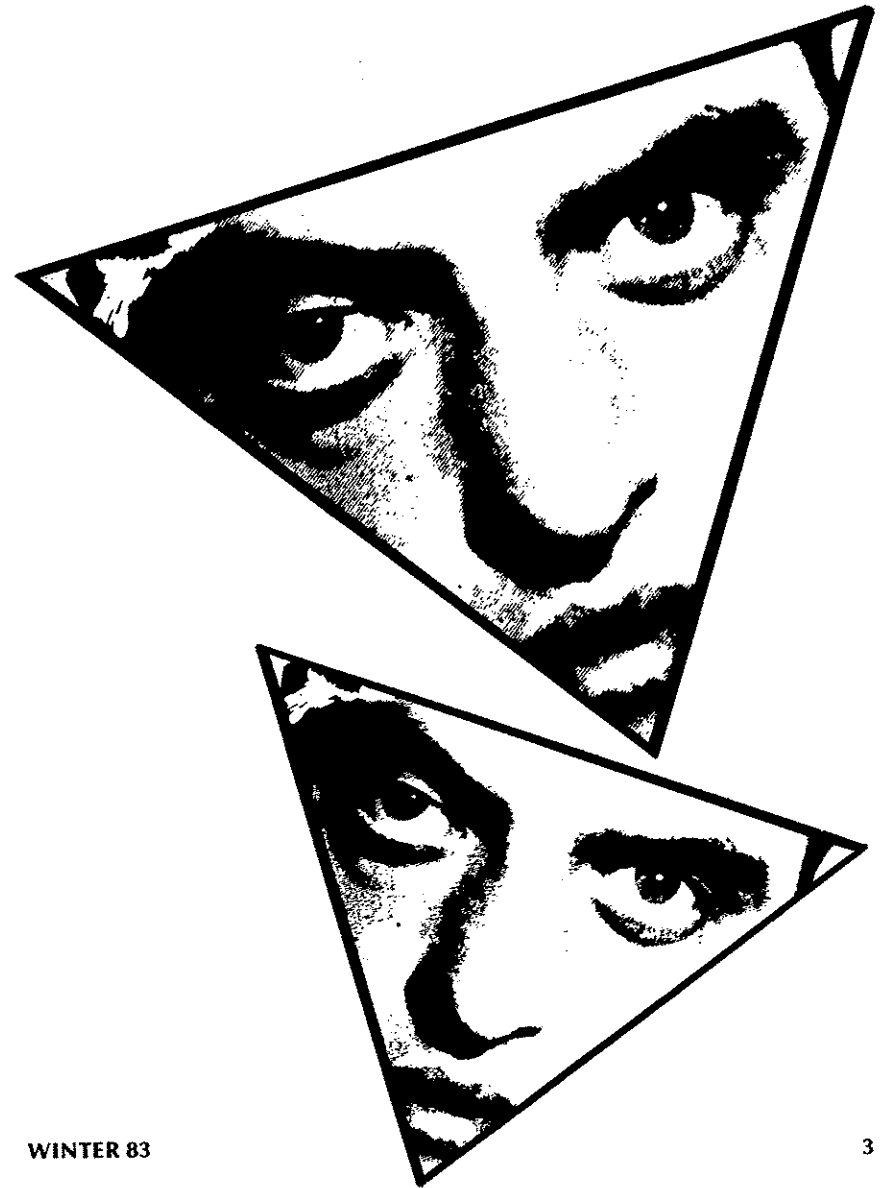

BLACK ROSE #10. 1983

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Number 10	Winter 1983
FROM THE EDITOR _____	2
WHY CAN'T WE BE FRIENDS? Personal Notes of an Anarcha-Feminist E. Luca Reiner _____	4
REVIEW: <i>Rebels in Bohemia</i> (Leslie Fishbein) by Sal Salerno _____	9
NOTES ON THE ASSOCIATIVE FORM OF (SOME) SPANISH TOWNS. . . Andres Mignucci-Giannoni _____	13
POEM Ruth DeWilde _____	26
REVIEW: <i>The End of Anarchism?</i> (Luigi Galleani) by Paul Avrich _____	33
POEM Raffael de Gruttola _____	40
REVIEW: GAUCHISM AND AFTER— <i>The French Left</i> (Arthur Hirsh) by Pat Murtagh _____	43

Nuclear toys, wars
INVASIONS, elections ...
It has been a long
time, but here we
are with B.R. #10.
Bureaucrats, robots
and other monstrous
elements are on the
attack, the time has
come for action.
Our friend Luis Buñuel
once said: I hate
symmetry - let's
think about it.

J.C.D.
"Tovevo"



Why Can't We Be Friends?

Personal Notes of an Anarcha-Feminist

E. Luca Reiner

Anarcha-feminism seems a joyous union of two oft-mistaken-as-negative movements—anarchism, whose general aim is one towards the outgrowing of oppressive authority, and feminism, whose general aim is one towards the outgrowing of patriarchy. They may use different words to describe ideas, but the objectives of each have many similarities. Anarcha-feminism provides a thoughtful basis on which women and men together can develop positive personal and political alternatives to both passive subjugation and self-centered escapism.

I agree with the idea that the feminist perspective in practice is almost purely anarchist. In "Anarchism: the feminist connection," Peggy Kornegger speaks of the necessity for women to develop their own "consciousness" . . . a personal autonomy. She continues, "It (true revolution) takes years of preparation: sharing of ideas and information,



changes in consciousness and behavior, and the creation of political and economic alternatives to capitalist, hierarchical structures. It takes spontaneous direct action on the part of autonomous individuals through collective political confrontation. It is important to 'free your mind' and your personal life, but it is not sufficient. Liberation is not an insular experience; it occurs in conjunction with other human beings. There are no individual 'liberated women.'" The last section is very important: liberation is not an isolated event to be experienced by some while viewed by others; both women and men must participate for it to succeed.

One anarchist principle says that the people involved in an activity should make decisions together. . . consensus. It does not presuppose any group form or method, with the exception of oppressive hierarchies and related coercive manipulations. Beyond this, I think the collaborative efforts of anarcha-feminists are most effective within a societal entity (a town or city). That is where we can share the practice of our ideals and principles with others through the dispersal of information and implementation of actions.

I've never been hot about the idea of isolation as an end objective, either as an individual or as a group. It seems good and healthy to me to have time and space to one's self—to collect energy, rejuvenating the spirit as a means to function better within one's community. But let's imagine that 100 anarchists were to go off to the country and develop a "perfect anarchist village". That might be wonderful for the 100 people involved, but it really wouldn't do much to directly change or improve society. Having anarchy in an isolated microcosm does little if anything to create a situation where the tyranny of authority gets lost in the shuffle.

In a similar vein, I feel we should avoid the mistake of separatism on the basis of gender, using the tactic as an end rather than the means to an end. We could be benefitting as a people by sharing and learning the experiences and thoughts of others. For whatever reason, many feminist separatists choose not to do this but rather develop their awareness and potential alone. I ask, is their objective the division or the sharing of a healthier society?

For me, any efforts to make a better common good have to be processes in which both women and men are involved. If not, then mutual aid is not an objective and divisions are created by gender. In the

past, I have experienced situations where some women have come into a group with an oppressive attitude of superiority, as if they had some grand enlightenment, and with the assumption that none of the men in the group shared that knowledge. Taking that setting, let's say there is a man present who makes a sexist remark or holds some sexist attitude.

Now, since he is in this (shamelessly leftist, anti-authoritarian) group in the first place, would it not be fair to assume that he would be receptive to being made aware of his behavior and subsequently, to changing? Remember, we're not talking about the Ronald Reagans and Phyllis Schafly's out there. . . . Everyone has their shortcomings, and I believe that in order to bring about a mutually agreeable good (i.e. progress), we must help each other out of such traps and not condemn each other because of them. In this example, assuming the man is receptive and that the pursuant conversation is constructive, friendship and respect, rather than resentment and mistrust, would result from the incident.

On the other hand, many feminists have gone through one too many dominating group encounters, and have used these experiences as justification for being with women only. In "Anarcho-Feminism", Marian Leighton writes of the anarchist movement as "having become havens of arrogant and isolated men prattling their rhetoric for their own dubious benefit." Then she concludes that, ". . . anarcho-feminists belong right where they are, which is with other women." Again, this is isolation being used as an end, rather than means to an end. Also, this defensive behavior seems to exhibit a sexist exclusion-by-generalization, with an unwillingness to look at the more basic anarchist intent of each individual person. Not to mention the assumption that only women are anarcho-feminists. . . .

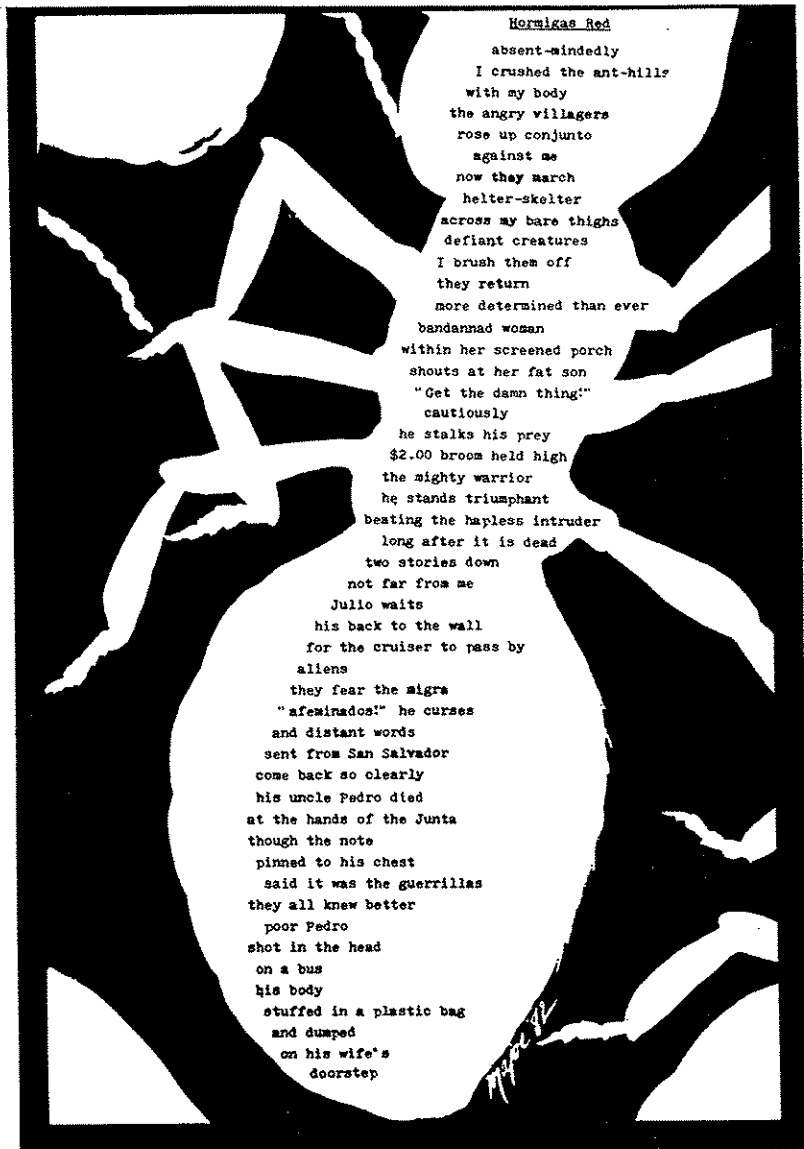
One aspect of anarcho-feminism addresses the issue of working inside/outside of the existing authoritarian structure. Changing from a patriarchy to a matriarchy is not the answer. Female bank presidents who pay poor wages to their tellers do not change the inherent inequity and dominance in our society. A woman who is in a traditionally male role of authority, let's say a police officer, is equally oppressive as the man in that same position. Taking the toys away from the boys and giving them to the girls just guarantees the perpetuation of the same old game. So, to me it seems that developing self-reliant work opportunities apart from the abusive systems is the direction in which to go. I believe doing this most directly and successfully accomplishes the task of bringing about

equity in increasingly greater spheres of our personal and political lives.

Establishing economic independence from the exploitative market is one very effective method of realizing the principles of workplace democracy, as well as getting the hell out of the oppressive financial structure out there in the business world. Some groups in Washington, D.C. have chosen to provide bakery, graphic and health services to their communities, and they are succeeding with the support of all the people in their neighborhoods. As alternative facilities, they control the organization of responsibilities and methods of work.

Earlier in these notes I quoted someone who said that liberation is experienced in conjunction with other human beings. So, how come so many feminists say that feminism is an "ism" for women only? The fear creating arrogance which states that only women can write about or participate in feminism has its roots in the same elitist factionalism which I criticize in much of the radical feminist literature and practice I have seen. PLEASE ASK YOURSELF, do we as a people desire each other to: grow with equal opportunities, live with open camaraderie and work with equitable remuneration, or instead, is the objective of our efforts: the division, separation and judgement of the individual by gender? If the former desires are the goals, then as anarcho-feminists the means we use to realize them must be of the same timbre. When the latter notions dominate, some strange things start to happen: you see buttons pop up on which the word MEN becomes MENACE; you hear talk and read articles about wanting to kill all men, about giving away male babies. This smacks of the same misguided desire to create a perfect race, except a few decades ago they preferred blond, blue-eyed Arians. If they're joking, why isn't everyone laughing?

The process that will help us to change society is one that all people, or as many people as we can get involved, will participate. Only by women and men involved working together, will we make the changes that I believe to be the root objectives of feminism and anarchism. We should work towards building a community of people mutually supportive, where improved communication is developed among individuals. ALL individuals.



Hornikae Red

absent-mindedly
I crushed the ant-hills
with my body
the angry villagers
rose up conjunto
against me
now they march
helter-skelter
across my bare thighs
defiant creatures
I brush them off
they return
more determined than ever
bandannad woman
within her screened porch
shouts at her fat son
"Get the damn thing!"
cautiously
he stalks his prey
\$2.00 broom held high
the mighty warrior
he stands triumphant
beating the hapless intruder
long after it is dead
two stories down
not far from me
Julio waits
his back to the wall
for the cruiser to pass by
aliens
they fear the migra
"afemirados!" he curses
and distant words
sent from San Salvador
come back so clearly
his uncle Pedro died
at the hands of the Junta
though the note
pinned to his chest
said it was the guerrillas
they all knew better
poor Pedro
shot in the head
on a bus
his body
stuffed in a plastic bag
and dumped
on his wife's
doorstep

BLACK ROSE

REBELS IN BOHEMIA by Leslie Fishbein. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, \$24.50, 270 pages.

The central thesis of Fishbein's study of the pre-World War I Greenwich Village radicals revolves around their failure to adapt the insights of Freudian psychology to a socialist analysis of American culture and society. The radicals of 'The Masses', Fishbein argues, turned to Freudianism in their crusade against America's neo-puritanism but only as a "tool in their personal liberation." Their bourgeois egotism prevented a "genuine attempt to fuse Marxism and Freudianism" causing the strands of political and psychological radicalism to unravel in the post war period. Consequently, "the left found itself without an ideology that could explain the relationship between radicalism and personal life. Cultural and political radicals parted ways and the left entered a period of temporary decline."

The differences between cultural and political radicalism and to what extent they did coexist in this period are not developed in her analysis. Fishbein dispenses with the complex relationship between cultural and political radicalism by invoking

WINTER 83

Christopher Lasch's argument that the pre-war village radicals "... attached greater importance to a cultural transformation of American society than they did to political reform per se." Fishbein elaborates this perspective by faulting village radicals for borrowing from antirationalist European thinkers like Bergson and Nietzsche to provide indirect justification for the uncritical subjectivity of the "new paganism". The eclecticism of these radicals mitigated against the development of a coherent theory of social change. Nietzsche was invoked to argue against the evils of civilization, Freud to champion free love, "Marx to buttress the family, and syndicalism to explain the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) in a veritable orgy of misinterpretation."

An example of Fishbein's inability to understand the relationship between culture and political radicalism can be seen in her critique of the aesthetic of 'The Masses'. Critical of 'The Masses' efforts to pioneer on-the-spot coverage of labor protest and their use of cartoons and graphics to dramatize the class struggle, Fishbein misunderstands their politization of culture. Instead she focuses on what she describes as an absence of a marxist theory of art. "The problem of style," Fishbein goes on to argue, "posed a fundamental challenge to the radicals' self image."

In her view, the ingredients of a socialist expression of art demand a crafted, more self-conscious aesthetic form. This, she argues, was inimicable to their Bohemian elan based on spontaneity and authenticity. The essence of the political sensibility and style of 'The Masses' and village radicals was developed through their involvement with labor struggles and the I.W.W. By ignoring this aspect of their history, Fishbein misses the very reasons why the village radicals believed in "direct" reportage as the most effective way of communicating their analysis.

In her discussion of the "new feminism" Fishbein relies heavily on Aileen Kraditor and June Sochen, concluding that "radical feminists did not outlive the war" because "village feminists were too individualistic to leave viable organizations in their wake." Judith Schwartz's study, *Radical Feminists in Heterodoxy, Greenwich Village 1912-1940*, documents the continuity between pre and post war village feminist communities. Fishbein neglects this important source.

The Progressive Era was marked by the emergence of an organized middle class reform movement aimed at ameliorating labor discontent as well as opposing repressive methods used by government and big business to suppress labor disorder. While the period was marked by a trend toward

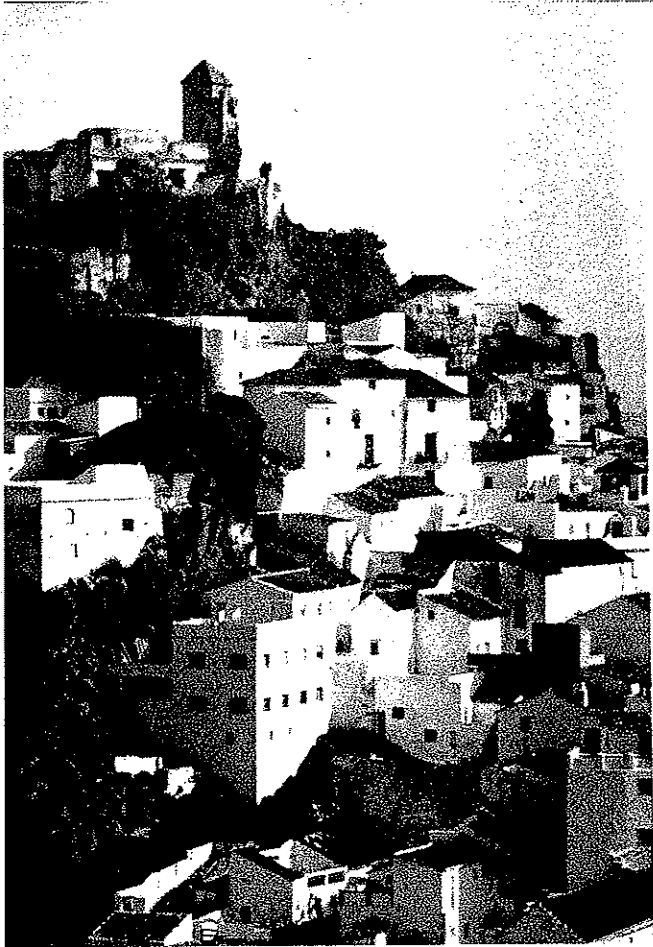
less repression of the labor unions, the same was not true of repression directed toward cultural and political radicalism. For the most part, Fishbein ignores the historical context of the emergence of an important sector of this movement—an intellectual proletariat, and the political repression directed against this type of radicalism. Missing the material and political basis of their radicalism, Fishbein sees the village radicals as merely attacking the symbols of the repressive order they were struggling to transform. To explicate this "symbolic crusade" among village radicals Fishbein concentrates on the writings of diehard romantics like Hutchins Hapgood, Floyd Dell, and Mabel Dodge, conservative socialists like Morris Hillquit and John Spargo, while at the same time championing the liberal philosophies of John Dewey and Walter Lippman. Those whose radicalism does not fit neatly into her theory—Art Young, Lou Rogers, John Reed, Louise Bryant, Crystal Eastman, etc.—are ignored or selectively treated to support her argument.

Fishbein concludes that "traditional vulnerability in matters of the heart" blinded village radicals to their revolutionary purpose. She claims that even the "more political rebels like Emma Goldman were prone to find love subversive" to their radical commitment. Bound to

conceptions of psychology and sexuality that are in themselves bourgeois, Fishbein sees the village radicals as caught in the most exploitative forms of bourgeois relations. Thus, she dismisses their struggles to transform themselves as social and sexual beings. The end result is to view the village radicals as neurotics and ineffectual rebels, "victims of their incapacity to repress, sublimate or fulfill their powerful sexual drives." *Rebels in Bohemia* is psychohistory at its worst.

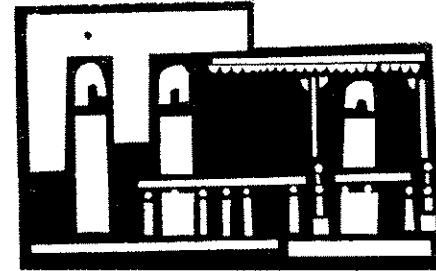
—Sal Salerno





Notes on the Associative Form Of (Some) Spanish Towns. . .

Andres Mignucci-Giannoni



1 (By way of introduction:

"We are estranged from that with which we are most familiar"
Heraclitus

The epigraph by Heraclitus (brought to us by Olson) points to one of the basic realities of 20th c. America, in particular the relation between its people and the built and natural environment in which they live.

When architecture is seen as the building of supportive settings for man's daily existence, it has to, be definition, be concerned and ultimately contribute to return man to that with which he is now estranged:

The basic collective and individual processes which outline and structure his relationship with what (really) counts,

his fellow men and
the built and natural environment
(the FIELD:
that TOTALITY in which he stands.

2

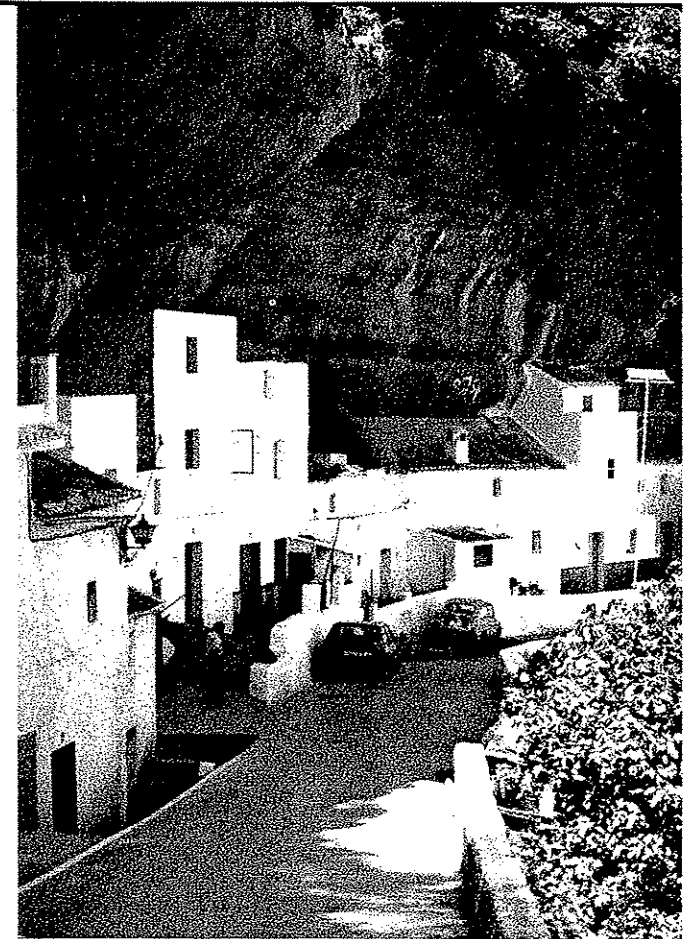
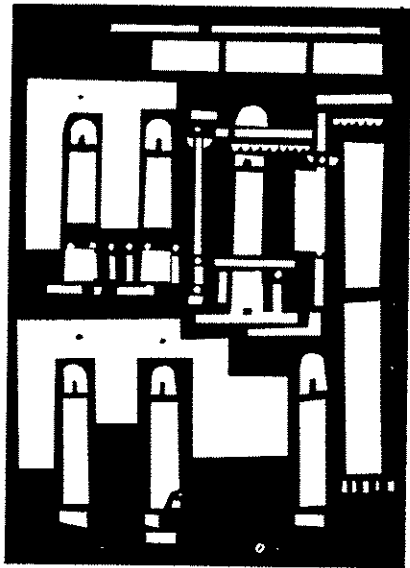
(Some) Spanish towns are part of a set of built references which illustrate a reciprocal / supportive relation between form, use, and the natural landscape / context. The essence of these towns is that their form is (both) a

- 1 CONTINUATION OF THE CONTEXT (and an
- 2 EXPRESSION OF THEIR CONTENT.

It is not a continuation by repeating, mimicking, or copying the existing (or any other "stylistic" borrowing), but by and through an understanding of the IMPLICIT PRINCIPLES, rules/laws, and relationships embodied in them.

So, the central premise is that these towns,
THIS TOTALITY, IS COHERENT

(with the field in which they stand and
with the forces acting on them.



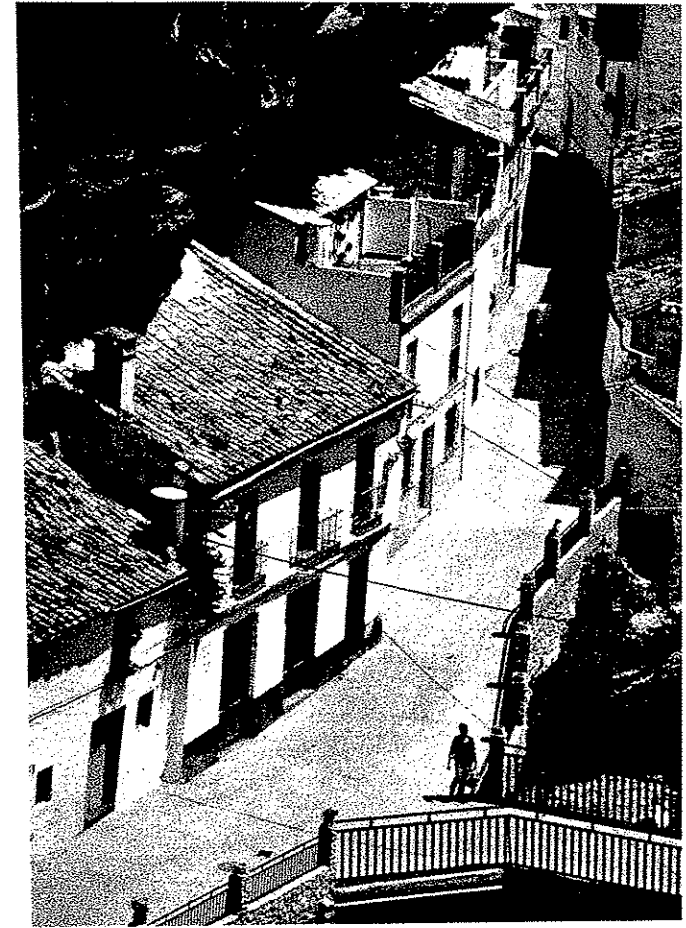
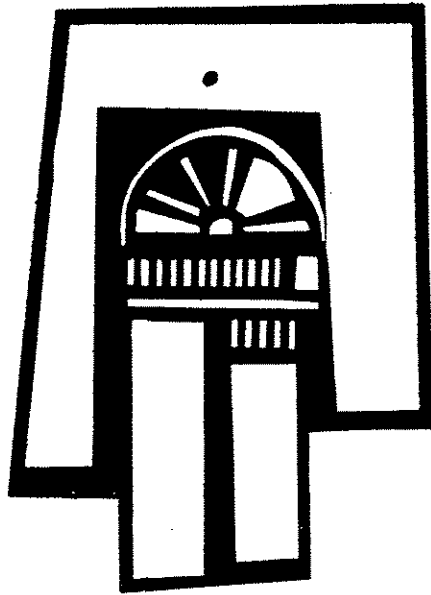
3

Man is but one of these forces which

,along with
sun earth water leaf

shape these towns in a generative / additive way. They are not "made" by
an individual or entity, (or in a specific point in time)
but by many people in a continuous layering of phases.

This additive generation gets rid of the individual as ego by the simple
insistence that man is not the center of phenomena, but is an object
among all all objects of nature. He is part of phenomena, it is the self in
relation to things, not self as ego. As part of this world, of this natural and
human world, man is, both, object and subject of architecture. Spanish
towns are intimately particular because they belong to those who inhabit
them as an EXTENSION OF NATURE.



4

Form as an extension of a range of forces acting in a field/context

natural forces, such as topography and climate,
social forces, culture, politics, economics, and
physical forces, the nature of local/available
materials and the processes
governing their assemblage,...

yields a number of multiple expressions, supportive to what is already there. This is one reason why us 'visitors', with no prior relationships experience to that part of the world, can feel comfortable in it. We can ASSOCIATE optionally with a wide RANGE OF DEFINITIONS rather than a single set of prescribed form-uli.

For different people, under different circumstances and conditions, a form will evoke different associations, new and changing meanings. ASSOCIATIVE FORM has the capacity to allow and accept a RANGE OF INTERPRETATION AND EXPRESSIONS. However, among the different 'particular' expressions, there are always constant relationships which bind these meaning fragments into a coherent whole. Form definitions are, then, an assemblage of STRUCTURED PARTICULARS, generated through a set of GENERALIZABLE PRINCIPLES which follow the FORCES OF THE CONTEXT.



BLACK ROSE

5

These 'particular' form definitions structure TERRITORIES. Territories serve as settings for USE, the interpretation/expression of our associations through our interaction with physical form. Territories, 'places', are then defined, articulated, and supported by form. Building processes structure form into concrete realities. In this way...

USE by way of the BUILT..... to FORM
FORM by way of USE..... to TERRITORY
TERRITORY by way of FORM..... to USE

USE
FORM
TERRITORY and
THE PROCESSES OF THEIR GENERATION
are, then, aspects of the same TOTALITY,
ASSOCIATION.

They are indivisible, for one can not exist without the other.

6

Form is the result of the interaction between external and internal forces. Every force acting in a medium, in and as part of a FIELD OF FORCES. Any process induced by forces makes sense only in reference to its surroundings as an interaction between the forces and the medium in which they act. This is real CONTEXTualism, CONTINUITY at all levels:

with what is there
with nature
with the landscape
with man

his way of life and customs
AND WITH THE NATURE OF FORM ITSELF.

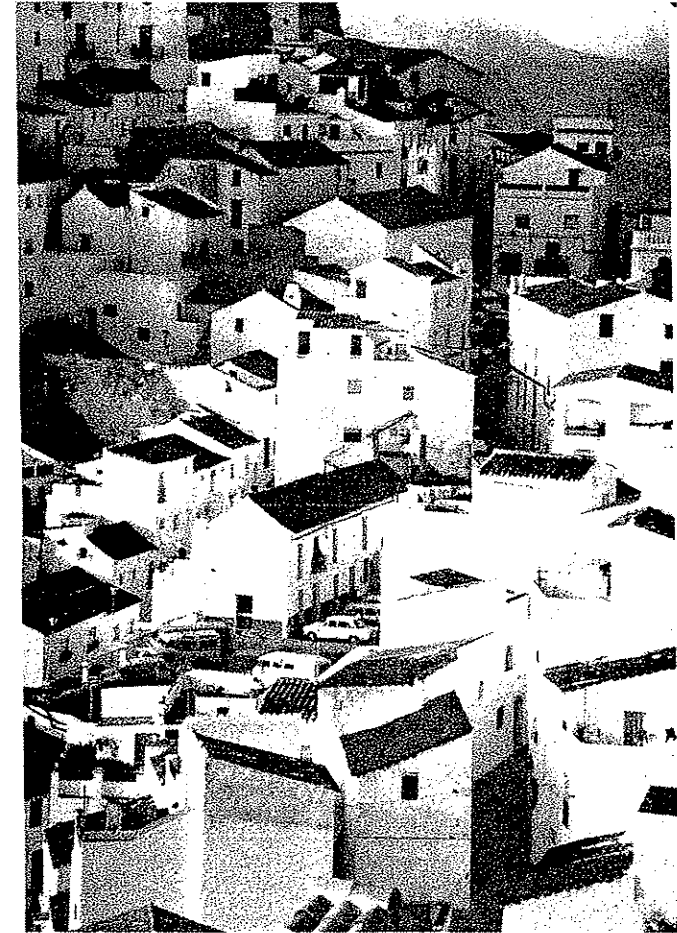
In a field of force, form is generated through 3 basic sets of relationships:

- 1 those that come from phenomenological forces or 'constancies',
- 2 those informed by the physical and social context,
- and 3 those that come from the nature of materials and their processes.

Following these forces, these places are continuous with their source
they grow through movement
in a certain fluid, dynamic
non-hierarchical or mechanical way.

Form making is never finished
but continued additively
with each definition serving as a reference for the next.

In this way, buildings and their spatial counterpart, territories, grow from the existing
through movement
to the articulation of such movement through the partial definition of parts reinforcing the direction of the landscape.



7

The landscape is (in general) the principal generator of the overall form. The continuity of access and building INTENSIFIES and reinforces the CONTINUITY of the LANDSCAPE. The built intensifies the already existing landscape definition. These places are based on a (strong) directional field following water and topographic contours. In other towns, as a response to severe climatic conditions (and the need for defense), landscape characteristics are TRANSFORMED. Additional containments (including defensive walls) and interior patios appear as a form response in these transformed towns.

One can identify a number of constant relationships between certain types of context clues and the particular modes of form behavior.

The (relative) CONTINUITY of the landscape generates the DIRECTION of UNITS OF MOTION, access, as well as the general organization of the town.

PARTIAL CONTAINMENTS through the DEFINITION OF BOUNDARIES and their EDGE DISPLACEMENTS structure UNITS OF REST PLACES OF/FOR USE.

These units of movements and rest are structured as stable entities through DIMENSIONAL, POSITIONAL, AND DIRECTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS articulated by the consistent use of typological and topological families of form definitions.

8

In these towns, BUILT FORM IS GENERATED THROUGH A NATURAL

In these towns, BUILT FORM IS GENERATED THROUGH A NATURAL ORDER existing in the LANDSCAPE (or FIELD) through MOVEMENT and USE from the CONTEXT

This suggests a greater relatedness and harmony between

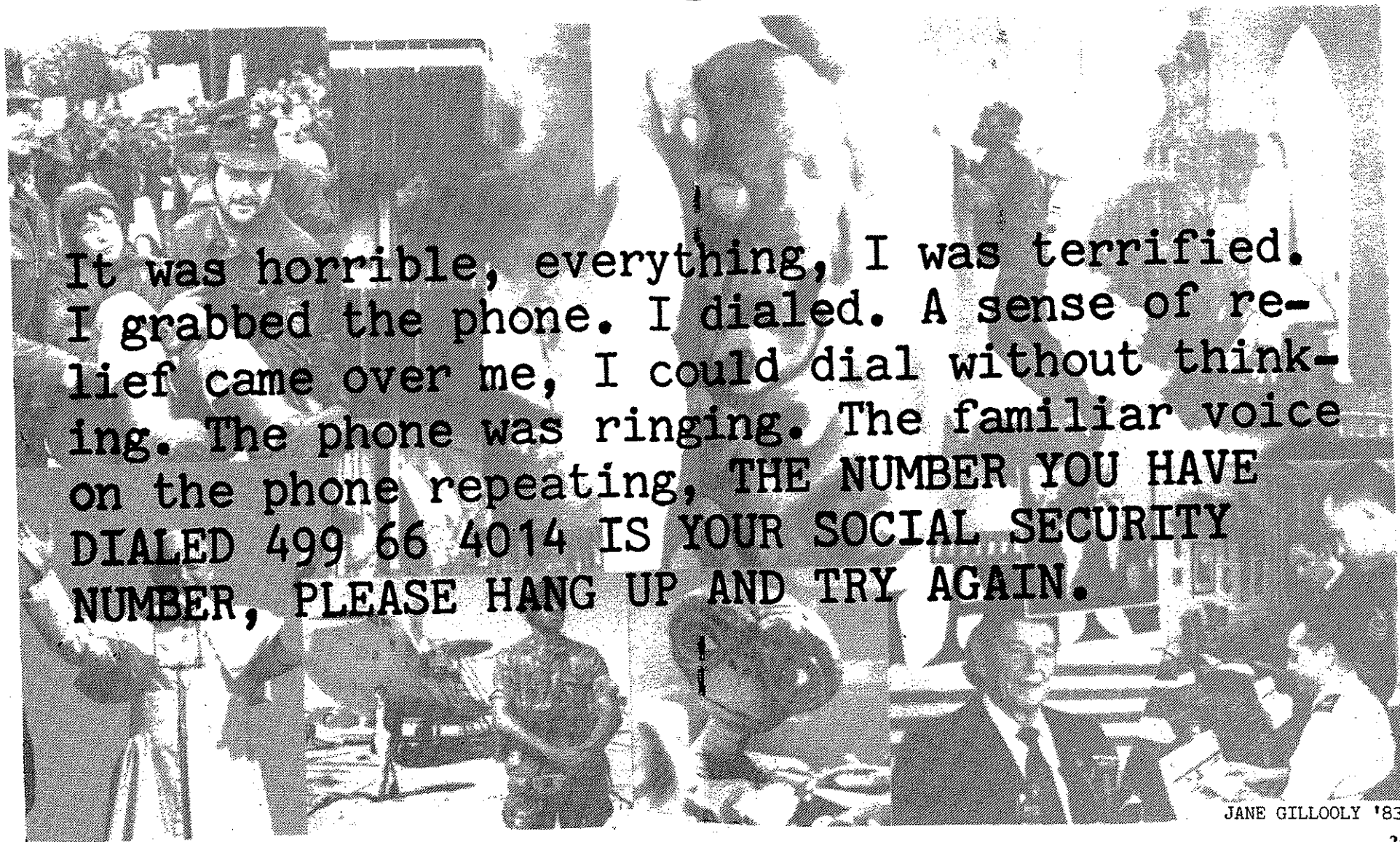
PEOPLE
PHYSICAL OBJECTS
SOCIETY and its INSTITUTIONS
and THE BUILT AND NATURAL LANDSCAPE
IN WHICH THEY LIVE.

It is possible, through OBSERVATION to explore the intrinsic nature of these towns (form definitions, elements, and resultant territories) and the principles and laws governing their generation,

so that PROJECTED new environments can also be CONTINUOUS WITH THEIR CONTENT/CONTEXT.

THESE PRINCIPLES ARE VOCABULARIES OF BUILDING WHICH ARE EMPLOYED/CAN BE EMPLOYED TO GENERATE VARIABLE AND RESPONSIVE ENVIRONMENTS AS POSITIVE EXTENSIONS FROM, AND APPROPRIATE TO THE CONTEXT AND CONTENT OF THE HUMAN AND NATURAL UNIVERSE OF THOSE WHO INHABIT IT.

photographs and drawings by Andres Mignucci and Tom Hille.



It was horrible, everything, I was terrified. I grabbed the phone. I dialed. A sense of relief came over me, I could dial without thinking. The phone was ringing. The familiar voice on the phone repeating, THE NUMBER YOU HAVE DIALED 499 66 4014 IS YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER, PLEASE HANG UP AND TRY AGAIN.

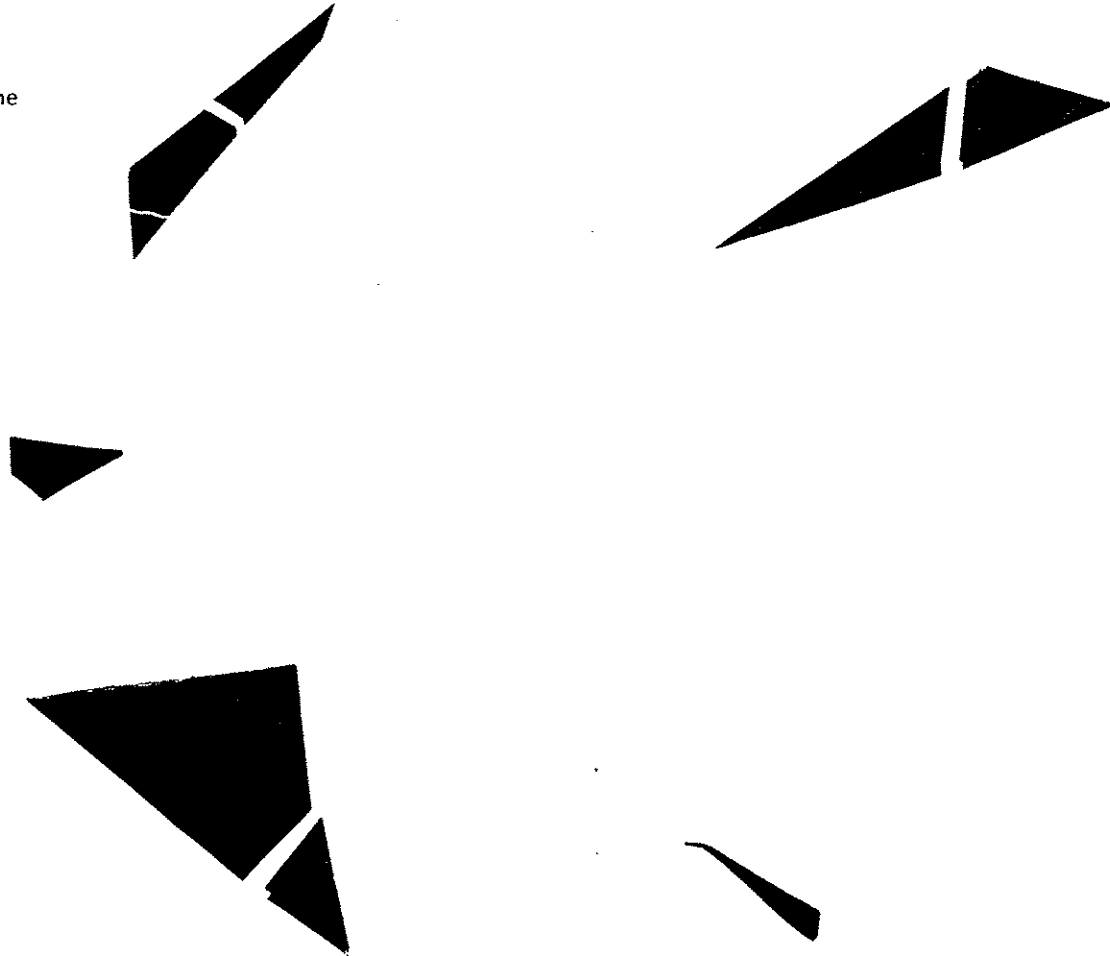
JANE GILLOOLY '83

REFUGEE


half way around the world
you traveled
to live
in the land of the free
it did not matter
that the four room flat
they gave you
had scum on the wall
and filthy floors
after all
you slept
for four years
coverless
bones on the dirt
under Pol Pot
and you survived
two years of torture
in the prison
guilty of nothing
but being educated
all those 17 years
you fought for justice
behind that badge
and you never thought
you'd ever see
the law
imprisoned
but there you were
on the other side of the bars
thinking only
of survival
always
of survival
you never even winced

when you had to deny
all that you were
to be selfrighteous
meant certain death
better to lie
to the mindless
and live
than to die needlessly
from arrogance
and the constant stench
and moaning
of the dying
pleasing
for a few grains of rice
did not discourage you
but instead
gave you strength
to endure
and courage
to stay among the living
your life
even in isolation
was not
just your own
you had your wife
and six children
to consider
and they
were all starving
and waiting
praying
for you to return
you had to hold on
to the strength
within you
and not give in
to that iron voice
choking your throat



nor the deafening pain
in your groin
you could not allow
your spirit
to be broken
and when the day finally came
when another enemy
set you free
you were numb
strange
how life-long enemies
become allies
when faced
with common destruction
your cell was opened
it did not matter how
and you were too frail
to contemplate it
so shattered
and scattered
from the past
you thought only
of the present
thought only
of piecing
your fragmented family
back together
amidst the chaos
and moving on
through the night
in the crossfire
past the mass graves
of rotting flesh
over landmines
and foot traps
where relatives
and close friends
lay hidden beneath



their bodies impaled
on bamboo spears
there was no time
to look back
for you
child in arms
were too busy
avoiding bullets
too busy praying
that your atrophied legs
would not hit
one of the blind strings
in the darkness
the blind strings
tied to hand grenades
and you were fortunate
to miss them
but others
were not so
and you followed
the path of their bodies
and slept
among their ghosts
all the way
to the border
all the long way
to the border
and for the past
thirteen months
you've been here
trying to make this place
your home
you brought with you
few possessions
but carried your valuables
within you
and they were there
the night

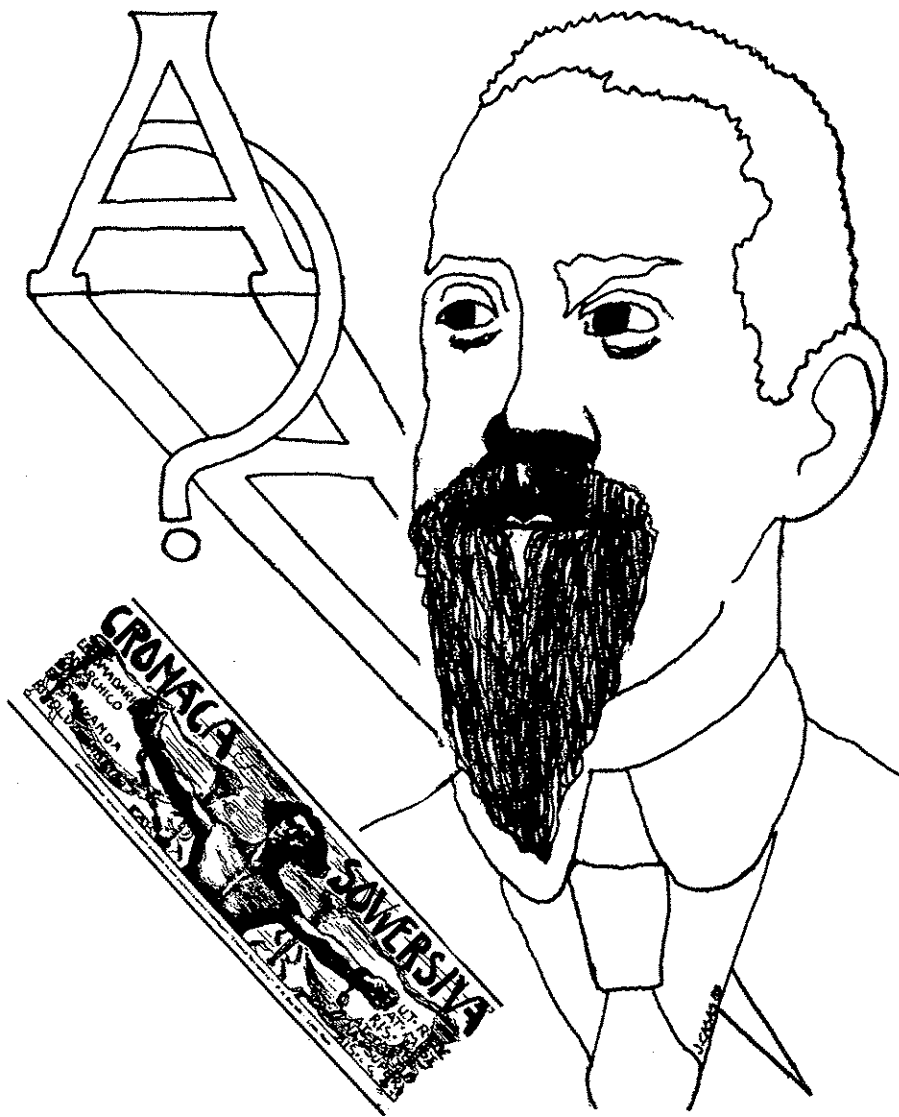


the hoodlums came
barging through your door
demanding to take your son
he did not know his place
he did not understand
that saying, "shut up"
was a criminal offense
in the eyes
of the aggravators
and they
would not listen to reason
though you tried
to make them hear
experience
should have reminded you
that true blind men
have no ears
and the neighborhood gestapo
was no different
the next day
they returned
all fired
with the passion
of power
more determined than ever
to break you
to take you and your son
one threw a rock
through your window
just missing your baby
asleep on the floor
while the others ganged up
to beat you
in broad daylight
in front of the neighbors
and you hardly
felt the pain
though you mourn



the loss of your t-shirt
the gift from your students
at school
but it was not the beating
that beat you
nor the indifference
of the police
it was only
your children's expressions
and the threats
to your first son's life
that spread that look of anguish
across your weary face
and you came here
so tired of oppression
so tired
wanting only
to live in peace
to live
like a priest
and purify your soul
and you want no revenge
you ask for nothing
but to be left alone
and once more
you gather your family
to make plans
to escape in the night

Ruth DeWilde



THE END OF ANARCHISM?

Luigi Galleani. Translated from the Italian by Max Sartin and Robert D'Attilio, with an introduction by M.S. Orkney: Cienfuegos Press, 1982, 83 pp.

The career of Luigi Galleani involves a paradox. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, he was the leading Italian anarchist in the United States, one of the greatest anarchist orators of his time, in a class with Emma Goldman and Johann Most, editor of the foremost Italian-American anarchist periodical, *La Cronaca Sovversiva* (The Subversive Chronicle), which ran for fifteen years before its suppression by the American government, and inspirer of a movement that included Sacco and Vanzetti among its adherents. Yet Galleani has fallen into oblivion. He is virtually unknown in the United States, outside of a small circle of scholars and of personal associates and disciples, whose ranks are rapidly dwindling. No biography in English has been devoted to him, nor is he mentioned in the general histories of anarchism by George Woodcock and James Joll or in the comprehensive history of American anarchism by William Reichert. His writings, moreover, had remained untranslated until the appearance of the work under review, which, dis-

tilling the essence of his radical beliefs, his credo of revolutionary anarchism, fills a conspicuous gap in the literature of anarchism available to English readers and restores a major figure in the movement to his proper historical place.

Galleani was born on August 12, 1861, in the Piedmont town of Vercelli, not far from the city of Turin. The son of middle-class parents, he was drawn to anarchism in his late teens and, studying law at the University of Turin, became an outspoken militant whose hatred of capitalism and government would burn with undiminished intensity for the rest of his life. Galleani, however, refused to practice law, which he had come to regard with contempt, transferring his talents and energies to radical propaganda. Under threat of prosecution, he took refuge in France, from which he was expelled for taking part in a May Day demonstration. Moving to Switzerland, he visited the exiled French anarchist and geographer Elisee Reclus, whom he assisted in the preparation of his *Nouvelle geographie universelle*, compiling statistics on Central America. He also assisted students at the University of Geneva in arranging a celebration in honor of the Haymarket Martyrs, who had been hanged in Chicago in 1887, for which he was expelled as a dangerous agitator. Returning to Italy, Galleani con-

tinued his agitation, which got him into trouble with the police. Arrested on charges of conspiracy, he spent more than five years in prison and exile before escaping from the island of Pantelleria, off the coast of Sicily, in 1900.

Galleani, now in his fortieth year, began an odyssey that landed him in North America. Aided by Elisee Reclus and other comrades, he first made his way to Egypt, where he lived for the better part of a year among a colony of Italian expatriates. Threatened with extradition, he moved on to London, from which he soon embarked for the United States, arriving in October 1901, barely a month after the assassination of President McKinley. Settling in Paterson, New Jersey, a stronghold of the immigrant anarchist movement, Galleani assumed the editorship of *La Questione Sociale* (The Social Question), then the leading Italian anarchist periodical in America. Scarcely had he installed himself in this position when a strike erupted among the Paterson silk workers, and Galleani, braving the anti-radical hysteria which followed the shooting of McKinley, threw all his energies into their cause. In eloquent and fiery speeches he called on the workers to launch a general strike and thereby free themselves from capitalist oppression. Paul Ghio, a visitor from France, was present at one such ora-

tion. "I have never heard an orator more powerful than Luigi Galleani," he afterwards wrote. "He has a marvelous facility with words, accompanied by the faculty—rare among popular tribunes—of precision and clarity of ideas. His voice is full of warmth, his glance alive and penetrating, his gestures of exceptional vigor and flawless distinction."

The strike occurred in June 1902. Clashes took place between the workers and the police, shots were fired, and Galleani was wounded in the face. Indicted for inciting to riot, he managed to escape to Canada. A short time after, having recovered from his wounds, he secretly recrossed the border and took refuge in Barre, Vermont, living under an assumed name among his anarchist comrades who regarded him with intense devotion. It was in Barre, on June 6, 1903, that Galleani launched *La Cronaca Sovversiva*, the mouthpiece for his incendiary doctrines and one of the most important and ably edited periodicals in the history of the anarchist movement. Its influence, reaching far beyond the confines of the United States, could be felt wherever Italian radicals congregated, from Europe and North Africa to South America and Australia. In 1906, however, during a polemical exchange with G.M. Seratti, the socialist editor of *Il Proletario* in New York, the latter revealed Galleani's

whereabouts (a charge also levelled at the English writer H.C. Wells), and Galleani was taken into custody. Extradited to New Jersey, he was tried in Paterson in April 1907 for his role in the 1902 strike. The trial, however, ended in a hung jury (seven for conviction, five for acquittal), and Galleani was set free.

Galleani returned to Barre and resumed his propaganda activities. Now in his late forties, he had reached the summit of his intellectual powers. Over the next forty years his fiery oratory and brilliant pen carried him to a position of undisputed leadership within the Italian-American anarchist movement. An eloquent speaker, Galleani had a resonant, lilting voice with a tremolo that kept his audience spellbound. He spoke easily, powerfully, spontaneously, and his bearing was of a kind that made his followers, Sacco and Vanzetti among them, revere him as a kind of patriarch of the movement, to which he won more converts than any other single individual. Galleani was also a prolific writer, pouring forth hundreds of articles, essays, and pamphlets that reached tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands of readers on several continents. Yet he never produced a full-length book: the volumes appearing over his signature, such as *Faccia a Faccia col Nemico*, *Aneliti e Singulti*, and *Figure e Figuri*, are collections of shorter pieces previously

published in *La Cronaca Sovversiva*. In this respect he resembles Johann Most, Errico Malatesta, and Benjamin Tucker (author of *Instead of a Book: By a Man Too Busy to Write One*), rather than, say, William Godwin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, or Peter Kropotkin.

The End of Anarchism?, Galleani's most fully realized work, itself began as a series of articles. In June 1907, shortly after Galleani's acquittal at Paterson, the Turin daily *La Stampa* published an interview with Francesco Saverio Merlino, himself a former anarchist of distinction, under the title "The End of Anarchism." Merlino, like Galleani, had been trained in the law, had lived in the United States, and had founded an important Italian-American journal, *Il Grido degli Oppressi* (The Cry of the Oppressed), which appeared in New York from 1892 to 1894. Unlike Galleani, however, Merlino had abandoned anarchism in 1897, joining the socialist movement. Merlino, in his interview with *La Stampa*, pronounced anarchism an obsolete doctrine, torn by internal disputes, bereft of first-rate theorists, and doomed to early extinction. Galleani was incensed. "The end of anarchism?" he asked in *La Cronaca Sovversiva*, adding a question mark to the title of Merlino's interview. Just the opposite was the case. In an age of growing political and economic

centralization, anarchism was more relevant than ever. Far from being moribund, "it lives, it develops, it goes forward."

Such was Galleani's reply to Merlino, elaborated in a series of articles in *La Cronaca Sovversiva* from August 17, 1907, to January 25, 1980. Combining the spirit of Stirnerite insurgency with Kropotkin's principle of mutual aid, Galleani put forward a vigorous defense of communist anarchism against socialism and reform, preaching the virtues of spontaneity and variety, of autonomy and independence, of self-determination and direct action, in a world of increasing standardization and conformity. A revolutionary zealot, he would brook no compromise with the elimination of both capitalism and government. Nothing less than a clean sweep of the bourgeois order, with its inequality and injustice, its subjugation and degradation of the workers, would satisfy his thirst for the millennium.

Galleani produced ten articles in response to Merlino. He intended to write still more, but day-to-day work for the movement—editing *La Cronaca Sovversiva*, organizing meetings, issuing pamphlets, embarking on coast-to-coast lecture tours—prevented him from doing so. In 1912 he moved *La Cronaca Sovversiva* from Barre to Lynn, Massachusetts, where he had won a dedicated following.

When the First World War broke out in 1914, he opposed it, in contrast to Kropotkin, with all the strength and eloquence at his command, denouncing it in *La Cronaca Sovversiva* with an oft-repeated slogan, "Contro la guerra, contro la pace, per la rivoluzione sociale!" (Against the war, against the peace, for the social revolution!) With America's entry into the conflict in April 1917, Galleani became the object of persecution. His paper was shut down and he himself was arrested on charges of obstructing the war effort. On June 24, 1919, he was deported to his native Italy, leaving behind his wife and four children.

In Turin, Galleani resumed publication of *La Cronaca Sovversiva*. As in America, however, it was suppressed by the authorities. On Mussolini's accession to power in 1922, Galleani was arrested, tried, and convicted on charges of sedition, and sentenced to fourteen months in prison, where his health began to deteriorate. After his release, he returned to his old polemic against Merlino, completing it in a series of articles in *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* (The Call of the Rebels), the journal of his disciples in America, who issued it in 1925 as a booklet. Malatesta, whose conception of anarchism diverged sharply from that of Galleani, hailed the work as a "clear, serene, eloquent" recital of the communist-anarchist creed. In

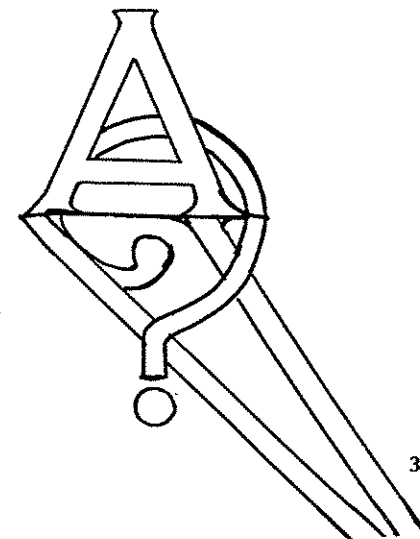
its present English edition, it takes its place beside Malatesta's own *Talk About Anarchist Communism*, Alexander Berkman's *What Is Communist Anarchism?*, and Nicolas Walter's *About Anarchism* as a classic exposition of the subjects.

It is a pleasant task, in this age of shoddy production, to review a work of such notable aesthetic quality. Apart from its handsome cover by Flavio Costantini, the celebrated Italian anarchist writer, it is attractively designed and printed, and the frontispiece contains a drawing of Galleani, based on a well-known photograph, by Bartolo Provo. The translation by Max Sartin, longtime editor of *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* and associate of Galleani, and Robert D'Attilio, an authority on Italian-American anarchism, is both readable and accurate. There are a number of typographical and factual errors, especially in the notes, but these, while regrettable, do not detract from the overall value of the book.

The publication of the *L'Adunata* edition of this work in 1925 did not endear Galleani to the Mussolini government. Arrested in November 1926, Galleani was locked up in the same cell in which he had spent three months in 1892 and found it "as dirty and ugly" as before. Soon afterwards, he was banished to the island of Lipari, off the Sicilian coast, from which he was later removed to

Messina, and condemned to serve six months in prison, for the crime of insulting Mussolini. In February 1930, Galleani, in failing health, was allowed to return to the mainland. Retiring to the mountain village of Caprighiola, he remained under the surveillance of the police, who seldom left his door and followed him even on his solitary walks in the surrounding countryside. Returning from his daily walk, on November 4, 1931, Galleani collapsed and died. His anarchism, to the end, had burned with an undiminished flame. Ever hopeful for the future, despite a life of bitter experience, he had remained faithful to the ideal which had inspired his life, convinced that liberty would ultimately triumph over tyranny and oppression.

— Paul Avrich



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FIVE VANCOUVER PEOPLE are now awaiting trial on more than a dozen charges, each arising from an alleged series of high-profile urban guerilla actions undertaken in Canada in 1982 and others supposedly planned for 1983.

The five charged have all been politically active in the Vancouver area for a number of years on such issues as environmentalism, peace, native and prisoners' rights, feminism, and popular culture. They are Julie Belmas, 20; Gerry Hannah, 26; Ann Hansen, 29; Doug Stewart, 25; and Brent Taylor, 26.

Each is charged with 12 to 15 counts, including the dynamite bombing of a B.C. Hydro-electric sub-station on Vancouver Island; the fire-bombing of three Red Hot Video porn outlets in Vancouver suburbs; conspiracy to bomb an oil exploration ice-breaker under construction in Vancouver and the Canadian Forces base at Cold Lake, Alta., where the Cruise missile is slated for testing; possession of restricted firearms and explosives; and co-conspiracy to rob a Brinks truck. Also police in Vancouver and Toronto have consistently hinted they want to tie the five into the dynamite bombing of a Litton Systems Ltd. plant in Toronto where parts for the Cruise missile are made. Conviction on so some or all of the charges could result in sentences of up to 25 years in prison. In their first message to the community the five said, "...the important thing is to maintain the primacy of the struggle to protect the earth and strive for liberation."

STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE

Much of the political work done around our case has been centered on the issues of a "right to a fair trial" and abuses of process by the media, police, and prosecution. We feel that it's undesirable for progressive & sympathetic people to focus on these issues. When people call for a fair trial they are implicitly stating that they accept the right of the government to try us, & are only objecting to the abnormal & "unfair" procedure. Consciously or not, they are legitimizing the moral authority of the law & the right of the government to make & enforce laws.

We reject the authority of the government. We see it as a powerful force of oppression in the world. It is a force which has been waging three hundred years of genocidal war against the Indians, the original inhabitants of this land, & which not only sanctions but facilitates corporate investment in the Third World, blood money that maintains brutal dictatorships. The government plans and executes massive attacks on the environment, participates eagerly in the global arms race, & fundamentally directs and maintains our society in its violence blindness.

We are dealing with the courts in a legalistic manner in an attempt to prevent them from crucifying us, & we can certainly see the benefits of pressuring the state to curb their more blatant manipulations. However, the benefits of civil liberties agitation only come at the cost of reinforcing political concepts that we reject. We would like to see the political work done on our case center around what we consider to be the real issues: environmentalism, feminism, anti-imperialism, & radical activism. We appreciate all the efforts people have made to help us, but we see the need to stress the politics that are of primary importance to the peoples of the world.

-Gerry, Ann, Doug, Brent.

WRITE LETTERS to any of the five at
Oakalla Prison, Drawer "O", Burnaby, B.C. V5H 3N4
Canada

FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS/OTHER IDEAS
Free the Vancouver Five Defense Group
PO Box 48296, Bentall St., Van., B.C. V7X 1A1 Can.

This information has been edited from OPEN ROAD and
the Free The Five Newsletter.

WINTER 83

CONSCIENTIZAÇÃO*

conscientização
second only to a revolution in words
scientos, whirlwinds
cao, do you know
do we?

the songbirds nest at comfortable
distances from each other
leaves rest on the ground
in the open air, after smoke
and orange flame
one hears the ancient
ca dao tradition of sweet song
sung by the villagers
peasants
with silk bands
wrapped
around their heads

conscientização
a bringing together of friends
who link their simple beliefs
of existence, together

the silence in prison cells
is unquestionable

to define the immediacy of language
remembering, the earth
the river
that stretches through three thousand miles
of rich delta
bullets
that accidentally
stop life

the "question mark" reverses itself
in the wind
the sand dollar, empty
indicates a movement
through water

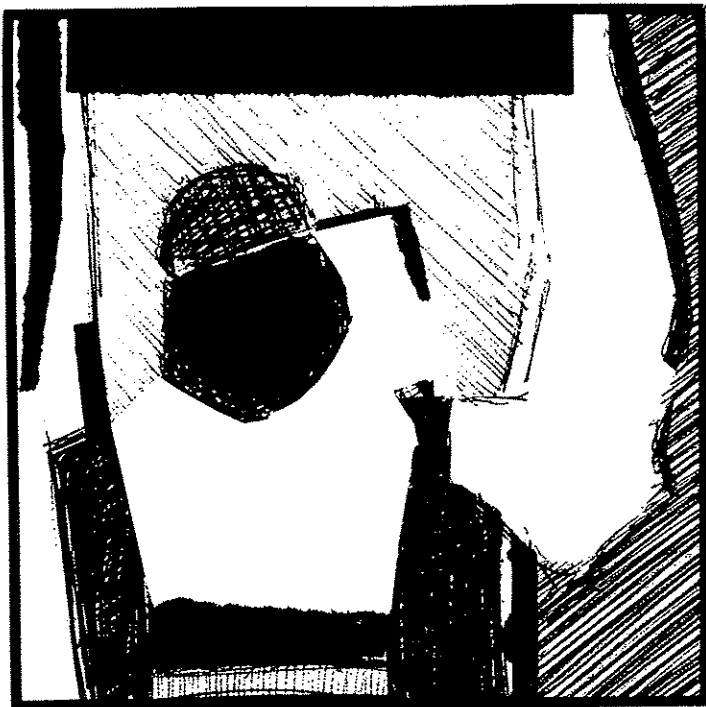
everything
takes place in time
the resolution of heat
where sound gathers rocks
rocks ashes
the millennium
ashes
dust
yet, more heat

conscientização
rooted

unto ourselves
out of which
the open fist
plants new seeds

*a Portuguese word which defines the process
of learning for each individual

— **Raffael deGruttola**



GAUCHISM AND AFTER

THE FRENCH LEFT by Arthur Hirsh. Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1982.

It's always a bittersweet experience to try and retrace the steps that led one to where one is. This is true even if the journey is not physical but political. It was just such a trip down memory lane that I embarked on as I read the pages of *The French Left*, and for anyone who spent their first teething period of leftism in the heady atmosphere of the late sixties I am sure that this book will prove equally as moving. There was more than one old relic of the way I've come to view the world—relics so old that I had lost all track of where they originated—that was waiting to greet me in this book. It was also something of a surprise to find neo-Marxism, like an old friend that I haven't met since the early 70s, and to follow up on what he's been doing since then. Seems the poor fellow hasn't been doing at all well. He appears to have an almost certainly fatal disease called "the crisis of Marxism". What is worst is that the poor man insists on parading his scars like a perversely proud patient in the terminal ward.

How did he get in this condition? Hirsh traces three lines of criticism

of classical Marxism that developed after the second World War in France. These were the "existentialist challenge" of Sartre and de Beauvoir, the "French revisionism" of Henri Lefebvre and the "gauchisme" of Carlos Castoriadis and the Socialism or Barbarism review/group. The existentialists also had their organ in "Les Temps Moderne", as did the revisionists in Lefebvre's "Arguments." Hirsh says that, "the existentialist, the revisionist, and the gauchiste critiques of Marxism developed in the late 1940s and 1950s, and more or less converged in the 1960s as a French new left social theory.

Hirsh has a separate section devoted to the events of May, 1968, which he sees as both the culmination and the beginning of the decline of this "classical new left." He deals with the aftermath of the May events in his final section. There were the attempts at theoretical (and practical) recuperation by the still stalking ghost of Stalinism. This is exemplified by the outright intellectual prostitution of Althusser (I can think of no other descriptive and accurate term)

and his structuralism, as well as by the chief theoretician of Eurocommunism, Poulantzas. Yet, the forces of criticism which had been concentrated on breaking the chains of Marxist thought previous to 1968 had not faded but had instead been transmuted to the practical realm, as seen in the 'new movements' of autogestion, feminism, and ecology. There was a definite connection between these new movements (however much many of their enthusiasts might try to deny it) and the old new left, both in their personnel and in the continuity of much of their thought. The growth of these new movements, in France as elsewhere, knocked the props out of one of the major continued attractions of Marxism for radicals. Now there was a visible pole of power, a movement; and Moscow and its pale shadows were not the only "realistic" game in town. This combined with the continued determinism of each and every workers' paradise to prove itself a hell, the ever stage-shy proletariat (always reluctant to play the role assigned it by Marxism), and the obvious failure of ultra-left Leninism, to produce the now famous "crisis of Marxism" i.e. the belated realization by Marxists that Marxism is a poor tool to explain the world with.

All of the critiques of Marxism began their attack by reference to the "early Marx." At the time revealed

revelation could only be attacked by the discovery of other sacred writ. This, however, had its limitations, and the various critics soon went beyond this inchoate stage. The existentialists focused on Marxism's lack of a theory of human subjectivity. This accounted for Marxism's peculiar bareness, its inability to do other than lay the grand scheme of history down, a scheme that continually failed to explain the specifics of who did what—even in retrospect. Sartre concocted his theory of "series and groups" (not what they might appear to be from a casual glance) and his "progressive-regression" dialectics to attempt to provide such a theory of subjectivity. He also took the concept of alienation and developed it far beyond Marx's idea. Alienation became rooted in human social existence rather than being merely a matter of labour.

Hirsh traces the formation of Lefebvre's revision through its predecessors in Lukacs, Gramsci and Korsch. Lefebvre's Marxism is one that tries to construct a theory of everyday life. A very large part of the situationalists' often turgid prose is, in fact, a direct lift from Lefebvre's ideas. Lefebvre also attempted to challenge the "economism" of classical Marxism and to construct a theory of institutions/everyday life that would allow him to explain the persistence of capitalism. Marxism was

very much a theory of the (expected) crises of capitalism. It had little or nothing to say on why capitalists continued to survive and even prosper. In his formulation of the whys and wherefores of capitalism's survival Lefebvre also formulated a detailed description of how the "margins" of a society such as ours are closely integrated into the total system, whether their citizens (unlike many crude anarchist theoreticians who think of the marginals as a revolutionary class) realize it or not.

Both Sartre and Lefebvre carried the frontier of Marxism into realms with which it had been previously unconcerned. Yet, despite this they remained Marxists, for the territory which they were exploring held its challenges to the holy writ in a veiled and indirect form. A similar event occurs among the proponents of the "new movements", for, despite the fact that say feminism is in direct contradiction to Marxism, few people take the time or have the intellectual honesty to plumb these contradictions to their depth and draw the necessary conclusion. Thus an "unhappy marriage" takes place. The old stately but decaying mansion of Marxism is left standing, neglected but standing, and new additions are constructed in what becomes an increasingly ramshackle affair. Marxism remains a compelling force, even if severely wounded, because

neither challenge it directly on its own ground—that of class struggle and economics.

Castoriadis provides just this frontal assault. While Castoriadis is certainly the most 'Marxist' of Marxism's opponents, in terms of his subject matter and method, he provides the strongest case *against* Marxism. Hirsh says that "Castoriadis eventually rejected Marxism by subjecting it to a 'Marxist' critique. That is, by applying the concepts of class analysis and class struggle, he found Marxism incapable of explaining the major tendencies in modern society." Socialism or Barbarism began as a group of dissident Trotskyites, but they rapidly progressed from a critique of the bureaucracy as the ruling class in the Eastern bloc to a generalized critique of "managerialism" and to the advocacy of self management as a revolutionary alternative to managerial Marxism or managerial "capitalism" (it is debatable at what point in the growth of the technobureaucracy a society ceases to be "capitalist"). Castoriadis rejects Marxist economics in toto (I agreed with him here). Hirsh states that, for Castoriadis, "its chief concepts—the crises of overproduction, pauperization of the proletariat, increasing unemployment, decreasing rate of profit, etc.—do not correspond to the reality of advanced capitalism". In sum, Castoriadis

rejects Marx by using Marx's own method of situating a theory within the time and place in which it developed. From this vantage point Marxism is seen as the theory of the declassé intellectual of the 19th century, with all its belief in technological determinism. It is later seen as the ideology of an aspiring ruling class.

This is, of course, the merest summary. The author treats the theories and theoreticians in far greater depth than I can hope to convey here. Althusser's structuralism is similarly dissected at length (a rather messy task as the guts spill all over the table and reveal a very diseased and inflated animal), as is the rise of Eurocommunism, as exemplified in the realm of theory by Poulantzas' theory of the state as "relatively autonomous", and as a "condensation of the class struggle". This theory is, as should be apparent to any anarchist, the epitome of statism for it is admirably suited for justifying the transfer of the focus of *all* struggles to the state—and, of course, the battle for control of the state.

Hirsh also surveys the bizarre metamorphosis of numerous Maoists into the "new philosophers". He characterizes this as a retreat from one unreality (Maoism) to another, and he finds it particularly strange as most of the new philosophers claim

to have been influenced in their change by the revelations of Solzhenitsyn concerning the Gulag. Yet, as Maoists, they presumably believed that the Soviet Union was a 'social fascist dictatorship' anyway. So why should these revelations move them? The answer is lost in the murky depths of leftist psychopathology. The supposed critique of the new philosophers is seen as a merely a poor rehash of what other ex-communists have said before them in a far more intelligent manner.

The book ends with a study of the "new movements", concentrating on self management, feminism and the ecology movement. Andre Gorz is taken as the theoretician representative of this stage of Marxism's decay. It is interesting to compare Hirsch's characterization of Gorz with Bookchin's polemic against him in 'Toward an Ecological Society'. All told I think that Hirsh is more correct in his point of view than is Bookchin. Bookchin may be right in his claim that the theories of the likes of Gorz represent an attempt to meld the unmeldable, to meld a libertarian consciousness, as exemplified by the 'new movements', with an authoritarian Marxism. He is, however, wrong on a far larger point—his inability to put the "crises of Marxism" into any sort of perspective beyond that of a "betrayal" of the new movements. Hirsh provides the historical back-

ground, a background that shows Gorz and other Marxists in what is, to me, a far more truthful light—as confused rather than sinister. Hirsh also possesses a far broader outlook than Bookchin, and he is able to situate the crisis of Marxism of which Gorz is representative in a far larger (and therefore truer) picture than is Bookchin. Bookchin's overenthusiastic polemic against "economism" and "scientism" has, unfortunately, blinded him to much of what is necessary to understand the world we live in. This book argues for a more balanced and realistic approach.

There's much more that could be said about this book, for it covers such a range of subjects as to defy description. The style is comprehensible but not "light". Considering the nature of much of the subject matter, Hirsh has accomplished a miracle of clarity. I have never seen the almost incomprehensible system of Sartre's existentialism presented better, and the author even manages to make Althusser almost comprehensible. The organization is the product of considerable planning, and its sparkling coherence makes this book a pleasure to read.

This book is especially important for anarchists. Not that it is going to provide us with any of the big answers to any of the big questions. Neither is there much worth borrowing from the neo-Marxists that has not already

been incorporated into the anarchist canon. Yet, what Hirsh does provide is the best description to date of the slow evolution of the remains of the left towards a libertarian socialism. This evolution is certainly slow enough, and it will take all too many regressive steps (such as quixotic attempts to infiltrate socialist and labour parties and the mulligan stew politics of the "green parties"). Yet, the fact is that our opponents on the left *are* evolving, and we would be well advised to take note of this. One reason might be that we shouldn't waste too much breath in condemnation of an "economism" that is *not* the dominant orthodoxy amongst the Marxists. Another is that the evolution of the rest of the left away from Marxism presents us with numerous opportunities to give little extra shoves in the right direction. Finally, the way in which many Marxists have thrown their dogma overboard has left them as rational thinking people rather than religionists, and we can certainly expect creative thought to come from these people in the future. As a matter of fact this creative process has already begun in the last few years, and there is much that might be of value to a libertarian socialism that could be developed by an amiable dialogue with the (almost) ex-Marxists.

— Pat Murtagh

Last Writes

- New titles from Black Rose Books of Montreal that may interest our readers include *The Coming of World War III* by Dimitri Roussopoulos and *The Anarchist Movement* by John Clark.
- . . . Once upon a time there was a great flood, and involved in this flood were two creatures, a monkey and a fish. The monkey, being agile and experienced, was lucky enough to scramble up a tree and escape the raging waters. As he looked down from his safe perch, he saw the poor fish struggling against the swift current. With the very best of intentions, he reached down and lifted the fish from the water. The result was inevitable.

