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AN ADDRESS TO THE ARMY (The Sheffield Anarchist, JULY 19th 1891)

Fellow-workers - for fellow-workers you were before you sold yourselves, and fellow-workers you may be after your term of servitude as soldiers has expired. We, the Anarchist-Communists of England, being the English section of the Anarchist-Communist groups of the world, appeal to your manhood to listen to us through this address, and to be careful before you cast aside what is on the one hand an appeal and on the other a word of warning

The world-wide struggle on the part of the wage-workers against the tyranny of Capitalism is becoming so severe that recently, in various parts of the world, the military have been used by our masters in order to crush the rising aspirations of the people. In America, men, women and children have been shot down by the soldiery for daring to protest against the starvation wages paid to them. In France, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Belgium the same thing has occurred. You may say, what has all this to do with me? Well, stop and listen. Recently in Scotland, at Motherwell, at Liverpool, at Southampton, Leeds and Bradford, the services of the soldiery - in whose hands this may fall - were utilized to put down the meetings of working men and women, who were attempting to protest against the miserable wages paid, and the horrible conditions under which many of them lived.

The capitalists, in their attempt by "blackleg" labour to crush the workers are, and ever have been, ready to use the soldiery in order to achieve their damnable ends; only recently the soldiery in Maryborough, Australia, were made howling drunk and then let out in the town, committing many brutal assaults, yet the workers were quiet even under these circumstances and this is in one of our own colonies. Other governments in various parts of the world have used soldiers as "blacklegs" to defeat the workers in their attempt to better their position. The governing powers of England, made up of our masters as they are, and must necessarily be whilst they hold the means of life in their hands, are not one bit behind their "co-thieves" the capitalists of other lands. Recently,

We appeal to you in no idle manner, we are in earnest; we ask you to choose whom you will fight for and with. Shall it be for our masters or with us?

during the threatened Gas Strike, it is well known that accommodation was made for the soldiers, not only to occupy the Gas Works, but also to "blackleg" against those on strike. Is this to continue? The answer lays with you, largely. You who are the sons of workers, you who have known the hard conditions of factory life, you who when your services were no longer required by a boss were cast aside and forced (in most cases) to enlist or starve, are you to be the men to crush others whom you left behind in factory, mine, field, or workshop, when they try to resist being slowly starved to death? Nay, surely you will never butcher your own class like wolves eager for blood. Our fathers, mothers, and kindred have, like many of yours, ended their days in the workhouse, whilst we, and many of you, have had to eke out a miserable existence as best we could. And why? In order that an idle class of landlords and Capitalists may live in luxury and debauchery, whilst we work hard and starve. They are able to maintain their power over us simply because they can hire you to shoot us down if we should rebel to alter our conditions, paying you out of what has been wrung from the blood and sweat of your brethren. Need this be? No, a thousand times no. There is land enough for all to live upon; nature has endowed us with skill to be

able, not only to exist, but to live the lives of happy men, women and children.

We are striving to bring about a condition of society in which there shall be neither slave nor master, neither poor nor rich, where all shall be able to satisfy

their human desires, in a word we are striving for FREEDOM. Shall it be said that you - part of our class as you are - will aid in suppressing our noble efforts? Remember you also will have the battle of life to fight, that you will on the day of your discharge have to begin the struggle for existence; what sympathy can you expect if today you use your weapons against those who are fighting not only their battle but yours. Pause, comrades, and on the words "Make ready, Fire!" shoot the scoundrels who [order that] you murder the people.

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ANTIMILITARISM

Continued from front

You do your duty and We will do ours. We have put our hand to the plough and do not mean to turn back whether we achieve VICTORY or meet DEATH. We have nothing to lose but our chains, and we have a world to gain. We, therefore are working for the destruction of private property, believing that the holding of land and capital by the community will be the best and safest way to obtain the greatest amount of happiness for you and all the human race.

When, the people attempt to take back the wealth they have created, your services will be called in; THINK carefully, and decide on which side you will fight. Science has placed in our hands a weapon also and we shall not hesitate to answer back when once you have began the bloody work of our task- masters. We appeal to you in no idle manner, we are in earnest; we ask you to choose whom you will fight for and with. Shall it be for our masters or with us? The history of the world testifies to cases where the soldiery have joined the people against their rulers; let us hope that history will record that the soldiers of England stood beside the people and against the thieves who robbed them. We appeal to you to choose, and we warn you on the other hand that, come what will, we will not turn back. Every means we know of shall be used by us in our struggle, and if you are against us, we can only look upon you as traitors to your class and enemies of mankind. We ask you again to show your sympathy by joining the revolt of the people, which may not be long coming. Whilst determined to resist force by force, we would rather greet you as comrades than enemies. Our watchword is "REVOLT! REVOLT!" what shall yours be? Several of our comrades are in your midst, will you answer their signal, or obey the commands of your officers? Let us hope when our comrades cry "REVOLT!" that your answer will thunder forth "Revolt! Revolt! against tyranny and robbery; hurrah for Anarchy and the Social Revolution."

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NEWS

Readers in the Americas can contact the library via our new USA address:

KSL, PMB 820, 2425 Channing Way
Berkeley CA 94704, USA

A number of subs expire with this issue: indicated by one red dot on your label. Two red dots shows you're about to be given up as lost, so write soon!

Subscriptions to the bulletin for a year (4 issues) are £3 (inland) or £5 (overseas). Institutional rates are £6 (inland) and £10 (overseas) [unfortunately we can't take

dollar cheques, but sterling ones payable to 'Kate Sharpley Library' are fine.]

Pamphlets

Two KSL pamphlets have been reprinted and are available for their original (cheap!) price of one pound each. We've also acquired some writings by the French anarchist geographer Elisee Reclus: see page 7 for the full list of titles available from us.

Rhona M. Hodgart **Ethel MacDonald: Glasgow woman anarchist**

Ethel MacDonald was an anarchist comrade of Guy Aldred's who travelled to Spain during the civil war, worked as a radio announcer and was imprisoned by the communists. This pamphlet tells her story.

23 pages. £1

Wilf McCartney **Dare to be a Daniel!**

McCartney helped organise a syndicalist catering workers union, which developed the stay-in-and-win (as opposed to walk-out-and-starve) strike.

25 pages. 1-873605-52-0 £1

"Fight for Africa!"

continued from p. 6

Supported by the Industrial Socialist League, the strike by more than 2000 workers demands better wages and opposes food exports, which many workers believe is contributing to the country's high post-war inflation rate.

Although the strike does not win, it helps lay a basis for cooperation on the docks, and some years later, the Industrial Workers of Africa, the Industrial and Commercial Union and several other black unions merge to form the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, or ICU.

Not a syndicalist union - the ICU is influenced more by nationalist and traditionalist ideologies than anti-capitalism, and is run from above by a parasitic layer of petty bourgeois officials- the ICU still retains some syndicalist colouring during its dramatic rise and fall in the 1920s. This colouring includes the goal of One Big Union, and a constitution calling for "workers through their industrial organisations [to] take from the capitalist class the means of production, to be owned and controlled by the workers for the benefit of all, instead of for the profit of a few."

This must be reckoned part of the legacy of the Industrial Workers of Africa, a revolutionary syndicalist union fighting capitalism and racism in the heart of capitalist South Africa, at the height of colonialism in Africa.

In its "glorious period," between the 1880s and 1930s, revolutionary syndicalism was not just an international movement- it was also internationalist and anti-racist.

Goliardo Fiaschi

by Antonio Téllez

Goliardo Fiaschi was born in Carrara (Italy) on 21 August 1930 and died in the same city on 29 July 2000. On 9 September 1943, aged thirteen, he joined the Resistance in his district, but in order to gain admittance he claimed to be over fifteen years old. By the time that Goliardo was starting out in life as an antifascist fighter, the Allied forces had just overrun Sicily where they had landed in July. Benito Mussolini had been placed under arrest by order of the king and a government headed by Marshal Badoglio had capitulated on 8 September, the very day on which the Allies landed on the peninsula at Salerno.

Carrara's antifascists entrusted Goliardo with the task of collecting the weaponry jettisoned by deserting Italian troops, weaponry that he removed at great risk to the dumps of the National Liberation Committee (CLN) and which were the first weapons with which the partisans armed themselves.

Since Goliardo was, when all is said and done, still no more than a boy, he could pass unremarked with a handcart, ferrying guns hidden under wood, rags or the like. He very soon learned how to handle, strip and reassemble a wide variety of weapons. Which led to his being starting out with the libertarian "Gino Lucetti" formation which was, with other organisations, under the control of the CLN (National Liberation Committee). He served with this up until 31 December 1944.

At that time, food supplies in Carrara were non-existent. People were desperate, skeletal. There was constant danger on every side - from the Nazis and fascists and from Allied air-raids. Fiaschi was entrusted with a number of missions into Marina de Carrara and Avenza. The explosion of an artillery shell in the latter town left him half-buried. In Bonascola which also came under fire from the Allies, Fiaschi was a frequent visitor on his missions (a partisan unit having been set up there under the command of Alcides, and the distribution of arms to the peasants having begun there). On one occasion he visited on a horse-drawn cart that galloped through a fascist checkpoint on the road and was fortunate not to be stopped.

In late December, Goliardo Fiaschi decided to cross through the German lines to join the Anglo-American forces which had postponed the continuation of their push until April. They were faced with the last German lines of defence that side of the Alps, the Gothic Line, which crossed Italy diagonally from Pisa in the north and the Tyrrhenian Sea, weaving its way across the Appennines as far as Rimini in the south on

the Adriatic. It was made up of a chain of fortifications with anti-tank minefields, lines of barbed wire, gun emplacements and machine-gun nests dug into the rocks or behind concrete.

Late in December 1944, anyway, Goliardo Fiaschi set off on his risky journey to join the Allied forces on the Seravezza front north of Pietrasanta. His distracted mother walked a good part of the way with him, pleading for him to stay with the family. In Bergiola he met up with some partisans and together they made it to Antona where they were joined by a column of civilians also bent on passing through the lines. With some difficulty they made it to Seravezza but when a roll-call was taken it was discovered that 14 of their number had vanished: they had probably perished while walking over icy trails overlooking deep gullies.

Fiaschi reported to the command post, only to be told that they had no need of him there, but that people were required elsewhere. They sent him on to the Abetone front along with the 3rd Costrignano Brigade, Modena Division (Emilia Region). There he was issued with grenades and a Sten gun, in the handling of which he was already well versed.

By the time that the Allied offensive resumed in April 1945 with the attack on Monte Lancia, where the fortifications were attacked in broad daylight under murderous enemy gunfire, Goliardo was the second person to reach the summit, after his commanding officer Filippo Papa.

After a short respite they had to cope with a forceful German counter-attack. They pressed on into Fanano, Sestola, Pavullo and Sassuolo and finally Modena. Progress was very difficult throughout as all of the roads had been mined and they were only able to proceed in single file whilst facing dogged Nazi resistance.

In Modena Goliardo's unit paraded under a rain of flowers, with Goliardo leading the way as standard-bearer. At the same time, Italian partisans were surfacing to ever greater effect behind the German lines. In Carrara, Genoa, Turin, Milan and elsewhere these guerrilla brigades forced the Germans into surrender and by the time that the Allies arrived were already solidly in control of the situation.

The Italian campaign, with its slow, painful, bloody progress through mountainous areas which seemed to have no end, was drawing to a close. Worried about the family and comrades that he had left behind him in Carrara, Goliardo set off for the city on foot, having been frustrated in his requests for

GOLIARDO FIASCHI

a horse. In the environs of Abetone, after he had covered 90 kilometres already, an American vehicle picked him up and took him as far as Bagni di Lucca some 25 kilometres from Abetone. They dropped him off at the mayor's house for a few days' rest. After which a US officer accompanied him as far as Carrara where he was finally reunited with his family.

Ugo Mazzucchelli, the commander of the "Gino Lucetti" formation awarded Goliardo a citation from General Harold Alexander (who had attended the parade through Modena) recording Goliardo's part in the resistance in the marble-quarrying city. In 1956 while acting premises officer for the "Pietro Gori" anarchist group's premises in Canal Del Rio street in Carrara, Goliardo made the acquaintances of the Spanish anti-Francoist fighters José Lluís Facerías and Luis Agustín Vicente, known in Italy as "Alberto" and "Mario Mella" respectively. From them he learned of the tragic plight of the Spanish people under the Franco regime and this planted the notion in his head of joining the fight against the dictator Francisco Franco and trying to overthrow it. Towards the end of 1956 he crossed into France, meaning to meet up with Francisco Sabaté Llopart ("El Quico") only to find that the latter had just set off for Spain at the end of November with some other guerrillas.

At the anarchist jamboree in 1956 which was held in Villa Paradiso in Marina de Carrara from 1 July to 31 August, Fiaschi almost drowned in an accident. By the time that he arrived in Toulouse late in November 1956, he fell ill as a result of this mishap and his comrades took him to a base in the Pyrenees to recuperate.

In March 1957, José Lluís Facerías and Luis Agustín Vicente arrived back in France from Italy. José visited Goliardo several times and showed him cuttings from the Italian press to the effect that the police were looking for him in connection with his supposed involvement in an armed hold-up carried out at a branch of the *Banco di Casale e del Monferrato* in Villanova on 15 January 1957. Facerías told him that upon his return to Italy he would be able to supply documentary proof that he was in France at the time of the offence and was, therefore, innocent. But for the moment what Goliardo wanted to do was join in the fight against Franco. Facerías suggested that he join him on the incursion into Spain for which he was making preparations and Goliardo agreed.

On 15 August 1957 Facerías, Goliardo and Luis Agustín set off for Spain; they reached the border by nightfall. On the 15th it poured with rain. They entered Spain at 8.40pm. on 17 August. On 28 August Facerías and Goliardo reached Barcelona and took cover in a hut on Tibidabo, the mountain

overlooking Barcelona and connected to it by tram and cable-car. Luis Vicente had split off in Sant Joan de les Abadesses (Gerona), meaning to take his chances with travelling on to Barcelona alone.

This was a bad decision because on 27 August he was arrested in Sabadell (Barcelona) in the home of a friend - which is to say that he was picked up before his colleagues reached Tibidabo. At 7.30pm. on 29 August, Facerías made the trip down into Barcelona, telling his friend that he had a rendezvous to keep "with a comrade" and warning him that he would be back by midnight at the latest. He also told him that if by any chance anything befell him, Goliardo should move to a base of which he gave him the details. Goliardo accompanied him part of the way and while returning to the hut was arrested by a six-strong police unit laying in wait in the area.

Facerías was killed in Barcelona on 30 August at 10.45 am., so it is plain that the timing of the rendezvous had been changed, no doubt to allow time for the laying of the ambush in which he died. His "comrade" had sold him out.

Fiaschi and Luis Vicente were brought before a Court Martial on 12 August 1958, with the former receiving a prison term of 20 years and one day and the latter 24 years and four months. Goliardo had served five months when news reached him of the death of his father, Pietro. He served a total of seven years, eleven months and fourteen days, emerging from prison on 14 August 1966, only to be handed over to the Italian authorities which had sued for his extradition. Goliardo applied for a review of the sentence passed on him in his absence on 12 April 1960, but his application was rejected out of hand. He was committed to the prison at San Giorgio di Luca. In October 1971 he was transferred to the prison in Lecce and finally to Portolongone where he served 13 months in the cells for constantly protesting and demanding to be released.

After a lengthy campaign for his release, he was pardoned and discharged on 30 March 1974. Between Spain and Italy, he had seen the inside of 48 penal establishments. Several hundred anarchists from Italy and elsewhere attended his funeral, bidding him farewell by waving red and black flags and singing anarchist anthems.

Goliardo Fiaschi died after completion of his memoirs, having begun the writing of them some years previously after he was diagnosed with the disease that carried him to his grave.

“Fight for Africa, which you deserve” The Industrial Workers of Africa in South Africa, 1917-1921

Lucien van der Walt

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa. May 1918. A group of African workers, and a handful of white radicals, meet in a small room behind a general store on the corner of Fox and McLaren streets, as they have done on a weekly basis for over a year. Several new faces are present, so Rueben Cetiwe, a key African militant, outlines the purpose of the gathering:

“We are here for Organisation, so that as soon as all of your fellow workers are organised, then we can see what we can do to abolish the Capitalist system. We are here for the salvation of the workers. We are here to organise and to fight for our rights and benefits.”

This is a gathering of the Industrial Workers of Africa, a revolutionary syndicalist union that aims to organise the black workers who bear the brunt of capitalist exploitation in South Africa.

Since the country’s industrial revolution began in the wake of diamond and gold discoveries in the 1860s and 1880s, hundreds of thousands of workers from Australia, America, Europe and southern Africa have been drawn to the mines and surrounding industries that spring up almost overnight.

For the white workers drawn to the mines and cities of the vast new Witwatersrand complex from across the world, it is worth risking endemic silicosis for unmatched wages for skilled men. For poor white Afrikaners, the mines offer employment as share-cropping and family farming disintegrate in the wake of war and landlordism.

For Africans, the mines offer the wages needed to pay the tax collectors in the British and Portuguese colonies. These workers enter the cities as a conquered people, their lands under imperial authority, their chiefs colluding in labour recruitment to the mines. Weighed down with indentures, forbidden to organise unions, locked in all-male compounds on the mines, or segregated in grim ghettos in the interstices of the towns, their movement controlled by the internal passport, or “pass law” system that affects every black working man, their families forced to stay in the countryside: these men are the bed rock of South African capitalism.

By 1913, there are nearly 40,000 white workers, and around 200,000 African workers on the Witwatersrand. And ruling them all: the “Randlords,” the millionaire mine owners, and their allies, the rural landlords.

There is resistance, however. In 1907, the white miners strike, but are driven back to work after scabs

are brought in. In 1913, a general strike by white miners (joined by sections of the African labour force) succeeds in forcing the Randlords to the negotiating table (but not before imperial dragoons gun down 30 workers in downtown Johannesburg outside the Randlord’s “Rand Club”). A second general strike in 1914 is suppressed through martial law.

The African workers also rise. In 1902, as the Anglo-Boer war ends, there is a labour shortage as Africans refuse to come to the mines. There are also a series of strikes, but these are suppressed. In 1913, African workers on the mines strike in the wake of the

LISTEN, WORKERS, LISTEN!

(Manifesto of the Industrial Workers of Africa, issued in Johannesburg, September 1917, in Sesotho and isiZulu)

Workers of the Bantu race:

Why do you live in slavery? Why are you not free as other men are free? Why are you kicked and spat upon by your masters? Why must you carry a pass before you can move anywhere? And if you are found without one, why are you thrown into prison? Why do you toil hard for little money? And again thrown into prison if you refuse to work? Why do they herd you like cattle into compounds?

WHY?

Because you are the toilers of the earth. Because the masters want you to labour for their profit. Because they pay the Government and Police to keep you as slaves to toil for them. If it were not for the money they make from your labour, you would not be oppressed.

But mark: you are the mainstay of the country. You do all the work, you are the means of their living. That is why you are robbed of the fruits of your labour and robbed of your liberty as well.

There is only one way of deliverance for you Bantu workers. Unite as workers. Unite: forget the things which divide you. Let there be no longer any talk of Basuto, Zulu, or Shangaan. You are all labourers; let Labour be your common bond.

Wake up! And open your ears. The sun has arisen, the day is breaking, for a long time you were asleep while the mill of the rich man was grinding and breaking the sweat of your work for nothing. You are strongly requested to come to the meeting of the workers to fight for your rights.

Come and listen, to the sweet news, and deliver yourself from the bonds and chains of the capitalist. Unity is strength. The fight is great against the many passes that persecute you and against the low wages and misery of your existence.

Workers of all lands unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win.

AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

white miners' strike - but their strike is put down by troops.

Then, in mid-1917, a notice appears in Johannesburg, calling a meeting on the 19 July 1917 to "discuss matters of common interest between white and native workers". It is issued by the International Socialist League, a revolutionary syndicalist organisation influenced by the IWW and formed in 1915 in opposition to the First World War, and the racist and conservative policies of the all-white South African Labour Party and the craft unions supporting it.

Initially rooted amongst white labour militants, the International Socialist League is orientated from the start towards black workers. The League argues in its weekly paper, the *International*, for a "new movement" to found One Big Union that would overcome the "bounds of Craft and race and sex," "recognise no bounds of craft, no exclusions of colour," and destroy capitalism through a "lockout of the capitalist class."

From 1917 onwards, the International Socialist League begins to organise amongst workers of colour. In March 1917, it founds an Indian Workers Industrial Union in the port city of Durban; in 1918, it founds a Clothing Workers Industrial Union (later spreading to Johannesburg) and horse drivers' union in the diamond mining town of Kimberly; in Cape Town, a sister organisation, the Industrial Socialist League, founds the Sweet and Jam Workers Industrial Union that same year.

The meeting of 19 July 1917 is a success, and forms the basis for weekly study group meetings: led by International Socialists (notably Andrew Dunbar, founder of the IWW in South Africa in 1910), these meetings discuss capitalism, class struggle and the need for African workers to unionise in order to win higher wages and remove the pass system.

On the 27 September 1917, the study groups are transformed into a union, the Industrial Workers of Africa, modelled on the IWW and organised by an all-African committee. The new general union's demands are simple, uncompromising, summed up in the its slogan- "Sifuna Zonke!" ("We want everything!").

It is the first trade union for African workers ever formed in South Africa. The influence of the new union is widespread, although it numbers under two hundred people at this point.

After meeting the Industrial Workers, Talbot Williams of the nationalist African Peoples Organisation makes a speech (reissued as a pamphlet complete with the IWW preamble) calling for "the organisation of black labour, upon which the whole commercial and mining industry rests today."

In May 1918, Industrial Workers like T.W. Thibedi speak at an International Socialist League May Day rally, the first May day directed primarily towards workers of colour.

Within the main nationalist body on the Witwatersrand, the petty bourgeois-dominated Transvaal Native Congress, key Industrial Worker militants such as Cetiwe and Hamilton Kraai form part of a left, pro-labour, bloc that helps shift this sleepy organisation to the left in 1918 as an unprecedented wave of strikes by black and white workers begins to engulf the country.

After a Judge McFie - "a bear on the bench," in the words of the *International*- jails 152 striking African municipal workers in June 1918, the Transvaal Native Congress calls a mass rally of African workers in Johannesburg on the 10 June. Industrial Workers present call for a general strike, and an organising committee of International Socialists, Industrial Workers and Congressmen is established to take the process forward.

A week later the committee reports back: "the capitalists and workers are at war everywhere in every country," so workers should "strike and get what they should." On the 2 July, there will be general strike by African workers: for a 1 shilling a day pay raise and "for Africa which they deserved."

But weak organisation - and perhaps nerves and inexperience - lead the committee to call off the strike (although several thousand miners do not get the message and come out anyway).

Government does not forget, though, and arrests and charges seven activists - three from the International Socialists, three from the Industrial Workers, and two from Congress - for "incitement to public violence." The trial is a forerunner of the Treason Trials of the 1950s: it is the first time white and black activists are jointly charged for political activities in South Africa.

The case falls through for lack of evidence but Kraai and Cetiwe are among those who lose their jobs as a result of the trial. Both are central to a Native Congress-sponsored campaign against the pass laws, launched in March 1919.

When the conservatives in Congress call this struggle off in July, the two comrades move to Cape Town to establish an Industrial Workers branch, leaving Thibedi in charge of the Industrial Workers in Johannesburg. Organising amongst dockworkers, the syndicalist militants helped organise a joint strike by the Industrial Workers of Africa and two local unions, the Industrial and Commercial Union and the (white) National Union of Railways and Harbour Servants.
continues on page 2