

## 'Two, Three or Many Vietnams'

THIS WEEKEND sees the CND celebrating their sad Easter ceremonial. This year, the slogan is 'Make it One World in Peace'. Alas, it is all too obvious that peace is not yet to be and a world in pieces is a more obvious rejoinder.

When CND first started it was a widely popular movement with a good, valid case which everyone could accept, except the statesmen of the world. It was calling attention to the danger of nuclear weapons. Now even Lord Louis Mountbatten thinks it a not unreasonable idea. When an idea comes to being accepted so generally it is obviously time to move on to something more revolutionary, and even less acceptable. The Committee of 100 tried by means of direct action to galvanize the corpse of

nuclear protest but it never really made it. It left a heritage of anarchist ideas, of direct action, of confrontation with the police which may seem by some to have been squandered by the legates—those newspaper archetypes, the hippies and the student-protesters.

There was one snag, the *apparatus*—the institution of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—had been set up and has refused, as institutions do, to die when its mission has been accomplished. Their purpose confused and their personnel changed and discouraged, CND lurched into vague peace-making with forays into opposing the Vietnam war. This made it an easy prey to those political opportunists, be they Maoists, Trotskyists, Sta-

linists, Communists or just Young Liberals who would hitch-hike their way to political power.

Undoubtedly CND contains many sincere idealists, convinced humanitarians, and dedicated pacifists as well as some confused peace-lovers. This 'stage army of the good' is always available to trot or march on to the scene when an expression of the peace-loving democratic will is required.

Vietnam provided the occasion. It became obvious, even to world statesmen, that when nuclear weapons revealed themselves as dangerous toys, only to be kept as threats, and only to be used by accident or under extreme provocation, the only kind of safe war was a war on somebody else's territory. Therefore quite obviously, having regard to the risk involved, it had to be in an underdeveloped country. The puppet-wars of the post-1945 'peace' have all been manipulated by the three great powers, America, Russia and latterly China. They have been wars looking for somewhere to happen.

America and Russia seem to have made their peace largely because they have settled their spheres of influence. Europe for Russia, Asia for America. The balance of power has teetered with the entry of China on to the list of world powers and she, by her possession of a bomb, has qualified for admission to the club. This she has been denied.

The rise of China to revolutionary power, as yet unblemished by the bourgeois compromises of the Russians, has nurtured a new generation of revolutionaries (who look and act suspiciously like the old) who turn to China for example and precept. In their turn they have built up a new Valhalla of revolutionary heroes taking their inspira-

tion from the nationalist guerilla peasant leaders and their 'liberating' missions. Even China's acquisition of the bomb was hailed by Dr. Malcolm Caldwell as 'the peasants' bomb'.

The Vietnam war was diagnosed as 'a struggle for national liberation from American imperialism' and as the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people. Between these upper and nether millstones of the Vietcong and the American advisers, the Vietnamese people have been crushed.

Not that victory came for either side. Now, after licking their wounds, both sides in the Vietnam war have decided that victory is impossible (as with the Korean war) and have decided to move the war into Laos, Cambodia or Thailand—

or perhaps all three.

One of the revolutionary heroes of the left, Che Guevara, said, 'What a luminous, near future would be visible to us if two, three or many Vietnams flourished throughout the world.' He was, of course, welcoming nationalist uprisings as giving opportunities for a communist (people's) revolt. This is, of course, the theory of increasing misery. The vain hope that a revolution will arise out of a war, that a revolutionary government can arise from bourgeois nationalism, or that freedom can arise from any government, come to that.

Chenoweth now has the prospect of seeing (from Valhalla) two, three or many Vietnams. Will mankind survive them? JACK ROBINSON.

## Docks: A Lesson to other Workers

DOCKERS IN THE Port of London are enjoying the last laugh. Their 'blackmail' methods paid off and they accepted a vastly improved pay offer by not backing down in the face of opposition from the press and television. They refused to operate new methods at certain berths which can operate under vastly reduced manning until ALL dockers were guaranteed a security wage. The employers had tried to split the men by offering much higher wages to the men who operated modern methods but not making any reasonable offer to the others.

The men stuck together and banned any new deals with reduced manning. When Overseas Containers Limited wanted to start their container service to Australia a year ago they were prevented as a result from using Tilbury.

Predictably the employers, television and press squealed 'blackmail' and attacked the dockers for being stubborn, opposing progress and all the usual anti-worker propaganda. When OCL moved their service to Rotterdam and Antwerp it was not them but the workers who were supposed to be unpatriotic and ignoring the national interest.

But the workers stuck to their guns and in under a year the employers have been forced to reluctantly improve their offer tremendously. Less than a year ago they offered the normal docker a basic wage of £21 5s. plus bonus payments tied to productivity which could bring this up to £31 17s. 6d. Last week the dockers accepted a basic of £34 10s., with no strings attached, plus ten shillings for each day worked on the ship (instead of the quay).

It is still not a lot compared with some of the profits being made by the companies that run the container services (P & O Steam Navigation alone made a net profit of £12,642,000 last year and shareholders got a 12 per cent dividend). But it is a lot more than

originally offered.

In fact it was the employers' third 'final' offer.

In return the dockers have agreed to abolish piecework earnings, work a two-shift system and allow far more mobility of labour.

The lessons to other workers, who are probably paid less, are clear. Stick together and don't accept bribes offered to a small percentage of workers, don't be deterred by the biased mass media and ignore the term 'final' offer if it is not good enough.

PORTWORKER.

## In Praise of Anarchy

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD the crisis of authority continues to deepen. American youth dodges the draft in their thousands, while underground papers in the US forces are up in the hundreds. Nanterre is in ferment again, unable to find a dean for its faculty of letters who doesn't demand police protection as a condition for the job! In a dozen British universities and art schools sit-ins, protests, demonstrations, the drive for more say in the running of the universities, continue. London Airport is threatened with complete shutdown as a result of a firemen's strike, while Clive

Jenkins rocks the boat with opposition to airline merger and the people who live around the Airport are planning direct action to prevent Sunday flying, because they are fed up with the noise. Even policemen are demanding a change in the rule that forbids them striking (!), while Catholic priests want release from celibacy and lay Catholics in their millions disobey the Pope on the Pill. When not only students and pupils, but their teachers too take to direct action, it is not surprising that industrial workers are not only pushing up wage claims to highest-ever levels, but are demanding more and more control of their places of work.

### BOSSSES' ALARM

Although this may fall very far short of what anarchists demand, the signs are enough to alarm the bosses. In the House of Commons last Thursday, during the discussion on the new 'controversial' Ports Bill, Tory MP Edward Taylor spoke about the 'fantastic increase in the movement for more worker control of industry', which, he maintained, 'had led to a major clash between the traditionalists and the Maoist faction'.

Never a week passes but some industrialist refers to 'anarchy' on the shop floor, and last Tuesday's London *Evening Standard's* placards proclaimed 'Mr. Wilson alarmed by strikes'.

And well he may be alarmed by strikes. For they are the tip of the iceberg of dissatisfaction spread right through society—right through the world. The only countries where protest and demonstration is not the norm today are the openly totalitarian countries, like Spain, Greece, the Communist bloc, Portugal, South Africa. In these dictatorships, the world knows, public 'order' is maintained only by the ever-present, ever-visible, armed police, backing up total censorship and state control of the media. Yet even under these conditions of state terror, protests do occur. In Madrid Spanish students risk imprisonment; in the Asturias, miners likewise—with the added possibility of torture. Although the CIA has done its dirty work in Greece—and tried it on in Italy, but failed—underground the struggle goes on and may surface sooner than they think; in Portugal and South Africa they are biding their time, and we all

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LIKE IT OR NOT we shall have to learn to live with it for it will announce the end of the ITV television programmes, fill the screens of our cinemas as we tread our way between the empty ice-cream cartons that mine the way to the exits, and take its place on the walls of uncountable and unmentionable Government offices. It is the portrait of the Queen by Annigoni and led by the John the Baptist of the critics, Terence Mullaly, the critics of the established press finally worked up sufficient courage to boo it.

Annigoni is a fashionable painter who was long ago dismissed by these columns as a fair second-rate painter but he has a cheerful flamboyant style, a feeling for theatrical presentation and sense enough to turn his limited talents to the sensuous light-filled world of Botticelli and those who could afford his price bought a passable *pastiche* of themselves as Renaissance creatures of quality and quantity. One does not challenge this for people get, in theory, what they pay for and if the Queen's painting as a work of art is valueless then it is the gallery's loss and Annigoni's gain.

Fifteen years ago Annigoni painted a portrait of the Queen that, despite its artificiality, had a sentimental charm for in the drab world of Carnaby Street Art Nouveau posters he gave a contemporary version of a Virgin Mary that found a welcomed place with Mother's Day cards, re-runs of Disney Silly Symphonies and Doris Day films. But this 1970 portrait of the Queen by Annigoni is a disgraceful painting in that the only way that we can stand in judgement on the third-rate is by the artist's own standards and by his own standards Annigoni has

# REGINA REJECTED

sold us a painting in which sheer craft indifference and incompetence appear to fight for winning places. The face, as in all his work, has the usual photographic likeness but it would appear that the paint of the flesh tints has been applied so thinly that the dirty grey of the canvas seeps through. What should be the Queen's hair appears to be nothing but a badly defined cap while the cords that hold her robe are so casually and crudely painted that they end as mere streaks of paint against a textureless cape and the hand within its fold is but a coloured sketch.

It is with the large decoration that the Queen wears on her left breast that Annigoni signals his apparent indifference to his craft. While the face is a mask of photographic realism this large decoration is a painted daub that can only be identified by virtue of our public knowledge of the subject matter. Lazy slapdash work that should never have been accepted by the National Portrait Gallery (Trafalgar Square). The Royal family no longer have political power but they will exist as long as the class that holds political power have a use for them and that most treacherous of classes, the middle class, will use them and betray them as they have always done. Any official portrait should in truth reflect not a Renaissance idealisation of abso-

lute authority one step lower than the angels but those solid middle-class black virtues that the Queen was bred to represent. This has been done so many times within our lifetime by painters who have been rejected as colourless academics that those who jeered at the paintings as paintings of the Royal family surrounded by their Corgi dogs, their tweeds and their Tottenham Court Road Heal's furniture, failed to realize that this is the background of the class who maintain them in their unwelcomed office and history will reject the rubbish of Annigoni for these true records of our age. Good solid bourgeois morality still hooked onto their golden haze of the nineteen-thirties with five men for one job, Irish maid o' all works, the Special Constable armband from the General Strike and the General Service Medal from World War One.

Let us not delude ourselves that Thomas Hobbes' 17th century cry for a return to absolute political power in the keeping of an absolute monarch is now outmoded or that the Malthusian inhuman doctrine does not now have its vocal and powerful exponents for this is surely the message of Enoch Powell as the drummer of the new social morality and, when you gaze on this portrait of the Queen by Annigoni, listen to the winds of hate for it is the message of

are more and more people listening and its end is Thomas Hobbes' demand for absolute power with a puppet figure of tinted royalty to gloss over its evils.

Rubens' portrait of Henry IV may be a joke as subject matter and Boucher's *Madame Bergeret* pure and lovely decorative fantasy yet we accept them as brilliant paintings, but it is in the work of Holbein with his portrait of the Burgomaster Meyer, or Raphael's portrait of Pope Julius II that we seek and find that true marriage of truth and art. We shall remember Henry VIII by a single Holbein painting though a thousand dons pen a thousand volumes; we know Elizabeth I and her age through the paintings of Nicholas Hilliard and Elizabeth II has been ill-served by a fashionable hack too lazy to earn his salt and those officials of our National Gallery who fell victim to his shallow reputation and hired him.

Who or how the artist paints is a matter between himself and his own conscience for we all in our daily living prostitute our small talents and our small strengths, but if any man stands forth to speak for us and our age then we have a right to publicly disassociate ourselves. The artist is the illustrator of history and it is his brush that illuminates the bleak printed pages. Don't claim that the portrait of Elizabeth II now on view at the National Portrait Gallery does not concern you, little comrade, for after due examination the middle class have now accepted it as a true mirror of our age. Examine it and think on it the next time that Enoch Powell spells out in his gritty clerk's voice a demand for new authoritarian anti-humanist society and remember that as the audience who accept this painting swells so does Enoch Powell's supporters. ARTHUR MOYSE.

## Praise of Anarchy

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know what can happen in the Eastern European states, while even in Mother Russia itself, non-conformist youth, widespread drunkenness, rebellious writers and failure to reach industrial targets are indications of dissatisfactions and doubts which the state may be able to resolve only by conflict with China.

### THE CHALLENGE

What does it all add up to? It adds up to the first prerequisite for anarchism: disobedience. The challenge to authority itself. When Catholics and Communists both show discomfort under their different yokes; when workers and blacks throw off their conditioning for inferiority and assert their dignity—even if it is done crudely and with limited concepts—still it is the fact that it is done at all that is important and encouraging. When students in fascist, communist and 'democratic' countries make identical protest for identical aims and when simple, uneducated folk are no longer dominated by the priest—here is the unifying factor, the yearning for freedom.

No wonder we hear rumblings from the authoritarian right and left about 'Law and Order'. No wonder the democracies look enviously at the dictatorships and wish they could have it the same. No wonder they seek to terrify the bourgeoisie with their cry of 'ANARCHY'—for this is the one word that really means the end of it all.

The end of exploitation; the end of war; the end of spying and lying and deceiving; the end of legal fiddles and privilege and power; the end of religious humbug and moral castration; the end of an education system more like stuffing a goose to get the liver paté than the path to human potential; the end of the rat-race; the end of irresponsibility, of profit-taking and pollution; the end of fear; the end of murderous power. This is why your actual politicians and priests hate the very word ANARCHY. It's the end of their power over you.

Anarchy is workers' control. Anarchy is social responsibility. Anarchy is truth and love. Anarchy is abundance and satisfaction—free access to all you need in life. Anarchy is using technology to make everybody happy, not to make a few rich. Anarchy is a clean world for our kids, not a pustulating crust. Anarchy is human beings in harmony—black, white, yellow, brown, equal in the sight of each other. *Anarchy is freedom.* Anarchy is for you and me. And anarchy is for NOW.

JUSTIN.

## A Fair Cop

THE TRIAL BEGAN at 12.30, the first prosecution witness was PC Donaldson, who gave evidence that he had been tripped and that while pinned down by others in a general collapse he was kicked, causing him to lose consciousness. The next witness, a police constable from Markinch, Fife, gave a well detailed account of the incident in a firm confident voice. He also described how the culprit had escaped into the crowd, reappearing about 30 feet up the terracing. My heart sank, it seemed impossible to doubt that this man was telling the truth. He had watched the man, who appeared to be stirring up the crowd, but had been unable to get close enough to arrest the man. The Procurator Fiscal (PF) asked whether that man was the policeman looked coolly at me (I felt sick) and then at the public who were watching.

'No,' he replied. I could not believe my ears.

PF: 'Are you sure?' The judge looked very interested, the clerk of the court was surprised, Mr. More, my lawyer, was rigid, and the PF was bewildered.

PC McHardy, after a quick glance

around the court, 'Yes.'

The PF carried on in desperation and succeeded in finding that PC McHardy had seen me at the match, just standing around.

The next two policemen had nothing to add really. The last two policemen

were those who had arrested me, and swore that they had seen me kicking Donaldson.

The defence case was mainly that I, and my witnesses, had not come into the match until the second half, after the incident. The PF tried to prove that we were extreme socialists, but he was probably out of his depth. He lost all his cases that day!

In his summing up the PF tried to misrepresent the evidence, but was corrected

several times by the sheriff, who concluded that it was a difficult case, for either I and my witnesses (and PC McHardy) were lying, or those two policemen who arrested me were lying. In view of the conflicting police evidence there was reasonable doubt in his mind, and clearly he had to find me Not Guilty. In Scotland, as many will know, there is a third verdict, Not Proven, which is often used as a police face-saver, in fact almost invariably.

BOB TURNBULL.

## The Sins of the Fathers

SEQUELS ARE never very satisfying. They are all too often an attempt to cash in on the success of the previous volume with the ready-made market already created. I reviewed the previous volume in this series in April 1961; I learn it sold seven million copies which is less than the *Valley of the Dolls* or *Peyton Place*, or the works of Lenin or Chairman Mao.

The authors—for this, it appears, is a collective anonymous work—have resorted to the device of making their

second book pre-date their first. This is, as it were, *Father of Lassie* instead of *Son of Lassie*. The authors have apparently realized the potentialities of the background created in their previous work and have gone in for the Cinerama approach—it is known that Hollywood has already made several films based upon the material in this book—or is it that the authors have drawn upon the Hollywood formulae?

The 'beatnik with delusions of grandeur' who is the anti-hero of the first

volume does not appear in this volume; it is his father who is the key figure in this fore-sight saga. And what a father! The whole volume is jam-packed with sex and violence. The sex runs the whole gamut of Krafft-Ebbing and the violence is of the most sickening kind.

The politically aware may detect Zionist propaganda in the work and the violence and much of the chicanery takes place because of the necessity of *real-politik*. There is much fascinating background of the incredible history of the Hebrew people, their harsh laws and curious customs. The book has vivid poetical passages compared by some to D. H. Lawrence. But has not the

time come to call a halt to the exploitation of sex and violence? One knows that the Sodom and Gomorrah and the Noah's Ark incidents show that Crime Does Not Pay, but is not the description of 'crime' paying high royalties?

W. H. Smith's should not stock this book whatever it is.

JACK SPRATT.



All correspondence to  
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, BLACK KNIGHT GROUP, 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesdays.  
**LAVERNE HILL.** Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).  
**LEWISHAM.** Jon Raimes, 12 Oakcroft Road, S.E.13 (852 0951).  
**PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.  
**FINCH'S ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings. Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11.  
**BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** Steve Lemman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.  
**S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS.** Meeting alternate Wednesdays. Correspondence c/o Freedom Press.  
**NOTTING HILL S.P.S.H.,** 18 Powis Square, W.11.  
**NEWHAM.** Pat Keen, 98 Clova Road, London, E.7.  
**LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION.** Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.

**EAST LONDON UNDERGROUND**  
Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11.

**REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS**  
Mondays, 7.30 p.m., at Flat 10, Chessington Lodge, Regents Park Road, N.3.  
Tuesdays, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 84B Whitechapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

**REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS**  
**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park,

Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row.  
**BOURNEMOUTH AREA.** Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.  
**CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.  
**PEACE ACTION.** Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peace Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth, Hants.  
**CROYDON LIBERTARIANS.** Laurens and Celia Ouer, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH (653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297.  
**EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Contact Mervyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.  
**FARNBOROUGH.** 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel: Farnborough 43811.  
**HERTS.** Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.  
**LANCASTER.** John King, 4 The Grove, Lancaster.  
**LEICESTER.** Contact Di and A. Humphrey, 74 High Street, Leicester (Leicester 22046).  
**MUTUAL AID GROUP.** c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.  
**NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.** Terry Phillips, 40 Grosvenor Way, Kettering, Northants.  
**NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne 6.  
**NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.  
**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.  
**PORTSMOUTH.** Ken Bowbrick, 26 Hambledon House, Landport, Portsmouth, Hants.  
**READING.** 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday.

**SOUTHALL.** Dave Smith, 102 Abbots Road, Southall.  
**TAUNTON.** c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.  
**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel: 552 4162.

**ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION**

**NORTH ESSEX.** Write: Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester.  
**BASILDON & WICKFORD.** Mick Powell, 24 Cameron Close, Brentwood, Essex.  
**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.  
**CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purliegh, Chelmsford, Essex.  
**EPPING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.  
**HARLOW.** Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.  
**LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

**NORTH-WEST FEDERATION**

Secretary: Phil, 7 Trinity Square, Preston.  
**BLACKPOOL.** Contact Christine and Graham, 2 Fenner Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool.  
**BOLTON.** Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.  
**CHORLEY.** Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.  
**LANCASTER & MORECAMBE.** Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster, Lancs. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., 'Phil Woodhead's', 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.  
**MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS.** Contact Rachel Golditch, 34 Waterpark Road, Salford, Lancs. (740 2516).  
**PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.  
**STOCKPORT.** Dave Crowther, 4 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

**SURREY FEDERATION**

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

**SUSSEX FEDERATION**  
Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o

Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.  
**BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP TOWN & UNIVERSITY.** Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.  
**MID-SUSSEX.** Contact Adrian Howe, 10 Silverdale, Keyner, Hassocks, Sussex. Tel: Hassocks 3458.  
**CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.  
**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP** (see details under Student Groups).

**YORKSHIRE FEDERATION**

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group.  
**HARROGATE.** Contact Roger Willis, 22 Princess Avenue, Knaresborough, Yorks.  
**HULL:** Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.  
**KEIGHLEY:** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.  
**LEDS GROUP.** Contact Martin Watkins, 3 Marlborough Grove, Leeds 2.  
**SHEFFIELD:** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. C. Wood, 63 Gloucester Road, Sheffield.  
**YORK.** Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

**WELSH FEDERATION**

**ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS.** J. Smith, Nanteos Mans, Aberystwyth, Cards. Bobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Laure Place, Aberystwyth, Cards.  
**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.  
**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea.  
**TAUNTON.** Contact Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.  
**YORK.** Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.  
**LSE.** St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

**SCOTTISH FEDERATION**

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.  
**ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS & SYNDICALISTS.** Contact Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Regular 'Freedom' Sale, leafletting, etc. Visiting comrades welcome.  
**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.  
**EDINBURGH.** Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.  
**HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Laton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.  
**FIFE.** Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.  
**MONTROSE.** Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.

**ROSS-SHIRE.** Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

**NORTHERN IRELAND**  
**BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** No address available. Letters c/o Freedom Press.

**SOUTHERN IRELAND**  
**ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND.** c/o Freedom Press.

**IRISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Correspondence Liam O'Duibhir, 3 Gowrie Park, Dunspiondenne Liam O'Duibhir, 3 Gowrie Park, Dun Laoghaire. Meetings Sundays, 3.30 p.m., 20 College Lane, Dublin.

**STUDENT GROUPS**

**LOUGHTON.** c/o Students Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.  
**UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX.** Contact Andrew Chalk, William Morris Tower, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex.  
**KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Pete Hannah, c/o Students Union, University of Keele, Staffs.  
**OXFORD ANARCHISTS.** Contact John Nygate, New College, Oxford; Steve Watts, Trinity College, Oxford.  
**SWANSEA.** Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea.  
**TAUNTON.** Contact Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.  
**YORK.** Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.  
**LSE.** St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

**ABROAD**

**AUSTRALIA.** Federation of Australian Anarchists, c/o Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000.

**BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivienne, Liège.

**PROPOSED GROUPS**

**MONTREAL, QUEBEC.** Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler, Tel. 489-6432.

**VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group.** Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage.

**NOTTINGHAM and area.** Contact Dave Smalley, top flat, 43 Burns Street, Nottingham, or through folk club at the Central Tavern, Monday nights.

**NOVA SCOTIA.** P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office, Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

**ANARCHISTS**, and a few 'marxists', look at modern war differently from other people. We argue that war between states is largely caused by the struggles of various national ruling, capitalist, classes over trade, trade routes, spheres of profitable investment and such natural resources as tungsten and oil. Nigeria was a glaring example of the struggle between Britain, France and Russia over oil. Vietnam is another example of the conflict between robber-states over mineral rights and spheres of profitable investment and exploitation. The peasants of Vietnam and the young American (mostly working-class) draftees are the victims.

Of course, the workers of America, the workers and peasants of Vietnam—North and South—and, indeed, the workers of the world have no material stake in such struggles and armed conflicts. Nor should they support one side or the other, despite the claims of the Pentagon, the Kremlin or the silly little Trotskyist and Maoist groups here and abroad who so loudly shout for 'Victory to the Vietcong'. Workers have no country, and have nothing to be patriotic about; they are, to all intents and purposes, entirely or almost entirely propertyless. They should oppose, not just the murders of 'innocent babies' in My Lai, or just the war in Vietnam, but all wars between states.

The present series of outrages and

# 'MURDER IN VIETNAM'

alleged outrages, and crimes now coming to light, are really part of a far greater outrage—that of world capitalism itself. War is just one (albeit the most destructive) aspect of present-day society. And the massacres at My Lai are only an aspect of modern warfare. Furthermore, American imperialism is not alone in committing such atrocities. Such acts of barbarism have been committed by all states—and not only during war. At least that half-demented nut, George Brown, was right when he said that 'we' have been responsible for similar outrages.

Surprisingly, however, whilst many people are shocked at the news of massacres of 'innocent babies' or peasants in Vietnam, or of starving Biafrans, or even of police brutality in, say, Paris or Derry, they have become conditioned to the more subtle, but usually far more devastating, remote-controlled murder of napalm bombing, the 'conventional' bombing of Hanoi (or London, Rotterdam or Dresden in the last war) or even the atom bombing of Hiroshima. Hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of people including 'innocent children', have

been blown to pieces and maimed by bombing raids, and by aircraft many thousand feet above their 'targets'. The American bomber pilot in Vietnam, the former British bomber pilot over Hamburg during the last war, the Luftwaffe pilot over Coventry and the 'Nigerian' Mig bomber pilot over the former territory of Biafra, were all just as much murderers as were the blood-soaked, trigger-happy GIs of My Lai. Yet to the average Englishman, or American, or Russian, such types are looked upon as heroes who receive DSOs, Purple Hearts or Orders of Lenin. But, in fact, they are just as depraved, just as sick, just as 'guilty' as the murderers of 'innocent children' in a Vietnamese village.

Moreover, most of the left-wing politicians who scream 'atrocities' over My Lai are equally as hypocritical as the Nixons and the LBJs. They do not object to, or work for the abolition of, the sort of society which causes such atrocities and murders; they often support the state-capitalist bureaucracy of Russia and North Vietnam and they are as much political power-seekers as those they condemn.

No; national liberation, 'Victory to the Vietcong' (also perpetrators of atrocities and their own My Lais), is no answer to the crimes of capitalism and its national states. The only real and lasting solution is the destruction, the abolition, of a system that demands conflicts and struggles over the world's natural resources. The resources of the earth, the means of production, instead of being the private property of individuals or of national states, should become the common heritage of all mankind. Production should be geared for use instead of for profit. And states should, as Engels once noted, be relegated to the museum of antiquities. Then, and only then, will such atrocities as My Lai—and Coventry or Dresden—be a thing of the past. Reliance on politicians or political parties, of left or right, will never achieve such a change, such a revolution. That must be the task of the people as a whole. In the words of the Preamble of the 1st International: 'The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself'.

P.

## STRIKES FOR POLITICAL ENDS

**RECENT EVENTS** at London's Heathrow Airport and the one-day strike by dockers have been attacked as being strikes for political ends. Those loudest in their attacks are, of course, the politicians, for all party spokesmen have condemned these disputes, while Richard Marsh even went as far as saying that the action of the dockers was a 'complete negation of democracy'. The action by the airport workers in 'blacking' the airlines who use the services of General Aviation Services has been similarly described.

Mr. Clive Jenkins of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs has threatened to call out his members if British United Airways is not taken over by BOAC. These actions are called political and, according to the politicians, these decisions regarding nationalisation should be taken by them alone. Mr. Marsh's remarks show an arrogance and a contempt for workers who want to be involved in the decisions which will affect their lives. This is broadly what most people understand as democracy as opposed to letting Mr. Marsh hand down what he and the Government think is good enough.

But it is easy to understand why there has been so much condemnation of these disputes since they represent a challenge to the power of the Government. Opposition MPs similarly see where the real power in our society lies, and are anxious that when workers decide to intervene in an attempt to influence changes, it will be in such a way that it will suit the Opposition's interests. There was no similar outcry when the Government intervened in industrial affairs, froze wages and set norms and assisted companies with their merger plans. These were not, of course, considered to be political decisions!

The Department of Employment and Productivity is now seeking an official

inquiry into industrial relations at Heathrow, for they are really concerned about the power of those who take action. The firemen's pay dispute is really a side issue and it is just a coincidence that the two disputes came to the surface at the same time. What the British Airports Authority and the Government are concerned with is the growing strength of the airport workers. An earlier Court of Inquiry, in 1958, said: 'BOAC held the actions of the local Stewards' Committee accountable for the strike of October, 1958. BOAC said that it was the culmination of a trend over the last six years or more towards increasing unconstitutional interference with normal working.' No doubt the present inquiry will reach the same conclusion.

### 12,000 ATTEND MEETING

The legal action taken by BAA and GAS against Ian Stuart, the chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee, shows how worried they are about the continued 'blacking'. However the response by 12,000 airport workers at Brentford Football Ground shows that they are not prepared to allow GAS, a private American company, to operate a ground handling contract at Heathrow. Freddie Gore, a BEA shop steward, warned GAS to 'Go back from whence you came—you are not going to get in at London Airport'. Shop stewards feel that the servicing contract should have gone to International Aeradio which is partly owned by BOAC and BEA. It is felt that the contract with GAS could bring unemployment, for they could reduce manning schedules. BAA asked BEA to give an assurance that there would be no resulting unemployment, but they refused.

While I would not hold any brief for nationalisation, the airport workers are concerned about 'creeping denationalisation'. After all, the Edwards Report on

Air Transport in the 1970's recommended a privately-owned 'third force', and it is this that these men are resisting. Certainly the Government, by its action over British United Airways, wants such an arrangement.

### GROWING AWARENESS

Nationalisation of Heathrow is a different story from that of the railways, for airlines are an expanding service and profits can be made. Those working there feel that they will get better pay and conditions with nationalisation than with the privately-owned companies and that this is a principle and must be defended as such. However, the issues involved both at the docks and at Heathrow are the growing awareness of how

things are managed, by whom and the amount of control the workers have in their own industries. It shows that workers are increasingly concerned about this control and that there are other issues than the economic one and the general defensive actions over conditions.

Trade unionists have to go on the offensive, for while there is no revolutionary demand for workers' control, workers are being affected more and more by political decisions concerning industry. Government intervention in industrial affairs is so widespread that differences between a political strike and others is only marginal. Organised strength should be used to affect political decisions, for the simple reason that these workers should be making those decisions for themselves. But until workers want and desire that responsibility, then the real decisions will be made for them.

P.T.

## Student Files, etc.

Dear Comrade,

It seems to me that the class struggle is essentially that of those ruled with their rulers. If this is the case, then when students take issue with university authorities they are engaging in the class struggle, as it is relevant to their situation. Indeed, since with sit-ins and the examination of files they are questioning the right of those in authority to have such power, they are challenging the whole social power structure of our society (is this as revolutionary as striking for more pay?).

No militant students were at all surprised by the files, everyone knows that files are kept and will be kept. However, many of the less militant students were rather surprised by the nature of their contents. This has had the effect of raising the level of student militancy, and has concretely shown to many the real nature of our society. If Ian disagrees with the above then I think he should say exactly how students can play their 'vital role' in defeating capitalism. I note that 'it can only be defeated by the conscious and autonomous action of the working class' (Ian's own italics).

Until now most students went into the university at one end holding 'A' levels, did the required work, learned the appropriate responses, and came out at the other end (clutching a degree), just the right size and shape to drop into their

pre-ordained niches in society. These people are the very building bricks, beams and lintels of our society (most of the architects are dead) supporting

## Letters

the existing power structure and without conscious effort resisting change. Indeed the lack of conscious effort is an essential part of their specification, for as soon as people begin to think and act on their own account they are out of control. What will our society look like when the component parts arrange themselves according to their own pleasure and needs?

As the students at our universities gain more control of their courses and conditions, and study what they feel they have to, then they will, in effect, write their own specifications, and they will come out of university with minds of their own, really able to initiate action and to determine their own roles.

Fraternally,

BOB TURNBULL.

## Floodgates of Anarchy

Dear Editors,

Dave Poulson, in his review of 'The Floodgates of Anarchy' is, of course, entitled to his own opinion as to what constitutes 'good English and good sense' but it is hard to take him seriously when the one instance he puts forward as typical of their lack is 'man is robbed of the full value of his labour'.

The most one could say of this was that it was not good Marxism or good (orthodox) economics, but it does not profess to be. Dave is assuming Marx's criterion of surplus value to be the only conceivable one, but he is not entitled to state that we meant to say that man was deprived of 'part' of his labour—our point in the book was that he was

deprived of the full part of his labour by right of conquest, and is expected to be grateful for what he receives back, by way of reward, from the employer or the State—in the token currency of the State, which is the key to material success, not the degree of one's labour.

As to the somewhat reactionary suggestion of 'leaving sociology to the sociologists'—or theology to the parsons?—with many indoctrinated students of sociology and economics it is necessary to preface one's remarks with a sort of magic incantation—such as 'According to Galbraith' or 'Keynesian economists insist'—before one can be expected to be taken seriously.

London

STUART CHRISTIE.  
ALBERT MELTZER.



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## Form Local Groups

Dear Comrades,

At the film show and meeting organised by the Chemical and Biological Warfare Action Group (CABWAG) at Central Hall, Westminster, on February 4, it was suggested that local CABWAG groups should be set up.

The last thing I want to do at the moment is to take on any further responsibilities, but I am willing to convene a meeting in the Waltham Forest area (Chingford, Walthamstow, Leyton, Leytonstone) or in the near vicinity to try and get a local group of CABWAG formed.

Anybody who is concerned about the possibility of genocide by germs and chemicals for war and live in East London are asked to get in touch with me.

With best wishes,

21 Vernon Road, DOUGLAS KEPPEL.  
Leytonstone, London, E.11

## CLYDESIDE SACKINGS

**THE** Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) have announced that one-third (3,500) of the labour force will be made redundant by the end of August this year. This is part of the employers' programme for increased productivity and sackings that has been going on since the UCS was formed in 1968. This latest announcement puts the Geddes plan into full swing; 2,500 finishing trade workers and 1,000 boilermakers, including 60% of the office staff will be laid off, despite the company having a full order book.

It wasn't that long ago that Bro. Dan McGarvey, the Boilermakers' President, got his members to accept his plan to save the shipyards. Some plan indeed! 5d. an hour cut in wages for 2,000 men in UCS's Govan (Fairfields) Division; to refuse a 6/- a week increase due in December 1969 to all boilermakers in the UCS; to accept, in principle, three-shift working by setting up a monitoring committee on productivity.

McGarvey is now saying, 'We bent over backwards to help the company and this is how they repay us.' What McGarvey has done was give his appro-

val for the rationalization of the shipyards along the lines of the Geddes Report. Last year the labour force was cut from 14,000 to 12,500 as part of the management's plan.

But this isn't only taking place within the UCS, there are similar moves taking place all over the shipbuilding industry. For instance at Cammell Laird's on the Mersey, the company has hinted that 3,000 workers might lose their jobs by mid-1970, despite an order book going into 1972.

The Clydeside is the experimental ground for the Geddes plan where all these new fangled productivity schemes are being tried out. Today it is the Clydeside; tomorrow it will be Merseyside, Tyne-side, etc. Let the Clydeside be a lesson to the rest of the workers in the shipbuilding industry to make them realise that this is a fight between the employers and the workers. The workers have been kicked in the teeth by the employers and the McGarveys; now the workers must kick back.

Latest news: Boilermakers will strike if any members are sacked.

A. MCGOWAN.

# ABERDEEN

## Threatened Rents Increase

**P**OOOR ABERDEEN CITY Labour Party! Not only were they having an awful job deciding on what to say about council house rents in their local election manifesto, but their annual general meeting (thoroughly undemocratic it was too) had been infiltrated—by a member of Aberdeen Anarchists!

When it was proposed, by Mark Bush, Labour councillor for Woodside ward, that the manifesto should clearly state

that the Labour Party was opposed to an increase, the rest of the Labour councillors present nearly had a fit. The reason why? They admit that they will impose a rents increase in July. When the sum of 5/- was mentioned at the meeting, they failed to confirm or deny that such would be the increase.

Members of Aberdeen Anarchists will shortly get out brush and bucket, and will be putting down slogans all over the

city's housing estates. 'Rents up 5/- on July 28—don't vote—organise!' We have warned other left-wing groups in the city about the Labour Party's little post-election secret and we will be advocating industrial action against the increases.

One really nasty point about the new increase is that no adjustment will be made to the rents rebate scheme. The councillors at the AGM expressed the hope that the Ministry of Social Security will see poor people all right for the 5/-. They know, and we know, this is shit. Trying to get money out of the Social

Security is like trying to get blood out of a stone.

We are well aware that agitation on the rents issue could cost Labour the local election. If the other 'left' groups in Aberdeen won't push the issue, we will. A neat illustration of how much Aberdeen Labour Party care for the people came the other day when the council voted £645 to send councillors and officials on a jaunt to Finland and voted £50 to give poor kids horse riding lessons. Like, we dig the priorities? Fellow citizens of Aberdeen, stand up and fight!

## Invasion Threat

**A**FTER ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS organised a meeting in the university to discuss the case of 72-year-old Jimmy White, of 34 Kintore Place, Aberdeen, we sent out letters to every councillor (via the Town Clerk). Since the letters have been sent, the council has met twice—once in full session and once as the housing committee.

At neither meeting was the plight of the old man discussed. While the councillors prevaricate, slates continue to slide off the rotting roof. One was found embedded two inches in the ground—edge on. It could have been in someone's head.

Bob Hughes—Ferryhill councillor and Labour candidate for Parliament—dodged phone calls from the University Chaplain (who is helping our fight to rehouse Jimmy) for over two weeks.

He has finally said that they are instructing the Chief Sanitary Inspector to visit the tenement and to make a full report on its condition. We still maintain that this is *evasive*; still no mention has been made of a new council house for Jimmy.

Unless a firm offer of a house has been received from the council by first post on April 16, we intend to interrupt the full council meeting being held that day—and thus force them to discuss the case. We call on all members of revolutionary groups in Aberdeen—along with any concerned citizens—to join us.

For two years we've played it 'respectable'; played the council's game—now we'll play it our way! Direct Action gets results!

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

## Beware - Liberal Reformers

**S**OME HUNDRED or more of the more self-consciously liberal-minded among the teaching profession met together in the School of Education of the University of London on Saturday, March 7, for a conference organised by STOPP (Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment).

That children should no longer be beaten to make them produce 'socially acceptable behaviour' was taken as understood, for, as the first speaker (a psychologist) enigmatically phrased it, 'use of corporal punishment produces emotional changes in the child which are both aesthetically unacceptable and incompatible with intellectual progress'.

The impasse created by the avoidance of the cane need no longer cause the establishment any disquiet, it seems—for exactly the same conformity can be exacted from the child by the substitution of the bloodless 'reward' method. This latter is already being used in the classroom, we were told, but 'could be better exploited than at present'. The transition from Ancient to Modern can, moreover, be effected in a manner that in no way need alter the status quo. In fact teachers can train the child in the reward system while still using established punishment patterns.

This first lecture set the tone for the meeting. The second speaker, while recognising that the ideal was to initiate an authentic relationship between the teacher and the child, stated during the course of his talk about the effects of the classroom situation on different personality types that 'discipline' was best considered in its original meaning of 'a subject to be studied'—it can't all be fun. A kind of coercion is needed for

which we need not apologise.

The afternoon was whiled away by means of a 'simulation exercise'—groups of students became 'teacher' to groups of experienced teachers who represented a first-year remedial class. The 'classes' quickly degenerated into total chaos. The order/response notes were later collected and 'analysed' by a group of eight head teachers. The point of this fantasy exercise was difficult to see, unless it was therapy for the guilt-ridden over-dog or to demonstrate the absurdity of the classroom situation current in our schools, but attempts to suggest this were politely ignored by the conference, whose hierarchical structure was at this stage dominated by the eight heads ('who have kindly offered us—and you—their help and experience').

Although the subject of the conference was given as 'Punishment or Persuasion?' it refused even to consider the question of why either is necessary or the possibility that each is equally undesirable. Surely the need for 'control' in the classroom and the teachers' consequent feelings of guilt and betrayal are caused by trying to perpetuate the totally unwarrantable system of interesting/restraining child-prisoners known as compulsory education.

Although STOPP appears to have formulated a radical programme, in fact its title is, sadly, wholly accurate. Physical punishment is unnecessary because children can be controlled more effectively by other means. Persuasion? Propaganda? Indoctrination? Brainwashing? All you need is love—forward Ronnie Laing.

DI & ARTHUR HUMPHREY.

wrong even now. There is no reason why actions of present-day human beings should be morally degraded to the status of means for the sake of other human beings, hypothetical in the best of cases, whose actions, willed by us as ends, would be somehow predetermined and robbed therefore of an element of freedom.

Attitudes and behaviour based on a distinction between ends and means tend to foster the same moral and psychological type of man, whatever his ends may be. That is why alliances are so readily struck between some anarchists and other movements, though their respective principles be incompatible. Moral and psychological differences show up in the choice of means, not of ends. Men who distinguish between ends and means all choose conflict as their psychologically most satisfactory mode of being, and the ends which they profess, all free from conflict, have as one of their functions to stifle the moral conscience and keep guilt at bay.

The socially conscious anarchist is anything but indifferent to what society 'ought' to be, but will never dream of deciding of what it 'must' be. What society is or will be is society's responsibility. He is responsible only for his

own social behaviour. His society is not in the future, but is the one in which he lives, and his anarchism does not consist in the very dubious (thence apocalyptic) future results of his actions, but in the actions themselves, and in the thoughts, moods and feelings which accompany them. My anarchism is now, when I think and dream freely, when I act according to my feelings, when I respect other people's will or resist its pressure on my own. When I do none of these things or, indeed, I do the very opposite, then I am not an anarchist, and I must be honest enough to admit it, and take responsibility for it. Far from me to put the whole blame on society, and make use of the argument that one cannot be an anarchist in a non-anarchist society. When and where shall I be an anarchist, if not now and in the society in which I live? It is in this society, after all, that I conceived the goodness of anarchism. To this goodness I want to hold. Selfishly, no doubt. But with this selfishness there goes a certain integrity which would be lost if I made myself the instrument of a Cause whose authority is not in my conscience, and whose ends lie beyond me and, indeed, any single and real human being.

28.2.70

JOHN GILL.

EDITORS.

## Contact

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Visitors to Ireland welcome to the Island, Corner Merrion Road and Nutley Lane, Dublin 4 (5 acre Anarchist Kibbutz).

Former Fulham Anarchist Group Members and others will be welcome at Freedom Hall on Wednesdays, 8 p.m. onwards—coffee and discussion—from April 8.

Makhno & Durruti Pamphlet, 9d. Order copies, sale or return, from Freedom Press.

Easter Weekend. Floor space available. Laurens Otter, Tel. 653 7546.

Kettering. Demonstrate against Enoch Powell's racialist sickness and local capitalist collaboration at Wicksteed Park on April 10 at 6.30 p.m. (He is speaking at Institute of Directors Dinner.)

South Africa Commission. Sponsored Walk on Sunday, April 12. Funds raised will go to the Medical Aid Fund for medical supplies for Liberation Movements in Southern Africa. Route starts northern end Tower Bridge, finishing southern side Kew Bridge. Further information: 'Walk', 372 West Barnes Lane, New Malden, Surrey. Tel. 01-398 1354.

Polyandry Study Group Report. 'Two Men Sharing One Wife', 60 pages, price 6/6 including postage, from P. Pawlowski, 26 Elmbourne Road, London, S.W.17.

Now is the time for war tax resistance. The most powerful acts against war have been those of the young men of the Resistance who have said NO to the draft. Now it is time for those of us who have been paying for the war in Vietnam to say NO to taxes for war. Join us! War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. Write and ask for information. Phone (212) 477-2970.

AFBIB. See AFB list, page 2, for production of Bulletin.

Anarchist answer to the CP's 'Ultra Leftism in Britain' and other pseudo-leftists (pamphlet). Laurens Otter, 35 Natal Road, CR4 8QH.

Manchester Anti-Election Campaign. Bill West, 16 Northern Grove, West Didsbury, Manchester 20. Meetings every Wednesday.

Miguel Garcia Garcia will speak at meetings and to groups. Expenses required. Contact S. Christie, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

Tory Five Point Fascism Electioneering. We must start our work now—preparation for printed leaflets and posters for a nationwide factory gate campaign—money and ideas needed—Interested? Contact L.S.F., c/o Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

York Group Need Speakers. Expenses and accommodation arranged. Write R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

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Schools Anarchist Group in Gloucestershire? Contact Kate & Joe, 3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 3NS, Glos.

## PAMPHLETS

IN THIS ISSUE we publish the first of a series of supplement pamphlets. Forthcoming issues will include Kropotkin, Zapata, trade unions, and Tolstoy. We would welcome your comments, criticisms and your suggestions for future issues.

Supplies of the pamphlet for selling separately can be had on a sale or return basis at 9d. each. We feel that this is a worthwhile venture and with your help will prove a success.

## CORRECTION

**S**INCE the Ministry of Whatever-it-is did not think it necessary to inform me in advance about the publication of the Registrar-General's statistics on births to immigrant mothers, I foolishly appeared in print last week saying that Enoch was soft-pedalling on race when he was actually foaming at the mouth about it again. Correction, therefore: Enoch is not showing 'uncharacteristic discretion' and has not heard his own 'deafening clangers'. He is acting characteristically (isn't that comforting!) and is still dropping them.

With regard to another apparent inaccuracy, or misjudgement, readers must decide for themselves. In my article I maintained that the (English) teachers had won their fight for more wages, since

getting £120 on demand for £135 is, in my view, a considerable victory for workers using militancy for the first time. And differences in negotiating procedures have been agreed, to make wage-bargaining more flexible in future. But on page four, Ian S. Sutherland poured scorn on the English teachers' organisations (and even more on the Scottish ones) just as they were 'winning' what they set out for. We can't blame organisations for not being what they are not supposed to be, and even reformist unions should be encouraged to be militant and use direct action, to give support to the militants and even revolutionaries that may be working within them.

JUSTIN.

## Ends and Means

**A** RECENT FREEDOM editorial stated that for anarchists 'the ends determines the means'. This formula I consider unsatisfactory. Nothing short of a rejection of all distinctions between ends and means will satisfy me as being distinctly anarchist, and I include this rejection among the five or six basic principles of anarchism. Without it, much anarchist criticism of government action and political parties loses the better part of its strength, and anarchism itself would be but indifferently different from other ideas and ideologies now competing for the allegiance of the young.

A man is to be judged according to his deeds, and not according to his intentions, because these are exclusively his, sacred and unobservable. So-called ends partake of the nature of intentions, and are accordingly irrelevant material for a moral judgement. The fact that ends are professed only makes them highly suspicious. A profession of ends or intentions ask for assent to something that is not there, at least not in any ascertainable way, and tends to inhibit or condition judgement of much that is there and ascertainable.

No sooner do we distinguish between ends and means than we politicize moral judgement. I mean that we seek a moral justification for certain deeds done by us while we refuse the same justification for similar deeds done by people who subscribe to a cause which is not ours. Our ends are ours because they are good, and they are good because they are ours. Other people's ends are bad because they

are theirs and, should they coincide with ours or should some objectively good thing be done in their name, we speak of hypocrisy and deceit.

Motives and intentions are, of course, of paramount importance to moral life, but each moral person can competently judge only of motives and intentions that are his own. Other people can be judged only by their actions, on the assumption that they are free agents, and that their will is involved in what they do. We cannot honestly say that we do not want to punish a child, and yet punish him. We cannot say that we don't want murder and deceit, and yet kill and deceive. Why we kill and deceive is ethically irrelevant, especially to the person who is killed or deceived. If we say that it is necessary to kill and deceive in order to achieve certain ends, then one may pertinently ask us why we chose ends that thus rob us of our freedom, how we hope that freedom will result from our submitting to necessity, and whether we did not want to kill and deceive in the first place, and then saw necessity as a convenient argument to put us beyond the reach of moral judgement.

Ends and means are here discussed in connection with human beings, as existing moreover in historical societies, and not in the scientific conditions of a laboratory or a torture chamber. In this connection there is no evidence whatever that any so-called means ever led of necessity to any so-called ends. The path of history, like the path of hell, is all laid with good intentions. As a matter of fact and common sense, ends are never attained, for they would mean an end to history, while the stuff of history, its movement, what is suffered by men in their mind and flesh, all goes under the name of so-called means.

If 'wanting' is the motive force of actions accompanied by conscious endorsement, and no mere wishful thinking, then there is something meaningless or contradictory in an anarchist's wanting an anarchist society. An anarchist society is one in which every man acts according to his own (presumably ethical) will, and no anarchist may want other people to want anything but what is autonomously wanted by each. To want a society to be this or that is to deny or usurp other people's autonomy of will, and to consider them as things, as more or less malleable material to be made to fit some preconceived shapes whose general scheme is called ends.

That is not to deny the value of clear and precise ideas about an anarchist society as an image of what is right. Such ideas are a help to judge, not only of much that is wrong in the society in which we live, but also of anything that we may do ourselves. Whatever we do now that would be considered wrong in our ideal society we can be sure is



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# Makhno and Durruti

## THE UNSUNG HEROES

ORGANISED WARFARE has been a concomitant of private property society for at least five thousand years. From barbarism, through chattel slavery and feudalism, to present-day capitalism, man has fought man over property and mineral rights, land, and the means of producing and distributing the wealth that the peoples of the world have created. Ruling groups and classes throughout human history have, moreover, enlisted the support of their subject classes in the struggles over property.

But during the last hundred years or so, however, men and women have begun to challenge their masters' right to force or encourage their subjects to fight on their behalf. People calling themselves anarchists, libertarians and, in a few instances, marxists, have argued—often in the face of derision and persecution—that the vast majority of the people of all nations, the peasants and the workers, have no material interest in the wars and conflicts of their masters; that war between the rulers of nations cannot benefit them in any way; that they should, in fact, unite against their respective rulers and owners of property, strip them of their power and wealth and make the means of life the common heritage of all, regardless of race, nationality or sex.

These anarchists and libertarians were not pacifists in the absolute sense of the word. They did not love their enemies or show the other cheek. Theirs was what has been termed a 'class' position. They argued that if circumstances warranted the taking up of arms in the interest of the masses, or in 'the defence of the revolution', they would do so. They said that the workers should, if need be, defend themselves against counter-revolution. These were the views of both Marx and Bakunin. And, of course, over the years many anarchists and libertarian marxists have taken up arms in defence of what they considered were their and the wor-

kers' interests. This has happened in a number of countries, including Mexico, Russia and the Ukraine, and Spain. In Russia and the Ukraine, and in Spain, anarchist forces defended their communes, their collective farms, factories and means of transportation, their 'revolution', against both Communist (Bolshevik) and Fascist (Falangist) attack.

Both anarchists and libertarian marxists have always been quick to point out that they have no leaders, that they have no need of leaders ('Strong men need no leaders; they are their own leaders,' Emiliano Zapata, the Mexican anarchist revolutionary, is reported as having remarked), but the anarchist 'armies' of both the Ukraine and Spain produced and threw up commanders and, in the view of many bourgeois observers, brilliant and dynamic leaders. The brief careers of the two most famous (or infamous) anarchist military 'leaders' are worth remembering, if only because there has been, both by the political right and left, a 'conspiracy of silence' regarding their activities and exploits. If mentioned at all, both have been called bandits by Communists and Fascists alike.\*

\*In addition to minor bands which carried on destruction in various parts of the country, Makhno, Grigoriev, Skoropadsky, Denikin, Petlura and many others were plundering on a large scale. Under the pretence of fighting against Bolshevism, brigands of every description despoiled the country, until they brought it to almost complete ruin' (Moscow Narodny Bank *Monthly Review*, December, 1934, p.9).

'... the picturesque Anarchist bandit-leader Makhno in the southern Ukraine ...' (Maurice Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917*, p.105).

## NESTOR MAKHNO

NESTOR IVANOVICH MAKHNO was born on October 27, 1889, the youngest son of a poor peasant couple in Gulai-Polya, a large Ukrainian settlement of the district of Alexandrovsk, in the province and department of Ekaterinoslav between the River Dnieper and the Sea of Azov. Nestor was only eleven months' old when his father died. At the age of seven, his mother sent him out to work as a herd-boy tending sheep and cows on the farms of the rich, mainly German, **kulak** farmers and of the local nobles. When he was eight, he managed to attend school part-time; but received no schooling after he was twelve. Makhno then found employment as a full-time farm labourer and, until he was seventeen, as a foundry worker. He developed a strong hatred towards the nobles, employers and **kulak** farmers, all of whom he considered to be 'exploiters'.

In 1906, he joined the Gulai-Polya Anarchist Group. Makhno had become an anarcho-communist. But two years later he was brought to trial, accused of 'terrorism' and other anarchist activities. A local police chief had been murdered. He was sentenced to be hanged, but because of his youth his sentence was commuted to forced labour for life. He was sent to the grim Butyrki jail in Moscow. Once there, he began to rebel against prison discipline and was often placed in solitary confinement, and put in chains or irons. Butyrki was, like most Russian prisons, cold and very damp. Makhno contracted pulmonary tuberculosis.

When the well-known anarchist revolutionary, Peter Archinov, was put in Butyrki for smuggling anarchist literature into Russia, he and Nestor Makhno soon became firm friends. Archinov was older than Makhno and was much better educated. He helped Makhno to educate himself, and told him much of the ideas and ideals of Bakunin and Kropotkin.

On March 1, 1917, Makhno, Archinov and indeed all Russian political prisoners, were released from jail by the new Provisional Government. Peter Archinov stayed on in Moscow, and became an active member of the Moscow Federation of Anarchists, while Nestor Makhno immediately returned to Gulai-Polya in the Ukraine. As soon as he arrived he helped the local peasants organise a free commune and soviet. He became chairman of the Regional Farm Workers' Union; and, later, president of the Gulai-Polya Soviet of Peasants' and Workers' Deputies. 'In August 1917,' writes Paul Avrich, 'as head of the Soviet, Makhno recruited a small band of armed peasants and set about expropriating the estates of the neighbouring gentry, and distributing the land to the poor peasants.' To the peasants of Gulai-Polya, he was another Stenka Razin. 'He thus made himself the mortal enemy of the rich, and of the local bourgeois groups,' commented Peter Archinov. And of him, George Woodcock says that he was 'a dynamic and Dostoyevskian personality'.

## Brest-Litovsk

The First World War plunged Tsarist Russia into social and economic chaos, mainly because her industrial resources, agriculture and means of transportation were so backward and inadequate to bear the strain of modern warfare. By the beginning of 1917, the situation, particularly on the food front, was desperate. Moreover, the troops at the front were, in the words of Lenin, voting against the war with their feet. They were deserting in their hundreds of thousands.

Between March 8 and 12, strikes against the war and mass demonstrations by housewives in Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg) soon developed into a general strike with workers disarming police and military. Following the March (February by the old calendar) Revolution, a Provisional Government came to power which attempted to continue the war. By November, it had become completely discredited. And on November 6, the largely Bolshevik-controlled military committee of the Petrograd Soviet staged an armed insurrection in the city. The Bolsheviks were acting on instructions from their Central Committee, which had decided to seize power and declare itself the new government. The new government was determined to stay in power. And to achieve this, it was essential that Russia withdraw from the war. After protracted negotiations with the Germans, the Soviet delegation headed by Leon Trotsky signed the draft treaty at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918.

As a result of the treaty, the German and Austrian armies marched into the Ukraine and set up a puppet régime of the Hetman Skorodpadsky. The Germans then began to terrorise the population. They carried off huge quantities of wheat, livestock and poultry by the trainload. When the Ukrainian peasants began to resist, many were flogged and shot. 'It was therefore natural,' says Archinov, 'that this new condition strongly accelerated the march of the movements previously begun, under Petlura (the Ukrainian nationalist leader—P.N.) and the Bolsheviks. Everywhere, primarily in the villages, insurrectionary acts started to occur against the gentry and the Austro-Germans. It was thus that began the vast movement of the Ukrainian peasants, which was later given the name of the Revolutionary Insurrection.' It was completely spontaneous.

At the time of this occupation of the Ukraine by the Austro-Germans, a secret revolutionary committee came into existence, which gave Makhno the task of creating fighting units of workers and peasants to defend themselves against the 'imperialists', and to struggle against their own native rulers. Unfortunately, however, his partisan forces were too weak. Moreover, the local bourgeoisie had put a price on his head. Forced into hiding, he later retreated from the cities of Taganrog, Rostov and Tsaritsin, and then proceeded northwards. Almost alone, Makhno finally made his way to Moscow, arriving in June, 1918.

On his arrival, he went to see Peter Kropotkin. They discussed the situation in Russia and the Ukraine at great length. Makhno also saw Lenin, but the two men soon realised that they had very little in common.

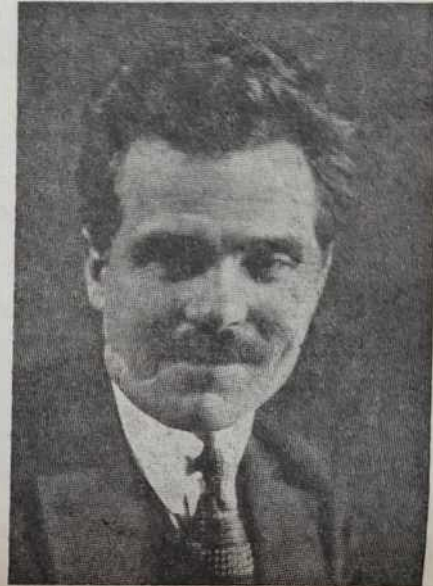
'The majority of anarchists think and write about the future,' declared Lenin, 'without understanding the present; that is what divides us Communists from you anarchists.' Makhno retorted that anarchists were not utopian dreamers, but realistic men of action. 'It is we anarchists and social revolutionaries who are beating back the nationalists and privileged classes in the Ukraine,' he said. 'Perhaps I am mistaken,' admitted Lenin.

## The Revolutionary War

Makhno and his anarchist supporters were not only concerned with defending their communes, but with spreading the revolution and expropriating the property of the landed gentry and rich kulak farmers. In the Southern Ukraine, observes Voline, the peasants and workers became conscious of their historic mission. 'They raised the black flag of anarchism and set forth on the anti-authoritarian road of the free organisation of the workers.'

In July, 1918, Makhno returned to Gulai-Polya. When he arrived, he found that his mother's house had been burned down by the Germans, and his brother shot (another brother was shot by Denikin's White Army, and the third was murdered by the Bolsheviks). Makhno was almost immediately captured by the Germans. He was caught carrying libertarian pamphlets. A Jew who had known him personally for a long time succeeded in saving his life by paying a considerable sum of money for his release. The news of his release soon spread throughout the

area. Meetings were held and leaflets distributed. Makhno declared that the workers and peasants should take their fate into their own hands. The Austro-Germans, with the assistance of their puppet Hetman Skorodpadsky, had handed the estates back to the nobles and rich kulaks. So, once again, almost overnight Makhno . . . organised a detachment of partisans and, under the black flag of anarchism, launched a series of daring raids upon the Austro-Germans and Hetmanites, and upon the manors of the local nobility' (Avrich). He began to attack the large estates in the region between the Dnieper and the Sea of Azov. In September, 1918, his forces were strong enough to capture Gulai-Polya. Within two or three weeks, the anarchist partisans operated over hundreds of square miles.



Nestor Makhno

By November the Austro-Germans withdrew from Russia and the Ukraine. The armistice had been signed. Makhno had become a legend ('an anarchist Robin Hood' according to Woodcock) throughout the Southern Ukraine. His forces, during this period, were able to capture large quantities of arms from the retreating Germans. 'Every raid,' continues Woodcock, 'brought arms, supplies, and horses, and the recruits came in by the hundred to Makhno's headquarters (in Gulai-Polya—P.N.), which seem to have been unknown only to the authorities.'

Rapidity of movement, extraordinary mobility, was Makhno's chief tactic. Travelling on horseback, and in *tachanki*, with machine guns mounted, the Makhnovist insurrectionary army moved swiftly back and forth across the open steppe between the Dnieper and the Sea of Azov—from Berdiansk to Taranrog, from Lugansk to Ekaterinoslav. But the Hetman Skorodpadsky still held the capital, Kiev. At Ekaterinoslav, Makhno encountered the organised forces of the nationalist, Petlura. Here, Makhno used the Trojan Horse ruse. He loaded a train with his troops, and sent it right into the railway station of Ekaterinoslav. The city was captured; and the Petlurists defeated. But a few days later, they counter-attacked, and regained the city from the insurrectionary army. Makhno retreated, but was not pursued.

From the end of November, 1918, to June, 1919, Makhno's region east of the Dnieper was virtually free of external political or military authority. The Austrians, Germans, Hetmanists and Ukrainian nationalists had all been driven away. And neither the Whites nor the Reds were yet strong enough to fill the void. During this period the workers and peasants attempted, within the limitations thrust upon them, to reconstruct their society on libertarian, free communal, lines. They were only partially successful.

## Anarchist Society

Makhno's ideas were set out in a pamphlet entitled 'General Theses of the Revolutionary Insurgents concerning the Free Workers' Soviet'. According to Makhno, the workers' councils or soviets should be completely free of political parties; they should be based on the principle of social equality and social

need, and the workers should obey only their own collective will with no one exercising any power over anyone else.

Of the free communes which came into existence during this period of relative peace in the Southern Ukraine, Makhno describes them somewhat naïvely thus:

'In every one of these communes there were a few anarchist peasants, but the majority of their members were not anarchist. Nevertheless, in their communal life they behaved with that anarchist solidarity of which, in ordinary life, only toilers are capable whose natural simplicity has not yet been affected by the political poison of the cities. . . .'

'Every commune comprised ten families of peasants and workers, i.e. a total of 100, 200 or 300 members. By decision of the Regional Congress of agrarian communes every commune received a normal amount of land, i.e. as much as its members could cultivate, situated in the vicinity of the commune. . . .'

'The majority of the labourers saw in the agrarian communes the happy germ of a new social life, which would continue as the revolution approached the climax of its triumphal and creative march, to develop and grow, and to stimulate the organisation of an analogous society in the country as a whole, or, at least, in the villages and the hamlets of our region' (*La Revolution Russe en Ukraine*).

The first commune, called 'Rosa Luxemburg' after the Polish revolutionary socialist, came into existence near the town of Provkovskoi. At first it contained only a couple of dozen members, but soon reached 300. It was based entirely on non-authoritarian principles and, according to Voline who had visited it, accomplished very good results and, ultimately, exercised a great influence over the peasants of the area. Seven kilometres from Gulai-Polya another commune was set up, which was simply called 'Commune No. 1'. Twenty kilometres away two more were established. Others then began elsewhere.

All these communes, says Voline, were quite freely created (from the land, livestock and farm implements confiscated from the estates of the nobles and large landowners) by the spontaneous impulse of the peasants, although later on they were allotted to the peasants by 'authority' of the Regional Congress of Peasants, Workers and Insurgents. The communes of the region were based on Kropotkin's ideal of Mutual Aid. Everyone—men, women and children—worked according to their ability, and within the limitations of a society engulfed in civil war, received according to their needs. 'The organising functions,' continues Voline, 'were confided to comrades who could fulfil them adequately. Their task accomplished, these comrades rejoined the common work side by side with the other members of the commune. These sound, serious principles were due to the fact that the communes arose from the workers themselves and their development followed a natural course.' Makhno never exerted any pressure on the peasants against their will. But he did attempt to win over the workers of such cities as Aleksandrovsk and Ekaterinoslav. Except for a small minority, he failed. For not only did he not fully comprehend the complexities of an urban economy, but his 'army' (now between 20,000 and 50,000 strong) was always on the move. 'The instability of the situation prevented positive work,' admitted Voline years after.

## Enter the Whites

On January 23, 1919, the First Regional Congress of Peasants, Workers and Insurgents took place in the town of Greater Mikhailovka. Its main concern was the likelihood of an invasion by the White forces of Denikin, who had become increasingly active on the south-eastern border of the region. The Second Congress met three weeks later, and established a Regional Military Council (Soviet) of Peasants, Workers and Partisans. It also resolved to call on the inhabitants of the region to answer 'a general voluntary mobilisation'. The response was enormous. Many were not able to join Makhno, however, because of the shortage of arms and ammunition.

In the early part of 1919 the Bolsheviks sought the help of Makhno. Relations between the Red Army and the anarchist partisans remained reasonably friendly—at least on the surface. In March, Makhno and the Reds entered into an agreement for joint action against the Whites. The main clauses included: the Insurrectionary Army would maintain its own internal organisation whilst at the same time it would be a division of the Red Army; it would not be removed from its own area, and it would retain its name as the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army and continue to fly its black flags. But the honeymoon didn't last long.

On April 10, a Third Congress met at Gulai-Polya. There were

over 70 delegates representing two million workers and peasants. But whilst the Congress was in session, a telegram arrived from the commander of the Red Army in the Dnieper area, declaring the Congress 'counter-revolutionary' and, therefore, banned. The delegates ignored the telegram, although Makhno replied several days later. The Communists—and particularly Trotsky—openly attacked Makhno as an 'anarcho-bandit'. Said Trotsky in his now notorious pronouncement: 'It would be better to yield the whole Ukraine to Denikin, a frank counter-revolutionary, who could be easily compromised,' than let Makhno arouse the masses against the Bolsheviks as well as the Whites.

In May, two members of the *Cheka* (the Communist secret police) were sent to assassinate Makhno. They were caught and executed. The final breach between the Reds and Makhno occurred when the local Soviets and the Insurrectionary Army called a Fourth Congress for June 15, and invited rank-and-file members of the Red Army to send representatives. Trotsky, the commander-in-chief of the Red Army, was furious. On June 4, he banned the Congress and declared Makhno an outlaw. He then sent Communist troops to destroy the 'Rosa Luxemburg' Commune. They were only partially successful. A few days later, Denikin's forces arrived and completed the job, wiping out all the other communes in the area, liquidating the local (non-Party) Soviets and murdering many of the population. The Bolsheviks and the Red Army under Trotsky allowed Denikin to advance in the hope that he would destroy Makhno and his partisans for them.

Denikin was now able to continue his massive drive towards Moscow. During August and September, 1919, the Makhnovist insurgents were relentlessly driven towards the western borders of the Ukraine. But, according to Voline who took part in the exhausting retreat, Makhno refused to despair. He now called back those of his partisans who had stayed with a number of Red Army divisions. Voline gives us a vivid description of what he describes as a 'kingdom on wheels' (republic would have been a better word!). He writes in *La Revolution Inconnue (The Unknown Revolution)*:

'... the Makhnovist army was joined and followed in its retreat by thousands of peasant families in flight from their homes with their livestock and belongings. It was a veritable migration. . . . The summer of 1919 was exceptionally dry in the Ukraine. . . . But the army did not allow its movements to be influenced by this mass of fugitives. It kept strictly to its course, except for the units which went off to protect the main body; the cavalry, in particular, were almost always fighting. The infantry, when it was not fighting, led the march of the army. It was carried in *tatchankas*. Each of these vehicles, which were drawn by two horses, carried a driver on the front seat and two soldiers behind them. In some sections a machine gun was installed on the seat between them. The artillery brought up the rear.'

'A huge black flag floated over the first carriage. The slogans: "LIBERTY OR DEATH" and "THE LAND TO THE PEASANTS, THE FACTORIES TO THE WORKERS", were embroidered in silver on its two sides.'

The retreat lasted four months. At first Makhno tried to dig in on the Dnieper at Alexandrovsk; but he soon had to abandon the city.

## The Tide Changes

During this period the Red Army in the Ukraine had become completely demoralised. In June, nearly all the Red Army regiments in the Crimea mutinied. Makhno had already planned this. And by a forced march they set out to search for the Insurrectionary Army. They found it at the beginning of August at Dobrovelitchkova in the district of Kherson.

Makhno's forces, once again, became powerful. Soon after he halted his retreat. The tide was turning. He had cavalry which numbered nearly 3,000, and a machine-gun regiment of 500 guns.

The Insurrectionary Army then began to go on to the offensive. Denikin was thrown back. Makhno's forces, however, soon ran out of ammunition. And Denikin counter-attacked with fresh troops. Finally, Makhno had to retreat again, this time over 250 miles into the department of Kiev. Denikin attempted to encircle the Insurrectionary Army, but did not succeed. The fighting lasted day and night. And, yet again, Makhno retreated as far as the city of Uman. Here, Makhno encountered the forces of Petlura, who were also in a state of war with the Whites. The Petlurists declared that they had no wish to get involved in a conflict with Makhno—so a rather shaky 'pact' was agreed between the two groups.

On the evening of September 26, 1919, Makhno played his last card. For months he had been retreating west. He and his comrades suddenly changed direction, and during the night the entire Insurgent Army, with the machine-gunners in the van, attacked the Whites. Later, Makhno's cavalry swept in against Denikin's flank. After a long and bloody battle, Denikin's troops were routed. 'The route of their retreat,' wrote Peter Archinov afterwards, 'was strewn with corpses for a distance of two or three kilometres. And, however horrible this spectacle was to some, it was only the natural outcome of the duel between Denikin's army and the Makhnovists. During the whole pursuit, the former had no thought except to exterminate the insurgents. The slightest error on Makhno's part would inevitably have meant the same fate for the Insurrectionary Army. Even the women who supported that army, or fought alongside their men, would not have been spared. The Makhnovists were experienced enough to know that.' Makhno wasted no time in returning eastwards. Soon, he had control of the whole of the Central Ukraine. And in October, his black flag flew over the city of Ekaterinoslav.

Denikin was forced to abandon his march on Moscow. In November, however, Makhno had to give up Ekaterinoslav and regroup again in the South. But he continued to harass Denikin. Moreover, the Red Army was once again becoming active, coming down from the North. Denikin's army was almost finished. Makhno and the Insurgent Army had won . . . but peace did not come to the Ukraine. The Communists had old scores to settle. 'The Bolsheviks, saved indirectly by the revolutionary partisans, returned to the Ukraine to harvest the laurels they had not won,' remarked Voline dryly.

## The Reds Return

A number of divisions of the Red Army arrived in the city of Alexandrovsk at the end of December, 1919, whilst Makhno's general staff were there. The ordinary troops of the Red Army readily fraternised with Makhno's partisans. But a week later, the Military Council of the 14th Corps of the Red Army ordered Makhno and the Insurrectionary Army to move to the Polish border. Makhno, naturally, refused—as the Reds had expected. Moreover, Makhno called on the soldiers of the Red Army to repudiate their leadership. He then broke camp; and the Insurrectionary Army set out for their home base of Gulai-Polya, which was now free of both White and Red forces.

Makhno, however, was not left alone by the Communists, although the district of Gulai-Polya was able to start, yet again, a certain amount of positive, anarchist and libertarian, activity. Local non-Party Soviets started up; and schools based on free, non-authoritarian principles began to function—until the Bolsheviks unleashed their unprecedented violence and repression throughout the whole of the Ukraine at the end of November, 1920.

Between January and November, the Bolsheviks did not openly attempt to crush the Insurrectionary Army, but they did attack many defenceless villages in the Ukraine. 'Mass arrests and executions soon began, and the Denikinist repression paled beside that of the Bolsheviks,' said Voline. Moreover, Makhno was sick and often unconscious during this period. More than once he almost fell into Communist hands. 'All through the year of 1920 and even later,' wrote Peter Archinov in his memoirs, 'the Soviet authorities carried on the fight against the Makhnovists, pretending to be fighting banditry. They engaged in intense agitation to persuade the country of this, using their press and all their means of propaganda to uphold the slander both within and outside Russia.'

However, during the summer the Whites, this time under the command of Baron Wrangel, swept up again from the South. In September, Makhno was forced to give up Alexandrovsk, Sinelnikovo and even Gulai-Polya to the Whites. Then, in the middle of October, the Insurrectionary Army set out to attack Wrangel's forces. Within three weeks the whole of the region was cleared of Wrangel. He withdrew to the Crimea with Makhno—and, later the Red Army—in hot pursuit. At the same time another Anarchist-Makhnovist army moved towards Simeferopol. And that was the end of Baron Wrangel. The remnants of his troops sailed from the Crimea for exile abroad.

Now, the Communists were able to concentrate all their activity and resources against Makhno and the anarchists. Throughout Russia and the Ukraine, anarchists, libertarian socialists and members of the Social Revolutionary Party were being hunted, jailed and executed by the Bolshevik **Cheka** and Trotsky's Red

Army. On November 26, Gulai-Polya was surrounded by Red troops. Makhno and about 250 horsemen were there at the time (now that the Whites had been driven out many of Makhno's partisans returned to their work on the land). With these few comrades, Makhno, who was still sick and had also been wounded, counter-attacked. He routed the Reds and was able to escape. Soon, many of his former insurgents returned, and he was able to go on to the offensive against the Communist forces. Eight days later he was back in his native Gulai-Polya. But the Communists began to bring in more and more divisions against Makhno. Once again, the Makhnovists had to flee from their native land. Pursued by thousands of Red troops, the dwindling partisans fought running battles near Kiev, then Kursk, then towards Kharkov and finally across the Don. Of the situation, Makhno wrote afterwards:

'At the beginning of August, 1921, it was decided that, in view of the severity of my wounds, I would leave for abroad. . . . On August 22, a bullet struck me in the neck and came out of the right cheek. Once again I was lying at the bottom of a cart. On the 26th, we were obliged to fight a new battle with the Reds . . . and on August 28, I crossed the Dniester. Here I am abroad. . . .'

Following Makhno's escape abroad, the Communists soon wiped out the remaining Makhnovists. The now almost defunct Petlurists were also rounded up. Soon, the Communists controlled all of Russia and the Ukraine, and were able to set up their State-capitalist dictatorship under Lenin, Trotsky and later Stalin.

## The Man Makhno

Makhno was no intellectual, although he respected those of his comrades, like Peter Archinov, who were well-read. If there is such a thing as a 'born rebel', then Nestor Makhno was one. As a young man in jail, he was stubborn and always insubordinate to the prison authorities. He was, at least in theory, an internationalist; but was rather like a fish out of water away from his own homeland in the Ukraine.

But Makhno will always be remembered as a guerrilla 'leader'. He was very courageous, and extremely resourceful in the 'arts' of guerrilla warfare. He was capable of instantaneous decisions. He had, said Victor Serge, 'a truly epic capacity for organisation and combat'. He was, claimed Voline, a military genius. Indeed, many years after, Alexander Berkman in a fit of temper, accused him of having a militarist temperament. Makhno was a libertarian, an anarchist; but, as time went by, the terrible pressures and tribulations of, first, years in prison, and then of the civil war, affected him both physically and psychologically. He suffered from TB and was wounded many times during the fighting.

For most of the time that he was commander-in-chief of the Insurrectionary Army, Makhno used all his efforts to avoid any kind of regimentation. Although his 'key' officers were appointed by him personally, all the other commanders were elected by the partisans themselves. Indeed, the Insurrectionary Army never lost its plebian character. Unlike the Red Army of Leon Trotsky, not one of its commanders came from the nobility or upper classes. All its officers were peasants or factory workers. Many of the partisans were Jews; and Makhno personally condemned anti-semitism. But as time went by, he did become increasingly authoritarian. And he began to drink too much. Of him, Peter Archinov said:

'Makhno's personality contained many superior characteristics—spirit, will, hardihood, energy and activity. The traits, taken together, created an imposing impression, and made him remarkable even among revolutionists. At the same time, he lacked the theoretical knowledge needed to understand politics and history. That is why he frequently could not reach the necessary revolutionary generalisations and conclusions—or did not even perceive their necessity.'

His greatest fault, according to Voline, was his addiction to alcohol. He often became drunk, and later in life was an alcoholic. He was also accused by his more 'moral' comrades of being licentious, and, on occasions participating in 'orgies' with members of the opposite sex! (the attitude towards such matters, even among anarchists, was a lot different 50 years ago). The inevitable result of these aberrations, says Voline, was an excess of 'warrior sentiment'. But considering the circumstances, and the fact that many non-anarchist peasants virtually worshipped him as **Bat'ko**, the 'little father', this wasn't really surprising. What was surprising was that he retained any libertarian ideas or attitudes at all.

In August, 1921, Makhno crossed into Romania. He was



promptly interned, but soon escaped to Poland. There, he was arrested for supposed crimes committed against the Poles, but was acquitted. He then went to Danzig and was, once again, imprisoned. He managed to escape from there, and with the help of a few comrades, made his way to France. He finally settled in Paris. He worked long hours for a 'dog's wage' in a local factory. His wife also had to go out to work to supplement his meagre wages, despite the fact that she had a baby daughter.

## BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

IT HAS OFTEN been said, remarked John Hewetson in *War Commentary For Anarchism*, four years after the end of the Spanish Civil War, that the Spanish Revolution of 1936 threw up into prominence no 'world figures' comparable with Lenin and Trotsky in the Russian Revolution. But, says Hewetson, an exception must be made in the case of the anarchist Durruti. He symbolised in his person the struggle of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain.

Buenaventura Durruti was born on July 14, 1896, in León, a mountainous area in central northern Spain. More prosperous than the south, but far less industrialised than Catalonia, it was not, and has never been, an anarchist stronghold like Catalonia or Andalusia. Buenaventura was one of nine brothers (one was killed in the October, 1934, uprising in the Asturias, another died fighting the Fascists on the Madrid front and all the others were murdered by the Fascists). His father was a railway worker, in the yard at León, who described himself as a libertarian socialist.

Durruti had black, straight hair, brown eyes, and was rather stocky and very strong. He did not, however, care for rough games at school. He left school at fourteen, and went to work as a trainee mechanic, like his father, in the railway yard in the city of León. He was still working in the yard in 1917 when the

But he did engage in some anarchist activity during this period. In 1927, he became friendly with a young exiled Spanish anarchist by the name of Buenaventura Durruti—who, less than ten years later, was to become as well-known in Spain as Makhno had become in the Ukraine.

In July, 1935, Nestor Makhno died in Tenon Hospital, in Paris. Commented George Woodcock: 'He never surrendered'.

'socialist'-controlled Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) called an official strike of the Northern Railway Workers. Durruti took an active and prominent part in the strike, which, after the government had refused to accept the terms agreed between the employers and the Union, became a general strike throughout the area. The general strike, which began on August 10, was crushed in three days. The Spanish Government brought in the Army, which behaved with extreme barbarity. They killed 70 and wounded over 500 workers. Moreover, the authorities also jailed 2,000 of the strikers. The Army had, in the words of one observer, 'saved the nation'. Durruti managed to escape, but had to flee abroad to France. The brutality of the Spanish state had a profound and lasting effect on the young Durruti.

From the fall of 1917 until the beginning of 1920, Durruti worked in Paris as a mechanic. He then decided to return to Spain; and arrived in San Sebastian just across the border. Here, he was introduced to the local anarchist group. Shortly after, Buenasca, the then President of the recently-formed anarchist-controlled Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), persuaded him to go to Barcelona where the anarchist movement, as well as the syndicalists, was being brutally suppressed and most of its members jailed or executed. For some time, there had been considerable unrest in Barcelona and throughout Catalonia.



Street Scene—Barcelona

### The Terror

In February, 1919, the workers of a large electrical factory known as the *Canadiense* went on strike in support of seven of their workmates who had been dismissed for political reasons, and for an increase in wages for certain categories of workers in the plant. The strike was well organised, this being an important test case for the CNT. The English manager was prepared to compromise—particularly as wages at the factory were below average; but on advice from the local Captain-general, he changed his mind and refused to discuss the stoppage with the Union. Moreover, the Captain-general jailed the officials of the CNT and declared martial law, although as Gerald Brenan noted, the strike was perfectly peaceful and 'legal'. Following the refusal of the Barcelona authorities to release the organisers, a general strike throughout the Barcelona area began. It lasted a

fortnight and involved over 100,000 workers. The outcome was inconclusive. 'However,' remarks Brenan, 'the military arrested many thousands of workmen and, in the usual Spanish style, gave sentences of imprisonment amounting to seventeen hundred years—sentences which of course would not be carried out.'

The state's terror against the workers, the CNT and the anarchist movement had begun in earnest. Driven to desperation by the extreme repression, anarchists such as Durruti and his friend Francisco Ascaso, a bakery worker from Catalonia, met violence with violence, assassination with assassination. Between 1919 and 1922, almost every well-known anarchist or syndicalist was either murdered by *pistoleros* hired by the employers' federation, or were shot while 'trying to escape' from jail—the so-called *ley de fugas*. Indeed, says Hugh Thomas in his book *The Spanish Civil War*, 'A new civil governor, Martinez Anido, and a police chief, Arlegui, fought the anarchists with every weapon they could, including the foundation of a rival, government-favoured Union,

the Sindicato Libre, and a special constabulary, the Somaten.' One of the most respected anarchists in the country, the CNT President, Salvador Seguí, was shot down in the street by a police gunman.

The main instrument in bringing about the repression and terror was the government of Dato which began in 1920. Ascaso and Durruti decided to assassinate him. He was indeed killed in Madrid in 1921 by, it has been said, anarchists—but not by Ascaso or Durruti. However, a far more sinister figure was near at hand—Cardinal Soldevila of Saragossa. Mention has already been made of the Sindicato Libre, or 'yellow Unions' as the anarchists called them. These yellow Unions were mainly financed and supported by this so-called Man of God. Moreover, Soldevila was extremely wealthy, deriving his fortune from various hotels, casinos and lesser gambling houses. In fact, he was one of the largest shareholders in the biggest gaming establishments. He hated both the anarchists and the CNT and supported their suppression. In 1923, Ascaso and Durruti decided to kill him. And they were successful. In the words of H. Rudiger: 'Ascaso and Durruti made an end of this so-called Holy Man, who in the name of one who had driven the money-changers from the temple, did not hesitate to act as one himself, and to use his ill-gotten wealth to crush the efforts of the workers for more humane social conditions.'

Durruti did not take this action lightly. Moreover, as George Woodcock has observed, the basic doctrines of anarchism deny retribution and punishment; they are unanarchistic. But, he says, they were typical of Spain at the time. No anarchist favours violence for violence's sake; but anarchists such as Ascaso and Durruti could see no alternative at that time—except passive acceptance of dictatorship, repression and state-violence. And no anarchist would accept that!

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, which began in 1923, saw the virtual eclipse of militant anarchist activity in Spain. Anarchist newspapers were banned, and all prominent anarchists were either in jail or exile or had been shot. Both Ascaso and Durruti had to flee the country.

## Durruti Abroad

Ascaso and Durruti went first to Argentina, where they were received with tremendous enthusiasm by large numbers of workers. However, almost immediately, the police began to hound them. They were driven out of the Argentine. The Spanish authorities had obviously warned all South and Central American Governments in advance. Throughout Latin America, Ascaso and Durruti were given no peace. Often starving, they were hounded from Chile, then Uruguay and Mexico. The Argentine Government condemned them to death as anarchist agitators. Indeed, even the Stalinist hack, Ilya Ehrenburg, later remarked with pride that four capitalist States had condemned Durruti to death.

Whilst Durruti was in South America, numbers of anarchist militants gathered in France and, according to Thomas, directed occasional forays across the border into Spain. In this activity they were, of course, supported by French anarchists. Ascaso and Durruti, therefore, decided to make their way to France, particularly as Durruti knew Paris well. They settled in Paris and Durruti opened a bookshop. And it was there that he first met Nestor Makhno.

Some months later, in 1924, the notorious, arch-reactionary King Alfonso XIII of Spain visited Paris. Ascaso and Durruti attempted to assassinate him, but were unsuccessful. They were caught and arrested. Both were jailed for a year. On their release, Argentina demanded their extradition so that the sentence of death that awaited them could be carried out. However, the French anarchist movement inaugurated a tremendous libertarian campaign on their behalf, and succeeded in frustrating the Argentine authorities. Finally, on July 19, 1925, they were released from jail in France, but had to leave the country within two weeks. Belgium and Luxemburg refused them political asylum; so they went to Germany, which at the time was governed by a Social Democratic (Labour) Government. But the Social Democrats also refused them entry.

Ascaso and Durruti then returned to France illegally. Again, they lived under cover in Paris. But they were not happy living on the charity and solidarity of their French comrades. They wanted to work and earn their own living. So they decided to make their way to Lyon. They both found jobs in Lyon, but were soon discovered by the police—and were sentenced to six months in jail. After that they lived, again illegally, for a time

in Belgium. In 1927, Durruti made his way to Berlin, to the home of the well-known German anarchist, Augustin Souchy. But the Germans would not let him stay. At last, however, the Belgian Government had a change of heart. The Belgian police granted both Ascaso and Durruti permits to stay there.

During all this time of wandering from country to country, Durruti took part in various anarchist activities, and kept in touch with a number of his comrades in Spain itself. During this period, moreover, the Soviet authorities, sensing Durruti's potential influence in Spain at a later date, offered him and Ascaso refuge in the USSR. But they refused to entertain the idea of going to Russia. Makhno, if no one else, would have warned them against accepting Communist 'hospitality'.

## Fall of the Monarchy

In July, 1927, at a secret meeting in Valencia, anarchist delegates from all over Spain came together to form the Federación Anarquista Iberica (the FAI) in order to co-ordinate the efforts and activities of all the various groups and federations of anarchists throughout Spain.

With the fall of the Spanish monarchy in April, 1931, Ascaso and Durruti returned to Spain. On arrival they found that certain 'leaders' of the CNT had become increasingly reformist during the period of the Dictatorship, whilst the FAI and most of the rank-and-file members and activists of the CNT remained true to their anarchist principles. In May, a motley collection of liberal-republicans, radicals and 'socialists' were returned to Parliament (the Cortes) in what has been described as the fairest election in Spain's history. Angel Pestaña, a leading reformist, argued that the CNT should support the Republican Government. Durruti opposed him. And Durruti, the FAI and the majority of the CNT were soon proved correct.

A Congress of the CNT met in Madrid in July, its object being to reorganise the movement and prepare for future battles. Almost immediately, there was a strike of building workers in Barcelona; many of the strikers were gunned down by the *Guardia de Asalto*. Then, the telephone operators struck at the Central Telephone Exchange and were locked out of the building. A week later a strike in Seville led to troops killing 30 strikers and wounding 300. Three workers were also shot dead by the military in San Sebastian. So much for the 'liberal', 'radical', republican Government of Azana! 'The Government,' observed Brennan in *The Spanish Labyrinth*, 'showed that they had no hesitation in employing all the means that they had so much condemned when practised by the reactionary governments of the past.' Of course! The 'socialist'-controlled UGT, through not supporting the workers in their struggles against the employers and the State, were becoming less influential, whilst the newly-organised CNT were becoming stronger all the time. Indeed, the workers just had to fight back as their standard of living—always very low by European standards—had fallen considerably, and unemployment was increasing. During this period a number of FAI activists, including Ascaso and Durruti, made raids on banks in order to get money for the workers and the movement. Durruti is particularly remembered for his celebrated assault on the Bank of Spain at Gijón. He never kept a centimo for himself. He was now married and his wife expecting.

In January, 1932, the Catalan FAI Federation, which had now adopted *Communismo Libertarie* (Libertarian Communism), together with the new neo-Trotskyist Left Communist Party of Maurine, Nin, and Andrade, organised an insurrection throughout Catalonia. The Army soon suppressed the uprising, and about 120 prominent anarchists and Left Communists were arrested and deported to Spanish Guinea without trial. Ascaso and Durruti were among them. Durruti's baby was just two months old. For three months the Government kept him in prison in Guinea, but after considerable agitation for his and his comrades' release, they were set free. He returned to Spain on April 15.

After his return to Spain, things were somewhat quieter for Durruti. It appears that he tried to settle down; but between 1933 and 1935, the two 'black years' as they were called, the reactionary republican Government of Lerroux-Robles, made Durruti the object of continual persecution. He was continually hounded by the police. For some while, he worked in a factory in Barcelona, and joined the Textile Workers' Syndicate. He spoke at public meetings, and took part in organisational work on behalf of the union and the anarchist movement generally. But again and again he was taken into custody by the police, and held without any charges being made against him.

During this period, Spain was in a state of near-chaos; and in

October, 1934, there were risings in Barcelona, Madrid and the Asturias. These risings were mainly led by Catalan nationalists, supported by 'socialists' and the numerically-weak Communist Party. Except in the Asturias, they were not well organised. The CNT and the FAI stood aloof, except in the Asturias. Here, the anarchists, 'socialists', Stalinists and the neo-Trotskyists worked together. Moreover, many of the workers attacked their old enemy, the Catholic Church, and convents and some churches were burned down; a few nuns said they had been raped and the Bishop's Palace and much of the University of Oviedo was destroyed. Several unpopular priests were shot. However, the Government called on General Franco to put the rising down. There then followed a terrible retribution. The army killed 1,300 workers, mostly miners, and wounded 3,000. During October and November, 1934, the Government jailed over 30,000 workers for political offences alone, the majority of these from the Asturias. In 1934, moreover, a typical Fascist Party began to take form, and become active. It was called the Falange, and was made up largely of young, dissatisfied sons of the rich. Its funds came from businessmen and from the aristocracy.

Such was the state of Spain before the rising of the generals in 1936, the revolution and the subsequent civil war. In the middle of July, Durruti entered hospital for a hernia operation.

## Revolution and Civil War

In February, 1936, a Popular Front (the Stalinists, Harry Gannes and Theodore Repard, in their book *Spain in Revolt*, call it a 'People's Front') Government of various sorts of Republicans and 'socialists' came to power. There were no Communists in the Government or Communist sympathisers; indeed, the Stalinists only won 14 seats out of a total of 470, and their membership was probably under 3,000 or about a tenth of that of the FAI. Whatever else it was, the militarist-Falangist uprising was not an attack on Stalinism.

On July 11, a group of Falangists seized the broadcasting station at Valencia, and issued a proclamation stating: 'This is Radio Valencia! The Spanish Falange has seized the broadcasting station by force of arms; tomorrow the same will happen at broadcasting stations throughout Spain!' This was only a beginning. At five o'clock in the afternoon of July 17, General Franco assumed command of the Moors and Legionnaires of Spanish Morocco, and issued a manifesto to the Army and the Nation to join him in establishing an Authoritarian State in Spain. In the next three days, all of the fifty Army garrisons, with the support of the Falange, the majority of the landlords, aristocracy, big bourgeoisie and, of course, the Catholic Church (itself a wealthy institution), declared for Fascism. War had been declared on the peasants and workers of Spain. And they took up the challenge.

In Barcelona, the militarist rising took place on July 19. Hearing of the uprising, Durruti—whose wound was still open—immediately left hospital and joined the workers on the barricades. During the evening of the 18th, both anarchists and 'Trotskyists' raided rifles and dynamite. They also commandeered as many vehicles as they could lay hands on. On July 20, both Ascaso and Durruti took part in an anarchist assault on the Ataranzas Barracks. The pro-Fascist forces, after considerable and prolonged firing, surrendered at half-past one in the afternoon; but not before Durruti's friend and comrade Ascaso had been killed. Following the assault on the barracks, the anarchist workers attacked the Fascist-held Hotel Colon. The siege lasted thirty-six hours, during which every one of the windows had concealed a rifle or machine gun and had been raining bullets on hundreds of almost unarmed workers in the surrounding streets. Durruti was among the first few to enter the building. By the evening of the 20th, the rising in Barcelona had been completely crushed. But not elsewhere in Spain.

The following day, President Companys was visited by Garcia Oliver and Durruti. 'These formidable men of violence,' says Hugh Thomas, 'sat before Companys with their rifles between their knees, their clothes still dusty from the fight, their hearts heavy at the death of Ascaso.' Companys then made a very skilful, typical politician's speech, admitting that the CNT and the anarchists had never been 'accorded their proper treatment', but that the anarchists were now 'masters of the city'. He appealed to them to accept him as leader of the Catalan Government. Garcia Oliver fell for the 'soft-soap'. He became the world's first (and, it is hoped, last) anarchist Minister of Justice! However, Durruti had far more important things to do.

The Catalan workers set up an 'Anti-Fascist Militia's Com-

mittee', comprising representatives of the CNT, the FAI, the UGT, the neo-Trotskyists and a number of republican groups. This committee, according to Thomas, was the real 'government' of Barcelona, and indeed the whole of Catalonia. It was, says Thomas, dominated by its anarchist representatives—Oliver, Durruti and Ascaso's brother, Joaquin.

A week later, the committee delegated Durruti to organise an Anti-Fascist Militia. He formed the now-famous 'Durruti Column'.

## Aragon and Anarchism

On July 23, two columns set out from Barcelona to liberate Saragossa on the Aragon front. The first column was composed almost entirely of anarchist militiamen, and was over 1,000 strong. Its number soon increased to between 8,000 and 10,000. It was by far the largest and strongest unit on the anti-Fascist side. They were all volunteers and mostly anarchists, anarchist sympathisers and members of the CNT.

By the beginning of August, Durruti's column was within sight of Saragossa. But a certain Colonel Villalba, Commander of the Barbastro garrison and now in 'official', but rather vague, command of the republican forces on the Aragon front, persuaded Durruti to halt his column for fear of being cut off from the other columns. Durruti agreed; but later continued his attack on the city. During the assault, the cathedral was burnt to the ground. Durruti never made any secret of his aims. Indeed, he is alleged to have remarked to a Russian reporter just before the assault on the city:

'It is possible that only a hundred of us will survive, but with that hundred we shall enter Saragossa, beat Fascism and proclaim libertarian communism. I will be the first to enter. We shall proclaim the free commune. We shall subordinate ourselves neither to Madrid nor Barcelona, neither to Azana nor Companys. . . . We shall show you Bolsheviks how to make a revolution.'

Saragossa was captured and Aragon freed from Fascist control. Moreover, in the words of Hewetson, Durruti 'laid the foundations of the great advance into Aragon, which established the front and safeguarded the revolutionary peasant collectives on which the food supply of Catalonia depended'. And Souchy observed that 'Wherever his column advanced, they socialised, they collectivised, they prepared everything for free socialism'. Felix Morrow in his *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain*, noted that 'At least three-fourths of the land was tilled by collectives. Peasants desiring to work the land individually were permitted to do so, provided they employed no hired labour. . . . Agricultural production increased in the region from thirty to fifty per cent over the previous year, as a result of collective labour. Enormous surpluses were voluntarily turned over to the government, free of charge, for use at the front.' Altogether, writes Thomas, there were 450 collectives.

Morrow says that many workers from abroad saw Aragon and praised it. Not only that but anarchism, **Communismo Libertario**, was also more efficient!

Of the situation, Thomas (not always an impartial writer) comments:

'It was the presence of Durruti and the other powerful CNT-FAI columns in Aragon which made possible the establishment in that region at least of a purely Anarchist authority (sic!). This was a most disturbing event from the point of view of the Central Government, the Catalan Government, the Communists, and indeed all groups apart from the CNT and FAI themselves. But there was nothing that they could do about it. . . . The anarchists and peasants 'set up a regional "Council of Defence", composed entirely of CNT members, and presided over by Joaquin Ascaso, brother of Durruti's famous companion killed in July. This had its seat at Fraga, and from thence exercised supreme power over the whole of Aragon. Deriving power directly from the collectives, this was now the sole real revolutionary power in Spain.'

In September, after the liberation of Aragon from Franco's forces, Durruti was interviewed by Pierre van Paasen of the *Toronto Star*. In this interview he gives his views on Fascism, government and social revolution. Despite the fact that his remarks have only been reported in English—and were never actually written down by him in his native Spanish—they are worth repeating here.

'For us,' said Durruti, 'it is a matter of crushing Fascism once and for all. Yes; and in spite of the government.'

'No government in the world fights Fascism to the death.'

When the bourgeoisie sees power slipping from its grasp, it has recourse to Fascism to maintain itself. The Liberal Government of Spain could have rendered the Fascist elements powerless long ago. Instead it compromised and dallied. Even now at this moment, there are men in this government who want to go easy on the rebels.'

And here Durruti laughed. 'You can never tell, you know, the present government might yet need these rebellious forces to crush the workers' movement. . . .'

'We know what we want. To us it means nothing that there is a Soviet Union somewhere in the world, for the sake of whose peace and tranquillity the workers of Germany and China were sacrificed to Fascist barbarians by Stalin. We want revolution here in Spain, right now, not maybe after the next European war. We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry with our revolution than the whole Red Army of Russia. We are setting an example to the German and Italian working class how to deal with Fascism.'

'I do not expect any help for a libertarian revolution from any government in the world. . . . We expect no help, not even from our own government, in the last analysis.'

But, interjected van Paasen, 'You will be sitting on a pile of ruins.'

Durruti answered: 'We have always lived in slums and holes in the wall. We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a time. For, you must not forget, we can also build. It is we the workers who built these palaces and cities, here in Spain and in America and everywhere. We, the workers, can build others to take their place. And better ones! We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth; there is not the slightest doubt about that. The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world, here, in our hearts. That world is growing this minute.'

## Madrid—The End

At the beginning of November, 1936, Franco's four armies, made up mostly of Moroccans and Legionnaires, converged on Madrid. The battle began on November 8. It was basically a struggle between a well-equipped army, supported by German and Italian bombers on one side, and an ill-armed mass of urban workers on the other. There were many women fighting on the republican side. Moreover, in Madrid the Communists were relatively stronger and better organised; they were also supported by various International Brigades.

The battle continued unabated. Franco said that he would rather destroy Madrid completely than leave it to the Marxists. German Nazi troops of the Condor Legion planned to set the city on fire, quarter by quarter. From November 16 onwards, Madrid was bombed by German planes day and night. In three nights alone over 1,000 people were killed by the bombs. Furthermore, Madrid was cut off from the rest of Spain.

In this situation of desperate crisis, Durruti decided to move 4,000 members of his Column from Aragon across the country to help relieve Madrid. His arrival had a tremendous effect on the besieged workers of the city. It saved Madrid, at least for a while. But on November 20, just as he was getting out of a car, a stray bullet hit him in the back of the head, and he died immediately. On November 22, his body was brought back to Barcelona, accompanied by a number of his closest comrades. It lay in state until the following morning. Thousands filed past the open coffin. Karrill describes the funeral thus:

'It had been arranged for 10 o'clock, but hours before it was impossible to enter the Via Layetana. . . . From all directions groups with banners and wreaths arrived. All Barcelona was out to pay their last tribute to their hero. Many groups carried banners with inscriptions. The words "We shall avenge him"

were repeated over and over again. Immense masses of people streamed into the square outside the house of the Regional Committee, when Durruti's comrades carried the coffin out on their shoulders. Armed militiamen accompanied them. The band played the Anarchist "hymn": "Sons of the People". And tens of thousands raised their fists in salute.' Many important dignitaries were, of course, present, including the 'anarchist' Minister of Justice, Garcia Oliver, and the Russian Consul who said he was deeply moved (!). Over 500,000 people attended Durruti's funeral. Thousands of banners and black, and black and red, flags flew in Barcenola that day.

What sort of man was Durruti?

Brenan says that both Ascaso and Durruti were fanatics who, through their feats of daring, made themselves heroes of the Catalan proletariat; they were the 'saints of the anarchist cause', showing the way by their example. Thomas says that for some, Durruti was a 'thug', a 'killer' and a 'hooligan'; for others he was the indomitable hero, with a fine 'imperious head eclipsing all others, who laughed like a child and wept before human tragedy'. George Woodcock calls him 'the celebrated guerrilla leader' and an idealist. Vernon Richards also refers to him as a guerrilla 'leader', but not the kind who 'direct' the masses.

Frederica Montseny said that Durruti was a kind man, with a 'herculean body, the eyes of a child in a half-savage face'. He was a man of the people who did not impose himself on others. Liberto Callejas has spoken of his idealism, of his perseverance and his firmness. 'Above all, Durruti was a proletarian anarchist', who moulded himself on the teachings of the anarchist, Anselmo Lorenzo. Durruti, he said, was a propagandist who preferred simple words. He insisted on clearness. When he spoke on a platform, his audience well understood what he said. And like Makhno, Durruti was often gay. Emma Goldman, when she met him during the fighting, said that she found him 'a veritable beehive of activity'.

Durruti's Column, like Makhno's partisan army, was completely plebeian in character. One of his comrades wrote of the Column: 'The Column is neither militarily or bureaucratically organised. It has grown organically. It is a social revolutionary movement. We represent a union of oppressed proletarians, fighting for freedom for all. The Column is the work of Durruti who determined its spirit and defended its libertarian principles until his last breath. The foundation of the Column is voluntary self-discipline. And the end of its activity is nothing else than libertarian communism.' Moreover, Durruti also ate and slept with everyone else; and when there was a shortage of anything, such as mattresses or shoes, he went without the same as everybody else.

Of himself, Durruti said to Emma Goldman:

'I have been an anarchist all my life. I hope I have remained one. I should consider it very sad indeed, had I to turn a General and rule men with a military rod. . . . I believe, as I always have, in freedom. The freedom which rests on the sense of responsibility. I consider discipline indispensable, but it must be inner discipline, motivated by a common purpose and a strong feeling of comradeship.'

PETER E. NEWELL.

## SONS OF THE PEOPLE

*Sons of the people, your chains oppress you!  
This injustice cannot go on!  
If your life is a world of grief,  
Instead of being a slave, it is better to die!  
Workers!  
You shall suffer no longer!  
The oppressor must succumb!  
Arise  
Loyal People at the cry  
Of Social Revolution!*

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