



Bulletin of the  
Kate Sharpley Library  
01:2001 No25 \$1/50p

## ANARCHISM: AN INTRODUCTION

The prominent part which anarchist ideas are taking in the social and progressive movements of our time makes the subject one of interest to all enquiring minds. Owing to the dearth of space, however, our sketch must be considered more suggestive than exhaustive, but if it induces further thought and study, it will have effected its purpose.

Anarchy means no government, no rule, no constituted authority, meaning by authority the power of some to impose their will and interests on others irrespective of their wishes. Anarchism is thus an ideal of society where freedom prevails and people associate with each other on the basis of individual independence, of mutual equality alone.

It is thus opposed alike to the individualist who believes in the legal sanction of capitalist exploitation, and the state socialist who would abolish the monopolise of land and social wealth, but would maintain, and in fact increase the power of government and State control.

To the former the anarchist points out that private property is the direct negation of freedom since it renders the masses the wretched slaves of the few who monopolise their means of livelihood. Without the right to live, real human freedom is an impossibility.

To the latter he says: "You are inconsistent. While you would abolish the capitalist, the landlord and the exploiting classes generally, because by their monopoly they crush out the freedom of the workers and compel them to live in poverty and to toil for their benefit, you would extend the functions and powers of government, which does the same things."

The history of progress has been one long struggle against authority and oppression. But, besotted by superstitious belief in the necessity of some kind of mastership, the people have hitherto only pulled down one tyranny to put another in its place. Government from its origin has always been oppressive and reactionary. It supported chattel slavery, to-day it maintains wage-slavery. Its chief function is to protect property, that is social monopoly in its three forms of rent, interest and profit, and to directly enable the monopolisers to oppress the poor. They further their own interests by using the executive forces of the state, the police and military, to put down strikes and labour revolts, to suppress socialistic and revolutionary

agitation, and to carry on wars with weaker and more "barbarous" peoples, as in Burmah, Soudan, Matabeleland, &c., to "open up trade," that is new spheres of capitalist exploitation.

The nature of government is not changed by the representative principle. Republican France has shown itself almost as tyrannical and as blind to the interests of the people as autocratic Russia.

It is the principle of government which is wrong. All States are based on authority, on the power of man over man, on the division of society into governors and governed, masters and servants, and this necessarily implies privilege, social inequality and slavery.

We are therefore dubious of any form of State Socialism; to our minds that only means a change of masters and of the form of government, and would be equally as oppressive and tyrannical as any which has hitherto existed. Such ideas are based on the false notion that the State is the organisation of society. This is not true.

Society and the State are by no means synonymous. Society existed before the State, and is independent of it. The State is simply a cancer or excrescence on the Social organism, which by protecting monopoly and arbitrarily interfering with the free play of its individual units hinders the natural working of the forces that make for life and progress.

Anarchism may thus be defined in two words – free association. We therefore look forward to a Society where autonomous groups of workers freely federated control the means of production and utilise them for the common benefit. Plenty, culture and freedom secured to all, social harmony will be a natural result.

As regards our methods, they are in accordance with our aims. No programmes, no red tape, no officialism, no leaders, no candidates for power; on the contrary, free individuals acting and agitating as they each think best spontaneously associating when necessary, and acting individually when they consider it advisable. Then, as a result, the revolt of the people, peaceful or violent, and – social justice – Anarchism.

ALFRED BARTON.

54, Cottenham-st., C-on-M., Manchester.

From the *Labour Annual* for 1895

**Inside: Reviews of recent publications**

## THE SPANISH SACCO AND VANZETTI: GRANADOS AND DELGADO

After seven years of imprisonment, applications and appeals, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti went to their deaths in the electric chair in Boston prison on the night of 23 August 1927. Charged with a hold-up that claimed two lives, a hold-up which they had not carried out, the two Italian immigrants were found guilty of the crime of being anarchists. The deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti triggered a huge wave of protest throughout the world and etched their names into the historical record.

Fifty years later on 23 August 1977, the Massachusetts state governor publicly acknowledged the innocence of the victims and requested that 'all stigma and stain be erased forever from the names of Sacco and Vanzetti and their family names.'

The young Spanish anarchists Joaquín Delgado and Francisco Granados were executed by garrote on 16 August 1963. Charged with two bombings which they had not carried out, they were convicted solely on the basis of their being anarchists. Their deaths did not trigger a huge world-wide wave of protest such as the shooting of the Communist leader Julián Grimau had just a few months before. The 'cold war' and the Franco dictatorship had marginalised the anarchists, which is why their names have been banished to terse footnotes in history books about Francoism.

Thirty six years on, on 3 March 1999, under judgement No 7, the Military Division of the Supreme Court pronounced that the verdict in 1963 had been delivered in accordance with the 'prevailing legal disposition' and rejected the application for a review submitted by the relations of Granados and Delgado on 3 February 1998. On 16 April 1999, an application to appeal against the Supreme Court decision was made to the Constitutional Court.

### **Petition on behalf of Granados & Delgado**

Arrested in Madrid on 31 July 1963, Francisco Granados and Joaquín Delgado were sentenced to death by a 'drum-head' court martial on 13 August the same year and executed – 'garrotted' – on 16 August 1963. Which means: within two weeks of their arrest! That's how slickly Francoist justice operated! Charged with having carried out two bombings in which they had had no part, they were found guilty simply because of their membership of the Spanish Libertarian Movement (MLE) – openly committed to the struggle against General Franco's dictatorial rule – by Franco's 'Justice' which needed to sustain its terror in order to cling to power.

On 3 March 1999, thirty six years on, and in spite of the 'Transition to Democracy', the Military Division of the Supreme Court dismissed the application for review tabled on 3 February 1998 by the families of Francisco Granados and Joaquín Delgado,

and declined to take under consideration statements from the actual perpetrators of the 1963 bombings in Madrid. The most shameful point is that the magistrates of the Military Division of the Supreme Court explained away their decision on the basis of the 'time elapsed' and expressed the opinion that the 1963 verdict had been delivered by a court that represented the 'prevailing legal arrangements'. On 9 March 1999, on the initiative of all of the groups in the Parliament of Catalunya, a 'Repeal Motion' was passed asking the Spanish state government to review the trial that passed sentence of death in 1974 upon the young Catalan anti-Francoist, Salvador Puig Antich. On 16 April 1999, the families of Granados and Delgado tabled before the Constitutional Court an appeal against the 3 March 1999 finding of the Supreme Court's Military Division.

Following a number of initiatives designed to support this appeal, the 'Granados-Delgado Trial Review Group' instigated a publicity campaign on 15 November 2000, and asks that letters be sent to the following addresses:

(1) Sr. Presidente del Tribunal Constitucional (Domenico Scarlatti, 6 – 28003 Madrid) – with a reminder that the 'Transition' and 'the claims of Spanish justice upon former dictator Pinochet' require that the latter set an example and agree to the review of the trials which led to the sentencing to death of the young anti-Francoists Francisco Granados, Joaquín Delgado and Salvador Puig Antich.

(2) Sr. Portavoz del Grupo Parlamentario Socialista (Plaza de las Cortes, 9 – 28071 Madrid – petitioning them to table a 'Repeal Motion' on behalf of Francisco Granados and Joaquín Delgado, like the one that the Parliament of Catalunya passed in favour of Salvador Puig Antich.

Our thanks to you all in anticipation, the 'Grupo pro-revisión del proceso Granados- Delgado':  
QUEIMADA – Apartado 48094 – 28080 Madrid – Spain

Octavio Alberola, Alvaro Millán & Juan Zambrana  
*Revolutionary activism: The Spanish Resistance in context*

Texts and interviews in which the libertarian activist described as 'Franco's public enemy number one' recounts some of the context of the new wave of opposition to the Franco regime in the 1960s, and its international significance; including the state murder of Grandos and Delgado.

17 pages, 1-873605-77-3 £5 [£1.50 to individual bulletin subscribers]

## IBERIAN ANARCHIST FEDERATION

### Rise and Fall of the FAI

*We, the anarchists! A study of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) 1927-1937* by Stuart Christie

This work has a much broader relevance than the title would suggest. It offers an introduction to the revolutionary activities of the Spanish labour movement, from the First International to the rise of the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) – the context in which the anarchist militants of the FAI operated. A full history is given of the development of the FAI, taking the opportunity to debunk some of the gross misrepresentations erected by hostile writers, according to which members can be described as criminals or visionaries, but never working class militants.

Christie also attempts to analyse the role that the FAI – as much as a rallying cry as an organised body – played in the Spanish libertarian movement. The CNT's role as a trade union led to the formation of a layer of reformist officials, more interested in the security of their positions than the revolutionary change of society. Naturally these reformists wished to move the CNT towards a less combative stance. Opposition to dictatorship (and collaboration with other forces) led to an increasing desire to be 'practical' and engage with the world of politics. The trend came to be identified with Angel Pestaña and 'Treintismo'. However, the grassroots anarchist militants felt "it was not the job of the anarchists to resolve the problems of capitalism or to negotiate mutually acceptable solutions between boss and worker... but to nourish the spirit of revolt against exploitation and all coercive authority." It was the grassroots militants who bore the brunt of the bloody repression used against the CNT – and defeated it by attacking the hired guns of *pistolerismo* and their employers. They were also the forces that defeated the reformist trend represented by *Treintismo*.

"From a fairly low key and not particularly efficient propagandist and educational body under the dictatorship, the FAI became the voice of the revolutionary cutting edge of the CNT." Many opponents of the reformist line vowed allegiance to the FAI, even where they were not members. The success of this defence of the anarchist principles of the CNT ended the first phase of the FAI's existence: "The collapse of the reformist offensive within the CNT by late 1932 signalled that the FAI had served the main purpose which had brought it to prominence. The CNT militants who had spoken in its name and adopted its slogans quickly merged back into the Confederal Defence Committees and everyday union activity."

However, the FAI did not disappear but continued in existence, taking responsibility for the insurrections of the 'thirties which were actually organised by the CNT, and eventually coming under the influence of Diego Abad de Santillan and a "group of rootless intellectuals and economic planners."

This divorce from the grassroots of the CNT ended in the creation of a 'CNT-FAI' which was to become ensnared in politicking during the civil war which effectively meant the defeat of the revolutionary project. "The Catalan anarchist leadership renounced anarchism in the name of expediency and removed the social transformation of Spain from their agenda."

The history of the Spanish anarchist movement raises a number of issues of concern to anyone interested in social change: Despite the absence of a hierarchical structure, an informal leadership developed inside the CNT which was able to flout democratic procedures. Equally, the history of the FAI shows that organisations are capable of developing 'a life of their own', and become self-perpetuating structures which pay less and less heed to their original objectives. However, this work does show the constructive role that the 'conscious minority' of militants is able to play, and that if one avenue of approach is blocked, new voices (such as the 'Friends of Durruti Group') will spring up. This work highlights issues of perpetual concern to anarchists on organisation and the relationship of anarchists to other workers.

*We, the anarchists* is an authoritative study, well supported with quotes from the main players in the events it describes, and clearly defines the varying groups and positions in the organisational debates of the Spanish movement. However, its primary value is in raising issues of concern to all interested in building a free society – ones that apply here and now as much as in the Spain of the 'twenties and 'thirties.

*We, the anarchists* (paperback, 136 pages. ISBN 1-901172-06-6, Published 2000) costs £7.95 (plus p+p) and is available from the Kate Sharpley Library as well as the publishers:  
The Meltzer Press; PO Box 35, Hastings; East Sussex TN34 2UX  
and Jura Media, PO Box N32, Petersham North NSW 2049, Australia

Please see page 6 for other new titles available from the KSL and page 7 for our complete distribution list.

### Spreading the Word

John T. Caldwell, *With Fate Conspire: memoirs of a Glasgow seafarer and anarchist.*

*With Fate Conspire* is the long-awaited second (and concluding) volume of John Caldwell's autobiography. The first, *Severely Dealt With*, was an account of his harsh upbringing in Belfast and Glasgow (1911-1927), and the second volume begins with the sixteen-year-old Caldwell's first voyage on the transatlantic liners of Glasgow's Anchor Line. He gives a vivid account of life below deck, with the exploitation and petty tyranny that were the reality of this supposedly glamorous world.

Of more interest to readers of the *KSL Bulletin*, however, will be the rich insights the book affords into the lost world of Glasgow anarchism. John Caldwell is the last surviving member of an heroic band of comrades who kept its banner flying through the 1920s and 1930s, when it was all but obliterated by the onward march of state socialism in the form of the Labour and Communist Parties. In Glasgow, Guy Aldred was at the centre of a dedicated group of anti-parliamentarians who resisted this, and fearlessly exposed the futility of parliamentary socialism.

Caldwell joined them, and eloquently describes his first contact with Aldred and his comrades at the 1934 Glasgow May Day. Later, he joined their United Socialist Movement as a full-time worker. He relates their enormous sacrifices in sending comrades to Spain to work for the CNT-FAI in Barcelona and Madrid; their resistance to war and conscription and their assistance to COs (Caldwell himself was among these, and one of the most vivid of many hitherto unpublished photos is of a march by the Anti-Conscription League through the streets of Glasgow). Possibly most important of all, though, he recounts their struggle to start and maintain their own printing press (the Strickland Press) and paper (*The Word*), and the stream of propaganda associated with these for almost thirty years.

Particularly noteworthy here are Caldwell's stirring accounts of the desperate struggle, with the help of Willie McDougall, to produce the *Barcelona Bulletin*, so as to expose the Stalinist repression of the Barcelona anarchists in May 1937; and also of the marathon effort to print, and then distribute, the first issue of *The Word* for May Day 1938. Equally moving is the story of the prolonged struggle against poverty, bureaucracy, illness and old age which kept *The Word* going well into the 1960s.

The book is well produced, well written – Caldwell is an accomplished writer and storyteller and, as previously mentioned, illustrated with many excellent

photographs (worth the price of admission on their own!) In addition, and for the first time, there is a detailed bibliography of the truly staggering output achieved by the minuscule but dedicated workforce of the Strickland Press.

In a time when parliamentary socialism is becoming more than ever irrelevant, and when its leader's idea of social change is to make a Faustian compact with the forces of the global market, it is important to keep in mind the example of those comrades who, in an earlier era, fought valiantly against capitalism and war. Caldwell has given us a salutary example in this book, which hopefully will serve to inspire the new generation of anti-capitalists who also, rather than parliamentarism, place their faith in direct action.

Paperback, (240 pp; 42 illustrations) price £8.95, available from NORTHERN HERALD BOOKS, 5 Close Lea, Rastrick, Brighouse, West Yorkshire HD6 3AR or from AK Distribution.

#### LIBRARY NOTES

Brought to you in January 2001 by the KSL – Happy New Year! We can be contacted at:

KSL, BM Hurricane, London, WC1N 3XX, UK and  
KSL, PMB 820, 2425 Channing Way, Berkeley CA  
94704 USA

We hope that readers enjoy this issue's (specially gathered) reviews – more contributions are welcome. Publishers are encouraged to send in their publications. So are any comrades producing pamphlets or newspapers. Thanks go to the comrades who've recently made donations, both large and small. Subscription rates are given on the back wrapper.

#### Recent additions to the Kate Sharpley Library

*Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* ed. Roger Baldwin New York: Vanguard Press, 1927

*The New Unionism* Andre Tridon New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1913

*Antisemitism* Bernard Lazare New York: International Pub.Co, 1903

*Boston Upton Sinclair* New York A and C Boni, 1928

*Protest: Sacco and Vanzetti and the Intellectuals*  
David Felix Bloomington and London: Indiana  
University Press, 1965

*The State: Its Historic Role* by Peter Kropotkin, ed. and published by Ammon Hennacy. Albuquerque: nd  
*La Responsabilita a la Solidarieta nella Lotta Operaia* Max Nettlau Barre, Vermont: Casa Editrice L'AZIONE, 1913

A nice run of *Wobbly*, published in the early 1960s in Berkeley and A large collection of Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (Sraf) material from the seventies.

## Angiolillo's Vengeance

On 20 August 1897, the Italian anarchist Michele Angiolillo Lombardio was garrotted to death in Vergara, Spain. He was 36 years old and just a few days earlier he had killed the Spanish prime minister Antonio Canovas del Castillo in the spa town of Santa Agueda, capitalising upon an oversight on the part of the police escort.

We have few details about Angiolillo. We know that he was from Naples and entered Spain from France, coming from Marseilles in 1897. Previously he had been living in England and it was probably there that he met the Spanish anarchist refugees who would have filled him in on the situation of the anarchist movement in their homeland, especially as regards the most active elements at the time, the Catalans.

### THE MONTJUICH TRIAL

The engineer Tarrida del Marmol's book, *Inquisitors of Spain*, had just been published. The author, having fled to England, offered a first hand account of the so-called Montjuich trial which had followed the bombing of the Corpus Christi procession in Barcelona in 1896. A bomb had been thrown at the procession – not, oddly enough at the dignitaries leading it but at the body of the procession – and five workers and a policeman had been killed. This curious circumstance, plus the fact that the actual perpetrator was never identified led to suspicions of a set-up or connivance on the part of the police themselves, a much more likely story than most might be inclined to believe.

In any event, hundreds of arrests ensued and the matter was used as an excuse to put the anarchists on the rack. The aim was to indict some of the leading ideologues still at liberty, Tarrida del Marmol among them. Later, in his book, he would tell of the awful tortures to which the accused were subjected in the Montjuich fortress to extract phoney confessions. The upshot of the trial was that lengthy prison sentences were handed down and five anarchist militants were executed by firing squad. In only one case was there a hint of possible involvement in the preparations for the bombing. The other four were completely innocent.

### THE RESTORATION REGIME

The First Republic having foundered due to military intervention, the Bourbon restoration established by Canovas del Castillo (endorsed by Isabella II, Maria Cristina and Alfonso XII, one after another) put paid to a pre-revolutionary situation and ushered in unprecedented stability, thanks to rotation in power of the conservatives (led by Canovas) and the liberals (led by Sagasta), both of them recognising the

authority of the monarchy. That stability which favoured big business and shady deals served the interests of the landowning oligarchy and superior officers in the military. Their chief enemy (given, as well, the dithering and limp character of incipient marxist socialism) was anarchism: Not just on account of sporadic and controversial outrages, which many anarchists condemned, but because of the certain fact that the anarchist movement was growing in influence every day and that at all costs situations such as has occurred before where the anarchists fomented and led strikes, revolts and popular disturbances (as in Alcoy, Jerez, Cadiz, Barcelona, etc.) had to be averted. The position in Andalusia where hunger was an endemic problem might turn explosive again and any disturbances were put down at gunpoint and with mass arrests, not to mention recourse to the *ley de fugas* [shot 'trying to escape']. During this time, paradoxically, as Gerald Brenan puts it 'every Civil Guard turned into a recruiting-sergeant for anarchism.' In 1896 a new law was promulgated: it was designed specifically to crack down on anarchism.

As if that were not enough, the response to the pro-independence agitation in the Spanish colonies took the form of *carte blanche* being given to the most reactionary among the military. In the Philippines, a revolt had been ruthlessly quashed and among those mown down was the most popular leader, the Tagalog José Rizal. General Martinez Campos was dispatched to Cuba to defend the short-term interests of the Spanish landowners: he was soon replaced by General Weyler who displayed greater zeal in his efforts to de-populate the island. His greatest problem was ensuring regular supplies to his huge army which was doomed to hunger and decimating disease by the corruption of the army bureaucrats.

This policy of bloody terror was to furnish an ideal pretext for the US government to persuade the voters that war should be declared on foot of some obscure manoeuvre. The war with the Americans, under-rated by the 'brilliant' Spanish strategists, was to culminate in the disaster of 1898 and the traumatic loss of Spain's colonies and the complete disgracing of her army which, in spite of swallowing up the bulk of the national budget, stood exposed in its archaic and corrupt structures, especially the extremely pricy navy which was wiped out by armoured US ships. Canovas (someone the present rightwing government would have us look up to again) and his regime had one pronounced feature in the shape of a superciliousness that placed them beyond good and evil and inaccessible to any sort of influence by popular feeling. His lapidary pronouncements are famous: 'He is Spanish

## ANGIOLILLO

who cannot be anything else' and 'Poverty is the badge of stupidity...' This in a society prey to chronic starvation, with a 75% overall illiteracy rate and a State groaning under a massive debt run up by exorbitant military expenditure.

### **ANGIOLILLO FACE TO FACE WITH CANOVAS**

By the time that Angiolillo arrived in Barcelona, anarchists had been driven completely underground: their public meetings, newspapers were strictly banned. He may well have been involved in an operation to raise funds and was arrested but the complete lack of evidence against him and good references resulted in his being released.

He then set about laying the preparations for the assassination bid that had brought him to Spain. He travelled to Madrid and assumed a false identity as one Emilio Rinaldini, reporter for the *Il Popolo* newspaper. He journeyed by train to Zumarraga and made his way to the spa town of Santa Agueda where he claimed to have come in search of a cure for his chronic pharyngitis. He had with him a small suitcase in which he had two revolvers and a few sticks of dynamite. He dumped the dynamite in order to avert injury to the innocent. Although he spoke with no one, his educated manner and great height did not go unnoticed; because of them several witnesses claimed to have seen him strolling around the environs of the Buena Esperanza hermitage just as the worshippers were leaving on the morning of 7 August. Once again, Angiolillo decided against accosting Canovas because of the large number of people in the vicinity.

His chance came the next day when the prime minister was fleetingly left alone with his wife on a bench in the spa. Rushing over, he fired at Canovas killing him virtually outright. He was detained and offered no resistance and taken to Vergara to appear before a summary court martial as the law required, even though he was, of course, no serviceman. Under questioning he implicated no one, stating that he had acted alone at all times; he declared that he was a dedicated anarchist and that the assassination was by way of a reprisal for the torture and killing of his comrades in the Montjuich fortress and for the execution of the Filipino rebel leader José Rizal. He was sentenced to die by the garrote, a sentence carried out forthwith on 20 August 1897. He appeared calm at all times and showed no signs of remorse.

from *El Solidario*, August '98, organ of the Solidaridad Obrera group in Spain

### **NEW TITLES**

#### **What is this Anarchism, then?**

Albert Meltzer *Anarchism: arguments for and against*

AK Press have recently issued an updated version of this classic introduction to anarchism, reflected in the objections that other ideologies – from Marxists to fascists – make to it, and including a section on ordinary people's views of anarchism.

The text has been revised and this is now a small book rather than a pamphlet – lacking the amusing but sometimes baffling cartoons from earlier editions – and is well worth acquiring, even if you have a copy of an earlier edition.

AK, in their inimitable style, say that it's a perfect stocking filler, but more than that it is a cracking introduction to anarchist ideas (from one who was never afraid to put his money where his mouth was) and even old hands may pick up some handy debating points. Let's face it, if we're not interested in arguing for anarchism, what are we up to?

Available from KSL for £3.95 (see page 7 for details)

#### **Beating the fascists**

Bash the Fash (1), Anti-fascist recollections 1984-1993 K. Bullstreet £1.50

This is literally a no-punches pulled account of Anti Fascist Action's fight against fascism in Britain by a grassroots anarchist member of AFA. It is important, not because he makes any pretence at being a leading light but because the many small (or not so small) contributions such people make are key to the success that AFA achieved.

Written with honesty and a sense of humour, the tale of challenging the fascists for control of the streets – and winning – never descends to political cliché or reads like a pools forecast.

Obviously, a changed political environment requires different tactics from the anti-fascist movement, but it's equally clear that, if we don't record our recent success (because it is the success of AFA that changed the landscape,) our enemies will write us out of history. Here's an insight into the true story.

#### **The fight against Franco boils over**

Octavio Alberola, Alvaro Millán & Juan Zambrana *Revolutionary activism: The Spanish Resistance in context*

17 pages, 1-873605-77-3 pamphlet £5 [£1.50 to individual bulletin subscribers] see page 2 for more details.