

## WE HAVE BEEN HERE BEFORE

THE PRESENT Arab-Israeli war (the fourth), has now exceeded the third in its duration and seems likely to last considerably longer, and its results seem problematical.

There seems little doubt that technically it was the Arabs that started it, although, ironically enough, the Israelis take the blame for allowing the Arabs to do this since they claim that Sadat and Co. had been threatening war so long and often that the Israelis did not believe it when it came. It is possible to take the viewpoint that the Arab-Israeli war has never really stopped and its continuation has been promoted by other means. Propaganda and guerilla war (which was not confined to the Arabs) has ensured that war and the preparation for war is the health of the state, especially

the newly-founded State of Israel.

As for taking sides in this war it is obvious, partly due to the fact that we can hear and read about both sides, that neither side has the monopoly of truth, or virtue, although one may have the monopoly of oil (although significantly enough none of the oil-producing states seem to be very actively at war). 'Victory' is an illusion shared by all militarists and whilst, on paper, the uneasy coalition of Arab states has the sheer physical ability to crush Israel, in pre-war practice the coalition is weak in many places and lacks the morale and consequent skill to fight a war.

The fears of the oil-rich Arab countries for their oil income and their sensitive pipe-

lines have, up to the time of writing, inhibited them from making a concerted attack on Israel. (Indeed, on Monday Iraq criticized Jordan for its minor contribution to the war and demanded that Jordan open up a third front.)

Since the six-day war of 1967 other factors have been brought into play which make the outcome of the war more problematical. The controversial shortages of oil have made for the acquisition of larger profits and the stressing of this crisis has made the Arab-oil group of states more politically powerful and more necessary to be appeased. One sees some sense in the theory that the oil crisis was a scare thought up by sheikhs mad for

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## HELP!

ON 11th OCTOBER 1972 the tenants of Tower Hill Estate, Kirkby (nr. Liverpool) went on total rent and rates strike because Kirkby Council (Labour controlled) implemented a vicious piece of legislation known as the Housing Finance Act which put our rents up by £1 per week. Today (11 Oct. 1973) as I write this I would like to tell comrades and readers of FREEDOM that the Tower Hill rent strike is still in full swing and there are no signs of the strike collapsing. To celebrate twelve months of rent strike the tenants have organised a social evening in the local community centre for Saturday 13th October.

Over the past twelve months we have defied demands from the council and the County Court to pay back the arrears which now stand at £130,000. Kirkby Council are going to have a problem getting this amount of money back again. The latest development in this fight against the Housing Finance Act is that bailiffs from the County Court have served new court orders on thirty-two tenants and another hundred and eighty are expected to be delivered over the next week. When the tenants received their court orders they were also given 30p for bus fares to get them to the court. This money has been put into the Rent Action Group's funds. On the top of these court

orders it has got: "Order for oral examination of judgment debtor". The court is demanding that the tenants appear in court on 22nd October. Near the bottom of these court orders it also states in heavy printed letters: 'AND TAKE NOTICE THAT UNLESS YOU OBEY THE DIRECTIONS CONTAINED IN THIS ORDER YOU WILL BE GUILTY OF CONTEMPT OF COURT AND WILL BE LIABLE TO BE COMMITTED TO PRISON'.

Well it looks as though the authorities will have to arrest the tenants or at least try and arrest them because the tenants' policy is to ignore the courts (and not to set foot inside any courtroom) and gather in all court orders and send them back with 'On rent strike' written all over them --as was done in the past. The tenants have now started a campaign on the local industrial estate and other industries on Merseyside, factories are being leafleted, workers are being spoken to at factory gates and shop stewards are being asked to call mass meetings of workers so that tenants can address the workers and ask them for industrial support. It is being made clear that the type of industrial support that is wanted in the event of any tenant being arrested is 'strike action'. The tenants have in their possession a 'siren'. This will be sounded as soon as the police come on to

the estate, whether it be day or night, in an attempt to arrest any of the tenants. Once the 'siren' goes off it's all systems go; there will be mass mobilisation of tenants. I would like to ask all comrades and readers of FREEDOM to discuss our struggle with their workmates whether it be in factory or office and schools, and at any meetings that may take place at their places of work between now and 22nd October to put forward support (let me stress once again, industrial support, strike action) for the tenants of Tower Hill.

Other areas in Kirkby are being organised by the Communist Party and the Labour Party lefties to fight the 50p increase which is being put in rents this month. These two organisations are pushing for a partial rent strike (withholding of increase only) as the best method of fighting the rent act. They did the exact same thing last year and their partial rent strike faded out. Now they are going to lead people up the garden path once again, which is typical of the Communist Party and the Labour Party. The only way to fight the Housing Finance Act is by withholding all rent and rates. A total rent strike!

Anyway, wish us happy birthday.

Correspondent.



# DON'T DOWN THE MINERS

OH, WHAT A LOVELY DEMO !

THE GOVERNMENT'S Phase 3 limits have come up slap against the National Union of Mineworkers' wage claim. Even though extra payments will be allowed in the case of the miners, such as for "unsocial shifts", the union wants a larger increase on the basic wage than the Government will allow.

With last year's strike in mind, Mr. Heath has already agreed to meet the union in an attempt to sort out a possible way of avoiding industrial action. The Tories would not relish taking on the miners again and yet at the same time they do not want to be seen giving in to the demands of the miners. As we know, the miners are in a very strong position to call their own tune. In fact they are now in a stronger negotiating position because of the energy crisis and the effect the Israeli-Arab war will have on oil imports from the Middle East.

To show how serious even the Tories think the situation has become, one of their M.P.s, Mr. Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, has written to the Minister for Industry requesting "immediate" pay increases for the miners. He says that unless they get their increase the "haemorrhage of manpower wastage will continue or there will be a national strike - or both".

No doubt, along with the majority of workers, the miners feel that their hard won gains of last year have been eaten away by inflation. But this is al-

ways the case. Wages are continually chasing prices, otherwise managements would not make their profits. The worker under the present system is forced to walk the treadmill in order to keep up with the cost of living. If any worker deserved to enjoy the fruits of his labour it is the miner. Yet they along with the rest of the working class are denied this under the profit motive system. Today, workers are paid at differing rates of pay according to skills demand, and the strength of their trade union organisations. Anarchists are against differential rates of pay because they not only make worker compete against worker but also because we think that no actual price can be placed on a job. The dustman is just as important to our health as the doctor and the dustman's family has to pay the same price for food in order to live.

While we would welcome action by the trade union movement to abolish differentials in pay, our main task is to show that the wage system ensures the continued rule of capital and all the inequalities that this means. We stand for free access for all to goods and food for the satisfaction of needs. That these goods are made and the food grown by people who are in control of the factories and the land. And that we abolish the state and regulate our own lives without being pushed around by employers, the police and the armed forces.

P.T.

LAST SATURDAY (October 13th) about 800 people marched from Lincoln's Inn Fields to the Conway Hall in London to protest at the National Front conference being held within. Most prominent on the march were the banners of the International Marxist Group and the International Socialists. Behind these were the banners of various broadly-based student socialist societies and one branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union. The IMG slogan "No platform for fascists" set the tone but did not represent the view of all the participants.

When the march reached Red Lion Square it was confronted by an even larger force of police, many of them trying to look inconspicuous while standing in the garden hiding behind the shrubbery. The IMG street-fightin'-men in the front ranks made a token charge and 5 people were arrested. When the mounted police reinforced the police lines P.C. 109 endeared himself to everybody by jeering at demonstrators and then backing his horse into them, kicking as it went. Lumps of horse shit conveniently deposited around the Square flew through the air in the direction of the police. I ducked -- the aim left a lot to be desired.

The IMG commissars near the back (of course!) were now tearing their hair out at the general lack of agro, and one shrieked out orders on a megaphone for another charge. I suggested he should step up front and show the way, but he declined my generous offer. An IS commissar (a much nicer class of commissar altogether) muttered something about "substitutionism". I nodded profoundly. IS then decided to pull out their troops and for a moment it appeared that a punch-up was about to develop between the IS and IMG commissars.

After a chorus of the "Internationale" the remaining demonstrators marched out of the Square down to Holborn where the demo officially dispersed. For those with a strong constitution the festivities apparently continued at the LSE where a confirmed anti-intellectual like myself would never venture, even for the readers of FREEDOM.

The Revolution was over for another week and no one had noticed -- certainly not the poor, impressionable worker who is so stupid that he needs his ears sheltering from fascist propaganda by a pair of Bolshevik hands.

Terry Phillips.

## IN BRIEF

"Granma", the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, on September 18th published in an issue without the usual red masthead, articles on the death of Allende; going further, they proclaim in in headlines: "3 Days of Mourning Declared for President Allende". Lower down the page they proclaim "Revolutionary Government decrees 3 Days of Mourning for Gustaf VI Adolph, King of Sweden". Not only right but correct!

## POLITICAL DRUGS

On Wednesday, 26th September, Eugene Mallon, a member of People's Democracy, was sentenced to 18 months by an English Crown Court for possession of cannabis. He had been searched (by the Special Branch) in 1972 and 1½oz of cannabis it was alleged was found on him. It is claimed that this was planted on him and he elected to go for trial at a higher court.

The judge's summing up included his views on People's Democracy,

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the finding of "subversive literature" (Unfree Citizen) in Mallon's car. In the context of the current pattern of harassment of drop-outs and political dissenters, People's Democracy in London hope enough individuals and organisations will interest themselves in this case to get the judgement reversed. More precise details from P.D, c/o P. Doherty, 34 Dalston Lane, London, E. 8.



a tsarist agent. Bakunin's angry refutation of this charge (which Marx was forced to retract) appears in an appendix to the second part of Volume One. Among the other documents reflecting the bitter rivalry between the two are a confidential communication of March 28, 1870, in which Marx called Bakunin "ignorant in the field of social theory", and the celebrated Sonvillier Circular of November 1871, in which the Bakuninists demanded that the International be converted from "a hierarchical organization directed and governed by a committee" into "a free federation of autonomous groups".

The second volume, Michel Bakounine et les conflits dans l'Internationale (1965), carries Bakunin's quarrel with Marx to the end of 1872. Its most significant texts (both previously unpublished) are a long, uncompleted letter which Bakunin intended for his adherents in the Jura Federation, and an unfinished essay entitled Germany and State Communism, which draws a sharp line between German centralism on the one side and Swiss federalism and Slavic spontaneity on the other. In addition, there is a fragmentary sequel to The Knouto-Germanic Empire, assailing Marx as "the dictator of the International" and comparing his worship of the state and of centralized authority with that of his fellow German, Bismarck. Marx, writes Bakunin, impelled by his Teutonic urge to dominate, had forgotten his own stirring words from the programme of the International: "The emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves." The letter to the Jura Federation furnishes additional evidence (if any is needed) of Bakunin's strong antipathy to Germans and Jews, whom he considered authoritarian by nature and tradition. (Marx, of course, belonged to both groups.) The appendixes contain more than fifty documents relating to the history of the International and centering on the Hague Congress of September 1872, at which the controversy between the two revolutionary titans reached a dramatic climax with Bakunin's expulsion from the organization.

With Volume Three, Etatisme et anarchie (1967), the Archives Bakounine shift to the Russian revolutionary movement. Nearly the entire volume is taken up with Statehood and Anarchy, Bakunin's last major work and the only extensive treatise that he wrote in his native language. Characteristically, it remained unfinished, yet it is widely regarded as his most important book. Published in 1873 by his young disciples in Zurich, it was smuggled into Russia where, with its searching analysis of European society in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, it had a great impact on the unfolding populist movement.

The central vision of Statehood and Anarchy was of an immediate social upheaval in the primitive backwaters of southern and eastern Europe, whose inhabitants truly had nothing to lose but their chains. At the same time, the book provided a withering critique of Marx's "scientific socialism", warning against halfway measures and transitional revolutionary governments. In a striking passage Bakunin prophesied that the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" would in fact mean the rule of a "new privileged scientific and political class".

Apart from its original publication, Statehood and Anarchy was included in the Russian (Golos Truda) and the Spanish (La Protesta) editions of Bakunin's collected works. But its republication here is welcome not only for the first French translation (by Marcel Body) which follows the Russian text, but also for the valuable supplementary material and meticulous scholarly apparatus provided by Arthur Lehning. An Italian edition of Statehood and Anarchy was published in 1968 by Feltrinelli of Milan, and two German editions appeared in Berlin in 1972. There has been no full English translation, unfortunately, though extracts are to be found in Sam Dolgoff's Bakunin on Anarchy and Marshall Shatz's The Essential Works of Anarchism (both published in 1971).

The first four volumes of the Archives Bakounine reflect both the weaknesses and strengths of Bakunin's written legacy. In contrast to Marx, Bakunin was not a systematic thinker. He was forever starting new works which, owing to his turbulent life, were broken off in mid-course and never completed. Although he wrote profusely, he did not leave a single finished book to posterity. His literary output, in Thomas Masaryk's description, was a "patchwork of fragments". Yet Bakunin's writings, as these volumes show, abound in flashes of insight that illuminate the most important social issues of his own time and of ours. It was this intuitive gift, combined with his enormous personal magnetism, that enabled Bakunin to exert an attraction--particularly in the preindustrial countries of southern and eastern Europe--that Marx could never rival.

More than that, however, it is already apparent from these initial volumes that Bakunin's works, as Lehning maintains, put forward a coherent social philosophy and theory of revolution, with the same central themes recurring again and again and developed with extraordinary consistency. To the readers of these archives Bakunin seems more impressive than ever. He has been seriously underestimated both as a thinker and as a stylist, for his literary gifts are of a very high order, distinguished by a remarkable clarity and vigour of expression. The Archives Bakounine reveal both the wide range and the continued vitality of Bakunin's writings. As Max Nettlau observed, his ideas "remain fresh and will live forever".

Paul Avrich.

## In Brief

Our successful contemporary Socialist Worker carries an advert for recruitment to the SPGB. They must be either wasting their space or enjoying the SPGB's well-known money. Aren't they afraid of losing recruits?

Tribune prints an article about the fears of the Police Federation about 'inadequately trained' (their words) security guards increasingly being employed. Their number has risen from a thousand or so in the 'fifties to 30,000. The Federation write: "When one takes personnel such as these [security guards] who are not vetted, selected or trained in the standards of a constable...and place(s) them in a situation where by law they have the right to detain and search members of the public it must give cause for concern."

Colchester police who detained and searched a bus-load of trade-unionists returning from a protest at Shrewsbury have now dropped all charges of 'suspicion' leading to detention, photographing and house-searching. Mr. Buck, the local (Conservative) M.P. said he didn't mind if a photograph of him was inside the police station if it would help the police. He also said similar action would have been taken if it had been a coachload of Young Conservatives or members of the Townswomen's Guild. The police had information which justified their questioning people on the coach.

Enoch Powell despite his known and commendable opposition to capital punishment did not speak or apparently even vote at the Conservative Party conference on a resolution to re-introduce capital punishment. He seems on this issue to be more opportunist than fanatic.

Workers at Lip decided to continue their strike at the bankrupt watch factory, rejecting the Government plan (sacking 159) to re-launch the firm. The action committee have enough funds from the sale of watches during the 'work-in' to pay wages for the next two or three months.

A writer in the Telegraph's letter column last Friday wrote: "Sir, While I was passing by Mrs. Mary Whitehouse's home in Worcestershire the other day a flock of 'pure white' tumbler pigeons flew over the house. Was this coincidence?...a sign?...an omen?..." Meanwhile it was reported from Australia that 200 students chanting 'Up with Sex' disrupted a lecture by Mrs. Mary Whitehouse in Adelaide, Australia. The demonstrators stormed the theatre shouting "Christian morality is immoral". Mounted police dispersed the demonstration. You never know with pigeons.

Sancho Panza



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# LETTER

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## CONFRONTING FASCISM

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Comrades,

Terry Phillips's article, 'Confronting Fascism' (FREEDOM No. 41) displays a liberal naivety typical of so much so called 'anarchist' thinking in this country. I find it almost inconceivable that someone writing the utter nonsense contained in that article can be really serious about bringing about a libertarian socialist revolution. Unless T.P. thinks that fascism will help the working class! Which I somehow doubt. For that is what the prosecution of the policy implicit in his article would bring about -- Fascism!

T.P.'s article continually displays a lack of realism. First of all he opposes 'sincere anti-fascists' to 'self-appointed saviours of the working class'. I suppose the latter, meaning

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## ARAB-ISRAELI WAR

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profits and concurred with by states whose currency difficulties made it necessary to restrict the import of oil.

The second changed factor is the technological improvements which have made it possible for the Arab nations to possess, and try out, S.A.M. missiles (by courtesy of and to the advantage of the Soviet Union) which seem already to have made a difference to the conduct, expansion and probably the result of the war. It is conceivable that both sides are armed (by all the great powers) to 'overkill' but who is to say they will not do just that?

The position of the Soviet Union, one-time Arab ally, has altered somewhat, and not only can we expect China to refrain from opposing those whom the Soviets oppose but America and Russia (in spite of arms supplies) seem more likely to present a united front in this war. America has no longer the burden of the Vietnam war -- that is now left to the Vietnamese -- but this does not indicate, to judge by Kissinger's abortive peace moves, that she wishes to foster a Middle East war -- torn as she is between her oil shortage and lack of an Arab electorate.

With the Arabs too things are not the same. Jordan, Lebanon, Libya and Irak all seem to be falling short of complete involvement. It may be that they

such groups as I.S. and I.M.G., are not sincere? Of course they are sincere! And at least their actions speak a lot louder than many "anarchists'" words. True, their ideology is very wrong, true, some trots are 'generals in search of an army'. But it is their ideology, not motives which is wrong. That is unless one is going to revert to the traditional 'anarchist' rubbish that 'the trouble with Leninists is that they all want to be a Lenin'!

The point in depriving fascists of a platform is not that the workers are 'stupid'. Has Phillips ever heard a trot, etc. or those of us anarchists who are more realistic than himself put this forward as part of our argument? No, he has to resort to lies. The point is that capitalism is in a real crisis, living standards of the working class are going to be hit even harder in the near future than

know that, as in 1939-45, whatever countries stay neutral longest will emerge the strongest. The workers and peasants of the Arab lands are still as exploited (even economically in Israel, by Israelis) and they cannot be expected to fight well in a cause which they must know is not theirs -- even if it is a holy war!

The Israelis have been corrupted by their acquisition of power and territory. Their arrogant determination to hold on to that which they won in 1967 has made them more hated than feared. Their ruthless wreaking of vengeance (regardless of international law) has made obvious the official connivance at guerilla attacks, as witness the Beirut murders in April. Whereas internationally the Arabs have the cunning, if not decency to make their outrages appear spontaneous and unofficial. Such Israeli scorn for international opinion is no way of making friends and the United States is obviously growing tired of international entanglements and wants an easy way out in the Middle East. Israel's humbling may do just that. Whatever the result, it is an illusion for Israel's people to believe that security for them can be built up by military might and palpable injustice for fellow-humans. Nor for the Arab people is there any freedom in the service of the power-hungry states.

Jack Robinson

they have been during the last year. In the present situation it is very possible for the N.F.'s fascist ideas to seem plausible, e.g. that immigration causes bad housing, low wages. This is even more the case when the working class has suffered defeats (causing pessimism), in this case not resisting the employers' offensive. In not smashing such a fascist group as the N.F. in its relatively early stage, you are only improving its chances of conning large parts of the working class. This is not calling the working class 'stupid' -- it is being realistic. It is no accident that the Front's own paper, Spearhead, is increasingly discussing how to influence trade unions. Smashing the N.F. does not mean reducing the working class to a 'passive observer' as T.P. claims. On the contrary it means mobilising it.

Oh yes, T.P., you make another lie about us. You imply that our 'only answer to the ravings of a handful of impotent fascists' is a punch-up'. Of course it is not our only answer! It is necessary to encourage workers to think about and learn from their situation, indeed to educate them (if that term doesn't offend T.P.'s traditional British 'anarchism'), that social revolution is the answer, not fascism.

And to call fascists 'impotent' is very, very dangerous. Their ideas are spreading. Already the Front numbers over 10,000. Their ideas are gaining support fast, and not just in the Tory party. "When fascists try to impose the their will by force then they will be forcibly resisted by anarchists", T.P. says. When does T.P. start to resist -- when the pogroms start, when the workers are being massacred, when you and I are being murdered. It will be too late then. Fascist practice is taking place in Ireland. It is only a few miles away, and it is the same ruling class. Once in Italy, Spain, Germany, Chile, fascism was 'impotent'. Look what has happened when the fascists were not smashed at the start.

Fascism is no abstract thing, it is no joke. It is fucking real. I for one am determined to help smash it before it sets the working class struggle back decades. If T.P. tries to protect fascists' "right to speak", then Fucking Christ help him when the revolution comes. . .'

Fraternally,  
Rupert Williams.

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We welcome news, articles, letters, etc. Latest date for receipt of Notices, MSS. &c. is Monday of the week of publication. Earlier receipt is helpful.



## MORE GAMBLING,

..... LESS TAX ?

In a revealing article published in the Lloyds Bank Review (Oct. 73) a Mr. Ronald Holloway (economist in the Ontario Ministry of Treasury, Economics and Intergovernmental Affairs) expresses his personal view that

"Gambling, an established though questionable source of public finance, is attracting new advocates of government promotion as an alternative to increased taxation. Mindful, perhaps, of such historic precedents as the 'Million Adventure' lottery launched in the reign of William III or, more probably, of the current examples provided by governments in every continent, the British government has been spurred to consider adding to its existing gambling activities by establishing a national lottery...

"The most basic question to answer is whether gambling is good for the gambler. It is generally recognized that risk-taking is essential to the development of character, particularly in the male, and is also conducive to material advancement. It is less generally recognized that gambling is an inferior means of satisfying this compulsive drive to which people habitually resort when healthier and more productive forms of enterprise are foreclosed to them, because of either a lack of facilities or such personal factors as age, physique, education and occupation. It is for this reason that the typical gambler is an urban male, no longer young or athletic; with relatively poor work and cultural interests and with a low expectation of economic advancement. Gambling, with its lack of stress on rationality, discipline and hard work as determinants of reward, offers an alternative economic and moral system, dominated by chance or fortune. With its own arcane language and rituals, it has a special appeal to the superstitious. More generally, gambling provides an opportunity for unrealistic aspirations to serve the function of minimizing anxiety about failure, usually in a social context of fraternization and mutual support.

"Addicted gamblers often experience financial and social distress. However, it is possible that addiction is more the result of a high state of unresolved inner conflict than its cause. While, fortunately, most gamblers are not addicts, many individuals are likely to gamble whether it is legal or not. Even so, the provision of legal facilities is likely further to induce people to part with money against their own sober judgement.

"If gambling is a safety valve for the frustrated individual,

it is also a safety valve for frustrated groups. This is a particularly important consideration for such societies as that of the United States, where gambling in the ghettos exceeds the receipt of welfare funds. Even in Britain, with relatively minor social problems, the outlay on gambling is ten times the amount given to charity."

[Table follows showing estimated UK gambling turnover 1972-73 at a total of £2,632 millions on betting, gaming, lotteries & competitions - including £42m Premium Savings Bond interest.]

"With the dissatisfaction of the poor diverted into escapism instead of street riots, it is necessary to question the tendency of the élite to seek to impose their standards of conduct on those of inferior circumstances. Worse, legislation has often discriminated, not against gambling, but against gambling by the poor. In 1190, an edict of Richard I forbade crusaders to gamble if they held a rank lower than knight. Some centuries later, the 1853 Betting Act was not intended to interfere with the betting by gentlemen that had so long existed at Tattersalls and elsewhere in connection with 'the great national sport of horse-racing' but was based on the belief that servants, apprentices and workmen, induced by the temptation of receiving a large sum for a small one, took their few shillings to betting houses and, as the Attorney-General put it, 'the first effect of their losing was to tempt them to go on spending money, in the hope of retrieving their losses, and for this purpose it not infrequently happened that they were driven into robbing their masters and employers.' Off-course betting was therefore made illegal, except where an individual had sufficient social standing to obtain credit. With gaming for high stakes permitted in clubs for the nobility and gentry but outlawed when played for halfpennies in the back alleys and in the pubs, it was very much a matter of one law for the rich and another for the poor."

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Having "advised" his readers (and I presume the British government officials responsible for the eventual setting up of a national lottery) about the repressive 'side effects' found in gambling, Mr. Holloway indulges in his article, under the headings 'Good Gambling and Bad', 'Taxing Issue', 'Government Gambling', in an orgy of statistics, detailed accounts and comparative Revenues in Taxes of Different European Gambling Systems, to conclude (without honestly committing himself in favour of or against state-sponsored gambling) that:

"Gambling, with its lack of stress on rationality, discipline and hard work as determinants of re-

ward, provides an opportunity for unrealistic aspirations to minimize anxiety. Banning gambling does not abolish it, and unpopular prohibition promotes a general attitude of criminality.

"However, gambling should be taxed heavily, whether it is a squandering of capital, unproductive saving, frivolous expenditure or unearned income. Further, it is clear that various forms of gambling can contribute to government revenues if operated as fiscal monopolies, and that various forms can be operated together.

"Does it matter if government gambling encroaches on or eliminates operations in the private sector? Not if one accepts that private operations may be linked with crime and corruption, or can be too open to manipulation and a trend towards interlinking chain operation, or may provide revenues in excess of the reasonable requirements of sporting interests, or unconsciously combine appeals to cupidity and charity.

"Since, however, taxation is the most appropriate means of financing essential public expenditures, the operational surpluses of government gambling monopolies should be directed to inessential expenditures with social benefits, priority should be given to sports and other recreation. The fruits of gambling are most appropriately used to diminish the appetite."

Although Lloyds Bank Review claims that "the Bank is not necessarily in agreement with the views expressed in articles appearing in this Review" (how could it be when Bank Staff Rules strongly state that any form of gambling that could incur bad debts will not be tolerated by the employers) it adds that "they are published in order to stimulate free discussion and full enquiries."

Which brings me to refer to a London comrade who told me recently that in the 1960's a group of anarchists used to meet weekly in a pub to discuss different forms of action. After each meeting personal contributions for a betting pool would be collected and invested at the betting shop next to the pub. Oddly and luckily enough it appears that this shop was for a while a source of revenue which permitted the economic survival of this anarchist group. Knowing that the odds against gamblers are approximately 100-5, no wonder that this London anarchist group does not exist any more.

Finally, one is tempted to ask why on earth should Lloyds Bank Review publish an extensive and well documented article on the economics of gambling, written by an expert employed by the Canadian government? I believe that it is time for the capitalist governments all over the world to adopt the motto: WITH PLEASURE WE SCREW THE PEOPLE.

Claude



# Bakunin & his Writings

PART II

(Part I appeared  
in Vol.34 No.41)

THE PRINCIPAL TASK, however, has been to bring together a full edition of Bakunin's works. The first attempt to do so was begun in 1895, when volume one of the French Oeuvres, edited by Max Nettlau, was published in Paris (a paperback reprint appeared in 1972). This was followed by five more volumes, edited by James Guillaume, between 1907 and 1913. A seventh volume was ready for the printer, but it never appeared owing to the outbreak of the First World War, followed by Guillaume's death in 1916. Between 1919 and 1922 a selected Russian edition in five volumes was issued by Golos Truda (The Voice of Labour), the Anarcho-Syndicalist publishing house in Petrograd and Moscow. A Soviet edition was prepared by Yuri Steklov, though only four of a planned twelve or fourteen volumes were published (1934-1936), containing Bakunin's writings up to 1861, the year he made his famous escape from Siberia; two more volumes were ready for the press when the project was cancelled as Stalin's purges moved into high gear.

A three-volume German collection, the Gesammelte Werke edited by Max Nettlau, was published by Der Syndikalist of Berlin between 1921 and 1924 (it is scheduled to be reprinted in the near future), but the project, when resumed a few years later, was interrupted by Hitler's rise to power, with two further volumes in an advanced state of preparation. A similar fate befell the Spanish edition, published in five volumes by La Protesta of Buenos Aires from 1924 to 1929 under the editorship of Diego Abad de Santillán in consultation with Nettlau, who contributed valuable historical introductions to each volume. Intended as a complete edition (Obras completas) in twelve volumes, it was interrupted by the establishment of the Uriburu dictatorship and the suppression of La Protesta in 1930. A reprinting begun by Santillán in Barcelona during the 1930s was likewise cut short by the victory of General Franco in the Spanish Civil War.

Thus no complete edition of Bakunin's works is available in any language. Fortunately, however, a definitive edition is now in progress, with five of a projected eighteen or twenty volumes published to date and two more coming in the near future. The editor, Arthur Lehning of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, is the foremost authority on Bakunin and a leading scholar in the history of anarchism, socialism, and the labour movement, whose From Buonarroti to Bakunin (1970) is a rich collection of his most important historical monographs and articles.

The publication of Bakunin's archives is an event of major importance. For with this exemplary edition we shall now have at our disposal the full range of Bakunin's books, pamphlets, articles, essays, letters, and other documents, many of them published for the first time. Lehning merits the highest praise for his role in this admirable enterprise. His editing leaves little to be desired, apart perhaps from a somewhat uncritical admiration for his subject, which virtually banishes any consideration of Bakunin's weaknesses and less praiseworthy political and personal characteristics. Typographical and factual errors are extremely rare. Each volume is devoted to a specific theme, with the materials presented in chronological order as far as possible. Each is provided with a learned introduction, detailed explanatory notes, and an adequate index. All are handsomely produced (by Brill of Leiden) and are illustrated with interesting portraits as well as facsimiles of manuscripts, documents, and title pages. The prices, however, will be prohibitive for the ordinary reader, and a cheap edition would be most welcome.

Volume One of the Archives Bakounine, entitled Michel Bakounine et L'Italie, 1871-1872 and published in two separate parts in 1961 and 1963, is based on the unpublished seventh volume of the French Oeuvres, augmented by documents in Holland, Italy, France, and England. Dealing with Bakunin and Italy after the Paris Commune, it opens with Bakunin's polemical writings against Giuseppe Mazzini, who had denounced the Commune and the International as atheistic and anti-nationalist movements. The principal text in Mazzini's Political Theology and the International, part of which appeared in pamphlet form during the autumn of 1871. (It was published in a full Italian edition, with a preface by Pier Carlo Masini, in Bergamo in 1960, and it is interesting to note that an English translation was published by Benjamin Tucker in Liberty as early as 1886-1887.) Although never completed, it possesses greater coherence than most of Bakunin's other polemical works, and his numerous drafts, outlines, and notes (published here for the first time) attest to the unusual care which he devoted to its composition. Mazzini's attacks on the Commune and the International alienated many of his followers, who found a new and exciting creed in Bakunin's teachings, a fact which helps to explain the upsurge of Italian anarchism during the 1870s.

While exchanging polemics with Mazzini, Bakunin was simultaneously embroiled in his famous contest with Marx within the International. Beneath their struggle lay deep personal antagonisms, dating as far back as 1848, when Marx's Neue Rheinische Zeitung denounced Bakunin as

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- Selected Writings, Poetry and Criticism, Herbert Read (406pp hardback, reduced from £2.75) £1.10 (22p)
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# URBAN FAMINE

ANARCHISM is rather like breathing in and out. Necessary for meaningful survival and essential for complete growth. Rooted in personal liberation and its wider social application. That co-operative interaction between free beings.

Mutually supportive truths are that plastic supermarket food is cumulatively toxic and that immigrants, aged whites and the poorer working class have no legal access to gardening land. Devitalised, adulterated, profit-based shop food is also expensive and its relative cost is likely to steadily increase.

Our three traditionally deprived social groupings usually share dwindling ghetto areas, in the centre of most depressed provincial towns, with drop-out middle and working class young.

Three basic human needs are food, clothing and shelter. Clothing is freely available at low cost from jumble sales, secondhand stores and town markets. Houses suitable for squatting in can be located in most urban areas. Food is the greatest present difficulty for those inadequately or reluctantly supported by the Social Security system. Theft is risky and food co-ops are presently struggling against harassment of many kinds from commercial traders. In any case such self-help organisations tend to involve mainly financially better-off people at this time.

So far, Digger-inspired plantings in public parks and squares have been mainly symbolic and largely ineffective; inasmuch as harvest and distribution go. Soilless culture and improvised

back-street gardening only sporadically indulged in by the more imaginative and practical drop-outs. Many, if not most, counter-culture people parasite off the consumer throw-away society and present no radical alternatives.

Contemporary malnutrition is mainly an urban problem and nutritious wild plants (like dandelions and nettles) are sprayed off the streets by nature-hating councils.

Consumer capitalism is literally poisoning those it parasites upon. Conversely the health-food trade being sadly a super rip-off.

Counter-culture has presented viable communications alternatives through underground and community press. Developed cheap clothing resources which bypass the profiteering fashion industry and rag trade sweat shops. Challenged housing shortage, in limited fashion, through squatting and communal living. Yet apart from experience with homesteading and theories of federating urban and rural communes, it hasn't begun to seriously involve itself with food. Obsession with natural or systemised diet (vegetarian, macrobiotic, natural hygiene, etc.) is valuable but not central to this concern.

Anarchism is where we came in and a jumping-off point towards healthy eating for ALL people. Capitalism is based upon profit not need and its food grows more pricey, scarce, chemical and fake. Counter-culture's nutritional education is aimed largely at literate, politically radical groupings. Meanwhile the majority are poisoned by convenience-food gluttony and a numerically significant poor escalate towards serious malnutrition. No joke. You can't grow very strong on Rice Krispies and white sugar.

Dave Cunliffe.

## ONE LAW FOR THE 'FREE'

SOUTH LONDON 'PROP' is holding a picket at Brixton Prison on Friday 26th October 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. and Saturday 27th October 2-5 p.m. This is to call attention to the fact that fourteen prisoners charged with various offences in connection with the attempted escapes of 30th May are being put before a 'special court' inside Brixton prison. This secret court will, like an ordinary court, have the power to commit the accused for trial. Furthermore, there is overwhelming evidence of 'unnecessary and brutal use of force by prison officers and police both during and after the escape attempt'.\*

Prisoners have been refused legal conferences to prepare their defence, and John Kellard who wrote to the Lord Chancellor to protest had his letter stopped by the prison governor. The excuse given by the authorities for these extraordinary secret proceedings is the usual flimsy one of 'security' - good old Catch 99!

\*PROP are publishing on October 26 a pamphlet on this - "Are Screws Above the Law?" - from PROP, 3 Belmont Road, London S.W. 4 at 5p + postage, or from Freedom Bookshop.

## LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Freedom Press 1972. A new and expanded version with chapters dealing with such important topics as the Militarization of the Militias, the Cult of the Organisation and of Personalities, the Rank and File's responsibility.

240pp. Cloth £1.50 (\$4.00)  
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## DEFEND THE 'BLACKBURN THREE'

ON OCTOBER 22nd a political show trial begins in Lancaster. Three men, Sean Colley, Patrick McCabe and Michael Kneafsey are on trial for their beliefs as Irish Republicans. They were arrested in May by armed Special Branch and CID men. Since then they've been subject to torture, ill-treatment and insults. Patrick McCabe was covered in cigarette burns and Michael Kneafsey was made to stand naked on a chair for 23 hours though he has an arthritic hip.

The men have been charged with conspiracy to cause explosions -

at an unknown place and an unknown time. They are alleged to have conspired with other people - again, they are unknown. The 'evidence' against them revolves around the possession of a saucepan, candles, a plastic trough, a map of Preston and a wiring diagram. All of which your 90-year old grandmother could have in her possession. Yet this motley collection is supposed to suggest the manufacture of explosives. Michael Kneafsey has also been charged with being the Intelligence Officer of the Lancashire Unit of the IRA.

They were refused bail and have had to rot in prison over the summer. They don't have to be convicted of doing anything

to be sent away for a lot longer -- this is the trick of the conspiracy laws that makes it so popular with right-wing judges. The Blackburn 3 are not on their own. Other arrests have taken place in Coventry, Luton, Birmingham and elsewhere. It is hoped to squash all opposition to government policy in Ireland by a campaign of fear. The charges against the Blackburn 3 show that this is a political trial. They can't get away with internment in England, so they use the next best thing - a lengthy remand on a conspiracy charge.

We call on your support and donations: Blackburn 3 Defence Committee  
6 Beecham Street,  
Morecambe, Lancs.



# Review

## "ART FOR ART'S SAKE"

I WANT TO GO TO MOSCOW - Maureen Duffy (Hodder & Stoughton £2.40)

DESCRIBED ON its title page as "a lay", Maureen Duffy's latest novel is indeed a ballad, and one which is made up of the most subversive thoughts and ideas. George Bernard Shaw (a writer with whom it is not inappropriate to bracket Maureen Duffy) was always accused by his detractors of creating characters merely to act as mouth-pieces for his own thoughts and ideas, and because Maureen Duffy's known thoughts and beliefs are reflected in this narrative, the same charge has been levelled against her. In both cases it is a wrong and unfair accusation, since both were

at pains to indicate and examine viewpoints which were at variance with their own. which is more than can be said about many "thoughtful" writers against whom this charge is never made because they merely substitute clichés for ideas.

Imaginative flights of the mind seem to have become entirely unfashionable since Science Fiction became established as a genre, and as a result the average novel has become a dull and lifeless thing. The hard work of resolving fantasy and irony becomes an altogether simple task for the Science Fiction writer since one has no problem with credibility, and most writers outside of this field merely show by their novels that they would, by and large, be better employed as social workers.

I Want to Go to Moscow is a novel in the true sense of the word, full of convictions and passion, and rich with food for thought. Unless an art can give us this inner propulsion to respond, then it is merely a self-indulgent creation for the artist. "Art for my sake," said D. H. Lawrence, and reading his works

confirms that for him at least, this was a valid truth. Maureen Duffy however is evidently from the "Art for Art's sake" school, and calling on her own roots and experience she has distilled into two hundred pages more comment and reasoning about the human condition than most authors achieve in a lifetime of limp paperbacks. So many who have the creative impulse have the key but can not locate the lock, and even if they find it the search so often exhausts them that they cannot then muster up the strength to turn it. Maureen Duffy manages all of this, and then locks the door again after her, and tosses the key away!

The skeins of pure anarchist thought, and a genuine understanding of the natural working-class impulse towards an anti-authoritarian attitude, is detectable throughout, and if I describe the actual story as "far fetched", it is in order to compliment it and its author most sincerely. It is one of those increasingly rare novels to which one will want to turn again and again, and any work which succinctly demolishes the myth of Catherine the Great with the brief line "She was a murderous bitch" is truly worthy of anyone's attention.

David Godin.



THURSDAYS 2 p.m. onwards  
help fold and despatch  
FREEDOM at Freedom Press

LONDON School of Nonviolence, Mon. 22 Oct.: Community Power, Jim Radford; Wed. 24 Oct.: The Problem of Size and Scale with Resurgence Group. Crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields 7 - 9 p.m.

HISTORY WORKSHOP in London, on Family, Work, Home at Old Theatre, L.S.E. Sat. Oct 20 & Sun Oct 21. Papers include History of the Housewife; Shop Girls in later 19th Century London &c &c. plus videotape & discussion of Half Moon's play on schoolchildren's strike 1911. Tickets £1.

PROPOSED AFB CONFERENCE in Leicester end November. Write Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St., Leicester.

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meeting first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk at 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone, C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool.

LONDON ASA for details of meetings phone 226-0817 Black & Red Outlook by post 5p + 4p from 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, London, N.5.

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO 83A Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3. Phone 586-2038 Meets Sats/Suns 7.30 p.m. ALL WELCOME

IRISH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST Federation being formed - write New Earth, 112 Thomas Street, Dublin 8

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE is at 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.16

BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 88 Roslyn Road, London, N.15 (tel. 800 9392)

Sits. Vac.: RETIRED MUSIC HALL OR LEGIT. PERFORMERS (3) sought to work part-time with "OAT'S" (Old Age Theatre Society), ensemble being formed to work for and with the elderly, under direction of Ed Berman. Inter-Action, 14 Talacre Road, London NW5 3PE. 'Phone Marina Kurtovich (01) 267-1422.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE, Anarchism, Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism, 'Socialism with a human face' - what sort of society do we really want? : evening course at Dept. of Adult Studies, Goldsmith's College, Lewisham Way, New Cross, SE 14, Mondays 7-9 p.m. (started 24 Sept.), fee for course (2 terms) £2.25. Enrol any weeknight 5.30-7.00 p.m. in Room 57.

A LIMITED SUPPLY of photo-copies of the very first issue of FREEDOM - October 1886 - now available at Freedom Bookshop. Price "at least" 20p includ.post

KROPOTKIN'S LIGHTHOUSE PUBLICATIONS. Postcards: Proudhon 23p for 10, Incredible String Band assort. colours 27p for 12. Recycled (except for dates) Walt Whitman Anarchist Calendars 1974, 10p + 3p post. From Freedom Bookshop.

THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT for people & groups who want to build a federal society of communities. To join send £1 for journal sub. plus 20p & seven SAE 9" x 4" to Richard Secombe, 3 Longfellow Avenue, Bath, Somerset. BA2 4SJ

INFORMATION PLEASE on small-scale vegetable growing home/allotment), also on educating children outside the institutional educational system. Write/ring M.-R. Bannon, 24 Heath Rd. Ipswich (tel. 79238).

Peter Lumsden sends greetings to Bill Dwyer but we haven't the address of either.

Can anyone offer a tape of the 'Angry Brigade' TV programme to R. W. Aldridge, 142 Corporation Road, Grangetown, Cardiff? Please send him details.

HALF MOON THEATRE, Alie Street, E.1. (phone 480 6465) current production GET OFF MY BACK! an account of the East Ends's struggle for survival from 14th Century to the current battle with the developers at St. Katherine's Dock. Evenings 7.30 Oct 17-Nov 11, Sunday included. Adults 50p children 30p

INSIDE STORY (No. 11 noted in FREEDOM 22.9.73) still need subscribers and offer a 50% discount to individuals and political groups. £1.50 for 12 issues from 3 Belmont Road, London SW4. te. 622 8961.

SATURDAY 20th OCTOBER Rally in LANCASTER in support of 'Blackburn Three' - Irish Republicans whose trial on conspiracy to cause explosions starts 22 October. Time of rally 2.00 p.m., place not given but address of correspondent Sean McGannon, c/o 3 Regent St. Lancaster.

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