

# anarchist fortnightly Freedom

27 Sept. 1980  
Vol 41, No 19

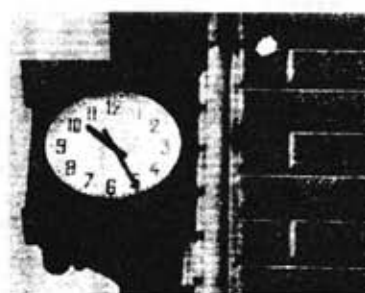
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**Inside: POLAND; TURKEY; YOUNG LIBERALS; C.N.T.**

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## BOLOGNA: whose bomb?



AUGUST 2nd, 10.26am and a bomb goes off in a crowded railway station in central Italy. 84 people die. The world's press is duly horrified and in Bologna with much pomp and oh so sincere ceremony a funeral is organized by the Communist mayor with the President of the Republic, Pertini, the Prime Minister, Cossiga, and members of the government present. Many relatives of the victims remain unconvinced by this show of sympathy and refuse to take part, turning their backs on the condolences offered by these figures of the State. Maybe they realized that these people of power, representatives of the social order, are the very ones that sanctified, and indeed survive by the use of violence, both mental and physical, against any who would stand in their way or seriously challenge the status quo. Violence being the ultimate expression of power., on which all else rests, and which as a 'last resort' is always unhesitatingly used by all governments. So what hypocrisy it is to see these disciples of power feign horror and shock when their opponents in the power game use tactics based on their own ideology! For years an attack of this size had been expected, and three times only narrowly averted; one doubts that they were even surprised.

What was the point of this action, at first assumed to be an anarchist bomb, now known to have been carried out by right wing extremists, with ordinary people as targets? To de-stabilize Italy further? To make the authorities clamp down harder? To make people clamour for a more secure country to live in? Raise the demand for and acceptance of a totalitarian State that will be able to use the most brutal methods at its disposal to control its opponents, and present a 'safe', 'secure', 'ordered' system to its subjects?

It seems that for the authoritarian left the bomb worked just as well as for the neo-fascists that planted it. There is little hope that the people will realize that it is their support of States and Governments that caused these atrocities in the first place. Those who were horrified by the bomb were in a large part the same ones who accept the necessity for, and with their taxes pay for, nuclear weapons, armies, police and 'law and order'. What hope is there that they will see, through the smoke of an exploding bomb, that this is what their submission to authority and irresponsibility has caused. It is up to them to change their society from one that produces terrorism to one in

which you can walk the streets without the fear of a terrorist bomb or the terrorist police.

Once de-stabilized, will the Western press justify a right-wing coup in Italy the same way that it has been apologizing for the military takeover in Turkey? for in sensitive parts of the world Governments are more interested in law and order than any semblance of democracy. In the East the Polish workers won a victory for freedom against the State, which though in our eyes is very limited, proved what the workers united can do. They have discovered the means for their struggle, the only question is 'the ends'. If they were to take up arms it would be against the real enemies of the people, the power of the State, and their bombs would not go off in crowded railway stations.

Anarchists must denounce acts of terrorism such as the one at Bologna or any act that will only serve to make the State more oppressive while awakening no-one from their authoritarian slumber. From such actions there is no way to go but backwards into a totalitarian state. Individual acts of terrorism serve no purpose but to fulfill the quest for glory and martyrdom of those anarchists who, frustrated and angry and hopeless, have found it too difficult to change people's attitudes, to open people's eyes, to provide viable alternatives and slowly to build, piece by piece, a broad based anarchist movement.

The bomb in Bologna was the State's and the authoritarians' - it could never be an anarchist's.

# Young Liberals, disband!

ONE of the mysteries of British political life is the continued existence of the Young Liberals as a supposedly libertarian grouping. It is a mystery which the Liberal conference at Blackpool earlier this month heightened yet further. In vain did assembly chairman Michael Meadowcroft (to quote a Times reporter) remind "everyone of the Liberals' anarchist as well as social democratic strand in their tradition". His reference, it was noted, somewhat discomfited the Liberal leader, and was hardly greeted with enthusiasm by the assembled multitude.

Much more in keeping with the general tone was the contribution of new Liberal luminary Aubrey Jones, late of the Prices and Incomes Board and of the Conservative Party. Clearly the latter is going through too classic Liberal a phase for the taste of a Tory of the old school. Aubrey Jones has decided that the Liberals are very much a party of the State and moreover the best one to halt the alienation of workers from capitalism. Mr Jones was most definitely not going to make Mr Steel squirm in his chair.

Leaving aside the pre-conference attempt on the part of some pathetic grass-roots members to persuade their leaders to support CND, and leaving aside the predictable vote against unilateral disarmament, what does this conference show us - and what should it show those Young Liberals who still aspire towards the more discomfiting side of Liberal tradition as Michael Meadowcroft portrayed it? What but something humiliatingly akin to the case of a failed whore whose poverty has become so desperate that he, or she, will offer him, or herself, to anyone who happens along for the price of a supper and still be refused ... I refer to the row of 14-18 red chairs set out in the fond hope that a small band of burned out social democrats might fill them, but which remained empty of such

phenomena throughout.

David Steel is aware that some of his flock still cling to the conception of a Liberal golden age. He thus called them to "break free from the past". In a speech that can rarely have been excelled for double-entendre and which apparently drew much applause, he told them: don't be so purist and exclusive (ie. forget the liberal side of your Liberalism); give the lead to a broad radical movement (i.e. press on to soggy centrism); show the way towards a well-educated, compassionate, healthy and harmonious society (i.e. aim for a yet more comprehensive Welfare State in which all conflict has ceased - a participatory paradise of capitalism).

To achieve this the Liberal leadership possibly still entertains the faint hope of a Labour split - although it now looks as though the fixing of union block votes in James Callaghan's favour at the Labour Party conference in Blackpool a few days' hence will keep Shirley Williams and her fellow 'gangsters' within the fold. Failing the recruiting of the 'Gang of Three' Steel hopes that renegade Labour right-winger and EEC Commission president Roy Jenkins may yet form an alliance with him for the next election. This could win sufficient votes to enable him to insist on electoral reform - i.e. proportional representation. This, it is hoped, would in turn lead to endless coalition governments in which he, Steel, has considerable powers of manipulation - plus a minister or two like the Liberal police minister of West Germany, Gerhart Baum. He can sink with a sigh of relief into a sensible centre morass (the 'marais' as the French call it) of parliamentary politics - that vague and indeterminate marshland which deters the extremes of right and left from moving very far in any direction ... What a noble (if somewhat static) vision! But what has it to do with Liberalism?

The answer, of course, is every-

thing. David Steel is no traitor to his party (as Aubrey Jones, appealing to the ghost of Gladstone, was at pains to point out to any radicals who had not yet gone to drown their sorrows at the bar). He is, on the contrary, its apotheosis. For, young Liberals, ponder awhile on the history of Liberalism. Think back to the illuminati of the past, the Lockes and Mills, and read them carefully and you will see that (granted their good points, and the necessary liberal elements in anarchism) the values of freedom with which they are associated are those of a freedom that is always bestowed from above and heavily fringed about with ifs and buts. Liberalism has always been the ideology of freedoms with an 's' but not of freedom in the singular. The history of Liberalism over the centuries has been one of an increasing acceptance and justification of state intervention in all fields until, with Green and Bosanquet, came the concept of the organic state. And with that, YLs, the seeds of both left and right wing fascist ideology were sprung.

Young Liberals who like to sprinkle your texts with titillating quotations from Kropotkin and Bakunin, who like to scare your elders just a little with the word 'anarchism' and play a little with the idea of 'community politics', ask yourselves once and for all, who do you think you're kidding? Do you really believe in Steel's swampland of consensus politics? Do you really believe that a libertarian society, in which freedom and social justice combine, can ever come about without conflict, or indeed that it would not entail perpetual conflict and rebellion against the will to power and domination which your own leaders so transparently display?

Young post-Blackpool 1980 Liberals, disband at once or relinquish for ever the illusion, the deceit - whatever it may be - of libertarian politics!

# Resistance

September 7th. 1980

LAST night we threw three bottles containing an inflammable liquid against the office building of the 'Terma Elektronik' factory in Lystrup near Aarhus.

We have done this because 'Terma Elektronik' produces computers for the steering in the F-16 battle airplanes. They also contribute to armament and an active part in the preparations of the USA and NATO for the following imperialistic war against the third world countries.

Our action wont destroy the production of parts used in the F-16 battle airplane. We have used the means that we posses now to show that there is a resistance in Denmark which is prepared to act on its own conditions. We are enemies of the State, and we will no longer put up with the miserable conditions for living.

We know that the rulers will call our action 'terror' and other distortions, but compared to their all-destructive arsenal of atom-bombs and battle equipment, the means we have used are nothing but juicy water.

We will turn our anger against the guilty people in Denmark. The guilty are those in power who take part in and submit to the preparations of NATO for the war led by West Germany and the USA. They are to blame for the fact that more and more people are being forced to live on an existential minimum on public relief and a miserable 'retirement pension'. They are to blame for the fact that society imposes more and more psychic diseases on people or forces them to commit murders or suicides.

Therefore:  
SHOW RESISTANCE AGAINST THE  
NATO PREPARATIONS FOR WAR!

SHOW RESISTANCE AGAINST THE  
DANISH PARTICIPATION IN THE  
WAR PREPARATIONS!

TURN YOUR ANGER AGAINST  
THE GUILTY !

P.S. We have no name. We have tied a piece of fabric to the fence, where we have made a hole. We have chosen the night following a sunday because no cleaners are present that night. ( We have no conection whatsoever with the so-called 'DSB'. )

# B.A.N.G.

ON Friday, September 12th, a member of the Bath Anti Nuclear Group was able to effectively disrupt the annual meeting of the General Electric Company on his own. He was finally 'escorted' from the hall shouting, "You are a spectacle, you are morally, financially and spiritually corrupt!"

The action, planned only four days previously, clearly demonstrates just how vulnerable these companies can be; entry was gained with £4,000 worth of proxy votes which had been signed over specially for the occasion. The disruption began shortly before the vote was taken on the chairman's report with the activist being able to speak freely about the implications of investing in the nuclear industry for two minutes before being ejected. GEC have got the contract for Torness power station and hope to get the contracts

for the Pressurised Water Reactors being ordered by Mrs. Thatcher.

The action is to be followed by an investigation into GEC's involvement in South Africa and hopefully by a consumer campaign against GEC manufactured goods. The interesting thing is that anyone can buy a few shares and disrupt these meetings, if you have the nerve to stand up and just start shouting they get very uptight and can do nothing except go red in the face.

The odd thing in this instance was that many of the small shareholders agreed with the criticisms. As one old woman said after the meeting, "You had far more sympathy in there than you thought, what put them off was the length of your hair !"

Bath Anti Nuclear Group  
c/o David Taylor  
13 St. James' square,  
Bath, Avon. Tel. 0225-319434

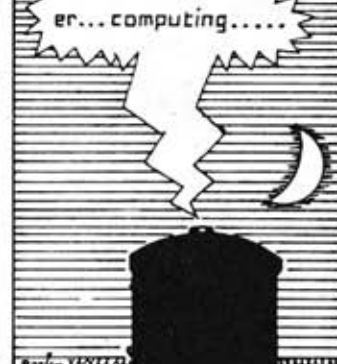
# T.U.C. Congress

ITS bullshit time again as the Working Class Consciousness drops its trousers and makes its union speeches in polished Northern rugged accents to the adoring applause of the Faithful.

Yes folks you guessed it. We are talking about the Trades Union Congress. And while all these so-called socialists take their swipes at the Tory Decadence (images of T-bone steaks, posh hotels, exploitation of the workers) no-one seems to notice that they are living in expensive hotels, filling their Union stomachs with T-bone steaks etc and it's all paid for with workers' money. They are as bad as the rest, they are leaders and they are taking everyone for a ride.

continued on page 4

## WILDCAT



T. U. C. Congress  
Continued from page 3

Interestingly enough the same has happened in Poland where now that the Great Strike is over everyone has gone back to work - except for the strike committee who have taken jobs at the head of the Free Union. Fuck off - don't give us better working conditions throughout the world. Give us the world, it's ours, not middle-aged, fat, rich men!

PISSED OFF.

## U.T.O.M.

SUPPORTERS of the United Troops Out Movement demonstrated outside London's Capital Radio last Saturday in protest against the British Army's intensive advertising campaign aimed at recruiting school leavers.

"I only wish I had realised how wrong it all is, and that the people of Ireland are sick and tired of British oppression in their own country ... but I'm afraid I was just another brainwashed soldier like the rest of them". W. Sellick, a former soldier.

Pity UTOM didn't occupy Capitol Radio and broadcast the rest of the message on their leaflet...

A. F.



# ETERNAL LEADERS

Military  
coup in  
Turkey

A MILITARY takeover in Turkey. Nobody can have been very surprised. (Except perhaps, for the media pundits. On the morning of the coup The Guardian doubted it.) The justification is, supposedly, to defend democracy, what military take-over isn't? Let's have a look at a Turkish democracy.

Turkey has been a republic since 1924, when the old Ottoman Empire was finally removed. The original 'revolution' was under the smoke-screen of 'Kemalism', the doctrines put forward by Mustapha Kemal. This process was hailed in the west as a victory for progressiveness. "The Turkish revolution is particularly original in that it unfolded with the regularity of a logical plan. There were no unchained passions, no destruction of material wealth and no bloodthirsty hostility between parties or classes." (Edward Herriot, one-time president of France.) In fact the revolution was, of course, firmly in the hands of the landlords, merchants etc. They acted as intermediaries between the nationalist military groups and the mass of the people. For a while there was some debate about whether there should be a completely free market or whether there should be some degree of State action. The first predominated under Kemal. After the Great Depression of 1929, the second gained favour with his successor Ismet Pasha. Roads and factories were built. Pro-Kemalist intellectuals call this time Devrim, which can mean either 'reform' or 'revolution'.

What did this achieve? Well, it had to be paid for. How about a Road Tax? Between 8 and 15 Turkish pounds a year per adult. For an average family this would mean, say, 60 Turkish pounds a year. At the time a ton of wheat brought about 40 pounds. What if, as a peasant, you couldn't pay? Well, you could always discharge your debt in a labour camp.

Kemal himself, "We are a people without class or privilege", created the Turkish Bank of Commerce with a personal deposit of 250,000 pounds.

He owned 15,472 hectares of cultivated land, a brewery, two dairies, two yoghurt factories, a winery, producing 80,000 litres per year, a few restaurants, casinos and night-clubs and about fifty buildings.

The reforms of Devrim impressed the West. There were changes in the calendar and time-keeping, European dress was introduced (and a European penal code). Links between politics and religion were banned. All this impressed Reza Khan next door in Persia as well. He modelled his state on Turkey. In neither of them was there agrarian reform or schools. In both were rising state taxes and continuing reliance on traditional rural money-lenders.

The best term for Kemalist Turkey is not democratic but fascist. This was open by the 1930s. Kemal's title was Ebedi Sef (Eternal Leader), his successor called himself Milli Sef (National Leader). Kemal's People's Republican Party ran a one Party State, dedicated to the interests of the bourgeoisie and the civil and military bureaucracy. At one time Kemal also set up an 'opposition', the Liberal Party. This was handy for containing discontent. Unfortunately, there seemed to be a bit too much of it about, so the party was suppressed within a few months. In 1936 Turkey adopted Mussolini's form of labour legislation, "To protect the state's security and existence against subversive activities such as communism or anarchism." Strikes and Trade Unions were banned.

Turkey also had its racialism. A couple more quotes from the Eternal Leader, which are still pinned up in schools, "A Turk is worth the whole universe." "What a joy it is to be able to call oneself a Turk." During the '30s a great deal of scholarship went into proving that the Turkish people were descended from the 'Grey Wolves' from Ergenekon Valley in Central Asia. At the time this was supposed to be that they were Aryan. 'Pan-Turanism' is still popular. Much

is made of the alleged Turkic origins of Attila and Genghis. All the middle eastern civilizations, Babylon, Assyria, Egypt etc were supposed to be founded by Turks. And who were the scapegoats for this militaristic nationalism? National minorities of course, the Armenians and Kurds (see FREEDOM volume 41 number 16).

This is the democracy the army is to restore.

Politics in Turkey have been messy. Central power has yo-yoed between two parties. The Republican People's Party is the descendant of Kemal's. Its leader is Ecevit and it now describes itself as 'Social Democratic'. The other is the Justice Party, led by Demirel. This is said to be further to the right. (Really these commentaries are done straight-faced). Two other groups have a lot of influence, the National Salvation Party led by Erbakan, Moslem fundamentalists, and the Nationalist Action Party led by Turkes, old-style, hard-line fascists. The latter has a lot of penetration into the army. There is

also a large number of underground groups, left wing, right wing, Kurdish, all sorts.

Central politics are confused, consisting of little but bickering. The army took over in 1960 and 1971. This time, with Demirel in power, there was talk of an alliance between RPP (Social Democrat, remember) and NSP (Moslem). There was martial law (so why the need for a coup?) and widespread violence. What has the takeover achieved? Well, a promise that "Any kind of resistance, demonstration or attitude (sic) towards the army will be broken up in the severest manner instantaneously." Large numbers of politicians have been arrested. It is said only those where criminal cases are pending would be prosecuted. This would seem to mean those with "Kurdish, communist, fascist or religious fanatic" sympathies.

Turkes appeared to get a tip off and disappeared for a few days. The Americans were also informed, but of

course, would not dream of interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation, especially if it meant a bit of useful stability in a Nato partner. (The planned Nato exercises in Turkey have gone ahead, though Belgium pulled out.)

Substantial wage rises have been awarded and all strikes banned. Carrot and stick. The martial law powers have been extended. Local leaders have been replaced by army officers. Now a new Cabinet has been announced. It contains three retired officers. Complete control over economic affairs is left with Ozal, who was advisor to Demirel. The net effect of the 'coup from the centre' in order to 'restore democracy' would seem to be to round up all militants, widen martial law and wipe out the parliamentary opposition.

All in the name of Kemalism. It must be gratifying to the eternal leader.

ALI.

# THE C.N.T.

THE 5th Congress of the CNT (Madrid, December 8-16 1979) marked the climax of the long simmering conflict between contending CNT factions. The conflict must not be dismissed as a relatively minor disagreement. It involved fundamental principles and tactics. The very survival of the CNT as a revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist organization was at stake.

The right-wing reformists want to convert the CNT into a de facto appendage of the State. Like the socialist and Communist party dominated unions (structured like the authoritarian 'vertical' unions) they too want the CNT to join the class collaborationist machinery of the unions, employers and the State.

Like the Stalinists, Trotskyites, Maoites and other dissident marxist-leninist groups, the right wing of the CNT, also bent on capturing the CNT, launched a vicious campaign of outright lies and vilification. Thus the assertion that the rank-and-file of the CNT, in opposition to the alleged CNT bureaucracy, endorsed the Opposition is false.

Out of 772 delegates representing 324 unions, only 51 delegates walked

out of the Madrid congress. In Catalonia, only 12 out of 114 unions and in Andalusia four out of 96 unions adhered to the opposition.

The accusation that the non-existent CNT bureaucracy, in league with the CNT-FAI exiles, dominated the Congress is also false. In accordance with the procedures of the CNT, the decisions of the congress were ratified by the National Conference of CNT Syndicates in Barcelona, attended by 1500 delegates from almost all districts of Spain; by other ratification meetings and directly by the overwhelming majority of local unions.

Although the Opposition is by no means ideologically, numerically or organizationally qualified to represent the CNT, the usurpers brazenly staged a phony 'Plenum of Regions' in Saragossa attended by only 60 delegates, fraudulently appropriated the seal and name of CNT, elected a phony 'General Secretary' and equally phony 'National Committee of the CNT' and expelled anyone who questioned the legitimacy of the 'Plenum'.

The May 10th issue of the venerable and highly regarded anarchist

review FREEDOM, published an article titled 'Spain Today' by a self-styled 'active anarcho-feminist in the United States' which displays her abysmal ignorance of even the most elementary facts about the CNT. For example:

--The CNT is not 'collapsing'. The membership did NOT 'decline from 200,000 two years ago to only 20,000' but GREW to 300,000 today.

--Mujeres Libres, an independent, separate organization is NOT 'in the CNT' for the obvious reason that it never belonged to the CNT in the first place.

--Bicicleta could not possibly have been 'expelled from the CNT' because it is not a labour paper and never belonged or was part of the CNT.

he writer is unmistakably biased in favour of the Opposition. She ignores unimpeachable, overwhelming evidence to the contrary. She obviously prefers to repeat the ridiculous accusations concocted by the discredited Opposition that the CNT is "provoking the tensions and conflicts that threaten the very existence of the CNT" that the 50 Opposition delegates "walked out of the 5th Congress protesting the progressive deterioration of free expression" that "people were being expelled (from the CNT) right and left".

SAM DOLGOFF

Taken from the American journal  
Libertarian Spain.

**LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET****The myth of official science**

Dear FREEDOM Collective

It is sad to see that you have fallen for an authoritarian myth in the latest issue (12 Sept). In the Wildcat cartoon you take the line that official science is the only truth and that unofficial science should be consigned to the waste bin. This simplistic myth is the basis of the authoritarian maintenance of a closed official science: the rigid hierarchical system whose results can be seen only too well in the Dounreay nuclear plutonium factory and the Babraham horror farm. For anarchists to fall for the myth is doubly sad for the judgement of reality is up to each individual not to accept the loaded judgements of the entrenched pundits of orthodoxy, whose livelihoods depend on the maintenance of the officially-accepted world picture. The messianic materialism of nineteenth century physics so beloved of those deluded followers of Engels's *Dialectics of Nature* was based upon a mechanistic view of the universe now long superseded by post-quantum physics, just as the simplistic ideas of Darwin upon which racist doctrines are erected have been overtaken by modern genetics and molecular biology. Not so the orthodox anarchist materialist whose views stem from the classical socialist anti-clericalism of the middle of the last century. Like pundits of official science adherents to this world picture rabidly attack all investigations into unofficial science, whether it be radiesthesia, the paranormal, research into unidentified flying objects, Fortean phenomena or astrology as 'irrational', or worse, somehow connected with religious belief.

Now, just as official scientists' livelihoods and reputations might crumble if challenged by concrete evidence of the paranormal, so the orthodox anarchist materialist too might have to rethink his (yes - usually his) place in the scheme of being. And this is the main point. A dogmatic dismissal of any idea

on the nature of reality leads immediately to a blinkering of awareness, for to refuse to investigate a possibility in a fair and dispassionate manner is to delude oneself. The truth is non-negotiable and whether we prove or disprove the paranormal, extrasensory perception and the like it is totally dishonest to refuse to investigate these possibilities, dismissing them with the doctrine "What I believe is the truth and anyone who disagrees is a heretic" - the unpalatable ethos of those Maos, Pinochets, and Popes who continue to plague the freedom of the world. If 'anarchy' means 'without authority' then we should also question the authority of official science, not just the pronouncements of religious and political panjandrums, for to fall for the con that official science is dispassionate and free is as big a mistake as trotting down to the polling station on election day believing that 'next time' we will get a 'good government'. Official science is riddled with authoritarianism and private empires, personal vendettas, axes grinding, and refusals to admit the unofficial, the whole pot-pourri supported by the institutionalised theft of government taxation. Like politics its base is power and control, not the pursuit of the truth. Anarchists ought not to fall for such an obvious con.

NIGEL PENNICK

Cambridge

**Lobsters and Butter**

Dear comrades

Following my last letter to you I can now say truly that the authorities have stolen all the 1980 issues of FREEDOM that you sent me. They are still keeping them and some other newspapers in my secret dossier which they have for social prisoners. So, now there is another attack on libertarian prisoners in order to damage their morale and their communications. We still live in prison under brutal conditions hungry etc. There have been hundreds of accusations to the Greek newspapers, and hungerstrikes in order to survive. Nobody cares here in Greece because we don't

belong to any political party.

My comrades here in Greece Phillip and Sophie Kyritsis, John Scardalis, John Bouketsidis, have spent 90 days on hungerstrike in the last six months, as a minimum revolt against the brutal conditions. The Minister of Justice still eats lobster and butter. As all European comrades know, behind the bars and the walls of prisons, psychiatric hospitals, common hospitals, workhouses, schools, universities, they hide the evidence of their crime. Please, once again, let the comrades over there know our situation.

We are still alive and scream from the hell that we are in that we don't want a society based on political and economic pornography.

WHOEVER KEEPS SILENT IN MY PRESENT SITUATION IS GUILTY. We promise that we will still keep our conscience alight and fighting. Keep fighting as well and bring war to the streets as we have done! Thanks for the over three years of solidarity and support. I wish you health and social revolution, here and now!

Yours

THEODORE TSOUVALAKIS

(Write to Theodore c/o Kathleen Iatropoulou, 8 Navarinou K' Ippokratous, Athens).

**Poland**

Dear comrades

As one of the speakers I can't let your grossly inaccurate report of the Solidarity (London) meeting on the Polish strikes (FREEDOM 30 August) pass without comment. Solidarity did not organise this meeting solely to promote its own political views. We called this meeting because until we did the reaction from the British Left to events in Poland had been a deafening silence.

If we were a super-rich group we'd have gladly flown over members of the Gdansk strike committee. But unfortunately we're not so we had to do our best. This best was to bring along speakers of Polish origin who are in touch with events in Poland. Wictor Moszozynski for example is in close contact with KOR and can translate their statements something we in Solidarity can't do. Solidarity has obvious political differences with Moszczyn-

## TERS LETTERS LETTERS LETT

ski and Wasik but we feel that they had something to say about Poland worth listening to.

Considering the amount of business to be got through and the limitations on time, Robin Blick's chairmanship was exemplary. Indeed he at one point offered to hand the chair over to John Rety but the meeting rejected this. If your reporter wants to see real 'democratic manipulation' he should go to a Trotskyist meeting.

What your reporter means by 'workerism' I don't know so I can't comment. I'm not a teacher lecturer or doctor - I'm unemployed!

I'm not happy about workers praying to the Pope either. But it is something we should try to understand, not just condemn. Nor should we forget that there were once such beings as 'Catholic Anarchists'.

Your reporter says a lot about the telegrams but fails to mention the most constructive aspects of the meeting - the sending of some £35 to Gdansk and the formation of the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

Solidarity doesn't claim to have all the answers but we have in our own way tried to win support for the Polish strikers. If your reporter thinks he can do any better he is welcome to try.

Yours fraternally  
TERRY LIDDLE

London

## The workers united...

Dear FREEDOM

On reading the article 'The Politics of Liberation: from Class to Culture' in FREEDOM (vol. 41 no. 17) I decided I had to write a reply because I disagree almost totally with the idea of anarchism expressed in the article.

The main problem with the article is that it gives us no idea of how to get from this lousy society to an anarchist one. It says we should build affinity groups to develop 'libertarian primary relationships' (whatever they are). And it says we must build a libertarian culture. This I am in favour of because the present world has no real culture. I am also in favour of personal liberation - the more liberated I and the people I know get the better.

But in no way is this going to get us to an anarchist society. The article is contradictory. It admires the counter-culture which involved dropping out of society. But it also says we should organise in the workplace. Anarchism historically has involved a struggle between the rulers and the ruled over; we still face basically the same struggle today. The writer seems to think a bit like the Marxists that the system of domination, the state will just wither away.

Personal liberation must go hand in hand with the fight to liberate society. Organisation in the workplace is essential. Anarchists should have a strong presence in the unions to try to destroy the power of the leadership and the full-time officials eventually aiming at the setting up of workers' councils. When this society starts falling apart we need to be in as strong a position as possible. We need to fight those who would set up a new system of authority to replace the old one. We cannot leave the struggle to change society to the Marxists. We must out argue and out organise them in every sphere of society.

The writer argues that the idea of the working class is out of date. Certainly there have been many changes in the class structure in the last 20 or 30 years. But as long as the majority of people are moved around by economic and social forces over which they have no control and as long as a small number of people make all the important decisions then you have a class system. Women and black people are obviously oppressed. But a top level civil servant, even if a woman or black, is not oppressed. The thing that unites people is the working class. Class struggle anarchists do not want to turn everyone into workers, as the writer of the article says, but to abolish all artificial divisions between people such as that between worker/boss. We want to free the whole of humanity. It is tragic that the only realistic way to do this is through a violent upheaval; a revolutionary general strike and armed uprising but that is the reality.

Solidarity  
DAVE BROWN

(Member of Direct Action Movement)  
N.B. We regret that for reasons of space this letter has been cut.

### DEFICIT FUND

August 28th - September 10th Incl.

#### Donations Received:-

Bradville. J.G.L. £3.00;  
London. NW3. £3.00; Hamburg.  
P.B. £2.00; Reading. L.L.  
£2.00; London NW6. R.E. £1.00;  
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Owing to shortage of space no Deficit Fund item has been in "Freedom" since Vol. 41. No. 15 (2nd August 1980) - which acknowledged donations received up to and including July 9th 1980. We would like to take this opportunity of thanking all those whose donations were received between July 10th and August 27th 1980 and assure you all that we are most appreciative of your generosity, even though crippling postage rates - amongst other things - prevent us from acknowledging each donation personally. Our targets for 1980 remain:-

Deficit Fund £2,000. (We are only just over halfway there!)

Premises Fund £1,000. (We are not even halfway there yet!)

J.H.

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Black Ram, PO Box 238, Dar-  
linghurst, NSW 2010.  
Disintegrator! PO Box 290,  
Bondi Junction, Sydney.  
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists,  
Jura Books Collective,  
417 King Street, Newtown,  
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### Queensland

Libertarian Socialist Organi-  
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### South Australia

Adelaide Anarchists, PO Box 67,  
North Adelaide 5006.

### Victoria

La Trobe Libertarian Social-  
ists, c/o SRC, La Trobe Univer-  
sity, Bundoora, Vic. 3083.  
Monash Anarchist Society, c/o  
Monash University, Clayton,  
3168 Melbourne.  
Libertarian Workers for a Self  
Managed Society, PO Box 20,  
Parkville 3052.

Chummy Fleming Bookshop, 26 Reg-  
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Yarra (Libertarian Workers shop).

### Western Australia

Freedom Collective, PO Box 14,  
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8000 Aarhus.

Copenhagen: Anarkist Syndical-  
ist Bogcafe, Studiestræde 18,  
1455 Copenhagen.  
Rainbow Anarchists of the Free  
City of Christiana, c/o Allan  
Anarchos, Tinghuset, Fristaden  
Christiana, 1407 Copenhagen.

#### Norway

ANORG, Høxtvedtv. 31B,  
1431 As. (Publish 'Polke-  
bladt' 4 times a year.)

#### Sweden

Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiernas  
Gata 51, 11631 Stockholm.

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at Freedom about reprinting it?

## MEETINGS

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ing upstairs at the Star and Garter  
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October 7.45pm (come early) Lessons  
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**Polski Ruch  
Anarchistyczny**  
(History of the Polish  
Anarchist Movement  
1919—1929)

With media attention focused on the Polish working class, we are taking this opportunity to publish an article on the Polish anarchist movement. Readers interested in the early history of the Polish movement should see 'Towards a history of anarchism in Poland' (FREEDOM, Anarchist Review, 2 April 1977) and the cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review no. 2, 1977, which contains the article 'History of the Anarchist Movement in Poland, 1905-1915'.

In the not too distant future, we hope to publish another article (based on correspondence with exiled Polish militants) which deals with the history of the anarchist movement in Poland from the 1930s to the immediate aftermath of world war II. This particular article was first published in Die Internationale of April 1930 and has been translated by Peter Silcock.

THE anarchist movement in Poland prior to the war formed an essential and constituent part of the anarchist movement of Tsarist Russia. Brought into existence shortly before the outbreak of revolution in 1905, it met with a powerful response in the industrial areas of the former Congress Poland, and predominantly in that part of it which bordered on Russia proper. In those heroic days of 1905, the anarchists showed matchless and unflinching courage, their uncompromisingly revolutionary tactics of direct action placing them at the head of the other workers' organisations in the towns of Bialystok, Wilno and Warsaw. Thus it happened that within a relatively short space of time the anarchists found greater popularity with the masses, who saw in them the only genuine protagonists of revolutionary ideas; they would tolerate no compromise in the struggle against the capitalists and the state, nor did they hesitate when called upon to defend the material and moral interests of the revolution, paying with their own lives when necessary. They fought, lived and died in accord with the ideas they proclaimed. Only the defeat of the 1905 revolution and the dawn of reaction could weaken the anarchist movement, but were unable to deal it the final blow. For all that, the decline of the movement was inevitable in view of the fact that only its deeds, but not its ideas, had penetrated to the masses. In a great many cases anarchism conveyed no more to the workers than a notion of terrorism, of 'bumping off' the capitalists, of expropriation. Even anarchists who had sacrificed themselves body and soul often interpreted anarchism to mean just that. Yet such considerations should not dissuade us from according them the recognition which no-one who is acquainted with their unyielding constancy and revolutionary demeanour can properly refuse.

Hence anarchist as a social revolutionary idea could neither take root in the minds of the workers nor outlast the age of reaction. The bourgeoisie and the 'socialists' of all other tendencies had no little hand in convincing the workers that anarchism was to all intents the same as murder, robbery and chaos. The world war brought the emergence of the anarchist movement to an end: it was already so weakened by then that it was no danger capable of making its cry of protest heard. In that wild surge of tumultuous passion it was the first movement to be forced out of existence. It did not even have time to defend itself against the calumnies of the bourgeoisie, and thus the prejudice that equated anarchism with murder and arson was spread further afield and strengthened its hold.

The February revolution opened the gates of the prisons. It meant freedom for comrades who, although Polish by birth, had predominantly been involved with the Russian movement. When the world war came to an end, they were able to return to Poland. Of the once flourishing movement they could find no remaining trace. The rising generation, having been nurtured on Romantic 'delusions of national independence', knew nothing of anarchism, and the masses were intoxicated by the creation of 'their own' independent Poland. Influenced by the revolutionary wave from the East which reverberated through central Europe, Poland was to become a 'people's republic'. Workers' councils were formed and in Lublin a popular government was constituted which would later hold office as the Socialist government headed by Moraczewski. At the same time, the former Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania joined with the left wing of the PPS to form the Communist Workers' Party of Poland, which called on a Poland now liberated from the tsar to extend the hand of friendship to the Russian working class, itself liberated from the yoke. The Nationalists and the opportunist Socialist Party of Poland, however, exploited the proximity of Russia and Germany for quite different ends. They deceived the masses into believing that union with Russia or Germany, whether revolutionary or not, meant a return to the servitude which it had cost Poland so much blood to abolish. Nurtured on the patriotic slogans of the PPS and the National Labour Party, the masses put their trust in these and would have torn limb from limb anyone who tried to deprive them of their 'freedom'. The 'heroic return of Marshal Pilsudski' finally won the masses over to the party of independence, for Pilsudski was known to them of old as a comrade-in-arms. But the course of events was soon to teach the masses a different lesson. Pilsudski organised the march on Kiev and unleashed a bloody conflict with the Russian

proletariat. Owing to the tactics of the Russian commanders, who did not restrict themselves simply to the defence of endangered revolutionary territories, Pilsudski was afforded the opportunity of lending to his imperialistic endeavours the semblance of a 'defensive war'. All class distinctions were thrust into the background as patriotism and nationalist propaganda reached their peak - everything was thrown into the struggle against the 'bolshevik invasion' - and thus Pilsudski was able to regain the prestige which he had lost in the wake of the bloody defeat at Kiev. This had as its result the complete failure of all efforts made by the populist socialists of the newly 'resurrected' Poland; in the politics as in the social life of the country, the road was now open to capitalist and statist reactions.

A broad section of the worker masses, which adhered to the PPS, voted in the elections for its 'socialist conception of independence', but in comparison with the parties of the right and centre, the PPS was no more than a dwindling minority in the Sejm. The elections demonstrated that the majority of workers looked to the Christian Democratic Party, an outpost of reaction on the class terrain. Even the Communists, who had fought against nationalism in the PPS whilst still members of the party, now had their attention entirely fixed on events in Russia and held the creation of a 'proletarian state' to be the ultimate aim of socialism. Hence it was understandable that many revolutionaries who inhaled the enthusiasms of the time, should allow themselves to be seduced by the illusions of independent statehood; and in this way the class struggle was relegated to the background. Its place was filled by the party political ambitions of right and left social democracy.

It was under such circumstances that those who had remained loyal to anarchism were compelled to resume their work. On the one hand the worker masses were entirely under the sway of nationalist propaganda, whether mounted by Christian Democrats - who preached cooperation between capital and labour, or by the PPS, which, in order to retain its influence, was promising the workers a peasants and workers' government. And on the other hand, those workers who had achieved a revolutionary consciousness equated every criticism directed against the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' with the counter-revolution. Almost no-one had even the slightest notion of the meaning of anarchism, or even worse, many had a false conception of it.

The most urgent task was therefore to draw attention to its existence. Independently of any group, Polish editions of *Mutual Aid* and *An Appeal to the Young* by P. Kropotkin were issued in 1919 as the first two anarchist publications in Poland since the war. In that same year a group of Polish workers issued a broadsheet entitled *Bread and Freedom*. The eventual fate and further activities of this group remain completely unknown; what little information it has been possible to uncover suggests that the group was dissolved when the greater part of its members emigrated to Russia.

A group of older comrades was formed in 1920 and undertook the illegal publication of a paper in the Jewish language. Entitled *The Voice of Freedom*, only one issue appeared, although two further issues of *Bread and Freedom* were published legally. Kropotkin's pamphlet on *Modern Science and Anarchism*, heavily abbreviated in order that it might be passed by the censor, was also published that same year in Lemberg.

The activity of this group became more intensive with the founding in 1921 of the first group of school-pupils. This latter group spread anarchist ideas in the schools by word of mouth. Considering the illegal circumstances in which this work was done, great precautions were taken and the work restricted to the more worthwhile and reliable elements. This was naturally insufficient for these youths, who were eager for action. A *Letter to Youth* explaining the principles of anarchism was duplicated on a hectograph and these 'letters' then placed in the pupils' desks before classes began. But since this work yielded unsatisfactory returns, the group made efforts to establish contact with broader circles by turning to the workers. Our comrades had themselves appointed as teachers to the educational courses for workers which were then being instituted by the trade unions, and through this educational work were able successfully to acquaint audiences drawn from a large number of trade unions with the ideas of anarchism. There being no comrades

amongst the listeners themselves, however, they met with no success in forming workers' groups on this occasion. The work was useful nonetheless: through it the audiences grew accustomed to the word 'anarchism' and became familiar with its nature and content. This alone meant a great deal at that time. This promising work had to be discontinued when the higher levels of the trade union bureaucracy, which had fallen under the control of the Communists, victimised our comrades and finally disbanded the educational centres under the pretext that these had been closed by the police.

At this point work was begun in another area which was of great importance from the organisational viewpoint. The People's University, founded by the PPS and later to be dominated by the Communist Party, became the focus of intense activity. Seeing here an area which was well-suited to the task of carrying their propaganda to the workers, our comrades were amongst those who contributed greatly to ousting the PPS from its position, while the workers themselves were increasingly distancing themselves from it. The 'New Economic Policy' of the Russian Communist Party was persuading many supporters of the latter to think about Russia in rather more critical terms, and this had also created an objective situation which enabled anarchist criticisms to be heard. In these circumstances, anarchist propaganda carried out among the workers at the People's University was assured of success. It was here that the first anarchist workers' group was founded. This group undertook an intensive propaganda by word of mouth, its efforts persuading the People's University to organise a lecture on Francesco Ferrer. Advertisements were posted throughout the city and announcements made from speakers' platforms. A large crowd of workers and school pupils attended and were able once again to hear about anarchism for the first time in very many years.

The work of this small number of anarchist pioneers had already brought major successes. To a certain extent, anarchism was winning acceptance as a social revolutionary idea which could hold its own among the other socialist tendencies, and the traditional well of prejudice was breached step by step. Interest in anarchist ideas grew to an extent that exceeded the expectations of the pioneers. But at the same time as there was an improvement in the objective prospects for anarchist activity, immense difficulties arose to confront the movement. Propaganda works were severely handicapped on the one hand by the complete absence of contact with the anarchist movement abroad, and on the other hand by the still chronic shortage of literature in the Polish and Yiddish languages which still exists to this day. In the country itself there were no technical facilities for the illegal publication of literature; even once these were located, the exorbitant sums demanded meant that the opportunity had to be passed over. For the time being, therefore, the youth group was forced to suspend its propaganda work and turn the whole of its attention to organisational work, in the first instance to develop international contacts, and where possible to ascertain whether any other groups were to be found in the country and to use such resources as were available in order to publish what literature they could.

Contacts formed in the past allowed it to establish communication with a group of anarcho-syndicalist workers in upper Silesia. With their technical assistance, the first anarchist pamphlet in the Polish language, *The Fundamentals of Syndicalism*, was published in 1923. This pamphlet was smuggled across the border and the copies distributed in a relatively short time, some of them being sold and the rest given out free. Unconnected with this was the successful establishment of contact with a German anarchist group in Danzig, with whose help predominantly anarchist literature was brought into the country and used to lay the basis for an organisational library. *The Syndicalist*, *The Free Worker*, and *The Libertarian* were received regularly. These books and papers were of incalculable value for propaganda work amongst youth in the schools, the majority of whom had a command of the German language, and were also of use as teaching aids for those comrades who undertook their instructional work in the theoretical groups. Yet none of this could circumvent the need for literature in the Polish and Yiddish languages. Attempts were made to achieve this end. In 1922 an approach was made to the International Working Men's Association for financial assistance to allow the necessary work to

## Lesson in Lenin



This cartoon is an example of current Polish political humor—30% of which is aimed against the Russians and perhaps another 10% against Polish subservience to the Soviets.

be done. The secretariat of the IWMA, however, imposed the condition that the choice of titles for publications should be made in consultation with itself, which would have meant that all the pamphlets would by necessity have been of an anarcho-syndicalist complexion. The group, on the other hand, demanded complete autonomy but gave an undertaking that international literature on syndicalism would be published at regular intervals. Since these transactions were conducted through written channels, and indirect ones at that, no result was forthcoming.

It was at this time that the existing propaganda groups were partially reorganised. Some of the 'older' comrades moved across to the youth group. But since this new group found itself occupied exclusively with organisational matters, a further group had to be formed for the purpose of undertaking propaganda work. Thus in 1923 the 'variegated' group was formed, drawing its members from those in the workers' group who were active in the People's University and from among the youth. Relations between the two groups were never more than distant, since the 'older' group adopted an attitude of slight suspicion towards the 'variegated' group and showed reluctance to instruct it in organisational matters. When the question arose of sending a delegate to the international anarchist conference, the 'variegated' group declared itself in favour, but fundamental differences arose within the 'older' group when it came to elect a representative. The 'variegated' group, composed of anarcho-communists and anarcho-syndicalists, achieved complete agreement in this matter and consequently sent a delegate in its own name. Closer contacts with anarchist organisations abroad opened up new channels at home, notably communication with comrades in East Galicia and personal contact with comrades in Lublin, Warsaw and elsewhere. The discovery of already existing groups afforded new opportunities for the movement to expand. Not only did this make it possible to distribute and sell literature on a larger scale, but also gave rise to the necessity of organising the movement on a country-wide basis. Communication with the new contacts was handed over to the older group, while the 'variegated' group busied itself with propaganda work. In 1923 it published a hectographed paper in Yiddish, *Anarchist and Bolshevik Communism*, written by a comrade to explain the basic attitude of the anarchists to the Bolshevik state. A pamphlet in Polish entitled *The Truth about Makhno*, also hectographed, was published at the time of Makhno's trial. The same method was used to print Rudolf Rocker's pamphlet on *Councilism or Dictatorship*, which, in the event, could not be brought over from England. And in the same year Kropotkin's *The Great French Revolution* was issued by the Książka Press.

Debates were held with other groups. The 'variegated' group played a leading role in a group of joiners founded in 1922 by members of the building trades union. Here comrades from other groups gave talks and took a lively part in the discussions. This same group founded a second workers' group some time later. The original group then became

increasingly more active as its ranks were swelled by intellectually mature comrades who were capable of undertaking propaganda work despite a ban by the authorities. It was only by working to such a system that the organisation could successfully be built up in secret in the initial stages, and it was this, in fact, which opened the way to slow but sure progress under the regime of police informers and white terror.

In the autumn of 1923 several of the comrades from the 'older' group left the country and settled in Paris. In this way the group lost the best of its members and effectively ceased to exist. The 'variegated' group, which had intended to devote itself exclusively to propaganda work, had to be reorganised and became the effectual coordinating group. It took over the correspondence with those at home and abroad and found itself burdened with the entirety of the educational work in the theoretical groups. This resulted in attention being focused entirely on the existing membership and on raising its quality. The comrades who had transferred their field of activity to France generated an intensive activity. Early in 1924 they organised a group there and published 2000 copies of a pamphlet entitled *The Aims of the Anarchists*. Despite immense difficulties a number of these were successfully smuggled into the country and proved very popular; a quantity was sold legally through the left-wing bookshops. The legal Communist Party paper *Kultura Robotnicza* was sharply critical of this pamphlet and repeated the familiar accusation that anarchism was a 'petty-bourgeois ideology'. Yet the very fact that a Communist party gave attention to an anarchist pamphlet is proof that anarchist ideas had penetrated to the masses. With the assistance of the IWMA, three pamphlets in the Polish language were published in Paris within a short space of time: *The Kronstadt Uprising*, *The Russian Tragedy*, and *The Communist Party and the Russian Revolution*, 2000 copies being printed. Initially, however, there was a reluctance to sell these pamphlets in the country, for the groups felt that it was still early to engage in anti-Communist propaganda, since this would serve only to injure the Communist Party without reaping any advantage to the anarchist movement. Only later, when our comrades had reached a stage at which they could move freely in and out of Communist circles, did these pamphlets prove invaluable, since their incisive and logical criticisms contributed greatly to clarifying in a pertinent manner doubts which had arisen in the ranks of the Communists themselves. *The Kronstadt Uprising* in particular laid that historic epoch of 1921 open to the workers, who knew of it, if at all, only through the misrepresentations of the Communists, and showed them the role which anarchists had played in the Russian Revolution.

In 1924 an edition of Kropotkin's *The State: its Role in History* was published legally in Warsaw and almost completely sold out. A special issue of an anti-militarist paper entitled *Pionierzy* was published in Krakow. Although the greater part of this paper was made up of blank spaces to which the censor had contributed the word 'suppressed', its anti-militarist nature was nonetheless clearly apparent. Intended as a test of the extent to which legal methods could be employed for anarchist propaganda, it demonstrated immediately how foolish it would have been to entertain any illusions in this respect. In Warsaw, where the censor was of a less liberal outlook, this publication was banned in its entirety. While the police did succeed in seizing a number of copies, the majority had already reached their intended destinations.

The network of informers and provocateurs, which had achieved a deep penetration of the Communist ranks, also inflicted considerable harm on our young movement.

In 1924 the People's University arranged an excursion which was alleged by an agent provocateur to be a communist conference. Many of the comrades were thrown into prison merely because they had taken part in the excursion. But since it could not be proved against them that they were anarchists, they were regarded as Communists. Liberated on bail after a short period in prison, they were forced to flee abroad. This put an end to the work at the People's University, which was now disbanded. The arrest of those comrades had no subsequent effect on the organization. Whilst in prison they spread propaganda amongst the Communists and

continued on page 13

# Contemporary Anarchism

Contemporary Anarchism edited by Terry Perlin.  
Published by Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ.  
Available from Holt-Saunders, Eastbourne. £7.75

CONTEMPORARY Anarchism is similar to *Reinventing Anarchy* - both anthologies of recent anarchist writings in English, edited by Americans and published last year, both very ambitious and both very disappointing. *Reinventing Anarchy* was published in Britain, and I discussed it in *FREEDOM* a year ago; *Contemporary Anarchism* was published in the United States, and has taken longer to become available here.

Terry Perlin is an academic historian (assistant professor at Williams College in Massachusetts) and an occasional contributor to the anarchist press. He says he planned his new anthology as a sequel and companion to the old one edited by the American sociologist Irving Louis Horowitz - *The Anarchists* (1964). I reviewed that at some length and with some heat in the old *Anarchy* 14 years ago; there is no room to repeat my objections here, and I can say only that it is a bad book and an unfortunate model to take.

Horowitz covered libertarian thought and anarchist activity from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century; Perlin covers not so much contemporary anarchism as libertarian thought from 1961 to 1972 (nothing goes out of date faster than the up to date, and the book was already seven years late when it appeared). He rightly includes many varieties of anarchism, commenting that "there are perhaps as many anarchisms as there are anarchists", but he frequently goes outside anarchism altogether. He says that he "wanted to present material not collected elsewhere from journals and sources not normally read by a wide audience", but he has given much space to items which are easily available elsewhere.

The book is divided into six parts. First comes 'The Return of Anarchism', consisting entirely of an essay by Perlin himself called 'The Recurrence of Defiance'. He begins by saying that anarchism "is less a political philosophy than it is a temperament", when the reverse is the truth. He then says that anarchists "attempt to organise for the purpose of destroying organisation", and that "anarchism is anti-politics, anti-authoritarianism: a mood of perpetual rebellion", which is nonsense. He then says that "anarchists have suffered from two contradictory stereotypes" because "they have been deemed bomb-throwing lunatics and muddle-headed utopian dreamers", and that "neither image has a basis in fact", though both images have a basis in fact and they are not contradictory at all.

Perlin then says that "across Europe and America during the 1960s and early 1970s anarchism returned", though it had never gone away. The rest of the essay is a very confused but very interesting discussion of the revived anarchism of the 1960s, over-emphasising its emotional and irrational aspects and under-emphasising its practical and political achievements.

The second part is 'The Revival', consisting of two well-known and widely read articles - 'Anarchism Revisited' by George Woodcock, which was reprinted in his book *The Rejection of Politics* (1972) and rewritten as the Postscript to the latest edition of his book *Anarchism* (1974), and 'The Relevance of Anarchism to Modern Society' by Sam Dolgoff, which is available as a pamphlet.

Woodcock argues that the 'new' anarchism is quite distinct from the 'old'. I argued at some length against this thesis in *FREEDOM* four years ago; again there is no room to repeat

my objections here, and I can say only that I think he is quite wrong. Dolgoff also argues that he is wrong, though he tries too hard to identify anarchism with libertarian socialism or communism and with syndicalism, and he argues that it has become more rather than less relevant to current problems.

The third part is 'Anarchism on the Left', consisting of four articles on the relationship of anarchism with the New Left movement - C. Wright Mills's 'Letter to the New Left' back in 1961, which had nothing to do with anarchism but was part of the Marxist debate about the working class; Staughton Lynd's 'The Movement: A New Beginning' back in 1969, which had little to do with anarchism but was concerned with the resistance to the Vietnam War and the turn towards libertarian socialism; 'The Anarchist Revolution' by Murray Bookchin, an interview stating his views even less coherently than usual; and 'The Red Flag and the Black' by Emile Capouya, a romantic and rhetorical defence of the anarchist revival in journalistic terms.

The fourth part is 'Libertarianism', consisting of three articles on right-wing, liberal anarchism by its leading American exponent, Murray N. Rothbard, which are too American in flavour to appeal to many readers outside his particular tradition.

The fourth part is 'Doing Anarchism', consisting of ten articles from *FREEDOM* and *Anarchy* during the period 1968-1972. The writers are George Cairncross, H.W. Morton, John O'Connor, Jack Robinson, Neville Fowler, Anthony Fleming, Peter Turner and 'M.C.' and 'Justin' (pseudonyms of veteran Freedom Press stalwarts). This is an odd part of the book, being largely English in flavour and much more down to earth and up to the moment than the rest. Perlin thinks that *FREEDOM* "has published continuously since 1886" and that "during the 1960s and early 1970s its pages were filled with the best anarchist prose"; in fact there were short gaps in 1895 and 1939 and a long one from 1927 to 1936, and in fact its contents have been as good and as bad as most papers produced at short intervals by busy amateurs. It must be admitted that what reads well enough in a weekly or fortnightly or monthly paper doesn't stand up so well in a book, but Perlin has included Morton's splendid account of New York in the 1965 blackout and Anthony Fleming's analysis of the psychological and sociological obstacles to political liberty, as well as Turner's characteristically clear and cogent argument for workers' control. (Incidentally, there is no acknowledgement that the Freedom Press gave permission for the use of all this copyright material).

An eleventh item in the fifth part really belongs in the sixth part, 'Anarchism as Critique and Possibility'. It is an extract from George Lakey's 'Manifesto for a Nonviolent Revolution', and it goes with an extract from 'Revolution: a Quaker Prescription for a Sick Society' by George Lakey and three other American Quakers. Both are totally utopian, radical Christian, half-Marxist and half-anarchist proposals for an ideal society without any serious suggestion of how we get there, assuming party and parliamentary politics and belonging to pacifist distributism than to genuine anarchism. The rest of the sixth part is an extract from Murray Bookchin's book *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1971) which is of course one of the best-known texts of modern anarchism, and Howard Zinn's essay on 'The Conspiracy of Law', which is libertarian rather than anarchist, and concerned with civil disobedience rather than social revolution. A very strange conclusion to a very strange book, which does nevertheless contain some interesting and a few illuminating items, and which has value if it is considered as an anthology of recent libertarianism rather than contemporary anarchism.

N.W.

## Poland (cont.)

they won over a number of comrades who became vigorously active once they had been released, particularly in Communist circles and amongst workers in the large factories, where previously it had been difficult to gain a foothold. The primary result of this propaganda was to force the Communists to react, since major splits took place in several of the party branches, which we shall have more to say about later on.

Trials which mobilized public opinion were the anarchist trials of Makhno and of A. Lewin. Makhno's trial vindicated him of the charge that he had initiated pogroms of the Jews in the Ukraine, and compelled both the bourgeois and the workers' press to acknowledge him as a man of ideals. Despite the fact that the president of the tribunal attempted to prevent Makhno from stating his views, he succeeded nevertheless in presenting a brief outline of the philosophy of anarchism. His acquittal was used by political opponents, notably the Communists, to argue that the anarchists were in the pay of the police, an accusation which they never tired of repeating when they saw that the anarchists were mounting an intensive campaign of activity. The sentence of four years' penal servitude passed against comrade Lewin for alleged possession of a rubber stamp belonging to the as yet non-existent anarchist organisation, however, showed only too clearly that the epigones of Marx will stop at no demagoguery, however brazen, when it comes to neutralising a political opponent. The entire press carried lengthy reports of "the first anarchist trial in free Poland" at the time, and did not neglect to point out that "anarchism was more dangerous than communism". Both the trial of Makhno and that of comrade Lewin were taken up by the independent socialist paper *Nasza Wolność*, edited by the former social-democrat Włocławski, where a heated debate was carried on between anarchists and Communists on the subject of Makhno. With regard to the affair of comrade Lewin, the papers' editors adopted a sympathetic stance, pointing to the insubstantiality of the charges. There is no doubt that these two trials helped the pioneers of the anarchist movement to break down the wall of silence. Indeed, anarchism was steadily becoming better known in Poland. Early in 1925 the Paris group began to publish a paper under the title of *Najmity* (The Wage Slave). Intended for workers abroad, *Najmity* was also smuggled into Poland, but while it galvanised propaganda work, the paper was incapable of making up for the lack of literature. It aroused great interest throughout the country, and demand for it could not be satisfied as a rule owing to the difficulties of transportation. But the paper was unable to take into account the requirements of work within groups, since the latter needs pamphlets first and foremost if it is to be conducted effectively. Thus the national organisation made efforts to convince the group in Paris that the work of groups abroad ought to be more subordinate to the needs within the country. But the comrades abroad, in their enthusiasm over the success of *Najmity*, were inclined to believe that propaganda amongst the emigrants would train new anarchist cadres who, on their return to Poland, should initiate useful activity. No agreement could be reached on this question.

In 1925 a Polish edition of Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread* was published legally.

Its rapid growth notwithstanding, the anarchist movement in Poland was not yet able to intervene directly in connection with the political and social events of the day. This emerged with particular clarity during the so-called 'May Revolution' of Pilsudski in 1926. To be able to exert some influence on the course of events during the three days of the May Revolution, what was needed was a flexible, tightly controlled, and sufficiently large organisation. But at this time the work of the anarchists was unfortunately not only much too weak, but also organised in a very deficient way. In spite of their distance from everyday struggles, the anarchists did perceive the true character of the 'May Revolution' immediately, in that they depicted it as being no more than a political putsch, in contrast to the KPP - to say nothing of the PPS - which succumbed to the spell of Pilsudski's oratory, took part in the demonstrations in his honour, and even directed

its people into the fight against the reaction - and to the aid of the 'revolutionary' Pilsudski.

It was the May events which finally gave rise to the conviction that the organisation of the movement throughout the country was a matter of necessity. In June the coordinating group reached an agreement with the groups inside the country, by which it was decided firstly to establish provisionally a national organisation to be known as the Anarchist Federation of Poland, and secondly to convene a national conference for the month of August.

Even before the conference, the coordinating group issued a manifesto, the first document to appear in the name of the AFP, which was timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of Bakunin's death. Several thousand copies were printed and sold in factories and trade union branches. At the same time the paper *Wolny Proletariusz* (The Free Proletarian) was published for the first time in Krakow. It was directed towards a mass audience in a much more pronounced way than *Głos Anarchisty*, but technical problems stopped publication after four issues.

In August the first conference was held and passed resolutions in three areas; on questions of principle, tactics and organisation. The resolutions on principles and tactics were published, while those on organisation were communicated to the groups through confidential channels. The section on principles discussed the problem of the capitalist order, the positive bases of anarchism, its position on the revolution and so on.

The section on tactics then formulated a position on the 'May Revolution' and gave an evaluation of the situation in the country and a critique of the political parties, the parliamentary system and the reformist trade unions.

The section on organisation set out the view of the conference that the anarchist movement in Poland would have to adopt methods of group organisation in order to further its development. On the basis of this assumption the conference thought it legitimate to lay stress on the publication of a series of pamphlets, since it regarded as premature any attempt to publish a paper designed for mass circulation. With regard to the publication of manifestos, the conference stated its opposition to the practice of circulating these amongst the masses at periodic intervals for the purpose of calling attention to the movement. There was then a brief summary of methods of work which were suited for use in the trade union movement; it was resolved to continue publication of *Głos Anarchisty* as the bulletin of the AFP, but also to make use of other legal papers. The coordinating group was recognised as the secretariat and would act as a connecting link within the national movement and a representative in international contacts.

In accord with the guidelines approved by the conference, the secretariat began to function and devoted most of its attention to publishing work. The task of issuing pamphlets which had been delegated to it was not to be satisfactorily carried out by the secretariat until later, and then only to a degree. 1927 saw the publication of a pamphlet entitled *The Origins and Nature of the International Working Men's Association*. The 'GA', now published by the secretariat, was appearing regularly, each month. In addition to articles which were theoretical in content, the *Głos* or the bulletin of the AFP, i.e. as its semi-official organ, also published articles justifying the tactical line of the organisation, as adopted by the groups in view of current problems. The section of news about the international anarchist movement also contained a large amount of information.

The violent quarrels which broke out within the KPP on account of the so-called 'May error' provided an opportunity for our comrades to open a more energetic and enterprising propaganda campaign, as indeed did the ferment which developed around the 'Trotskyite' opposition. In June 1926 a hectographed document commenting on these internal conflicts was issued by one of the groups. In September of the same year another group published a manifesto in the Polish and Yiddish languages to be distributed in connection with International Youth Day, which made a very favourable impression. There was a steady increase in the number of theoretical groups, predominantly composed of former members of the KPP. The propaganda work carried out by these groups amongst the workers represented a major threat to the KPP. With the

presentiment that anarchism would come to be an even greater 'threat', the Warsaw KPP published a set of theses on anarchism.

The existence of a number of active groups in Warsaw led to the necessity of establishing internal links. It was intended that this should bring to an end the detrimental system under which various groups issued separate manifestos. In October 1926 the Warsaw AFP formed a council of delegates. The first trade union group was created to bring together comrades in the different branches of industry for purposes of propaganda. An anti-militarist circle and in addition a student group were also formed. The issues of a magazine called *Wólno Młodzież* (Free Youth) were published, and for the 1st May a paper, *The Wage Slave*, as well as a manifesto which, however, fell into the hands of the police.

The encounter with the mass propaganda of the Communist Party was not without results for the form of propaganda by the AFP. The focus shifted from the group to the masses. In particular, a propaganda campaign of this type evolved at the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti affair.

As in every other country, so in Poland, the case of Sacco and Vanzetti unleashed a storm of public protest. The daily press declared itself in support of the two anarchists. The Socialist as well as the Communist parties tried to conceal the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists, or alternatively made them out to be sympathisers of the Communists. Thus the task of the anarchists became one of presenting Sacco and Vanzetti in a true light and making the best use of opportunities to spread propaganda. The AFP issued a series of statements and leaflets, often two in one day. Banners were displayed everywhere and slogans presenting our demands for the two fighters painted on the walls. At every workers' meeting our comrades drew attention to the ideas of Sacco and Vanzetti. A pamphlet on the case was published in July 1927 and 2000 enthusiastically received copies were distributed within a short space of time. The weekly magazine *Polska Wolność* organised a public petition which collected 10,000 signatures from individuals and organisations for transmission to the Governor of Massachusetts. The attempt to arrange a mass protest demonstration by all the left tendencies came to nothing as a result of narrow-minded party sectarianism, but a strong police guard was placed on the American embassy in Warsaw.

The Sacco-Vanzetti campaign marked the first time that the AFP intervened on a mass basis. -- It would, of course, have been unrealistic to expect a subsequent mass influx of workers into our organisation, but propaganda work was made easier and advanced rapidly on a large scale. Unfortunately, however, the infrastructure of the organisation was much too weak to allow it to master the situation that presented itself. In addition, the application of mass tactics led to less importance being attached to work in the groups, and this too had a deleterious effect on the general condition of the organisation.

When the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign came to an end, the secretariat proposed that a national conference should be held. This proved impracticable for technical reasons and was reduced to the calling of the so-called Preparatory Conference in October 1927.

The conference revoked the resolutions of the first conference of 1926 and also rejected the 'Platform' of the 'Russian Anarchists Abroad'. The conference drew up its own statement in which it defined the AFP as an organisation which based itself unambiguously on a class analysis, and it rejected all the deviations contained in the 'Platform' which led to the sanctioning of a 'transitional stage' in the period of transition and to attempts to establish an 'anarchist power' during this period. The conference stated its opposition to the various centralist tendencies contained in the 'Platform'. In the declaration, the AFP acknowledged as its aim the overthrow of capitalism and the state by means of the class struggle and the social revolution, and the creation of workers' and peasants' councils as the basis of the future social order. The major task of the AFP within the framework of the present order was the intensification of class struggle, the enlargement of the area of conflict by direct economic actions on the part of revolutionary trade union organisations, the struggle against the political parties, against militarism etc. This declaration was

recognised as binding for all existing active groups; it provided the sole basis on which newly formed groups could be accepted into the organisation. In this way the theoretical and organisational consolidation of the movement was attained and any future intrusion of undesired elements whose relation to anarchism was unclear, now became impossible.

The conference found no solution, however, to the problem of its task with regard to the principles of propagandist tactics. The provisional secretariat was to adhere in future to the mass line as it had been put into practice during the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign. 4000 copies of a manifesto printed to mark the 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution were published in November, and the *Głos Anarchisty*, following a lengthy break, reappeared in January 1928 with a reply to the anti-anarchist theses of the Warsaw KPP agitprop machine. In March there appeared a double issue of *Głos Anarchisty* which was given over to the subject of anti-parliamentary struggle in connection with the elections to the Sejm. In print, the anti-parliamentary campaign took the form of the comprehensive manifestos and several leaflets, 22000 copies of which appeared in the Polish and Jewish languages. A lack of money prevented the publication of an anti-parliamentarist pamphlet compiled by the secretariat; but a meeting was arranged in connection with the document. The effect of this campaign was to make anarchist activities significantly more popular. The bourgeois press drew attention to the threat of anarchist propaganda in Poland.

In May 1928 a leaflet was issued on 'The Third Anniversary of Fascism'. In July about 5000 copies of the anti-militarist manifesto entitled *Sacco-Vanzetti*, in the Polish and Jewish languages, were distributed by the secretariat.

Work in the provinces did not advance at an equal pace. New contacts were successfully made in Galicia and Congress Poland owing to the selling of *Walka* and the popularity of the anarchist slogans - and as a result of the anti-parliamentary and May campaigns. Two centres were smashed by police reprisals, but on the other hand new groups were formed in several of the smaller towns of Congress Poland. The lack of money stood in the way of forming closer contacts with the provinces by means of speaking tours, and this also had an inhibitory effect on the independent evolution of work in those localities. The inadequacy of communication made the transfer of pamphlets published abroad quite impossible.

In August 1928 the Warsaw organisations held a conference which passed a resolution setting out its position on the preparation of a national conference, on methods of internal work in the groups, and on the need to pay greater attention to the theoretically orientated groups as well as to the expansion of publishing activity. In addition, an organisational structure was proposed and subsequently adopted by all the active groups within the country.

On the strength of the decisions reached by the Warsaw conference, the secretariat took steps to obtain pamphlets from abroad and to re-start the publication of the *Głos*, the latter successfully. Relevant texts were studied diligently. In general, however, propaganda work was falling off significantly towards the end of 1928 and this led in consequence to self-criticism within the organisation and to an alteration of the guidelines for political work.

It should also be mentioned that comrade *Urmanski Urban* was tried in Tarnow and sentenced to five years' penal servitude for his membership of the AFP. Early in 1929, comrade *S. Witing* was arrested in Krakow for possession of AFP manifestos and sentenced to four years in prison.

At the present moment, anarchism in Poland is undergoing a deep crisis. The persecution not only of revolutionary groups, but in fact of every honestly socialist assembly, is the order of the day. Although the overwhelming majority of workers has by now seen through the Pilsudski regime they have not drawn the lessons and are even returning to the PIS, since it is making leftist gestures in this situation.

Even the KPP is experiencing a profound crisis as a result of internal dissensions and 'purges', as well as of an immense onslaught of police terror.

The anarchist movement in Poland has a heavy road to travel. The line of work followed hitherto must be analysed, errors avoided, and closer cooperation established. The lack

of propagandist literature has seen the most serious deficiency until now, and this will have to be remedied.

Objective conditions augur well for the revolutionary tasks of anarchism in Poland.

Hence it cannot be a matter of indifference to any revolutionary or to any anarchist organisation whether ten years of anarchist propaganda in Poland are to disappear without trace, or whether the banner of the anarchist idea once again is raised in the Poland of the bourgeoisie and the large land-owners the Poland of Pilsudski.

**Postscript** If any FREEDOM readers have information about the history of the Polish movement, or are prepared to translate a short booklet from Yiddish into English would they please contact: Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW.

# The Cosmopolitan Whimper

The poet has written that the world will not die with a bang but with a whimper and that whimper will be the final hosanna to the barbarians in office the philistine bureaucrats whose battle cry is conform conform and whose weapons are the authority of self sought office, the keys to the food warehouses and the ability to call upon the physical force of the uniformed armies of the State in the daily definition of the status quo. In 1968 when the Paris students took to the street it was a carnival of bloody riot and lovely posters and the scars are healed and the lovely posters are framed collectors items on many a wealthy and elderly, in the unlovely jargon of the 80s, Frenchperson's wall. There were no lovely posters when the Polish workers forced the Polish State to come to heel for the creative desire to produce pretty things as an end in itself had been destroyed as alien to the welfare, not of the people, but of the State. In the late 1920's the Russian bureaucrats began their campaign to destroy the creative talents of those individuals who could not conform and for the most sensible of reasons in that they were unable to understand what was being created, performed or exhibited, therefore they distrusted those responsible and the sophisticated cosmopolitans became the additional enemies of the State to be and were and are physically destroyed. For any authority in office tradition and message are the key words and comrade if authority endorses your lunatic antics then you have failed. Let us not delude ourselves that we in these small liberal islands are immune for I sat in the French cafe in those long dead days when the Soho fair was plotted and the streets in Soho were full of broken beer glasses, fires burned in the car parks and the enraged police drew their batons but when the State moved in to 'organise' it as a tourist attraction those from the old French cafe who had created the Soho fair were physically man(person)handled off the streets of Soho. So to with the Nottinghill carnival a thing of joy of colour with its undertone of violence wakening to the pounding rhythms of the steel bands and the old cry goes up from the State conform conform and in the "interests of everyone let us hold the carnival in, say, Wembley Stadium and keep out the riff raff" and the answer is do it man do it and let the riff raff again take to the streets come carnival time. The Institute of Contemporary Arts are holding a retrospective exhibition of the works of Sir Roland Penrose and there must be many a well informed ignoramus who could recognise a van Gogh sunflower painting the full length of the university canteen who will ask, should the move move him (her), who is Roland Penrose. Penrose was a creature of the bleak 1930s. A wealthy sophisticated cosmopolitan and a bad painter in his own right. He was a man who one knows it would have been a pleasure to have called a friend. In 1922 he went to live in Paris and moved among the revolutionary cubist art of the period. Here was the man who numbered Breton, Eluard, Max Ernst, Miro, Picasso and Man Ray amongst his friends, and one hopes

lesser breeds within their law but in the bitterness of the aftermath of 1918 when the walking wounded still haunted the pavements and the agony of betrayal was the lynch pin of the culture of the mode the surrealists were the giggle intelligentsia of the butterfly day swanning away the golden hours in their fantasy dream world as cafe revolutionaries against a back cloth of pseudo intellectual jargon and why not for let no one deny the mayfly its brief moments of sunlit pleasure. The surrealists gave the spectators much pleasure and they broke the academic mould of rational subject matter and gave fantasy valid excuse for being until science fiction covers for the American pulp magazines hit the bookstalls. And Roland Penrose was indeed fortunate in his timing to be born and in



ARTHUR MOYSE

**"In my opinion"**

1935 he walked upon water bringing the good news to the peoples of Britain of European surrealism. This man, who can claim to have appeared in Bunuel's film *L'Age d'Or*, and never were the muses gifts more envied, helped organise the first Surrealist Exhibition at the New Burlington Gallery and at the time of the Spanish revolution under the directorship of Mesens they set up the London Gallery, and founded the London Bulletin. In 1947 Penrose co-founded the Institute of Contemporary Art and like the *Malatesta* and the Partisan Coffee House in Soho it was magnificent because they were exciting in themselves and always authority attacked and in the end that authority destroys. Penrose left the ICA and the bitterness of his leaving still makes conversation as to who put the knife into who and who is to

write the "truth" about it. I admire and envy Roland Penrose for without such men or women such as he, art dies.

One listens to the stories of the mysterious Porridge of the take over ruling body of the Dover Street ICA and one goes across London to Mrs Moreland's flat to sit with John Sherkey to record one small and unimportant contribution to the story of the I.C.A. When John Sherkey and Gustav Metzger (sic. Gustav) sat in the dock at the Old Bailey for organizing the ICA exhibition *Violence in Art* and every contributing artist had, almost without exception taken to the hills I could look across from the small court press seats and admire Roland Penrose and Mrs Moreland giving moral support to the two men in the dock by daily sitting there in the body of the court. I would hold that the Establishment has served Roland Penrose less than fairly. His exhibition of his own work with the ICA now in the royal Mall has been almost ignored. True he has a magpie talent that simply reflects the work and style of other artists. Nearly half a century ago the respected critic Raymond Mortimer, and who in God's name dare to claim that they give anyone their respect, dismissed surrealism by writing that "If a man cannot paint a good picture, he had better paint an odd or amusing one." and most surely this was the one gift that the surrealist movement gave to the non geniuses of this sad world, the ability to express oneself in print, prose, paint, sculpture or acting without the authoritarian academic demanding conformity. The State honours and the State destroys. Penrose received his knight

hood and silence from the Establishment. Only Herbert Read with his minutiae of poetic talent appeared to me to have had the best of both worlds. One of nature's committee men who always addressed his audiences in the flat single level tone of the informed pedantic academic he took his dollar handout from the ultra rich art patron Peggy Guggenheim and became Herbert the book publishing director and let the State set-up a committee to organize our thought then Herbert Read had an honoured seat at the square table. The State honoured Roland Penrose and Herbert Read because they did not fear them and they gave each man his knighthood. Penrose is not a political animal and no man or woman can decry him for taking the bauble but Herbert Read the literary anarchist accepted his knighthood from the State and it was given because the State neither believed his stance on anarchism nor feared it. They took Tony Blunt's knighthood away from him because they feared the old man and they gave Read the "anarchist" his because the State were indifferent to his drawing room vapours and I would hold that in the history of our times Blunt has proved the better man so be it. There are those who see their libertarian values as no more than a protest against any infringement of their own personal well being and in their approach to the world beyond their own self interest proclaim, nay practice, the same selfish bourgeois attitudes. I have little use for the self proclaiming anarchist Herbert Read, and if he were alive today he could rightly say and fuck you too, but I admire and envy Roland Penrose the sophisticated cosmopolitan who, in his own self interest, extended the areas of communication and of our freedoms. At the plush new Anthony d'Offay gallery in Mayfair is an exhibition of the work of Joseph Beuys the Dusseldorf candidate for the Green (Ecology) Party. It is no more than seven strips of felt lying the full length of the gallery. He is the lad who stuck sticking plaster in and on his bath-tub and added a large lump of vaseline and sold the 'work' for £30,000. The art collector lost out while the bath was stored in a castle the local politicians used it to keep their beer cool. The art collector is still sulking but comrades applaud Penrose, Beuys and beer swilling politicians for without them art is as dead as the marble angel on the tomb and the rotting corpse beneath.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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#### REVIEW

# melmoth

Though it is more than half a century since the surrealists set out to chart the landscape of the imagination the quest is one which still attracts new crusaders. The new surrealists are plagued by many doubts, but, as evidence of their basic confidence, yet another group has launched a magazine: Melmoth.

The first issue carries 26 double column pages and challenges readers to 'rally round to provide new horizons for surrealist endeavour'; it includes a good deal of eroticism some translated poetry (which I find wilfully obscure), and the inevitable problems of reproducing half-true illustrations in offset litho. Those of us who have suffered the agonies of starting and producing a 'little magazine' will nevertheless applaud the Melmoth staff for having produced a magazine with visual interest (I particularly like the sculptural drawings of Tony Pusey) and a sufficient degree of intelligibility for the non-specialist (this last being consistent with Melmoth's theme of creative involvement - 'Poetry must be made by all', and 'those who understand it are as much authors as those who write it').

Every crusader must have his devil. The indications are that Melmoth identifies as its enemy a temptation lurking in all of us to yield to some external authority; to act upon the principles of some unbending theory; to be, in a word, passive. The corresponding virtues may constitute Melmoth's desiderata: spontaneity, and 'an overwhelming sense of anarchy'.

S. C.

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