved that any such law, even if it introduces some partial improvement, always lays upon the worker some new chain, forged by the middle-class State. We prefer the ameliorations which have been imposed by the workers upon their masters in a direct struggle; they are less spurious. However, it is also easy to prove that even those little and always poisoned concessions which have been made by the middle classes to the workers, and which are now represented as the very essence of 'practical, scientific' Socialism, stand in no relation to the numerical forces of the political Socialist parties. Such concessions as the limitation of the hours of labour, or of child labour, whenever they represent something real, have always been achieved by the action of the trade-unions -by strikes, by labour revolts, or by menaces of a labour war. They are labour victories—not political victories.

If there was a work in which the conditions of labour and the recent labour legislation were given for each country, it would have been easy to prove the above assertion by a crushing evidence of data. But no such work exists, and consequently

we have to mention but a few striking facts.

Our readers will have seen what a substantial reduction of the hours of labour in the mines was achieved by the great miners' strike of Pennsylvania, and, by the way, the effect which the strike has had upon other branches of American industry. That such long hours as twelve, every day of the week (including Sundays), should have existed in Pennsylvania, we need not wonder when we are reminded that every year the Eastern States receive thousands of fresh immigrant miners from Germany and Austria, where, notwithstanding the presence of so many Democrat-Socialists in Parliament, the hours of labour are outrageously long. But precisely because there are no such political go-betweens in the United States the Pennsylvania strike could last long enough to end in a substantial victory for the labourers. The twelve hours' day exists no more in the mines of Pennsylvania.4

The same applies to Britain. All the little victories which the working men have won for the last fifty years, were won by the force of their trades unions, and not of Socialist politicians. Of course, it would not be fair to compare the conditions of labour in Britain and in Germany; two countries, one of which has no Social-Democratic Party in its Parliament, but has a number of strongly-organised trade unions, while the other has no less than fifty-three Social-Democratic representatives in the Reichstag, and boasts of two million Social-Democratic electors, but is only just beginning to develop (in opposition to the politicians) its trade-union movement.

It would not be fair to insist upon the incomparably better conditions of labour in this country, because the Labour movement and industry itself are so much older in England. But still, we can ask, what results have the numerous Social-Democratic deputies obtained from Parliament for the protection and personal emancipation of the labourer in Germany. The nullity of such results is simply striking, especially in comparison with the promises which have been made, and the hopes which were cherished by many sincere working men.

Everyone remembers the Eight Hours' Day Movement which was started in Europe in 1889-1890. Beginning at Chicago in 1887, where it cost the lives of five of our best Anarchist brothers, it came to Europe in the shape of a First of May demonstration—a sort of one-day general strike of all working men, which had to be made for the propaganda of an eight hours' day. The enthusiasm of the first demonstration in Hyde Park on May 1, 1890, must be fresh in the minds of many, and by this time we

surely would have been in a fair way towards the realisation of that

demand, were it not for the political Socialists who saw in the eight hours' movement a plank to step on for getting into Parliament, and did their best to nip the movement in the bud.

The attitude of the German Socialist politicians at the time was most typical. They were in mortal fear lest the eight hours' movement should become a Labour movement, over which they would have no control; they hated the very idea of a general strike for the purpose of reducing the hours of labour, and they hammered into the workers' heads, 'legal eight hours! legal eight hours!' They said, 'Only vote for us, and for those whom we shall recommend to you! Discipline! And then you will see. In 1891 you will have the eleven hours' day, in such a year a ten hours' day, then a nine hours' day, and in 1903 you will have the eight hours' day, without having all the troubles and the sufferings of the strikes.' This is what Engels and Liebnecht promised them and printed plainly in their papers.

Well, up to now they have not yet got even the nine hours' day and the weekly half-holiday! . . . In Russia, the despotic Government of the Tsar, under the pressure of strikes, has passed directly from a thirteen and fourteen hours' working day to one of eleven hours, even though it still treats strikes as rebellions. . . . But where is the eight hours' law in Germany? As distant in the future as it is in Russia! Much more distant, at any rate, than it is in Spain, which has only a handful of impotent Social-Democrats in Madrid, but has, in return, powerful labour organis-

ations in all its leading industries.

Spain is especially instructive on this account. Since the times of the foundation of the International, it has had strong labour organisations in Catalonia, keeping in close touch with the Anarchists, and always ready to support their demands by strikes, and sometimes by revolts. Everyone remembers, of course, the continual strikes—labour wars would even be more correct—which took place so many times at Barcelona, the desperate measures to which the Government resorted against the Catalonian working men during the Montjuich tortures,⁵ and the latest attempts at a general strike.

Now, the result of all this is that the eight hours' day has been fought for long since (more than ten years ago) and introduced in all the building trades of Barcelona, and although it was lost during the Montjuich prosecutions, it was recovered again two years ago, and is nearly general now in these and several other trades. Moreover we have read during the past few days in the daily telegrams that in Arragonia the nine hours' day, now in force there, is to undergo a further reduction. Does it not compare favourably with the promised legal nine hours' day in

Germany?

Happily enough, the German workers begin to lose faith in the promises of the politicians. Their trade unions, which were formerly so bitterly opposed by the Marxists, are meekly courted by them now, since they number over 1,000,000 men (this is the figure given by the Reformer's Year Book), and they seem to be so little under the influence of the Social-Democratic leaders that, after all they have heard from them about the uselessness of strikes and the wickedness of a general strike, they sent the other day their hearty congratulations and promises of support to their Dutch brothers who had proclaimed the general strike in Holland. As to the intellectual and social movement which is going on in connection with the more advanced trade unions in Germany, it seems to be a subject of deep interest.

Striking facts could be mentioned from the labour history of France, to show how the young labour organisations, the strikes, and the labour revolts were instrumental in wresting from the middle class rulers a number of concessions; but space forbids

us to mention more than one fact.

Up to 1883 trade unions and all sorts of associations of more than nineteen persons were strictly forbidden in France. Only in 1883, the restriction was abolished by the law of the syndicates, and from that time began the present labour movement, the

agricultural syndicates (1,500,000 members now), the Labour Exchanges and the rest. And if you ask any politician what induced, in 1883, the Opportunist Ministry to take this far-reaching step you will be told that it was the Anarchist movement at Lyons (for which fifty of us were imprisoned in 1882), the unemployed processions in Paris under the black flag, during one of which Louise Michel 'pillaged' a baker's shop, and perhaps above all that, the secret labour organisations which sprang up and rapidly spread among the miners of Montceau-les-Mines and in all the mining basin, and resulted in a series of explosions.

. . Guesde and his friends, at that time, were still most hopelessly putting forward their candidatures after each strike.

The conclusion is self-evident. We saw what results Socialist politics have given for the theoretical propaganda. Just as the name of 'Republic', which formerly meant social equality, taken up by middle-class politicians, was gradually deprived by them of its social meaning, and was shaped into a sort of middle-class rule, so also the word 'Socialism' has become in the hands of the Socialist politicians a sort of mitigated middle-class exploitation. They are all Socialists now, but Socialism is gone, and the most confused ideas prevail now among the Social-Democrats concerning the sense of this great war-cry of the workers.

And now we find that although parliamentary action is represented as necessary for obtaining small concessions to the advantage of the worker, these concessions, however insignificant they may be, have been won, all of them, by strikes (such as the match girls', the miners', the dock labourers', and so on) and by the standing menace of still more serious labour wars. The presence of a number of more or less Socialistic deputies in the parliaments does not, it appears now, dispense the working man in the least maintaining his trade organisations in full mental and material readiness for war. On the contrary, it is only by the constant menace of a war declaration, and by real war-and in proportion to this readiness-that the workers have won any victories; while the tactics of the politicians have always been to weaken the anti-capitalist labour organisations, under the pretext of political discipline. As to this country, by their abomin-able tactics, prompted by Engels and Marx, of arraying at election times all their forces against the Radicals and the Liberals, which was equal to supporting the Conservatives, they have done their best to pave the way for the present Imperialism, and they have got their heavy share of responsibility for the heavy blows which the Conservative Government has struck lately at the security of the labour organisations. It is never too late to mend; but it takes some time to mend the harm that has been done by mistaken politicians.

¹John Gorst-Minister of Education 1895 to 1902.

²Kaiser Wilhelm II.

⁸In March 1903 transport workers, and all other workers in State owned industries, having come out in support of a dockers' strike after winning all their demands, were subsequently

threatened with anti-strike legislation.

⁴This strike was described in the supplement to FREEDOM, May 1903: 'Clarence Darrow calls it "a victory unparalleled in the history of strike settlements", and "a practical recognition of the union".' The strike lasted five months with 147,000 men involved. Victory brought an eight hour day for pumpmen and firemen and 10 per cent pay increase. The strike also ended the employment of little girls of 12 and 13 and even 10 and 11 in the mines.

These tortures followed the wholesale arrests of Anarchists and anti-clericals after a bomb was thrown during the procession on Corpus Christi Day in Barcelona in 1892, killing seven working-class people and a soldier. The real thrower of the bomb was never found. In the Montjuich dungeons those arrested were subjected to hideous treatment from which several died. Others were killed at official executions.

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