

# BLACK FLAG SUPPLEMENT

NO. 3

## LIARS AND LIBERALS - THE OTHER ANARCHISM

### The Woodcock - Sansom School of Falsification

(Under review: the new revised edition of Geo. Woodcock's 'Anarchism', published by Penguin books; the Centenary Edition of 'Freedom', published by Freedom Press.)

**HEALTH WARNING;** Responses to Freedom Press clique have been described by our friends as 'terminally boring' but can we let everything pass? We suggest using this as a supplement to either 'Anarchism' or 'Freedom Centennial', especially when you feel tired of living.

#### INTRODUCTION

Gradually a new sector of the bourgeoisie are trying to take over the working class movement. Those who establish their class superiority by profit making have long since taken over in the main parties, but an even greater sector has long been muscling in on the scene — those whose class power is based on State control, grants, subsidies, the lower echelons of public service, especially those based on university graduation. These are seen in what is called the 'loony left' of the Labour Party ('loony' because they need to establish a cause, one based upon the workers, or upon differing minorities, and the solutions are impracticable under capitalism). The Anarchists are not exempted. The failed mandarins or lower echelons of the bourgeoisie have established a rival anarchism, or a duality of them, (capitalist-'anarchist' or communist-'anarchist').

#### NO FEUD — NO MIDDLE GROUND

Those who think we have a 'feud' with Freedom Press and its general tendency, or its 'personalities' — any more than with the Libertarian Alliance — are wrong. With the exception of the disgraceful Philip Sansom, who has clung like a limpet to the benefits attached and whose lies and humbuggery are here exposed, many of them are quite nice people. We have nothing in common with them politically. If they could think of another description to call themselves we might quite like them. If only they could forget our names (as Woodcock does in his Penguin) we would gladly ignore them. So far as political impact is concerned they don't matter a damn. Presumably they put no more people off than do the media journalists with their shock horror stories (sometimes, as in the case of Woodcock, they coincide).

The knowledge that their pretended history and glories of the past are false makes them cynical. But it is manifest from the Centennial edition produced by Freedom Press that they do not understand how widely they differ from Anarchists, how remote they are from struggle or how absurd are the pretensions they make, in their claims to actually be anarchist history while eschewing anarchism.

#### WRITING UP THE PAST

There are now more people interested in anarchist history than in anarchism: history is always established by the dominant class, or its hangers-on. But these people are only concerned to establish what they did in the past — which was always as trivial as it is now — to glorify their hanging on. A worthy German professor, whom God preserve, is even now walking around notebook in hand

preparing for a three volume history ('I find the influence of Stirner on British anarchism very interesting. . .') The Amsterdam Institute for Social History, funded by the Dutch government, now utilises the CNT archives to establish itself (to quote Rudolf de Jong) as 'paterfamilias' between the CNT of Spain and the phoney CNT; the Herr Doktor proposes to do the same for them in this country, only trying to write the Anarchists out of his officially prepared history of Anarchism in Woodcock style. (Pardon us for laughing: Dr Heiner Becker has written to us thinking our objection to his manipulation of Spanish archives is to a German intellectual doing it. But Woodcock is more alien to us).

Freedom Press tendency has no existence other than the production of its journals. It sells less than a thousand copies — nearer five hundred.

It wants to create no movement, but to remain isolated in its splendour. It is useful for the middle class failure who likes to pose as an

no connection with this George Woodcock, wrote an essay in a trade union symposium; he was highly flattered by the literary reviewers' fulsome praise of his 'customary brilliance' (he had only written one other piece) and 'incisive insight' — it was a Pavlovian response from his namesake's coterie. It explains what this George Woodcock set out steadily to build up.

He came on the anarchist scene during the war, profiteering on the boom in anarchism to get into the good graces of Marie-Louise Berneri (who was always overly impressed by intellectual pretensions) who enabled him to utilise a printing press and publishing facilities bought for anarchist propaganda, to produce his literary magazine and help him build up a sycophantic clique (hence the Pavlovian response).

This led to a split within what was then still an anarchist grouping which controlled Freedom, in the course of which Vernon Richards subsequently went off with the lot.

Both Woodcock and Sansom (Penguin and Centennial respectively) blame 'extreme syndicalists' (whatever they are) and 'arrogant' Spaniards (Sansom). Nothing to do with Woodcock! Not a peep about double agent Sonia Clements! According to

Spanish).

The book wrote the Anarchists off altogether. The movement was dead. He was its 'obituarist'. Now he has issued a revised version of the book brought up 'to date'. He wasn't wrong, he says, it *did* die — but his book brought it back to life again! It adds a 'history' of the British movement for his self-glorification, actually referring to the British delegate to the Carrara conference denouncing those who pretended to be anarchists but were so in name only — he omits to mention this was a reference to himself! In his 'history' he adds such pieces as the present constituent parts of the International Workers Association (he doesn't know it changed its name from 'Workingmens' for obvious reasons — but then the women's movement has passed him by) — omitting only the British section. To include it would be to demolish the myth that he makes of Freedom Press being the only anarchist movement, instead of something representative of another class, another philosophy.

#### SPLINTERDICK & HORROR

Woodcock glories in the name of Intellectual conceiving it as a sort of trade union mark of mostly unsuccessful writers and artists (not so far from the other George, perhaps!) (he doesn't mention Ethel Mannin, for instance, whom Nicholas Walter supposes to have done far more than she did). His contacts were with a group which he says was a lot less than fifty (fifteen perhaps). He refers to his astonishment at seeing the growth of the anarchist movement once it had recovered from the blow of his departure, but does not see he is looking at something different from Freedom Press in which it has no interest: squatting, feminism, the association with Spanish and European resistance groups which influenced and cross-fertilised British anarchism have passed him by, he vaguely read of the Angry Brigade in the press.

After the war he went to 'a different life in Canada' — as he describes his taking up a professorship and writing anti-anarchist articles for the bourgeois media. His only contribution to the anarchist press were articles denouncing anarchism and lauding pacifism. He claimed numerous atrocities had been committed by the Spanish anarchists, including the murder of people just because of their family connections, or in some cases their sexual orientations — including all the homosexuals. This far-fetched story is demolished by the absence of the actual name of even one victim. Admiral Franco, for instance, was visited in Madrid by the anarchist militia following a denunciation. 'what have I to do with my idiot son?' he asked angrily — and stayed unmolested until General Franco entered in triumph, when he left the city. As to the sex murders, they were alleged by Woodcock to have 'been established' (he was told of them by another Intellectual so it must be true) and 'Red Lion Street' — which is another way of saying Vernon Richards and perhaps dear old Lilian Wolfe who ran it — were accomplices to covering them up. He hinted, in another pot-boiler, at the mysterious death (!) of someone connected with the IRA who had presumed to meddle with Richards (But perhaps Penguin's legal adviser prevented him from repeating this in the Penguin). Even worse, however, Freedom Press failed to recognise the

Two quotes from Arthur Moyse, interviewed by George Melly in the Sunday Observer Magazine, 18th December 1977.

And his association with the Anarchists? That came after the war — down the Park, at the bookshop in Red Lion Square, through letters exchanged with Philip Sansom. Asked to contribute, he began to write art criticism for 'Freedom' and Augustus John, who financed the paper, said he'd only go on doing so if Arthur continued, so he did. The Anarchists are all middle-class though. That's why they don't vote. They can afford their purity.

He'd always voted Labour. Politicians aren't evil, just mental cases like the rest of us. If three Anarchists get together they will

OBSERVER MAGAZINE 18 DECEMBER 1977

produce two newspapers. Yet he found Anarchism very essential. It was a philosophy for the defence of individual freedom — like Christianity.

#### ARTHUR MOYSE continued

Was he always Left-wing? 'No, no! Conservative. Most working-class children are Conservative. It's their mothers. Working-class women are very Conservative.'

anarchist intellectual. But what they mean by anarchism is: vastly different from what Anarchist means, as may be seen here. Its uneasy semi-alliance with Class War is explicable by the fact that posing as leaders but having no movement beneath them, they like to pretend there is one, but so working class it is far beneath them, and they are but the intellectual leadership — some sections of Class War, on the other hand, like to have a 'leadership' which they reject but has to be invented to show they broke from it! It is summarised by asking Donald Rooum to speak and then throwing beer cans at him. Or by someone from Class War knowing so little of Richards as to describe him as a 'wealthy socialite', but attacking his 'leadership'.

#### SNIPE & WOODCOCK

Let us begin by examining the Woodcock story of 'anarchism'.

Some years ago the late George Woodcock, a trade union leader with

Sansom the Spaniards blighted his life by persuading people what a load of wimps moved in on Freedom.

After the war the anarchist movement went into the doldrums, chiefly because the middle class pacifists had moved in and the working class felt pushed out. Not so, says Woodcock, in his Penguin book, the disaster it suffered was that George Woodcock had moved to Canada! Having gone to Canada, he wrote his first Penguin on 'Anarchism' consisting largely of painstaking biographies of arbitrarily selected men, all patronised to some extent or another (Godwin wrote 'painstaking biographies', Bakunin was a fool, Kropotkin an optimist and so on; significantly Woodcock can't even manage to spell correctly the name of the most talked of anarchist in the anarchist movement proper, Durruti — one academic after another, copying from each other, has followed the same mistake of calling him 'Durutti', an impossible spelling to anyone 'aggressive' enough to speak

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# LIARS AND LIBERALS

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genius of George Orwell — but *this* accusation was too much for Richards and this time he weighed in and exposed it!

## 'LITERARY GENTS'

What are we to make of this politically. We turn to Colin Ward in the Centennial. He pleads that he — and no doubt Woodcock — receives very little for writing books, having spent most of his life doing jobs which he 'actually believed' (no believer in the class struggle, he). He finds there is something 'rather shortsighted about our automatic anarchist sneer at the anarchist authors who write for the non-anarchist press as 'academics', 'intellectuals' or 'literary gents' it's one explanation of why there are so few of them.'

But according to Woodcock's Penguin, they abound. He regards it as a just tribute that he *should* be regarded as an intellectual (no less) and therefore a leader, because he is a professional writer of painstaking biographies. He delights in mentioning 'literary gents' (no ladies): Julian Symons, for instance, a high-brow thriller writer and book critic, wrote for Woodcock's 'Now' — thus justifying a place in anarchist history.

This is a 'sneer'? Only because Woodcockery has made a claim for leadership and dominance. What have we to do with this idiot stepson?

Woodcock's idea of an 'anarchist' in his Penguin is someone like the late Frederick Lohr who happened to be a friend of his but was a German Nationalist who thought Hitler had treated the Catholics badly and put all the problems of the world down to international finance and Rothschild. Not so Richards: his idea is Hugo Warburg a scion of the rival Warburg dynasty who happened to hand out a lot of money to his circle, as contrasted with people like the NGA trade union who tried to get the right payment for the job and a proper working agreement even with Freedom Press, they are commercially motivated.

Richard's bias comes out when he treats with the three directors of the (unionised) firm of Narod Press: one brother was 'serious' (he was the one commercially motivated) but he hints that he might reveal dark secrets about about the other two were it not for the rules of libel (actually, one was a gambler and the other semi-shunned by his family for the 'crime' of marrying a Gentile and continuing a working class life style).

This underlying background of a non-money-making middle class is seen in many quotations from the Centennial document — in which they tried to appear at their best and least cynical.

They may scoff that we are reproaching with them 'the dreaded liberalism and that the accusation of 'quietism' (do-nothingism as distinct from pacifism) is invented by wicked Spaniards or people who dislike them. But it is the liberal capitalist approach it is the approach of the State-aided middle class which hasn't made it to the top, it is not by any stretch of the imagination *anarchism*.

## A CENTURY?

Woodcock — having blamed the divisions that arose in 1944 on the 'extreme syndicalists' — then refers to the new group taking 'the name of Kropotkin's old paper'. This is true: but within eighteen months of taking the name, they assumed it was the same paper that had been going since 1886, and the Centennial production is the latest manifestation of this. Kropotkin's old paper, the paper of George Cores and John Turner, was taken over by Keell in one coup d'état (Keell justified this by proclaiming Kropotkin's alleged pro-war stand, which effectively destroyed Kropotkin). It was 'brave' him standing up to a 'secular saint' like Kropotkin they say — we wonder if they will think us equally brave for standing up to the 'intellectuals' of the brand of Woodcock.

This reasoning does not extend to 'Anarchy', which on its '25th' anniversary was kicked out by Freedom

Press and denied postbox facilities. In case they deny it is the same paper. But it is the same, as much or as little the same paper as Freedom purports to be. It changed editors and policy. Freedom has had many editors only one publisher since Richards. But it was a distinct break from the past.

The Centennial issue, like 'Freedom' is devoting to building up for purely historical purposes — with the good professor tagging behind with his notebook for a 'historical' follow-up based on it — to celebrate the 'intellectuals' failed mandarins dominance.

It also establishes Richard's claim to leadership.

How can we go through all the many bits of Freedom Press self-glorification with the sneering at real anarchists? Self effacing Richards — who steals the whole of past history of the anarchist movement, who was given a backlog of publications by Thomas Keell (so the stalwart of the old Freedom Group and especially Cores is written down and derided) — now bemoans that he has lost a few of the old issues and has the audacity to accuse us of stealing them, in a sneaking innuendo. No, Mr. Richards, we don't have your old junk. But have you forgotten that for fifteen years you let it all rot in an attic, going mildew, and any antiquarian bookseller or researcher could help themselves (but no militants), and you only discovered its value when you needed to 'prove descent' being offered a pension by someone mistaken as to your part in the movement? Or that you let whole editions of pamphlets, ready for the press but wanting a few lines of pied typesetting, rot away for the sake of the cost of a few bottles of cheap wine? How true that when people accuse others they expose themselves.

Do we make such attacks, as the worthy professor from Fulda University has said in a letter to us? It is only when the crux of the attack upon anarchism comes that we have to protest — else the tame historian behind Nicholas Walter will be taking it seriously with all the other junk. The most offensive and outrageous libel comes, needless to say, from Philip Sansom. Usually such attacks are made on Albert Meltzer, but instead in this Centennial, perhaps to his disappointment, we are spared them. Woodcock of course does not mention him at all. Here his name is dotted-through the issue (he did this or that 'with' him...) to suggest that we are 'all one movement'; his name even appears, without consent, in the promotional material together with part of an article written long ago.

He is not accused of (metaphorically) pissing on the floor or wanting to become the Minister of Justice, (whatever that is), as the highly 'intellectual' Freedom has put it — in reply to justified political criticism. His only crime one can adduce from the Centennial is that, like most Anarchists, at one time he thought one could live alongside them. With the Featherstone Letter that Freedom put itself beyond the pale. This was the notorious appeal for funds to help a police officer who had fallen from his horse while trying to crush a bunch of anarchists. It was the final straw (and no evil Spaniard prompted it!) Nor did Woodcock care to mention it — though he mentions in passing the fortnightly *Black Flag* ('a propaganda sheet' — unlike the monthly 'Freedom' — comparing it with 'Ludd' thinking it contemporaneous (Ludd was indeed a propaganda sheet published some twenty-five years ago during the dockers' strike. Maybe he picked up the names from a bibliography).

The Glasgow Anarchists are treated with contempt by Woodcock (he met a bunch of 'Glasgow workmen' one time, who were too humble to have names, apparently, in the Centennial, Tony Gobson refers to 'horny handed workmen'!). Perhaps we should explain, for the benefit, of the soft-handed psychologist, there was a long tradition of Anarchism in Glasgow, quite apart from 'Freedom' even in the twenties. In the thirties 'Freedom' was wound up by the London Anarchists and incorporated with the Glasgow 'Fighting Call'. These papers ceased publication only in order to let 'Spain and the World' get off the ground, thanks to Frank Leech in Glasgow, and Leah Feldman in London.

BLACK FLAG BLACK CROSS  
BM HURRICANE. LONDON  
WC1N 3XX

Published, typeset and layout  
BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE

Printed by Aldgate Press E1.

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

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£15 surface, £19 Air.  
6 months: £6.50 inland  
£8 surface, £10 Air.

PRISONERS: Free on request.

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Leech, an ex-Navy man turned news-agent, built up a strong vigorous movement in Glasgow, weekly attracting thousands at the meetings. Among the speakers were two, Eddie Shaw and Jimmy Raeside who had adopted some phraseology of Stirner to make a new approach to anarcho-syndicalism propaganda. (It is this which Woodcock and Gibson make so much of, otherwise they are London-centred and Freedom Pressers). Frank Leech, though clearly of our tendency, supported 'Freedom' through thick and thin (as did many of us, for our sins) until one day a heckler at his meeting asked what price your Herbert Read now that, according to the *Daily Record*, he'd taken a knighthood. Frank told him to wait until Freedom arrived the following week to answer the libel. He did not dream it was true, and Freedom not only confirmed Read's knighthood, it defended it, Woodcock, Richards and Sansom all ganging up to say how wonderful it was. Coincidence it may be, and Frank was certainly overweight and out of condition like many who took up boxing in their youth, but he died of a heart attack that day.

Of course opposition to Read's action was put down to 'personalities' if not the terrible curse of sectarianism. Nothing to do with principle! Taking a knighthood is purely a matter for the individual, it was said. How Sansom and Woodcock wish that Meltzer (another overweight veteran), would succumb similarly to blood-pressure from their efforts under review!

## TAKING A TITLE

Perhaps it might be a useful time to explain this episode. When Richards, then editing 'Freedom', heard that Read had taken a knighthood from Sir Winston Churchill no less, he telephoned him urgently for an explanation. Read obliged, sending a letter for publication, stating what a sacrifice it was for someone of his principles, but one he would gladly make in the cause of art. Surrealism had always been neglected by the State, and if the government were to give him a knighthood for his services to art, that would attract grants to neglected surrealists. Richards was about to publish this when he got an urgent call from Read telling him not to. He had just found out it wasn't given for his services to unorthodox art but for his services to very orthodox literature.

So there was really no explanation: however, someone else — referred to by Sansom as 'a doctor comrade' — wrote the article and the other 'intellectual' heavies weighed in. It is a lack of intellect to suppose that it was a clear betrayal of anarchist principles, and that the truth was that someone wanted to be Lady Read? To do him justice, Read never denied this. He said in excuse 'I am a philosopher, not a militant' — which explains this whole bunch. They regard themselves as 'philosophers', which sounds grand, but means that anarchism is for them only a cerebral weekend playscheme with no bearing on real life.

## MEMORIES OF A COL. SANDERS LOOKALIKE

Phillip Sansom whose most 'cherished memories' include the Malatesta Club, so-called, which was a very small affair compared with the club at Haverstock Hill which was later started (but by

Black Flag grouping) and became the International Libertarian Centre (also Centro Iberico) but which does not appear in either the Centennial or Woodcock. But author Colin MacInnes visited the Malatesta club and so did MP Tom Driberg (I wonder why!) — the one we started (and without funding) was used by anarchist resistance groupings from many countries. The club he refers to was used by an African group representing independence movements (all of which subsequently rose to power in their own countries and a few of whom became extremely rich). It must be granted they were never short of cash, even in exile.

The difference between the two anarchisms becomes clearer. In the centennial issue Sansom deals with the two 'remarkable stories' of the mid-sixties. Woodcock knows of none, though this was the most exciting period of international anarchist active resurgence. The one Sansom knows is that of Donald Rooum, who was framed by a police sergeant in a celebrated case (when Donald kept his head, and the evidence). By the way, Donald mentioned at the time that he wished to avoid the type of 'defence' offered by Freedom, which treated somewhat patronisingly his case by 'swinging into action' on his behalf, to use a phrase of Sansom's to describe the 'second' case.

Go along to Aldgate and see how these boring old farts 'swing into action' the centre of attraction, and recollect that as they are now, so they always were. It has long been considered a mausoleum even by persons of their tendency — it only got busy for a few months when A-Distribution got Anarchists to come along and help them — only to abandon the set-up in disgust when the same old problem arose, with self-appointed Liberal leaders, wanting to use activists to distribute their slander sheets, but insisting they should never be criticised.

This comes out when we observe Philip Sansom's scurrilous contribution to the symposium. Ever whining about criticism of 'Freedom' as being 'personalities' while stooping to the worst personal lies he can dream up in a Wimpy mind under a Colonel Sanders get-up, he has brought up, twenty years and more after the event, amazing allegations against Stuart Christie

*'The second big story of the mid-sixties is somewhat different. It is the Stuart Christie story — the tale of an 18 year old Scottish lad who in August 1964 hitch-hiked all the way to Madrid with a rucksack full of dynamite to blow up Generalissimo Franco. He was arrested in Madrid by Spanish police, who had followed him all the way from Paris (if not London!)*

*Immediately the story broke, the comrades of the Freedom Press Group swung into action. Four members formed the nucleus of a Defence Committee, which organised meetings in Conway Hall and at Trafalgar Square addressed by representatives of Freedom Press (myself), LAG, the Syndicalist Workers Federation, CND and others. One member of LAG, John Pilgrim, appointed himself press relations officer and manned the telephone in the Committee's office day and night, to ensure that any news we had from Spain was immediately available to the British press, and everything published about Christie was as true as we could make it. . . Establishing what was true was the difficulty in the Christie case. In the light of a telegram, 'Please believe in my innocence', Freedom at first took the line that the whole thing was a frame-up by the Spanish police. But when the trial came on, it was found that Christie had confessed 'freely' — having been caught red-handed. The sad thing was that a Spanish comrade, Fernando Carballo Blanco, had been caught with Christie (and it could have been a dozen others!) and ended up with 30 years against Christie's 20 — of which he served three.*

*What is even sadder is that the effort Freedom put into supporting the Christie — Carballo Defence Committee has been denigrated by techniques of sneer and smear, and reduced, in the minds of some who do not take the trouble to check what actually appeared in print, to the dread 'liberalism'. What Freedom actually printed on 29 August 1964, when we were asked to believe in the 'frame-up' line, was:*

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If Stuart Christie is, as we suggest, innocent of all charges made against him, there is no question but that a campaign on as wide a scale as possible on his behalf must be organised. But if he is guilty? Then in our opinion, the efforts of all men of goodwill must be redoubled irrespective of whether they approve or disapprove of his methods. For what will count, what will remain in people's minds is the noble intention.

*Some liberalism!*

When did he 'confess'? Artful Sansom uses quotation marks 'freely' confess — suggesting it *might* have been under torture and therefore forgivable (no torture was used) or might have been free, frank and open . . . and involving others. Fortunately Sansom was nowhere around the anarchist movement except for his pay-outs at Freedom, or such an accusation at the time would have had serious consequences. But curiously, people in prison with Stuart or in the 1st of May resistance — such as Miguel Garcia and Luis Edo — who might have had better knowledge even than Philip Sansom seem to have a vastly different idea of Stuart's contribution to the Spanish movement. Read Miguel Garcia's 'Franco's Prisoner' — in which he says that in him for the first time Britain had a decent ambassador in Spain. Such arrogance! How could he know George Woodcock didn't have a holiday there with dear old Gerald Brenan — when he explained the Anarchists were really 'primitive Christian mystics'!

'Christie went to jail for three years but the sad thing was. . . ' Even then, it seems, Sansom was secretly delighted that an impetuous activist was out of the way! He, poor devil, had gone to jail years earlier only because he happened to be in the Freedom Press office at the time they came around to arrest people.

The telegram, by the way, is fictitious. Surprisingly, in the archaic State of Spanish prisons no telegraphic facilities exist, nor can one pop out to the Post Office from the Security Headquarters. The being 'followed from London' bit may be believed by anyone who has hitchhiked from Calais to Madrid, and has been followed all the way by a police agent, but there can't be many on the ground.

## WHO WAS THE TRAITOR?

We have no interest in defending Stuart, who can look after himself, but note only a few years ago, Sansom was still saying that people working with him were 'jumping on a bandwagon'. Only a few months ago, learning that Murray Bookchin, undoubtedly someone who has used his intellect to some purpose and was an anarchist, was visiting England discussing differences with friends in the Anarchist movement, Sansom went frantic to think that he would probably not trouble to come and see the Freedom Press clique so their spokesperson urgently telephoned Christie to make an appointment for Bookchin to see them at Sansom's flat. This he did (no doubt hoping Murray would pardon him). Indeed, only a few weeks later Christie was asked, like other of his friends in the Anarchist movement, to write for this very symposium — they didn't respond.

So when did Sansom get his 'information'? Are they startling revelations he unearthed in the last few weeks — or did he know all along? Would you cooperate, even to this limited extent with someone who had been persuaded, forcibly or otherwise, by the fascist police to recant and get others sentenced to prison, or death? It would seem Sansom would. But of course in his cerebral playscheme the real world does not penetrate. He may not even realise what a gross libel on an anarchist activist it is. He does not understand anarchism. He hates activism. He may not comprehend what libel is . . . except when someone writes that 'Freedom' seems to consist of liberals. When he protests indignantly at 'sneers and smears'. Like Richards, who hesitates for legal reasons to call a business person a gambler, but thinks nothing of calling an Anarchist a thief. And when his deficiencies are pointed out he cries 'Personalities!'

## PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

John Pilgrim it may be said, was an avid supporter of Freedom Press at the

time, who cornered the market in old jazz records and made a fortune, went to University and became a follower of Prof. Lipset and a Marxist. At the time he was in earnest about the press campaign — but after Christie's release, Nicolas Walter accused him of actually having known Stuart was guilty. Pilgrim was furious. He told Nick Walter angrily in front of witnesses, that if he dared repeat that he would sue him. Some anarchism!

However we don't want to spoil Sansom of the pleasure of letting us know the source of his recent information — before he becomes an 'ibid' of the learned trans-Rhenish pedant.

We would like to know the dozen people who 'might have been' imprisoned as a result of the Confessions? They might be the very same people who carried out the sex murder known only to Woodcock, which he said Richards covered up — with Lilian Wolfe an accomplice!!

Or is the sad thing that the still aspiring artist Sansom is still trying to be a Woodcock intellectual and starting by inventing stories hoping to make him look important?

Sansom concludes with lavish praise for Richards (in private he is less flattering).

## VERO AS GOD

If people make Marx into an idol, we don't therefore make Bakunin into one, so far be it from us to elevate Stuart into 'another Vernon'. But if Sansom wants directly to compare Christie and Richards don't let us be reluctant. The contrast might help us underline what are the essential differences between Anarchists and Phoneyes.

Both, indeed, have something in common in that they tend to be 'loners' who go off on their own and blaze new tracks. Richards, when at University and (as Sansom might put it, did it not need 'courage' to say it of a 'secular saint') a '19 year old Italian lad' (or as Woodcock says, 'a young

who contributes an article 'Therefore Break Free!'. He has battled less than nobly within Conway Hall as a 'libertarian' for the 'right' of the National Front to use it as an office, a meeting place and a rally point — until Conway Hall broke free from him.

As one won't get the information from Sansom or Woodcock, one may mention that from the 'ridiculous episode' of someone eighteen years old no less, stems the collaboration of Christie with the Cuddons Group, which led to the co-operation with French students including Cohn-Bendit which sparked off the May 68 Paris revolt, a story yet to be told. It led to the formation of the Black Cross, 'with Albert Meltzer', (he isn't ashamed of this!), and so directly to the speaking tours of Miguel Garcia which had so much repercussion in various countries.

The Cuddons Group were only partly responsible for 'Ludd' which had a temporary effect on the seamen's strike so even Woodcock heard of it, and to the creation of *Black Flag*, with no pretence at being one hundred years old, but with a very real influence in the modern movement. After the Angry Brigade, and the intensive publicity received as a result, Christie went off on his own to found Cienfuegos/Refract which have published far more titles than Richards's Freedom Press — though dear Vero carefully tells Italo-Americans who might be tempted from their traditional allegiance that this is a 'johnny-come lately' and they should give all their cash to him!

With Black Flag and allied tendencies we have proved that the profession of revolutionary activism is no bar to the consideration of genuine theoretical discussions of anarchism, and that the contributions of self-styled intellectuals are unnecessary. Thought and action do not need to be divided.

Our activities have been in many directions, from propagandism to manifold activity, attracting media



Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer in Barcelona last year, on holiday with Luis Edo and his companion, Doris. Edo has a 'vastly different' opinion from Sansom.

engineer') he published a pamphlet, as he says, and then under the influence of the Spanish war, began *Spain and the World*, originally single-handed.

This is a long war from Sansom's grandiose claim that every single current anarchist activity, even emanating presumably from people in the movement before Richards, stemmed from there.

After Christie's release, he had opened up a channel of information into the Spanish resistance, shamefully ignored by 'Freedom', and indeed by many Spanish in exile. Though the whole thing was (as Sansom earlier said, before he had his 'information' about Stuart having recanted and confessed) 'a ridiculous episode' (some anarchism!) a lot stems from it, though obviously not everything, and all was due to his being prepared to work with veterans, with resistance people, and with the new generation.

Those whom the Phoneyes prefer to work with are people like Peter Cadogan,

intensive coverage without any clowning to obtain it.

But perhaps we are wrong. David Peers, writing in the next article, mentions — no doubt as an 18 year old English lad! — how he went around selling 'Freedom' in Huddersfield for years, without the least impression; a year after he moved away, Christie moved to Huddersfield where housing was cheap. The Black Cross was organised from there and it became a centre of activity. He says he complained(!) to Albert Meltzer whose 'only comment' was that somebody as to be John the Baptist. This remark was taken seriously and is recorded deadpan. So maybe the Anarchist Black Cross owes its existence to the fact that Freedom was being flogged unsuccessfully round Huddersfield a year previously to its being there temporarily! If obviously it's got to be traced back to Vernon Richards!

## THE BRYLCREEM BOY — or My lad the psychologist

Tony Gibson attempts — in an oblique character assassination of Tom Brown in the Centennial — but he is actually getting at Brian Bamford, who is Freedom's pet syndicalist-baiter and contributes to the same issue; when refers to another regular Freedom supporter who became an 'individualist' he means, Sid Parker, in a Sansom-like sneer as a 'lad'.

Why should Sid Parker be so put down, almost as if he were one of us? Well, Individualist he may be, Intellectual he may aspire to be, but he actually works on the railway. Down, Parker! Join the proles in the corridor!

When Tony Gibson was a 'lad' of 19 or so, he donned RAF uniform — posing for the famous war-time Brylcreem advertisement before hastily undoffing it! Though a conscientious objector, he may be said to be the most famous Air Force face of the war from the Brylcreem adverts. Why, the whole of one of the three arms of the Services was named in his honour — The Brylcreem Boys! One can be a male model when one is an extra-slim smoothie.

This Gibson is an admirer of the racialist psychologist (and former colleague) Eysenck, whom he has defended in the pages of 'Freedom'; he boasts of his 'public school accent' and refers sadly to his 'fate' during the war at being thrown 'into working class company with ex-taxi drivers and other commercial drivers made redundant'. He compares Hitler and Arthur Scargill 'leading a bunch of extra-thick thickies to a humiliating defeat' and boasts that this is what 'the anarchist movement' (i.e. Freedom) has taught him.

One recalls that when the miners strike was on, the Intellectual 'Freedom' seemed to be supporting the scabs and called for a ballot. When some of the 'extra heavy thickies' called at the Whitechapel offices — thinking it was an 'anarchist paper' and they might get some support — Freedom announced that it had been fooling all the time, and that it *really* supported the 'extra thick thickies' and asked for financial support to be directed to their office — and was quite hurt at the sectarians who were out making direct collections.

Some similar Intellectualism went on with the constant support of the phoney CNT until it was found they were losing readers so it was then announced that they were merely seeking free hearings for all — in the manner of Peter Cadogan, perhaps?

Are we calling these Intellectuals idiots? Who called the idiots Intellectual? Defend Prof. Eysenck against his anti-racialist students. Defend the National Front's right to the cathedral church of humanism, Conway Hall. To hell not just with Scargill but with all union miners.

Are we talking about the movement rich in diversity, spoilt only by the nasty *Black Flag* daring to hit back at accusations against their members, friends or class? Or are we talking about two separate movements between which there is nothing whatever in common? And is it hard to spot where the difference lies? Or was the Gibson article inserted by arrogant Spanish saboteurs, anxious to mislead people as to Freedom's real character?

No, indeed — Woodcock assures us that Gibson is an anarchist, he even wrote a pamphlet once (not to say in the league of Woodcock who says George Woodcock's tedious little 'Homes andhovels' was the earliest indication of an anarchist interest in housing, but omits to talk about squatting).

We say that those who consider it libertarian to extol Prof. Eysenck, with his racial superiority notions, or defend the National Front's right of speech, or who consider it absurd to take action against Franco, or a libellous accusation if one said they were involved in such an attempt, or who think the miners are 'thick thickies', or that we musn't be beastly to the Intellectuals, are nothing to do with us and our movement, but constitute something separate, apart and hostile.

Continued on Page 4



# LIARS AND LIBERALS

Continued from Page 3

Is it to be said unchallenged that this constitutes a section of Anarchism? We accept that it is a valid criticism of the Anarchist movement that they have been allowed to get away with it for so long.

One can only say that when the movement was small it did not seem to matter; and now they have become traditionally accepted with a yawn, or dismissed as 'middle class intellectuals' but anarchists none the less — after all, some academics are anarchists.

What is meant by Intellectuals? The phrase comes from Tsarist Russia where the educated upper and middle class was taken to be liberal at least in their youth. In France it was taken to mean liberal academia. In Britain, it meant such writers and artists who had 'progressive' views and felt they had a common economic interest. It has nothing to do with intellect, as we can see. Nor does it necessarily apply to all writers. Indeed, Woodcock would huffily cut out all women writers for a start!

Note how Gibson picks up Tory jargon ('the commies'). In contrast it becomes a pleasure to turn to the page by Arthur Moysse, who claimed in the *Observer* to be the only true proletarian among them, only allowed to do his art criticisms that could only mean anything to about six people living in London, because Augustus John had given the Freedom Press so much money (unaccounted for) that they couldn't do otherwise than accept the cash and him. Much after John's death, they have cut out Moysse's art column but he reappears in the centennial issue with an article which, unlike some of his publications, does not slander anarchists, plus FP people, by sly innuendo and the use of names used in fictional humorous episodes. It is a masterpiece of saying nothing.

We can recommend it to all his colleagues in Hammersmith North Labour Party to cure insomnia caused by by canvassing with him.

It is only sad, to use a Sansonian turn of phrase, that so lavish a production, expended without regard to cost and laid out beautifully, with expensive paper and type, should be wasted on such tripe as the whole thing, at the

expense of sincere Italo-American workers who over the years of hardship still club together to finance Anarchist papers and ventures in Italy, but feel they should contribute to an English-language venture. But at least their flimsy knowledge of English, while laying them open to con-artists, prevents them from every knowing how they got conned.

Are we wrong in saying this is a separate movement, not ours, with no anarchist or revolutionary content — perhaps libertarian in the sense it is nowadays used — certainly 'liberal'? If you think so, call around to 84b Whitechapel High Street any old time — and say you are interested in giving financial support or helping out in any way, and ask if there's anything else going on in London No no — like the Woodcock-Sansom school of falsification, there is only Freedom Press. But ask if you can be put up or get into any action and lo and behold, 121 Bookshop will be then quoted. It's the only time it comes into their existence!

Try and see Vernon Richards — he hasn't been seen around for forty years and it's rumoured he is living under wraps at the Amsterdam Institute or the British Museum. (If you think it's age, it was the same forty years ago). With a bit of bad luck you might meet Sansom, you certainly, unless you live in rarefied circles won't meet Woodcock or Ward and that lot.

Their differences — referred to vaguely as 'personal and political' — with Aldgate Press came when they expected them to lay out the paper as well as print it, and complain if something was short or had been cut out at the last moment.

Their world is as we have said a cerebral playscheme. The 'anarchism' they profess is also picked up, sanitised and used by the Tory right and the Labour left — by the Individual marketeers and by the Livingstone faction, tailored out, ready for use by anyone else who wants a manufactured history with selected episodes picked out to enhance their glory leaving them free to reject any and every episode they don't like.

Anarchism is of the real world. It

has a history of its own — a history of class struggle. At best, these people were flies on the wheel. Now they bask in the sun of neo-libertarians and are irritating horse-flies.

## THE ENEMY 'WITHIN'

Those who enjoy calling themselves 'the Old Guard' — as if they ever did anything — will call this an amalgam smear, and deny being responsible for any particular constituent part. But do the parts differ much from the whole?

How can we describe differences other than we have done here? When we first used the word Liberal, Donald Room thought this a 'gratuitous insult like the word bourgeois' (which is not accurate, 'lesser mandarin' would be more appropriate). He would still regard the word Liberalism as a fair description of his views.

But others of his sect reject this. When we first produced a leaflet calling attention to the dangers of 'Liberal Anarchism' Laurens Otter wrote in *Peace News* an indignant full-page 'review' of 'Floodgates of Anarchy' in which he stated that after reading the phrase 'liberal Anarchism' in it for the sixth time he threw it away indignantly and went on to rebut what Room accepted, that there was such a thing. Some measure of his indignation can be judged by the fact that the words 'Liberal Anarchism' did not appear in the book once, and the book was not written by the same people who wrote the manifesto.

It is true that Freedom Press do publish some books on Anarchism, very few considering their resources, and always reprints of the classics. Their greatest success has been with constant reprints of Alexander Berkman's book on the ABC of Anarchism, retitled and with half of it omitted because of its trenchant criticism of capitalism *now* and dealing in the truncated version only with *after*. But publishers of anarchist books need not be anarchists — the University presses have got in on the act too, with 'classics' as distinct from what Woodcock sneeringly calls 'propaganda sheets'.

What can we call the Woodcock-

Sansom lot to distinguish them from us if not Liberals? We tried quietists. This angered Nicolas Walter who thought it applied to a minor sect of mediaeval Christians — but has now settled to accepting it as a smear. It means in this usage those who are not pacifists but are opposed to *any* action irrespective of the degree of 'violence'. Their 'ideal' is anarchism of a marble saint — hence the 'saintly Dorothy Day' (Woodcock; Walter, as a professional humanist, protested he uses the word only as a quotation) or — how Peter might squirm — the 'saintly Kropotkin' (Woodcock) or 'secular saint' (as modified by the humanists in the centennial). It does not mean pacifism — some, like the Greenham folk, are, after all quite militant. It does not mean gentle — Gibson as a 'lad' was just as noisy and aggressive as any miner may seem to. a don of psychology today but held to the same attitudes. Quietism is the cult of inertia as opposed to revolution; the idealisation of cynicism which characterises them all.

Whatever you call them, don't call them Anarchists! It's a gift to our opponents! 'Anarchists were divided on the miners' strike' — Becker, *ibid*. 'The squatting movement had nothing to do with anarchism, as the anarchists instead followed Woodcock's advice. . . ' Woodcock *ibid*. These quotes are from Prof. Ludwig Gans book, 'British Anarchism' to be published 1993.

Waru says his book 'Utopia' was the first to introduce Kropotkin to twelve year olds. What is frightening when we consider future generations is Woodcock's use (or abuse) of Penguin mass distribution which may make it the one to introduce it to a vast audience, unaware what anarchism is, and not knowing the book to be a piss-take suitable for vending round the politicos to provide them with fake slogans and second hand ideals.

This makes the perpetrators enemies, whether you like it or not, dear comrades who think there's a middle ground that can accommodate them as a sort of eccentric right wing.

Not the main enemy? Certainly a marauding force, a fifth column, a Wood-en Horse.

We spit them out as contemptible.

# ANARCHISM AND PACIFISM

Pacifism, as understood in the English-speaking countries, is a revolutionary creed when it comes into conflict with the State especially in regard to the refusal of military service and opposition to conscription. That is why, in time of war, it is ranked an arch-heresy alongside bolshevism and anarchy, and pacifists are asked, contemptuously, by judges what they would do if someone tried to rape or murder their family.

In time of peace, however the same judges profess pacifism and denounce violence. What of course bourgeois society objects to in time of peace is not 'violence' but illegal violence; it supports war as this is legal violence.

Where conscription exists, pacifism proper comes into conflict with the State as do all anti-militarist movements. But pacifism proper, as a creed, is the idealisation of non-violence as a cult in itself. It takes no class position and most pacifists would try to deny the existence of class struggle. Thus, if logical, they should denounce both the legal violence of the State and the 'illegal violence' of the resistance to the State. But in practice, most bourgeois pacifists go over to support the State in wartime (if only from the non-combatant point of view, as do the Quaker) and are susceptible to patriotic notions, or alternatively, have qualms at being accused of merely evading service, and therefore choose forms of civilian service which put them in a position not more favoured than those who engage in imperialist war. This is accepted as the objection of 'conscience'.

Because of its idealisation of the negative, pacifism can never become a serious movement in its own right; to justify itself, it turns to liberalism. The peace



movement of the post-war period is thus essentially a movement of militant liberals and combines package-deal good-causes in an essentially liberal package. Liberalism is the method of achieving the most freedom possible within a State and therefore has some affinity with anarchism,

which has proved to be a major embarrassment and confusion to the latter, as many pacifists have come to think of themselves as Anarchists. But their 'anarchism' has remained militant liberalism. It is a combination of this pseudo-anarchism with its opposite, fascism, that forms the basis of the hippy-beatnik-dropout-alternative society philosophy, its nature in some ways genuinely libertarian and in others as highly conformist as the society to which it does not conform, is an interesting melange, but has nothing in common with anarchism. Gradually as the alternative society gets older, its leaders seek ways of integrating into capitalist society (the attempt to get seats on councils is symptomatic). Already it offers an alternative, but none the less capitalist and authoritarian, for the well-to-do hippy.

The infiltration of pacifism into revolutionary movements represents less of a danger to Marxism, insulated by its party structure, than to Anarchism, which has not yet learned to guard against the imposition of ideas upon it by self-appointed 'spokesmen' relying on reputations gained in other fields and having no contact with the movement proper.

While it is obviously possible for an anarchist to be a pacifist, nevertheless in any revolutionary movement pacifism could only be a minority. There could

be a 'non-combatant corps' in a revolutionary militia no less than in the British Army, but obviously there could not possibly be a non-pacifist minority in a pacifist movement — in Gandhi's satyagrahi, for instance, the idea of a few who resisted lathi charges could be unthinkable. Pacifist being authoritarian,

all, or no one, must conform to 'non-violence'.

Because of this profession of 'non-violence' as a cult in itself, a danger lies for the anarchist movement even beyond the dangers of pacifist control being imposed. This lies in the invention of 'non-violent anarchist' — such as 'Peace News' now claims to represent and 'Freedom' has succumbed. 'Non-violent anarchism' is not a variant of anarchism: it is an attack on it. If one described oneself, as a 'non-fascist pacifist' one would not be a variant of pacifism though one might well be sincerely both non-fascist and pacifist — one would be implicitly, and sooner or later directly, attacking the pacifist movement by the suggestion that it must be fascist.

There is no such thing as a 'violent' anarchist movement. Anarchism does not make a profession of violence. For militant liberalism to masquerade as 'non-violent' form of anarchism is not merely to blur over the defects of liberalism but to impute false ends of anarchism. For liberals to pretend to be anarchists at all is to help confuse matters.

Ultimately it makes no difference to either: but this is the sort of reason why partisan labels proliferate in socialism and — sadly — may have to grow in anarchism too.

On the following page is a response to the above article, after it was distributed in leaflet form, at a Libertarian Conference.



# ANARCHISM AND PACIFISM

## 'THE MORE VIOLENCE, THE LESS REVOLUTION'

Black Flag,

We are all agreed on the goal we aim for: a society based on free association and mutual aid, a society without coercion or capitalism, a society without the organ of violence that is the State. Some of us, however, see violence as being necessary for the attainment of that goal. Certainly they stress that anarchy cannot be established by this violence alone — people must come to realise that there are alternatives to the State — but nevertheless, they maintain that tyranny (of an individual, of the sect, race, class or the majority) cannot be overcome without revolutionary violence. They try to define limits for its use, situations for its justification, yet they fail to realise that the means determine the ends: violence — naked coercion — cannot abolish Authority, for violence is authoritarian: power does come out of the barrel of a gun.

The impossibility of reaching a non-coercive society by means of a violent revolution is even demonstrated by Malatesta's defence of revolutionary violence: 'We believe that institutions born of violence are maintained by violence and will not give way except to an equivalent violence'. His logic condemns itself — an anarchist society born of violence (ie. coercively introduced) would have to be maintained by violence — the birth of a new State.

But all this assumes that violent revolution can succeed against all the forces of repression that the State has gathered around itself: the police with its network of informers, the Army with its counter-insurgency training, the courts with their emergency legislation of trial without jury and internment without trial. The State will always be the stronger in terms of a military conflict; you're a fool to play on the home ground of the State. By using violence you play into the hands of the State, for for it seeks only a pretext to tighten its grasp. Insurrection leads only to repression from the State and reaction from the people brainwashed by the media. The limited freedom of expression and opposition within parliamentary democracy will shrink even further, as the State takes advantage of the carefully nurtured fears of the people to introduce yet more authoritarian measures 'to protect freedom'. Faced with violence, the covert tyranny of democracy can afford to strip itself of the last vestiges of freedom and become overt dictatorship.

Revolutionary violence cannot destroy the State: for every policeman killed, another takes his place and the frightened sheep cry for greater protection — murder only strengthens the State. Violence cannot destroy the State, because the State is more than a series of institutions and their servants: it is above all an attitude of mind. The State will exist as long as there are people who will submit to it and who, their fears magnified and their imagination deadened, cling to it for 'protection'. The will to obey cannot be gunned down: it can only be overcome by persuasion and by demonstration of alternatives. A violent revolution may succeed in destroying the State in its present form, but as long as the majority of people believe in Authority, the State will rise again from the ashes of the revolution. Such is the lesson of history. Non-violent initiatives also have a better chance of survival: the limited collectivisation of the Spanish Civil War was bloodily crushed by Franco three years later, whereas the Gramdan campaign carried out by the non-violent anarchist Vinoba Bhave in India in the '50's and '60's collectivised 95,000 villages, most of them are still collectives. They stand as examples of an alternative to private ownership and exploitation; they inspire by their existence. It is a battle for minds that anarchism must fight, and violence can only control the body, not inflame the imagination. The newspaper readers and TV-land will not be pushed into a reappraisal of society and their role in it by barricades and molotovs; an attempt at violent revolution will only reinforce them in their role and incite them to vengeance, hatred and fear.

And who can guarantee that only the hardened servants of the State will die as you storm the citadels of power? Would you kill those who you hoped would form your society without coercion? 'There are no innocents' said Emile Henry as he threw a bomb into a cafe — that is not anarchism. Would you shoot the sheep because it knows no better than to follow the shepherd? 'Propaganda by deed' you say, but the only propaganda achieved by insurrection is State propaganda — for the millions in their living rooms in front of the television, you will just be terrorists, and they will welcome the arming of the police and the appearance of the Army on the streets. For them, your revolutionary violence will be just more bloodshed, more people killed in a

struggle that they neither understand nor care about. Anarchism has always condemned the Marxist idea of a revolutionary vanguard, insisted you must carry the people with you, yet the spread of anarchism has been hindered by the

public belief, encouraged by the insurrectionists, that anarchism's answer to everything is the bullet and the bomb. Anarchism is constructive and it can work: let the people see it!

ANARK

### What did you do during the repression, daddy?



## WHEN WILL THEY EVER LEARN ?

How often these tired arguments have been answered by us over the years! It is sad to see however how the Freedom and Peace News tendencies keep churning out the liberal 'anarchists', so sure of their arguments, every one of which is based on a lie. It is no accident we have bracketed 'liberals and liars' in the Freedom Press takeover racketeers.

This article comes to us from a nice enough guy whom met a Black Flag woman at a conference and asked if he could send an answer to our leaflet — he probably thinks it is the first time such an objection has been raised.

'Some see violence as being necessary', Oh who? Because a tiny minority of liberals defines 'non-violence' as if it were a positive, it does not mean that everyone else — 99.9 per cent of the population — is 'violent'. They do not level this weapon against everyone, however, only against anarchists! The vast majority of them in the Labour or Liberal Parties do not call themselves 'non violent socialists' or 'non violent liberals'; it is anarchism that has to be so attacked; making a handy alliance — accepted or not — with the judicial system.

So let us reiterate: of course power comes out of the barrel of a gun, BUT WHAT DO YOU PROPOSE TO DO? ABOUT IT? Throw flowers at it? Submit? That is how the Germans and Austrians were betrayed, that is how D.H. Lawrence say Tolstoy in his later pacifist stage-preaching Holy Willy-

ism landing them all on toast.

The assumption that 'violent revolution' is preached, and that assumption justifies repression is the other face of fascism, essential fascism is not the jackboots or the guns or the theatrical posing with ships: it is the obedience, the banality of evil, the civil servant, carrying out orders, nobody resisting for whatever reason.

Nobody but the pacifist liberal thinks anyone fool enough to think that 'revolutionary violence' can destroy the State, or that maybe if one kills policeman fast enough the supply will run out. Our correspondent — who has the brazen cheek to sign himself 'Anark' — has been reading too much reactionary fiction. But what do you do when the Gestapo comes for you? How do you face up to the Communist secret police? Do you run away now when Fascists shout slogans urging you to be killed while squads of policemen guard them?

And this is what happens when the ruling class just feels a bit frightened, so what happens when a revolution takes place? If our correspondent was honest with himself he would say he is against revolution. But he wants the charisma of calling himself an anarchist, claiming he too wants a society without coercion — but only as he wants a sunny day for the CND gardenparty. It is not something he thinks can work for or thinks he can influence.

Take his reaction to the heroic peasants of Catalonia and Aragon (those

collectives were destroyed by the CP - Communist Party - a bit before Franco moved in, actually) — this was a totally non-violent takeover. What does he think: that they destroyed what they wanted to takeover, declared a violent revolution? The Army had already done that, and much good the media reaction did its opponents!

But the point about their collectives was that they did it for themselves, it was a revolution. They did not need a greedy guru to do it for them. They did not wait for a government decree. They did not get the anarchists to do it for them. They were imbued with anarchist ideas. Yes, they defended their collectives, and lost.

The miserable, poverty stricken peasants who live in the 'collectives' arbitrarily declared by the Indian State under the influence of the State reformer Vinoba Bhave continue to have their collective because the State simply doesn't want the bother of saving them from famine themselves. So, they let them carry on. This is advocated in Ethiopia too. Collectives in themselves are not revolutionary — take the kibbutzim in Israel, which all pacifists used to laud to the skies — there they are the centre of domination, and rely quite heavily on 'barricades and molotovs' too.

The reference to Emile Henry is a total lie — like all such 'Freedom' types cornered, he must turn to lying (at least he does it of the dead). Emile Henry did not say there were 'no inno-

cents' — he said there were not 'innocent bourgeoisie' when he threw a bomb in a fashionable Paris cafe — as a consequence of the bourgeoisie having organised posses to shoot down one in ten workers found in the streets, butchering men and women alike — being particular to shoot women, accusing them of incendiaryism, if they carried a box of matches — while fashionably dressed ladies and gentlemen watched on the streets, the gentle ladies poking out the eyes of their victims with their umbrellas, the gentlemen laughing merrily as they pointed to another poor wretch to be shot. This was done by the gentlefolk of Paris — Henry's action in the cafe was part of the working class resistance to that nightmare. Do you dare to say the bourgeoisie were merely sheep that chose to follow the shepherd? Oh, they welcomed the Army and the police all right — but they had already done so.

This is Woodcockery in action: the workers are always wrong, the bourgeoisie always right. To put this over as 'anarchism', institutionalising non-violence as an ideal, make it easy to be picked up by the politicians from right to left, and to absorb the stolen slogans. From the Holy Willy to the jackbooted thug is but a short distance — if you condemn Henry, do you condemn the French Resistance in other, similar circumstances?

SUPPORT THE BLACK CROSS



# ANARCHISTS IN BRITAIN

Prior to the rise of the Communist Party after the Russian Revolution there was a strong working class Anarchist movement in Britain which was just beginning to subside by the 1930's. It was momentarily revived during the Spanish Revolution but then dwindled to almost nothing during the 1950's. Most of the experiences and history of Anarchism and Anarchists in Britain has been distorted or ignored while sources such as George Woodcock are totally inaccurate and revisionist.

The Anarchist movement has begun to pick itself up again over the last twenty years and at the present time there exists the following main groupings. Some smaller groups distribute Anarchist material or publish an occasional book. Papers are produced by groups based in their local areas.

## PRESS

**Freedom Press** consists of a monthly magazine — *Freedom* — and a bookshop in East London. It is the best known group abroad although it takes no active role in anything whatever outside of the magazine and the bookshop, even this has been divided in recent years because members didn't want to even do this work. *Freedom* claims to be one hundred years old this year but this claim is only based on the fact that the present group took over the title *Freedom* in the 1950's. It has no connection with the original *Freedom* founded by Peter Kropotkin in 1886. Most Anarchists find *Freedom* magazine to be boring and irrelevant while many actively boycott it. Not surprisingly, its circulation today is at an all-time low. It presently appeals mainly to non-activists and people who think they are academics. It rejects anarcho-syndicalism and the class struggle as irrelevant. This may sound prejudiced but call in at 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1, and find out for yourself.

**Class War** is a relatively new paper that is published every two months. It has gained a notoriety in the media and made some spectacular headlines in the daily press without following up what it claimed it would do. The paper appeals mainly to punks and the under-25's. Until recently it took an anti-organisation position but changed this when it organised its own Class War Federation based on local paper selling groups last year. It claims to have a large circulation but many copies are given away free.

**Green Anarchist**, originated from a split with *Freedom* and is concerned with ecology as its priority rather than anarchism. It is connected to no organisation and is published every 2-3 months.

**Peace News** is entirely pacifist but sometimes calms to be Anarchist (with reservation). It is a fortnightly magazine. It sometimes supports the Labour Party and other electoral groupings.

**Anarchy** magazine was published once or twice a year and specialised in anti-State and anti-fascist investigation. It supported *Black Flag* on many issues but its future is in doubt.

**Black Flag** is published every two weeks and is fifteen years old. It backs class struggle and the International Anarchist movement through its support for the Anarchist Black Cross (aid for prisoners). For many years it attracted major press attention because of its active support for the First of May Group, the (British based) Angry Brigade and other militant groups. In addition to publishing *Black Flag* and being associated with 121 Bookshop (an Anarchist bookshop/centre in South London) it previously helped run the International Libertarian Centre (Centro Iberico) in London and has published a series of books and pamphlets. Its editorial group has also organised the Anarchist Black Cross and most of its members are or have been in the Direct Action Movement (the British section of the International Workers Association). It is the most regular Anarchist paper in Britain.

**Refract Press** (formerly Cienfuegos Press) publishes only books and pamphlets and supports *Black Flag*. It is a major English-language publisher, in terms of quantity and quality, of Anarchist books.

**Direct Action** is the monthly paper of the Direct Action Movement (IWA). It specialises in working class struggles in the community and industry as well as international anarcho-syndicalist news.

**ASP** is a relatively new independent publisher and distributor of anarcho-syndicalist pamphlets.

**Elephant Editions, Rebel Press, Phoenix Press, Hooligan Press and Drowned Rat** are all small publishers, mostly reprints of Anarchist books and pamphlets.

## ORGANISATIONS

**Direct Action Movement** is an anarcho-syndicalist organisation affiliated to the IWA. There are about twenty DAM groups spread across Britain. By its nature excludes those Anarchists who oppose syndicalism and industrial struggle. Groups are active on a local, regional, industrial and national level. DAM is the longest surviving of the recent Anarchist groupings, being founded in 1979. Its fore-runner was the Syndicalist Workers Federation (IWA).

**Class War Federation** is a recent organisation built around *Class War*. There are about ten groups affiliated to the federation in Britain. Many supporters of *Class War* recently disappeared after the CWF was founded last year. A few groups are active but most don't seem to do much except distribute the paper and attend conferences.

**Anarcho-Communist Federation** is a very new organisation. It seems to oppose anarcho-syndicalism although one of its founders supports the 'CNT-U' against the CNT-AIT in Spain. It is a platformist organisation.

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION

There have been four or five attempts at forming anarchist federations in Britain in the past, some of which kept in being for several years. An anarchist federation on the French lines would be impossible in Britain because so many different types of 'anarchist' exist they could not possibly be accommodated in one organisation — eg. the 'capitalist anarchists', the 'liberal anarchists' and the 'pacifist anarchists' are totally incompatible with other Anarchists.

Previous federations felt they could not exclude anyone and then found all these types getting in, which meant 'non democratic decisions' since no one would accept their influence, or dissolving the organisation, which happened each time.

An anarchist federation on Spanish lines would be feasible in Britain since the FAI was (at least originally) a movement of the workers against intellectual leaders who had tried to take over the movement however it would be pointless at present since it would form an actual majority of DAM members. In the movement it may well be possible should DAM grow or change.

There is a grave danger in Britain, and indeed in many countries, that people from outside the movement, including fascists, want to take the name anarchist for their own ends and form phony imitations of anarchist groups. Any number can be cited (both fascist and marxist) — imitations of anarchism by nationalists especially. Therefore we conclude from this that any anarchist federation would need to be exclusive to anarchists or it would indeed be anti-anarchist.



We as the **Black Cross**, and through *Black Flag* have every intention to defend anarchist interests in Britain and continue our links with the movement internationally. This international link, we believe, can best be served by strengthening active solidarity through support work such as that practiced by the international ABC (Black Cross), and delegates and groups in all parts of the world are invited to help in this work. We should point out, though, that the Black Cross is not a federation but a mutual aid organisation that could be of benefit to all anarchist federations that depend on international solidarity,

**Black Flag — Anarchist Black Cross  
BM Hurricane, London, WC1N3XX**



## SUPPLEMENT

# LIARS AND LIBERALS

*Anarchism as seen by Martyn Harris in the Daily Telegraph.*

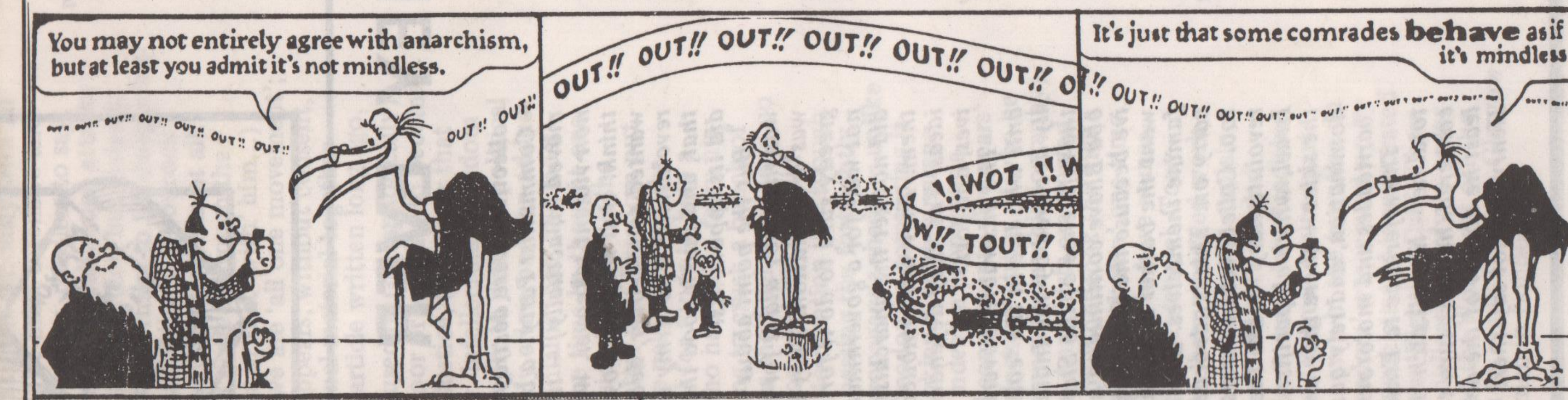
Anarchism has a cross-party appeal. On the one hand it is an ultimate expression of liberalism—a sort of ultra-Thatcherism if you like, but it is also the final end for socialism. It is possible to be a Tory anarchist, like Richard Ingrams, or a Labour anarchist like Tony Benn. The crucial thing is not their party

but their suspicion of authority.

In the most interesting of *Freedom's* centenary collection of essays Larry Law, in "The Anarchisation of Capitalism" argues that business itself, through network technology, profit-centred management and decentralisation is taking on

anarchist forms of organisation. The new capitalism," writes Law, "intends to solve its problems not by oppressing the proletariat, but by abolishing it." It could almost be a phrase from a Conservative Party policy document. As the Age of Sid dawns it might actually become one.

*Anti-Anarchist cartoon by Donald Room*



In the *Daily Telegraph* of 27 December 1986, a large article by Martyn Harris gives the view of anarchism as seen through the eyes of a uninformed reporter who is relying on *Freedom* for his facts. 'Anarchism: British as roast beef' (well, that's one in the eye for the vegans anyway) — 'As a philosophy it has a bad name. But it's largely peaceable, if split'.

There is an opening gambit of the simplistic view of anarchism as sold by the *Freedom* centennial, with a summing up of the 'dozens of small anarchist newspapers'.

'There is *Green Anarchist* for the ecologically inclined and *Black Chip* for the technological anarchist. *Direct Action* and *Solidarity* cater for the anarchists who see labour organisation as the way ahead. . . ' while *Black Flag* — whose logo is used to illustrate this (!) is for 'those who look to Spain and the international anarchist cause'; Martyn Harris, Fleet Street's least

capable journalist, says it was founded by Stuart Christie 'Britain's most notorious anarchist'. 'On its far left' (!) is *Class War* which is linked with *Crowbar* and *Flame Thrower* and 'caters for punks'. Nicely wraps them all up to show *Freedom* is the centre, whereas it is only there to confuse.

From the contents of *Freedom* centennial, Martyn Harris concludes: 'Anarchism has a cross-party appeal. On the one hand it is a ultimate expression of liberalism — a sort of ultra-Thatcherism if you like, but it is also the final end of socialism. It is possible to be a Tory anarchist, like Richard Ingrams, or a Labour anarchist like Tony Benn'. (Sure it can, if you accept *Freedom's* definitions!) 'The crucial thing is not their party but their suspicion of authority. So when did either abstain from exercising it?

Finally it concludes from Larry Law's article on 'The anarchisation of capital' in the centenary issue, the

right wing drivel 'The new capitalism intends to solve its problems not by oppressing the proletariat, but by abolishing it.' It could, says Harris, almost be a phrase from a Conservative Party policy document and 'as the age of Sid dawns, it might actually become one'.

All parties, from the fascistic right to the loony left, want to borrow 'anarchistic' phrases as laundered by 'Freedom' with its pretence of being part of an anarchist movement with the *Class War* followers tagging along. The same article uses an anti-anarchist cartoon strip by Donald Room which neatly encapsulates Tory doctrine: anarchism is all right, were it not for the crazy, and presumably *Class War* type followers. (Well, that's a beer-can back at 'em).

We are not part of this movement. We are its enemies. We hope we have made this clear. We are Anarchists and not in the market for laundered libertarianism.