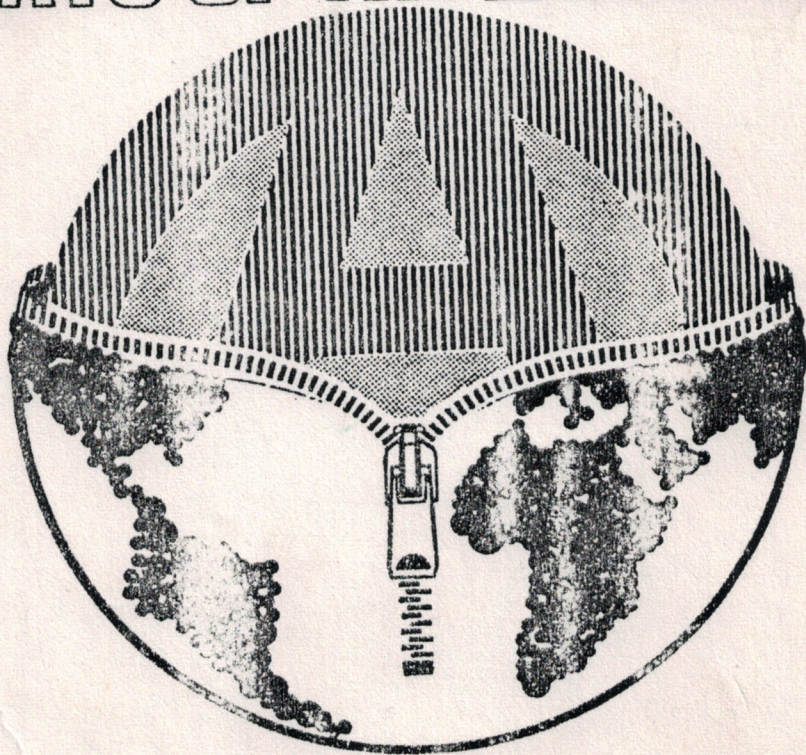


VENEZIA 1984

HISTORY and GEOGRAPHY
OF ANARCHISM
TEXTS OF THE EXHIBITION



ARGENTINA

Anarchism first appeared in Argentina in the last decades of the 19th century, with the arrival of political exiles from Europe. Max Nettlau sites the foundation of the section of the AIT in Buenos Aires in 1872, qualifying it as "a good socialism, rather general, neither anarchist nor political nor authoritarian." The first really anarchist group was the Centro de Propaganda Obrera, founded in 1876.

The revolutionary activity of the labour movement was the flesh and blood of anarchism in the Rio de la Plaba. For about half a century it disrupted the life of the country. Its organisations, its men, its fights, were the prey of continual repression, to the degree in which they inspired the fears of the bourgeoisie. Despite the changes produced during the last century, anarchism has always continued its activity and its propaganda.

1. The Protesta Humana, founded in 1897 as a weekly paper, changed to La Protesta in 1903 and became a daily in 1904. Through various vicissitudes - investigations, bannings, destruction of the premises by the police and the "Bands of Patriots", seme-clandestine publication - it has continued to exist up to the present time, despite long periods of silence imposed by repression and the military coup d'états.

2.3. The first labour union was the Society of the Resistance of Bakery Workers, founded in 1887 with the participation of Malatesta (who was in Argentina from 1885 to 1889).

1902 was a year of major strikes, those of the bakers and the harbour workers, following the development of the Argentine Workers Federation (which became the FORA in 1901). To silence this agitation the parliament voted the "Ley de Residencia" which allowed the deportation on undesirables by the police. This law was used in various attacks against the workers and notably against the anarchists, seeing that a large proportion of the proletariat at the beginning of the century was made up of immigrants of European origins.

4. On the 1st of May 1909, during a demonstration by 30,000 people, organised by the FORA, which had adopted an anarchist communist position at its 5th congress, the police charged on the demonstrators - 8 were killed and 150 wounded. The person responsible for the massacre was Ramon Falcon. The FORA called a general strike which lasted for 9 days.

5.6. On the 14th of November the same year, a young anarchist Simon Radowitzky, threw a bomb into the car of the Chief of Police, Ramon Falcon, killing him. This act let loose a wave of unprecedented repression: arrests, deportations, destruction of workers' premises and of the premises of La Protesta.

7.8. Despite the destruction of its premises La Protesta reappeared in January 1910, as a daily, with a circulation of 16,000 copies. In March the anarchist movement gained another daily - an evening paper, La Batalla, providing a unique example of two daily anarchist newspapers.

9. Simon Radowitzky had been working off his sentence in Ushuaia in Tierra del Fuego (where he remained until 1930) when La Protesta published an article on him, signed by Antilli, which provided the authorities with a pretext for closing the printing press yet again

ARGENTINA (cont.)

Despite the efforts of the action committee, Antilli, Barrera and Gonzalez were given prison sentences.

The Tragic Week

10.-26. In January 1919 the police brutally put down a strike by the workers in a metallurgical factory, "Vasena", in Buenos Aires. There were 4 dead and 20 injured. The public reaction was immense and the burial of the victims was the scene of a demonstration that then became a real insurrection. The workers' organisations proclaimed a general strike. For more than a week the city was in full scale armed struggle. The bourgeoisie came to the aid of the police and the army, organising the "Bands of Patriots" which attacked the workers and particularly the anarchists.

According to the bourgeois press, the balance of a week of confrontations was 7-800 dead and 4,000 injured. 55,000 workers were thrown into prison. The anarchist press was banned.

28.29. In 1921, the National Army, under the orders of Colonel Varela, massacred the agricultural workers of Patagonia who had rebelled against their inhuman working conditions. Two years later, the anarchist Kurt Wilckens killed Varela with a bomb. Wilckens was imprisoned and soon afterwards was assassinated in his cell while he slept. The anarchist labour organisations called for a general strike.

30.

31.32. At the beginning of 1930 the Working Mens Association of the Americas (ACAT) was set up, with the participation of various revolutionary and anarchist organisations in Latin America. ACAT was short-lived however as Uriburu's coup d'état in September of the same year brought in the "hour of the sword" in Argentina.

The Press

The year 1930 marked a turning point in the history of Argentina. From that time on, the revolutionary labour movement slowly withdrew from the scene, while, at the same time, there was a profound structural change in the nature of the proletariat due to the immigration from rural areas to the cities. This entire period was marked by the type of national-populist movements such as Peronism and by the succession of military coups d'état. In 1976 the repression reached its height with the bloodiest state terrorism in the history of the country.

The examples of the anarchist press shown here were chosen without any pretension of taking into account the relative importance of the different tendencies.

AUSTRALIA

- 1886 - 1906 - The Melbourne Anarchist Club was formed on the 1st of May, 1886. It was the first anarchist organisation formed in Australia. The period 1886 - 1908 was a period in Australian history which saw the spread of Anarchist ideas among working people.
- 1906 - 1925 - The International Workers of the World (I.W.W.) played a significant role in the Australian labour history during this period. Branches of the I.W.W. were set up all over Australia. The I.W.W. spearheaded the anti-militarist struggle against Australia's involvement in World War One. By the early 1920's the state had destroyed the I.W.W. as an organisation and many militants joined the emerging Communist Party.
- 1925 - 1960 - Apart from a few isolated individuals, anarchism in Australia was non-existent among English speaking Australians. The only anarchist militants were anarchist refugees from Italy, Spain, Bulgaria who formed small immigrant anarchist groups in exile.
- 1960 - 1970 - The emergence of the "New Left" in Australia saw the rebirth of anarchism in Australia.
- 1970 - 1984 - Over the past fourteen years a number of individuals have formed anarchist groups and outlets in Australia. Although anarchists are a marginal force in Australia today, their consistent actions are beginning to have an effect on Australian society.

Activities today

Bookshops

Red & Black - Brisbane
Collective Effort - Melbourne
Jura Books - Sydney
Black Rose - Sydney

Newspapers/Journals

Libertarian Workers Bulletin - Melbourne
Libertarian Resources - Melbourne
Treason - Brisbane
Everything - Sydney
Rebel Worker - Sydney
Mutual Aid - Brisbane
Affinity - Melbourne
Black Torch - Melbourne

Cafes

Kropotkin's Anarchist Cafe - Brisbane

Radio Programme

Encounters with the Third Alternative -
Melbourne

Groups Today

Melbourne

Libertarian Workers for a Self-
Managed Society
Monash Anarchists
La Trobe Anarchists

Perth

Freedom Collective

Brisbane

Libertarian Socialist
Organisation
2 or 3 gathered in his Name
War Resisters League

Sydney

Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists

Forerunners

1855-56 - Jan Pellerin, bootmaker, and Nicolas Coulon, tailor, founded Le Proletaire, the first anarchist newspaper in Belgium.

Proudhon, during his exile in Brussels between 1858 and 1862, had a considerable influence of the democratic circle. In 1861 the Tribune du Peuple came out with D. Brismee and Cesar de Paepe.

The First International in Belgium

1865 - the Belgian section of the I.W.A. was founded in Brussels by C. de Paepe, G. de Greef, E. Mins, H. Denis, V. Arnould.... La Tribune du Peuple became the mouth-piece of the section in 1866.

1866 - the third I.W.A. congress took place in Brussels and considered the collectivisation question. By 1870 the I.W.A. was at its height in Belgium, with 70,000 members.

1872 - during the Den Haag Congress, the Belgian delegation supported Bakunin against Marx and, some months later, took part in the Anti-Authoritarian International.

1874 - Brussels Congress: C. de Paepe defended his well-known report on the Public Services. The last I.W.A. Congress was at Verviers in 1877.

Elisée Reclus Affair

The Board of Directors of the Université Libre in Brussels, frightened by anarchist violence in France, postponed "sine die" the lessons that Elisée Reclus was to begin in 1894. Troubles at the university followed: lessons were suspended, 18 students were expelled and the rector Hector Denis, a friend of Reclus, resigned.

C. de Greef, P.E. Janson, E. Vandervelde, F. Brœuez, and E. Reclus founded the Université Nouvelle (1894-1919) and the still-existing "Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique". P. Robin, C. Eekhoud, J. Mesnil and P. Gille gave lessons there.

From 1900 to 1914

The anarchists entered the unions, set up a revolutionary union, organised various congresses and set up an Anarchist Federation.

1906-08 - Emile Chapelier founded the colony L'Expérience at Stockel as well as a printing shop at Boitsfort together with J. de Boe, R. Callemain, V. Kibaltchiche. They brought out the paper "Le Révolte". The group was decimated by the Bonnot Affair.

1908 - The "Confederation Syndicale Belge" was set up and by 1913 had 10,000 members.

After 1914-1918

The war had disrupted the anarchist movement and it was restarted with difficulty.

1921 - Hem Day founded the Bulletin Libertaire in Brussels, followed by Rebelle, while Camille Mattart started L'Emancipateur in Liège.

1927 - The "Comité International de Defense Anarchiste" was set up to conduct the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti, and also helped many refugees such as Durruti, Ascaso, Berneri and Bartolomei.

1933 - Leo Champion and Hem Day were put on trial as conscientious objectors. Soon afterwards these two, helped by Ernestan, founded Pensée et Action (1934-1970)

Between 1930 and 1948, anarcho-syndicalism inspired various workers' organisations. Such was the case of the "Syndicat des Typographes" (J. de Boe), of the "Union Fédéraliste" (N. Lazarevitch), of the "Syndicat Independent des Finances" (Theo Lippe) and the "Mouvement Metallurgiste Unifié", set up in secrecy in 1942, during the German occupation. This trade union had 60,000 members in 1948, the year in which it took part in the creation of the "Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique", the socialist trade union at the present time.

The Post-War Period

After the Second World War, Hem Day restarted Pensée et Action (the magazine, the publishing activities, the conferences, the groups). The first issue of the monthly review appeared in September 20th, 1945, and it continued until 1952. There then appeared the Cahiers Pensée et Action and numerous pamphlets.

From 1952 to 1954 the "Action Commune Libertaire de Belgique" tried to set up again. It published various leaflets but dissolved in the face of dissension.

Pensée et Action continued its activities until Hem Day's death in 1969.

Anti-Militarism

The Belgian libertarians were also very active in the War Resisters International (I.R.G.)

In 1949, Jan Van Lierde, anarchist and christian, and a friend of Hem Day's in whose bookshop "Aux Joies de l'Esprit" he was often to be found, refused to do his military service. Despite several sentences, he continued in his refusal and, in 1952, he was offered the alternative of two years' work in the mines. He accepted but his union activities among the miners caused him to be blacklisted from all the pits and, in 1953, he was given indefinite leave of absence.

Libertarians were also involved in various other "Affaires" during the 1950's and 1960's: Marc and Robert Garcet, Cornelius, Alfred Lepape....

It was not until 1964 that the first statute on conscientious objection, including objection to Civil Defence, was passed by parliament. Amended in 1969 and again in 1974, this law now allows objectors to choose the types of civil or community service they prefer from the alternatives of Civil Defence, charity and health organisations and socio-cultural organisations. Recently a movement has appeared in Flanders calling for total insubordination (ONKRUID). Several Flemish libertarians were sent to prison in 1983 and the movement has now spread to the Walloon zone.

Provo

This movement was born in Amsterdam in 1965 and quickly crossed the frontier. Happenings and white bikes began to be seen in Flanders and in Brussels, in a spirited criticism of the consumer society and militarism. Several publications appeared in 1966 and 1967, nearly all in Dutch:

Happening News, Revo, Anar, Bom,.... In 1967 the Brussels provos founded the bookshop "Free Press Bookshop" but, by this time the movement was disappearing in the Netherlands and the Belgian movement began to evaporate as well. Today the remains of the movement can be found in Herman Clae's Brussels café "Dolle Mol"

3 BELGIUM (cont.)

Unlike in France, the protest movement in Belgium was limited to the students and particularly to the Université Libre in Brussels. The campus was occupied for several months and Free Assemblies were held. Here too, the libertarian ideas began to reappear although the movement burnt itself out with the reform in the administration of the university that sanctioned student participation and the political orientation of the students in the post-1968 period became increasingly marxist-leninist.

In 1969 Brussels libertarians founded an organisation "L'Alliance". This was a library, a group which organised conferences and, above all, a meeting-place for various anarchist groups. From 1970 onwards L'Alliance enjoyed the hospitality of the Maison de la Paix but, in 1974, serious conflicts brought it to an end.

In 1975 a group reformed in Brussels and published Alternative Libertaire. The following year the printin press 22 Mars was set up and has since developed considerably.

In 1982 a small group decided to restart cultural activities and founded the "Alliance Libertaire" which has organised a library, archives and conferences.

BULGARIA

Panel 1: From the Start to the FACB

The libertarian movement in Bulgaria first appeared during the struggle for national liberation from the Turks, which began in 1878. Christo Botev, the national poet who died during this struggle, was a Bakuninist and that part of the national revolutionary movement which gathered around him was in line with the anti-authoritarian wing of the First International.

It was S. Goulapchev who brought socialism to Bulgaria on his return from Russia. Together with N Stoinov and V. Kilifarski he started a libertarian faction which was both pacifist and anti-militarist and sought, above all, to spread its ideas through education and written propaganda. At this time the first populist groups sprang up, founded or influenced by libertarians as well as the first cooperatives. In 1896, after the international Congress of London, there was a split between authoritarian and anti-authoritarian socialists.

Macedonia, a region whose history and culture are closely tied to those of Bulgaria, was still under Turkish rule and, at the end of the nineteenth century, a national liberation movement developed in which anarchists played an active role. They published the paper "Vengeance" which is considered to be the first anarchist paper in Bulgarian. In 1903 an insurrection broke out which, under the anarchists' influence, took on a largely social character. After the failure of this attempt the most prominent anarchists, including M. Guerdjikov, returned to Bulgaria.

In Bulgaria itself the movement was developing steadily. In 1907 the first Bulgarian anarchist paper "The Free Society" was brought out, followed by "Without Power" which was associated with a publishing group of the same name. Other papers and journals appeared, numerous groups were formed and the idea of a federation gained ground. The process of organisation was held up by the Balkan Wars which broke out in 1912 and then by the First World War. Throughout this period anarchists carried out an intensive anti-militarist campaign.

With the end of the war the movement began to reorganise and to recommence its activities. In June 1919 the Bulgarian Anarchist Communist Federation (FACB) was founded in Sofia on the initiative of the paper "The Workers' Idea". Its activities were immense: the creation and development of groups throughout the country, publishing of books and journals, meetings and social agitation, both open and clandestine. The fifth congress of the FACB in January 1923 marked the high point of the movement. In March the repression began and it intensified after the military coup on 9th June 1923, forcing the movement underground.

Panel 2: Under the Jackboot - fascist then communist

The most prominent activists were forced into exile or to join the resistance to escape from the reactionary repression. Groups of anarchist partisans fought the regime for years and numerous anarchists were killed or assassinated during this period, the best known of these being Cheitnov. Going secretly to Russia in 1917-18 he had taken part in the revolution. On his return he joined in the clandestine terrorist struggle. At the beginning of the 1920's his theoretical evolution drew him away from these activities, towards organisational work. In

BULGARIA (cont.)

1923 he returned into clandestinity without actually joining the resistance and in June 1925 he was captured and shot.

In 1926 the regime was liberalised and semi-clandestine activity was once again possible. A clandestine conference was held in Kazanlik in August 1927 and the papers resumed publication. Differences developed however between the partisans of the FACB of 1923, the anarcho-syndicalist followers of P. Vassilev and the partisans of Archinov's ideas. At a clandestine conference in Lovetch in 1932, the anarcho-syndicalist tendency and the FACB settled their differences and reorganised their publishing activities. A clandestine congress was held in 1933 and semi-clandestine activities continued. The Fascist coup d'état in May 1934 and its aftermath forced the anarchists back completely underground. They continued to publish illegally and anarchists appeared in the resistance during the Second World War.

In 1944, with the arrival of the Red Army, the communists took power but within a vast coalition. In October 1944 a national conference at Sofia decided to reform the FACB legally and to republish the weekly "The Workers' Idea". It continued to appear until the beginning of 1946 although only eight issues were published. When the last issue was seized by the Russians it had reached 30,000 copies. The movement was in full force - many groups had reformed or formed throughout the country and syndicalist activity had increased. But the repression was not slow to arrive. In March 1946 delegates to a national conference were arrested and imprisoned. The movement once again became clandestine and succeeded in setting up an illegal press and in providing active support to those in prison, despite arrests and intimidation. At the end of 1948 a great police round-up sent the best-known activists to prison and, since 1953 clandestine activity has been greatly reduced by arrests and massive emigration. Today the organised movement continues only in exile. In Bulgaria the harsh repression inhibits both those militants who remain and the new ones who arrive from carrying out any real activity and also inhibits them from understanding the importance of the anarchist influence which, although very weak, is still alive;

CHINA

1. In the beginning of the twentieth century, at the time of the Qing Dynasty, anarchism spread to China through students studying in France and Japan. The anarchists were opposed to the Manchu government for its submission to foreign encroachment, and its internal repression. They fought for the freedom of speech, assembly and publishing. Culturally and ideologically they fought against feudal rites and ethics. Besides publishing activities they resorted to individualist direct action including assassination of officials.
2. The magazine "New Century" was published by the Paris group beginning in 1906 in Paris and was circulated throughout China and many parts of the world. The Paris group apparently owned a printing press of their own. Meanwhile, in Tokyo at about the same time, two other anarchist journals, "Tien-i-pao" and "Heng-pao", were published.
3. After the 1911 Revolution, the anarchists continued their struggle against the state and the warlords who soon became the dominant political force in China.
4. The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 led to the spread of Marxism in China but the anarchists also unleashed their scathing attack on the authoritarian rule of the Bolsheviks.
5. The May Fourth Movement of 1919, which engulfed the Chinese intellectuals students and workers in a formidable patriotic movement, brought about an atmosphere in which socialism, new thoughts and ideas were enthusiastically discussed and examined. Anarchists were able to increase their ranks. Many anarchist groups were formed and new magazines were published. Meanwhile, as the Chinese Communist Party was formed and gathered strength, the anarchists intensified their criticism of authoritarian communism, although some of them were prepared to collaborate with the communists to fight against the warlords. This constituted a significant split in the ranks of the anarchists.
6. Chinese anarchism at that time was a mixture of western anarchist thinking (particularly that of Kropotkin) and ideas which might be traced back to classical Chinese philosophy, such as great harmony (Confucius), all-embracing love (Motzu), passive governance (Lao Tzu), asceticism and vegetarianism (Buddhism).
7. The Chinese anarchists were enthusiastic supporters of Esperanto, the international language. Many of them studied Esperanto and actively promoted its use by organising Esperanto Study Institutes. They translated many western anarchist works from Esperanto and some anarchist magazines carried sections in Esperanto.
8. Whilst anarchist influence was strong, particularly among the students and intellectuals in the first two decades of the 20th century, the anarchists were soon surpassed by the Chinese Communist Party in getting the acceptance of the working class movement. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 1920's, many anarchist groups existed and, according to the daily anarchist paper "Convergence" published in Peking in 1922-23, in the province of Szechuan alone, there were the following anarchist groups: Adapting Society, Human Voice Society, Half-Moon Society, Equality Society, Wu Lung Ming Society, People's Spearhead Society, Tung Society, Anarcho-Communist Society, Youth Mutual Aid League, Red Society, Practice Society, Ping Ping Society and Benefit Society! In Hupeh there were the

CHINA (cont.)

Wu Han Ming Society and Humanitarian Study Society; in Nanking there was the Peaceful Society; in Peking there was the Anarchist Party League; in Canton there was the People's Voice Society and in Shanghai the Tao Society. It was apparent that anarchism drew more than a few adherents in the workers' movement, particularly in the Southern provinces. For example, two anarchists, Wang Hai and Pang Ren-chuen, founded the Hunan Labour Association in Changsha which had five thousand members in 1921. There were executed for organising the famous miners' movement at An Yuen. In the General Strike in Canton-Hong Kong in 1927 anarchists were reported to have played a significant role.

9. In the thirties and during the years of the Japanese Invasion the anarchists seemed to have been reduced to a few hard core groups. The revolution in Spain appeared to the Chinese Anarchists to be one major anarchist cause to be won. Demonstrations were held in Shanghai in support of the Spanish workers. It was reported that a group of 25 anarchists left Hong Kong for Spaib but were turned back at Marseilles. The interest in the Spanish Revolution never faltered - even on the eve of the Communist take-over of the mainland in 1949 books discussing its significance were still being published.

10. Little was heard of the anarchists or anarchist groups under the Chinese Communist regime. Pa Chin, probably the best-known Chinese anarchist in the West, who had written many novels with anarchist heroes and heroines in the thirties and forties and translated many works of Malatesta, Bakunin and Kropotkin, survived and renounced his anarchist past.

11. Is anarchism dead under the rule of the communist regime?

In the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-68, out of the red guard movement, there developed a revolutionary tendency which called for the overthrow of the Chinese bureaucratic regime. A close scrutiny of this revolutionary force revealed that it had much in common with anarchist and libertarian ideals.

CUBA

Anarchist ideas were first introduced into Cuba in 1885, by a Catalan worker, Enrique Messonier. In 1886 the weekly El Productor appeared and a "Centro Obrero" was opened to spread the ideas of the A.I.T. The workers Congress in 1892 decided to celebrate the 1st of May with public demonstrations and declared itself for the independence of Cuba.

In 1902 the first general strike in Cuba was organised in support of the tobacco workers who were demanding an increase in wages and the admission of Cuban apprentices without discrimination. Anarchists took part in the major conflicts of this era: strikes by the workers in the tobacco, sugar and building industries, on the railways, from the commercial sphere, etc. They founded the first union and cultural organisations for workers, despite fierce repression: anarchists were assassinated, imprisoned, deported.

Anarchists were protagonists of the revolutionary strike against the Dictator Machado in 1933. Faced by the Communist betrayal in making a pact with the Dictator, the Federation of anarchist groups published a manifesto calling on the workers to continue their fight up to the total defeat of tyranny.

After Batista's coup (10th March, 1952) the Asociacion Libertaria Cubana (ALC) offered its support and cooperation to the revolutionary groups wishing to fight the new regime. The ALC's opposition to the regime was unchanging. In 1956 the pamphlet Proyecciones Libertarias denounced Batista's ill-omened government and clarified the ALC's stance in the fight for freedom. Numerous anarchists joined the revolutionary groups and took part in the attack on the Mo ncada Barracks on 26th July, 1953.

Batista's fall brought all the effervescence and confusion typical of every social upheaval. Among the anarchists, there reigned uncertainty. Few in number, hard-hit by the repression under Batista and by internal conflicts, they seemed to be incapable of countering the growing ascendancy of their historical adversaries in the labour movement: the Communists. The first skirmishes began in January 1959, leading to the expulsion of the anarcho-syndicalists from the unions. The closure of El Libertario and Solidaridad Gastronomica signified the end of a brief period of open revolution.

Cuban anarchists in exile have long been living in solitude, almost completely abandoned by anarchists all over the world. They are, it could be said, the "guilty conscience" of a great part of the international movement.

Anarchism in the Early Workers' Movement

Anarchism in Denmark came into being at the same time as the workers' movement in general. The first socialist thinker, Frederik Dreier, was also the first Danish anarchist. The organised workers' movement began in 1871 with the founding of the Danish section of the First International. One of its founders, Harald Brix, represented a more or less anarchist position although the general tendency remained reformist.

The Beginnings of Anarchism in Denmark: 1890 - 1910

In 1889 the social democrats expelled a group of the opposition who then went on to develop either towards orthodox marxism or towards anarchism. Clubs with names like "Peter Kropotkin" and "Tolerance", where anarchist ideas were discussed, appeared in Copenhagen. The first anarchist publication "Proletaren" came out in 1896 and, in the same year, the club "Tolerance" sent a representative to the London Congress of the Workers' International.

The anarchists played an important role in the social democratic youth movement at the beginning of this century. Young socialists criticised the state socialist stance held by the social democrats and also the hierarchical structure of the workers' movement. They broke with the 'old Party' and quickly took up a position that was, in principle, anti-parliamentarian. In general, anarchist ideas played an important role in the socialist youth movement.

The economic crisis of 1907-1908 gave rise to various anarchist publications. These introduced the possibility of syndicalist tactics and the idea of a general social strike to the Danish mind. An important part of the struggle against the state and capital was played by anti-militarist propaganda. The Russian revolutionaries who had fled to Denmark after 1905 had a radicalizing influence on the Danish situation and relationships of close cooperation were built up with the socialist youth of other Scandinavian countries.

Danish anarchism has not produced original thinkers on an international level but there have been very reasonable writers and through these anarchist ideas came to have a certain importance in Danish cultural life at the beginning of the century. This group was by no means welcomed by the state and they were prosecuted by police spies and imprisonment.

"Serious young people of the working class was how the anarchists described themselves at that time but there were also some intellectuals who became involved. The female presence, however, was very slight although the anarchists participated in the debate on the question of female emancipation and in the neo-malthusian propaganda for birth control and for freer sexual morals.

The Syndicalists

In 1908 a revolutionary daily, "Socialistik Arbejderblad", came out - the first syndicalist publication in Denmark. The anarchists became absorbed into syndicalism. The principal syndicalist organisation the Fagoppositionens Sammenslutning (1910-12), made its presence felt in the provincial towns as well and gained many members. In the winter of 1917-18 unemployed syndicalists formed their own movement. The intransigence of the anti-militarists of syndicalist leanings often

DENMARK (cont.)

sent them to prison where they went on hunger strikes for their cause, making a great impression on the working class as a whole.

Danish syndicalism, however, tended more to marxism than to anarchism and succeeded in combining an orthodox Kautskian view of the economy with an anti-political critique of power. Anarchism did however influence the formulation of the syndicalists' perspectives of a self-managed future society and also of the development of a federalist and anti-authoritarian organisational practice. But an absolute majority of syndicalists preferred to remain within the unions dominated by the social democrats as an opposition, rather than form autonomous revolutionary unions.

In the 1920's and 1930's political struggles in Denmark were dominated by authoritarian ideologies. Various syndicalists joined the Communist Party. Following the events of the Spanish Revolution, the Fagopposition was reformed in 1936 but with very few members.

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From 1968 to the Present Day: The Rebirth of Anarchism

The youth revolt in 1968 created a new interest in anarchism - especially among the new "middle classes" but very few people actually became anarchists and, as an organised movement, there were only small and very weak groups. But various movements with a much wider base adopted a concept of politics and practice that owed much to anarchism. This was the case, for instance, with the anti-nuclear movement, with feminism and with community movements such as in Christiania. The youth movements of the 1980's - the squatters and the punks - have had an anti-state emphasis and have often used the anarchist symbol. And even on the Danish Labour Market - however well-regulated this may be - there are frequently self-organised wildcat strikes on anti-political positions, which give rise to thoughts of syndicalism.

FRANCE

Education

Practical Experiments in Libertarian Education

Paul Robin (1837-1912) and the Cempuis Orphanage (1880-1914)

At Cempuis, Paul Robin created a living education by practising "active methods". In co-education boys and girls find out that ideas are to be learnt from nature rather than from books.

Sebastien Faure and the Hive (1904-1917)

This was an experiment with financial autonomy, the daily practice of non-hierarchical relationships.

"The Christian school is the school of the past, organised by the Church for its own purposes; the State school is the school of the present, organised by the State for its purposes; the Hive is the school of the future, just a school, organised for the child."
(Senastien Faure)

Neo-Malthusianism

"To Grow and Multiply is War"

Enough of pleasure-fodder,
of labour-fodder,
of cannon-fodder.

Women, let's go
on mothers' strike.

Priests, soldiers, magistrates,
leaders, in order to perpetuate
their tyranny, preach for
numerous births.

So
let's have few children.

Violence-1892-1894

Ravachol (1859-1892). On 11 March 1892 he blew up the house of President Benoit.

August Vaillant (1861-1894). On 9 December 1893 he threw a bomb into the Chamber of Deputies.

Emile Henry (1872-1894). On 12 February 1894, he threw a bomb into the Café Terminus at the Gare Saint Lazare.

Sante Caserio (1873-1894). On 24 June, 1894, he murdered President Sadi-Carnot at Lyons.

Illegal Action

Individualist Action

Marius Jacob (1879-1954) An anarchist burglar who, with his gang "The workers of the night" robbed only the rich. He spent 20 years in the convict colony of Cayenne.

FRANCE (cont.)

Bonnot Gang (1911-1912) The "Tragic Bandits". They were an illegalist anarchist faction who, for one year, embarked on a wild career of large-scale banditry which spread terror among the public.

Anarcho-Syndicalism

- 1884 - Legalisation of Trade Unions. Creation of Labour Exchanges.
- 1895 - Creation of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) an amalgamation of the Labour Exchanges and the Trade Unions.)
- 1906 - Charter of Amiens: it aimed to abolish management structures and the wage system.

Demands: the general strike, direct action, the revocability of the Labour representatives, replacement of the State by the unions, the eight-hour day.

Pacifism and Anti-Militarism 1884-1984

- 1883 - First anti-militarist booklet To the Army by Emile Pouget.
- 1889 - First anarchist anti-militarist organisation.
- 1904 - Creation of the A.I.A. (Anti-militarist International Association).

There was intense anti-militarist activity within the C.G.T. against the war and the sending of troops to confront the workers on strike.

September 1939 - Louis Lecoin wrote the leaflet "Peace At Once", printed in 100,000 copies.

Since 1945 there has been a continuing struggle against the Army and in favour of the deserters and conscientious objectors.

June 1963 - Unlimited hunger strike by Louis Lecoin to obtain a statute for conscientious objectors. It was gained in December 1963.

From the War to May 1968

- 1944 - First underground congress to revive the French Anarchist Federation. (FA)
- 1953 - Split of the FA into the F.C.L. (Communist-Libertarian Federation) and the FA.

May 1968 - On Holiday

- 22 March - 142 students occupy the room of the Conseil de Faculté at Nanterre
- 3 May - First barricades. 600 arrests.
- 6 May - 20,000 demonstrators.
- 7 May - 40,000 demonstrators.
- 10 May - 50,000 demonstrators. 60 barricades.
- 13 May - 700,000 demonstrators.
- 15 May - Beginning of the general strike.
- 20 May - France paralysed!

Getting Back to Work

- 30 May - Gaullist counter-demonstration. 800,000 people.
- 4 June - Back to work.

La Révolution Sociale 1880-1881

This was the first anarchist paper in France and it was edited by E. Gauthier and Louise Michel. The paper played an important role in the convocation to the congress in London on 14 July 1881 during which "propaganda by the deed", with the aim of provoking an uprising, was advocated.

La Révolution Sociale was very short-lived with only 56 numbers being printed between 12 September 1880 and 8 September 1881. In fact, the finance was put up by a police agent who financed the paper in the belief that it would be preferable to observe the anarchists "from the inside", and he disappeared when the anarchist propaganda began to have some success, taking with him the funds for the newspaper which therefore had to cease publication.

Le Révolté 1879-1887

La Révolte 1887-1894

Le Révolté was founded in Geneva by Kropotkin and functioned as the mouthpiece of the anarchist movement in France and abroad for fifteen years. In an era when ties between anarchist groups were extremely loose it provided a bond between comrades and, at the same time, an organ for reflection on the many and varied issues of the theory and practice of anarchism, particularly thanks to Kropotkin's contributions.

In March 1885 Jean Grave, who had undertaken the management of the paper in Geneva, moved to Paris and for ten years he brought out one of the only two anarchist papers which appeared regularly (the other was Le Père Peinard), first on a fortnightly and then on a weekly basis.

In September 1887, in order to avoid having to pay a fine, Grave changed the name of the paper to La Révolte. In 1894 La Révolte had to suspend publication due to repressive action following the passing of the "lois scélérates" which forbade all anarchist propaganda, direct or indirect. At the moment of its disappearance the paper had 1000 subscribers and sold 6,000 issues regularly.

Le Père Peinard 1889-1894

La Sociale 1895-1896

Founded in February 1889 by E. Pouget, this paper was significantly different from the other anarchist or socialist publications of the era, both for its tone and its style.

Written in slangy and picturesque language, Le Père Peinard was aimed at a supposedly working class readership. In fact, it followed in the pamphleteering tradition of Hébert's Père Duchesne during the French Revolution. Owing to police harassment, Père Peinard had to cease publication and Pouget escaped to London.

On his return to France he brought out La Sociale, an illustrated paper, from 12 May 1895 to 18 October 1896, and then, from November 1896 until April 1899, he published a second series of Le Père Peinard. In 1900 he brought out yet a third series of

of 15 issues. From then on he devoted himself to syndicalist propaganda, becoming the secretary-general of the General Federation of Labour (C.G.T.) and also a journalist on La Voix du Peuple.

Le Temps Nouveaux 1895-1912

In 1895 Grave brought out newspaper under the title of Le Temps Nouveaux, which marked the end of a period for anarchism in France and the beginning of the anarchists' direct and productive involvement in the workers' movement.

Les Temps Nouveaux continued in print, more or less regularly, until 1914. In opposition to the great majority of the French anarchists, the editors declared themselves in favour of the war with Germany. Ignored by the rest of the movement, Grave continued to bring out issues of Les Temps Nouveaux irregularly during and after the war until 1921.

La Voix du Peuple- Founded 1900

La Voix du Peuple, the weekly paper of the General Federation of Labour (C.G.T.) first appeared in 1900 and, while it was not an anarchist publication, the secretary of the editorial staff, as well as the principal journalists, were anarchists and supporters of direct revolutionary action with libertarian leanings. This continued to be the case until the events at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges after which the revolutionary tendency was replaced by the reformist tendency within the C.G.T.

At the end of the twentieth century the anarchists became the driving force of the cooperative organisation. Anarchist activists such as Fernand Pelloutier were among the founders of the Federation of "Bourses du Travail". Moreover, the anarchist movement in French unionism pushed the practice of direct action, anti-militarism and distrust of parliamentary political conflict. They also advocated the independence of the syndicalist class organisation with respect to the parties, notably with the Charter of Amiens in 1906.

L'Anarchie Founded in 1905

This was a weekly paper founded by Libertad in 1905 and was the main mouthpiece of the individualist currents within anarchism up to 1914. The main people involved were E. Armand, Victor Serge, Mauricius and Lorulot.

In 1913 L'Anarchie was not the only anarchist publication. Others included L'Idée Libre of Lorulot and E. Armand's Les Refractaires.

Anarchist Publications and the 1914-1918 War

In France Faure and Mauricius brought out Ce qu'il faut dire in April 1916, in which, despite censorship, they advocated pacifism and the "Union Sacrée" for the exploited wishing to bring peace. The paper was very successful and sold 20,000 copies, with 3,000 subscribers.

Others took up very different positions against the war.

In November Armand published Pendant la Melée which changed its

title after a few issues to Par delà la Melée and continued publication until February 1918. Armand was arrested in March 1918 and another individualist, Pierre Chardon brought out La Melée until February 1920, despite the death of the founder.

L'Unique 1945-1956

Armand continued his propaganda up to his death and, in fact, after the Second World War he brought out first L'En Dehors and then a new publication L'Unique in which he put forward his point of view on "Individualism our way".

Le Refractaire

Started by May Picqueray in 1974 and edited by "The Friends of Louis Lecoin", it was, in some ways, the successor of Liberté and united a number of older activists. It dealt with anti-militarism and anarchism rather than the international situation. It also harshly criticised State Communism. May Picqueray died on 8 November 1983 and, after one final number in homage to her, Le Refractaire disappeared.

Le Libertaire in New York 1858

On 9 June 1858, Joseph Déjacque brought out the first issue of Libertaire in New York. It appeared irregularly for three years and the last number, no. 27, came out in February 1861.

Le Libertaire 1895-1914

On 16 November 1895 the first issue of Sebastien Faure's Libertaire appeared. It was distinctly individualist and anti-syndicalist and, initially, lasted for four years, disappearing in February 1899.

In November 1899, Le Libertaire reappeared and became the mouthpiece for the individualists, anarcho-syndicalists and anarchist communists. It was produced by a team, largely made up of the following people: Sebastien Faure, Paul Robin, Madeleine Vernet, Yvetot Vergeat, Lepetit, Pouget, Han Ryner, Louis Lecoin, Victor Méric, Laurent Taillade and Malato. It disappeared in 1914 with the scattering of the anarchists after war was declared.

Le Libertaire between the Wars 1919-1939

It first reappeared on 26 January 1919 with Louis Lecoin as the driving force. It was particularly concerned with the Russian Revolution and with the consequent delusions as well as with the problems of anarcho-syndicalism, (the creation of the C.G.T. - U. (General Federation of Labour - United), C.G.T. - S.R. (General Federation of Labour - Syndicalist and Revolutionary)). The main participants were Le Meillour, Loréal, Lecoin and Content. In November 1920 the first Congress of the Union of Anarchists was held and the paper then became the representative of the Union.

In about 1930 new faces appeared on the paper including Lasborde, Nicolas Faucier and Ernestan. When war was declared the paper disappeared and the activists of the Union of Anarchists set about organising a clandestine system to remain in contact. Le Libertaire remained the paper of the Union of anarchists even after the split that produced the French Anarchist Federation.

FRANCE-NEWSPAPERS

Le Libertaire 1944-1954

Le Libertaire reappeared on 21 December 1944, started by Henri Bouyé, Vincey, Durand, Suzy Chevet and Maurice Joyeux. It came out fortnightly and had about 1,000 subscribers. At this time it represented the U.A. and the F.A.F. from the pre-war period.

At the end of 1945 the Anarchist Federation was formed, bringing together the two groups, the U.A. and the F.A.F. and other anarchists, and Le Libertaire then became the paper of the Anarchist Federation, becoming a weekly in 1946.

After 1946, the paper went into a slow decline lasting for some years. The Anarchist Federation lost much of its force to the "libertarian communists", headed by Fontenis. The members of this new group succeeded in gaving themselves elected to all the positions of administration of the paper and of the movement. They slowly ran down the funds of the paper and the Federation and so brought about the end of Le Libertaire.

Le Monde Libertaire 1954-1984

In October 1954, the remaining vestiges of Le Libertaire came out under the title Le Monde Libertaire, as a monthly publication. Among the numerous contributors to the newspaper were André Breton, Albert Camus, Léo Ferré, André Devriendt, André Prudhommeaux, Alexis Danan, P.V. Berthier, Bontemps, Maurice Laisant, Maurice Fayolle, Maurice Joyeux, Vincey, Suzy Chevet and Alexandre Hébert.

In 1977 Le Monde Libertaire became a weekly and, from 1982, it consisted of twelve pages. Le Monde Libertaire and the Librairie Publique, together with Radio Libertaire, constitute the real pillars of the French Anarchist Federation, with their diffusion of the ideas and analyses of the Federation, thereby providing one essential element in the spreading of anarchism.

HONG KONG

1. There is little know of any anarchist activities that may have gone on in Hong Kong before the Second World War. However it is generally recognised that the General Strike of 1927 in Canton and Hong Kong was influenced by anarchists.

2. Even after the Second World War there was little evidence of anarchist activities in Hong Kong - one or two individual anarchists who fled to Hong Kong published one or two books.

3. The early 1970's saw the growth of a youth movement in Hing Kong and a group known as the 70s spearheaded this youth movement. A strong libertarian/anarchist tendency existed in the group although it was not very conscious at the beginning. The 70s group eventually split into two factions - trotskyst and libertarian. Others also became Macists while yet others were less political and more committed to cultural pursuits.

The 70s, as a magazine, and a group known as the 70s Front existed until 1980. During the ten years of its existence (only identifiable as a libertarian socialist group from 1974 onwards - and even so the group may since have taken up positions or participated in activities which were not anarchist - the political maturity of the group was a growing process. The anarchist/libertarian orientation had its origin in overseas radical visitors, ex-Red Guards who became totally disillusioned with Maoist China and fled to Hong Kong and self-reflection) various attempts have been made to intervene in the economic, social and political issues of the day - local, Chinese and international.

4. The activities have included publishing (both in Chinese and English), demonstrations, direct action, book distribution and sale, making contacts with overseas groups, film making

5. The 70s Front became the People's Press in 1980, with many veterans of the previous decade deciding to phase out of active political participation. The new group was therefore smaller but has continued to sustain an anarchist presence up to the present in Hong Kong. There have been continued attempts to publish. Since 1981 the group has ventured into political theatre through which libertarian ideas are propagated. A book on its theatrical experiences is being prepared. Some members of the group have also been active in rallying support for the democracy fighters in China.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES

These maps show the origins of the participants at certain international congresses, in order to give an idea of the distribution of anarchist groups and organisations during the different periods.

There are a few things to be borne in mind when reading them:

-It was rare for all the anarchist world to be invited and of those who were, not all came. Some completely rejected the principle of the congresses.

-The congresses of different periods represented differing organisations and tendencies, particularly after the second war.

-It is virtually impossible to evaluate the importance of the different organisations and groups as a delegate could just as easily represent three people as a federation with hundreds of members.

London 1881

Delegates to this congress were designated by number; Nettlau has reconstructed the list. There were 43 people representing 13 countries, with 19 delegates coming from abroad. The police were represented by a spy.

Paris 1900

"An international revolutionary workers congress was necessary (....) following the incidents of the International Congress on London (1896). The revolutionary groups of various countries had recognised the necessity of breaking with Social Democracy which intolerantly sought to impose the necessity of legislative and parliamentary action on all groups, even the unions. (....) The good will of the government forbade the congress and all similar meetings on the grounds of the laws 1894 (called "scélérates") but the delegates had already arrived, support had been given and the reports were to be published.

Amsterdam 1907

The discussions of this congress are perhaps the best-known (particularly the debate between Malatesta and Monatte on syndicalism) More than 80 delegates came from 13 countries.

"All anarchists are not agreed as to the utility of congresses, but even those most opposed will feel some satisfaction at the success of the gathering at Amsterdam. (....) Unanimous or not, the autonomy of every nation and every group was upheld in true anarchist spirit."

Berlin 1921

The hopes for the Russian Revolution had evaporated, the workers' movement was torn between reformism and Bolshevism, militarism was raising its head. The congress of Berlin, which brought together "numerous" delegates from 15 countries, passed courageous resolutions but there was very little follow-up. All the same, it was in Berlin, a year later, that the anarcho-syndicalist AIT was reformed with the membership of organisations from 10 countries, totalling more than 500,000 members, to be joined by 13 other in the years following.

Paris 1948

The first meeting of the post-war period was limited to the European countries. 11 countries were represented by 15 organisations which

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES (cont.)

and wars. No one proposes any effective means of escaping the so-called historical fatalities. The Conference salutes all fighters for liberty throughout the world, whose eyes turn today towards the reconstruction of the Anarchist International in the whole of Europe ravaged by the second world war. (....) To work, comrades! We have an ideal to live, chains to break and a world to gain."

London 1958

This congress was a success and furnished the most convincing proof of the extraordinary vitality of the world anarchist movement. It proved that, despite the wars against the most fundamental freedoms, despite repression and persecution, despite the material difficulties inherent in its very principles, the anarchist ethic is alive and spreading." There were 42 delegates in all, from 29 groups in 14 countries, and they founded the International Anarchist Commission, the successor of the Commission of Relations (CRIA) founded at the Paris congress.

Carrara 1968

This was one of the most important congresses and also one of the most contentious. Some months after May '68, anarchist federations were springing up like mushrooms in the most unlikely places, although some of these were very short-lived. While the memory of the congress is still strong, the reports were few. It is known that 18 countries were represented and 22 others participated in the preparations, sending reports and fraternal messages.

The International of Anarchist Federations held regular congresses in the following years - it was the first organisation to live to hold several congresses.

Venice 1984

This gathering has nothing to do with a congress, but all the world is here!

The First International in Italy (1869-1879)

The first section of the International was formed in Naples at the beginning of 1869 and rapidly grew to 3,000 members. It was the fruit of Mikhail Bakunin's meeting with the progressivist and radical elements in the city; among the members was a young rebel called Errico Malatesta. The new revolutionary ideas based on federalism, materialism and socialism spread rapidly among the exploited, supplanting the unitarianism, religion and multi-class basis typical of Mazzinianism. The enthusiasm of the Italian revolutionary circles (made up of workers, craftsmen, farmers and a few intellectuals) brought prestigious figures such as Carlo Cafiero and Andrea Costa on to the international scene.

At Rimini in 1872 the Conference of the Italian sections of the International decided to break with the Marxist tendency, rejecting the organisational centralism and the taking over of political power. An International Congress was proposed in Switzerland and, that September at Saint Imier, the schism became definite. The anti-authoritarian group aimed at the Social Revolution, that is at the destruction of Capitalism and of the State and the construction of a new society on the bases of freedom, equality and solidarity.

There was considerable social ferment at this time and there was great agitation against the poverty of the people. The Italian Federation could count on about 26,000 militants (a quarter of these in Tuscany) and, in 1874, the "Comitato Italiano per la Rivoluzione Sociale", under the guidance of Cafiero and Costa, launched repeated appeals for an insurrection against the state. The failure of these attempts forced the internationalists underground, while the trials of those arrested were seized as opportunities for propaganda, increasing the popularity of the International.

In April 1877, the "Banda del Matese", a few dozen men including Cafiero and Malatesta, set an example for the people of the South after centuries of exploitation by the landowners and robbery by the State. Several villages in the mountains of Basilicata were temporarily occupied and it was declared that the State was abolished, together with its laws, taxes and military draft. This initiative was well received by the population but was put down by 12,000 soldiers sent by the government. The subsequent trial of Benevento saw all the accused found not guilty and released, among popular jubilation. The most outstanding of their defence lawyers was Francesco Saviero Merlino.

A few months later the International was declared, by law, to be a "criminal association" and its members were arrested and put on trial. The organisation was almost destroyed and various militants, such as Malatesta and Cafiero, were forced abroad. Some responded to the repression by developing the theory and practice of individualism while others, such as Costa, moved towards a more moderate Socialist position.

Face to Face With the Savoyist Repression (1879-1900)

The painful loss of Costa, who was ever more bound by the logic of parliamentary politics, caused a "referendum" among the internationalist groups, which were largely opposed to the ex-anarchist from Imola.

Between his two trials in 1884, Malatesta defined the insurrectional

II ITALY (cont.)

tactic and the stable organisation of the Italian section of the International: the future society was seen in terms of federalism and solidarity and was described in simple works which were widely distributed among the proletariat and the peasants. Numerous local spokesmen appeared, representing highly determined groups.

National ties were still rather weak, despite the efforts of Malatesta who wished to found a permanent libertarian organisation. The proposal of a "party" was strongly opposed by the individualists, who would only accept minimal organisational structures. In 1891, at Capolago, just over the Swiss border, about 80 delegates met to found the Italian section of the International Revolutionary Anarchist Socialist Party, which was open to various anti-legalist and socialist tendencies. It had a programme of insurrection in the near future, necessarily carried out with the agreement and support of the mass of the workers. The 1st of May was chosen as an initial deadline, being the date of a world-wide general strike in support of the 8-hour working day. On the 1st of May 1891 the demonstrations in Rome, Florence, Bologna, Ancona, Forlì, Messina and in other Italian cities took on the air of an open challenge to the government and conflicts between police, socialists and anarchists broke out.

The difference between the attitudes of the anarchists and the socialists grew ever deeper so that, at the Genoa Congress of the Italian Workers' Party in August 1892, the schism was immediate: Pietro Gori and Luigi Galliani refuted the condemnation of the statist and legalistic logic of the workers' movement and the socialists transferred the work of their congress to the welcoming hall of the Carabinieri of Genoa, where their Party was founded. Malatesta and Merlino found themselves forced into exile.

Meanwhile, the spontaneous revolts continued: in 1893-94 the rage of the oppressed who seek to use guerrilla tactics to attack the symbols of State power found an expression in the movement of the Sicilian Fasci (made up of farmers, sulphur miners and craftsmen). In Lumigiana and Carrara libertarian workers rose in support of their Sicilian comrades and a state of emergency was declared. The repression favoured the individualists who tended to perform clamorous and violent actions; this was the era of "propaganda by the deed". Public propaganda was repressed by the State and the organisational forces found themselves in a phase of ebb tide. Collective protests alternated with individual actions outside Italy as well, like those of the young Milanese Sante Caserio and Michele Angiolillo.

Towards the end of the century, Gori and Malatesta secretly returned to Italy to help in the consolidation of the organisational and voluntarist, gradualist and worker-centred tendencies of the anarchist movement; Malatesta worked from Ancona, where Luigi Fabbri was beginning to appear on the political scene. It was here that, in 1898, the popular move against the increase in the price of bread began (1kg was worth half a day's work by an agricultural labourer). Some months later various localities in Romagna and Puglia rebelled and there were even spontaneous attempts at insurrection in Florence, Naples and Milan. In the latter battalions of soldiers, supported by the artillery,

ITALY (cont.)

intervened, firing on the demonstrators and killing about 100 of them. King Umberto 1 bestowed a military decoration on the General responsible, Bava Beccaris, causing violent indignation among anarchists in Italy and abroad. At the end of July 1900, Gaetano Bresci, an anarchist of communist and organisational tendencies who had been living in Paterson near New York, put an end to the king's existence, completing the undertaking already attempted by Acciarito and Passanante.

Union Efforts and Revolutionary Hopes (1900-1922)

Under the influence of the French movement with its libertarian participation in the workers' organisations, stable ties with the workers were built up in order to stimulate the practice of direct action and the general strike. In the unions, the initiative took on a different form: participation in reformist structures or in those under socialist influence (as with the metallurgical workers in Turin); but a determining role in some independent unions of the Cgdl (such as the Railway Workers and the Marine Workers); and intense activity with the revolutionary syndicalists to found the Italian Syndicalist Union in Modena in 1912. Malatesta and Fabbri, however, strongly criticised the principle of "self-sufficiency" of syndicalism, particularly at the International Congress in Amsterdam in 1907. Their position, which was prevalent in the organised movement, was that it was necessary not only to build up a ground-level organisation to reduce exploitation by owners but also to create a decided and coordinated movement to stimulate and possibly initiate a process of total revolt against the constituted power; aimed at the abolition of the State and the constitution of a society based on libertarian, egalitarian and mutualist grounds. Propaganda mounted with considerable importance being given to the questions of education and to the popular protest against militarism.

The widespread support gained from an anti-militarist campaign culminated in the events of the "Settimana Rossa" in June 1914. This revolt, which was centred in Ancona, was largely anti-monarchical and those involved included the subversive parties and groups such as the syndicalists, the republicans and some socialists. The movement of a large part of the proletariat towards revolution came up against the boycott of the Socialist Party without which, Malatesta was firmly convinced, no revolution was possible in Italy.

With the start of the world war and the defeat of the neutralists and pacifists, the increasing militarisation of society and production, and the intensified control and repression by the military and police apparatus, the movement became increasingly paralysed. It succeeded, nevertheless, in giving some signs of life - strikes in Turin in August 1917 against the war and the poverty there, protests and obstructionism among the troops at the front, desertions and clandestine flights to Switzerland....

The red-hot climate of the post-war period, heated by the general enthusiasm for the first successful peoples' revolution (Russia 1917) favoured a rapid growth of the anarchist movement and the syndicalist organisation. The Italian Anarchist Union, founded in July 1920, could count on a supportive system of groups and militants as well as its daily "Umanità Nova", which distributed 50,000 copies and challenged the

IV ITALY (cont.)

hegemony of "Avanti" in providing the people with political information. According to some estimates, the Italian Syndicalist Union, with the anarchist Armando Borghi as secretary, reached 800,000 members, but the libertarian influence in the labour movement went far beyond this. The climax of the struggle came in September 1920, with the occupation of hundreds of factories, both big and small; once again the social revolution seemed to be at the door. But, once again, the Socialist leaders gave the order to down arms and handed the movement over to the State, to the bosses and to their new, aggressive instrument: Fascism.

The arrest and continued detention of Malatesta, Borghi and other collaborators of "Umanità Nova", who remained in danger of their lives, created a situation of high tension, favouring desperate acts. The tragic bombing of the Diana Theatre in March 1921, from which the Milanese Chief of Police escaped, weakened the movement still further, bringing the destruction of the daily paper. The "preventive counterrevolution" begun by the fascist "squdras" and the state institutions, attacked all the workers' and peasants' organisations, raising the general level of violence in society. Only in a few cases (Sarzana 1921, Parma 1922) did the anti-fascist revolutionaries, coordinated by the armed groups of the "Arditi del Popolo", succeed in stopping the aggression of the squadras. The legal uncertainties, the diffidence between the various socialist and communist tendencies, the growing lack of confidence of the people in their own strength, all combined to bring about the failure of Malatesta's proposal for a "combined revolutionary front" to oppose the growing state and fascist reaction.

Under and Against Fascism and Stalinism (1922-1945)

With Mussolini's take-over of power, the systematic destruction of the movement began: dozens of centres, newspapers, publishing groups and circles were devastated, thousands were arrested and tried while many others were forced into exile. With the "emergency laws" of late 1926 any remaining possibility of new public initiatives was destroyed. Some hundreds of "indomitables" were imprisoned or sent into internal exile while thousands suffered daily controls and intimidation. Malatesta himself, by now over 70, was put under house arrest.

Under the uncontrolled dictatorship of the brutal violence of the fascist gangs and the now consolidated police and prison apparatus, those anarchists who survived responded by attempts on the life of Mussolini, the main cause of the repression. His assassination was seen as a way of putting the regime in crisis, seeing its already existing problems in countering the periodic unpopularity and internal conflict. In September 1926, Gino Lucetti from Carrara, Michele Schirru from Sardinia in February 1928, Angelo Sbardellotto from the Venice region in June 1932, all tried to kill the "Duce". The latter two were shot.

Abroad, the movement managed to reorganise with considerable difficulty: in France and in the USA Italian-speaking anarchists met and formed new groups and federations, publishing short-lived periodicals and sending materials clandestinely into Italy. In and near Paris, dozens of groups worked precariously and frequently illegally. They were

mostly of the organisational current, despite the presence of many militants such as Luigi Fabbri and Camillo Berneri. It was here that the Committee for Political Victims worked in solidarity and support for the frequent attacks on fascism and also that, in October 1935, there was an important conference held by emigrant anarchists in Europe. In the United States the communist and anti-organizational tendency, particularly represented by Luigi Galleani and Armando Borghi, was more predominant. The weekly "L'Adunata dei Refrattari" was printed and widely distributed among the Italian immigrant community. One of the most important battles of the 1920's, supported by many in the United States, Canada, Latin America and Europe, was that to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti. As well as its struggle to prevent the spread of fascism in immigrant circles, the movement also opposed the attempts at hegemony by the Bolsheviks in potentially revolutionary sectors.

Argentina and Uruguay (where Luigi Fabbri found refuge) also became centres of intense activity as well as Belgium, Switzerland, Tunisia and, naturally, Spain. In 1931 a group of militants, expelled from various European and South American countries and hunted by the police for their anti-state activities, found fraternal solidarity among their comrades in Spain.

Immediately after the popular reaction that blocked Franco's coup, hundreds of Italian-speaking anarchists poured into Barcelona, mostly from France, to help in the revolutionary effort. One group, under the guidance of Camillo Berneri, the republican Mario Angeloni and Carlo Rosselli of the movement "Giustizia e Libertà", formed part of the "Ascaso" column of the CNT-FAI. The Italian section, which was two-thirds anarchist, took part in the first victorious encounters with Franco's forces, but, in the Spring of 1937, they decided to dissolve rather than to accept the militarisation that would have transformed them from free and equal revolutionaries into soldiers and officers, the instruments of a State army. One part remained in Spain and enthusiastically supported the collectivist efforts of the farmers and workers. Others, including Camillo Berneri, were assassinated during the tragic days of the Bolshevik counterrevolution in Barcelona in May 1937.

In those years other Italian militants who had fled to the USSR to escape the fascist persecution were eliminated in the Stalinist repression. The Italian movement, therefore, as well as the Russian and Spanish ones, was another, if lesser, victim of the totalitarianism, both right and left, that dominated Europe in the 1930's.

In 1940 dozens of militants were extradited from concentration camps in France and interned on the Island of Ventotene where hundreds of libertarians had already been sent. After July 25th 1943 the anarchists remained prisoners when all the other anti-fascists (except the Slavs) had been released. There was greater freedom of movement and it was possible to make contact again with the old comrades, mostly in the South, such as Pio Turrone and Giovanna Berneri, while various groups and individuals in central and northern Italy joined the partisans. In Tuscany, Emilia, Lombardy and Liguria various openly libertarian groups were formed but in many cases they took part in the general partisan movement, guided by others. Even so, various militants, including Pietro Burruzzi and Enrico Zambini paid with their lives.

Reconstruction and the New Movement

Activity was resumed without delay after the end of the war and the first congress took place in September 1945 in Carrara, that city where life is partly managed by libertarian cooperatives. It was decided to found the Italian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) as a point of synthesis and collaboration between the various tendencies, to recommence publication of "Umanità Nova" on a weekly basis and to work to spread the theory and proposals of anarchism.

The greatest obstacle to the reacquisition of the role of a revolutionary force with a solid base in the people was the authoritarian influence of the Communist Party which, with the psychological and concrete support of the Soviet Union, succeeded in bringing together the hopes and revolutionary expectations of the post-war period. Its most powerful instruments in conditioning and controlling the workers were the unions which had by this time become a self-defence organ for the workers in the place of electoral and political manoeuvring. On the other hand, many anarchists, including the former secretary of the USI Armando Borghi, had lost faith in the reconstruction of a libertarian union and in direct action.

The generation gap due to the twenty-year interval of fascism, aggravated the internal misunderstandings and contributed to the first splits, as was the case with the Gruppi Anarchici di Azione Proletaria set up in 1951. Various propaganda campaigns on union, anti-militarist and anti-clerical issues were held and these solidified in the epic struggles of the Spanish Anarchists. In Genoa in 1949 the consulate was attacked and some years later, in Milan, the Vice-consul was kidnapped. Some militants, including Ugo Fedeli and Umberto Marzocchi, sought the foundation of an Anarchist International, together with other groups in Europe.

The radicalization of the political struggle in the 1950's between the Centre-Right coalition and the parties of the Left drew still more attention to the authoritarian Marxist organisations, progressively reducing the possibility of the movement's making its mark.

At the beginning of the 1960's the gap between that part of the FAI which favoured a more functional and representative organisation and that tendency opposed to any form of potentially party-like structure became evident. At the congress in November 1965 came a break whose effects were to be felt for years. About one third of the militants of the federation moved away to found the Gruppi di Iniziativa Anarchica and the periodical "The International". Meanwhile a third group had already formed - the Gruppi Anarchici Federati, which brought together groups and militants in north Italy. In Spring 1968, in the wake of the openly anti-authoritarian youth and student movement, many new members joined the groups and circles. An important meeting, and indeed clash, between old and new style libertarians came with the International Congress at Carrara in September 1968, when representatives of the French student movement launched criticisms of traditional anarchism.

VI ITALY (cont.)

The different tendencies and generations were brought together once more by the need to combat the repression following on the "Stage di Stato" (bombing by the State) in Piazza Fontana, Milan, on December 12th 1969. The police attributed the crime to the anarchists, who were held to be the weakest part of the vast movement of rebellion at the end of the 1960's. The movement's decided response transformed this defence into a rapid and notable expansion of the movement. The wide-spread protest at the killing of the Milanese anarchist, Giuseppe Pinelli, brought to light much sympathy in usually badly-informed or biased social and political circles. New publishing and journalistic initiatives began while those already in existence expanded and developed. The secular protest against the State found the anarchists with a new-found pride to counteract any possible psychological and political inferiority.

Since the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Latin America has been one of the major targets for the intense emigration from post-unification Italy. This emigration was largely for economic reasons, as the internal market (being, as it was, heavily conditioned by the choices and aims of the government) was incapable of absorbing the growing mass of the unemployed. While Italian emigration up to the early 1980's had been largely temporary and directed principally towards the European and mediterranean countries, from the middle of the decade, the trans-Atlantic current grew notably. First dozens and then hundreds of Italian emigrants moved towards countries like Brazil and Argentina (as well as the United States). Within this wave of emigration there was a clear current of politically-motivated emigration, fruit of the harsh repression that hit the radical elements of the socialist movement, and particularly the anarchists, at the end of the nineteenth century. Numerous militant anarchists, of whom Malatesta and Gori were the best-known, landed in Latin America, often remaining there for long periods. The first Italian-language newspapers soon appeared in Argentina and Brazil while, in Sao Paulo in Brazil, a strong anarchist colony produced numerous periodicals. Nevertheless, despite the efforts of various well-known anarchists such as Oreste Ristori who, for eight years (1904-1912) with the help of Gigi Damiani and Alessandro Cerchiai, founded and ran La Battaglia, one of the most significant periodicals produced by immigrant Italian anarchists in Latin America, the Italian libertarians never succeeded in moving outside the closed circle of the Italo-Brazilian community and so had no influence on the wider community. This was partly due to the recurrent waves of repression and persecution, often at the request of the Italian government, but the major cause was the productive structure of society and the impossibility of maintaining steady contacts with the rural proletariat, who had barely gained their freedom from slavery and were forced to live in semi-feudal conditions. In Argentina, on the other hand, particularly in Buenos Aires (but also in Rosario di Santa Fe, Bahia Bianca, etc) they not only managed to spread anarchist ideas through their groups and publications, but were also a driving force behind the workers' organisation that, at the beginning of the 1900's, became the FOA and then the FORA. Malatesta, for example, drafted the first statute of the first society for workers' resistance that appeared in Argentina, the Bakers' Union in Buenos Aires in 1887, while Gori took an active part in the congress that founded the FOA in 1901. Despite the repression and expulsions (which included, in 1901 Alberto Maschi, who later became the secretary of the "Camera di Lavoro" in Carrara and a noted exponent of the USI) the Italian anarchists managed to make their presence felt even after the First World War, up to the middle of the 1930's, whereas they had already lost their ability to make any impact in Brazil by the beginning of the 1920's.

There were fewer anarchists in Uruguay but they still produced occasional publications. It was only in the 1930's, after Uriburu's coup in Argentina, that numerous libertarian refugees arrived in Uruguay and Luigi Fabbri spent his last years (until his death in 1935) in Montivideo after his expulsion from France and Belgium. There he started the periodical "Studi Sociali", which not only contained political debates but was also a fundamental source for the history of the pre-fascist Italian anarchist movement.

2 ITALIANS ABROAD (cont.)

The emigration of Italian anarchists to Europe (particularly England and France) and to the North African countries was often temporary and was related to the need for many militants to escape the "hot" periods in Italy: the repression at the end of the 1900's and then fascism. These emigrants tended to form small groups and often single individuals were to be found, and they addressed themselves to the Italians resident in the countries or to their comrades left in Italy, both to keep the political debate alive and to provide some proof of the vitality of libertarian ideals. This was the case of those periodicals that appeared in Egypt and Tunisia before the First World War, and also of the newspapers produced in England and France. Most of the material published in England came from Malatesta (who lived in London for some years) and from the group around him.

In the case of France, apart from a few pre-war publications, which were often anti-legalist or individualist, and with the exception of the paper edited by Malatesta in Nice (L'Associazione) in 1889, the anarchists' publications were mostly anti-fascist and were aimed at increasing the dissent in Italy and coordinating the activities of those who had fled.

MEXICO

ANARCHISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Some European Socialists Interested in Mexico

- Saint Simon suggested the building of a canal which would connect the Mexican Gulf with the Pacific Ocean.
- Robert Owen carried out a communal experiment in Texas, which, at that time, was still part of Mexico.
- Victor Considérant came to Mexico at the beginning of the 1860's.

What Allowed the Development of Anarchism in Mexico?

- the presence and the struggles of the liberal tendency.
- the immigration of European socialists (Plotino Rhodakanaty, Riccardo B. Velatti, among others)
- the economic situation of the country.

On coming into contact with the Mexican reality, European anarchism underwent theoretical and practical changes in accordance with the historical and individual circumstances of the country which were:

1. Until shortly before Mexico had been a Spanish colony.
2. Shortly after gaining its independence it was again under attack from the expansionist policies of the U.S. and lost more than two million square kilometres of territory.
3. In addition it had to face the interventionist adventure of Napoleon III.

Principal Exponent of Agrarian Anarchism

Julio Chavez Lopez, a disciple of Plotino Rhodakanaty's, headed a peasant rebellion. On April 20th, 1869, he published his famous Manifiesto to all the Oppressed and Poor People of Mexico and the Universe.

Exponent of Urban Anarchism

Francisco Zalacosta, another disciple of Rhodakanaty's, cooperated in the formation of what could be called the first specific organisation in Mexico: "La Social". He took part in the creation of the Socialist Club of Chalco and in Chavez Lopez's rebellion. In 1872 he was the Secretary of the Mexican section of the International. In 1878 he founded the newspaper "La Internacional".

The Anarchists in the Working World

The first Mexican Workers' congress took place in 1876, convoked by the Great Circle of Workers. The anarchist tendency was evident in the debates on the organic point, on centralism or federalism, and on the collaboration with the authorities or the rejection of any kind of political compromise.

Publications Presenting the Anarchist Position

THE ANARCHISTS IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

Since the Paris Commune in 1871, the Mexican Revolution has been the most important revolutionary movement as it represents the first attempt at social revolution in Latin America.

Anarchist participation in that revolution began a valuable theoretical-practical confrontation with the European anarchist conception of the revolution.

The Mexican anarchists not only participated in the revolution, they were also those who prepared it by forming the Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano, which, at the beginning, was a meeting point for liberal and socialist tendencies. Its function as the organization which united the opponents to Porfirio Diaz's dictatorship was a determining factor in the development of the revolution.

The anarchist communist tendency was preponderant in the Junta: Ricardo Flores Magón took charge of the Presidency, his brother Enrique became the treasurer and Librado Rivera was the first voter (primer vocal). The publication of the Junta was Regeneración.

1. Cananea, Sonora was a mining centre where the first major strike took place in June 1906, owing to the work of the Junta O. del P.L.M. This strike served to weaken the bases of Porfirio Diaz's regime.

2. Jiminez, Coahuila; 3. Acayucan, Veracruz; 4. Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua; 5. Viesca, Coahuila; 6. Las Vacas, Coahuila; 7. Palomas, Chihuahua; were all towns where insurrections took place, encouraged by the Junta.

8. Rio Blanco, Veracruz was a textile centre where a confrontation between workers and employers took place (again due to the work of the Junta), resulting in the massacre of the workers by the federal forces on January 7th, 1907.

9. The zone of influence of Santanon, a guerrilla captain who supported the Mexican Liberal Party.

10. Janos, Chihuahua was the place where Praxedes G. Guerrero, a member of the Junta, died in battle on December 30th, 1910.

11. Chihuahua, Chihuahua- where the military forces of the Junta, led by Prisciliano Silva, were betrayed by the Maderists.

12. Baja California Norte - a region where the forces of the Junta tried to consolidate a liberated territory where they could continue their revolutionary labours.

13. Zone of the Yaqui Community with whom the Junta had close ties in 1912.

14. Zone of influence of the Zapatist army with which the Junta had been in close contact from 1914.

THE ANARCHISTS IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY MEXICO

From 1922 to the Present Day

Anarchists and the Workers

The most important anarchist activity was carried out through the Libertarian Syndicalist Centre, founded on June 26th 1922 and member of the General Confederation of Workers. Its mouthpiece was Verbo Rojo.

Activities of the G.C.W.

In 1922 it called a general strike in support of the worker-employer conflict at the wool yarn and weaving factory of "San Idelfonso". In 1923 a general strike was brought about by the Federation of Workers and Employees of the Tramways company of Mexico, a member organisation of the G.C.W. In 1926, during its 5th congress, it began the struggle

MEXICO (cont.)

for the six-hour day.

Due to a succession of errors, the G.C.W. practically disintegrated in 1932.

The Mexican Anarchist Federation

In the middle of the 1940's, the Anarchist Federation of the Centre showed, through its publication Libertad, an increasing interest in a Mexican Anarchist Federation. The first congress of the M.A.F. took place in 1945 and it produced the paper Regeneracion.

At the end of the 1970's, owing to many different factors, the M.A.F. had practically, although not officially, disintegrated.

The 1970's

Since 1970 the new generations have shown some interest in anarchism, particularly by producing publications, mostly short-lived.

Tierra y Libertad

Without any doubt the only publication which has been able to survive since 1944 is Tierra y Libertad. Besides the newspaper, this group has published extra issues as reviews.

Anarchist Publishers in Mexico

Ediciones CNT-Mexico: existed at the beginning of the 1960's.

Ediciones Tierra y Libertad Its Spanish edition of the "Enciclopedia Anarquista" is particularly outstanding.

Ediciones Antorcha: Founded in 1975, its published works include five collections: writings of R. Flores Magón, of the Magonists, "Textos Anarquistas", "Pequena biblioteca anarquista" and "Literatura".

THE NETHERLANDS

1. Before the First World War

Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846-1919) was not the first anarchist in the Netherlands but it was with him that anarchism became a movement. A Social Democrat until about 1895, he published his first important libertarian work, criticizing the International Socialist Congress of London in 1896 at which the anarchists were expelled.

There were various tendencies in the movement. Chistian Cornelissen (1864-1943) was the driving force behind revolutionary syndicalism and the organisational current. The NAS (National Labour Secretariat), from its foundation in 1893 until the 1920's, represented the libertarian tendency in the class struggle: direct action, anti-bureacratism, anti-parlamentarianism. After the failure of the general strike in 1903 the reformist unions created a new central body, the NVV, which had close ties zith the Social Democratic Party from the very beginning.

2. Revolutionary Anti-Militarism

From 1903 the international anti-militarist alliance, IAMV, united libertarians of all tendencies to make "war on war". The IAMV considered the fight against militarism and war as a fight for the social revolution and for the liberation of soldiers and workers. The movement of the conscientious objectors took on a particular importance during and after the First World War, reaching a climax with the hunger strike of the objector Herman Groenendaal in 1921. The slogans of the IAMV were:

-Not a man nor a sou for militarism!

-Free Indonesia from Holland!

-We are fighting for a society without organised violence!

Conscientious obnection was anarchism "by the deed". Today the "pacifist" and anti-nuclear movements have brought together people of very differing views but there still exists a more radical and anarchist movement of total objection (refusal of the alternative of civil or community service.)

3. Between the Wars

In the 1920's groups of very radical young anarchists gathered around the papers Alarm and De Moker (the Hammer), completely opposed to all trade union organisation.

Like everywhere else the Russian Revolution divided the union NAS: while its leaders supported the Red Trade Union International, a branch broke off to found the NSV in 1923, joining the AIT in Berlin. Its influence was limited and even the influence of the big papers De Vrije Socialist and De Arbeider decreased during this period.

At the same time some intellectuals were being drawn towards libertarian ideas. They could be found in the NSV but, more particularly, connected with the review Bevrijding (liberation) in which the main force was Bart de Ligt, a former pastor who had become anti-militarist and then anarchist and atheist. The themes discussed included education, psychology and non-violence and its inflence in the IAMV was considerable until about 1935. Its refusal to support the armed defence of the Spanish Revolution lost it many supporters among the syndicalists.

THE NETHERLANDS (cont.)

4. Provo and the Protest Movements

With Provo (1965) a dispute began which has not yet finished. Numerous action committees with anti-authoritarian ideas and methods, which were neither dominated nor manipulated by the political parties, appeared: committees for the defence of districts; against pollution, to combat the Amsterdam Metro, ecologists, Kabouters, Krakkers, anti-nuclear activists, etc. They could be found throughout the country. Without being specifically anarchist they had seeds of anarchy.....

The Provos were among the first to bring attention to consumerism with their attacks on private cars and their ideas for public transport. And the idea of a fight not against technology but to rationalise it and to bring it under the control of a public aware of how it is used, could be found even among the "proletariat".

NORWAY

Elements of anarchism in Norway can be traced as far back as the 1850's. Several authors, among them Henrik Ibsen, put forward libertarian ideas. In the late 1880's, the first Norwegian anarchist newspaper, Fedraheimen, was published. In the 1890's, libertarians began to organise themselves, the first group, Libertas, being anarchist-communist.

From the beginning of the twentieth century there were intense campaigns for anarchism, carried out, for the most part, by the activists of the "Libertas" group. In 1909, a federation was formed, which later took the name of "Norges Social-Anarkistiske Forbund". The federation had up to 22 local groups in various parts of the country and had some 500 members. They published various papers. A lot of local syndicalist organisations were started, partly in cooperation with the Swedish "Sveriges Arbetares Centralforbund", and, together, these groups formed the "Norsk Syndikalistik Federation" in 1916.

In 1923, when the syndicalist federation joined the IAA, the syndicalist International, it had 57 local groups and 1412 members, not all of them, however, anarchists. During the first two decades of this century the Norwegian anarchist movement grew and spread throughout the country but, during the depression came a decline. After the 1940-45 war, the libertarian movement reorganised and continued its work. Their newspaper, which had been banned by the nazis, was published again. They never, however, managed to reach the level of the 1920's again. The movement slowly declined, the newspaper ceased to appear in 1960 and, in 1965, the "Norsk Syndikalistik Federation" was formally dissolved.

During the late 1960's there was a revival of interest in anarchism. Several small groups with more or less anarchist ideas were formed and numerous papers, books and pamphlets on anarchism were printed and distributed. The main paper of the movement, "Folkebladet", began publication in 1971. A need for organisation arose as the anarchist ideas spread. The Norwegian federation ANORG, Anarkistenes Organisasjon, was formed in 1977 and is, today, the only significant anarchist organisation in the country. ANORG? the Nordic anarchist federation, is affiliated to the IFA, the anarchist international, and publishes "Folkebladet", a quarterly journal of anarchism, and a monthly bulletin for members. The secretariat of the Nordic anarchist Federation, NIFA (Nordic IFA secretariate), is situated in Oslo, the capital of Norway.

POLAND

Panel 1: Poland Divided

After the end of the eighteenth century Poland was no longer independent but divided between the Prussian, Austrian and Russian empires. Bakunin, who supported the Polish uprisings, was not well-known for his anarchist ideas except among emigrant circles. Anarchism first made its appearance in Poland at Bialystok in the Russian territories, at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1903 a group of young Jews left their socialist organisations to set up the first anarchist group in Poland. They were in contact with Russian emigrés who provided them with literature and Bialystok became a centre of propaganda and the diffusion of libertarian ideas. The movement had already, at this early period, acquired its distinctive characteristics: written propaganda, social agitation, participation in strikes and, in response to Tsarist repression, economic terrorism: the assassination of industrialists and of members of the forces of repression, expropriations to procure funds, direct action against factories and machinery in support of strikers and local insurrections.

In January 1905 the revolution in St. Petersburg spread throughout the empire and the anarchists in Bialystok took an active part in the general strike. Anarchist groups sprang up in all the major towns on Russian Poland, such as Warsaw, Lodz, Vilna, Grodno, Lomza and Kovno. The violent methods readily resorted to by the movement were exacerbated by a group of anarchists "without motive" who carried out blind pointless attacks. At the end of 1905 two attacks in Warsaw caused numerous deaths and provided the pretext for the total outlawing of anarchism and the entire movement was struck by a harsh campaign of repression. In January 1906 16 members of the group "The International" of Warsaw were shot as were numerous of their comrades throughout Poland up to 1907.

In 1905 to 1907 Jews and Poles were almost equally represented in the movement (Jews made up 10% of the total population). Propaganda was carried out in Russian, Yiddish and Polish and groups were organised geographical, by occupation and by language. During the pogroms of 1906 the anarchists took up arms in defence of the Jewish population of Bialystok. In 1907 agitation decreased but a conference of Polish Anarchists righted the scale. It was decided that organisation was necessary and the Federation of Anarchist Communist Groups in Poland and Lithuania was set up. The validity of the expropriations and of conspiracy was upheld; syndicalism on the other hand was rejected. In the period leading up to the First World War, a period of social calm had a dampening effect on the movement's activities. In German Poland the movement was nonexistent but in the Austrian zone, with greater freedom and a university tradition, numerous works by anarchist writers, Polish and foreign, were published.

Panel 2: Independent Poland

After the end of the First World War, two factors radically changed the situation. Independence gave new force to nationalist feelings and the Russian Revolution drew many militants who went to the USSR and rallied to the new regime. The anarchist movement found itself trapped on the fringes of society with little to show of its former importance in 1905-7. Its orientation had also changed: terrorism and anti-syndicalism were abandoned in favour of cooperative ideas of E. Abramowski, who died in 1917. But underground struggles were still the rule and the political conditions did not permit legal activity. Propaganda through books and leaflets was restarted after the war and at the beginning of the 1920's the illegal press appeared. In 1926 the Polish Anarchist Federation (AFP) was founded. At the beginning of the 1930's an anarcho-syndicalist opposition formed within the unions and, at the same time, the AFP built up its paper "WALKA KLAS" (The Class Struggle). With the Spanish Revolution propaganda increased and the movement evolved towards an anarcho-syndicalist position. But the military in power did not lighten the repression and the movement remained underground.

As in the pre-1914 period the anarchist movement was well-rooted in the Jewish population and when the Second World War broke out the anarchists joined the armed resistance. The Jewish activists continued their activities within the Warsaw ghetto and many of them died fighting in the insurrection of 1943.

It was with difficulty that the movement got back on its feet at the end of the war. The Nazi genocide against the Jews and the mass emigration of survivors at the end of hostilities robbed it of an important social base. The AFP reformed and, following up its promising evolution of the 1930's, changed itself into the Polish Federation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (FPAS). There were also new libertarian stirrings in the cooperative movement but the stiffening of the regime, the integration of the unions into the administrative machine and the state control of the economy together struck a fatal blow to the movement. The FPAS dissolved at the beginning of the 1950's, although some of its members have remained active, such as Z. Szpakowski, a close associate of Kuron in the democratic movement of the 1960's.

At the present time there is a certain revival of the libertarian movement. Szpakowski defended his libertarian opinions within Solidarity until his arrest in 1981. Anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist groups, particularly in Warsaw and Wroclaw, have started underground activities while another and better-known tendency, arising out of the official organisation SICMA, set up the group Emanuel Goldstein in Warsaw.

PORTUGAL

THE PAST:

1877 - Due to the social democratic line adopted by the International after the visit of Reclus, the Lishon Libertarian Group publishes its first communist anarchist manifesto and the newspaper A CENTELHA.

1896 - Anti-Anarchist law. The movement wavers between terrorism and associativism. The town of Porto is an Anarchist centre.

1910 - The People's Revolution; fall of the monarchy and the creation of the Republic (the third in Europe) with the cooperation of one anarchist tendency. The other continued with revolutionary syndicalism after the French model, having a definite influence on the labour movement; the build-up of fierce struggles and of the syndicalist organisation with the decline of the reformist socialist tendency.

1919 - Libertarian influence at its height, with the publication of A BATALHA and the setting-up of the CONFEDERACAO GERAL DO TRABALHO (CGT) which would adhere to the AIT (150,000 members). In the same year however the Bolshevik uprising with consequent internal conflict.

1926 - Military dictatorship. Beginning of a period of anti-fascist resistance culminating in

1934 - January 18th - attempted general revolutionary strike; thousands of arrests and deportations. The death camp of Tarrafal (Cabo Verde) becomes the symbol of the regime's repression.

1937 - Anarchist armed resistance in support of the Spanish Civil War and against the life of the Dictator Salazar.

THE PRESENT:

1974 - 25th April: fall of the fascist regime. Beginning of a brief period of popular mobilisation with struggles, occupation and self-management of companies, housing and rural property.

The anarchists have lost all their former influence, particularly in the labour movement. However they have been pioneers in raising people's consciousness of the problems of contemporary society: nuclear power, ecological decline, the escalating arms race, minority rights, etc.

The newspaper A BATALHA has been the most conspicuous propaganda vehicle of the Portuguese anarchists today, varying between tradition and innovation. The review A IDEIA and the books published by EDITORIA SEMENTEIRA are the most obvious products of the effort to renew anarchist thought, freeing it from (but not rejecting) the past.

Other tendencies have followed other paths, betting on the radicalization of existing activities, as exemplified by the periodical ACCAO DIRECTA, which no longer exists.

On the outskirts of Lisbon, in Almada, the Centro de Cultura Libertaria has been a major source of propaganda, publishing the paper VOZ ANARQUISTA for several years. There is also an anarchist group in Coimbra. The bookshop UTOPIA in Porto only recently opened to the public. One body which seeks to preserve and organise the historical memory of the movement is the ARQUIVO HISTORICO-SOCIAL through which Portuguese anarchists foresee the fulfilment of an international initiative in 1987, the year which will mark the end of ONE CENTURY OF ANARCHISM IN PORTUGAL. An exhibition on the history of anarchism and an international conference of studies of the Future are planned as well as other cultural and social initiatives.

Panel 1: Emigration and the 1905 Revolution

The history of Russian anarchism began with the emigration of two of its most important theoreticians and propagandists. Bakunin, born into a noble family in 1814, rallied to the people's cause and lived a troubled life between prison, Siberia, exile and various revolutionary movements in which he took part. In the mid-1860's he became an anarchist under the influence of Proudhon and then poured all his energies into spreading libertarian ideas within the European revolutionary movement and, in particular, within the First International in which he opposed Marx. Kropotkin, a prince who experienced a similar evolution and similar experiences in Russia, became an anarchist during a trip to the West of Europe in 1872. After his escape from prison and his flight abroad in 1876, his influence among Russian emigrants and then in Russia itself increased steadily until his triumphant return to Moscow in 1917. It was his supporters in exile who published the first anarchist papers and leaflets at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The anarchist movement in Russia itself began in the Russian territory in Western Poland with the appearance of the first group in Bialystok. Thanks to the aid of Kropotkinian emigrants, it slowly spread to Saint Petersburg, Moscow and Western Russia, reaching intellectuals and workers as well as the peasants of the Ukraine. The 1905 Revolution caused a rapid growth in the movement which became stronger and also spread as far as the Baltic provinces, the Caucasus and the Urals. Apart from some Kropotkinian and anarcho-syndicalist groups in Odessa and Moscow who held to a moderate line of propaganda and organisation among the workers, the largest part of the movement adopted a harshly terrorist line. The terrible repression at the end of 1905 destroyed the movement in a few years: many militants were killed, executed, imprisoned, deported, or else emigrated. An important movement in exile developed in Western Europe and in America at this time.

Propaganda was restarted in 1911 and continued to increase during the war, with the reigning social situation. The movement became particularly strong in the factories and the unions. In February 1917 the regime fell and the movement grew rapidly in the revolutionary situation and with the return from captivity or exile of a great number of emigrants. The anarchists were allied to the Bolsheviks in their common desire to put down the provisional government and they acted together during the days of July and then for the defence of Petrograd against Kornilov in September and finally in the October Revolution which brought Lenin to power.

Panel 2: The Crushing of the Revolution

When the Bolsheviks took power the anarchist movement was in full force. It had reached all the industrial centres, the peasants of the Ukraine and Southern Russia and, in sheer numbers, was greatly superior to 1905. Federations appeared in Petrograd and Moscow and then in the Ukraine, with the confederation of "Nabat". But it was divided into two opposing tendencies: the anarchist communists who favoured the immediate and complete destruction of the old order; and the anarcho-syndicalists around "Golos-Trouda" who favoured worker control and the development of the unions as the framework of the future social organisation. This division, despite some efforts at resolving it,

RUSSIA/USSR (cont.)

lasted throughout the revolution and then into exile.

Soon after October, the anarchists began to oppose the Bolsheviks, accusing them of having betrayed the revolution and calling for a third revolution. But the state take-over of the economy and the soviets and the militarisation of society forced the anarchists onto the defensive rather than the offensive. In April 1918 the Bolsheviks felt themselves to be strong enough to openly attack the anarchists in Moscow: hundreds of militants were arrested, the Cheka attacked the Black Guards in violent confrontations and the anarchist papers were banned. From then on the repression never stopped, despite some periods of respite, until the 1920's when the movement was completely destroyed. A group of militants went underground and started a new terrorist campaign, which reached a climax in September 1919 with the murderous attack on the Party Headquarters in Moscow.

The civil war against the Whites divided the movement yet further. Should they help the Reds, remain neutral, or continue to attack them while they were being attacked by the reactionary forces? One group, the "soviet-anarchists", rallied to the regime and some anarchists even occupied important civil and military posts, entered the government or the staff of the Cheka. The repression harshened and even reached those who had rallied to the cause. In 1920 only a few remnants of the movement remained. Kropotkin's funeral in 1921 saw thousands of anarchists gathering in Moscow, even being released from prison for the occasion, where they then returned.

The last flickering of the libertarian spirit of 1917, the uprising in Kronstadt, took place without the anarchists but their influence was felt. The Commune of Kronstadt rose up against the bureaucratic Bolshevik dictatorship in the name of the freedom of the people, with their slogan "All power to the soviets, not to the parties." The bloody crushing of this revolt marked the end of the Russian revolution.

Panel 3: The Makhnovist Movement and Soviet Anarchism

The most constructive aspect of anarchism in the Russian revolution came from the southern Ukraine. Under the influence of Makhnov, an anarchist militant since 1907, a libertarian peasant movement developed in the region of Goulai-Polie. When the Ukraine was ceded to the Germans by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Makhnov organised a partisan movement which fought the occupying forces and controlled the region until they withdrew in November 1918. The Makhnovist movement then moved on to a phase of active construction. The region was organised on a system of soviets, production and distribution were taken into hand by the population, pilot agricultural communes were set up and a partisan army was formed with elected officers.

But, in the Spring of 1919, the Red Army attacked the region and partially destroyed the system that had been set up. It was followed by Denikin's White Army, which forced the Makhnovists to retreat. But, after retreating for a few hundred kilometres, they then destroyed the White Brigades sent to pursue them and reassumed control of the region in the Autumn. At the beginning of 1920 the Red Army appeared and the struggle started again. In June 1920 a new White Army, under the

RUSSIA/USSR (cont.)

command of Wrangel, invaded the region. In September the Bolsheviks were forced to treat with the Makhnovists but in November, after the defeat of Wrangel, they attacked the region again and the Makhnovist uprising was finally put down at the end of 1921.

From 1921 onwards, the history of the anarchist movement lies in the prisons. The remains of the movement, both authorised and clandestine, were destroyed by 1930. Numerous anarchist prisoners, together with those from the other revolutionary parties that had been suppressed, continued their fight to maintain the privileges of the status of political prisoners, which they had obtained under the Tsar, with large scale collective actions such as hunger strikes. But this last fight was one last failure; the privileges were taken away one by one. In 1936 the last group of political prisoners from the revolution disappeared during the torment of the great Puges.

The movement in exile was divided by quarrels between groups and persons which lasted as long as the principal militants did. The last of the latter died in the 1970's. Soviet anarchists, without any relationship with the movement, appeared in the 1930's and some groups were active in the 1940's and 1950's. Today there is a very active clandestine movement in Leningrad which has existed for some years and libertarians are active in the free union SMOT. The anarchist memory is not dead either, as was proven by the appearance in Moscow in 1982 of a samizdat by V. Litvinov on the Makhnovist movement.

SWEDEN

1. Birth

Between 1847, when Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's ideas were first introduced into Sweden, and 1890 anarchist ideas became well-known in our country. The great writer August Strindberg, for example, was influenced by Bakunin. During this period Swedish writers showed more interest in the utopian socialists and in the anarchist writers than in Marx. Outside the intellectual world, however, the anarchist movement was born in the 1890's. During this decade many groups of "Young Socialists" were formed in Stockholm, Goteborg, Malmo and in various smaller towns. In 1897 these groups met to form the Federation of Young Socialists.

The movement of the "Young Socialists" came to life as an opposition within the social democratic movement. The "Young Socialists" turned against the reformism and bureaucracy of the social democratic party. An anti-parliamentarian stand and the choice of the general strike as a revolutionary tactic were ideas that were passionately discussed for several years and the ideas of anarchist writers, particularly Kropotkin spread. However, even though the name "anarchist" was used within these groups and the various tendencies - communist? individualist? - were disputed, the movement had not yet actually adopted the title "anarchist". The most prominent activists saw themselves rather as revolutionary socialists defending the original ideology of the workers' movement against the reformism of its leaders, or else as revolutionary syndicalists.

2. A Movement on Fire

In 1898 the "Young Socialists" founded a monthly review which later became weekly, and which had a certain influence in the history of Swedish literature. It was entitled "BRAND", meaning "FIRE!" and various great writers were first published in its pages.

The best known of the main editors was Hinke Berggren, a brilliant journalist and orator, whose favourite theme was methods of contraception. He was horrified by the poverty of the large families in the working class and wanted to show the women how to limit the number of their children. His work "Love without Children" was widely read. Inevitably "Hinke" (that was his pen name) became the pet hate of the middle classes and the church and was, on several occasions, charged with attacking morals. His work was effective and was later continued in the SAC's publication ARBETAREN by Elise Ottosen-Jensen, a great pioneer of family planning.

Another important issue of the time was the fight against militarism. Marx was often cited with his declaration the "the worker has no fatherland". Young conscripts were advised to refuse to do their military service. Better go to prison than carry arms against your brothers and learn to kill them! Laws making it a crime even to recommend objection to military service were passed and the prisons quickly filled up with "Young Socialists".

2. Splits and Expulsions

In 1903 came the first split in the Federation of Young Socialists. Some members who disagreed with the majority on certain questions - militarism, parliamentarianism, the general strike, the attitude towards the Social Democratic Party, etc. - left the Federation and formed the Social Democratic Youth. Some years later "Hinke" was expelled

from the Social Democratic Party, together with the editor of another of the "Young Socialist's" publications. The ties with social democracy were broken.

4. The Attack on the Amalthea

1908 was a year of agitation for the Swedish working class with 293 strikes. The strike by the harbour workers had started the year before. Men brought from England by the owners to break the dock workers strike (most of them criminals) were lodged in the port of Malmo on board the AMALTHEA. Two "young socialists" succeeded, despite the police guard on the port and the ship, in bringing a bomb they had made and placing it in the ship. One of the 80 men on board was killed in the explosion and several others were injured. One of the "Young Socialists" was condemned to death but public opinion was on their side (the strike breakers had brought to the fore the fears of the working classes) and the penalty was commuted. Later both the "Young Socialists" were pardoned.

5. The General Strike of 1909 and its Consequences. The Foundation of the SAC

1909 was the year of the "great strike". The "Young Socialists" took part in the strike as workers but not in the front ranks. They lacked confidence in the abilities of the social democratic leaders of the General Federation (LO) to lead a struggle of such magnitude and they were proven right: the strike was a defeat for the working class. Numerous workers were put on a black list and 20,000 emigrated to the United States.

This disaster was the last straw. The "Young Socialists", after ten years of revolutionary syndicalist propaganda, decided to form a new federation from those who wished to leave the social democratic centre. And so the SAC was born.

6. Sweden with Anarchists but no Movement

It seems to us that the history of the origins of the libertarian movement and the fact that there has been a reasonably wide-spread libertarian syndicalist movement for more than 70 years explain the absence of a real anarchist movement in Sweden. The SAC has, to some degree, absorbed the anarchists or, rather, it could be said that the anarchists have chosen to act within the SAC as rank and file members, as an "opposition", as a "driving force" or even as "leaders".

The "Young Socialist" movement therefore lost its importance with the formation of the SAC. The Russian Revolution also had an influence on the course of events. In 1933 the SAC's daily paper, ARBETAREN, took over the task of BRAND. In 1934 the Federation of Young Socialists was renamed the Federation of Anarchist Propaganda. BRAND continued to come out but less and less often. The movement was in jeopardy.

The 1960's and the 1970's saw the reappearance of anarchist ideas in Sweden as elsewhere. Many very active groups were formed and quickly disappeared, not having the strength to organise on a national level. During this period many anarchist books and reviews were published.

In Sweden today anarchists seem to prefer to act within other movements - the peace movement, anti-nuclear, ecological, women's, etc - rather than forming purely anarchist groups. Some of them have joined the ecological party which has now been founded in Sweden.

SWITZERLAND

Where it all Began

In November 1871 the Jura Federation was founded in Sonvillier. Of the 20 sections of the International in the region, only 8 were represented. The congress consolidated the organisation-craft unions federated either on a local or district basis (in order to combat corporative egoism) and social studies circles for education and propaganda.

"Let us hold the flag of autonomy of the free federation of groups high against all authority, all dictatorship!" "The society of the future must be the universalisation of the organisation that the International will build for itself."

In September 1872, after Bakunin and Guillaume had been excluded from the La Haye congress of the AIT in an attempt to eliminate the "federalists" the Spanish, Italian, French and Jura delegates met at Saint Imier to form a new pact and "proclaim aloud that the main aim of this pact is the salvation of the great unity of the International which has been endangered by the ambitions of the authoritarian party." It was here that it was declared that "the destruction of political power is the first duty of the proletariat."

Switzerland the Refuge

Apart from the extradition of Netchaev (1872) Switzerland remained a place of refuge: communards, Russian and German revolutionaries, proscribed Italians, deserters, all found their way there in considerable numbers. They published newspapers, set up circles, founded groups. Reclus and Kropotkin were the driving force behind "Le Révolté", which was founded in Geneva in 1879, as well as Grave before his return to Paris in 1885.

When the refugees became involved in violence, either by word or by deed, the police interfered with them and expelled them. When the Swiss anarchists became involved in international politics, they were stopped and their publications were banned. LeRéveil was founded in 1900 as a challenge to this situation.

Bakunin and After

1869: Bakunin's first visit to the Jura was met with great enthusiasm. Saint Imier was his last congress. Withdrawing to the Ticino, he wrote, cultivated his garden, prepared for the revolution in Italy The short-lived reconciliation between anarchists and socialists over his grave did not last: in 1876 came the move from propaganda, sketching out the society of the future, to propaganda by the deed. "The revolutionary socialists seek, by means of disturbances, the outcomes of which they foresee perfectly well, to stir up the consciousness of the people and they are succeeding" wrote Kropotkin, who was living in Switzerland at this time.

By about 1880, unemployment among the watchmakers, the departure of militants the emergence of the unions and reformist political organisations, were to mean the end of the Jura Federation in its old form. Anarchism had now become a specific movement.

SWITZERLAND (cont.)

Le Réveil

The work of one man, Le Réveil came out for 47 years without a break, with nearly 1000 issues in French and Italian. Its strong points were: -Revolutionary syndicalism, from the tram-drivers' strike in Geneva in 1902 up to the reformist general strike in Switzerland in 1918: direct action, boycotts and the creation of communist workshops, cultural and educational activities, organisations for women, immigrants, etc.

-Luigi Bertoni with his untiring series of meetings when, every Sunday, he took his bag of pamphlets and went out to speak throughout Switzerland.

-The Ligue d'Action du Batiment, with Lucien Tronchet, who, to get by during the crisis of the 1930's, undertook to demolish the slums of Geneva to show that he had work.

-The international audience - Le Réveil published the great debates on syndicalism (Malatesta-Monatte), the war (Grave-Kropotkin-le Manifeste des Seize), organisation (Malatesta-Makhnov); it defended Sacco and Vanzetti and Ghezzi; it took up positions against fascism and the war and for the Spanish Revolution.

Today

In 1957 an Italian deserter, a French draft resister, a Bulgarian exile and several former collaborators on Le Réveil founded CIRA in Geneva, to safeguard the memory of the movement. A new, short-lived series of Le Réveil came out. Five years later an attempt against the Spanish Consulate sent several comrades into prison or abroad, the French returned home after the end of the Algerian War, and CIRA went bravely on, producing offspring, and began to be visited by new young faces. In May '68, in Switzerland as elsewhere, new publications and tracts began to appear, and have continued to appear ever since. Le Réveil was restarted periodically while Azione Diretta and Alpenzeiger played the same role in other language areas. As well there have been bookshops, publishing groups, self-managed bars (with anarchists incognito) and even the dream of retrieving La Baronata has raised its head.

Historical Beginnings

Although an organized anarchist movement did not emerge in the USA until the 1870's, anarchism was deeply rooted in the native soil. An American libertarian tradition may be discovered among religious and political dissenters of the 17th and the 18th century as well as in the writings of Emerson, Thoreau and others.

In the 1820's and 30's, Josiah Warren, "the first American anarchist", elaborated his philosophy, while anarchist colonies were created in several locations. In the 1870's, Bakuninist sections of the First International were established in Boston, New York and others cities. The influx of immigrants in the succeeding decades contributed to anarchist groups springing up in every part of the country except the South.

Notwithstanding their small popular following, anarchists played a significant role in American history and had a deep and abiding effect on American life. At the crest of the movement between 1890 and 1920, anarchists scattered across the country reckoned in the tens of thousands, with 3,000 in Chicago alone and comparable numbers in Paterson and New York.

To spread their message, they issued nearly 500 periodicals in a dozen languages, several of which ran for decades and achieved a high level of literary distinction, including B. Tucker's Liberty, Johann Most's Freiheit and Emma Goldman's Mother Earth. The Italian L'Adunata dei Refrattari endured for half a century, the yiddish Fraye Arbeter Shtime for 87 years. Anarchist influence was also exerted through active participation in trade unions and cooperatives, while the execution of Francisco Ferrer in 1909 led to the formation in America of more than 20 anarchist schools on the model of his Escuela Moderna in Barcelona. Anarchists were also involved in two of the most dramatic and controversial trials in American history, the Haymarket affair of the 1880's and the Sacco e Vanzetti case of the 1920's, both of which provided a rallying point for radicals and liberals throughout the world.

Modern Beginnings

In the 1960's anarchism, barely kept alive by a few activists and writers such as Paul Goodman and Dwight Macdonald, was 'rediscovered'. Direct action, communal living, counterculture, antiauthoritarianism, questioning of sexual customs, civil disobedience, and mistrust of big government and big business - all this evidenced an affinity for anarchist thought. A major sign of this growth and a reflection of this interest was the rebirth of anarchist literature: great works of the past were reprinted, numerous magazines and newspapers were published, a renewed interest was found in the history of anarchism.

Noam Chomsky has written the most detailed and exhaustive critiques of American society and foreign policy, commanding respect if not always agreement.

Karl Hess's work stand fully in the American tradition of distrust of the State and emphasis on local government. He is perhaps the most 'American' of the anarchist writers.

Murray Bookchin has, on the other hand, provided the most trenchant critique of marxism and, on the other, injected anarchism into the ecological movement. His influence among both academics and activists is profound.

II United States (cont)

The influence of anarchism on the antinuclear movement, the gay movement and the feminist movement of the 70s is difficult to assess, though all are obviously marked by anarchism and involve serious anarchists among their most active participants.

Finally one should note the existence of the Catholic anarchism of Dorothy Day and the capitalist anarchism of Murray Rothbard.

The Industrial Workers of the World

During the closing years of the 19th Century monopolies for the manufacture and distribution of goods arose in the United States. The labour unions were unable to hold their own, much less compete successfully, with the giant trusts. The radical sector of the labor movement realized that the unions had to be restructured in order to advance their members' interests. A convention was held in Chicago in July 1905 which gave rise to the IWW. The main features of the IWW were its industrial structure, under which it aimed to organize all the workers in each industry regardless of craft or degree of skill, and its avowed radicalism: it aimed at abolishing capitalism and replacing it with social ownership of wealth and workers self-management through the union: it aimed to form the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The "Wobblies" undertook to "organize the unorganized": the unskilled, the blacks, immigrants, women, people doing the lowest paid, hardest, and unhealthy work. In 1906 the IWW pioneered the tactic of the sit-down strike at the General Electric Plant in Schenectady, New York. In 1909 at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, the IWW welded workers from many diverse nationalities into a strike force that won its demands, scoring labor's only victory against America's great Steel Trust prior to the 1930's. In 1912, in the Lawrence, Massachusetts, strike, the IWW won a victory of such enormous proportions that conditions in all the mass industries were improved significantly and the capitalist class was served notice that it could no longer ride rough shod over its unskilled, immigrant employees.

In the Western part of the U.S., itinerant workers heard the message of the One Big Union from agitators who spoke on street corners and in boxcars as they travelled from job to job. IWW soapboxers frequently spoke against employment sharks, the degradation of labor, racial and sexual discrimination, and the inequities of the wage system. But they also denounced patriotism, militarism, the unavailability of birth control information and devices, authoritarianism and religious obscurantism.

When the IWW organizers were prevented from speaking in public they began free speech fights that shock the nation.

Thousands of Wobblies were arrested, many were beaten and even killed; in many cities businessmen formed sadistic vigilante committees. Undaunted, Wobblies from other places joined in the passive resistance, filling the jails until city officials were forced to stop their illegal tactics. With the outbreak of war in 1914 America experienced a great demand for labor, manufactures, and strategic material. The Wobblies, having laid a firm foundation of experience and a devoted membership, established job control in metal and lumber industries, in the harvest fields, and in marine transport, by completely reorganizing the workforce.

Taking advantage of war-related patriotic hysteria, the US government raided IWW across the country, arrested militants by the hundreds, and put whole industrial districts under martial law.

After the War the IWW struggled to resume its activities. However, repercussions of the Russian Revolution, internal dissension, and the employers' anti-union offensive of the 1920s resulted in a split in 1924. The bulk of the membership drifted away and the union was reduced largely to propaganda work.

The most notable efforts came in the Colorado and Kentucky coal sector in the 1930s, Washington and Nevada dam construction projects, large scale organizing in metal working shops in Cleveland, Ohio, and support for the CNT during the Spanish revolution 1936-37. During the 1940s the IWW once again became the target of government repression. In the 1960s and 70s younger people again began joining the IWW and undertook a series of organizing drives in widely differing localities and industries.

Italian Anarchism in the United States

Mass migration to the USA by Italians began soon after the creation of the modern Italian state. In 1871 treaties were signed between the countries that allowed their inhabitants free access to each other's land. Neither government fully foresaw the consequences of their actions; a slowly swelling tide of Italian immigration that was not stemmed until World War I brought it to an abrupt end. It consisted mainly of peasants and workers driven by desperate economic circumstances, but it also included anarchists who came to escape the political persecution.

The first known group, Il Gruppo Anarchico Rivoluzionario Carlo Cafiero, formed in 1885 in New York, published the first Italian language anarchist journal in the States, L'Anarchico. During the decade of 1893-1903 the movement received a great impetus from the arrival of many of the leading Italian anarchists who were fleeing the fierce repression of the Crispi ministry. Due to the remarkable efforts of Pietro Gori in 1895 anarchism would emerge as a sizeable movement among the Italians in America. This poet and indefatigable propagandist gave some 3-400 talks within a year. He also helped to establish La Questione sociale in Paterson, New Jersey. Giuseppe Ciancabilla arrived in 1899 and was followed soon after by Errico Malatesta. The movement was then still under the strong influence of Italian personalities and events, and it became embroiled in the same ideological arguments: organization vs. anti-organization, violence vs. non violence, individual reprisal vs. general insurrection, etc. When Gaetano Bresci, "l'anarchico che venne dall'America", returned to kill Umberto I, the king of Italy, in retaliation for his honoring a general who had killed unarmed scores during bread riots in Milan, ironically it was this act that drew the initial attention of the American authorities to the Italian-American movement. This eventually led to the enactment of laws that permitted aliens to be deported for holding anarchist beliefs, laws which are still in force today.

A later group of arrivals - Luigi Galleani, Carlo Tresca; Max Sartin, and Aldino Felicani - were influenced much more directly by American society and experience. All of them became editors of important journals: Cronaca Sovversiva, L'Avvenire, L'Era Nuova, L'Allarme...

Italian anarchists played a prominent role in the Lawrence textile strike, the 1913 Paterson silk strike, the 1916 Mesabi Iron Range strike, etc. At the same time they formed their own social clubs, dramatic societies, mutual aid groups, libraries; they created their own anarchist society within a capitalist state.

The anarcho-communists were centered mostly about the Cronaca Sovversiva,

where the personality of its editor, Luigi Galleani, attracted young militants who created the most numerous, most active, and most enduring element of the Italian-American movement. The anarcho-syndacalists, while always smaller, counted among its ranks the editor Carlo Tresca, the IWW organizer Joe Ettor, the poet Arturo Giovanitti. The individualists were always a very visible if not very numerous element of the movement.

During the period 1912-1916 the movement reached its high point of about 10,000 militants. It was inevitable that, when America entered the war in 1917, the movement would become one of the primary targets of the authorities in their fierce crusade against anyone who was against the war. This brutal "patriotic" repression was continued in the post-war period and used for political motives to destroy the radical movement in the United States. Many anarchists were deported back to Italy; others were forced to become less active in order to survive, while a minority chose the perilous life of clandestine militancy. In this web of political repression Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were caught. In their tragic story that took seven years to unfold (1920-1927) lies the most famous episode of Italian-American anarchism. Tresca's Il Martello, Felicani's L'Agitazione, and L'Adunata dei Refrattari all fought to defend their captured comrades and raise international attention. Though the anarchist movement failed to save Sacco and Vanzetti, through its efforts it left its greatest mark upon 20th century American history.

The rise of fascism in Italy (1922) and the cessation of mass migration by the US government (1924) imposed severe and ultimately terminal restraints upon the growth of the movement. The Spanish Civil War was the last field of physical battle for the Italian-American anarchists. World War II marked the end of the movement's active militancy, L'Adunata raised in its pages a lonely and isolated voice in protest against this century's second world war of the nation states.

When the anti-war and student movements of the 1960's in the USA brought new interest to anarchist ideas, no longer seeing the necessity for an Italian language paper in an English speaking country, L'Adunata quietly ceased publication in 1971, fifty years after it had begun, confident as ever that others would take its place in the struggle for freedom and social justice.

Jewish Anarchism in the United States

The Haymarket affair was the decisive event in launching the Jewish anarchist movement in the USA. On October 9, 1886, the first Jewish anarchist group was founded in New York City, and soon began to spread anarchist propaganda among the East European Jewish immigrants, who were arriving in increasing numbers. Johann Most, the editor of the German language Freiheit, was the leading apostle of anarchism to the Jewish immigrants in America, holding a place comparable to that of Rudolf Rocker among the Jewish anarchists of the London East End.

The first Yiddish anarchist periodical in the USA, Varhait (Truth), was started in 1889 and was soon succeeded by Der Morgenshtern (The Morning Star) and, in July 1890, by the Fraye Arbeter Shtime (Free Voice of Labor), one of the best and longest-lived journals in the history of anarchism, enduring for more than 87 years.

During this time anarchism emerged as the largest and most dynamic movement among Jewish radicals in the USA. Predominantly workers by occupation, the Jewish anarchists took part in the formation of militant labor unions, organized clubs, cooperatives, and mutual aid societies, sponsored lectures, picnics, and concerts, and created a

V United States (cont)

vibrant Yiddish radical culture, staging mock religious ceremonies and printing anti-religious tracts based on a parody of Jewish liturgy and ritual.

Under the editorship of David Edelstadt (1890-92) the Fraye Arbeter Shtime combined the functions of a labor paper, a journal of radical opinion, a literary magazine, and a people's university.

Saul Yanovsky took over from 1899 until 1919. He opened the paper to a host of gifted young writers and to fresh views on many subjects. He himself was an able writer, and his column "On Watch" became a special favorite. Circulation mounted steadily, reaching a level of more than 20,000 on the eve of the first World War. New periodicals sprang up, and the movement attained its fullest flowering.

The Jewish anarchists, during this period, played an important role in the labor movement. They also took part in a whole range of cooperative ventures, notably the housing cooperatives of their textile unions.

With the outbreak of the war, the movement entered a critical period.

Kropotkin's defense of the Entente was vigorously debated in the Fraye Arbeter Shtime, leaving scars that never completely healed. The Bolshevik revolution was another source of bitter contention. While Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman sang the praises of Lenin and Trotsky, Yanovsky foresaw the creation of a new dictatorship that boded ill for the future of Russia. In 1919 anarchism had entered a period of decline. Repression and deportations during and following the war deprived the movement of some of its most dedicated adherents.

Declining immigration and restrictions on Eastern European reduced potential Yiddish speaking recruits to a trickle. In the meantime, the older generation was beginning to fade, while their children, born and bred in the USA, were becoming assimilated and entering the mainstram of American life.

The next editor of Fraye Arbeter Shtime was Joseph Cohen, a Russian born cigarmaker from Philadelphia where, converted to anarchism by Voltairine de Cleyre, he had emerged as a leading figure in the Jewish movement. During his tenure, the paper maintained a high journalistic level and remained a treasure-house of information on the anarchist movement worldwide.

Jewish anarchists participated in the main labor struggles and solidarity campaign, raising funds for the Kropotkin museum in Moscow and for the support of aging anarchists in Europe, among them Nettlau, Malatesta, and Volin.

Joseph Cohen left in 1932 to found the Sunrise Colony in Michigan. As the years passed and readership declined, the paper showed increasing signs of age. By the 1970s circulation of the then monthly paper had fallen to less than 2,000. It then took on a new vitality when Ahrne Thorne assumed the editorship in 1975, and regained its former place in the Yiddish intellectual and cultural world.

But time was taking its inexorable toll. Readers were dying out. Aging anarchists retired to Florida and California. In May 1977 the Fraye Arbeter Shtime held its last annual banquet and in Decembre it ceased publication.

This marked the end of the Jewish anarchist movement in America. The Jewish anarchists, during a hundred years of activity, had compiled an impressive record. Not only did they have the courage to defy accepted standards and to suffer hardship and abuse for the sake of principles which they believed to be right, but within their circles and newspapers they had founded a rich social and cultural life. By defying the conventions of

V/

United States (cont)

the prevailing social and political system, they had obtained a foretaste of that free world towards which they had so deeply aspired.