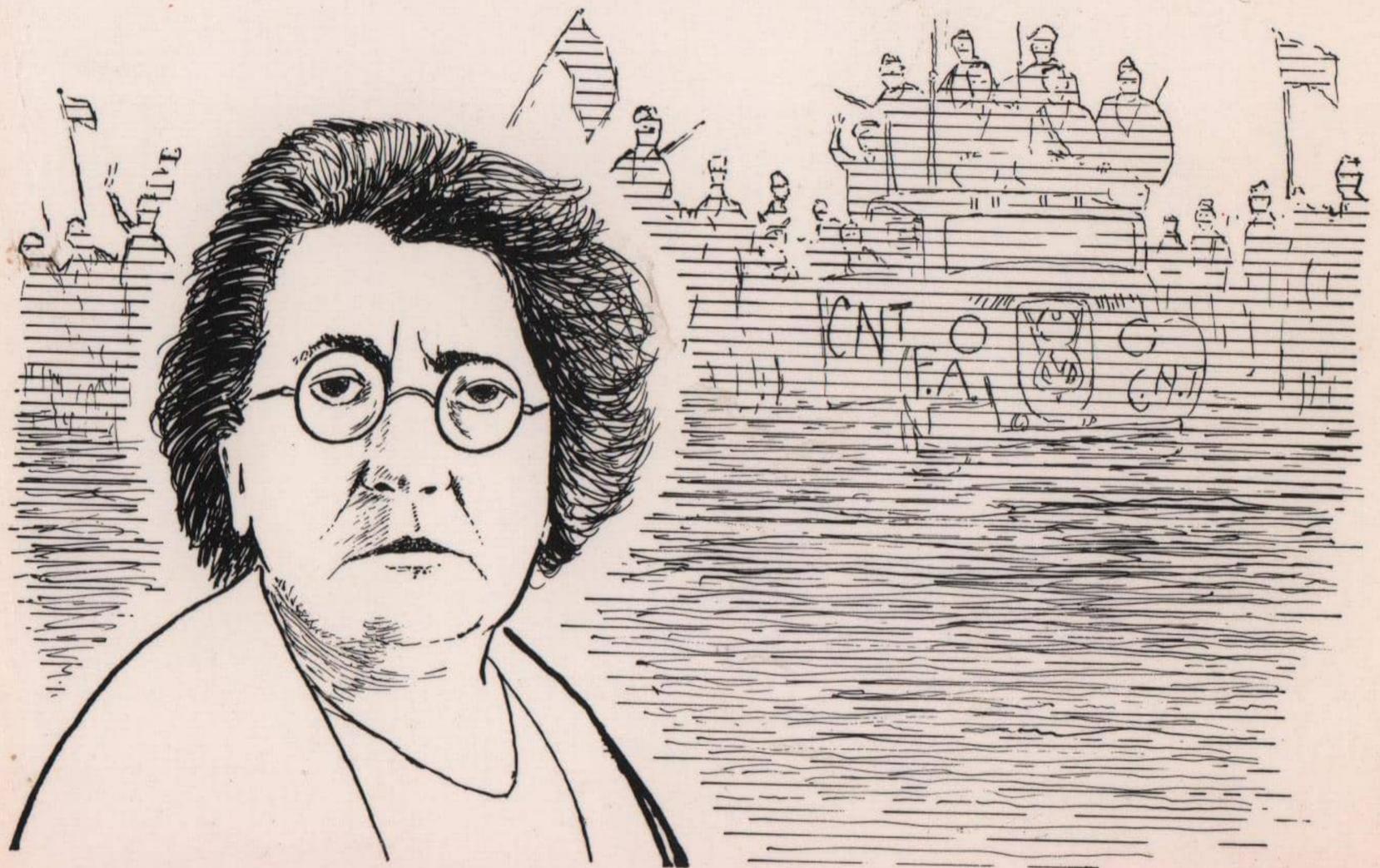


SPAIN

UNDER FRANCO AND AFTER

EMMA GOLDMAN

A VOICE FOR WOMEN?



THE RAVEN

**ANARCHIST
QUARTERLY**

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*José Peirats***Spanish Anarchism in Exile**

On 1st April 1939, having occupied Barcelona and Madrid, the headquarters of Generalissimo Franco issued the following communique: 'On this day, the Red's army having been defeated and disarmed, the Nationalist Army has reached its last military objectives. The war is over.'

During the war, Franco stated that he had a list containing the names of one million republicans subject to prosecution. Bishops and army officers were exulting in unison: 'You'll wish you were dead!' Once again, from the dark ages of humanity, resounded the barbaric: 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!' Military courts, with their retinue of spies and informers, went to work full speed ahead. Jails and convents overflowed with red prisoners and walls of cemeteries with fresh red blood.

Around half a million people (civilians, soldiers, old people, women and children) succeeded in reaching France where they filled concentration camps, beaches, hospitals and ... cemeteries. High political figures and top civil servants, along with ministers and union leaders, were the only ones provided with diplomatic passports and hence able to move about freely. Manuel Azaña, president of the Republic, resigned without transferring his powers. The government leader, Juan Negrin, who had left Spain in haste, even before the last shots had been fired, landed in the Toulouse airport, along with the communists' top army staff. They were there only to switch planes for a flight to Moscow.

Negrin took over sole management of the Spanish Republic funds. Spaniards who had been unable to leave the motherland could still hear Negrin's last orders: 'Fight! Fight to the finish!' Political factions and various committees sprang up everywhere in the narrow field of exile. Martinez Barrios, former president of the Spanish Republic, distributed the funds raised by the Committee on Spanish Aid of which he was chairman to various groups, then sailed to the USA, frightened by the dangers of impending World War Two.

The libertarian family in exile (CNT, FAI, FIJL) was moulded into the Libertarian Movement by Mariano Rodriguez Vasquez, secretary-general, and Germinal Esgleas, his assistant. The new movement was challenged by 'legitimists', 'pseudo-legitimists' and members of the Council of Defence for the last battle of Madrid. A small group who had managed to get to Paris loudly demanded a say in the proceedings, claiming to speak for the 26th Division, formerly the Durruti column. They were promptly disowned by its legitimate representatives who were confined to the concentration camp of Venet d'Ariège. One after the other, however, all the parties and organisations bowed to the chief treasurer, Juan Negrin, who, on his own initiative, created an organisation (SERE)¹ in order to help Republican refugees emigrate to the New World. The *Sinaya*, followed by the *Ipanema* sailed for Mexico that year. The Mexican president, Lazaro Cardenas, had opened his country's ports to all Republican soldiers as well as intellectuals.

Before World War Two stopped all departures, the following ships left Europe for the Americas: the *Sinaya*, the *Ipanema* and the *Mexique* to Vera-Cruz, Mexico. Later on, the *Winnipeg* sailed to Chile. Much later on, with the war already started, the *La Salle* and the *Cuba* sailed to the Dominican Republic. Unfortunately, these first sailings were administered by the communists to whom Negrin had given *carte blanche*. Negrin made sure that the CNT and Largo Caballero's Socialists would pay dearly for resisting him in the last days of the battle for Madrid as members of the Defence Council. The Mexican ambassador in Paris, Señor Bassols, and his representative at the various embarkation points, Señor Fernando Gamboa, carried out servilely the Kremlin's orders. The former granted or denied passports; the latter strictly screened passengers at points of sailing. The same procedure applied to sailings to Chile where Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet who eulogised Stalin, did the screening. Potential émigrés detained in concentration camps were first screened by Gamboa in the special camp of Agde. A second and final screening was performed by the inquisitor himself in the port of Pauillac, near Bordeaux. This was standard procedure for all departures.

(The author of this book was turned down by ambassador Bassols, but, due to an administrative error, he was sent, escorted by two *gendarmes*, to Pauillac. After a few days aboard the *Mexique*, he was cross-examined by Señor Gamboa, who made him disembark, along with 350 libertarians who were sent back to concentration camps. The poet Pablo Neruda also prevented him from sailing to Chile. He finally managed to cross the Atlantic on the *La Salle*.)

When the Second World War broke out in early September, the CNT was able to have more of its militants sail to the New World. As German

submarines began their ravages, candidates for departure became less numerous.

The libertarians also benefited from Indalencio Prieto's raid on Negrin's treasure aboard the yacht *Vita*.² The captured booty made it possible to increase non-communist departures. Many who had been rejected by Bassols were thus able to leave Europe before Hitler cut the Old continent from the New World.

With the Nazi occupation of Western Europe, the libertarian movement was now unable to keep meaningful contacts. The militants who remained in France would have to lay low until such time as the British and French armies could defeat the Nazis. To do so it was imperative that the USA enter the war. The pretext to do so was provided by Japan's attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbour.

After France fell to the onslaught of Hitler's tanks, Spanish refugees were able to leave the concentration camps. Many of them, however, did so only to find themselves in Nazi extermination camps.³ Those who had made the greatest sacrifices to fight fascism would be the last to savour victory, much later than the Germans and Italians responsible for the cataclysm, which had deprived the Spanish people of their freedom.

For five years Mexico was the capital of Iberian anarcho-syndicalism. In Mexico City, militants immediately organised a General Delegation of the CNT and, as militants spread out throughout the New World, from the USA to Uruguay, sub-delegations were created everywhere, each with its newspaper and journal. The first of these publications was the pre-eminent *Solidaridad Obrera*; the next to appear, also in Mexico City, was the journal *Estudios Sociales*, which was financed by the Panama sub-delegation. Other publications were *Tierra y Libertad*, which appeared both as a newspaper and as a journal, and, much later, *Comunidad Iberica*.

It was clear sailing until devastating and irrevocable divisions struck.

But let us dwell on more pleasant matters. In the Dominican Republic, stronghold of the dictator Leonidas Trujillo, the nucleus of Spanish libertarians which had been evacuated from France was second in size to Mexico's nucleus. Many of them members, fleeing the Dominican misery poverty, had succeeded in moving to Panama where they enjoyed a good economic situation. The small Panamanian nucleus in Panama did not content itself with its own good fortune. Full of true libertarian ideals, these libertarians established a solidarity fund to help their less fortunate comrades still in the Dominican hell to make their way to the mainland, some to Panama itself, others to Mexico. The last 'Dominicans' went to Venezuela, where a revolutionary transformation had slowly taken place. Those arriving in Panama were invited to join

the work of mutual aid as soon as they were able to do so. The first task was to financially support and to expand publication projects. This effort produced *Estudios Sociales*, published in Mexico City, and José Peirats' book *15 Conferencias Breves*, fifteen talks which the author had given at a Panamanian radio station.

We Spaniards have always been able to undertake beautiful projects, but have trouble leading them to fruition. In Mexico, many great things were accomplished up to 1942. It was then that a great wave slowly shook the whole movement throughout the continent. The calamitous political orientation taken by the CNT, the FAI and the FIJL in Spain in the fall of 1936 began to bear fruit. After the tragic finale of our civil war, few realised what the consequences of this orientation would be, immersed as they were in their immediate tragedy. But when life returned to normal the old demons reared their ugly heads. In the high plateaux of Mexico, when political forces began to reorganise, they did so along the well-worn paths. The arrival of Juan Garcia Oliver in Mexico strengthened the dissidents, followers of a document of which he was the author.

When leaving France for Scandinavia, Oliver had left behind an embryonic Workers Party (Partido Obrero del Trabajo, or POT). Upon being defeated in Mexico by those who wished to return to the confederalist policy established in 1910, 1919 and the 1936 congresses, the dissidents left the constituted General Delegation to establish their own national committee of the CNT in exile. Garcia Oliver became both its first Secretary General and director of its official Mexican CNT newspaper. Outside of Caracas, the scission had no grave consequences. But there, however, militants split into two evenly divided groups. This happened in 1946, just as it happened in Mexico three years earlier and in Paris just recently. José Peirats was named Secretary General for the non-dissidents in Caracas. He had just arrived from Panama where he had held the same position and supported the same principles. These were the same principles he had held in Spain.

In France, all tendencies maintained the positions they held in 1940 when Hitler's armies had smashed the Eastern Front. There was little change in military operations in North Africa and in the central Mediterranean before the spring of 1942. Then libertarians, both in France and in Spain, began to act. In France the ML (Movimiento Libertario) became quite active when the Allies landed in Normandy.

On 1st May 1945 in newly-liberated Paris, the first ML-CNT convention in France was held. There Juan M. Molina, 'Juanel', had to relinquish his post of Secretary General to Germinal Esgleas who represented the dominant tendency in France and in Mexico, as well as in other countries of exile. 'Juanel' for his part followed the majority sentiment, found

dominant in Spain once Hitler's star began to wane after the battle of Stalingrad when the Russian steamroller began its march and the Allies set in motion their pincer movement in North Africa, southern Italy and the north-west coast of France.

Franco's star also began to wane in official Spain and the regime began marking time. Underground opposition forces started to appear led by libertarians, despite the defeatist attitude of their leaders. Rank and file militants, the ones who had suffered from war and repression, had to lie low. It was the leaders who began to set a course of action; it was similar to the one followed in the civil war, with alliances and collaborations at all levels, even with communists.

The desire to renounce anarchists' principles was deeply ingrained in the minds of those militants who had suffered at the hands of Franco's regime, especially in those who had held positions of power in the government or army during the war. With the turn of events favouring democratic forms of government in the Western world, the vast majority of activists in Spain were inclined to go along with a philosophy of circumstantiality towards government which had impregnated the CNT and anarchism during the long and painful civil war.

Quite the opposite was true in France where the majority of the militants were looking at events through the rose-tinted optimistic glass. Here, the rank and file were dominant and were in no mood to allow the opportunistic attitude of their leaders to carry the day. This base wanted to start again and include in their ranks those who had abandoned the deadly quarrels from the fatal period of the First International.

The 1945 CNT convention swept away the theologians of political positivism, carrying with them in a stretcher 'charismatics' showing some signs of repentance. Such was the case of the former minister Federica Montseny and some councillors of the *Generalidad*, such as Germinal Esgleas, Valerio Mas and potential ministers like José Xena, now living in Venezuela, who had to conform to the wishes of the rank and file.

The scission which took place in Mexico in 1942 and the one being promoted by the die-hard advocates of governmental co-operation after the Paris convention, encouraged by the phoenix in Madrid, could have been decisive in changing the historical orientation of the CNT. In fact the nostalgics in neither Mexico nor in France held there on solid ground but on a temporary island left behind by a tidal wave which soon would sweep them away.

Franco and his Falangists were on pins and needles while the victorious democracies and the Soviet Union were deciding what to do with the little man in the Pardo. Once they decided that he should remain in power as long as he was useful to them, the phoenix in Madrid collapsed

and its peninsular eaglets went back to jails or underground for another thirty years.

Those exiled in France found again the hegemony mentioned above. The would-be government of Giral and the nostalgic faction which had brought about the scission of the MLE in France both felt the blow of the Russian and Anglo-American double cross. But the winning neo-charismatic group had no other choice than to set Bengal lights.

In 1947 the winners decided to hold an Intercontinental Conference in Toulouse. Its principal objective would be to create a committee charged to assure a close liaison between all the libertarian organisations in France, Great Britain, North Africa and America. The Conference was a failure. Only France, Great Britain, North Africa and Venezuela sent delegates. Other groups sent written reports. Following old customs, the Conference drafted declarations of principles and held a closing meeting, presided by Germinal Esgleas. The interveners were Delso de Miguel for Great Britain, Roque Santamaria for North Africa, José Peirats for America and Federica Montseny for France. Felipe Alaiz, the editor, provided an account of the proceedings in *CNT*.

One of the approved reported stated: 'Individual and collective freedom inherent in autonomy and functional federalism is incompatible with the political mechanism of the state and the politico-capitalist system; direct revolutionary action is the only tactic capable of defeating capitalism and the state. The ultimate goal of our movement is the creation of libertarian socialism without going through transition stages and without using tactics which conflict with its principles.'

Little was done at the Conference to co-ordinate the movements in Spain and in exile, even though, from the following year on, possibilities presented themselves which the Spanish CNT in France did not deign to explore. The 'nostalgics' who had brought about the scission and the opposing 'charismatics', sacrificed historical necessities to hurt feelings incurred in the heat of polemical clashes. No participant in the Conference dared to go beyond the formal agreements which were ratified in Toulouse.

The Conference limited itself to creating an Intercontinental Commission and a provisional Committee to deal with day to day business until such a time as a permanent commission could be created. Not until June 1947 did the provisional Committee make contacts with Spain when José Peirats made a secret trip to Madrid to participate in plenary sessions of the CNT and the FIJL. He also used this occasion to make contacts with the 'nostalgic' group in Madrid. He returned to France with an overall impression of the situation in Spain. The Second Congress of the MLE-CNT in France took place at the end of 1947. It

revised some decisions taken at the 1945 congress, declaring that those decisions had been responsible for the scission. It adopted a motion to publish a history of the CNT's contributions to revolutionary accomplishments during the civil war. A large delegation contingent from Spain participated in the congress's deliberations. José Peirats was named Secretary General of the MLE-CNT in France.

After the Convention the new Secretary quickly established an Intercontinental Commission whose Secretary General was Pedro Herrera, assisted by Roque Santamaria, Germinal Esgleas, Federica Montseny and a militant from Spain chosen from those who had been at the Congress. The new body examined in depth the urgent problem (i.e. the scission), the one that might prevent the resurgence of the CNT in Spain should the Falangist regime collapse. This study made, it was decided to explore reactions in the other camp through a questionnaire which the editors of the two major newspapers, *CNT* and *Solidaridad Obrera*, would be free to devise as they chose. This plan in place, we awaited the results. In this plan, the traditional principles and tactics were declared immutable in view of the fact that the nostalgics had abandoned the government of Señor Giral and that they were declining in number. There was also increased migration of Spanish refugees towards America, encouraged by such agencies as IRO (International Refugees Organisation), and set up by the leaders of the 'Free World'. In fact it was emigration towards Spain that should have been encouraged, despite the objections of those who had put down roots and found well-being in exile and whose children felt French rather than Spanish. Such a migration to Spain would have planted, at the very least, some seeds of the libertarian movement's fundamental principles. It was not a question of antagonising the established regime with violent and inappropriate attacks. Violent actions in Spain by somewhat suicidal, exiled individuals and groups were not well received there; indeed, they were often condemned because they justified savage reprisals by the police. The violent and uncontrolled actions were the work of individuals unable to do much else, those who would be a menace to the syndicalist movement should it ever return to Spain.

Violent activism not only provided the regime's sensationalist press with morbid news, but sent group after group of militants to jails and penitentiaries where solidarity organisations in exile were not able to provide proper aid. Yet, at meetings and assemblies outside of Spain, more and more financial contributions for the Spanish 'struggle' were requested by armchair activists and conspirators. This was true even after Franco's repressive machine had practically exterminated the last Mohicans operating in the cities and the mountains.

One of the shining lights in the selfless struggle was, among others, Pedro Mateu.⁴ In 1921 in Madrid, Mateu, along with Ramon Casanellas and Luis Nicolau, had assassinated the president of the Ministerial Council, Eduardo Dato Iradier, as a reprisal for 'white' terrorist murders. The three were not executed and when the Republic was proclaimed in 1931, Mateu and Nicolau were set free. Casanellas returned from Russia where he had sought asylum and had become a member of the Communist Party. He died shortly afterwards in a motorcycle accident.

In exile, Mateu did not change. He remained a top-notch mechanic, a solid and selfless militant with a ready smile on his face just as he had been in Spain. Under the Esgleas-Montseny leadership his responsibilities were with the struggle in Spain. His duties were the same on the Peirats team.

Peirats was eager to bring about the reunification of the MLE (Movimiento Libertario Español) in accordance with the decisions taken by the Intercontinental Conference. Keeping in mind the demoralised climate created by the Western democracies' flirtation with Franco, by the second migration towards America and the dropping of the Giral government by the nostalgics in exile and in Spain, the reasonable thing to do would have been to act or to let things stand, to remove obstacles facing the new executive. This, the powerful charismatic nucleus from Marseilles refused to do.

Peirats went to Spain to check the situation in Barcelona, the former 'fiery rose' of Iberian anarchism. A graveyard atmosphere prevailed there. His meeting with local militants did, in fact, take place in the graveyard of Berga, not far from Montserrat — the results were gratifying.

Back in France, his mission was severely criticised by the 'charismatics' who went so far as to accuse him of collaboration with the agents of Quintela, Franco's top cop in Barcelona.

Towards the end of the same year (1948) the Third Convention of the MLE-CNT took place in Toulouse. It approved the work done by the executive and re-appointed Peirats to another term. He refused to accept the post.

The following year, 1949, another CNT Intercontinental Executive in exile (one which had replaced the earlier National Committee) decided to (as had been decided in the 1947 Congress) undertake a history dealing with the revolutionary and constructive activities of the CNT during the civil war. This project had been proposed and adopted at the 1947 Congress.

Peirats was chosen to be the author and four years later *La CNT en la Revolucion Española* was published.

Early in 1951, since the budget allotted to the book's publication had run out, Peirats was obliged to resume the responsibilities of Secretary

General of the CNT. He then had two tasks: writing the book and the administrative work. About this time, he was arrested, along with Mateu and Pascual, both members of the executive committee. They were taken to Lyon under judicial warrant where, on the basis of absurd accusations, they were treated in a barbaric manner. Peirats and Mateu were held in isolation in Saint-Paul's jail, the very one which, roughly a century earlier, had held the anarchist scholar Peter Kropotkin, also falsely accused. As executives of the CNT, the two men were accused of a rather serious offence against property. Had they been found guilty of this accusation their sentence would have been very harsh and the CNT would have been outlawed.

But these accusations proved to be groundless. The defence was headed by the prestigious Parisian jurist team of Mr Henry Torrez, the same lawyer who, during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, had defended Durruti, Ascaso, Jover and the Catalan nationalist Macia. The witness for the prosecution had been roughed up by the police; later he retracted his accusation and confessed the truth. Some well-known men, such as the president of the Basques, José Antonio Aguirre, and the great French writer Albert Camus, took part on the side of the accused.

Speaking of this incident in his book *Jours de Gloire, Jours de Honte*, American writer David Wingeate Pike has this to say: 'Peirats was accused of having received and concealed a package containing six million stolen French francs. According to police sources, Peirats had confessed to having the package in his hands, claiming, however, that he did not know what it contained. There is no doubt that Peirats, a reserved and dignified man, was the victim of a frame-up'.

Many non-anarchists sprang to his defence, notably Georges Brutelle, assistant secretary of the Socialist Party, who, in *Combat's* pages denounced these police reprisals which were possibly carried out, he added, at Franco's request (*Combat*, Paris, 8th February 1951).

Jordi Arquer, of the POUM, wrote the following: 'Peirats became involved in this incident because of policemen who were members of the French Communist Party and who, after arresting him, beat him savagely in the Lyon jail'.

José Peirats was set free five months after his arrest; about a year later the case was dismissed, since the accuser had retracted his statement. Subject to house arrest after he was freed from jail, this too was eventually suspended.

Towards the end of 1951 the first volume of *La CNT en la Revolución Española* was published in Toulouse, followed two years later by the other two volumes of the collection. A second Spanish edition was published in Paris in 1971 and an Italian edition was published in Milan in 1977.

Not until 1960, at a Congress in Limoges, was the confederal scission settled. On this occasion Federica Montseny offered the biting commentary: 'They've yanked the bull's balls!' However, the following year, 1961, another congress, also in Limoges, ratified the unification. 'Charismatics' from Provence walked out of the congress hall in an effort to stop the agreement.

Reunification should have occurred much earlier. Militants had grown older; some had died and others decided to enjoy their retirement years with their grandchildren. Militants' children felt no nostalgia for a foreign country called Spain, whose language they spoke with difficulty. The situation was much the same inside Spain. But the 'little old guys' continued to fight their 'little war'. From their prisons and their retirement homes, to the extent that their rheumatisms permitted it, they played around with ostracism and expulsions. After Franco's death, how many Guelphs or Ghibellines returned to Spain? A three act drama, seemingly full of promise but in fact very misleading, was played out there. Act I took place in the San Sebastian de los Reyes bull-fighting arena in Madrid to a full house where a biting poster at the door stated: 'Fire at will at the leader!' A little later, Act II took place in Valencia, where in the arena overflowing with people one of the speakers stated: 'What frightens me in your massive presence is not your 'long live' or 'death to ...' but what may occur in the future: quarrels, bloodbaths, scissions'.⁵

Act III took place in Barcelona, but not in the *Monumental Plaza de Toros* (bullring), where in the past Federica Montseny had offered the prediction that, when the time came, the dead would arise from their graves. Some, the optimists, estimating the crowd at three hundred thousand, claimed that her prediction had come true. The pessimists replied: 'A pitiful flash in the pan!' 'There goes Spain between a spasm and abulia!' would have said Ganivet, without bothering to rise from the dead. There was at one time, in a Spain swinging between progress and decadence, a thread linking generations, fathers to sons, individuals and families, clans and dynasties — a thread which allowed traumas to be forgotten. The thread did not follow a straight course, but a course nevertheless, particularly throughout the tumultuous nineteenth century. At that time it seemed that *homo hispanico* was about to assume control of his genealogical tree. But he failed to do so. Races and civilisations began prowling and clashing in the nation's entrails. Anarchism, one of Spain's popular manifestations, could not be an exception. The patched-up rope which held the Regional Spanish Federation together from 1870 to 1910 and from 1910 to 1939 when the civil war ended tragically, was vacillating wildly like the lines of a cardiogram. Franco

and franquism came and went, and in December 1979, the true test of fire came in the *Casa de Campo de Madrid* — the National Congress of the CNT was attempting to get things moving again.

This convention was a long time in coming. Four years were spent in preparing the ground; it had been 43 years since the last one held in Zaragoza just before the start of the civil war. After all that time and we still hadn't learned a thing! A real disaster: a clear split! But what else could have happened? Few militants had lived through the previous split. The 1923-1930 interlude, although it seemed to last a century, lasted only seven years. During that period a new generation, the one that fought the revolution and the civil war, had come into being. It did not, however, come out of nowhere. We were assisted by a remarkable group of leaders: Salvador Seguí, Angel Pestaña, Eluterio Quintanilla, Juan Peiro, Eusebio C. Carbo, Manuel Buenacasa ... and by a multitude of militants at intermediary levels who kept unions running through factory committees or from the upper echelons, who organised and took care of basic or intermediary activities, much like in an ant-hill. We were an anonymous, nameless lot, without a police record. We were militants who never spoke up at plenary meetings and only briefly at local assemblies, always on concrete questions, almost never on theoretical problems or philosophic abstractions. But we knew thoroughly the technical aspects of our own industries and were able to make demands and to hold our own with the owners, or with the government should the conflict go beyond the dialectical stage and become a judicial or a public issue. We were also able to consult with lawyers and to assist them in defending or manifesting our solidarity with comrades who had been incarcerated.

All these activities required a great deal of preparation and the existence of competent organisations and able men, experts in their field, courageous and often bold. They were needed to fight the social war imposed on us by the close collaboration between owners and police forces when the struggle moved away from the bargaining table, or when it became necessary to take it from the domain of public confrontation to violent revolutionary action. Our activities had created a collective way of life, a small traditional civilisation which could be disrupted but not broken. The civil war, with its huge movement of people from one region to another, shook it violently. The disrupting invaders, and the misery they created, uprooted this collective way of life, displacing it and mixing people, especially in areas which were heavily populated. The countryside moved to the city; Spaniards grew taller but their minds shrank. Major cities like Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia lost their historical significance. The human reserves in exile could not counter-balance the wave of degeneration brought by modern life, and by World

War Two, as it had done successfully after World War One. It was even less able to overcome the moral decay brought by the Falangists to a society's most vital areas: children, youth and women. Perhaps the exiles' heritage might have been able to save itself in 1945, but Washington's and Moscow's vile and sordid pragmatism, together with the mental deprivation of exile itself, made this impossible. All these factors made regeneration impossible. The attempt to start again, costly and indeed dramatic, burst away all the stitches on the wound. Forever? Only time will tell.

Vall de Uxo, May, 1988

1. This body was constituted in Paris in late March 1939. It was under the control of Negrin. At least three definitions of this acronym can be found in its own documents: Servicio de Evacuacion de Refugiados Españoles (Evacuation Service for Spanish Refugees), Servicio de Evacuacion de Republicanos Españoles (Evacuation Service for Spanish Republicans) and Servicio de Emigracion de Republicanos Españoles (Emigration Service for Spanish Republicans).
2. So called Negrin's Yacht (Yate de Negrin). Prieto went on to create JARE, Junta de Auxilio a los Republicanos Españoles (Junta of Assistance to Spanish Republicans).
3. After the surrender and capitulation of the French Army in June 1940, the situation of the Spanish refugees became extremely difficult. Round-ups were frequent and the arrested forcibly enrolled in *Foreign Workers Companies* under military command. Many with the Organisation Todt were forced to build the Atlantic Wall and deportations to German concentration camps were persistent. It was almost impossible to escape the grip of the Germans who were assisted by the French police. Those who could joined the Maquis or found a way to go underground. Some even crossed the Pyrenees into Spain hoping to keep the fight going, even though they knew that prosecution, prison or death by firing squad was awaiting them.
At Mauthausen Concentration Camp alone 7,000 Spaniards perished.
In the Cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris, we can see the monument erected to the memory of 'ten thousand Spanish Republicans who died in deportation' and 'twenty five thousand who died fighting with the Allied troops, the Maquis or executed'.
4. Pedro Mateu Cusidó was born in April 1897 at Valls, Tarragona. He died in November 1980 at Cordes, Tarn, France. He was 83 years old.
5. These were Peirats' words.

*Les Amis de la CNT (AIT)**

Which way forward for the CNT?

Introduction

The aim of this article is to bring to the attention of those who are in sympathy with libertarian ideas the recent history of the CNT.

The organisation is the inheritor of an old workers' tradition, anarcho-syndicalism, which constitutes a radical critic of capitalism and bureaucratic state despotism.

In contrast with corporatist syndicalism, anarcho-syndicalism does not only result from the self-defence needs of certain categories of workers which are influenced by malfunctionings of capitalist economics. Like the anarchism which inspires it, anarcho-syndicalism is made up of the trans-historical and permanent elements of a social theory.

The members of CNT refuse to be the mouthpiece of any elitist party or group whatsoever. They are fighting bureaucratic tendencies which may exist in their organisation by direct participation, federalism, recall of delegates and specific mandates to congress delegates.

Currently Spanish anarcho-syndicalism is undergoing a crisis, the members of one group have split away and are trying to seize control of the name and assets of the CNT. This group is distancing itself more and more from anarcho-syndicalism, which had paid officials, whose structure tends toward centralism ... has seduced, for reasons which remain unexpressed, groups and individuals who make claim to libertarian ideas. These latter, rather than by publicly expressing their opinion, duck the issue, and talk of the breakaway group as though it alone existed¹ 'forgetting' to explain that the CNT designates *two* distinct organisations.

To make things clear from the beginning in the article, we have decided to give the name CNT or CNT (AIT) to that organisation whose

* This is an edited translation by Neil Birrell of a 22-page pamphlet published in Lausanne, 1988, with the title *Où va la CNT?*

current national secretary is José Luis Garcia Rúa and call the breakaway group the 'reconstituted CNT', the group managed by José March Jou.

This is not a neutral choice, but at least it is clear. We aim to explain and justify the position of the CNT. Those who wish to hear the other story can listen to others.

The name CNT today is in the hands of Spanish 'justice' which must decide the outcome.

We side with those who have little faith in such justice, because we know that, even if today Spain is a so-called democratic country, in many fields the old Francoist ideas still hold good. For example, every year Amnesty International publishes critical reports about Spanish police torture, particularly directed at those detained under anti-terrorist laws, which allow for the detention without outside contact for ten days.

Among other 'cock-ups' there is the case of 'el Nani' which has given rise to a trial this spring. This person, detained under anti-terrorist laws when accused of raiding a jewellers, mysteriously disappeared in police hands in November 1983. It is likely that he went the same way as A. Rueda,² killed under torture — the dark history of Spain's security forces has yet to be written.

As far as justice is concerned, recent cases show the attitude of the court when anarcho-syndicalists are involved. In July 1988 two members of the CNT in Sarragossa were condemned to four months in prison for blasphemy. The first was sentenced for seeking permission for an atheist demonstration (which was granted!) in which he did not participate. He was responsible for those demonstrators who were carrying banners with slogans like 'God is Sex, Drugs and Rock n' Roll'. The other was found guilty of shouted blasphemous statements. The sentencing shows 'that these statements are directed against a religious grouping ... mocking its symbols which are the most cherished of the Aragonese people in general'.³

Such punishment is all the more shocking when we know that two far-right activists who stabbed to death Jorge Caballero, a member of the Madrid CNT, received a fine of some 50,000 pesetas having been condemned for 'public disorder'.⁴

Spanish justice knows only too well how to recognise its friends and enemies, which is why we mention it in the debate between the CNT and the 'reconstituted CNT' and why we must put the debate in the current political and economic context.

In the first place, we must take note that the PSOE (Socialist) which has been in power since 1982 serves capitalist interests.

Here is now one of its left wing representatives, Pablo Castellano, described recently the evolution of his party: 'The PSOE has undergone

the same evolution as other social democratic parties, from a Marxist to a moderate form of social liberalism ... Currently the PSOE is pursuing 'Felipismo' (named after Gonzalez). 'Felipismo' is a curious phenomenon, a mixture of economic liberalism, populist politics and leninist organisational tendencies ... Its populist and liberal approach has appealed to new and traditional bourgeoisie'.⁵

The economic policies of the PSOE has allowed Spanish industry to modernise and raise productivity. Numerous businesses and banks have grown fat, but the social cost is high. There are more than 3,000,000 registered unemployed, of whom only a quarter receive benefit.

Workers in the 'black' economy number some 2,000,000 and workers on temporary contracts represent 21% of the workforce, about double the European average.

From the perspective of the single market the process of adjustment continues. One of the main objectives is lowering inflation. This can be achieved by reducing internal demand. Salary increases are sacrificed and taxation increased. To reach flexible employment is also an important objective.

Up until now the government has been able to depend on the support of the 'majority' unions. The UGT (Socialist) and CCOO (Communist led) have shown their 'reasonableness' and have successfully controlled the workers' struggle. However, they may not call the tune forever. Only 11% of Spaniards belong to a union, and the bureaucracy, dependency on negotiations with the bosses without consulting the rank and file, progressively helps them lose credibility.

The existence of a libertarian workers' tradition, since it offers an alternative, is a threat to the establishment.

We believe that the 'reconstituted CNT' is a pawn in this game being played by the PSOE which aims at preventing the re-emergence of a revolutionary workers' organisation and that by following in the wake of the CCOO in seemingly radical campaigns it fails to question capitalist logic.

To control workers' discontent the authorities want people in front of them with whom they can play the institutional game. This is why they encourage the 'reconstituted CNT', to whom they have given property and indeed a deserted village in Huesca.

In effect the authorities wish to see the 'reconstituted CNT' replace the CNT.

The CNT has been the victim of an orchestrated campaign. However, it is still capable of a high degree of mobilisation. Note the demonstration on 1st May 1988 when some 35-45,000 came out all over Spain. Note its decisive intervention in the education strike this spring. Note

the campaign of the ship builders in Puerto Real in 1987 where it proved itself capable of bringing the struggle to a whole region.

Whilst participating in such struggles, the CNT has been fighting to keep its identity. The CNT has never shoved the issue under the carpet. Despite the complexity of the situation, the CNT has attempted to inform libertarians and the Spanish public of the division among the anarcho-syndicalists. Such is not the way with the 'reconstituted CNT'.

The CNT in 'democratic' Spain

Even before its legalisation, the CNT organised an important meeting on 27th March 1977 just outside Madrid where 30,000 turned up. This meeting had enormous repercussions, with *El País* carrying the headline the following day: 'Anarchist Libertarianism reappears in Spain'.

The 7th May that same year, following a law passed in April the CNT was legalised. During this period it participated in numerous struggles and its influence spread, as shown by the huge meeting in Montjuich, Barcelona, where 150,000 to 300,000 were estimated to have attended. Libertarian days from 22nd to 25th July 1977 were attended by about 600,000 people.

There were many demonstrations that year, along with strikes and other actions, but an end was put to all that by the Moncloa Pact. This social contract, signed by all political parties, saw the unions accept an austerity programme limiting salaries.

This situation could have proved fruitful to those who were rejecting the capitalist logic, but rather is the period marked by stagnation for the CNT.

This can be explained in several ways. We raise three issues: provocation, internal differences and union elections.

Provocation

The most serious example is that of Scala. On 15th January 1978, shortly after a demonstration against the Moncloa Pact organised by the Barcelona CNT with some 15,000 participants, Molotov cocktails were thrown at the Municipal Theatre. Four workers died in the ensuing fire. Some very young members of the CNT were arrested and charged. Meanwhile, one of the main culprits, Gambin, a police informer, did not appear in court.

The affair allowed the CNT to be passed off as a terrorist organisation. Some members took fright and left.

Libertarians have found no shelter from injustice. Anarcho-syndicalists have been imprisoned for a few days or months for basic militant activities.

Internal divisions

It would take too long to discuss all the different tendencies of the 1970s: 'Pasotism' which drew a delinquent membership, the 'Integralists' calling for involvement in spheres other than those industrial, 'Councilism' which aimed to give privilege to work-based structures to the detriment of the national structure, etc.

These were grave problems for the CNT as a mixed bunch of Marxists, Maoists and 'Anarcho-Bolsheviks' were trying to take over the CNT's space, but who rejected the principles of anarcho-syndicalism. They tried to exploit the wave of change as it went through the movement. This crew worked on two levels: firstly by setting up a parallel organisation within the CNT, bringing together malcontents. Secondly by trying to take over posts of responsibility and press organisation.

It should be noted that this is against the principles of the CNT which forbids members of other organisations from holding positions of responsibility. Members of local, regional and national secretariats were expelled for not respecting the rules.

The 'parallels' made a scapegoat of the FAI, whose influence was minimal, accusing the 'historic wing' in their turn of manipulating the organisation.

December 1979 — the split

The first rupture occurred at the 5th Congress in December 1979. A small minority, 52 out of 500, denounced the Congress. They accused the majority of violence and of not listening to dissenting views. Contrary to their aspirations, they failed to convince or manipulate the organisation's base which Juan Gomez Casas⁶ has called the 'anarcho-syndicalists' block'.

The breakaways set up from scratch a new CNT which reflected their hopes, the 'reconstituted CNT' or the Valencia Congress group, with all the implicit problems for two organisations with the same name. The new organisation was immediately recognised by the Ministry for Employment, which was so pleased with this division of anarcho-syndicalists.

The 'reconstituted CNT' produced papers whose titles and typography mimicked those used by the CNT, which added to the confusion. These events brought about a drop in membership. However, the breakaway grouping may have fizzled out if the new divergences had not appeared as a consequence at the heart of the CNT.

The problem of trade union elections

From the end of 1977, the Spanish ruling class undertook to put into effect the integration of the Spanish working class. They aimed to introduce parliamentarism by means of union elections.

All workers in companies of more than ten workers must elect delegates; up to fifty workers, one delegate; over fifty sees the election of a company committee. Members of such committees are entitled to 15-40 hours per month free from work in order to carry out their mandate. They also benefit from more job security.

Delegates are agents of social peace, their task to circulate information between workers and bosses and to negotiate collectively when there is conflict. They are considered the legitimate union representatives. At its 5th Congress, the CNT declared its opposition to participating in the elections because such means of representation are so contrary to its principles.

In contrast with this form of 'syndicalism', the CNT, which leans on constitutional safeguards recognising trade union freedoms, has set up union branches in businesses — the other unions can do the same! These organisations which bring together CNT members are permanent organisations which meet on a regular basis within the framework of the business. When there is conflict, the CNT calls for general assemblies bringing together unionists and non-unionists and setting up strike committees subject to instant recall at all times.

This question of union elections doesn't seem to be at the root of the split, yet at their first congress in Valencia in 1980 the 'reconstituted CNT' decided to participate whilst all the time stating their opposition in principle. This was the start of double-talk and ... integration.

The system of union elections obviously aims to marginalise the most militant unionists of the CNT.

The CNT's national secretary at the head of the second split

What is surprising is that one of the first to question the principle of abstention was the CNT's national secretary, José Bondia, in the journal *Polemica* in June 1982. As a representative of the movement with a public face, Bondia was bound to defend the decisions of the previous congress. Was it a sudden conversion or a well thought out plan? We shall probably never know. Bondia from then onwards abused his position to defend his personal opinions.

In the same interview, he declared that the CNT had no intention of reuniting with the breakaway group, being convinced that they were being manipulated. However, he went on to join the breakaway group after having been stripped of his responsibilities at the 6th Congress in January 1983 and finding himself in a minority over union elections at the Extraordinary Congress in Torrejon de Ardoz in April 1993.

This episode is typical of the period. Other individuals struggled to gain influence. They failed because these 'leaders' failed to realise that in

an anarcho-syndicalist organisation the real protagonists are the grass-roots members and that in a majority they were opposed to the reformist route. At the April Congress 1983, the majority decided that the organisation would no longer participate in union elections and called on those members who had been elected to resign. The branch in the banks, some of those involved in Barcelona's transport and a number of individual members were expelled. This group went on to work with their old enemy and a new stage: a 'reunification' congress.

The 'Reunification' Congress June 1984

A strange event. Members of the CNT who attempted to attend and denounce the trickery and say that they would reunite with nobody, were greeted by police, who even controlled invitations at the entrance to the Madrid building.

The congress enjoyed a lot of media coverage. Leaning on their former positions as national and regional secretaries of the Catalan CNT, Bondia and José March declared on the airwaves and in the newspapers that they were the only legitimate representatives of the CNT.

The battle for a name

It would be interesting to look more closely at the role of the media in the battle between the two CNTs. The 'reconstituted CNT', previously the Valencia Congress CNT in the press, became simply the CNT. The real CNT first was denounced as the 'historic section' and later referred to as CNT-AIT.

Still today you have to be in the know to realise which organisation is being referred to. Some seem interested in playing up the ambiguity. In general the CNT has been the victim of a press boycott. Given the way the 'reconstituted CNT' played up to the establishment, the CNT should have crumbled.

The battle over a name was not just symbolic. Since its re-emergence the CNT tried to get back its property from the old régime. Militants sought out documents demonstrating the legitimacy of their claims and occupied disputed buildings, from which they were ejected by the police. The CNT proposed that these assets be made available not only to workers' associations but also to social organisations and co-operatives, etc. But the government decided to split the assets on the basis of the union results, which led the CNT to ask if the assets would be redistributed after every election and what the abstentionists would get. In order to recover its dues the CNT was forced to turn to legal action. Meanwhile, since 1981 the breakaways have tried legally to lay claim to the name CNT.

The trials

Faced with these problems the CNT had to enter enemy territory — the judicial process and the paradox of bourgeois justice — to resolve a conflict between two libertarian organisations.

We will skip the detail, but suffice it to be known that on 12th December 1987 the Madrid Court denied any legitimacy to the CNT 'Valencian Congress' resulting from the scission of December 1979. On the other hand the congress described as 'of reunification' of June 1984, which links the fusion of that group with the people who followed J. Bondia, is recognised as legitimate, on the grounds that it had brought together a 'majority of syndicates'; let it not be forgotten that only three signatures are required to create a syndicate!

This judgement contained many contradictions. How can a group which has no legal existence fuse with another? How can a congress take place without the authorisation of the previous congress?

More stages in this legal process are to take place (see Neil Birrell's article for update).

Workers struggles

The example of Puerto Real

In Puerto Real the CNT proved itself capable of playing a determining role in a workers' struggle without being members of a union committee. During this struggle members of the CNT union sections suggested various forms of direct action.

These forms of struggle had been used by the majority of the workers. This frontal attack on the economic and political system was a fundamental lesson for the workers and local population. Despite the police repression, the movement developed. Women and young people were mobilised in turn and a local general strike took place, supported by a demonstration of some 15,000 (the regional population being 20,000).

Pepe Gomez, a worker at the dockyards, says clearly: 'Our demands are clear: *work*. Our alternatives as well: *social transformation*. There are no solutions in re-conversion within the system, only chicken feed (give work to the dock workers, create alternative jobs, reduce the working day, etc.) the government is well familiar with all these. The question is straightforward: either we seek a solution in favour of the workers or one that follows the interests of capital ... One thing we cannot forget is that when the CNT acts in its own way ... it creates around itself a current of sympathy and great hope, which can and must be transformed into members and militants working for the workers. Every day we are more convinced that we must promote our union sections ... and that we must

destroy the official committees which are the structures which divide the workers'.⁷

The struggle at Puerto Real ended in compromise, but it was not a defeat in the way that similar campaigns were where the CNT were in a minority position. For example, in Euskalduna the workers ended up voting for the closure by referendum!

CNT militants have shown in Puerto Real that only the CNT works outside the institutional set-up.

The banking sector

A more recent example shows the validity of the CNT's position: the banks. An agreement was negotiated with the employers allowing the introduction of 'flexibility'. The plan was to put to the vote with the 'reconstituted CNT' voting 'No' (40%), the 'Yes' votes 39% and CNT supported abstentionalists (20%). So what happens? The establishment unions sign a new agreement which is worse in some respects than the original which lost the vote.⁸

Education strike

This campaign was led by the UGT and CCOO. Strike action at first intermittent, and then total, was taken by some 250,000 teachers. Demands were not only related to pay but also school organisation and the quality of teaching.

Firstly in Catalonia but later throughout, the movement took a mass-movement approach. The CNT, 'reconstituted CNT', STEC and independents tried to set up strike committees elected openly in all regions against the wishes of the establishment unions.

This position was triumphant in Barcelona, Madrid, the Asturias and the Canary Isles. However, the representatives elected to the strike committees were never invited to consult with the education ministry. When the movement was at its highest the main unions (excepting the CCOO) negotiated a small salary increase and called for a return to work and a referendum to validate the deal. The rest called for the struggle to continue. 80% refused the deal.

The CCOO position was opportunistic. As soon as they saw themselves about to be out-manoeuvred they revoked their call for strike action. Meanwhile in Barcelona two teachers from the CNT had been elected by general assemblies to the national strike committee in Madrid. The CCOO preferred defeat to losing control.

CCOO members took part in exam supervision due to the worries of some parents, but at the same time removing the only strike weapon available before the summer holidays.

Union elections at seat

At the end of May 1988 the union committee was to be elected by ballot. The 'reconstituted CNT' got a relative majority, 17 out of 53 delegates. The CCOO only got 15, the UGT 16.

This is symbolic given the importance of SEAT, and revelatory of the government's plan to use the 'reconstituted CNT' to institutionalise radicalism. The state and employers also gain from a movement split three ways.

What room for manoeuvre do the 'reconstituted CNT' have at SEAT today? Are they not committed to ever-changing alliances with the establishment unions taking a free ride to regaining their revolutionary purity. The 'reconstituted CNT' representatives insist they are 'serious and responsible' and 'no longer throw bombs and threaten people'⁹ thus repeating an old bourgeois accusation (see La Scala above).

Those elected from the 'reconstituted CNT' insist on being informed of the firms' industrial plans — to see if their workers can get a bigger slice of the cake. Radical reformism, maybe, but still reformism. At no time did they question capitalist logic. They seem light years away from the idea that they are producing polluting automobiles.

1. See, for example, *Confrontation* (1), Lauserne, May 1988.
2. *El País*, 10th February 1988.
3. *El País*, 13th July 1988.
4. *CNT* no. 94, February 1988.
5. *Libération*, 20th March 1987.
6. *Relanzamiento de la CNT 1975-79*, Ed. by CNT, Paris, 1984.
7. *Solidaridad Obrera* no. 183, June 1987.
8. For more see *CNT* no. 97, June-July 1988, page 7.
9. *El País*, 24th July 1988.

Mike Long

Mondragón in review

Economics and anarchist practice

With one or two exceptions, modern anarchist publications devote scant attention to economics, and theoreticians have few practical examples to write about. Western history — mostly European and North American, mostly by and about white males — simply provides only limited evidence that anarchist economic principles work. There has been a range of briefly successful efforts in the past, including IWW co-operatives in Seattle from 1919-1921 (Frank, 1991; O'Connor, 1981) and agricultural and factory collectives in the Spanish Civil War (Dolgoff, 1974; Leval, 1975; Mintz, 1982; Richards, 1983; Souchy Bauer, 1982). The problem is that, while the courage and efficiency of the Wobblies and Spanish comrades under extremely adverse conditions remain an inspiration, violent repression by the US government, and by the Soviets and European fascists, respectively, prevented those and other experiments from lasting long enough to become serious tests of anarcho-syndicalist practice. Today there are bookstores, print-shops, cafés, bakeries, recycling operations, building co-operatives, newspapers, radio stations and even a tug-boat run on anarchist principles (Fitz and Roediger, 1990; Krimerman and Lindenfield, 1992; issues of the IWW's monthly *Industrial Worker*). Most of the current examples, however, concern relatively minor industries and, while important as models and for the workers involved, are too small-scale and as yet too short-lived to convince sceptics. Small-scale operations may be environmentally friendly, but something more substantial is required if, as envisaged by Purchase (1990, 1993), environmentally aware industrial unions are to perceive anarchism as relevant for large, complex communities, such as federations of autonomous cities ecologically integrated with their surrounding bio-regions.

The need for examples is shown by the fact that even insightful thinkers, such as Bookchin, can seriously maintain (e.g. in *The Modern Crisis*) that 'counterculture' groupings, such as alternative organisations, technologies,

periodicals, food co-operatives and health and women's centres. can replace mass working class organisations in the fight against modern capitalist or authoritarian social states. Class issues and industrial unions, which Bookchin (1993 and elsewhere) views as anachronistic, are still critical for the vast majority of the world's population. Smokestacks may be less common than ski-slopes in rural Vermont, but there are sweat-shops, child labour, heavy industry and mines aplenty in other parts of the US and in the Third World, where First World corporations have fled precisely to avoid organised workers. One wonders how 'counterculture' groups would fare against Hyundai and the South Korean riot police, the armed goons of US agribusiness in the Philippines and Central America, Chinese tanks in Tiananmen Square, or Peruvian state terrorism and the bombs of Sendero Luminoso.

No doubt more evidence lies in yet-to-be-written (or perhaps just better publicised) studies of the indigenous peoples of Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific (e.g. Barclay, 1989, 1990, 1992; Flanigan, 1989), especially in their practices before the genocidal and cultural savagery they suffered at the hands of European colonisers, as well as in descriptions of 'incidental' anarchist groups (e.g. Ward, 1992). However, even if actual aid come naturally, as many anarchists believe, the fact that for some generations the world has experienced little but feudalism, Marxist-Leninism, fascism and capitalism means that vast numbers of people today know little or nothing of co-operative, non-authoritarian systems of organisation. They will need lots of education, and they will want to see examples of such systems in practice. Worker-owned and controlled co-ops and co-op federations are not the only option, but they are one of the most viable. For this reason, while by no means purely or explicitly anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist, the Mondragón federation of co-operatives, centred in the Basque region of north eastern Spain and recently spread to other parts of the country, is very important. To my knowledge, the Mondragón co-ops are of a scale, longevity and (overall) level of success unmatched today. They have been written about and received considerable attention in many countries, and are described sympathetically in two recent books in English by Roy Morrison* and by William Foote Whyte and Kathleen King Whyte. What follows is a combined

* Roy Morrison, *We build the road as we travel: Mondragón, a co-operative system* (Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1991. x, 276 pages, \$16.95, paperback).

William Foote Whyte and Kathleen King Whyte, *Making Mondragón: the growth and dynamics of the worker co-operative complex* (second edition, revised, Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 1991. xiv, 335 pages, \$16.95, paperback).

review of the books and, at the risk of impertinence, of the Mondragón project itself.

The Mondragón co-ops

Co-operatives take many forms, most having nothing to do with anarchism. Melnyk (1985) distinguishes four basic types, each with several variants. The most familiar to 'Westerners' are *liberal-democratic* in ideology, usually consumer co-ops, such as credit unions and food stores, run as voluntary, non-profit, politically neutral ventures, operating all too comfortably within capitalist societies. While potentially progressive (see Cahill, 1989), they often deteriorate into small-scale businesses run on capitalist lines but with cheaper prices for members, thereby helping to perpetuate the system, not change it. The second, *Marxist-Leninist*, form, which includes PRC communes, Soviet *kolkhoz* and Yugoslav workers' self-management, has predominated in the 'East' for several decades. These are state-run, non-voluntary, producer and consumer co-ops, with the collective farm the most vilified by nervous capitalist critics. The third, *communalist*, type includes everything from short-lived 'hippy' communes of the 1960s to long-running ventures by isolationist groups, often religious, often based on farming, and often very successful, such as New Harmony and numerous Hutterite and Benedictine communities. Finally, there are (non-Marxist-Leninist) *socialist* co-ops of various kinds, including Israeli *Kibbutz*, Tanzanian *ujamaa* villages, and the co-ops of Mondragón. It is this fourth category that comes closest to anarchist principles. In theory, at least, co-ops of this type involve both production and consumption, reject private property, are voluntary, egalitarian, worker-owned and controlled, non-hierarchical and non-isolationist. Far from being politically neutral, they have potential both as a means to an end — building blocks of a 'revolutionary transfer culture' (Erlich, 1982) — and as models of important parts of the social system.

Mondragón, a town of 30,000 south-east of Bilbao in Guipúzcoa, is the centre of what is probably one of the largest and most successful examples of a voluntary co-operative society. As Morrison recounts, the story began in 1941, when José María Arizmendiarieta (1915-1976), a progressive Catholic priest (perhaps not an oxymoron in this case), was assigned by the church to Mondragón, known in Basque as Arrasate, then with a population of 8,000. Arizmendiarieta had worked as a journalist for the Republican side during the war and was imprisoned by Franco for a months afterwards, narrowly escaping execution. He had read Maritain, Mounier, Ferrer, Freire, Marx, Lenin and Mao, among others. A pragmatist, he repudiated violence and establishment politics,

believed in education and work as means of achieving social change, justice and community, but always welcomed collaboration from private business and government. He saw revolution as a gradual process, constantly in need of self-criticism and evaluation, whose aim was dynamic equilibrium. He spoke and wrote of a 'third way of development equidistant from individualistic capitalism and soulless collectivism. Its centre and axis is the human person in his or her social context' (Azurmendi, 1984, p. 777, cited in Whyte and Whyte, p. 253). In 1943, with community backing and small cash contributions, he started a community-run school for industrial apprentices with twenty pupils. Between 1943 and 1988, that school grew into a comprehensive set of educational co-ops with about 45,000 students enrolled in everything from elementary schools to a university.

By 1952, a small group from the first student cohort had gone on to graduate in engineering from the University of Zaragoza. After working briefly for the local Unión Cerrajera steel mill, five of them raised about \$100,000 from 100 Mondragón residents to buy a small bankrupt factory near Vitoria which had a licence to manufacture paraffin stoves. This first co-op was named Ulgor, combining the first letters of their five names. In 1956 it moved to Mondragón with 24 workers making Aladdin stoves. Business was good. By 1958 there were 149 workers, and Ulgor bought an existing foundry and casting shop to become independent of outside suppliers (these became part of a separate co-op, Ederlan, in 1965). Inspired by Ulgor's success, other co-ops started up in surrounding towns in the late 1950s and early 1960s, doing such work as forging and casting. There were 27 co-ops and 2,620 owner-workers by 1964. They included a retail co-op that would develop into the present-day Eroski supermarket chain, which by 1988 had stores throughout the Basque region and employed about 1,400 people.

The Mondragón co-ops' expansion was initially slowed by scepticism on the part of capitalist lending institutions and by hostile Spanish laws that made investment by outsiders difficult (a blessing in disguise) and excluded co-op workers from the social security system. Arizmendiarieta's and the co-op workers' response, and perhaps their most far-sighted economic action, was to open their own working people's bank, the Caja Laboral Popular, in 1959, the banking division of which functions today as a lending institution, the advisory division as a source of expert advice on co-ops.

Morrison (pp. 49-51) describes the system as follows. Co-op wages (at all but senior management levels) are set to be comparable with those in the neighbouring capitalist industries in the Basque country. After paying those wages, at least 10% of the co-ops' annual profits are

donated to educational, cultural or charitable programmes. The rest is used to finance the co-op and co-op system's operation. 20% or more of total profits is held in a reserve fund. The remaining 70% or less is distributed to the owner-workers' personal internal capital accounts according to the number of hours worked and each worker's salary level. (The co-ops maintained a maximum differential between the highest and lowest pay of 3:1, then 4.5:1, until 1987, when it was raised to 6:1.) These accounts are adjusted for inflation and can be used as collateral for personal loans, but while the interest on the accounts can be withdrawn, the principal cannot until the worker leaves the co-op. Morrison emphasises the importance of this arrangement, pointing out that roughly 90% of annual profits remain in the reserves this way, not just the 20% nominally held, which frees the co-ops from dependence on outside capital when they want to finance new co-ops and services for members, such as health-care and insurance programmes. Local community members can also open savings accounts in the Caja Laboral Popular, which is run like a credit union. This makes additional capital available and unites co-op workers and local people in support of both the co-ops and local community development. There is no stock ownership in the co-ops, however, either by members or outsiders.

The co-ops operated democratically — one worker, one vote — without a formal structure until 1959, when a comprehensive set of Social Statutes was developed. The Statutes set out democratic organisational and operating principles for each co-op and for the federation as a whole, including protections against discrimination against women, and mechanisms for ensuring openness, solidarity and social responsibility. Both books devote considerable attention to the internal structure and functioning of the individual co-ops, the fourteen co-op groups, and the federation. Briefly, within each co-op, supreme authority is vested in the General Assembly of Workers, which consists of all co-op members, each with the right and obligation to one vote, and which meets once or twice a year. Daily operations of the co-op are handled by an unpaid elected board, the Governing Council, the members of which often attend early morning meetings before joining their fellow workers on the shop floor for a full day's work. The Governing Council (not the shop floor) also appoints a co-op member as general manager, from which position he or she can be removed at any time. An elected Social Council deals with a range of shop floor and personnel matters, such as salary levels, health and safety, and job rotation and classification — items dealt with by a union in a traditional employer-employee arrangement.

There are no unions in Mondragón co-ops, although after much debate many workers' membership in outside unions and political parties was formally recognised as a reality as of 1981, and such 'groups

of organised opinions' were officially granted rights to give and receive information inside the federation. Morrison (pp. 78-79) does not think there is any intrinsic incompatibility between co-ops and unions, and thinks the Social Councils have assumed some of a union's functions, but in a less adversarial role, given that mediation in the co-ops is between worker-owners and highly recallable/removable decision-makers, not between workers and entrenched owners and the managers. The Whytes (p. 230) concur, suggesting that the Governing Councils protect their members' interests as co-owners, the Social Councils their interests as workers. A small elected Watchdog Council keeps a close check on all financial matters, liaising with the Caja Laboral Popular when additional expertise is needed. A small Management Council of experienced co-op managers advises the Governing Council; it has influence, but no formal power. Finally, each co-op sends elected representatives to the council which, along with the Caja's own workers, governs the Caja Laboral Popular, to the Congress of Mondragón Co-operatives, and to other co-op groups.

If so many councils sounds like a dangerous amount of bureaucracy, it needs to be remembered that Mondragón is a large-scale operation affecting the lives of thousands of members and their families — and that for the most part it has worked successfully for forty years. Decision-making is by consensus, with votes being taken only as a last resort, e.g. at the first Mondragón Co-operative Congress in 1987 over the contentious change from 4.5:1 to 6:1 maximum pay differentials (in order to attract key managers and technical personnel from surrounding industry, which pays senior managers higher salaries than the co-ops). Consensus-building, the voluntary nature of most committee work, and the accountability of committee members and managers to the rank and file, are not the sorts of arrangements to encourage power-seekers. Thus, despite the complexity of many Mondragón co-ops and the clear committee structure, there is no paid, bloated bureaucracy, out of touch with the rank and file, typical of capitalist enterprises and 'business' trade unions. The same direct participatory democracy is found in the internal structure of the IWW today and is also reminiscent of the Spanish CNT in 1936, which with 1.5 million members at the outbreak of the war, had just one paid official. There are no absentee owners, no outside investors (except for depositors in the Caja), and no public stock issues, but plenty of expert business planning and high capitalisation.

Mondragón has had its share of difficulties. The rapid growth in size of some co-ops in the early years led to more levels of bureaucracy between managers and co-op members, with decision-makers becoming personally known and accessible to increasingly fewer members. Along with some

fomentation by the Maoist faction within ETA, which opposed Mondragón as an obstacle to proletarian revolution, this was supposedly what led in 1974 to the only strike in Mondragón's history. It involved over 400 workers, and was triggered by their inability to influence managers' plans to downgrade some workers' pay as the result of a major job reclassification. Most strikers were from the original Ulgor co-op, which had grown to 3,500 members and a member:decision-maker ratio of 233:1. Ulgor's Governing Council voted to eject 17 strike leaders from the co-op (re-admitting them four years later) and to fine 397 others. The majority returned to work after eight days, and the strike failed. Later studies of the events led to several changes to avoid the same thing happening again. Among these, Mondragón co-ops now have a maximum of 500 workers, and wherever possible, fewer than 200.

Not all the problems have gone away, however. Three years of participatory action research in the oldest and largest Fagor group of twelve industrial co-ops (Greenwood, 1991), of which Ulgor is part, revealed continuing concern among some members about such matters as creeping bureaucracy, the appearance of hierarchical systems of supervision and management, impersonal personnel processes, and decreasing rank and file participation in decision-making — a discrepancy, in other words, between democracy in governance and democracy in the workplace, between voting as an equal but being treated as a subordinate. Greenwood reports the existence of two groups within the co-ops, a 'back to basics' faction, who would like the federation to return to the original Arizmendiarieta idealism, and 'experimentalists', who see Mondragón not as static, but as continually developing, and so requiring constant innovation and change to keep the founding principles alive. On an optimistic note, Greenwood's research team found that most critics were anything but apathetic and still believed in industrial democracy. They saw open critical discussion as a strength of Mondragón and a sign that the federation was still a living process.

Today, Morrison reports, the Mondragón federation abides by ten principles:

1. Open admission (the entry fee is equivalent to one year's salary of the lowest paid worker, deductible from initial earnings for those lacking the money).
2. Democratic organisation (one member, one vote, with recallable elected governing bodies).
3. Sovereignty of labour (Morrison states there is no wage labour, and full power to worker-owners, but the Whytes say that co-ops are allowed to,

and in some cases do, employ up to 10% non-members).

4. Instrumental character of capital (a just but limited return is paid, the rest held in the co-ops' reserves).
5. Self management (complete access to organisational knowledge and participation in management decisions).
6. Pay solidarity (a. internal = 6:1 maximum differential; b. external = comparability with neighbouring conventional firms; c. among co-ops, through an Intercooperative Solidarity Fund, to help all co-ops contribute, and which provides financial help to co-ops in distress to prevent job losses).
7. Group co-operation (at three levels: a. among co-ops organised into groups; b. among co-op groups; and c. between the Mondragón federation and other social libertarian movements around the world).
8. Social transformation (through the previously mentioned arrangement whereby 10% of profits go to the community, especially Basque-oriented, social and educational programmes).
9. Universal nature (explicit solidarity with all peace and justice groups, especially with Third World struggles).
10. Education (co-operative, professional, and for youth).

Both Morrison's and the Whytes' books contain a mass of detailed information on the growth of the co-ops. Numbers sometimes appear to conflict, but this is due to different dates and time samples underlying the many charts and graphs. Morrison includes a very accessible set of appendices listing (1985) figures for all the co-op group, individual member co-ops, location, year founded, number of employees, sales and exports (exports began in 1966 and now account for 30% of sales). Despite a temporary slow-down in the early 1980s due to hard economic times everywhere, they combine to reveal a thriving, largely self-sufficient, co-operative society in which, as Morrison notes, workers have taken control of many functions traditionally thought of as the province of private business or the state.

By early 1988 (most figures and data from Morrison), there were 166 worker-owned co-ops employing 21,000 in the four Basque provinces, including over half the workers in the Mondragón area, with sales of \$1.6 billion and \$2.9 billion in the Caja Laboral Popular. The 166 co-ops included a full range of production, consumption and service co-ops: 86 industrial, eight agricultural, four service, 46 educational, one retail (the Eroski supermarket chain), fifteen housing and six second degree and support co-ops — the bank, a social security co-op (Lagun-Aro), a research co-op (Ikerlan, with over 148 engineers, scientists, computer specialists and students in 1990, according to the Whytes), and various planning and federation-level co-ops housed in modern, functional

buildings. The bank had 178 branches in the Basque country in 1988, as well as one each in Madrid and Barcelona. There was a 360-strong women's co-op (Auzo-Lagun), mostly specialising in assembly work for the Fagor group, and in the provision of childcare, cleaning and food services for other co-ops and some private businesses. There were co-ops devoted to casting, forging, smelting, machine tools, household appliances, furniture, electrical goods (including many high technology items), computer software, building ships and buses, printing, plastics, agricultural and medical equipment, bicycles, sports equipment, pigs, cattle, dairy, fruit, vegetables, wine, regular schools, Basque language schools, a foreign language school, a technical school, a university and college offering education in engineering and business administration, and so on. All this had been achieved without absentee owners, outside investors or (much) wage slavery.

Largely due to the rigorous market research, planning and approval procedures new co-ops must go through before being granted start-up funds by the Caja Laboral Popular, there have been very few failures — a survival rate of 97% in over thirty years, compared with an 80% failure rate within five years for new businesses in the US. The Whytes (p. 192) report that while some 50% of Mondragón co-ops also owe their existence to financial support from the Caja Laboral Popular at early stages in their development, most later become strong and provide stable new jobs for federation workers, while the Caja itself is the most successful bank in the Basque country and the most prosperous of all the Mondragón co-ops.

The growth of Mondragón has been rapid, despite being accomplished quietly under a fascist dictatorship until Franco's death in 1975. A number of factors appear to have combined to facilitate the federation's many successes. The co-ops undoubtedly benefited from strong Basque nationalist support in the surrounding communities (non-Basques are welcomed in the co-ops, too, it should be noted — about 25% of current members have non-Basque family names), from an experience of co-ops in the region and elsewhere in Spain dating back almost a century, and from the militant anarcho-syndicalist (CNT) tradition of worker autonomy and pride, especially in the Basque and Catalan regions (see, e.g. Bar, 1990). Further, the whole Spanish economy was being liberalised by Opus Dei technocrats from the late 1950s and grew at about 7% a year through the 1960s, with high demand for precisely the kind of industrial and durable goods produced by the early Mondragón co-ops. Nevertheless, those co-ops far outperformed other Spanish businesses during the same period. The federation's cultural compatibility with the surrounding community and its reflection of the class

composition of that community (about 50% industrial working class) was obviously also a positive factor, and the need to contribute one year's salary on entry, with half becoming collective property of the co-op and half going into the individual's capital account, meant a high individual commitment on the part of those joining the co-op, and presumably served as a way of screening out unmotivated workers.

How the federation will fare in open competition with multinational corporations after 1st January 1993 when the new European Community 'free trade' regulations come into effect, and amidst a continuing world recession is a question discussed in both books. The authors are reasonably optimistic, noting that the federation already survived one world recession in the mid-1970s, expanded rapidly from 1960 to 1979, contracted slightly in 1981 and 1983, and continued to add jobs in the later 1980s when unemployment in surrounding capitalist industries was over 20%. The Whytes see future prospects being improved by current federation drives to boost education efforts, especially technical education and research, to develop numerous small spin-off service industries, and to extend dealings with private enterprise. Remarkably, they feel that such moves can all be achieved without jeopardising Mondragón's basic principles.

Evaluation

Both books are clearly written and offer a wealth of detailed and insightful analysis. As might be expected, each is heavy on the *economics* of Mondragón. Both focus on the industrial co-ops, especially the internal operations of the Caja Laboral Popular, and the detail of how new co-ops are formed and develop. There is less on the education, agriculture and retail co-ops. Morrison writes from the perspective of a political activist searching for models for 'a democratic, labor-managed qing capitalism and socialism has failed' (pp. ix-x). He is very concerned with the co-ops' human element and how it contrasts with the dehumanising capitalist and socialist systems. His writing is liberally dosed with references to post-modernism and to his own and other people's philosophy.

W.F. Whyte is a professor at Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations. K.K. Whyte is an editor and artist. The Whytes' book is more academic in tone, drier, far more detailed (reflecting nearly a decade of research on the Mondragón co-ops), slightly more up to date than Morrison's book following the Whytes' brief return to Spain in 1990 — and politically more centrist. It is not clear whether the authors think capitalism has failed or just needs to made a little fairer. The Whytes view the federation as 'the most impressive refutation of the

widely held belief that worker co-operatives have little capacity for economic growth and long-term survival' (p. 3), a statement which does not distinguish among the co-op types discussed by Melnyk. They appear to see Mondragón as a source of insights for more progressive versions of the liberal-democratic co-ops discussed by Melnyk, which are now becoming more frequent in the US and elsewhere. While they seem favourably disposed to the more radical principles embodied in Mondragón, in the final chapter they discuss various employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs) and AFL-CIO union-assisted buy-outs of sinking capitalist ships in the US with almost as much enthusiasm. There is less on the very different underlying principles and social purpose such ventures would need to embrace if they were to be anything more than worker-operated capitalist businesses derided by Marx and the Webbs. Overall, the Whytes' is a better researched, more information-packed, but ultimately less inspiring book than Morrison's.

Both books are overwhelmingly positive about Mondragón, and it is clear that they have developed a feeling of close personal involvement with the co-operators. It is indeed hard to be critical of so major an achievement under difficult conditions, especially when there have been few others on such a scale. However, there is sometimes a feeling that problems may be more serious than the writers realise or are prepared to admit. There are occasional references, for instance, to the traditional second-class status of women in Spanish society. Their gradually changing role in Arizmendiarieta's views and in the co-ops is alluded to, and the Whytes provide some information on a women's co-op (Auzo-Lagun) which, as noted earlier, mostly does assembly work, cooking, cleaning and childcare, and on two women who have become managers of a furniture co-op (Zubiola). But how typical are these cases? There is no information on the percentage of women workers and women managers in the Mondragón federation, information that must be easily available. The criticism is not that Mondragón has failed to reverse centuries of sexist oppression in forty years, if that indeed be the case, but that the authors sometimes seem to be treading too delicately in sensitive areas in order not to appear critical of a system and people they admire. To take another case, the very positive descriptions of workplace democracy appear not to match the perceptions of at least some co-op members interviewed by Greenwood, who were sharply critical. Most seriously of all, one would like to have heard from some of the fired Ulgor strikers about their versions of the events of 1974 and the painful aftermath.

From an anarchist perspective, several troublesome features exist in the co-ops' internal and external functioning:

1. The bureaucracy and hierarchy that increased size brought to some co-ops. However, given the federation's recent moves to facilitate co-ordination among co-op groups making similar products as one way of defending against outside competition, the problem will presumably soon reappear on a larger scale.
2. There is no job rotation, as is ideally practised in collectives, in part due to the technical nature of much of the work. Instead, there is clear specialisation and job titles, with an attendant risk of knowledge, and hence, power, becoming concentrated in a few hands.
3. An increasing number of temporary, non-member employees have been hired since 1989, as many as 15% in some co-ops. Wage labour is making an appearance, in other words.
4. Due to the alleged need for ever higher degrees of specialisation, there has been a steady growth in the maximum allowed pay differential among workers (now 6:1) and between the status of management and the rank and file. (On the other hand, unlike capitalist and authoritarian socialist models, Mondragón managers are there to implement decisions agreed upon by the members, and can be and are quickly removed and re-integrated into the base if unsuccessful or unpopular.)
5. Mondragón's growing automation and increased use of high technology will inevitably lead to a loss of lower skilled industrial jobs. The federation has an excellent record of protecting jobs and workers, e.g. by reallocation to other co-ops, retraining, providing close to full pay for unemployed workers for up to a year within any two-year period, early retirement packages, indemnities, focusing on long-term viability, not short-term profits, and by carrying loss-making co-ops while they become established. With more unskilled and low skilled workers becoming redundant, however, the cost of doing all this will put increasing strain on the system as a whole.
6. The absence of industrial unions or a right to strike is disturbing. It is common to criticise capitalists and Marxist-Leninists for setting up sham 'company' unions or puppet, state-controlled ones, or for abolishing them altogether on the grounds that workers' and corporate or state interests are the same. Libertarian socialist institutions must surely be held accountable to the same standards. While a strike against oneself is ludicrous, as shown by the events at Ulgor in 1974 there are many cases where individual workers within a co-op, or one or more co-ops within a co-op group or the federation, might find themselves with basic differences over principle and unable to resolve them through their General Assembly of Workers or the Mondragón Co-operative Congress. Opposition to a policy shift at the federation level towards admission of wage labour or outside capital, or to (increased) integration with the Spanish state, are examples of potential conflict.

7. Amidst a generally enthusiastic evaluation, the late George Benello (1986/1992), like Greenwood, reported varying political commitment among members. Mondragón was a political act for some, he found, but just a (good) job for others. (However, Benello, like Erlich, saw revolutionary potential in Mondragón and all such efforts, for worker-ownership and control make them fundamentally anti-capitalist and anti-state.)

8. The charge that Mondragón's success depends more on Basque nationalism than worker-control has long been refuted, but the fact remains that the achievement has been that of a relatively homogeneous population. While it would no doubt be a vast improvement in current conditions from Rostok to Los Angeles, it remains to be seen whether the co-operative spirit and the improved quality of life worker-ownership and equality can bring would be as successful in the socio-economically and ethno-linguistically heterogeneous communities typical of many contemporary urban societies.

9. Ironically, the federation's success has brought it into increased levels of contact with Spanish and foreign state agencies, not least the Basque and Madrid governments. Mondragón is a major factor in the Basque region's economy and a source of expertise for outside institutions of all kinds. The Whytes (pp. 65-66) report, for example, that as of 1982 half of (the research co-op) Ikerlan's budget was contributed by the Basque government in the form of paid internships for doctoral students in micro-electronics, mechanics, computer science and robotics, and some of the rest came from contracts with the private business sector. Basque government loans have been accepted to help set up new co-ops, several Mondragón managers have worked in economic planning as members of the Basque government, and increasing numbers of contracts are being signed between co-ops and private businesses, including several multinational corporations.

10. Part of the success has been both the cause and result of production for profit, not (local) need. Short of massive population shifts, producing goods for others, not just for local use, will always be necessary, as few communities are self-sufficient or ever could be. However, if anything should be Mondragón's eventual undoing, it is likely to be the decision to compete in the international sphere, with the inevitable compromises and problems of scale this brings, rather than to 'limit' itself to building and protecting a self-sufficient, principled, alternative society.

Despite these criticisms, some involving sharp differences with pure anarchist principles, it is difficult to read about Mondragón without admiration. Most problems are trivial by comparison with the misery and exploitation inherent in capitalist or authoritarian socialist systems, and unlike in those societies, at Mondragón, the remedies (as yet) lie in workers' hands. If the federation is trading with 'politically incorrect'

entities and making other compromises, then it is at least partly because it has been successful enough to do so, and because of a lack of 'politically correct' sister federations, with which it would undoubtedly prefer to be linked. Rather than criticising from afar, the record of success should be disseminated more widely and efforts redoubled to emulate it elsewhere. The Mondragón workers have achieved close to a total economy and have proved that worker-owned co-ops can last and grow. Contrary to the assertions of capitalists, fascists and authoritarian socialists alike that hierarchy, bureaucracy and centralised power and decision-making are essential, the federation's complexity and the consequent need for a very high level of organisation, have shown that participatory democracy and efficiency are natural partners, not enemies. Anarchists can point to the success of Mondragón as a practical vindication of something close to their ideas about economics. In Morrison's words (p. 222), Mondragón 'stands for a revolution without violence built from below'.

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Neil Birrell

**La Fundación:
reality and appearance in Spain**

Spanish twentieth century literature does not always seem to reach the English speaking world in the same way as French, Russian or even South American. Certainly under Franco, with neo-fascist art such as that coming from Ortega y Gasset for example, this may not be of such terrible concern, but even under Franco some progressive writers were still pursuing their creativity even if they were doing it carefully.

For me personally some of Europe's great literature (of this century) has been written to undermine authoritarian régimes. Camus's *La Peste* is at once an allegory for France under Nazi occupation and also a call for human solidarity in the face of a common threat. Sartre's *Huis Clos* can also be seen as comment upon this period and a philosophical rationale of existential freedom. However, rarely have I come across a play as powerful as *La Fundación* (1974) by Antonio Buero Vallejo.¹

Never mind the playwright and his background, it is his play I am concerned with at the present moment. It is a play which needs to be seen against the background of Francoist Spain — a background I am assuming my reader has some knowledge of — but also it speaks to the Spanish condition today, and indeed our common inheritance at this end of the century.

The Foundation is a happy place and one of its occupants, Tomas, the main protagonist, is a happy man. The Foundation makes little in the way of demands on those who live in it. The stage resembles an amenable hotel room — comfortable furniture, a well stocked fridge from which the occupants take a beer when they fancy, and sunshine which pours constantly through the window. Room service is available in the person of an almost likeable employee at the Foundation. We, the audience identify with Tomas: there is nothing wrong with all this.

But of course all is not as it seems and as the play progresses Buero Vallejo strips away one veneer of this reality after another to reveal a more frightening and less palatable scene. A door in the room which one moment is ordinary painted wood is opened. When it shuts a minute later with a clang, it is made of solid metal. The comfy chairs are replaced by more utilitarian ones, the beer runs out in the fridge. Tomas notices the little changes slowly one by one. They unsettle him and he is frightened. When the Foundation employee who was room service reappears dressed as a guard, the scene is complete, we are not in a hotel. We never were. The Foundation is a prison.

Asel, another inmate, has been in the know all along. He realises that Tomas must discover the truth for himself for it to be believable and that if it comes too suddenly it threatens to unhinge him psychologically. But as he progresses along this path of revelation, Asel describes to him the reality of where they are: 'We live in a civilised world where the most intoxicating sport still seems to be the ancient practice of slaughter. They kill you for fighting against institutionalised injustice, for belonging to a detested race; they kill you with hunger if you are a prisoner of war, or they shoot you for supposedly trying to escape; secret tribunals condemn you for trying to resist in your own occupied land ... They kill you for not smiling when they order you to smile, or because your God isn't their God, or because your atheism isn't their atheism ... And down the ages, rivers of blood. Millions of men and women ...'

Tomas comes to realise that the Foundation was his own creation and when Asel asks if he wants to go back there he replies: 'I know now that it wasn't real. But I can't help wondering if the rest of the world is any more real ... Even for those outside the television suddenly vanishes, or the glass they want to drink, or the money they have in their hand ... or a loved one ... But they still carry on believing in their comfortable Foundation ... And then one day from a distance they'll see this building and they won't say to themselves: it's a prison. They'll say: it must be a Foundation and they'll walk on by.'

Tomas realises that the 'only true freedom is the destruction of the hologram' and that they have to escape. But Asel says that to escape from one is to escape into another: 'Truth awaits you in all of them not in inaction'. Somewhere down the line one day 'Your cells will have a television, a fridge, books, light music ... to its inmates it will seem like freedom itself. You will then have to be very intelligent so as not to forget you are a prisoner.'

Do they get out? Is there salvation? Well, I wouldn't want to spoil the ending for you ...

The meaning of the play in the context of Francoist Spain is obvious and apparent. At the level of a criticism of consumerist society, as shown in the last quote I have chosen, its message will unfortunately not always be so quickly grasped by the audience, but I think Tomas' prison can also be seen as something of a symbol of the Spanish anarchist movement today.

Many readers of *The Raven* will be aware of the internal problems of the CNT since the death of Franco. After its Sixth National Congress in 1983 it split into two factions, on the one hand the CNT-AIT and on the other the CGT. The former remains essentially revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist whilst the latter is somewhat more reformist whilst still calling itself anarcho-syndicalist. The two organisations have been closely involved for about a decade in a legal, and sometimes physical, fight over the name of the CNT. In 1989 a supreme court decided in favour of the CNT-AIT and this decision was upheld last year by a constitutional court. This is definitive, and so perhaps another chapter has been written.

I wish to comment, in the light of the first part of this article, on this split in the Spanish anarchist movement. If I have to side on the issue, I would side with the CNT-AIT, whilst not failing to recognise the faults on both sides. On the one hand, we have the CGT which has progressively distanced itself from anarcho-syndicalism towards a kind of reformist pragmatism which has drawn in various groups of marxists and trotskyists along with the remnants of some 'red' unions like the SU and the CSUT. On the other, we see the CNT-AIT with its anachronistic revolutionary purity which nearly killed off the movement re-emerging from the dictatorship.

The CGT now follows somewhat in the wake of the CCOO (communist) and the UGT (socialist) and flirts with the greens in Valencia, and it is this move towards establishment politics which I feel will be its downfall. It has achieved electoral success (with the help of the CNT) at SEAT, but when it set up its committee the anarcho-syndicalists were relegated to a subsidiary role.

Recently more and more militants have left the CGT as it moved more and more in a bureaucratic direction and they have reformed the group around *Solidaridad Obrera*, in the pages of which the debate continues. I give you an example:²

A WARNING NOTE

In case it's necessary ...

Revolutionary syndicalism is distinguishable from bureaucracy and management by the daily activities of its militants along with its tactics, principles and goals. The daily work of the revolutionary syndicalist (apart from being consistent and identifying him/herself with those principles), if s/he has to work, is to go to work every day and put into practice on a daily basis the struggle with his/her comrades, to propagate his/her ideas and put them into practice, and when the day's work is done, be it in the factory or the office, to go to the union and carry on the altruistic struggle; not hoping to get any reward for such dedication. The duty of the revolutionary syndicalist or anarcho-syndicalist lies in his/her responsibility towards his/her comrades at work so that these feel identification with his/her struggle to achieve a more just society and so that they do not see in the militant a superior being but rather another comrade. So that when there are problems at work your interests are joint ones and that the struggle is not lucrative but common interest.

I could carry on with a statement of principle as to what anarcho-syndicalism is or how I understand it. This is not my intention except insofar as to remind people that we are in the CNT-AIT and that in it we practice, or should practice, revolutionary syndicalism and not that of the comrade who is a professional trade unionist and who is always reminding us that if only we in the CNT would participate in work committees we could achieve more for our members, give them more legal services and solve their work problems, etc.

I sincerely believe that whoever thinks this way should join the CCOO or the UGT and thus solve their problems. On the contrary, I doubt there is anyone in the CNT who thinks that way. But if I am wrong and there are comrades who think like that, let them leave us be with our own understanding of anarcho-syndicalism because we won't allow anyone to impose their ideas on how we should run our affairs if they see us as out of context at this end of the century. The vast majority of the CNT militants understand full well that it's our CNT-AIT and they'll not change it because if they did it would be just another organisation in the mountain that is integrated into the system in which none resembles an anarcho-syndicalist organisation and which would change our anarchist ideological content ...

Blaki

I often look through foreign journals for articles to bring to the attention of readers in this country. You may have thought that Spain with its

history would be fertile ground. Not a bit of it. Such articles and diatribes are typical of the anarchist press in Spain. There are reams of it. Two or three thousand word articles similar in tone to that above with parts two or three to follow.

To me the writer of the above article has much in common with Tomas. I am not disagreeing with the writer in his/her views on reformist trade unionism, nor with anarcho-syndicalism, rather it seems to me that s/he is sitting in his/her little hotel room not recognising it for the prison that it is. For the writer, change is incompatible with the nature of the CNT; there is a tragic underlying belief that applying principles to new situations is to deny those principles. The consequence is that they are trapped in their own hologram.

Maybe I'm making a serious error of judgement. Would you, the reader, like to read more of the above type of material? As I say, I have a mountain of such material from Spain here in front of me awaiting translation if it's wanted. But if you do want it then please ask yourself seriously, would your next door neighbour read it? Would your colleagues at work? At best, mine would try not to laugh for fear of offending me if they felt that I found such propaganda inspiring. And the Spanish working class? They've just had ten years of being presented with two organisations carrying the same name holding opposing viewpoints. They will sit with Tomas in their prisons happily thinking they are free and when they look outward towards the CNT it will be a stifling historic fossil they will see and not a force for change.

Writing the above is quite painful in many ways. Firstly (and if for no other reason this will do me) we owe respect to those who were willing to sacrifice all in a fight against oppression. The CNT is remaining true to those principles they fought for. But if that's dismissible as the romantic in me, then secondly, the social experiments which took place at that time represent the most important social revolution in recent history and provide much evidence to show that we are not romantic idealists.

But inspirational as it may or may not be, its lessons need constantly to be reapplied to the present-day situation. Asel said that we escape from one prison only to find ourselves in another. This is not pessimism. A constant theme in all Buero Vallejo's plays is that of despair. But as he makes clear, on the other side of the coin is hope and in the same way that day is meaningless without night so it is for hope and despair. As we come towards the end of the century, Spanish anarchism must recognise the

prison that it is in and move on to the next and from there to the next. It will never be out of business. An ideal society is not a free one as it is stagnant; we must embrace the organic side of our philosophy and ensure that our organisation(s) reflect it.

I said I wouldn't spoil the play ending for you and I won't, but Buero Vallejo is hopeful and I wouldn't want to end on a pessimistic note. A recent article in *Freedom*³ draws our attention to the nature of the Spanish people suggesting that it is here that anarchism is embedded and that it is only when that nature is changed that anarchism will be extinguished. All of us who know Spain know that Bamford is right that although it may at times flicker, the libertarian side of the Spanish character will not disappear. Nor is the CNT a spent force industrially in Spain. In Cadiz the CNT, employing anarcho-syndicalist methods — strikes and direct action — forced the government to the negotiating table; at a hospital in Barcelona after a bitter strike the CNT and an autonomous co-ordinating committee obtained permanent contracts for the 90% of employees who were on fixed-term contracts; olive harvesters in Andalucia struck and achieved social and professional improvements, along with equal pay for men and women; a campaign of non-payment on the Madrid underground, and later a repeat performance in Barcelona, was another imaginative exercise.⁴ The CNT could once again become a force of inspiration, but it will need to get in amongst the people of Spain, abandon its dogmatism and its purity without abandoning its principles, which it must reapply to the new situation.

1. *La Fundación* by Buero Vallejo, published by Colección Austral. Translated by Neil Birrell.
2. *Solidaridad Obrera*, no. 236, March/April 1993. Translated by Neil Birrell.
3. *Freedom*, vol. 54, no. 14, 10th July 1993.
4. Information from *Le Monde Libertaire*, no. 916, 27th May to 2nd June 1993.

John Rety

Franco's mass graves

The Bitter Fruit of a Broken Tree — a family in Franco's Spain by Carmela Gonzalez with Heather Seddon (Chapter & Verse, 2 Jubilee Retreat, London E4 7QJ) £12.95

For many of us who did what we could to help the spirit of resistance against Franco in the far-off days in the '60s, this book comes as a welcome reminder. I can still remember the fervent speeches and the meetings of the London section of the *Mujeres Libres*. The dictatorship has toppled and here is a book to remind us what it was like for at least one family.

Carmelita was four years old in 1936 in Andalucia. Cast your thoughts back to when you were of a similar age. How much is there still in your memory? When I try to remember, everything becomes cloudy and formless. But however young Carmelita may have been, the shock of events are imprinted on her mind. She remembers four 'soldiers', very rude, 'they go into the house without asking', she is present and remembers with the child's vivid eye how the Falangistas seized her father and her uncle — the two breadwinners of the house — how they locked their wrists together and dragged them from the house. The ensuing events are even more dreadful. She never sees her father again. Nobody explains to her what happened to him, but there is a sharp break from her comfortable childhood existence as the family's fortunes collapse. The people who could help, the numerous relations, become callous. Carmelita's mother cannot cope with the burden of bringing up the children — there is no money, there is no food. The three children are hugged and shouted at alternately. The immediate family is not of picture-book kindness, but gives ample evidence of human brutality. The mother, the brave Spanish mother, goes out to work while the children are left locked in. The little ones get hardly anything to eat and

their mother cooks them stews late at night and becomes increasingly vindictive and mad. Carmelita remembers her mother saying to the little children: 'If only you were dead and all three of you in one coffin, that would be the best thing for you,' she would say, but then overcome with remorse would hug them to her breast.

The story is told in the style of half autobiography, half novel. But of course, Carmelita's story relies entirely on her fitful memory as she was too young to understand the historical forces behind her own tragic events. It is fortunate that she had survived at all, she was plucky to have done and she remains unforgiving. The story she tells thus becomes universal and throws light on the suffering of small children when the attack is indirectly on them. She is trying to piece together the evidence and she is well into her teens when she is told for the first time the possible reason for her father's arrest. She is told that her father was a member of the anarcho-syndicalists, and taken with others and shot in the local cemetery. The town was Puente-Genil and she names Berrinches and his blue-shirted squad which killed political opponents in their thousands.

To quote the relevant passage:

'You are looking for your husband?' he said. 'Senora, I don't know how to tell you'. He led [Carmelita's mother] to the open part of the cemetery and pointed to a wall. It was splashed with blood. In front of the wall were two heaps of dead men. 'You'll find your husband there'. She began on the first pile ... one at a time she pulled the dead men from the heap until she found my father .. an old man told her what happened: 'The Falangistas go about arresting people until they can't get another man into their prison ... Then they put them in trucks and bring them here. They do that very early, four or half past four in the morning, before there's any risk of them being seen. Berrinches is the one that orders the killing. First they shoot them with a machine gun and then he goes with his pistol and puts a bullet in each man's head ... It's all over by five o'clock. [Then] they go off to breakfast ...

This is a unique book, giving some of the missing background to the Spanish Revolution from the bewildered child's point of view by a faithful eye-witness.

David Goodway

**Emma Goldman in Exile: English
Conservatism and Spanish Revolution**

Emma Goldman was born in 1869, the daughter of Jewish parents, in Lithuania, then part of the old Russian Empire. The family moved from town to town — her father worked as innkeeper, petty official, shopkeeper — and in 1881-82 settled in St Petersburg. Goldman had attended Jewish and German-speaking schools, but, at the age of thirteen, had to start work: knitting shawls at home, in a glove factory, in a corset shop. In 1885 she emigrated with a sister to America. After working in factories in Rochester and New Haven and a short-lived marriage, she moved to New York in 1889.¹

On the day of her arrival in New York (and it is at this point that she opens her autobiography) she met Alexander Berkman and heard Johann Most speak. Most converted her to anarchism; Berkman and she shortly became lovers. Berkman's origins were very similar to Goldman's: he too had been born in Lithuania, to a prosperous Jewish family in 1870; he had been brought up in St Petersburg; and he had emigrated to the USA in 1888. In 1892 Berkman was incensed by the unleashing of 300 Pinkerton detectives on the locked-out workers, leaving ten dead, at Homestead, Pennsylvania; and he attempted the assassination of Henry Clay Frick, the chairman of the Carnegie Steel Company. Berkman served fourteen years, ten of them in solitary confinement, describing his incarceration in his classic *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (1912). After his release in 1906, Goldman and he found it impossible to resume where they had been interrupted and, sexually, went their separate ways; but an intimate, passionate friendship continued, only terminated by Berkman's death in 1936.

During the period of Berkman's imprisonment Goldman had soon emerged as an outstanding anarchist agitator and propagandist. By 1906, the year of Most's death, she and Berkman had become the central

This is the text of a lecture given on 1st May 1992 to the Politics Society at the University College of Wales, Swansea, in a series on 'Dissident Voices and Discordant Tones'.

figures in American anarchism. The years from 1906 to 1919 mark the apogee of her personal revolutionary career. She published her monthly *Mother Earth* between 1906 and 1917; she was involved in free-speech struggles from coast to coast; she played a prominent part in the birth-control campaign.

Her impact was as much cultural as political. Van Wyck Brooks, the historian of American literature, considered:

No one did more to spread the new ideas of literary Europe that influenced so many young people ... at least the ideas of the dramatists on the continent and in England — than the Russian-American Emma Goldman.

In 1914 she published *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama*, 'the first book of the kind to appear in English'.² A striking example of Goldman's influence is attested by the American writer, Henry Miller. Miller always claimed that hearing Goldman lecture on the European drama in San Diego in 1913 was the 'turning point', 'the most important encounter' of his life:

She opened up the whole world of European culture for me and gave a new impetus to my life, as well as a direction.³

Goldman opposed the First World War from its outbreak and after American entry in April 1917 campaigned against conscription, as a result of which she was sentenced to two years' imprisonment (this was her third, and longest, term in gaol). She was released in September 1919, at the height of the 'Red Scare', and immediately deported with Berkman and 247 other 'alien radicals' to revolutionary Russia. Initially an enthusiastic supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, she fast became a rebel in this second man-made 'paradise'.

She entered Russia in January 1920; but, she was later to lament, 'In Russia, I came two years too late': 'My misfortune is that I came ... at the funeral and not to the birth of the Revolution'.⁴ In 1922 she declared that, during the Russian Civil War:

slowly but surely the Bolsheviki were building up a centralised State, which destroyed the Soviets and crushed the revolution, a State that can now easily compare, in regard to bureaucracy and despotism, with any of the great Powers of the world.⁵

It was Kronstadt — the slaughter by Trotsky's Red Army of the Kronstadt sailors in March 1921 — that 'broke the last threat that held me to the

Bolsheviki'.⁶ At the end of 1921, after less than two years, Goldman escaped with Berkman from Soviet Russia.

Thereafter she was 'nowhere at home', excluded from the United States (to which she persistently endeavoured to return — for that is where she *was* at home)⁷ Russia and, eventually, the Netherlands (for speaking out against Nazi Germany). It was now, though, that she wrote what are probably her two most important books. *My Disillusionment in Russia* was published between 1923 and 1925; and at this time she was attempting, first in Germany and then, in 1924-25, in Britain, to raise an agitation on the left against the Soviet government and in defence of Soviet political prisoners. Yet socialists and liberals, almost without exception, were not as yet prepared to condemn the new regime; Goldman was obliged to abandon her campaign; and she turned, from 1925 to 1926, to lecturing in Britain on the drama.

One positive outcome of her sojourn here was the acquisition of British citizenship through a marriage of convenience in 1925 to James Colton, an anarchist miner from Scotland, who had migrated to the South Wales coalfield. Colton, a widower in his mid-sixties, had met Goldman on her first visit to the British Isles in 1895. He wrote to Berkman:

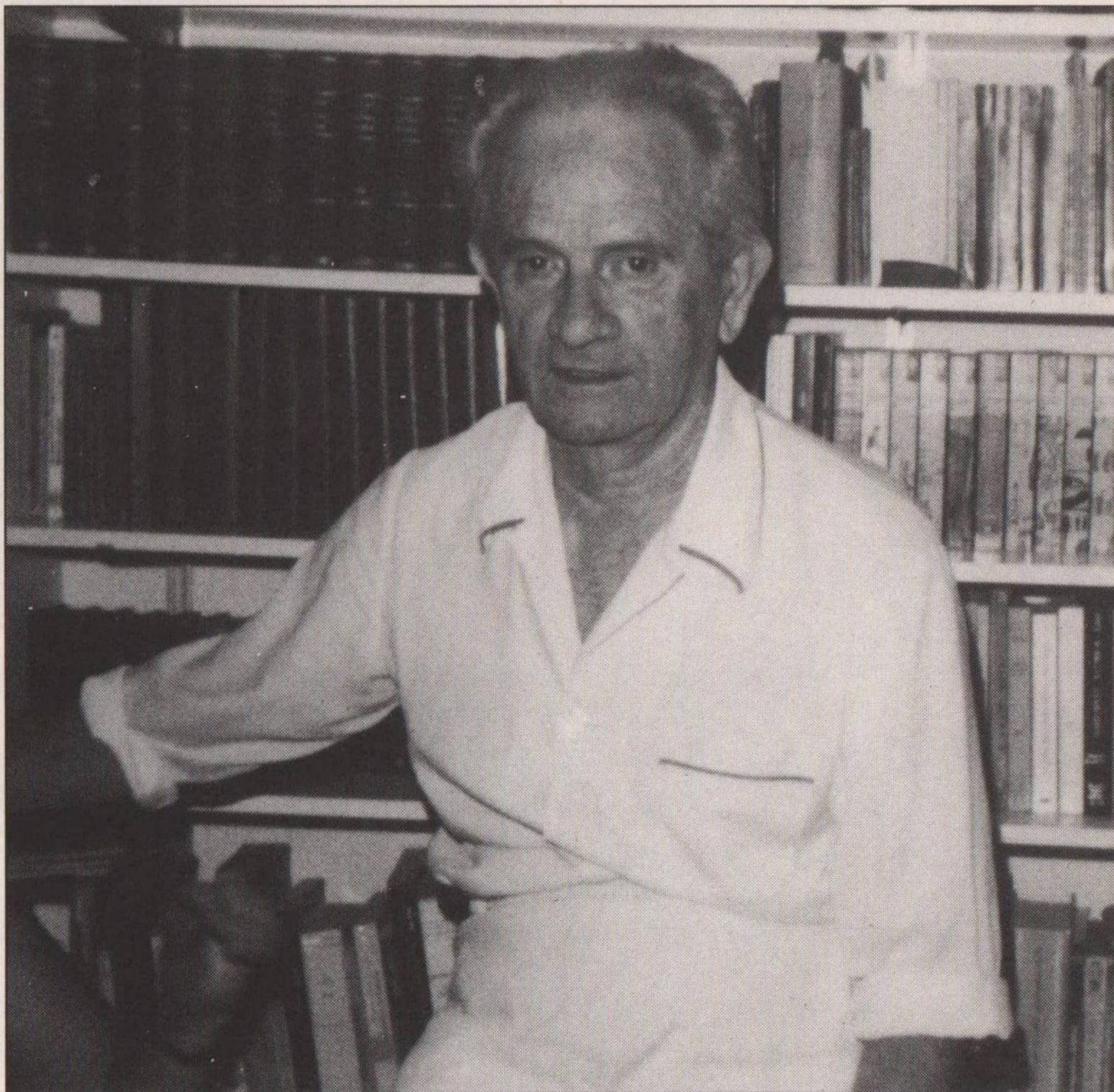
I had a Comrade's Duty to Perform, to hit back at our Enemy for the Cruel treatment Meted out to you and Emma and for that i am Thankful.⁸

In contrast, Berkman only possessed a Nansen passport, issued by the League of Nations for stateless persons, and was expelled no less than four times from France (where he lived, and Goldman was based, between 1925 and 1936).

Goldman was highly intelligent and able. All the same, I agree with her first, fine biographer, Richard Drinnon, when he concludes that 'she was not a theoretician' — as opposed to Peter Marshall in his immense new history of anarchism, where he stresses the originality of her contribution to anarchist theory.⁹ Goldman's originality lay, instead, in her life — uncompromising and pioneering new forms of freedom — and so it is that her splendid, frank autobiography *Living My Life*, published in 1931 in two volumes and a thousand pages, is her outstanding work.

Late in 1935 Goldman returned to try her luck once more in Britain. She was hard up and wanted to earn money by lecturing. The trouble was that she was scarcely known in this country, whereas, as her new correspondent, the novelist John Cowper Powys, was to assure her:

Everyone in America from President to truck-driver, from the great



José Peirats in 1986

José Peirats (1908-1989) was active in the Clandestine Libertarian Youth when he was only 14 years old, and participated in the anarchist militias in 1936, and in 1937 joined the 26th Division. At the end of the struggle he managed to make his way to South America but returned to Europe at the end of World War II and lived in Toulouse where he was the editor of two Spanish language journals as well as the historiographer of the CNT producing three volumes on *La CNT en la Revolución Española* (1951-53). With the death of Franco he returned to Spain where he continued to play a valuable role, both with his person and his pen, up to a few months before his death in August 1989.

In 1990, Freedom Press published his *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* (388 pp. ISBN 0 0900384 53 0 £6.00).



Two of a set of photographs by the late Robert Capa of the plight of hundreds of thousands of Spaniards fleeing into France as Franco's troops advanced into Catalonia in March 1939.

**Extract from an article by
Herbert Read published in
Spain and the World, May 1st
1939 with the title *Democratic
Hospitality*.**

The illustrations which we reproduce in this number, will bring home to people more vividly than any words can do, the conditions under which the Spanish refugees in France are living - and dying. The suffering which is being endured by hundreds of thousands of human beings distributed all over Europe and Asia begins to deaden the senses; like killing in war, persecution has become a normality which we accept without any qualms of conscience. Nevertheless, there are

certain aspects of the Spanish tragedy which call for special comment.

If pity were inspired by anything but sentimental considerations — a weeping child, even a howling dog, is now more moving than a crucified man — the plight of the Spanish army which crossed into France early in March should have lit fires of indignation in every civilised land. Suffering from hunger and exhaustion, these men who for months had been fighting the rearguard action of European democracy, were received in a democratic country, not as heroes, but as criminals. Indeed, as worse than criminals, for these are given at least decent shelter and adequate food. Our Spanish comrades were herded like animals in



floods are even more unexpected, and yet they usually call into existence a prompt and efficient rescue service. In this case there was no sudden rush to help, only confusion and embarrassment. And meanwhile the refugees, many of them sick or wounded, perished by the hundreds — perished unnecessarily. A certain amount of aid was provided by the French trade union, and by voluntary organisations. But even now, many weeks after the event, these brave soldiers of the Spanish Republic exist in conditions far worse than the concentration camps of Germany and Russia ...

Herbert Read

open compounds, surrounded by barbed-wire entanglements and armed guards, and deprived of the most elementary necessities of life. They were left to dig themselves holes in the sand, to dig futile shelters of sticks and rags, to scrounge for food like abandoned dogs. There was, at the beginning, some excuse for the Democratic Government (it is not fair to put the whole blame on the French Government, in view of the 'close co-operation' which has marked the whole course of the non-interventionist policy of the democratic powers); they had not expected an invasion of such proportions and had no organisation ready to deal with it. But natural catastrophes like earthquakes and





Emma Goldman visiting the front October 1939.



Emma Goldman with a group of peasants in the Valencia region 1937.

magnates to the hotel bell-boys knows 'Emma Goldman'! You are a *household word* over there like all the great American figures that have caught the popular imagination.¹⁰

Goldman had some nine topics on offer, including 'Living My Life', 'The Forgotten Individual' and 'Constructive Revolution'.¹¹ In March 1936 she travelled to South Wales to lecture to three classes of the National Council of Labour Colleges, the independent, working-class, Marxist provider of adult education, even though they could pay no more than ten shillings each. Goldman lectured in Ystradgynlais on 'The Two Communisms (Bolshevikst and Anarchist — a Parallel)' and in Aberdare on 'Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin (How Far do Their Common Methods Lead to Similar Results?)', as well as in Mountain Ash. A.L. (Len) Williams, the divisional organiser of the NCLC (and a future general secretary of the Labour Party) informed her:

You can say what you like, providing you make it perfectly plain that you are expressing your own personal views. If there is opposition, I suppose you will know how to deal with it.¹²

In the event she was very favourably surprised, as she told Rudolf and Millie Rocker:

I was amazed at the response, if you please to such lectures as Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, and The Two Communisms. In a mining town called Ystradhynglais [*sic*] the chairman was a Communist and he also acted as my host. I stopped the night with the Evanses. I never met more tolerant and hospitable people. Altogether the South Wales meetings were splendidly attended and by a fine and intelligent type of proletarians [*sic*] ... I told my Communist chairman that if all Communists were as decent and tolerant as he it might be possible to work with them. But then, he seemed altogether a rare exception.¹³

Goldman's attempt 'to break through the British reserve'¹⁴ in a lecture tour came to nothing; and on 28th June 1936 her beloved Alexander Berkman, an invalid and in pain after two operations, committed suicide in Nice. At the age of 67 this formidable, indomitable woman had reached the lowest point in her tumultuous life.

Then, on 17th July, came the military rising in Spanish Morocco; on 19th July the people were armed to resist the rebels and the Spanish Revolution had begun. For in those areas where the revolt was crushed,

the working-class organisations (especially the anarchists, but also the socialists) proceeded to carry out a total social revolution:

a proletarian revolution more profound than the Russian Revolution itself ... the last revolutionary Iliad of the West.¹⁵

Goldman had previously had minimal contact with the Spanish anarchist movement; and she knew no Spanish. But by 1936 she was the outstanding international anarchist activist; and, a month after the outbreak of the Spanish Revolution (and Civil War), she received separate requests to take charge of English-language propaganda from the joint organisations of Spanish anarchism, the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) [National Confederation of Labour] and the FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) [Iberian Anarchist Federation]. (The FAI had been formed in 1927 as a ginger group of pure anarchists to counter reformist tendencies within the mass trade union, anarcho-syndicalist CNT, founded in 1911. After 1930 the militants of the FAI had won control of the CNT.)

In September Goldman was welcomed in Barcelona by a mass meeting of 10,000: a stark contrast to her reception in Britain. In December 1936 she returned from Spain to London where she opened a propaganda office for the CNT-FAI. She remained in London until June 1937. From September to November 1937 she spent a further seven weeks in Spain.

Goldman tried, in a great variety of ways, to mobilise moral and material support for the Spanish anarchists. The problem which she confronted in Britain was twofold: the lack of an indigenous anarchist movement to assist the CNT-FAI and the hostility to anarchism amongst those who did support the Spanish Republic.

Anarchism had been a mass force internationally in the half-century preceding the First World War, but afterwards — the success of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the principal reason — it contracted dramatically, entering a terminal decline. Only in the Hispanic world was it able to maintain its former hold; and in Spain the CNT actually grew in strength. Britain had never had a significant anarchist movement, unlike such countries as France or Italy; and so in the 1930s there was neither a tradition of sympathy for libertarian ideas and aspirations nor the rump of a formerly major movement (as in France) to provide solidarity for the Spanish Revolution. In Britain even the principal anarchist journal, *Freedom*, founded in 1886, had folded in 1927. As Goldman explained in 1937:

... there is no Anarchist movement in England. Not even as much as in America and heaven knows we have never had much of a movement there since Sasha [Alexander Berkman] and I had been kicked out of the country. Still we do have a few groups of young people in a few cities in the States. But we have nothing in London or the provincial cities. Since my return here in Dec[ember] we have the London CNT-FAI Committee, nearly the same comrades that used to be in [the] Freedom Group. That group has been pretty much of a dead letter for years.¹⁶

The events in Spain were largely responsible for some revival of interest in anarchism in Britain. In December 1936 Vernon Richards launched the fortnightly *Spain and the World*. The new group of young anarchists which had emerged then produced *War Commentary* throughout the Second World War; and in 1945 this reverted to the famous old title of *Freedom*, which has enjoyed uninterrupted publication down to the present day.

During the 1940s anarchism was to exert a minor, but very real, influence, primarily cultural, in Britain. Even then, though, it was Communism which possessed a magnetic appeal on the far left of politics. This was a crucial factor affecting the second aspect of Goldman's problem: the hostility to anarchism on the British left. It was only the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and, particularly, its general secretary Fenner Brockway, whom she found willing to collaborate with her; but the ILP, after disaffiliating from the Labour Party in 1932, was spinning into marginality, and in Spain was linked to the quasi-Trotskyist POUM, object of the purge following the events of May 1937. As early as January 1937 Goldman went so far as to say:

You can see Fenner is making love to the CNT-FAI. Well, you and I know the motivation ... the ILP is affiliated with the POUM and you know how persecuted the latter is by their erstwhile comrades, the Stalinites. As long ago as two months or more the POUM already had a change of heart towards the CNT-FAI. And now it is altogether hanging on to the coat-tails of our people.¹⁷

Otherwise, among Liberals, trade unionists, members of the Labour Party — all the natural supporters of the Spanish Republic — the CNT and the FAI were synonymous with the worst excesses of the popular fury released by the attempted military coup: the burning of churches, the murder of priests, monks and nuns, and the 55,000 deaths which it is estimated took place behind the Republican lines. (These atrocities received exaggerated publicity in the press, which failed to report that

in Nationalist Spain an even bloodier terror was occurring, in which it is thought that the number killed was in the order of 75,000.)¹⁸ In any case, most progressives in Britain believed that change must come through constitutional, parliamentary procedures and firmly rejected revolutionary means of any kind.

The Communists did not share these reformist scruples, but injected into the politics of the Civil War a virulent intolerance of their revolutionary rivals. Always contemptuous of the social credentials of any opponents — and here in danger of being outflanked by the constructive achievements of the Spanish Revolution — Communists could, quite plausibly, argue that the anarchists impeded the waging of a conventional war. In addition, Communism's subordination to the policy needs (domestic and foreign) of the Soviet Union ensured the exportation to Spain of Stalinism and the purge of 'Trotskyists' then raging in Russia, as well as the curbing of the Revolution. Among the consequences were two 'civil wars' within the Civil War (the 'May Days' of 1937 in Barcelona and in March 1939 in Madrid) and the dismantling of the collectives. Goldman was eloquent concerning Communism's disastrous impact on Spain and its malign influence elsewhere.¹⁹

If you are at all conversant with what was going on in Catalonia and Aragón, and perhaps especially in Barcelona, in 1936 and 1937, you are likely to be familiar with George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*. This was a book turned down (before a word was written!) by his publisher, Victor Gollancz, because of Orwell's anti-Communism and which, when Secker & Warburg brought it out in April 1938, achieved an astonishingly poor sale (it was eventually remaindered after Orwell's death in 1950). Goldman wished:

that the book could circulate in tens of thousands of copies. At least it would show the calibre and the quality of the CNT-FAI and expose the conspiracy against them to the world.

She also hoped that *Homage to Catalonia* would be published in the USA — but that was not to be until as late as 1952.²⁰

In Britain Goldman established what can only be described as anarchist front organisations: bodies not employing the bogey word 'anarchism' but which existed to aid libertarian Spain. An important feature of these and similar bodies was the list of supporting sponsors. In 1937 there was the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children, whose dozen sponsors included a distinguished trio from the stage: Dame Sybil Thorndike, John Gielgud and Sir Barry Jackson. In December 1937 Goldman had returned from Spain to form the English

section of the Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) or SIA.

The SIA was the more important of the two organisations; and during 1938 Goldman produced four issues of a four-page bulletin, *SIA*. Among the sponsors were Havelock Ellis, George Orwell, John Cowper Powys, Llewelyn Powys, Herbert Read, Rebecca West, Reginald Reynolds and Ethel Mannin (the treasurer). W.H. Auden and Nancy Cunard were included through a misunderstanding and they, both Communist sympathisers, insisted on their names being removed.

* * *

Among those (overwhelmingly literary figures) whom Goldman asked to become sponsors of the SIA was Aldous Huxley, the English novelist, whose *Ends and Means* (1937) advocated a libertarian social programme. Huxley's dystopia, *Brave New World* (1932), is famous whereas his anarchist utopia, *Island* (1962), has been overlooked. He had emigrated to the USA in 1937 and replied to Goldman:

The events of the last few years have made it clear, so far as I am concerned, that the libertarian ideal for which you have fought so long is the only satisfactory and even the only *realistic* political creed for anyone who is not a conservative reactionary.

With regard to the SIA, I am enclosing a small contribution to its funds. Being absent from England I think it best not to become a sponsor of the organisation, inasmuch as I shall be unable to do anything to help and I don't think it's satisfactory to be just a sleeping partner."²¹

Goldman proceeded to ask Huxley for a statement to be read at a 'literary and musical evening' to raise funds for the SIA.²² Huxley's response is not directly relevant to the subject of this lecture, but I am going to quote it in full for several reasons. It is a fascinating anticipation both of the new kind of anarchism which has emerged so impressively, particularly in Britain and the USA, since the 1960s, and also of a major form of political dissidence in the 1990s (namely, the green movement). This means that it is of much greater relevance to contemporary concerns than are the politics of the 1930s — even a libertarian understanding of the Spanish Civil War and Revolution (essential though I consider that to be).

To my mind, the urgent problem at the moment is to find a satisfactory technique for giving practical realisation to the ideal of philosophic anarchism.

If we are to have decentralisation, if we are to have genuine self-government, if we are to be free from the tyranny of political and big-business bosses, then we must find some satisfactory method by which people can become economically independent, at any rate in large measure. I am trying to collect relevant information on this subject and am convinced that the technique for realising the libertarian ideal in practice could be formulated and would work perfectly well, if intelligent people were to desire this consummation and were to set their minds to it. Much is to be learned from the theoretical and practical work of Ralph Borsodi while certain contemporary trends of invention — Kettering's work on small Diesel power plants for domestic purposes, Abbott's work on a machine for making direct use of solar energy — point clearly to the possibility of realising that economic independence which must be the material basis of a libertarian society. Borsodi has demonstrated that about two-thirds of all production can actually be carried out more economically in small domestic or co-operative units than in large, highly centralised, mass-producing units. But so obsessed are modern men by the idea of centralisation and mass production that they can think in no other terms. I feel strongly that this purely practical, material side of anarchism is the side that, in the immediate future, requires the most intensive study, together with practical application wherever possible.²³

Goldman was aghast. She knew none of the names cited by Huxley and wrote desperately to Rudolf Rocker (in Crompond, New York State). Rocker was only well acquainted with Borsodi's ideas — indeed he had corresponded with Berkman about them — but did know about Kettering and, although he had not heard of Abbott, was familiar with the principle of utilising solar (and tidal) energy.²⁴

Huxley and Lewis Mumford, starting before World War Two, can, not unrealistically, be considered as forerunners of the 'new anarchism'. Paul Goodman and Alex Comfort were pioneers in the 1940s and 1950s. Colin Ward and, perhaps above all, Murray Bookchin in their very different ways exemplify this new anarchism of the late twentieth century — with its emphasis on biology, ecology, anthropology, alternative technology: as opposed to (in Comfort's words) 'Engels and economics'.²⁵

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Goldman made a third visit to Spain in September 1938, spending another seven weeks in Barcelona. On 8th April 1939 she sailed from Britain for Canada. Barcelona had fallen to the Nationalists on 26th

January and by 1st April the victorious Franco was able to declare the end of the war; but now it was necessary to raise aid in North America for the tens, even hundreds, of thousands of Spanish libertarian refugees who had streamed over the frontier into France.

Goldman continued in Canada, probably still hoping to be readmitted to the United States. On 14th May 1940 she died in Toronto, at the age of 70.

Emma Goldman detested England, endlessly complaining of having to work in 'the barren spiritual soil' of its people and institutions. She contrasted 'this blood-freezing country' with:

the South of France where it is warm out of doors and where one might meet people with red blood in their veins and not water which the British certainly seem to have.²⁶

As she explained in 1933:

Being Russian by birth and having lived in America during my most impressionable years I may have been spoiled by the warmth and an easy friendliness of both. I feel at home with Russians and Americans. I have never yet felt that with any English person ...²⁷

An imperative need of hers had always been for confidants, of either gender, who were on the same emotional and intellectual wavelength. She had to begin establishing herself in Britain in 1936-37 more-or-less afresh, as friends she had made during her previous visits to London, such as Rebecca West (who had written the introduction for *My Disillusionment in Russia*) and Stella Churchill²⁸ distanced themselves now that she was the emissary of Spanish anarchism:

Rebecca? You ask what she is doing? NOTHING. I think she gave her name [as a sponsor of the SIA] because she could not refuse me being face to face with me. I have tried and tried to get in touch with her on the phone. But she was either out or about to go out, or in the country.²⁹

In the place of those old friends, three people were to play essential roles for her in or after 1936.

It was the novelist Ethel Mannin who became her intimate political associate and was able to provide the intense friendship upon which Goldman so depended. In 1937 Herbert Read, a prominent man of letters — poet, literary critic and propagandist for modern art — declared for anarchism and, as the sole significant anarchist intellectual in Britain, was soon working closely with Goldman. After she had left for

Canada, Goldman told Read that he and Mannin were the only two 'real comrades and friends' that she had made during the entire three-year period in London.³⁰

Outside London, John Cowper Powys, whom she was never to meet in his own country, proved in his letters to be an invaluable morale-booster, fully cognisant of her American status (and she of *his*), as well as endorsing her savage critique of the English character. After a quarter of a century in the USA, Powys had settled in North Wales in 1935 and now liked to consider himself Welsh (although both his parents were clearly English and he had never previously lived in Wales). So Goldman commented:

... I know few English people to whom I can appeal easily ... somehow I always feel there is a wall between most of them and me ... of course you are Welsh

and Powys replied:

... you are absolutely right about the Welsh. Our English 'Upper Middle Class' the most snobbish of all our classes simply *doesn't exist in Wales!*³¹

It might perhaps be thought that, in contrast to England, Spain during these years would afford Goldman with comfort and a revolutionary haven. This was very far from the case, however.

She was, of course, ecstatic about the achievements of the first — and, to date, only — thoroughgoing, successful anarchist revolution:

Here I am again in England after three months in Spain. I may say, without exaggeration, the three most exultant months of my entire career ... it was the first time in my life that I could see an attempt being made to realise the ideal and ideas for which I have struggled all my life ... the CNT ... and the FAI ... immediately proceeded to reconstruct the large industries and to collectivise the land — the large estates. In point of fact, they are the first to undertake, during a revolutionary period and while being besieged by enemy forces, constructive work. It was that even more than the necessity of defending themselves against world Fascism which appeals to me so strongly in the Spanish Revolution. Actually, it is the first time in history that such a thing was attempted ... The very thing which our opponents declared to be impossible and of which Anarchists are supposed to be incapable is now being demonstrated all through Catalonia. In other words, I was a witness to the colossal efforts made by my people — people, maligned, misrepresented, charged with every crime in the calendar. Why, then, should I not feel proud?³²

On the other hand, the CNT and the FAI compromised their principles by entering government, the consequences of which proved to be disastrous; the Revolution was succeeded by counter-revolution, with the purge of revolutionaries and suppression of the collectives; and all this before the ultimate Nationalist victory and defeat of the Spanish Republic. The cumulative effect was shattering. As early as 14th May 1937, writing to Rudolf Rocker about the May Days, Goldman declared that she could not continue as official representative of the CNT-FAI on account of 'the worst betrayal of the Revolution since Russia' —

it is a repetition of Russia with the identical method of Lenin against the Anarchist and the SR[s] who refused to barter the Revolution for the Brest Litovsk Peace —

but was meanwhile 'too grieved and too shaken' over the assassination in Barcelona, most probably by the Communists, of the brilliant Italian anarchist, Camillo Berneri, signing herself 'your heart broken comrade'.³³ By the end of the year, in letters to Rocker which she marked 'under no circumstances are these ... to be circulated', she confessed, referring to Huxley's *Ends and Means*:

... he holds the same position as Sasha and I do, that the means must harmonise with the ends. Alas I have gone back on that much to my shame and inner misery.³⁴

The CNT had entered the Catalan government (the Generalitat) on 27th September 1936 and then, on 4th November, Largo Caballero's Republican government in Madrid. This negated the fundamental anarchist tenet of opposition to the state but Goldman, although privately an undoubted critic of 'the labyrinth of Compromise', occupied something of an intermediate position, oscillating between pragmatic defence of the CNT-FAI leadership and sharing the views of its purist adversaries, and provoked in consequence the anger of both extremes, for example, the historian Max Nettlau on the former side and, on the other, Mollie Steimer, one of her dearest friends, in Paris:

I often wonder; how could it happen that you, *EMMA GOLDMAN*, who for *forty five years* has been preaching against forming a Government during a Revolution, and certainly against the participation of Anarchists in it, **COULD NOW BE WILLING TO REPRESENT THE GENERALITAT** and accept credentials from it? For a Government it is, Emmotchka — no matter what is called. [*sic*]³⁵

It was during the winter of 1936-37 that the Spanish Communist Party — a tiny, unimportant organisation at the beginning of the year — was able to extend its influence dramatically, largely since, on account of the adherence of the liberal democracies to the policy of non-intervention, Republican Spain was obliged to depend on Russian arms supplies and advisers. As early as September 1936 a Soviet agent had been detailed to establish the NKVD, the political police, in Spain. From her first visit Goldman abhorred the Communist presence in the Popular Front and the lionisation of the USSR (even in revolutionary Barcelona); and she warned ceaselessly against the mushroom growth in Spain of Stalinist power.

The crisis came in the May Days of 1937. Fighting erupted in Barcelona from 3rd May between, on the one hand, the CNT-FAI rank-and-file and the dissident Marxist POUM and, on the other, the Communist-controlled police. It was suppressed by Assault Guards by 7th May, leaving 500 killed and over a thousand wounded. As a result of the May Days, Largo Caballero was overthrown; the CNT left the Madrid government (although it was to re-enter in March 1938); Negrín became prime minister; and Communist influence was very considerably increased. There were even more far-reaching consequences: the Communists proceeded to liquidate the POUM (with whom Orwell had fought); anarcho-syndicalist supremacy in Catalonia was broken; and the social revolution was reversed everywhere with the dismantling of the collectives. On 29th May 1937 Goldman summed up as follows:

I have been extremely distressed over the events in Spain early this month; not that they have come as a surprise. I saw clearly that entering any Ministries and making concessions to various political Parties would bring dire results to the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, but I do hope that the collapse will not come until Fascism has been driven out of Spain. Unfortunately in the ranks of some of the so-called allies of the two Anarchist organisations we are not so particular about undermining the anti-Fascist struggle ... I admit that the leaders in the ranks of the Anarchists must carry some of the responsibility for the tragic events. The only excuse I can make for them now, and did in the very beginning, is that they had Franco at their throat and the Soviet power in the back. They had little choice in acting true to what they had proclaimed all their lives, and for which they had paid heavily in persecution and years of imprisonment, but that does not change the matter that their magnificent work of socialisation and their heroic battle in driving Fascism out of Catalonia may now be destroyed by the advent of the reactionaries and Fascists in Spain ... Frankly, if the revolution should prove lost, life will

hardly have further meaning. It is not sentiment at all on my part, it is merely facing issues.³⁶

All, eventually, *was* lost; but Emma Goldman kept battling on, a perpetual dissident, until her end: her death in Canada in 1940.

Notes

1. Details of Goldman's life are drawn throughout from: Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (1931; New York, 2 volumes, 1970); Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: a biography of Emma Goldman* (Chicago, 1961); Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon (editors), *Nowhere at Home: letters from exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman* (New York, 1975); Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: an intimate life* (London, 1984); Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman in Exile: from the Russian Revolution to the Spanish Civil War* (Boston, 1989); Candace Falk, *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2nd edition, 1990).
This lecture is, in large measure, based upon the introduction and notes to my edition of the correspondence between Emma Goldman and John Cowper Powys to be published by the Feminist Press at the City University of New York.
2. Van Wyck Brooks, *The Confident Years, 1885-1915* (London, 1952), pages 217-218.
3. Lawrence Durrell (editor), *The Best of Henry Miller* (London, 1960), page 384; Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise*, page 164.
4. Collection of E.E. Bissell, letter to J.C. Powys, 31st July 1936; letter to Max Nettlau, 22nd October 1922, cited by Nicolas Walter, 'Emma Goldman's Disillusionment in Russia' in *The Raven* no. 7 (July 1989), page 238.
5. Emma Goldman, *The Crushing of the Russian Revolution*, cited by Walter, page 236.
6. Emma Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia* (London, 1925), page 200.
7. She was readmitted to the States for a ninety-day lecture tour in 1934, following the formation of Roosevelt's New Deal administration.
8. Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise*, pages 256-257.
9. Richard Drinnon, 'Introduction: Harking Back to the Future' to Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York, 1969 edition), page xiii; Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: a history of anarchism* (London, 1992), chapter 24.
10. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam: Goldman Archive, XXVII B, letter of 4th February 1938.
11. Goldman Archive, XX A and XX B, leaflets.
12. Goldman Archive, XXXIII A, letter of 12th March 1936.
13. Goldman Archive, XXXXI, letter of 12th April 1936. Goldman's host in Ystradgynlais was D.D. Evans. This, I am informed by Hywel Francis, was Dai Dan Evans, a leading trade union activist, who eventually became general secretary of the South Wales Miners, 1958-63. (See Hywel Francis and David Smith, *The Fed: a History of the South Wales Miners in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1980); and also Hywel Francis, 'The Origins of the South Wales Miners Library' in *History Workshop Journal* no. 2 (Autumn 1976), page 202.
14. Goldman Archive, XIX 3, letter to J.C. Powys, 1st January 1936.

15. Cited by Raymond Carr, *The Spanish Tragedy: the Civil War in Perspective* (London, 1977), page 95.
16. Goldman Archive, XXVIII D, letter to Augustin Souchy, 16th April 1937. See also Goldman Archive, XXVII B, letter to Chris Lewis, 7th June 1938.
17. Goldman Archive, XXVIII C, letter to Alexander Schapiro, 9th January 1937.
18. Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (Harmondsworth, 3rd edition, 1977), chapter 16; Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39* (London, 1986), page 122.
19. For a lucid, compelling articulation of this analysis see Noam Chomsky, 'Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship' in *American Power and the New Mandarins* (Harmondsworth, 1969), especially pages 69-70.
20. Goldman Archive, XXVII A, letter to Rose Pesotta, 24th May 1938.
21. Goldman Archive, XXXI, letter of 28th January 1938.
22. Goldman Archive, VI, letter of 15th February 1938.
23. Goldman Archive, VI.
24. Goldman Archive, XXVII A, letter from Rocker, 2nd June 1938; letter to Rocker, 20th June 1938; letter to Huxley, 1st July 1938. For Borsodi see Mildred J. Loomis, *Alternative Americas* (New York, 1982); and also William O. Reichert, *Partisans of Freedom: a study in American anarchism* (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1976), pages 520-525. David Porter, who is similarly impressed by this conjunction between old style and contemporary anarchism, also provides glosses on Kettering and Abbott in *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution* (New Paltz, NY, 1983), page 326 n. 72.
25. University of Victoria, BC: Read Archive, letter from Comfort to Herbert Read, 27th January 1951. Marshall, pages 573, 577-578, also makes the connection between Bookchin and Huxley and (more obviously) Mumford.
26. Goldman Archive, XXVII B, letter to the *Vanguard* group, 22nd April 1938; Goldman Archive, XXXXI, letter to Millie Rocker, no date [Spring 1936].
27. Goldman Archive, XXVI, letter to Ethel Mannin, 3rd December 1933.
28. Churchill was a medical psychologist, who had been a Labour member of the London County Council, 1925-32, and a parliamentary candidate in 1924 and 1929.
29. Goldman Archive, XXVI, letter to Ethel Mannin, 2nd March 1938.
30. Letter of 5th June 1939, cited by Wexler, *Emma Goldman in Exile*, page 214.
31. Goldman Archive, XXVIII D, letters of 29th April and 2nd May 1937.
32. Bissell Collection, letter to J.C. Powys, 5th January 1937.
33. Goldman Archive, XXXXI.
34. Goldman Archive, XXVII A, letters of 21st and 30th December 1937.
35. Goldman Archive, XXVIII D, letter to Thomas H. Bell, 8th March 1937; letter from Mollie Steimer, 14th January 1937. Robert W. Kern, 'Anarchist Principles and Spanish Reality: Emma Goldman as a Participant in the Civil War 1936-39' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 11, nos. 2 and 3 (July 1976), is illuminating on the way in which Goldman was "caught in the middle"; but he makes such bad factual errors in his article that it should only be consulted by those with specialist knowledge. Wexler, *Emma Goldman in Exile*, chapter 9, is, in contrast, entirely reliable. See also José Peirats, *Emma Goldman: una mujer en la tormenta del siglo* (Barcelona, 1983), part 4.
36. Goldman Archive, XXVIII D, letter to J.C. Powys.

*Donna Farmer***Emma Goldman: a voice for women?****Introduction**

Emma Goldman defined anarchism as 'the philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made laws; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong and harmful as well as unnecessary'.¹ Goldman's vision encompassed an idea of sexual and personal freedom as well as social revolution, but because she was primarily an anarchist - devoting her whole life to that cause - her feminism² has been overlooked, both in her own and recent times. Her dismissal of the women's suffrage campaign, and her bitter opposition to the social purity doctrines that inspired many feminist reformers, led her to reject the label *feminist*, and led many feminists to denounce her as an 'enemy of women's freedom' and a 'man's woman'. This work will attempt to show that she had something of value to say to women and that, in her way, she was not only a feminist but one of the most radical of her time.

The fact that Goldman was an activist rather than a systematic theorist presents a problem for any discussion of her ideas; I have tried to show, however, that she *did* have particular ideas. To explain the evolution of her ideas, I felt it was essential to spend some time discussing the context in which her ideas were formed, for the reason stated above but also because, unlike other feminists, Goldman's fight for equality for women was second to her fight for equality for all.

The first part of this work discusses the early influences that worked on her consciousness and made her a rebel; it includes a discussion of the intellectual climate in the societies in which she lived (Russia and the USA) and discusses the conditions of the workers in those societies - to which she reacted so strongly. The second part discusses the conditions for women in the USA: their problems, the feminists' reactions, how Emma Goldman addressed the situation, and the answers she gave.

Russian Background

Emma Goldman was born into a Jewish family in the Russian province of Kovno on 29th June 1869. In her memoirs³ she describes how she saw in the society around her the demoralising effects of unpredictable authority: wives and children beaten, peasants whipped, Jews outcast, rules made and broken on the whim of those in charge. There was no refuge for her within her family life; her despotic father, 'the nightmare of my childhood',⁴ singled her out as the object of his frequent rages, thus ensuring that from the beginning her development was 'largely in revolt'.⁵

In 1882 the family moved to St. Petersburg. Within a year, she says, 'it changed my very being and the whole course of my life'.⁶ This was the year following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II which was the climax of several decades of mounting radical activity directed against Tsarist autocracy. The Tsar was assassinated by members of the terrorist organisation 'Narodnaya Volya' (The People's Will) who were part of the socialist movement known as *populism*. Populism had first emerged as a response to the European revolutions of 1848 and was strengthened by the growing contradictions between Russia's developing industrialisation and expanding intelligentsia on the one hand, and the extreme poverty of the masses on the other. All of Russia's wealth and power were concentrated in the hands of a tiny landed gentry which lived off a vast exploited population of illiterate and impoverished peasants. Over this empire of misery presided the Tsar, whose absolute rule was supported by a powerful secret police, a huge bureaucracy, and the Russian Orthodox Church.

In revulsion against the growing poverty and injustice around them, intellectuals such as Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Chernyshevski - nourished by radical thought from Western Europe - began to evolve a specifically Russian version of socialism. They believed that the Russian peasants were inherently socialist in spirit and argued that Russia could bypass capitalism in the march towards socialism if only the enslaving institutions could be destroyed. What they called for was a decentralised, agrarian socialism. This was to be organised around the traditional autonomous, self-governing peasant commune with collective ownership of land, factories, and workshops. They also called for universal education and suffrage; complete freedom of speech and the press; sexual equality; and a democratically elected constitutional government with a high regional autonomy.⁷ Beginning by emphasising self-education in loosely organised discussion circles and study groups, the Populists moved towards more organised forms of agitation and propaganda work among

peasants and workers, and finally towards highly disciplined conspiratorial terrorism - including the destruction of property and assassination of state officials.

The period following the Tsar's assassination was one of savage reprisals and political repression, but St Petersburg was a city of resistance and remained alive with libertarian and egalitarian ideals. Emma Goldman began to read the forbidden tracts and novels that circulated amongst her sister's student friends and to mourn the revolutionaries - most of whom had been imprisoned, exiled to Siberia, or executed.⁸ She began to question more and more the society in which she lived. The ideas of the Populists clearly influencing her later anarchist ideas.

It is relevant to note the special reverence Emma Goldman felt towards the young women revolutionaries. They 'had been my inspiration ever since I had first read of their lives', she later wrote in her memoirs.⁹ The prominence of women in the Russian revolutionary movement was a unique phenomenon within the context of the nineteenth-century European left. The movement was perhaps the only setting in which women were treated as equals; the vocation of revolutionary the only one that allowed women the full use of their talents. Women functioned at all levels of the movement, including leadership. The revolutionary ethic of sacrifice for the cause appealed both to the traditional value of female self sacrifice and the women's hunger for action, equality, and social commitment.¹⁰

At the age of fifteen Emma's father tried to marry her off but she rebelled against his authority protesting that she wanted to study and travel. Her father's reaction, that 'girls do not have to learn much' only how to 'prepare minced fish, cut noodles fine, and give the man plenty of children',¹¹ further inspired her rebellion, so when her sister planned to emigrate to America in 1886, Emma fled with her. She went full of images of the golden life of freedom she would find there - instead, in the ghetto life of Rochester, New York, she found repression and squalor that differed little from what she had left behind.

American Background

The United States¹² was undergoing rapid industrial expansion. The prevailing ideology was that whatever helped business helped the country. They were operating under a laissez-faire economic system which appealed to the ingrained American belief in freedom; political economists believed this system would promote competition, encourage business enterprise, and increase national wealth. This notion was strengthened by Darwin's evolutionary theories (as popularised through the Social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer) which implied that if it was

inevitable and right that the fittest should survive in nature's struggle for existence, then the same thing should hold true in the economic sphere; free competition without government intervention would enable the most efficient businesses to survive, thereby promoting the national economy in the most effective way. But, in this era of big business, the consequences of laissez-faire were clearly not in the public interest, especially as the government denied its basic tenets through subsidies and loans and protective tariffs; it tended to kill off competition and, when monopoly dominated the scene, the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of the few increased the concentration of political power, threatening the liberty of many. As a justification for this situation, the idea was cultivated that economic and political power should be concentrated in the hands of a privileged minority who not only were rich but were also good and wise. This 'Gospel of Wealth'¹³ gave little thought to farmers, workers or small businessmen who fell victim to monopolistic practices.

The position of the workers had been transformed by the growth of industry and the increased use of machines; workers in factories, mills, and foundries lost the independence and freedom that labourers had once enjoyed; they became helpless pawns in the hands of corporations which considered labour, like any other commodity, as something to be bought as cheaply as possible.

Anarchism

The problem was extenuated by the continued swelling of the urban population by the throngs of immigrants who were pouring into the country at an ever increasing rate. By the 1870s these immigrants were largely Eastern European peasants, whose arrival increased the working class and gutted the labour market; the consequence was that jobs became scarce and wages shrank - other urban workers felt their economic position was threatened. It was a period of upheaval, in the face of deterioration in economic and social status, the country's workers sought some means for better protection of their interests while strikes, labour violence, and rural unrest underlined the severe tensions that accompanied industrialisation and urbanisation.

Reform proposals took on an incredible variety of forms - ranging from populism¹⁴ and socialism, through farmer-labourer coalition to Henry George's single tax¹⁵ and beyond - emphasising the confusion that many people felt concerning both the causes and cures for America's social and economic problems. In the United States, as in most industrial countries of Europe, radicals increasingly chose socialism for several reasons; its ideology reinforced rather than resisted the trend towards

political and economic centralisation, its reliance on political techniques allowed for organisation and integration into an already existing governmental process, and because of its attitude towards technology (that it was a blessing that would ultimately provide all members of society with material comfort). While most Americans, including the majority of radicals and reformers, struggled to come to terms with the technological and economic forces that had transformed society, the anarchists contemptuously refused to do so. They carried to extremes the doubts expressed by others in more moderate terms.

So anarchism appeared in the United States in the late nineteenth century as one response among many to the social and economic dislocations attending the emergence of an increasingly centralised and urbanised industrial society. Anarchism, like socialism and other radical reform movements, confronted the issues of conflict between capital and labour, corporate, centralisation, the concentration of wealth, the creation of mass poverty, and rapid technological change, but it was set apart from the other movements by its voluntarist and decentralist ideology.

At the core of anarchist ideology was the rejection of all forms of externally imposed authority, especially but not exclusively as it was embodied in government. Anarchists insisted on each individual's right to absolute freedom, limited only by a prohibition against infringing the liberties of others. This belief united anarchists who agreed on nothing else, for the anarchist movement,¹⁶ no less than the socialist movement, was faction-ridden and divided. In the United States the two most important factions were the Individualists and the Communist-anarchists (or Anarcho-communists). Individualist anarchism reflected the cultural traditions and economic circumstances of America. It is an outgrowth of classical liberalism and most educated, native-born Americans who became anarchists chose Individualism. Communist-anarchism offered greater attraction to the working class immigrants and their children who felt cheated by the false promises of the 'American Dream'.

The Individualists rejected governmental authority and wanted the creation of a society in which each person would choose freely how to live. All they prescribed for this society was non-interference with the liberty of others and the acceptance of the costs and consequences of individual actions. The main disagreement between the two groups was over the question of property. The Individualists accepted the notion of private property, believing that the state was the chief obstacle to freedom; the Communist-anarchists on the other hand placed private property itself at the centre of their analysis of social and economic oppression. Although both groups derived their ideas from Proudhon,¹⁷

the Communist-anarchists had also been influenced by Marxist theories of class conflict.

Emma Goldman's Anarchism

From the late nineteenth century on, Peter Kropotkin was the chief theoretician of anarcho-communism. At the heart of his social theory lay his belief that the essential characteristic of human beings was their desire to co-operate with others in order to secure the basic needs of life.¹⁸ This quality meant that the individual was essentially a social being who could only achieve full development within society, while society could only benefit if its members were free. Kropotkin and his followers saw no conflict between the interests of the individual and those of the community, therefore they felt no need for the preservation of private property and would abolish it along with the state. They wanted instead to create a system of federated but autonomous communes, producing and sharing freely. Within these communes wages and payments for services would be eliminated along with private property, because the community would provide equally for all its members.

The message of the Anarcho-communists did not appeal to the Americans, and by the late nineteenth century the mention of the word 'anarchism' evoked terror in most minds. One source of this response was the Haymarket bombing on 4th May 1886. An unknown terrorist threw a bomb during a labour demonstration at Chicago's Haymarket Square. One policeman was killed outright and six others died as a result of the attack. The authorities never discovered the identity of the person who threw the bomb; but that did not deter the police from indicting eight men for murder on the charge that they were anarchists and therefore morally responsible for inciting terrorism - even if they did not perform the deed themselves. Seven of the eight were sentenced to death, four of them were eventually hanged. It was reading about the Haymarket trials and the consequent execution of the anarchists that resolved Emma Goldman to becoming an active revolutionary.

'Anarchism,' Goldman says, 'stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion, the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraints of government.'¹⁹ Anarchists question the validity of the very structure of society as it exists, but Emma Goldman wanted to do more than just question and theorise, she believed that 'propaganda by deed' was necessary to arouse people to action.

At the age of twenty she moved to New York and was soon living with several Russian-born anarchists, including Alexander Berkman. After only six months in New York she set off on a successful speaking tour

with the aim of 'making a revolution'. This launched her career as one of the most charismatic and volatile speakers in the history of American oratory. She believed that if the masses could be aroused to action by some polarising event, the revolution against the capitalist masters might begin. The steelworkers' strike of 1892 in Homestead, Pennsylvania, seemed to present the right opportunity. The nation's attention was focused on the violence of the situation at Homestead and Emma and her comrades thought it provided the perfect moment for the 'supreme deed' - for violent propaganda that, by their anarchist theories, would arouse the people against their capitalist oppressors.

The plan was to assassinate the chairman of the Homestead company, Henry Clay Frick, as the Russians had assassinated the Tsar. Goldman's tasks were to raise the money for the gun and to explain the deed to the world. The act was committed by Berkman on 23rd July 1892 - but Frick survived and recovered quickly.

The world did not want to hear Berkman's explanation. The anarchists' motives were misunderstood, disapproved of, and were repudiated by the Homestead strikers themselves. The action confused the issues of the strike and re-awakened a nationwide fear of anarchism. It was from this time that Goldman's demonic legend was launched. On her release from a one-year prison sentence for delivering a speech that allegedly incited the New York unemployed to riot (no riot in fact took place) she found herself a notorious celebrity: 'Red Emma', the enemy of God, law, marriage, and the state.

The following years saw Emma Goldman participating in each radical crisis that emerged, travelling the country and speaking with dedication to her anarchist vision. Her anarchism was not formulated in a systematic way²⁰ but developed in her lectures, in pamphlets, in articles published both in the anarchist and commercial press, and in interviews. Her thought, as it emerged in the late 1890s, blended Kropotkin's theory of Anarcho-communism with the individualism of Stirner, Ibsen, and Nietzsche²¹ and had a strong emphasis on women's emancipation and sexual freedom drawn from Chernyshevski, Freud, the British sex radicals, and the American free love tradition. Less interested in theory than practice, she used these ideas to criticise contemporary society and to promote methods of change.

The essential basis of her politics was opposition to the state. Her strategy was opposition to centralised authority, to large organisations, to legal compulsion such as the draft, and to any form of censorship or coercion. Anarchists opposed not only dictatorships and repressive government authority but also more liberal forms of the state. Goldman therefore opposed parliamentary democracy (as well as undemocratic

forms of government) on the grounds that it subordinated the individual or minority to the will of the majority. Individuals were required to delegate decision-making to the will of the majority; this meant that decision-making power was taken from the individual and given to a representative. On her opposition to parliamentary democracy she was adamant, actively urging people not to vote, participate in electoral campaigns, or hold any government positions; she criticised comrades who occasionally compromised their principles to campaign or vote for socialist or labour candidates. Elections and voting, she asserted, gave people the illusion of political participation without the reality. Electing radicals to political office merely created a new class of bureaucrats within the radical movement, the ballot being 'simply a means for the transference of the rights of people to the control of rulers'.²² In Goldman's view, the struggle must not be fought by electoral politics for, she said, 'correct ideas must precede correct action', and further, 'Education and agitation are the means. Whenever the people shall have arrived at a knowledge of the true principles governing harmonious social relations, they will put them into action without the ballot box.'²³

The anarchists advocated 'direct action' instead of 'political action' - demonstrations in the streets, strikes in the work place and the assertion of individuals' will in everyday life. Instead of mass organisations or political parties, Goldman advocated action by small autonomous groups and by individuals seizing the initiative to oppose oppressive laws and to create alternative institutions such as radical schools, theatres, libraries, and co-operatives. She actively defended trade unions, urged them to become more revolutionary in their demands, and often spoke in support of striking workers. 'Direct action against the authority in the shop, direct action against the invasive, meddling authority of our own moral code, is the logical consistent method of anarchism'.²⁴

Goldman, as a communist-anarchist, opposed capitalism as well as the state. As discussed above, the parliamentary socialists argued for nationalisation of the means of the production, while the anarchists argued for 'socialisation'; in other words, the transfer of private property, not to the state, but to the individuals who actually worked or used it. Goldman therefore was opposed to the socialist and populist demands for state social welfare programmes and for the nationalisation of major industries - such as railroads, utilities and banks - on the grounds that this would only increase the power of the government.

Like most of her anarchist contemporaries Goldman was antipathetic to religion. She frequently lectured on atheism and the failure of Christianity, which she thought was 'admirably adapted to the training of slaves' and insisted on the evils not only of the church, but of religious

belief itself.²⁵ She was herself, however, inspired by a deeply ethical and moral passion. She once remarked, 'I don't care if a man's theory for tomorrow is correct, I care if his spirit of today is correct'; this spirit she defined not as trying to 'enrich ourselves at the expense of others'.²⁶

Emma Goldman emphasised that anarchism was not just 'kicking against everything - especially private property', but that it was committed to the 'tearing down of existing institutions which hold the human race in bondage'.²⁷ It was also committed to building a free society in which the potential of every individual could reach its fullest expression. She accepted Kropotkin's view that human beings were 'naturally' social and that there was no inherent conflict between individual and social instincts. Without the domination of powerful institutions of authority and of 'man-made laws', people would be free to follow the dictates of natural law, which she defined as, 'that factor in man which asserts itself freely and spontaneously without any external force, in harmony with the requirements of nature'. Removal of artificial forms of authority would result not in chaos, but in the emergence of 'natural' forms of social co-operation and mutual aid.²⁸

Goldman, like most anarchists, refused to prescribe the future anarchist society, only affirming that 'Its economic arrangements must consist of voluntary productive and distributive associations, gradually developing into free communism...'.²⁹ By contrast with present society which robbed man 'not merely of the products of his labour, but of the power of free initiative, of originality, and the interest in, or desire for, the things he is making', the anarchist society would leave the individual free to do meaningful work. The worker would resemble the artist, 'One to whom the making of a table, the building of a house, or the tilling of the soil, is what the painting is to the artist and the discovery to the scientist - the result of inspiration, of intense longing, and deep interest in work as a creative force'.³⁰

To her anarchist vision - a world in which everyone would be free from the tyrannies of capitalism, state and church - Emma Goldman added the tyranny of patriarchy. It was her insistence on making sexuality a central concern of her politics that distinguished Goldman's anarchism from most of her contemporaries, for while she saw all these tyrannies as morally self-supporting she made it clear that women's oppression was distinct from men's oppression and she showed an understanding of the pressure and conditions under which women uniquely suffered.

Conditions of Women in the U.S.A.

Having discussed Emma Goldman's reaction to American society in general, we will now turn to look at her reaction to the specific problems

associated with women, beginning with a discussion of women in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century American society.³¹

Business and trade had taken men away from their homes leaving women alone in them, isolated from the world of commerce. Women's role in the family had always been her most important role but previously she shared the role with men. On colonial farms, for example, the labour of both sexes was equally necessary - men and women worked as partners. Among the new middle class, home and family came to be seen as separate from the world of work and money. Women were affected by this change in significant ways. Within their homes, middle-class women continued to perform traditional work - to cook, to clean, make clothing and household goods, but this was no longer considered 'real work' as, unlike men, they earned no payment from it. For the first time in America a class of women emerged who were seen as being 'supported' by their husbands. They were no longer partners but dependents; the development of an industrial society changed the definition of women's work.

Taking away the economic importance from the middle-class home did not, however, diminish the significance of home and family life. Ideas about the home and the women and children who were kept safe there from the 'cruelties of the market place' came to assume new levels of emotional importance. Home and family became the emotional receptacle for all the sentimental values and feelings that middle-class men increasingly felt inhibited from exhibiting. A wife came to symbolise her husband's 'better half', embodying the purity, spirituality, and the goodness which his business life lacked. Men tried to regain the tender side of their own natures through women.

Although at the time few would have recognised the connection between the new sexual definitions and economic practices, the changing relationship between the sexes was perceived by many; both male and female authors wrote at length on what they called 'man's sphere' and 'woman's sphere'; an entire theory of human personality evolved, two separate branches of humankind with opposing characteristics. The idea that men and women were very different (that women were, for example, dependent and soft while men were independent and tough) had existed in the 1700s³² but was then, in general, balanced by ideas of qualities that men and women shared.³³ By the 1800s, shared attitudes were largely forgotten; qualities of mind and character were seen as applying to one sex or the other and not to both, and if they were it was seen as deviance from the norm. Although these ideas were predominantly middle-class they were diffused among an increasingly literate working class, and the working-class girl had the added problem that

she was unable to aspire to the new ideals of womanhood. Many of them entered programmes of self-education with hopes of marrying above their station and thus exchanging the prison of work for the more comfortable prison of marriage to a well-off man. Along with the devaluation of women's work in the home went the closing of other economic opportunities. Women who sought work had fewer options as many trades now required formal training from which they were excluded. Only a few kinds of low-paid work were available to the majority of women - domestic service, teaching, sewing, and factory operative - and none of these jobs provided women with status or a decent wage.

Before discussing the plight of the working women of the lower classes reference should be made to a paradoxical situation. By the turn of the century the inventions that introduced the typewriter, the cash register, and the telephone into the business world had opened up an entirely new area of job opportunities to educated women, altering the status of those who became sales girls, secretaries, typists, and telephone operators. These independent women could no longer be governed by rules based on the premise that a woman's place was in the home, and although they were a small minority they were considered a threat to manners, morals, and general ways of life. They added support to ideas developing in the movement in support of broader civil rights and women's suffrage. Emma Goldman was to have much to say against this new breed of woman, a point which I will return to below.

The emergence of the industrial economy also created new conditions for working women of the lower classes. From the start of the Industrial Revolution women were needed to mass-produce the foods they had once produced for their families. By 1900 there were five million female wage earners in the United States, making up one-fifth of the nation's total work force.³⁴ After 1880, with the influx of immigrants, factory work became the second most common kind of employment for women. They took factory jobs that were listed as 'female only'; these were unskilled jobs paid on the piece-rate system which did not provide them with a living wage. Women were the cheapest pool of workers in the labour force.³⁵

In 1885, Emma Goldman worked in an overcoat factory in Rochester, New York. Here, she said, there was more 'elbow room' than in the St Petersburg glove factory she had worked in, but the work 'was harder and the day (twelve hours) with only a half hour for lunch seemed endless. The iron discipline forbade any free movement, and the constant surveillance of the foreman weighted like a stone on my heart'.³⁶ Like many of the Jewish immigrants, Emma Goldman had come into

contact with the labour and socialist movements in Russia and recognised the common problems confronting workers in Russian and American factories. She also understood the social as well as the economic factors that kept many women from rebelling against their secondary place in the labour force:

But a very small number of the vast army of women workers look upon work as a permanent issue in the same light as does a man. No matter how decrepit the latter, he has been taught to be independent and self supporting... The woman considers her position as worker transitory, to be thrown aside for the first bidder. That is why it is infinitely harder to organise women than men. 'Why should I join the union? I am going to get married, to have a home.' Has she not been taught from infancy to look upon that as her ultimate calling?³⁷

Although some working women sought alliance with male unions, their general apathy was increased by the fact that the men who led the labour movement did not consider women worth organising. This was in part due to the fact that women retired when they married (although for many retirement was only temporary), and in part to the fact that their unskilled work was considered to reduce their worth. A further reason why men failed to support their female counterparts was that many men believed that economic justice would be achieved when they could afford to keep their daughters and wives out of the factories. The object was to rid factories of women rather than to improve conditions for them. Other trade unionists were convinced that because working women were paid one-third to one-half of men's wages, they were underbidding male salaries and threatening jobs for men. Socialist men in the labour movement and political left argued in theory for women's equality, but in practice they failed to support the ideas of a special women's movement to fight for that equality, showing a continued conservatism towards women. By the late 1800s, however, some male unions and middle-class women's organisations did begin to acknowledge the problems faced by working women, and in turn working women, supported by women reformers and feminists, gained the strength to sustain militant organising drives.

Feminism in the U.S.A.

Alix Kates Shulman says that to understand Emma Goldman's feminism we must understand that feminism is not a monolith.³⁸ There are, and always have been, she says, different strands of feminist politics - economic issues, issues of sex and the family, legal and constitutional

issues and woman centredness - these strands 'aggregate in different patterns of overlap and exclusion, depending on the time and place and the individuals who embrace them'. In Emma Goldman's time, forms of feminism were as diverse as they are today. There were tendencies including bourgeois feminism, the women's trade union movement, reform or social feminism, the women's club movement; there was feminism that centred around social purity, and there was radical feminism surviving from an earlier time. So feminism, despite the tendency of later scholars to subsume the whole movement into the drive for suffrage, was a vast, complicated, and often contradictory movement.³⁹

Despite the contradictions, however, some theory was common to all feminists; they believed that American society had institutionalised certain inequalities for women which needed a remedy; they agreed that women had a right to participate in, and to influence, the societal processes. Beyond this agreement lay the dilemma - should women exercise their power by emphasising their differences from men, or by their common humanity?

Feminism of the antebellum period had been radical. It was compounded of the political outrage and moral fervour that fuelled the extreme wing of the anti-slavery movement.⁴⁰ The early feminists repudiated the notion of wifely obedience, refused to remain silent in public debates, insisted on access to educational institutions, and in 1848 demanded the right to vote. The radicalism of the early feminists stemmed from the integration of a recognition of the inherent inequality of economic dependence with a re-examination of the marriage relation and insistence that women had a role in public life.

A recent historian⁴¹ has said that the demand for suffrage was radical in itself because, 'to women fighting to extend their sphere beyond its traditional limitations, political rights involved a radical change in women's status, their emergence into public life'. This argument is compelling for the antebellum years, because feminists clearly viewed suffrage as an escape from their restrictive and domestic spheres but, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the majority of feminists no longer saw suffrage as the first step in the liberation of women from the home, and many of them were at pains to express the view that voting women would not cause any disruption in society.

By the late nineteenth century, the theory of female moral superiority was an accepted truism of American public and private life. From the recognition of female superiority to the belief that women were needed to purify a corrupt society was only a short step. Women used the issue of corruption as their wedge into the world of men and power. They

declared that, as they had kept American homes pure, so they were needed to clean the world at large. The 'sphere theory' was to be extended - the needs of society were too great to allow the better sex to remain silent. Reform became women's byword. Suffragists demanded the vote so as to be able to reform America; they would do this by prohibiting alcohol, ending prostitution, sterilising criminals, improving prisons, giving physical education to girls and boys, using sex education as a means of ending vice, having pure food laws, and in hundreds of other ways.⁴² Most of the issues reformers concerned themselves with were political and economic, but their perception of these issues was almost always moral.

This reform zeal was fed by Social Darwinist beliefs about the perfectibility of society. Social Darwinists described society as an organism in the process of evolving to a higher state, and women were thought to be more highly evolved than men; this added to the prestige of women in reform movements. This assertion was 'proven' by woman's apparent lack of 'low' and 'animalistic' sexual drives and urges, and it was believed that when society was perfected men as well as women would be without lust. For the time being, however, it was up to women reformers to try to teach chastity to men. Reformers who believed that they could speed the process of evolution through their own activities to improve society saw their work as steps towards the perfection of human society. Many feminists supported the social purity crusades that swept the nation in the mid-seventies and periodically thereafter, contending that if only women were allowed to express their superior moral sense at the ballot box, they would be able to alleviate social ills like drunkenness and prostitution. Suffragists argued that 'the state is but the larger family, the nation the old homestead' hence by extending their nurturing functions from the family circle to the larger society, women would not abdicate their traditional domestic role.⁴³

So, over the course of the nineteenth century the feminist movement had developed from a movement dominated by women who held extremist positions on the question of slavery, and therefore found radicalism congenial, to one that encompassed a broad range of women without the unifying coherence of a radical tradition; it became therefore of necessity, more conservative. The result was that by the late 1800s, mainstream feminism - including the suffrage organisations, the women's clubs and reform groups such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union - had chosen to exploit the idea of inherent differences between women and men (that by reason of their maternal and reproductive roles they differed from men intellectually and psychologically) as a justification for granting women civic and legal equality.

There is an argument that during the last years of the nineteenth century, the organised women's rights movement capitulated to a 'Maternal Mystique' (such as has been previously discussed) but that this may have been, in part, a tactical move to attract a mass following.⁴⁴ Whether the shift of emphasis was ideological or tactical the movement as a whole became less radical, less threatening, and hence less likely to effect fundamental change. Emma Goldman and other anarchist-feminists refused to accept this solution to the dilemma. They rejected outright any notion of significant intellectual or psychological differences between the sexes, and continued to insist on absolute equality based on shared humanity.

Despite the many contradictions, we can see on reflection that there are certain ways in which anarchism and feminism have an affinity. Anarchism, by definition, and radical feminism, as it has evolved, are both fundamentally and deeply anti-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian. Both operate through loose voluntary social organisation from the bottom up, relying on collective activities by small groups rather than large political parties and both favour direct action to promote change.⁴⁵

Emma Goldman's Feminism

Was Emma Goldman a sexual radical when it came to women or was she, as some commentators (both contemporary and recent) would say, a conservative on the woman question?

Dale Spender feels that Emma Goldman was a conservative with no special understanding of women's problems, who could only be classed as a radical within a male context. 'To her capitalism was the soul source of women's oppression, and she looked no further for evidence and has no need of other explanatory ideas.'⁴⁶ She goes on to say that Goldman does not admit the collective experience of women to her frame of reference, and because of this she can accept without question the descriptions and explanations provided by men to account for their circumstances under capitalism, and she assumes (with few exceptions) that it is the same for women and ignored the issues of women's oppression prior to capitalism or in cultures that are not capitalist. I intend to show that, while not explicit, her thought encompassed these omissions and that her anarchist fight against capitalism worked for her feminism rather than against it.

The main condemnation of Emma Goldman from feminists, both past and present, is her opposition to the women's suffrage campaign. Suffragists looked to the vote to empower women but, as we have noted above, they wanted to do this by increasing their power from within the traditional institution of marriage. They tended to be a predominantly

middle-class and conservative movement and for Goldman, whose whole life had been involved in the worker's struggle, such a movement was suspect. As an anarchist who opposed government in all forms, whether elected or not, who considered that all government corrupts, and that the state is a major agent of oppression, Goldman saw the struggle for the vote as a diversion from women's real struggle:

I am not opposed to women suffrage on the conventional ground that woman is not equal to it. I see neither physical, psychological, nor mental reason why women should not have equal right to vote with man. But that cannot possibly blind me to the absurd notion that woman will accomplish that wherein man has failed.⁴⁷

She argued against suffrage for class reasons, on anarchist grounds, but also on the grounds of women's interest. She saw the whole social purity movement, from the Temperance Unions and the Prohibition Party to the anti-sexual Purity Leagues (most of which were allied to the suffrage movement), as inimical to women's freedom. Against the notion advanced in support of suffrage - that women would purify politics if granted the vote - Goldman wrote: 'To assume that [woman] would succeed in purifying something which is not susceptible of purification is to credit her with supernatural powers'.⁴⁸ The vote would be, at best, irrelevant to women:

[Woman's] development, her freedom, her independence must come through herself. First by asserting herself as a personality, and not as a sex commodity. Second, by refusing the right to anyone over her body; by refusing to bear children, unless she wants them; by refusing to be a servant to God, the state, society, the husband, the family etc. By making her life simpler, but deeper and richer. That is by trying to learn the meaning and substance of life in all its complexities, by freeing herself from the fear of public opinion and public condemnation. Only that, and not the ballot, will set women free.⁴⁹

While acknowledging that some women wanted the vote in order to free their sex from bondage to church, state, and home, the majority of suffragists, she argued, wanted the vote in order to 'make her a better Christian and homemaker and citizen of the state ... the very Gods that women have served from time immemorial'.⁵⁰

For Goldman the struggle for the vote was a diversion from the real struggle; women's hopes were being corrupted by the enemy of government. As those who criticised her point out, her estimate of the practical

consequences of the vote, and her hostility to government, blinded her to the natural rights argument in favour of suffrage; but her active opposition to suffrage was not anti-feminist or anti-woman, it was based on a desire to see women free.⁵¹ Emma Goldman thought women should be working (with men) to create an anarchist society; the restructure of society as a whole should include the transcendence of individual social and moral precepts to enable women to create for themselves independent, productive, and meaningful lives.

Anarchist-feminists went further than questioning the structure of the state and questioned the structure of the patriarchal family. Goldman and other anarchist-feminists, following in the path of their radical predecessors, were probing sexual and familial relationships to see to what extent the family relationship may be inegalitarian. They probed the question of gender and found that in the case of woman what is called natural is dictated by whatever social and economic structure a theorist favours and is defined as what suits women's prescribed functions in that society.⁵²

For Emma Goldman sexual and reproductive matters were at the heart of women's inferior position in society; she recognised that socio-sexual factors like repression, as well as economic factors, worked to oppress women. To regard the family as a natural and necessary institution can lead to the definition of women by their sexual, procreative and child rearing functions within it. This can lead to the prescription of a code of morality and conception of rights for women distinctly different from those prescribed for men (as we have seen within the suffrage movement). The assumption of the necessity of the family leads the theorists then to regard the biological differences as entailing all other conventional and institutional differences in sex roles which the family has required. As a result of this, women's restricted role has been regarded as dictated by her very nature, and where philosophers have explicitly discussed women they have frequently not extended to them their various conceptions of human nature; they have not only assigned women a distinct role, but have defined them separately and often in contrast to men.⁵³ Goldman recognised this and insisted that female subordination was rooted in an obsolete system of sexual and familial relations that needed to be overthrown. 'Puritan morality', marriage, enforced child bearing and the nature of the patriarchal family were the cause of women's restricted life.

Goldman embraced the sexual radicalism of birth control, free love⁵⁴ and free motherhood. To her personal autonomy was an essential component of sexual equality that political and legal rights could not of

themselves engender. The 'internal tyrants' thwarted and crippled women more than legal and economic factors:

It is morality which condemns woman to the position of a celibate, a prostitute, or a reckless, incessant breeder of hopeless children... Religion and morality are a much better whip to keep people in submission than even the club or the gun.⁵⁵

The first step to equality for women, in Goldman's view, was economic, psychological and sexual independence from men and male dominated institutions. This rested on her belief in the essential sameness of men and women. (She believed that, although there are individual differences between people, intellectual and psychological differences are not gender-based, and therefore women had a right to a role in public life.) She felt that almost every man she had ever known had tried to inhibit her activities as unsuitable to her sex and treated her as a 'mere female'⁵⁶:

Nowhere is woman treated according to the merits of her work, but rather as a sex. It is therefore almost inevitable that she should pay for her right to exist, to keep a position in whatever line, with sex favours. Thus it is merely a question of degree whether she sell herself to one man, in or out of marriage, or to many men.⁵⁷

She saw the institution of marriage as leading to the despicable treatment of women, even as legal prostitution:⁵⁸

The institution of marriage makes a parasite of woman, and absolute dependent. It incapacitates her for life's struggle, annihilates her social consciousness, paralyses her imagination and then imposes its gracious protection, which is in reality a snare ... marriage prepares woman for the life of ... a dependent, helpless servant, while it furnishes the man the right of chattel mortgage over another human life.⁵⁹

Marriage, for Goldman, is a force to be submitted to for the sake of public opinion; it is hypocritical, and nothing to do with love. Love should be the binding force of relationships. 'Marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, an insurance pact,' in which every woman pays with her self respect, 'her very life till death doth part'. The man however pays only in an economic way.⁶⁰ She was repelled by the fact that women will marry for the practical reason of financial security and not love. 'Free Love? As if love is anything but free!' Love in freedom, she

said, can give itself 'unreservedly, abundantly, completely'. All the law courts 'cannot tear it from the soil once it has taken root, if however the soil is sterile how can marriage make it bear fruit?'⁶¹ Love, like everything else, is contaminated by institutionalisation. She did not deny that there can be loving marriages but said that in the case of real love, marriage is superfluous. She believed only in 'the marriage of affection'. 'If two people care for each other', then 'they have a right to live together as long as that love exists. When it is dead, what base immorality for them still to keep together'.⁶²

She went on to define 'the sex question'⁶³ as 'the very basis of the weal or the woe of the race' and urged for public discussions to overcome the 'conspiracy of silence'.⁶⁴ She held talks on 'Marriage', 'The New Woman', 'Free Love' and 'Sex Problems', explaining that 'the sex act is simply the execution of certain natural functions of the human body, as natural, as healthy, and as necessary when exercised temperately, as the functions of the stomach, the brain, the muscles etc.'⁶⁵ Each individual should be the sole determinant of his or her sexual behaviour. If a woman was a monogamist or a 'varietist' it was nobody's business but her own; if it was acceptable for men to be varietists, surely a woman had the same entitlement. In lectures on 'Sex, the Great Element of Creative Art', she stressed the power of sexual impulse over all aspects of life and argued that sexual repression harmed health and also inhibited intellectual and artistic creativity.⁶⁶ The basic anarchist idea of 'non-invasion' was also extended by Goldman to the defence of homosexuality;⁶⁷ she argued that any act entered into voluntarily by two people was not vice. 'What is usually hastily condemned by thoughtless individuals such as homosexuality, masturbation, etc.' she advised, 'should be considered from a scientific viewpoint and not in a moralising way.'⁶⁸

Since women suffered most from repressive sexual values, 'the sex question' was emphatically a woman's question. For Goldman, the liberation of women could not wait until after the revolution or be subsumed under larger political struggles; free women were essential for the success of the radical movement and, moreover, the sexual liberation of women was integral to their emancipation as fully developed human beings. 'I demand the independence of woman, her right to support herself; to live as she pleases. I demand freedom for both sexes, freedom of action, freedom in love and freedom in motherhood'.⁶⁹ Although we may regard her discussion of sexual liberation as romantic (she ignores, for example, the ways in which 'free love' was often used by men to rationalise the sexual exploitation of women), she went much further than most radicals in her understanding of the politics of sex.

Goldman idealises love, and also - giving fuel to her feminist critics - motherhood. '...Motherhood is the highest fulfilment of woman's nature', and, 'the most glorious privilege'.⁷⁰ Love and motherhood are held up as the positive features of women's existence, and it seems paradoxical to hear a 'feminist' invoking them. Women's emancipation was, she felt, eroding women's ability to love and to mother; it was leading women down the wrong path to freedom:

Emancipation as understood by the majority of its adherents is too narrow a scope to permit the boundless love and ecstasy contained in the deep emotion of a true woman, sweetheart, mother in freedom.⁷¹

She was criticising modern feminists for concerning themselves merely with 'external tyrannies' like the denial of the vote or lack of a job, while the 'internal tyrants' of ethical and social conventions - which are more harmful to life and growth - were ignored. She pitied emancipated, professional, middle-class women; they were independent but paid for it 'by the suppression of the mainspring of their own nature' for 'fear of public opinion robbed them of love and intimate comradeship. It was pathetic to see how lonely they were and how they craved children'.⁷² Dale Spender is strongly critical of Goldman on this point.⁷³ She cannot accept Goldman's argument that the 'emancipated' woman is to be pitied and needs to be 'emancipated from emancipation', because, while it has 'brought woman economic equality with men' (an assertion Spender points out would have been contested no less rigorously at the turn of the century than now) this 'highly praised independence is, after all, but a slow process of dulling and shifting a woman's nature, her mother instinct'.⁷⁴

Spender concludes that Goldman sees emancipation as more of a tragedy than traditional marriage, but I think she fails to understand Goldman's anarchism. Although it is strange to hear an anarchist invoking the 'cult of true womanhood and presenting it as a desired and inevitable outcome of the anarchist revolution',⁷⁵ Goldman wanted the new anarchist society to be one where women (and men) would be free to give rein to all their natural instincts.⁷⁶ She was trying to say that emancipation in existing society did not allow for the individuality and freedom of each person to do and be what they choose without denying the 'inner' person. To say that to be loved, or to be a mother, is synonymous with being a slave or subordinate is, she said, ridiculous.⁷⁷

Spender's severest criticism of Emma Goldman is that she lays some blame on women themselves for their position. Spender says that no one has ever suggested that it is easy or without penalties to live as an

independent woman in a male-dominated society, but that the difficulties are inflicted by men, who usually do not like such independence in women and want to coerce them back into 'the fold of love for men, and expression of the maternal instinct' and that many independent women found the problems they faced insurmountable. Goldman's 'problem' was that she was somewhat of a 'superwoman' and, as Alix Kates Shulman points out⁷⁸ the impact of the superwoman on women of lesser accomplishment is always double-edged. While she stands as an important example to others of what it is possible to achieve, for ordinary women, bogged down by daily life, the model may serve as a rebuke, causing her to question her ability.

Goldman - anarchist and individualist - was concerned not only to change social structures but to live out her principles as well (indeed she was prepared to go to jail for them), and she was sometimes impatient with women who were unable to follow her example. She exhorted people not only to organise to resist authority but to also change their ways as individuals. The individualism associated with anarchism emphasises will, creating a problem in that a failure to change can be seen as a failure of the individual will:

It is only too true that we all smart under the burdens of iniquitous social arrangements, under coercion and moral blindness. But are we not conscious individuals, whose aim it is to bring truth and justice into human affairs? The theory that man is a product of conditions has led only to indifference and to a sluggish acquiescence in these conditions, yet everyone knows that adaptation to an unhealthy and unjust mode of life only strengthens both, while man, the so-called crown of all creation, equipped with a capacity to think and see and above all to employ his powers of initiative, grows ever weaker, more passive, more fatalistic.⁷⁹ Thus Goldman can sometimes be seen to blame not only women⁸⁰ but also men and even workers for their oppression.

It is true to say that Goldman does not always identify with women in their struggle, especially middle-class women and, given her great hostility to marriage, wives. Her writings show a mix of understanding and blame:

It is not important whether the husband is a brute or a darling ... marriage guarantees woman a home only by the grace of her husband. There she moves about in his home year after year, until her aspect of life and human affairs becomes as flat, narrow and drab as her surroundings. Small wonder if she becomes a nag, petty, quarrelsome, gossipy, unbearable, thus driving the man from the house ... married life, complete surrender of all faculties, absolutely incapacitates the average woman for the outside world. She

becomes reckless in her appearance, clumsy in her movements, dependent in her decisions, cowardly in her judgement, a weight and a bore, which most men grow to hate and despise.⁸¹

But at times she seems to sympathise with the plight of both wives and emancipated women:

It has been conclusively proved that the old matrimonial relation restricted women to the function of a man's servant and the bearer of his children. And yet we find many emancipated women who prefer marriage, with all its deficiencies, to the narrowness of an unmarried life: narrow and unendurable because of the chains of moral and social prejudice that cramp and bind her nature.⁸²

At other times she did seem to say that if you suffer in marriage, leave your husband and be free; if you suffer jealousy, stop seeing the other person as your property; and if as an emancipated woman you are lonely, go out and practice free-love. Together with her position on suffrage this attitude shocked and angered many feminists (neither sympathy nor hostility to the plight of married women was implicit in anarchist doctrine).

If Goldman was impatient with middle-class and married women, she did identify with the needs and desires of the working-class women she helped to organise. As a trade union organiser, she insisted that women ought to earn enough money to be able to be more than mere drudges and to enjoy some pleasure in life. 'A so-called independence which leads only to earning the merest subsistence is not so enticing, not so ideal that one could expect women to sacrifice everything for it'.⁸³ Women needed flowers, books, visits to the theatre and romantic love.

She identified in the prostitute a paradigm of woman's subordinate position in society:

Society has not a word of condemnation for the man, while no law is too monstrous to set in motion against the helpless victim. She is not only preyed upon by those who use her, but she is also absolutely at the mercy of every policeman and miserable detective on the beat, ... the authorities in every prison.⁸⁴

Although Goldman was no more in favour of prostitution than marriage, she identified with prostitutes because of their class, and because they defied the sexual hypocrisy of puritanism as she did. She did not blame them, but understood their plight. That she could not easily

identify with middle-class wives was less of a failure of her feminism, or even a function of anarchism, than a failure of imagination.⁸⁵

Goldman's main quarrel with her women contemporaries was that she refused to see women as inherently different intellectually from men and therefore neither better nor worse than them. She argued that if male egotism, vanity, and strength operated to enslave women, it was partly because women themselves idealised these qualities and created a self-perpetuating system; when women changed their consciousness, broke that circle, and freed themselves from such ill suited ideals, they might 'incidentally also help men become free'.⁸⁶

True emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in courts, it begins in women's soul. History tells us that every oppressed class gained true liberation from its masters through its own efforts. It is necessary that woman learn from that lesson, that she realises her freedom will reach as far as her power to achieve her freedom reaches.⁸⁷

Conclusion

Emma Goldman's life was a battle for freedom for both sexes as well as an end to 'industrial slavery'. She was almost alone among immigrant radicals in resisting a narrowly economic interpretation of social injustice and in stressing cultural, psychological and sexual issues. During a time when most of the rest, anarchist and socialist, argued that emancipation of women would occur automatically with the defeat of capitalism, Goldman insisted (as feminists always had) that women's issues must be addressed immediately and not left to a hypothetical future. At a time when many radicals looked forward to the strengthening of traditional roles after the revolution, she insisted that the institutionalisation of love and motherhood was part of the structure that imprisoned women and must be radically revised.⁸⁸ Goldman may have failed in achieving her anarchist vision, but she succeeded in giving a feminist dimension to anarchism and a libertarian dimension to the concept of women's emancipation.

Emma Goldman had a message for women that is still relevant today. She told us to look beyond the artificial limitations and boundaries society has placed around us. By extending the anarchist emphasis on individual will to women, she was telling us we have both the right and the power to take our own future into our own hands, individually as well as collectively. She did not preach a feminism of extremes - of man-hating separatism or denial of the value of motherhood; an understanding of Goldman does not tell us to divorce our husbands or practise free love, but it can lead us to an awareness of ourselves as individuals with the right to make our own choices. It may be that women would of

their own volition make different choices from men, but we can never know that whilst we are hemmed in by tradition and conventions. The essence of Emma Goldman's feminism is that we must rid ourselves of the shackles of those traditions and conventions and consider ourselves as human beings whose value is equal to that of men:

Since woman's greatest misfortune has been that she was looked upon as either angel or devil, her true salvation lies in being placed on earth; namely being considered human.⁸⁹

Footnotes

1. Emma Goldman 'Anarchism: What it really stands for' in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p.50.
2. According to the 1933 supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary the first recorded use of the term 'feminist' in English (derived from the French word *féminisme*) was in 1894. See Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism*, p.1.
3. *Living My Life*.
4. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, p.59.
5. 'Was My Life Worth Living?' in *Red Emma Speaks: Selected Writings and Speeches by Emma Goldman*, edited by Alix Kates Shulman, p.394.
6. Frank Harris, *Emma Goldman, the Famous Anarchist*, p.228, cited by Alice Wexler in *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.19.
7. This information is from Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.24.
8. In *Living My Life*, pp.27-28, Goldman says, 'Something mysterious had awakened compassion for them in me. I wept bitterly over their fate,' Wexler points out, *ibid.* p.23, that Goldman called populists 'nihilists' although technically nihilism referred to one element within the broader populist movement - the rebels of the 1850s and 1860s - for whom the element of personal revolt was paramount, as distinct from those who were primarily political and social radicals.
9. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, p.12.
10. See Wexler, *ibid.*, p.27.
11. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, p.12.
12. Background information on the U.S.A. from Peter N. Carrol and David W. Noble, *The Free and the Unfree: A New History of the United States* and Foster Rhea Dulles, *The United States since 1865*.
13. There was an effort to develop a 'Gospel of Wealth' among those who found themselves in the select group of the rich, the good and the wise. This meant that the rich should be the trustees of the poor and distribute some of their money through public philanthropy. But a theory that sought to justify a system that actually increased the chasm between the rich and poor, substituting charity for a more equitable division of income, aroused criticism and resentment.
14. The aim of populism in the U.S.A. was to assert the rights of the producing classes throughout the nation, win redress for their grievances, and break the hold of

monopoly capitalism over the nation's economic life. There was a political arm called the 'People's Party'.

15. George, who completely rejected Social Darwinism, believed the problems created by the fact that the concentration of wealth was in the hands of the few stemmed from a system of land ownership that enabled property owners to profit from the increasing social value of the land without necessarily doing anything themselves to improve it. They were not entitled to this unearned increment, he argued, and it should be returned to the people whose presence in the community had accounted for the land's increase in value. This was to be done through a 'single tax' on the land. He was convinced that it would minimise the difference between the poor and the rich, make all other taxes unnecessary, and mark the beginning of a new golden age.
16. Information on anarchism from David Miller, *Anarchism*, George Woodcock, *Anarchism*, Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women 1870 1920*, and primary sources.
17. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, often called the 'father of anarchism', proposed an economic system, 'mutualism', that reconciled individualism and communism.
18. Kropotkin's theory of 'mutual aid' was his attempt to counter the theories of Social Darwinists with an evolutionary theory which denied that the 'survival of the fittest' was the fight of individuals, and stressed the necessity of socialisation for survival.
19. Emma Goldman, 'Anarchism' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.62.
20. See Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.50.
21. She admired the strong, heroic, non-conformist individual. She was herself capable of Nietzschean tirades against the 'rabble' and the 'common herd', which at times appeared to undercut her defense of labour.
22. Emma Goldman, *Free Society*, 5th June 1898, cited by Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.91.
23. Emma Goldman, *Free Society*, 15th May 1898, *Ibid.*
24. Emma Goldman, 'Anarchism' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.72.
25. Emma Goldman, 'The failure of the Church', in *Red Emma Speaks*, p.187.
26. Emma Goldman, *Mother Earth*, December 1907, p.44, cited by Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.92.
27. Emma Goldman Lecture, February 1908, file 52416-43 U.S. Dept of Labour, Immigration and Naturalisation Service, cited by Wexler, *ibid.*
28. Emma Goldman, 'Anarchism' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.58.
29. *Ibid.* p.56.
30. *Ibid.* pp.55-56.
31. Information for this analysis from Carol Hymowitz and Michael Weissman, *A History of Women in America* and Peter N. Carol and David W. Noble, *The Free and the Unfree: A New History of the United States* and *The United States since 1865*.
32. Expressed very eloquently by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Book Five of *Emile* (1762).
33. For a discussion of changing attitudes to women at this time see Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism*.
34. Figures quoted from Hymowitz and Weissman, *A History of Women in America*, p.234.

35. Ibid. p.239. Studies of working women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show that women received one-half to one-third the wages of working men.
36. *Living My Life*, p.16.
37. 'Marriage and Love' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.233.
38. In 'Emma Goldman: Anarchist Queen', *Feminist Theories*, edited by Dale Spender.
39. Information on feminism in the U.S.A. from Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women 1870-1920*, Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism*, and Hymowitz and Weissman, *A History of Women in America*.
40. Abolitionists used the 'natural rights' argument and claimed that if liberty was man's right and God-given then those who denied it denied God's law. The meshing of politics and religion brought the debate to the attention of women who were denied access to the political arena. The participation of women in the anti-slavery movement prepared them to fight for their own rights. As Mary Wollstonecraft had understood in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1791), the natural rights argument was ready-made feminist ideology.
41. Richard Sennett, *Families Against the City* (New York, 1974), p.116, cited by Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women 1870-1920*, p.47.
42. Hymowitz and Weissman, *A History of Women in America*, p.219.
43. Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women 1870-1920*, p.48.
44. Ibid.
45. Point made by Alix Kates Shulman in 'Emma Goldman's Feminism: A Reappraisal', introduction to *Red Emma Speaks*, p.17.
46. Dale Spender, *Women of Ideas*, p.17.
47. Emma Goldman, 'Woman Suffrage', in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.198.
48. Emma Goldman, 'Woman Suffrage', in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.198.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Her prediction of how little the vote would benefit women has turned out to be correct.
52. For a discussion of anarchist-feminists in the U.S.A. see Margaret Marsh, *Anarchist Women 1870-1920*.
53. These points are made by Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought*.
54. By 'Free Love' is meant love in freedom and not a license for sex. Exponents of free love expressed a belief that it would not lead to promiscuity but to a deepening of the union between those people who come together without the contamination of institutionalisation and tradition.
55. Emma Goldman, 'Victims of Morality' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.171.
56. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, p.215.
57. Emma Goldman, 'The Traffic in Women' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.171.
58. As had many feminists before her, notably, Mary Wollstonecraft in *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1791).
59. Emma Goldman, 'Marriage and Love' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.235.
60. Emma Goldman, 'Marriage and Love' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.228.
61. Ibid. p.236.

62. *New York World*, 17 September, 1893, cited by Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.93.
63. The following discussion relies on Wexler as I had no access to the relevant articles.
64. *Free Society*, 13 August 1899, Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.94.
65. Ibid.
66. Emma Goldman 'The Element of Sex in Life' in the *Michigan Daily*, 17th March 1912, Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.94.
67. I would like to point out here that Dale Spender says (*Women of Ideas*, p.504) that Goldman does not even question heterosexuality. While she does not question it for herself, she makes it clear that she sees sexuality as an individual choice and she has no moral bias in favour of heterosexuality - as seen both in these quotations and in *Living My Life* pp.6665-6.
68. *Lucifer*, 23rd March 1901, Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.94.
69. *The Firebrand*, 19th July 1897, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life*, p.94.
70. Emma Goldman, 'Marriage and Love' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.235.
71. Emma Goldman, 'The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.217.
72. Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, p.371.
73. Dale Spender, *Women of Ideas*, p.504.
74. Emma Goldman, 'The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.224.
75. Dale Spender, *Women of Ideas*, p.504.
76. Remembering that Goldman, like Kropotkin, assumed that mankind was inherently good and thought that the removal of artificial restraints would allow this 'goodness' to surface. Instincts of a kind that would not be beneficial to the society of other individuals therefore would not be considered a problem that was likely to arise.
77. Emma Goldman, 'The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.224.
78. Dale Spender, *Women of Ideas*, p.505.
79. In 'Emma Goldman's Feminism: A Reappraisal', introduction to *Red Emma Speaks*.
80. Emma Goldman, 'Jealousy: Causes and a Possible Cure' in *Red Emma Speaks*, p.220.
81. So did Mary Wollstonecraft in the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. She felt that it suited middle-class married women to remain blind to the realities of their situation.
82. Emma Goldman, 'Marriage and Love' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.234.
83. Emma Goldman, 'The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.221.
84. Ibid. pp.216-7.
85. Emma Goldman, 'The Traffic in Women' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.188.
86. Point made by Alix Kates Shulman in 'Emma Goldman's Feminism: A

- Reappraisal', *Red Emma Speaks*, p.16.
87. See *Living My Life*, pp.556-7.
88. Emma Goldman, 'The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation' in *Anarchism and other Essays*, p.224.
89. In the anarchist ranks Kropotkin, for example, neglected to mention the specific problems of women and Proudhon (although not a contemporary) had a distinct strain of misogyny.
90. Emma Goldman, 'Woman Suffrage', in *Anarchism and other Essays*, pp.198-9.

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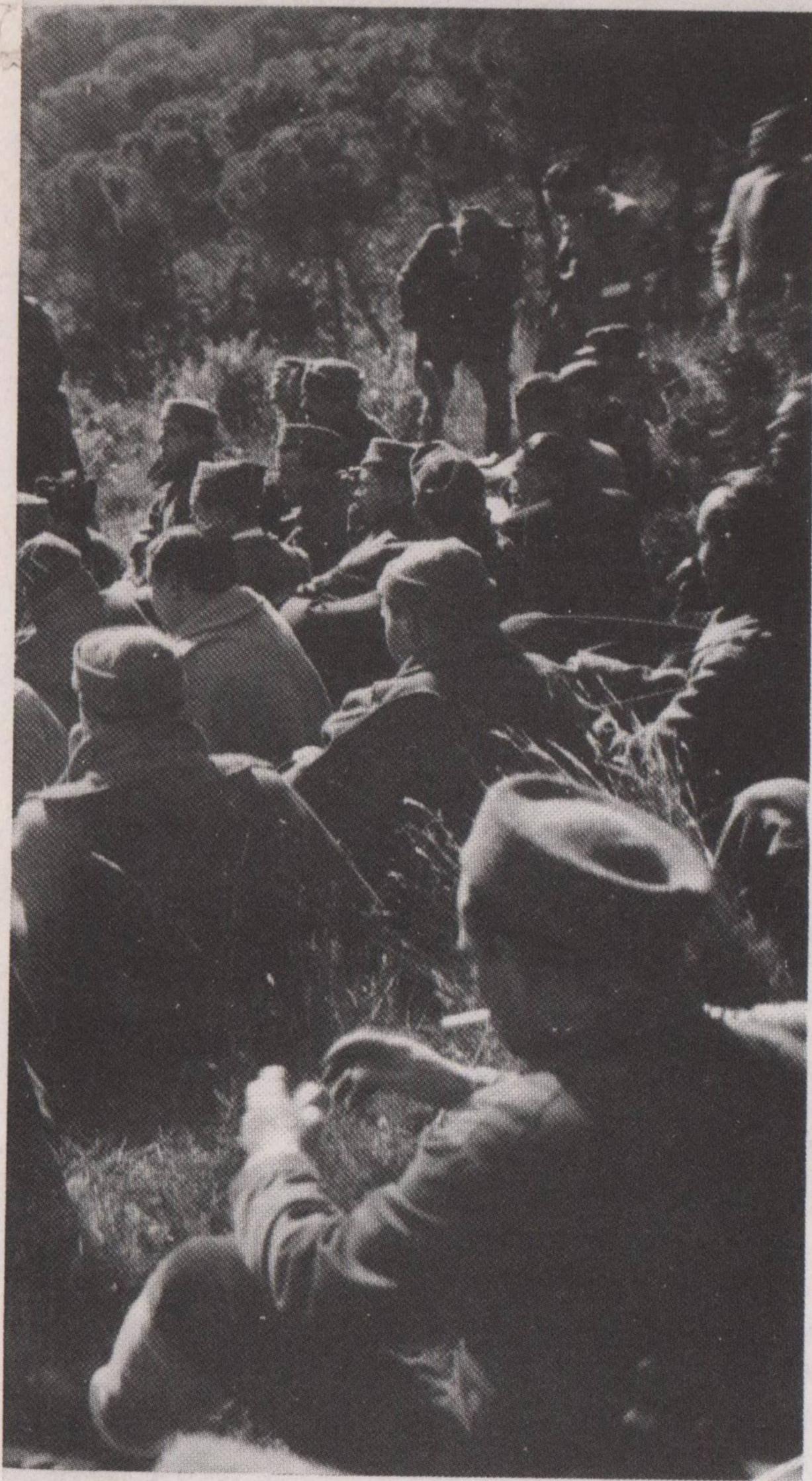
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