

Salute é in Voi (The Health is Within You). After landing in Italy, Galleani soon attracted the attention of authorities, who forced him into exile on an island off the Italian coast. After Mussolini came to power, Galleani was kept under constant police surveillance by the Fascist government. Later he was allowed to return to the Italian mainland, but the police surveillance continued. After the violent and premature deaths of scores of his followers and their victims, Galleani himself died peacefully of a heart attack at age 70 in 1931.

Postscript

Galleani's followers did not take his deportation well, nor the news that fellow Galleanists Sacco and Vanzetti had been indicted for murder. A wave of bombings followed. One or more followers of Galleani, especially Mario Buda, are suspected as the perpetrators of the infamous and deadly Wall Street bombing of 1920. Galleanist-attributed bombings continued after the conviction and execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, as late as 1932. Several court and prison officials were specifically targeted, including the trial judge, Webster Thayer, and even the executioner, Robert Elliott.

References

- * Avrich, Paul, Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background, Princeton University Press, 1991
- * Manning, Lona, 9/16/20: Terrorists Bomb Wall Street, Crime Magazine, January 15, 2006

Chronology of Luigi Galleani

1861 - Born in Italy.

Late 1870's - Becomes an anarchist while studying law at the University of Turin.

1880-1900 - Flees to France to evade prosecution in Italy. Galleani is expelled from France and moves to Switzerland. He is expelled once again from Switzerland and returns to Italy.

1895 - Captured and imprisoned on the island of Pantelleria, off of Sicily.

1900 - Escapes Pantelleria, flees to Egypt.

1901 - Arrives in the United States. Settles in Paterson, NJ.

1902 - Leads Paterson silk workers in general strike. Galleani wounded when police open fire on the strikers. Escapes to Canada.

1903 - Returns to the U.S. via Vermont.

June 6, 1903 - Founds Cronaca Sovversiva, an important anarchist periodical.

1906 - Captured by authorities due to a tip off from Giacinto Menotti Serrati, editor of Il Proletario.

1907 - Tried for his role in the 1902 strike. The trial ends in a hung jury, and Galleani is set free. Returns to Vermont to return to editing.

1912 - Relocates to Lynn, Massachusetts.

1914 - Faccia a faccia col nemico (Face to Face with the Enemy) published.

1919 - Galleani deported. Officially the deportation was carried out by the Department of labor. November 4, 1931 - Dies at the age of 70 from a heart attack.



**Anarchists bomb
Wall Street September 16, 1920**



in the Light of Anarchism

By Luigi Galleani

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The Principle of Organization in the Light of Anarchism



By Luigi Galleani



Text found at anarchyarchives.org
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Text Formatted for print by Pirate Press Portland, Cascadia 2006

It seems to me that Severino Merlino sees the decomposition, the death throes, of the anarchist movement in the conflict between individualists and organizers *on the terrain of immediate action*, and in the inner contradictions of the two currents: “The one group, the organizers cannot find organizations compatible with anarchist principles”; the other group, the individualists “lacking the concept of reprisal that was the soul of anarchist action (?)¹, no longer find a way to act and cannot subsist without the organization that they strive to negate.”

It is perfectly natural and logical that the organizers don’t find any form of organization compatible with anarchist principles, and we completely agree with Merlino on this matter, but no longer understand why individualists cannot subsist without organization, if, in Merlino’s own opinion, an organization compatible with anarchist principles cannot be found.

Nonetheless, it seems to us that within this designation of *anarchist organizers* a distinction must be made where one recognizes the repeated declarations and constant stances that they express and assume.

If we understand correctly, anarchist organizers are the ones who believe in the usefulness, necessity and possibility of anarchists organizing themselves methodically, according to a unanimously established program, into a political party² that, as such, has to distinguish itself from other parties of a proletarian leaning. It may therefore – in order to make these firm distinctions – put itself forward in compromises, alliances and coalitions that the needs of the moment, the fortunes of the struggle against the ruling class, against any of its intolerable abuses of power, might suggest.

However, other anarchists call themselves organizers not only because they want the specific formation of anarchists into a political party, but also because they believe that the basis of the anarchist movement should be the existing workers’ organizations and more those that might arise under their auspices, their constructive stimulus, with an openly revolutionary character.

These two currents are only distinguished by degrees. Their activity is always supposed to have a collective character. If we are interpreting Merlino’s thoughts correctly, he opposes to these organizers those anarchists who prefer individual propaganda, the individual act of affirmation and rebellion.

had neglected to add sufficient postage, one of the packages was discovered, and its distinctive markings enabled interceptions of most of them. No one was killed by the mail bombs that were delivered, but when a house servant for Senator Hardwick, (a sponsor of the Anarchist Act) opened the package sent to his home in Georgia, her hands were blown off.

In June 1919, the Galleanists managed to blow up eight large bombs nearly simultaneously in several different U.S. cities. The targets included the homes of judges, businessmen, a mayor, an immigration inspector, and even a church. Apparently believing their first bombs were insufficiently powerful, the new bombs used up to twenty pounds of dynamite wrapped with metal shrapnel. Among the intended victims were politicians who had endorsed anti-sedition laws and deportation, or judges who had sentenced Galleanist anarchists to prison. The homes of Mayor Harry L. Davis of Cleveland, Judge W.H.S. Thompson, Massachusetts State Representative Leland Powers, and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer (already a previous target of a Galleanist mail bomb), were all attacked. None of the high officials were killed, but the bombs did claim the lives of a night watchman, a woman who had been passing by one of the victim’s homes, and one of the Galleanists - Carlo Valdinoci, a close associate of Galleani himself. Though not injured, Palmer and his family were thoroughly shaken by the blast.

Valdinoci was blown to bits in front of Palmer’s house, which was largely destroyed (the powerful blast hurled several neighbors from their beds in nearby homes). Valdinoci either tripped over his bomb, or it went off prematurely as he was placing it on Palmer’s porch. The police collected Valdinoci’s remains over a two-block area, and his hair and scalp were found on the roof across the street. All of the bombs were delivered with a flyer that threatened: War, Class war, and you were the first to wage it under the cover of the powerful institutions you call order, in the darkness of your laws. There will have to be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will have to be murder: we will kill, because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction; we will destroy to rid the world of your tyrannical institutions.

Andrea Salcedo and Roberto Elia were arrested by authorities after one of the flyers left with a bomb package was traced to a printing shop where Salcedo worked. Salcedo was questioned intensively (some say beaten) by federal agents, but after providing some information, became increasingly distraught and unbalanced. He died after jumping out of the 14th-story building where he was being held. Although Salcedo admitted he was an anarchist and to printing the bomb flyer, no other arrests or convictions in the bombings followed, due to lack of evidence and refusal of other Galleanists to provide information to authorities. Elia was later deported; according to his lawyer, he turned down an offer to allow him to remain in the United States if he could deny his connection to the Galleanists.

Under previous laws, Palmer’s Justice Department did not have the authority to deport resident aliens, only the Immigration Department. Up to that point, accused anarchists could and did delay their deportations with continual legal appeals. With the public and the press clamoring for action, Palmer, and other government officials turned their attention to collecting evidence, using warrant-less wiretaps and other means against thousands of anarchists, communists, and other radicals. With evidence in hand, and after agreement with the Immigration Department, Palmer and the Justice Department began rounding up and deporting as many radicals as they could under the Anarchist Act – a wave of arrests and deportations known as the Palmer Raids.

Deportation

Luigi Galleani and eight of his adherents were deported to Italy in June of 1919, three weeks after the June 2nd wave of bombings. Although authorities did not have enough evidence to implicate Galleani, they could deport him because he was a resident alien who had overtly encouraged the violent overthrow of the government and had authored a how-to bomb-making manual titled La

some 200 guests at a banquet in 1916 to honor Archbishop Mundelein by lacing the soup with arsenic. None of the guests died — in his eagerness to kill, Dondoglio had used too much poison, which prompted the victims to vomit it back up. Dondoglio's rooms were searched, turning up many phials of poison, but the poisoner himself was never apprehended. After leaving a series of taunts for police, Dondoglio fled for the east coast, where he was hidden by other Galleanists until his death in 1932.

Over the next several months, the bomb-making skills of the Galleanists were frequently exercised, as a rash of bombings of churches and court buildings occurred. In November 1914, a bomb was placed below the chair of Magistrate Campbell of the Tombs police court, and was discovered shortly before the judge was to ascend the bench (Campbell had sentenced a young anarchist for inciting to riot). In January 1915, police uncovered a plot to blow up St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and a copy of *La Salute è in voi!* was found in the house of one of the suspects.

In 1917, at Galleani's urging, many Galleanists left the United States for Mexico to await the coming of the revolution and escape registration for the draft. The bombings ceased - for a time. In late 1917, disillusioned at the failure of the revolution and living conditions in Mexico, many of the Galleanist exiles returned, and resumed their work.

On November 24, 1917, in the city of Milwaukee, Mario Buda is thought to have constructed a large pipe bomb that killed 10 policemen and detectives who had taken the bomb to the police station after its discovery in a church basement. There were scattered incidents of successful and unsuccessful bombings in New York City, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Boston, and Milwaukee which were attributed to adherents of Galleani, but again, no criminal prosecutions followed. By this time, Congress and the public at large had begun to demand action against anarchists and other advocates of violence.

A 19-year-old female Galleanist, Gabriella Segata Antolini, was arrested January 17, 1918 for transporting a satchel filled with dynamite she had received from Carlo Valdinoci on a Chicago-bound train. When questioned, she provided a false name and refused to cooperate with the authorities or supply them with any information, and was sent to prison for fourteen months before being released. While in prison, Antolini met noted anarchist Emma Goldman, with whom she became friends. Galleani himself was arrested several times for inciting labor unrest and advocating anarchy, but was always acquitted.

In October 1918, Congress passed a new law aimed at resident aliens, the Anarchist Act. In response, Galleani and his followers declared war on the U.S. government and announced their intentions through a published flyer: Deportation will not stop the storm from reaching these shores. The storm is within and very soon will leap and crash and annihilate you in blood and fire... We will dynamite you! A series of bombings of prominent businessmen and officials followed, including a bomb that went off at the home of Judge von Moschzisker, who back in 1908 had sentenced four Italian anarchists to long terms of imprisonment.

On February 27, 1919, the day after hearing an incendiary speech by Galleani (who was awaiting his deportation notice), four Galleanists died when a bomb they were planting in a Massachusetts textile mill exploded prematurely in their faces.

In late April 1919, approximately 30 booby trap bombs destined for a wide cross-section of prominent politicians, justice officials, and financiers (including John D. Rockefeller) were sent through the mail. One bomb was even addressed to a lowly FBI agent, who just happened to be assigned to find several Galleanist fugitives, including Carlo Valdonoci. The Galleanists intended their bombs to be delivered on May Day, the international day of communist, anarchist, and socialist revolutionary solidarity. Only a few of the packages were delivered. Because the plotters

We modestly but firmly profess ourselves to be opposed to anarchists who call themselves organizers, both those who want to organize the anarchist party, and those who, in supporting it, want to establish it on current economic organizations or on others that they might create which correspond better to their characteristics and aims.

The party always has its program, its constitutional charter. In the assembly of the delegates of groups and sections, it has its parliament. In the steering organs, the councils or executive committees, it has its government. In short, it is a gradual superimposition of organs that, no matter how hidden, are a genuine hierarchy between various stages for which there is only one tie: discipline, the infractions and contraventions of which are purged with congruent penalties ranging from disapproval to excommunication and expulsion.

The anarchist party could only be a party like any other. Worse, it would be a government like any other. Like every other party, it would be a slave of its constitution which, like all constitutions, laws and penal codes, would be surpassed by events, exigencies, the urgent and changeable necessity of struggle, on the day after it is passed. It would be an absurd and illegitimate government like every other one that is based on delegation and representation. It is quite clear and present, especially in the experience of anarchists, that no delegate or deputy represents, nor could s/he ever represent, anything but her/his own ideas and feelings. S/He cannot represent the infinitely varied ideas and feelings pertaining to any topic of those s/he represents, by whom s/he is supposedly mandated. It would be a government like any other government, intrusive and arbitrary, since, due to the concerns of the responsibility of managing, at every turn, in every stage of its hierarchy, it will have to adopt – always with the noblest and most generous intentions – steps, measures, decisions to which the members must submit, obeying in deference to discipline, even if it is contrary to her/his own views and interests. It will be an all-absorbing government like every other, because it wants and has its own organs for every function, organs that will perhaps do little and do that poorly, but through which all will have to pass, against which all initiative will end up shouting³, before which original and heterodox initiatives will have a suspicious if not openly subversive character.

Is it necessary to this or that for propaganda purposes? There is a special committee, and it will consider this. Is it necessary to do this or that for solidarity? And what is the analogous committee to do if not to consider and provide for it? Is there an initiative of assertion or action? And isn't there a committee especially in charge of this through which one needs to go under the penalty of indiscipline, disavowal and blame?

How many people have experienced or approached any organization whatsoever and have had to bitterly take note of its sloth and stiffness, reaching the point where they must question whether the organization that arose to defend the rights and support the aspirations of the proletariat might not be an obstacle to them at the critical moment. They can say whether we are exaggerating.

To counter our argument, it will be said that here it is a question of anarchists, of selected individuals, who know what they want and have criteria for choosing their way, and have the guts to rise to it. Anarchists are, like all the followers of party forerunners, children of bourgeois society and carry its stigma on them, and the crowd that accompanies them is no better. Besides, it is perfectly natural, the great majority of them seek ways and means that require the least effort while demanding the greatest result. Now we have too many compulsory transactions and unavoidable compromises, why should we choose them willingly? By accepting a wage, by paying rent for a house, we, with all our proclaimed revolutionary and anarchist aspirations, recognize and legitimate capital, interest, revenue, the price that the exploiters place on our exhaustion, on our depreciated sweat, in the most tangible and painful way.

Compromise, transaction, betrayal; but it is necessary to pass through this with our backs against the wall and our hands linked.

But wherever it is possible, we must avoid, elude, exclude compromise and transaction. We must be ourselves in the rigorous nature outlined by our convictions, our beliefs, and these don't bring hopeful signs of a libertarian future with any certainty, if we don't know how to walk gravely without the harnesses, proxies and guardians that are inseparable from the concept of organization, whether it be the political organization of the anarchist party or the union organization of the various crafts and trades of workers.

- Against the workers' organization too?
- It's not a question of for or against. The anarchist movement and the workers movement travel parallel paths, and it is geometrically noted that parallel lines never meet, never overlap.

One at least presumes that the anarchist has reached certain convictions, whether under the scourge of experience or through research, study and meditation. S/he is convinced that social malaise in general, and particularly the misery, servitude and involuntary, forced ignorance of those who work and produce – produce all that makes up the fullness and splendor of life that they will never enjoy, that only those who will never bend their backs over the drill, callous their hands on the hammer or the anvil, or tire their brains over a problem or a book – came down to us from a basic, primeval monopoly. It came from the hoarding, by a greedy and wily minority, of land, fields and mines, the products of which are transformed into the elements of life, security and joy; of the railroads and waterways that distribute these products throughout the latitudes in exchange for other products, or for the ready gold that is the instrument of wealth, power and tyranny that the privileged exercise with lucky impunity over the rest of humankind. S/he is convinced that the church consecrates this usurpation as special blessings of god. S/he is convinced that the state legitimates it in parliaments, legal codes and courts and defends it with laws, cops and armies. S/he is convinced that morality, the common hypocritical and dewy morality, suffuses this thievish hoarding with religious devotion.

Soon after arriving in the United States, Galleani attracted attention in radical anarchist circles as a charismatic orator who believed that violence was necessary to overthrow the 'capitalists' who oppressed the 'working man'. He often described himself proudly as a subversive, a man dedicated to subverting established government and institutions. Galleani settled first in New Jersey, but was indicted for inciting a riot and fled to Canada (where he was quickly expelled). He then moved to Vermont, where he soon became known as a proponent of "propaganda by the deed". He was the founder and editor of *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Subversive Chronicle), an Italian anarchist newsletter which was published for 15 years before being shut down by the American government under the Sedition Act.

Subversive Chronicle usually consisted of no more than eight pages, and at one point had a claimed subscription of 5,000. It contained a variety of information considered essential to the Italian radical, including arguments on the nonexistence of God, the necessity of free love, tirades against both historical and recent government tyrannies as well as ignoble and overly passive Socialists. A frequent feature consisted of a list of addresses and detailed relationships of businessmen, 'capitalist spies', strikebreakers, and assorted enemies of the people. Most interesting was a small advertisement in later issues of the *Chronicle* that hawked a manual innocuously titled *Health is in You!* for the sum of 25 cents, and described as a must-have for any proletarian family (*Health Is In You!* was in fact an explicit bomb-making manual). Several books that bear Galleani's name are actually excerpts from issues of *Cronaca Sovversiva*. The one exception is *La Fine dell'anarchismo?* (*The End of Anarchism?*) in which Galleani asserts that anarchy is far from dead, and still relevant as a political movement.

Revolutionary Activities

As time passed, Galleani became increasingly defiant of the government and police authorities. He soon attracted a group of radical friends and followers known as Galleanists, including Carlo Valdinoci, Mario Buda aka Mike Boda, Ferruccio Coacci, Riccardo Orciani, Andrea Salcedo, Gabriella Segata Antolini, Roberto Elia, Nicola Recchi, Luigi Falsini, Raffaele Schiavina, Nestor Dondoglio aka Jean Crones, and most famously, Fernando aka Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti.

The activities of Galleani and his group centered around the promotion of a radical and violent form of anarchism, ostensibly by speeches, newsletters, labor agitation, political protests, and secret meetings. As time went on, however, many of Galleani's followers used bombs and other violent means to get their message across, a practice that Galleani actively encouraged, but in which he apparently never actually participated. With the assistance of a friend who was a chemist and explosives expert, Professor Ettore Molinari, Galleani authored a booklet covertly titled *La Salute è in voi!* (*Health is in You!*) a 46-page explicit 'how-to' on making a bomb. The forward to the book clearly indicated its intent: to remedy the 'error' of advocating violence without giving subversives the physical means with which to destroy government officials and institutions. Galleani's handbook was characterized as accurate and practical by the New York City Bomb Squad, though an error Galleani made in transcribing Molinari's explosive formula for nitroglycerine resulted in one or more premature explosions when the bomb-makers failed to notice the mistake (Galleani thoughtfully provided a warning and corrected text to his readers in a 1908 issue of *Cronaca Sovversiva*).

Luigi Galleani's advocacy of violence is thought to have been first put into action by his followers in 1914. Galleanists were involved in at least two bombings in New York after police violently dispersed a protest at John D. Rockefeller's home in Tarrytown, New York. Later that year, several bombings occurred in different areas of New York City, including several police stations. One Chicago-based Galleanist, Nestor Dondoglio, a chef going by the name of Jean Crones, poisoned

(Footnotes)

¹ Apparently this “(?)” was in the original.

—translator

² This term is being used more loosely than we use it nowadays. It refers to any formal group representing a particular ideology and seeking adherents, but need not imply involvement in electoral politics. By this definition, groups such as the Italian Anarchist Federation, NEFAC, Arshinov’s proposed General Union of Anarchists (the organization proposed in the infamous Platform) would all be anarchist “parties”.

—translator

³ I am not sure if this last phrase is translated correctly. In the original, it is a very confusing phrase, which, translated literally, is meaningless in English. So I had to guess at a possible meaningful translation of the phrase in context.

—translator

*This is an allusion to a granite workers’ strike in Barre, Vermont in which Italian workers – most of them subversives

– took on most of the activity with so much energy, that even before worrying the bosses, they scared the brothers of the American Federation of Labor. And since then, at a meeting for constitutional reform, an amendment was introduced and adopted as a provision, that only English could be spoken in sectional assemblies.

The amendment remained dead letter where foreigners knew how to impose themselves, preventing the English speaking block-headed bigwigs from speaking if they did not concede the use of their respective languages to those of other nations who were members of the organization. [Note in the original]

Luigi Galleani

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Luigi Galleani (1861—November 4, 1931) was a major 20th century anarchist and enthusiastic advocate of the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Galleani is best described as an anarchist communist and an insurrectionary anarchist.

Background

Born to middle class parents, Galleani became an anarchist in his late teen years while studying law at the University of Turin. Eventually dropping out, he turned his attentions to anarchist propaganda. He was forced to flee to France to evade threatened prosecution in Italy, but was expelled from France for taking part in a May Day demonstration.

Galleani next moved to Switzerland, where he attended the University of Geneva before again being expelled as a dangerous agitator, this time for arranging a celebration in honor of the Haymarket rioters. He went back to Italy only to run afoul of the police again as a result of his anarchist activities. His return to Italy ended with his arrest for charges of conspiracy, where he spent five years in jail, exiled on the island of Pantelleria, off the coast of Sicily.

Escaping to Pantelleria in 1900, Galleani fled to Egypt, then, under threat of extradition, he fled to London, then to the United States in 1901. He was 40 years old at this time, and a penniless immigrant.

The anarchist fights against this monopoly. And since bare negation is useless, s/he plunges the pickaxe into the roots of the rotten tree and strives to sever them, condemning along with the damned tree, the branches and fruit that spring from it, *the whole of it*; no more individual ownership of the means of production and exchange, nor any of the other institutions that protect the inequality and injustice that inevitably grew out of this initial privilege.

And since our good bourgeois – even the ones who claim to atone for usury with philanthropy – do not dream, nor will they ever decide, about offering their resignation as exploiters and making restitution to remove ills, anarchists, even the ones who abhor violence and bloodshed, are forced to conclude that the expropriation of the ruling class can only happen violently through social revolution. So they devote themselves to this and try to rally the proletariat to this using all means of education, propaganda and action.

Up to now, and don’t forget it and delude yourselves, the proletariat has been a mass and not a class. If it were a class, i.e., if it had a full and clear awareness of its right, its function, its strength, the leveling revolution would have been carried out long ago, freeing us from these melancholy, bitter, laborious studies.

The great mass is bourgeois *non natione, sed moribus*; not in origin, who found neither a sheet nor a shirt in their cradle; but in habits, superstitions, prejudices, even interests, since s/he thinks his or hers are linked to and dependent upon the development and fortune of the interests of her or his bosses. In this way, the bosses become the providence that gives work, wages, bread, life for her or himself and his or her children. And s/he is grateful to the boss who is there for work, life and security, and blesses the institutions, the law, the cops that defend and protect this boss.

In other words, while the anarchist, with a sharp, rigorous, positive diagnosis, sinks the scalpel to sever the first cause of social malaise, without hiding the difficulties, the long and painful duration of the cure, the great mass remains empirical, doesn’t question property, let alone negate it. He would only like it to be less exorbitant. He doesn’t repudiate bosses, but merely demands that they be better. He doesn’t repudiate the state, the law, courts or police; he just wants a paternal state, equitable laws, just courts and more humane cops.

We don’t raise questions about more or less expensive property, good or usurious bosses, paternal or cruel states, equal or unfair laws, impartial or domesticated courts, charitable or brutal cops. We question property, the state, bosses, laws, courts and cops as such, and *we don’t want any kind of them*. And we pursue a society that is incompatible with such monsters with fervor, tenacity and confidence. And in the meantime, we oppose and contrast their arbitrary and atrocious function with every means at our disposal – and we often pay for our protest with the sacrifice of freedom, of calm, of the dearest affections for long years or forever.

You see that the two movements along different paths and that it is difficult for these paths to meet.

But in the meantime, workers' organizations are a fact, they exist. And, since with their gouty and blind conservatism, they form an obstacle and often a danger, they are deserving of our consideration and attention.

If we find ourselves before an ignorant child, a woman of faith, an obtuse man who doesn't see and doesn't want to see, we don't respond to the immaturity of the one, the naivety of the other, the blindness of the majority with derision and contempt.

We bend over all with equal affection. We aid them with the most watchful care and the liveliest interest, because we are proud to uncover, under the coarse and grating rock, the bright metal that it enshrouds and hides, and to make for the caveman and individual and social worth; because we know how serious the task we have assumed is too well to ignore any force that might be recruited and brought over to our ideal; and finally because we know that our freedom, our security, our individual well-being would be problematic and ephemeral even in the egalitarian society, if it did not find its basis and safeguard in the freedom and well-being of those around us. And if freedom is awareness and well-being is solidarity, the work of education to be performed among the proletariat, whether it is organized or not, seems to be not just an imperative necessity, but one of immediate urgency.

- And so will you enter into the organizations? Because staying outside them would bar you from any possibility of influence and action.

- Sure! We will enter into the workers' organizations where the usefulness to the battle persuades us to do so, as long as it is possible, *with quite definite commitments and qualifications*.

First commitment: since we are anarchists outside of the organization, we therefore remain anarchists when we enter it to participate; first qualification: we will never be part of executive bodies. Constantly in opposition, we will never assume any responsibility in its government.

Out of respect for a standard of elementary coherence.

Remaining stagnant and peaceful, there are the workers' organizations of soporific conservatism and the red ones, the so-called revolutionary unions. Recognizing and accommodating the present economic state in all its manifestations and relationships, they limit themselves to demanding immediate improvements: wage increases, fewer hours, old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, accident insurance, protective laws regarding women's and children's work, factory inspectors, etc. etc. It is clear that no anarchist can patronize such aspirations and measures. And since s/he knows that every conquest of such improvements is illusory and inconsistent, since in her or his quality as consumer, the worker will pay with interest through an increase in the price of bread, rent, clothing, the entire cost of living, for the improvements he will have won in his quality as producer, none of our comrades could take responsibility for the leadership of the association or any other position that implies any solidarity with the program that it puts forward or the actions that it carries out without renouncing all his anarchist and revolutionary convictions.

To the opposition with zealous vigilance and inexorable critique, constantly showing the vanity of the aim, the inappropriateness of the efforts, the disappointment of the results, without granting any respite, and, by contrast, shedding light on the substantial and integral emancipation that could be attained another way, with another spirit, using other means, without delay or excessive effort.

The outcome of all the agitation, of all the struggles, of the organization would end up confirming the sharpness and fairness of our critique. If there is no smooth and forthcoming hope that the organization will follow the path we have traced, it is nonetheless possible that the most watchful, most intelligent, most open-minded among its followers will come closer to us. And they would be the nucleus that tomorrow, in any agitation, at the first sign, would throw themselves completely into the struggle, most likely drawing others with them as well, surpassing the leadership, the power of the bad shepherds shattered.

- If you join the organization with such intentions and intend to remain faithful to them, you will be gagged at the first heresy and hunted down at the first scandal as agent provocateurs. Once again, recently, you have had reason to take note of this.*

This is why the comrades who take on such an arduous task must have the sort of capabilities for carrying it out that allow them to win first the sympathy, then the esteem and finally the trust of the majority of those organized through reliability, coherence, a great deal of sacrifice and much patience. In the front line whenever there is risk, always last where an ambition or a benefit tempts; harsh dissidents where deals and compromises incompatible with our beliefs and dignity as workers and revolutionaries are put forward.

And if they don't succeed, if they are given the sack first, they will not have too much to regret. They will have sowed the good seed of independence, awareness and courage. Their activity will be remembered, brought back every time that disappointment closes the hard, vain struggle in squalor and pain, every time the fate of the battle turns to disaster because the audacity and self-sacrifice of which they gave a constant example is lacking.

The sympathy and trust that goes beyond the person to the action and idea that inspires and supports her/him; sympathy and trust in revolutionary action and the anarchist ideal; sympathy and trust that will end up changing into passionate and ongoing cooperation; isn't this all that we could ask of our arduous task of mission, education and renewal?

We have no dogmatic claims; we express our modest thought about a most controversial question, with awareness, however, that it meets with the assent of a considerable number of comrades; and we have expressed it with the usual bluntness, "in order to speak truly, not out of hatred for the other, nor from contempt".