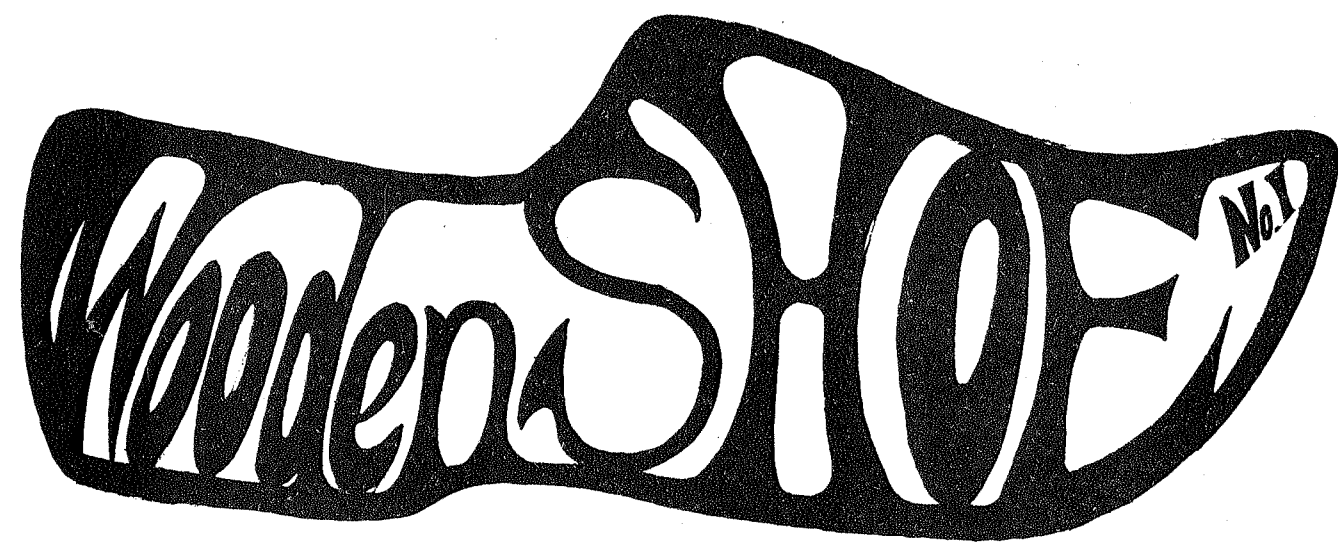


one Shilling



one Shilling

## THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

AS SEEN IN THE NEAR WEST

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT seems to have been the greatest source of division and confusion since the linguistic problems alleged to have arisen during the building of the Tower of Babel. The French Right Wing newspapers resemble comic strips, as these notoriously anti-Semites herald the fabulous gains of the HEROIC ISRAELIS (sales juifs no more!) The Communist Parties duck and swerve in an effort to reconcile their mass recruitments on an anti-Anti-Semitic basis with the cruder remarks of Kosygin, the Stolypin of our day, whose remarks are reminiscent of the Black Hundreds of Russia.

Partisans of the Arabs assure us (even while the anti-Jewish mob in Tunis and Aden is beating elderly Jewish merchants to death) that all the talk of massacre in Tel Aviv was just jolly fun for the kiddies and Nasser never meant it. The Israeli partisans insist they never meant to take anything, and somewhat misguidedly show how Israeli buses are helping, actually helping, Arab refugees to stream out of Jerusalem and make for the Allenby Bridge.

The left ranges from the Trot-Mao line (support the Arab Revolution! - a par with the Victory for the Vietcong line, and a natural parallel) to unadulterated Zionism. It is natural that those fools enough to fall for the Victory for the Vietcong line would see Hussein, Ibn Saud, Ben Bella, old uncle Gamal Nasser and all, as the spearheads of the proletarian revolution (objectively impelled on, of course). It is equally logical that those who think that there is a socialist government in Britain, will have no hesitation in seeing a socialist state, even more advanced, in Israel, where they have workers' control under nationalisation in a capitalist society, which is the "Tribune" conception of socialism.

As the Rock of Ages on which to rely, the left propagandists blame oil interests (whether they are pro-Arab or pro-Israeli) in an effort to show an economic reason for the war. ("Freedom", in a comic-strip article that must have slipped past its usually vigilant editors, has a leading article actually suggesting that the Israelis wanted to corner the crucifix trade!! - "they will want to hold on to (Old) Jerusalem...because tourists spend so much there". On crucifixes only. The bars and hotels are on the Jewish side. Mind you, the article finishes: "Both the Arabs and Israelis were eager for war. They surged through Cairo chanting "We want war!" " Really?)

## KNOWLEDGE IS

IGNORANCE The fact is that so much is known about this corner of the world that nothing is understood. Of course there is no difference between Rhodesia and Israel, save that the Rhodesians did not escape from persecution. Yet if Rhodesia were invaded, those who are loudest in defence of Israel, would say "Serve you right". Yet white Rhodesians do work as well. Certainly South Africans of Boer descent are often as exploited as any other white working-class; and the Boers did escape from persecution. They have apartheid; the Israelis have expelled Palestinian Arabs. Why is one "progressive" and not the other? But equally, how does the expulsion of the Palestinians (p.t.o)

(continued from overleaf)

justify the actions of the Egyptians who have exploited the refugee problem; the Jordani Government that has done nothing about it; or the other Arab states, willing to help in war but reluctant to spend a piastre in peace? The oil-rich sheikhs cut a very miserly figure when it comes to helping anyone. They cry over the problem, when they are so rich they do not know what to do with their money.

## ARE JEWS

ZIONISTS? It is, of course, well known that not all Jews are Zionists, and many are strongly opposed to Zionism. It is a feature of Zionist propaganda how it has built up a movement from a backstreet "crank" idea, hotly opposed for all its early existence by the rich, the religious and the influential Jews who are now said to be "behind" it. It has been aided, of course, by Russian and German anti-semitism. No longer can it be said that all the Jews who go to Israel are Zionists. That is a feature thirty years out of date. Those who have gone there during the war from European countries, or subsequently from Eastern European and Oriental countries, have gone because they had to. There was no other alternative but suicide; and even that had been tried. They did not want to be "tolerated" any more. The plea that "Arabs have always been tolerant" is a galling one; nobody likes being tolerated and the sooner liberals find that out the better. The Palestinian "tolerant" Arabs were indeed the victims of a Jewish backlash as much as the Californian "liberals" were of a Negro backlash. Tolerance is another word for intolerance; it is a nicer thing, but it implies living upon sufferance. By the time the Jews got to Israel, they had enough of it; their ferocity in war, which surprised the Arab

armies, ought not to surprise.

RECONCILIATION Most sincere people, and all those who believe in peace and freedom as real entities, wish well to the Jews and to the Arabs. But while they can solve most problems, on paper, this problem cannot even be solved on paper. The Irish partition can be solved on paper; even the Vietnamese war. But not this. The well-meaning statements of the Bertrand Russell foundation; the pathetic attempts of "Peace News" (which believed that if the Israelis made their state secular, it would solve the problem.. big news! it is already secular); none of them even touch the problem on paper.

Jews and Arabs must get together. But how? There is unfortunately only two ways of solving the problem in the Middle East and both are equally utopian. One is anarchism and the other is war. Either there are no nation states at all, or fighting goes on: the True Utopia versus the False. The False Utopia does not solve anything (we now know) as if there is a major defeat it only makes way for a war in the future. If there is not, it is indecisive.

## REVOLUTIONARY

DEFEATISM This was a case in which the conception of struggling for the defeat of one's homeland was a revolutionary potential: and in the defeated Egyptian Army, abandoned by its "socialist" officers and whose generals are guilty of sacrificing their country solely because of their callous regard for the "fellaheen" in the ranks, there are the seeds of revolution. When the journalists hear the defeated soldiers shout "Long live Dayan" and "Long live Israel", this is

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 9).

## WHO STOLE THE OLD MAN'S MONEY BOX ?

- Albert Meltzer

In the Welfare State our hospitals are free - all who do not desire a private ward, rich and poor alike, citizen and immigrant, visitor and resident - none have anything to pay. With one notably outstanding exception. Those least able to afford - the old age pensioners - are required to pay for their treatment. The almoner confiscates the pension book. Such is the alarming and scarcely credible information received from dozens of old age pensioners who have been in hospital.

There is an argument put up by some local authorities which says that if people are in receipt of supplementary allowances and National Assistance, they do not require same if they are having "extended hospital treatment" and their wants provided. But it may be pointed out that a similar "logic" does not provide for the confiscation of Army or civil pensions; shares in industry; family allowances; or anything else and students' grants, for instance, sometimes continue for a long time. So far as the old age pensioner is concerned, one week is the limit for "extended treatment" in many hospitals. After that, all their allowances are docked.

But even this meanness is not the limit. Up to this point, however cheeseparing it may be, the local authorities are well within the law. So imbued are they with the "workhouse spirit" of our institutions, however, that they do not stop here. They go on to deprive pensioners of their pension books, in some cases giving (giving!!) them back enough to pay the rent at home. If, however, they are obliged to give up their homes and stay in hospital, they take the books altogether and allow (allow!!) pocket-money.

The weekly limit means that many old-age pensions, however ill,

like to take their own discharge when a week is out. Obstinacy, thinks the doctor. The almoner knows better.

Now it may be argued that National Assistance is given by the State but it is not charity, and is not to be considered in those terms. If however it is argued that the State would otherwise be giving twice, then there is not much one can do about it except by way of publicity, for few people would condone such meanness being practiced on older people who not only richly deserve any money they are getting, and need it, but are usually chary of taking it anyway. The pension book is another matter. That is theirs by right. It is not conditional upon what treatment they may receive by hospital benefit. It goes to the richest of the rich as well as to the poor. To take away the pension book is robbery.

What to do I am not one hundred per cent sure of my facts. So many will not talk. They are terrified, some without cause. They came from a generation that did not question official meanness. They dreaded the workhouse and are glad not to have it. What they have is a bit better and they are afraid, without cause, of losing it. But we can find out. This is what we must do:- First, (Continued on page 7).

# ANARCHISM AND/OR THE PEACE MOVEMENT

by "INTERNATIONALIST"

IN MODERN peace movement terminology, "violence" has a somewhat different connotation from that used by anyone else, or from that originally used in the working-class movement. Within pacifist

jargon, "violence" is anything that is not, in the same jargon, "non-violent", and "non-violent" implies more than mere non-resistance. The majority of people are, of course, neither pacifists nor are they "believers in violence". It is the instinct to non-aggression that makes them obey orders in terms of violence in time of war.

Within the jargon of the working-class revolutionary movement, "violence" has always been taken to mean individual or class aggression by violent means, inevitably illegal. Thus there is always confusion in the anarchist movement when those who come to it from pacifism talk of "violence" (conceived of as "legal") while those who come from the working-class movement think of the same term as implying something different. As a result, those who merely do not accept the pacifist case are hooked on to a label of "violence" much to the delight of the bourgeois press, which has always delighted to portray the anarchists as if they believed in violence for its own sake, and to (at best) depict the anarchists as either "violent" or "philosophic" (i.e. harmless nutcases). Pacifist writing has therefore done a disservice to anarchism in its fixing a label of "violence" v. "non-violence" and forcing those who were simply not pacifists to use a misleading label.

Harmful effects of peace movement  
This above everything else is

one of the harmful effects of the so-called peace movement upon our movement. It should be borne in mind that prior to 1914, there was quite a clear attitude to war in the working-class movement, notwithstanding its dissensions. All radicals, socialists, anarchists, who opposed all wars of the ruling-classes, accepted the fact that anti-militarism and anti-patriotism did not bind them never to take up arms. Some socialists did take patriotic attitudes during wars; while scientific Marxists argued that wars were historically inevitable or for the progress of civilisation. While the Anarchists did not take this view, and yet mostly accepted the fact that revolution implied some form of fighting, none of this was thought of as "violence" which was understood to mean the use of force in industrial disputes or the individual assassination of tyrants, which some Anarchists accepted and some did not. (It is on this score that De Leon, for instance, attacks anarchist "violence"). Few Anarchists ever denounced guerrilla fighting, and to refute an old misconception, Tolstoy certainly did not. (He may not have been entirely an Anarchist but was certainly not a pacifist in our current sense of the term and dubiously a Christian in the then sense of the term).

Individual Violence. Only the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, and the low ebb of morale  
(Continued)

(Continued)

of the French workers, made the fact of individual assassination a trend in the working-class and anarchist movement; coupled, of course with repression in Russia. This latter was praised by Tories in Britain; but the liberal-minded supported the assassins, and as Russia became a menace to India, so opinion swung entirely hostile to the Tsar. Hence the Tsarist use of secret police and agents-provocateurs to try to influence British right wing opinion against the refugee plotters.

Who were the terrorists? Most of the discussions in socialist literature regarding terrorism concern this period; yet in all fairness to the anarchists, the total number was very small. Far more killings took place during five minutes any morning in Buchenwald, than in the whole of the "anarchist terror" of twenty years! - yet a German friend even convinced his Nazi guards that he was a "Strassenrauber" - bandit - dictionary version of "Anarchist" - and was transferred to the criminal wing from the political wing (hence he is alive today).

The Communist Party has always denounced individual terror, yet it has in fact murdered far more opponents though confined it to revolutionaries or ex-communists. (With the skill that went into the murders, say, of Berneri, or Trotsky, how well they could have managed Hitler - had they so chosen. And he could have been their guest in 1939). Most nationalist movements had undertaken acts of violence similar to those of the anarchists in their "violent" heyday; but note one difference. Compare the lone anarchist who, on his own initiative, assassinated Pres. Carnot, in his carriage, in full view of a patriotic procession - with the three dozen Fascists who hid in a Fascist street to wait for Premier

(Anarchism & the Peace Movement)

Léon Blum to pass by, so as to beat him up (only to run away when workmen came down from a building scaffolding, having seen it from above)..and then say, are we hypocritical to say "our violence is different from theirs!"

All this is to say that we can no more write out the individual assassins of anarchism from working class history than we can erase the memory of the Luddites, the Rebecca-men or the physical-force Chartists. But it is true to say that this type of individual violence may no longer be feasible except in a highly dictatorial society like Franco's Spain or Mao's China; and even there we find reservations coming in. Is this to say however that there is no difference left, today, between anarchism and the more militant forms of pacifism?

Attitude to war. The "peace movement" developed in Britain as a compromise. It was at first a curious alliance between the Quakers and inheritors of the nonconformist conscience on the one hand, and politicals (from reformists to revolutionaries) on the other. Because of the political implications of the former, the State in the First World War was reluctant to give conscientious objectors the treatment it gave deserters (as happened in France) and also subtly tried to split the politicals from the soldiers. The Peace Pledge Union in the 'thirties inherited what remained of the "never again" (anti-war, left-wing and not necessarily pacifist) movement and of the original C. O. movement. But it made its earliest appeals to the Christian conscience and was very much a child of the Free Church  
(Cont. on page 6)

(Continued from overleaf)

Anarchism and the Peace Movement

and the Labour Party left. As the Labour Party shed its Lansbury wing and grew a new "left", so the P.P.U. grew, attracting "dis-illusioned" Labourites as well as making recruits directly, many of whom on a class basis would normally have gone to the Conservative Parties. For the first time, people came "into the movement" not as socialists nor as radicals, but as pacifists. Their first preoccupation was peace. To many in the new generation, "the movement" means something quite different from what it did to my generation. To them, "the movement" is the peace movement; they may consider the anarchists a branch of it, even a dissident breakaway from it! - but to us, "the movement" was either the working-class movement of which we were a dissident breakaway, or the anarchist movement itself. (I do not regard myself in the same "movement" as "Peace News" say - but whether all readers agree with me is another matter).

During the Second World War, the dialogue between pacifism and the State - owing to the C. O. tribunals - influenced the whole of pacifist thinking. Why (except in terms of the working-class movement) if you oppose this war, should you support any kind of self-defence? If you reject The Country in its hour of need, you must logically never be prepared to swat a fly in anger. While many so-called pacifists accepted the logic of this argument (Joad, Russell, Middleton Murry) and supported the war while still claiming to be pacifists; others fell back on weird cults such as Jehovah's Witnesses or the S.P.G.B. to give a "consistent" answer for those who had no other explanation; yet others took the view that the tribunals were right. 'If you are prepared to eat meat you are prepared to drop an atom bomb -'

for who could possibly deny that if he was not prepared to bayonet a soldier in defence of bourgeois civilisation, he must believe in suffering any conceivable humiliation a frustrated judge might think up as a possibility.

The new generation. After the war, the absurdity of pacifist thinking had got so great the P.P.U. was beginning to fade out. But the sheer horror of atom bombs made a new generation possible. It certainly inherited a lot of flabby thinking (at one time, they were saying around the Committee of 100 that if you opposed bombing you must also be prepared to inform to the police on anyone prepared to use "violence" on a demonstration - so fantastic a statement I asked a speaker to repeat it three times before I believed I had got it right). But it did have one good effect in bringing along a new generation - though whether it brought them along, or they brought it along, I leave for others to say. I must admit to having been rather surprised to find suddenly dozens and even hundreds of young anarchists coming along to us, it is true often hooked on pacifism, but not to the extent that they could not become unhooked after a certain degree of discussion as to what was pacifism and what was anarchism, which is after all the subject of this article.

A Synthesis ? Is a synthesis possible between Anarchism and Pacifism? Some pacifists think this already exists, especially some of the "Peace News" people, some of whom for instance, complained of the anarchists at the Cuban demonstration (a specifically anarchist affair) "letting down" the peace movement; some not understanding why anarchists should object to the carrying of Vietcong flags on a

(Continued on page 8)

WHO STOLE THE OLD MAN'S  
MONEY BOX ?  
(Continued from page 3).

I ask all readers to get in touch with their local hospital. Go to the old people's ward and ask. They will tell you once you have their confidence. Let me know the results. I would like to have a sample from at least 15 hospitals... have the old people in the old people's wards and in the temporary wards surrendered their pension books?

When we have established our facts beyond cavil, I propose that ONE PARTICULAR HOSPITAL which needs to be selected, be "Blacked" for treatment. Can you take industrial action against a hospital? Of course. It is not the doctors and nurses you are fighting: it is a public authority which resides in offices which have no social function and which, however hit, contributes nothing to or from the social well being. We will circularise the workers in that block of offices and take some action - e.g. withdrawal of cleaning facilities springs to mind - until the PENSION BOOKS ARE RESTORED. Another form of action might be picking the flowers from the park outside the Town Hall. It is ineffective but publicity-gathering. We may even get the electricity withdrawn. First, however, let us be sure of our facts, and then let us make an example of one group of public officials.

(Letters please to A. Meltzer, 7 Coptic Street, London, W.C.1. with details of individual cases of pension books being withdrawn in hospital especially for short stays).

MEET YOUR FRIENDS AT THE WOODEN SHOE...centre for our literature.

The "Wooden Shoe" Group is undertaking (together with the Coptic Press) the publication of a series of books and pamphlets on Anarchism.

Date....Summer  
1967

Including the following:-

Reprint of Peter Kropotkin's classic "MUTUAL AID" now out of print.

Reprint of Alex Comfort's "Art and Social Responsibility" with a new foreword by the author.

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From:- The Wooden Shoe Bookshop,  
42 New Compton Street,  
LONDON, W.C.1.



(Continued from page 6)

specifically "peace movement" demonstration. Why, on certain issues, cannot we work with certain people, without merging? It is all to the good that movements should retain their identity without merging, provided they do not spend all their time attacking each other. I must frankly admit I find it personally utterly impossible to work with anyone inside the pacifist movement; I fail to find a single point of identification. I accept however that others can and do work alongside them. I cannot understand the attitude, for instance, of a respected comrade from Birmingham who wishes the enthusiasm - and anti-CND attitude - of young "Easter Anarchists" to be damped down so that it is possible to go on working with C.N.D. ("we have to work with these people all the year round" - but why DO you have to if you don't want to? - there are other fields).

My major criticism of pacifism is its totalitarianism. It is a relic of Gandhism, nothing if not highly centralised. The Indians were told not to use violence and they did not. A mass movement was built up by control. It was this CONTROL OVER THE MASSES, this very Satyagraha of Gandhi's, that helped to build a warlike and aggressive State. Gandhi was the founder, not Nehru. A libertarian revolutionary can no more insist on violence or non-violence than on anything else, to do so implies control and leadership. If there is a spontaneous rising he is either with it or against it.

U.S. example. Compare the struggle for Negro rights in the U.S.A. In some places it is violent, in some non-violent. In the former case, does a pacifist go on supporting it? - becoming merely a non-combatant fighter (if he does, good luck to him) or does he switch sides? I do not mind him resisting non-violently in coalition with

## Anarchism &amp; the peace movement

those who are doing something different, but surely there is more to pacifism than this? (Most pacifists dodge this and say they are "not sure", e.g., what they would have done in Spain 1936).

In all cases where anarchists have struggled they have fought against their national army (Russia, Mexico, Spain etc.). In so far as Spain became a national war it was a betrayal of the Revolution. The arming of the workers is the one guarantee against dictatorship.

Uniform. When pointing this out in another pamphlet, a pacifist critic rejoined that he might be prepared to defend himself against attack, he would not put on a uniform. This is the whole (non-pacifist) anarchist case. Another pacifist argued it is not a question of "doing nothing" but of an emotional climate where non-violence meant doing something. Quite, if one can choose such a climate! As each folly creates its opposite, a non-pacifist hotly denied I had covered all the ground; for he himself was quite prepared (he had not actually done so) to build a workers army and not wait for the workers to create their own militias. Neither of these attitudes are anarchistic.

Resistance. The major contribution of the peace movement to anarchist thinking has been the stressing of the need for individual resistance. If the anarchist movement became middle class and philosophic, it might become pacifistic and non-resistant; it cannot impose a pacifistic leadership on the working-class. It could therefore never be pacifistic and resistant; but the lessons of individual resistance are always good. For it is true: "the more violence, the less revolution". (End).

## THE MIDDLE EAST WAR

(Continued from page 2)

only a way of saying "Death to Nasser", who has abandoned them to die of thirst in the desert, while he goes on playing politics with his Russian and Chinese diplomatic friends. Could these revolutionary-minded soldiers find like-minded people in Israel? We must admit that they could not do so at the present, and this in itself is a condemnation of those who think that there is "libertarian socialism" in Israel. (So dirty a word has Russian-style authoritarian socialism made of the words that describe it, whenever one sees anything approaching authoritarian socialism one thinks, by comparison, it must be libertarian!)

Yet there has been a small minority in Israel who have always been sympathetic to the revolutionary conception of unity with Arab workers in a classless and Stateless society. There are also some in Cairo too. And events will show that the mythical "Arab Revolution" will be overthrown by those from within, once they have on their side the "street" which demonstrates against foreigners only because they are the wealthy class in Egypt, and equally so against wealthy Egyptians. It is the shifts and turns of "the street", always dreaded for its intervention in politics as much as the Army, that will determine the future course of Egypt.

MILITARY LESSON. One must also look at the future of Israel. It is in for a period of Army-worship. But what is significant to us is the lie given direct to the revisionist, the pseudo-realist, phoney pacifist and anti-revolutionary humbug who has bedevilled the left. "War is no longer possible," they say - true, and when it comes they support it - but only so far as the revolution is concerned do they oppose it. You cannot have a revolution because of the atom bomb, they say...yet they are willing to take sides in a war like Vietnam or the Middle East.

But also let us remember that Israel is no bigger than Catalonia... Could the Revolution have survived given better military strategy? It is a tempting thought. But above all, the Revolution in Spain lacked international support. Yet there should be no excuses - sixty years ago Anarchism and Zionism were both "crank" ideas. They vied around the poorest districts. A Zionist Army would have sounded as crazy as an Anarchist charge d'affaires in Washington. The Zionist Army actually exists but we are as far off the Free Society as ever we were.

## PATRIOTISM .....

Michael Bakunin

Patriotism runs counter to ordinary human morality..it constitutes the transcendent morality of the State. We call it this because ordinarily it transcends the level of human morality and justice, whether private or common, and thereby it often sets itself in sharp contradiction to them. Thus, for instance, to offend, oppress, rob, plunder, assassinate, or enslave one's fellow man is, to the ordinary morality of man, to commit a serious crime. In public life, on the contrary, from the point of view of patriotism, when it is done for the greater glory of the State in order to conserve or enlarge its power, all that becomes a duty and a virtue, obligatory upon every patriotic citizen.

Genesis of our Group

THE WOODEN SHOE group is, of course, the Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review group plus those who have gathered around the Cuddonite flag. We began by thinking of in terms of a literary/satirical journal (it is still coming out; Cuddon's seems to have been lying around since August but fear not.. yet another issue will come piping hot from the press). It occurred to us that what was needed was another centre for anarchist thought and work.

Freedom Press having shifted their bookshop to Fulham, in surroundings that must baffle new members of the Special Branch on the look-out, there was for some time nowhere in central London where people could hang around talking occasionally. When visitors came to London they had to wait for week-end meetings. While convinced libertarians bought their ultra-left journals in the commercial newsagents or even in the totalitarian C --- t's. The Wooden Shoe Bookshop was born - Ted Kavanagh is in charge (process servers from Camden Borough Council, note). Meanwhile, aside from the bookshop - a worthwhile project in itself - we found the necessity for another anarchist press. For it is only when you put all the anarchist books and pamphlets and mags together in one shop, out of which someone has to pay the bills and live, that you find how few they are, and what long gaps there are between publication.

The American Universities are finding it commercially profitable to reprint our old stuff - nothing can be more infuriating - when you think how we went without over the

years to bring it out....Well, no use complaining - let us bring out as many new books, mags and pamphlets as we can...

The group that is growing up among our regulars is a part of the Anarchist Federation. We do not in this magazine claim to voice the views of the movement. We do not really aim to voice the views of each other; merely to continue discussions on various subjects that come up. In the next issue we will speak of propositions for action on various issues.

ON SALE AT WOODEN SHOE:Anarchist journals

Freedom

Anarchy

Cuddon's

Syndicalist journals

Direct Action

Industrial Worker

Rebel Youth

Pacifist

Peace News

Marxist

Socialist Leader

Workers Review

Tribune

Solidarist

Solidarity

Psychedelic

International Times

Oz

East Village Other

London Anarchist Group

Weekly meetings at the

"Lamb &amp; Flag" (see advt. in "Freedom" each week).

Hyde Park Meetings. Most Sundays there is an Anarchist platform at Marble Arch. Speakers: Frank Hirshfeld, John Rety etc.

## ANARCHISTS &amp; ORGANISATION

Towards Carrara

by "Internationalist"

NOTE: An International Congress is scheduled to take place in Carrara, Sept. 1968. Debate wages as to what shall be discussed, and who shall participate.

In the course of many talks on the subject of anarchism, I have rarely failed to hear the criticism, especially from unorganised people, that Anarchists, of course, "disbelieve in organisation". One goes on explaining that there is a difference between libertarian organisation on the one hand, and authoritarian organisation on the other; even among Anarchists, however, it is difficult for those proselytising from other movements to understand that the rejection of authority does not necessarily carry with it the rejection of all and any form of association.

It is not in a way surprising that those coming from highly authoritarian concepts might think that if they now reject authority, they have abandoned any method by which organisations could exist, having no experience of FREE ORGANISATION. It is equally the case that those who reduce a diluted anarchism to a mere progressive trend in sociology - inducing a fashionable tinge of radicalism and a comfortable feeling of permanent protest - might well also see no necessity to organise, since nothing can be done save as lies within the well-worn path of liberalism.

The Anarchist movement proper is not to be identified with these parasitical growths; it faces now a problem of organisation not as regards future society but as regards itself. In preparation for the proposed International Congress, the discussions as to what should be placed on the agenda are bound to remain sterile until we can answer the major question: "What is the congress about?" To prepare the way for a "federation

OF national federations" (as the Paris preparatory commission has suggested) and on which the Bulgarian anarchists have expounded at length? The Bulgarian comrades have explained how just as groups should combine to form a local federation, and the local federations combine to form a national federation, so finally the national federations can combine. All this, it should be said immediately, takes place on paper. The English movement has challenged it. They ask for fresh thinking as to WHAT IS A FEDERATION? The Spanish comrades, equally with the Bulgarians, lay down a clear plan as to how a federation "should" work, but equally with their fellow-exiles, they have no opportunity to put it into practice.

WHAT IS A FEDERATION? The idea now adopted by the Preparatory Commission, which has managed to avoid having English participation upon it, that those not in national federations should be excluded from the conference, means that, while nobody can deny that at some point some faction must be excluded from any conference, here we have the situation where a group has only to call itself a national federation to be "recognised" as such. A larger group, thus beaten to the post, is left outside - an idea which has bedevilled the syndicalist international for years, and caused it to disappear where it could legally operate, being preserved by its movements "in exile". p.t.o.

## Anarchists &amp; Organisation (Towards Carrara) - continued.

Let us cast a critical look - for the first time, I think - at this notion of anarchist "movements in exile". I have before referred in articles to the "tragicomic" situation of the political refugee and each time the editor of the paper concerned has altered the word - not believing his eyes - to "tragic". Certainly the lot of the refugee in, say, France 1938/50, was fraught with hazards and danger; this was hardly the case in England, where political exile merges into café-keeping and the refugees looking back at their old countries, petrified into salt like Lot's wife, were rarely ever to be taken seriously, as a political force; notwithstanding a spectrum ranging from "Free Austrian" Allies to White Russians.

The Polish reactionaries may regard themselves as exiled in Kensington; but why are Anarchists, who reject the nation-state, in exile in any country? Our many Australian friends in the anarchist movement in London would laugh their heads off if it were suggested they form an "Australian movement in exile"; yet the Bulgarian Anarchists in Australia regard themselves in all seriousness as the "Bulgarian movement in exile". It is true the latter are forced expatriates and the former voluntary (but not always); yet is this why the Bulgarians must remain obstinately Bulgars? The Irish, of all political opinions, never go abroad as political refugees; it is "voluntary" - i.e. economic, or sometimes mere preference - yet they always proclaim they are "EXILES" from Erin. What has this sentimental bunk to do with Anarchism? We well understand the nationalistic sentiment that induces Irish in England to say they need separate Irish labour organisations in England; we do not understand why

Spaniards, many of whom will never go back to Spain, and who are far from being nationalists - who indeed risked their lives against the Nationalists - should cling to being "exiles" after 28 years of exile, if indeed they have ever been to Spain at all, to the point of requiring separate organisations. After 28 years, one is not a refugee any more than one is still an adolescent; the refugee politician is as tragic and comical as the adolescent in his forties.

## WHAT CAN

## EXILES DO?

But, you will say, the exile movement has a purpose. I wish I knew what it was. To prepare a Garibaldian expedition to the homeland? To march back in formation, re-taking the cities it lost on the way out? To be re-invited by a revolutionary movement to come back and lead it? Dreams!

It is true the Austrian refugees kept themselves firmly organised, across party lines, and went back, established by foreign arms, as a tightly-knot government and opposition. This would be quite inconceivable from an anarchist point of view; yet because there are anarchist movements "in exile", voices have not been lacking to suggest, for instance, an "anarchist party" to put up for the Cortes, perhaps by taking part in another (paper) government and having its stake in a (paper) republic.

Can an exile movement keep in touch with the movement at home? Certainly. But what ties has it that others of us do not have, save those of blood? - and those ties it has with the oppressor too! How much more effective would it be if the exile movement had integrated

with the local movement, brought its experiences to bear on the local movement's development, and helped form local working-class support for the underground movement in "the old country". This was the attitude of the Italian Anarchists for many years. They formed Italian-language movements, but not movements in exile. Their militants helped take part and form local movements all over the world.

They helped the movement in Spain, Argentina, France, for instance, not to mention this country (Malatesta etc); retaining their interest in Italian affairs (e.g. sending out comrades to try to assassinate Mussolini) but not to the point of nationalism. The Russian Anarchists went equally far; Bakunin, though coming from a background of Slavophilism, became a thorough-going internationalist; Kropotkin was criticised by the patriotic Russian revolutionaries for "abandoning" Russia in his integration in the French and English movements. Whilst Emma Goldman relates (in "Living My Life") how, when she and Berkman came to be deported from the U.S.A. they found to their surprise, at addressing a meeting of Russians, they had forgotten how to speak Russian. (Their period in America was comparable to that of the Spanish movement "in exile" in point of time). Lenin, to be sure, kept more in touch with Russian affairs than that, and he was successful; but he intended to form a government. If the political refugee intends to return and rule, backed by foreign arms or the dreams of a "people's recall", he should not forget his national tongue! But for a libertarian to remain a political refugee by choice (i.e. by conviction once his domicile or occupation is settled elsewhere) betrays a tinge of nationalism incompatible with an

entire disbelief in imposed leadership. This is not to disparage the Bulgarian and Spanish Anarchists, though they themselves might note such trends in their ranks. Yet in the very suggestion of a "tight" federation is the belief that some such body must keep the ceiles together. Yet is it not an impossibility? The Spanish Communist may dream (who may not?) that he will march back victorious with the Chinese Army; or señor de Madariaga may dream that a Cortes invoked by a liberal Europe will insist he comes back and be President; but how is a "refugee" to go back and liberate his country? Either it liberates itself; or it remains unfree. The Emperor Haile Selassie went back to Addis Ababa; this is not the way, surely, the Toulouse C.N.T. dreams of going back to the old offices in the via Layetana?

IS A FEDERATION  
A PARTY?

When the Anarchists speak of a federation and renounce the idea of a political party, they must bear in mind that words are of no consequence. To call oneself a federation, yet go through the same paraphernalia of bureaucracy, abdication of responsibility, membership cards, majority decisions at conferences, etc., is to play with words. If that is not a party, what is?

True, it is equally easy to have no bureaucracy, no membership cards and precious little membership, and pass decisions without any conference to ratify them or intention to carry them out. That is not unknown either!

A "federation of federations" would merely stand in the way of international cooperation by creating a new bureaucracy. At worst it might become something on the lines of the Trotskyist International, which bestows  
p.t.o.



Anarchists & Organisation: Carrara.

(Continued)

recognition on those who toe the line and uses the international as a disciplinary force against those who do not. (This has only become a farce since the "official" line became less numerous than the "unofficial").

For an organisation to be able to genuinely style itself an anarchist federation, i.e. a union of anarchist groups, it must be composed of groups with an active life, and the more active the life the less they will abdicate, or delegate, their responsibilities. Such a federation should correspond with the realities of the situation, and its groups be real ones not paper kites. One can sympathise with those who feel that groups are superfluous since revolution is spontaneous, but at the same time, while the revolution can only be the work of the workers themselves, the idea of anarchism can only come from those who accept the idea.

In looking at the composition of workers' councils insofar as they exist in industry today, they do in fact reflect the type of council that would arise in a revolutionary situation. The whole of the workers in a factory are represented; but the most active ones are supported by outside organisations with parties and factions. Should not the libertarians not also unite, outside the factory, with those who want to keep authority out? It is with this in mind that one calls for the organisation of anarchists; an organisation keeping in touch with each other those who are determined to resist authority, with the necessary physical and moral support to oppose those who wish to impose authority.

To prevent any organisation, even an anarchist one, from becoming a bureaucracy, is a herculean task; it is only by the right of recall that it can be done, and that functional groups can become bureau-

cratic is a fact of which we are all aware. The problem arises in the case of a local group where all, in theory, can be gathered at a moment's notice; it becomes more serious in the case of an international that meets perhaps every ten years. It is a sad fact that the F.A.I. and the Spanish libertarian movement generally have not been able to shake off the bureaucracy that was imposed in 1936, and that compromised itself beyond belief.

Such is the problem facing the formation of an international. And yet if we could build a non-bureaucratic and libertarian international movement, we would be able to show that anarchism was possible. At present, however, and for many years, the anarchist movement, and particularly the rarefied air of the international and "exile" movements, have resembled nothing so much as a closely guarded Masonic Lodge, whose initiates guard secrets that have long since ceased to exist. Let us hope, if not too optimistically, that at last we may be able to break through and create a situation where anarchists can discuss mutual problems, and joint action, even criticising each others' movements without provoking cries of "interference", and profiting by each others' success and failure.

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