

## CEASE FIRE: HOW LONG?

## THAI 'ANARCHY'

OVER THE WEEKEND Dr. Kissinger, America's globe-trotting peace-maker, visited Moscow for talks with the Soviet leaders following Mr. Kosygin's return from his talks with President Sadat of Egypt. Both the Americans and the Russians have been supplying arms to their respective "sides". In fact, the massive support which the Americans have given the Israelis (to continue even after the cease-fire) have given them the military edge over the Arabs. This support has been given despite the progressive cut back of oil by the Arabs to America.

However, prior to the outbreak of the present fighting, Joseph Sisco, Assistant U.S. Secretary of State, said on Israeli television:

"While our interests in many respects are parallel to the interests of Israel they are not synonymous with the State of Israel. The interests of the United States go beyond any one nation in the area...There is increasing concern in our country over the energy question and I think it is foolhardy to believe that this is not a factor in the situation."

Mr. Sisco even mentioned "the legitimate interests and aspirations of the Palestinian people in any peace settlement."

Their present support seems to run contrary to Mr. Sisco's speech, but by air-lifting such huge quantities of arms, whose technical capabilities have brought the Israelis near to Damascus and over to the west bank of the Suez Canal, they might think they could bring the war to a quick end. But while the two super-powers have supplied and are supplying the combatants with arms people are

being killed in order to uphold nation states. The state of Israel as an expanding nation acts with all the colonial arrogance of a European state of the last century. The authorities imprison all those who oppose these policies, Jews and Arabs alike. Anyone who proposes that Jews and Arabs can live and work together faces political repression.

The Arab states are also authoritarian and imprison any opposition that might threaten their power. They have used the native Palestinian-Arab population as political propaganda but have done little to help those who were driven from their land when the Israeli state was created.

The war has been a classic example of nation states in conflict, in which the populations have been the losers. Instead of people working together to make the desert fertile it has been used for tank battles.

The terms of the cease-fire give the Arabs back the land which Israel held after the 1967 six-day war. Although the Arab governments will recognise the State of Israel, nothing as yet has been worked out to help the Palestinians. People will continue to suffer because of the creation of yet another nation state when previously they had lived in peace. Such conflicts will continue while the nation states exist and their interests conflict.

Anarchists think of themselves as people, first and last, and the country they happen to be born in is just a geographical location. Nation states only divide people and create artificial conflicts which have little or nothing to do with their populations. People should not fight for their national leaders but join with one another to create a society where boundaries would be abolished.

P.T.

ASKED BY Martin Woollacott of the Guardian how it was that one of the most unpolitical student bodies in the world had managed to topple "what seemed one of the most entrenched authoritarian regimes in Asia", Mr. Tamet, student and political affairs under-secretary of the Thai National Students Centre, replied bluntly:

"We are amazed by what has happened. We didn't dream of getting so far--absolutely not. We began with the idea of a big demonstration to bring about the release of the 13 students and lecturers arrested last weekend, but to be frank with you, we didn't even really think we would get that..."

"We had to wait while the other leaders negotiated with the King, and the crowd was getting more and restless...Then we got the news of the promise that the 13 would be released and the country would have a Constitution in a year. It was good news, but the loudspeakers did not work too well and many never heard it at all, and some that did weren't satisfied. Later I got a message saying 'hold your people back', but I told him that's hopeless...And so I ordered the section forward...Later, when the shooting began, either towards midnight on Saturday or early on Sunday, there were no leaders, and all the officials were trying to stop it but it was hopeless. And once the students got mad when they saw their comrades shot, that was it."

"IT", as Tamet modestly put it, was a few days of leaderless students rioting and burning (including the HQ of the Thai police) which forced the deputy Prime Minister and other old cronies to flee the country, leaving behind them perhaps 1000 students dead, wounded or missing, an act of mass repression that has allowed the old regime to emerge from this crisis widely unpopular, deserted even by the senior officers' corps of the army, air force and navy.

Although today the majority of the 100,000 Thai students are  
...continued on back page, col. 1



"What would you like, Guy. . .  
--an Arab or Israeli Rosette?"



## SQUATTERS HARASSED IN ACTON

THREE MONTHS AGO a group of musicians and their friends from Somerset came to London. Not being able to pay the excessively high rent asked for accommodation, they decided to squat. After moving around they finally settled into 81 Churchfield Road Acton, a house that had been empty for more than seven months. They tried, through a local newspaper, to contact the landlord, and pinned a notice to the front door saying they were willing to pay a fair rent, rates, etc.

They had been there for only three weeks when the landlord finally arrived. On Sunday 14th October he, with thirteen other men armed with hockey sticks and iron bars, burst into the house while the occupants were asleep. Without discussion they threw all the bedding and belongings out of the window, into the front garden. When the occupants protested that this behaviour was not necessary they were immediately threatened, and two of them were forcibly thrown from the house.

Soon after the police arrived, and received complaints from the evicted, but, after discussion with the landlord, decided the dispute was "not within their jurisdiction". Now, the 16th October, the house is again empty.

D.P.

## IN BRIEF

To those of us who have the unfulfilled hope that if we ignore Xmas it will go away, Barbara Smoker of the National Secular Society has on offer Heretics (Christmas) Greeting Cards, depicting deserted religious assemblies; an arrow-pierced William Tell junior advocating us to 'Have Faith'; a picture of G.B.S. as Santa Claus comforting us with the thought that 'We all loath Christmas, but it comes only once a year and is soon over'; a card celebrating the birthday of Horus/Dionysus/Mithras and others and wishing the return of the 'unconquered sun'; and finally there is a Women's Lib card depicting the alleged Bethlehem nativity with the Magi's proclamation: 'It's a girl'. Orders to Barbara Smoker, 6 Stanstead Grove, London SE5 4DD

The Sun's headline was "The End of the World", the Evening Standard was more moderate with "England in wilderness"; working-class demonstrators were on the streets of Derby against victimization but it was all only football.

## A.F.B. CONFERENCE

In view of the generally favourable nature of the response we have received to our proposal to hold an A.F.B. conference it has been decided to go ahead with the organisation of the conference.

It will be held at Leicester University on 24th and 25th November in the television room of the Percy Gee building. The first session will open at 10 a.m. on Saturday 24th November

We hope to publish and circulate a discussion document comprising any material we receive connected with the conference -- subjects for discussion, procedural and organisational suggestions and ideas people may have about the role and function of the conference and any thoughts on the role a revived A.F.B. might fulfil.

Any contributions to this discussion document, together with details of numbers of comrades who hope to attend to assist us with the provision of adequate floor space for comrades to sleep overnight, can be sent to Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester.

Organising Group,  
Leicester Anarchists.

A bank computer erroneously gave a business man a £6,000 bonus. He was heavily overdrawn and was now before the Official Receiver. He was allowed to travel to Ghana to try to recover some of his assets.

World Medicine reported that a petition of 173 signatures to the British General Medical Council called for the G.M.C. to "at least give guidance [on the question of torture] for the future to those doctors whose work includes the care of prisoners and detainees; and whose day to day duties may bring them into conflict with what has been generally accepted as normal ethical standards". "Eventually," said World Medicine, "the G.M.C. said it could consider

the matter only if a concrete complaint was made against an individual" which, said World Medicine, "meant that guidance could be given only if some unfortunate Royal Army Medical Corps officer were to be pilloried."

Sancho Panza.

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SECONDHAND  
NEW  
Books

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- \*Bakunin on Anarchy, ed. by Sam Dolgoff £1.50 (10p)
- \*The Political Theory of Anarchism, April Carter (paper) 90p (8p)
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## BARGAIN BASEMENT

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PLEASE SEND FOOLSCAP (9" x 4") SAE if you would like to have booklists

## LETTER

## BASQUES

Comrades,

What is going to become of the Basque people? As a newspaper, you cover weekly events in both England and Ireland. If you are true Anarchists, the least you can do is to send three or more reporters to the Basque provinces of Alva, Vizcaya, Guizpuzoa and Navarr to give to the people abroad continuous coverage!! (Statistics needed separately.)

How many are dead? More important, how many have been imprisoned and forgotten? Remember, the Spanish Civil War has never ended! In the name of Humanity, don't let these people die! If the Euzkaldun die, the world shall no longer see naturally



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Mr. Geoffrey Martin, director of 'Shelter', the campaign for the homeless, has been dismissed by the board. He has refused to go.

The Agricultural Research Council's Institute for Animal Physiology has devised a method to prevent sows in factory farms giving birth at week-ends, Bank holidays or night-time to avoid inconveniencing (or paying overtime to) stockmen.

On 11th October, according to the Observer, the police raided at least ten premises in a search for illegal immigrants. Scotland Yard says 14 men were detained of whom ten were later released.

## Book Review

# BAKUNIN

MICHAEL BAKUNIN: SELECTED WRITINGS.  
Edited by Arthur Lehning.  
Cape, £4.95 (paperback £2.25)

Sam Dolgoff's anthology Bakunin on Anarchy (reviewed in FREEDOM on April 15, 1972) is available as a Vintage Paperback at £1.50, and a cloth edition has been published in Britain by Allen and Unwin at £5.50. Now a rival anthology of Bakunin's writings, edited by Arthur Lehning, has appeared.

To put the bad things first: belonging to Ralph Miliband's useful 'Writings of the Left' series, Selected Writings is really too short and too expensive -- about 95,000 words of Bakunin (compared with about 110,000 words in Bakunin on Anarchy), for a price which is excessive even by current standards, even the paperback edition being well beyond most people's pockets. It is also rather dry in tone, compared with Dolgoff's enthusiastic approach.

That said, this is about as good a short anthology of Bakunin as one could expect from the editor of the Archives Bakounine. Lehning has made a choice of passages not much different from Dolgoff's -- a score of extracts, many of them the same, though concentrating more closely on Bakunin's anarchist period (with only two items from before 1866, and none after 1873) -- but he has treated them rather differently. Where Dolgoff tended to choose long passages and then cut them, sometimes severely, Lehning has preferred to give shorter passages and then leave them uncut.

Selected Writings contains the following items, arranged thematically rather than in strict chronological order: Letter to his sisters (1836); The Reaction in Germany (1842); Principles and Organisation of the International Brotherhood (1866);

Letter to Herzen and Ogaryov (1866); Federalism, Socialism and Anti-theologism (1867); Programmes of the open and secret Alliance of Social Democracy (1867); Programme of the International Brothers (1868); Letter to Albert Richard (1870); Letter to Sergei Nechayev (1870); Letters to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis (1870); The Knouto-Germanic Empire (1871); God and the State (1871); The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State (1871); Reply of an Internationalist to Mazzini (1871); The Political Theology of Mazzini (1871);

Programme of the Zürich Slav Section of the Jura Federation of the International (1872); Letter to 'La Liberté' (1872); Writing against Marx (1872); Statism and Anarchy (1873).

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In general, Lehning's standard of editing is rather higher than Dolgoff's. Dolgoff's translations were often laboured and sometimes eccentric; those done for Lehning -- from the French by Steven Cox and from the Russian by Olive Stevens -- are always fluent and sometimes excellent (previous translations of The Reaction in Germany and of The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State have also been incorporated). Dolgoff added a lot of editorial material, not all of it good and some of it really unnecessary; Lehning adds the minimum of material to his texts -- a brief introduction, notes on the various items, a glossary of names, a few explanatory notes, and a summary bibliography -- and all of it is good.

The 20-page introduction begins by describing Bakunin as 'the greatest of the Russian revolutionaries of the nineteenth century', and adds: 'Bakunin's main historical achievement lies in his having linked the libertarian ideas of anarchism with the movement for the emancipation of the working classes, and in his having sown the seeds of anti-authoritarian socialism and of the theory and practice of anarcho-syndicalism.' Lehning points out that his surviving works do not properly represent this achievement, and remarks, in an implicit contrast with Marx, that 'the turbulent life of this revolutionary did not take place in the reading-room of a great library'. Like other anarchist leaders (compare Malatesta, as described by Vernon Richards in Malatesta: His Life and Ideas), he had no time to make or keep records, no opportunity to compose big books, no chance to develop his ideas into a unified system. Lehning makes the interesting point that 'to a large extent, his influence was the result of his enormous epistolary activity', writing up to 24 letters a day, many of them virtual pamphlets; but almost his entire correspondence after 1864 -- that is, covering the whole period of his anarchist work -- has been destroyed or lost, so that it is virtually impossible to reconstruct a true picture of his political career.

Even those of Bakunin's works which did survive have not yet

...continued on Page 6



# CHINESE BRUMMAGEM

WE ANGLO-SAXONS are by nature puritan and as such always have a guilt feeling in relation to the pleasures of the flesh and of the intellect. Pleasure as an end in itself can never be accepted and we must never be observed to pander to our animal appetites unless we appear to do so in the pursuit of knowledge, therefore the most debased and degraded films or plays must always be introduced with the claim that "These are the true facts etc" and our Sunday tabloids can hawk the most bizarre sexual permutations of the Island Race from corpse-eating to mother-fucking only if they claim that it is an expose of the moral degradation of a minority of the Island's rank and file. Only the lonely writer of lavatory graffiti raising his eyes to heaven and a blank space near the ceiling is the truly honest man for with the exception of the National Front lavatory ravings he is the sole author and audience of his dark humours.

The Times newspaper and The People's Republic of China have joined hands to give the Town and his frau this opportunity to view the discoveries made but two years ago during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and magnificently arrayed by Robin Wade they provide the Town with a new circus and a new toy. A surfeit of undigestible facts flows through our minds the whole of our waking days and very little of it is retained, for acquired knowledge is only relevant in relation to that with which we are already or desire to be involved, and last year it was the Egyptian exhibition with mass tomb-gazing and today it is Chinese necrophilism and the late Chinese princess Tou-Wan playing hostess. The body of Princess Tou-Wan long ago dissolved back into its eternal dust and we are left with the sheath of 2156 plaques of jade that once falsely promised the body immortality. Until the Chinese became Buddhists the Chinese soul resided within the body that was held to be merely in a state of suspended sleep and at any time, it was held, the soul could return and re-activate the body. Therefore the important dead were respected and feared for without a body the soul would turn homicidally mad, for unlike the Egyptian soul sent on an unreturning journey to the Field of Reeds the Chinese soul was still deemed to be a property owner and its concern in the matter of tomb treasures more a matter of personal wealth than of living it up with the Supreme Being. In this desire for earthly things it is the common people who have survived, for Prince Lue-sheŋ and Princess Tou-Wan died over 2,000 years ago and beyond this suit of jade there is no visual record of them but only their tombs with reproductions of the common people and the way they lived.

Our culture has always been Mediterranean oriented and we have had to accept an idealised version of whatever class was in power, for from the Greeks to the Egyptians they had sufficient understanding of their own self importance to mark their personal features on their buildings and their tombs and the men and women who died carving out the marble or sweating out the long days building the tombs died without record. But from the Chinese exhibition, from the tombs of the princes and princesses of China, emerge those who toiled and were slaughtered for the pleasures and fears of those in high office. There is the pottery figure of a peasant woman from the tomb of Shih-huang-ti, the faces of the slain victims to decorate an 11th century B.C. ritual food vessel, the model of a farm house, or the First century B.C. cowrie container that with its small informal group of figures seated in a circle destroys time in relation to the common people for they are but the peasant of today born and reborn

ten thousand times. Month by month the people of London queued to gaze on the golden mask of Tutan khamun as they do and will queue to gaze upon the shell of the Princess Tou-Wan and it is fair and fitting that this should be so, but let us always bear in mind that this is no more than another 'Spectacular' for the London mob for it is Reader's Digest information, valueless in itself for it has little or no impact on our daily living.

Our morality is Mediterranean, our concept of good painting quattrocento and our sculpture and architecture Greek. There was a belief and a hope that after 1917 the Russian intellectual would produce a new and vital revolutionary art but they in their turn offered the old academicism with a subject matter that, like the Egyptians, glorified their romantic idea of their own intellectual and social associates, and it is only in the cave painting of primitive man or the nomadic tribes that we find an art that is valid for in their daily struggle to survive they immortalised themselves. In 1540 Benvenuto Cellini made a salt-cellar for Francis I and it is a great and noble work of art...but as the Philistine would say once you've seen one salt-cellar you've seen them all but the head of a man or woman by Rembrandt, Rodin or Durer is man's eternal monument to the greatness and majesty of the human race, yea even as to the drawing on the caves by men dead half a million years ago. This is a truly great exhibition at the Royal Academy and every one connected with its presentation is to be congratulated, but for all that there is much padding and to make it appear to cover a time scale of 600,000 years means starting with a cast of the skull of Lan-t'ien Ape-man from over half a million years ago to the thought of Chairman Mao circa 1973 "Let the past serve the present". This exhibition with its mass display of bronzes and pottery should not be lost on the West.

## Ideological Battle

In the beginning the Chinese People's Republic did not wish to exhibit these finds in the western capitals but as can be seen they have now decided that it should be so. In twenty years or so with an industrialised and a united Chinese people the industrial strength of the world will shift to the East and as with industry so with the military might, and this major exhibition is telling the western world that China is moving into the cultural centre of world culture. In all previous exhibitions from the eastern world even to the Tutan khamun exhibition at the British Museum one had a vague idea that somewhere behind the scenes elderly and benevolent Englishmen and pedantic Americans and Germans topped with cork topees were organising things for the bare-footed natives, but not for the Chinese for the political intellectuals of the People's Republic are not only rejecting western culture but seeking to set the new thinking for the massive populations of the east, and just as at this very day the cinema screens become more and more dominated by eastern-produced films so soon will the visual arts and the literature of the east become the pacemaker for the mass mind. I believe that it is wrong for any parochial culture to become dominant, be it east or west, but those who mounted the Chinese Exhibition at the Royal Academy and those who queue to view it should accept that they are witnesses to an ideological battle for the control of the thinking mind and the People's Republic of China have staked their claim, first in Paris and now in London.

We at the press view were a privileged minority as we wandered through the empty and silent rooms



with a glass of whisky in each hand and time and time again one seemed to hear a flat but high-rising American voice demanding to know if it was right to rob tombs, and the answer to the unknown American was that it is right for it was the common people who died in their thousands to fashion these tombs to wealth power and privilege, it was the unknown craftsmen who fashioned the pot, cut the jades for the death suit and created their own kind in small clay figures to fill these tombs, and now it is the same unknown, unnamed men and women who are opening up these tombs that the creations

of their past shall once more be part of their own heritage. There is a fantastic wealth still waiting in known tombs within China and the spade should be at the ready. Chairman Mao is wrong when he calls upon the Chinese people to take credit for the past, and when at the press view one heard so many times of the genius of the Chinese past in the matter of printing, money and casting one answered that none of us is responsible to the past for its virtues or its vices, for we are only responsible for our own actions and how we act within our own society. But one drinks the final whisky, passes the beautiful Heavenly Horses in their tiny thumbnail size ranks from the eastern Han dynasty, pauses to look at the lovely kneeling clay figure of a peasant woman of the Ch'in dynasty and takes one final backward glance at the jade funeral suit that is all that is left of princess Tou-Wan, wife of prince Liu Sheng of the western Han dynasty 2nd century B.C., for outside is Piccadilly and the weak autumn sun and the first of the chill winds.

AT THE MARLBOROUGH gallery at 17 Old Bond Street, W.1 there is the work of the Spanish Realist Painters. Brilliant academic painting and drawing yet completely devoid of any social, political or religious feeling, for here is the art of a closed society --and this from the country that produced in 1957 the El Paso group of abstract painters who gave their abstraction such a feeling of political and social awareness. Cellinis without a cause rightly fearing to give offence.

Arthur Moyse.

#### NO LOST CARS?

The following letter appeared in the London Evening Standard of 25.9.73, and although they included a reply to our reader's letter they did not print his second letter. Wilfred Wigham has sent us a copy which we print below.

--Eds.

No lost cars?  
Let me reassure Ian Morton (Sept. 19). The 4000 cars at Chrysler, British Leyland and Ford have not been lost (any more than were the 290,000 in the first six months of 1973). The 4000 cars are hypothetical. The parts are all waiting to be

assembled. When the present disputes are settled, then we shall have our actual 4000.

If some of the 4000 are destined for the home market, the delay is a good thing, because there are too many cars on our roads already.-- Wilfred Wigham, Deer Park Gardens, Mitcham, Surrey.

"IAN MORTON writes: The cars may be hypothetical to Mr. Wigham, but in terms of any firm's getting the return calculated for on its investment in plant, any period when that plant is not producing represents a loss. As for delay being a good thing, if Mr. Wigham decides the time has come to change his car, is he prepared to wait? No, Mr. Wigham buys a car he can get. And if it is a foreign car, his purchase represents a lost sale to a British manufacturer. (sic)."

#### The unpublished reply:

To the Editor,  
"Evening Standard"

Dear Sir,

#### Car Output from Two Angles

IN REPLY TO Ian Morton's comment on my letter (Sept. 25) about the 4000 "lost" cars, I understand his explanation and had indeed anticipated some such interpretation of his, to me, strange use of the verb "lose".

However, to mitigate possible shock to any of my friends who have read this correspondence and taken Mr. Morton's second paragraph literally, I should make it clear that this Mr. Wigham does not buy any car, British or foreign, never has bought any and doubtless never will.

As an O.A.P. for a good many years I look upon cars, like most of my eight million fellow-pensioners among others - private cars anyway - not from the angle of the prosperity of American and British motor manufacturers but from the angle of the scurrying pedestrian (sometimes not fast enough) and of the rider on buses held up by the often predominantly one-man-in-a-car traffic.

I admit some cars are necessary.

Yours truly,  
Wilfred Wigham.

## CASUAL SLAUGHTERS

PENGUIN BOOKS, following their splendid policy of 'Specials' (dating from 1937) have issued a volume Political Murder in Northern Ireland by Martin Dillon and Denis Lehane (45p). This series, usually specially commissioned and dealing in depth with a topical subject and using their guaranteed outlets to underwrite any risk of a decline in interest, is providing an antidote to the sensationalized and biased treatments given by the popular press and the equally sensational catchpenny topical book designed to catch a fleeting market.

This book is based on articles written for the Belfast Telegraph during the writers' employment thereon. The Belfast Telegraph rejected the articles but the writers have used the material collected as the basis for this book which is quite simply, as it states, the history of the political murder in Northern Ireland.

As one suspected but was rarely told by the Press (and the Belfast Telegraph had obviously little interest in the subject) the recent spate of seemingly casual assassinations/murders were mainly Protestant inspired and in their sum total exceeded the equally bloody and equally aimless bombings of the Catholic IRA. Statistically the cold facts are given. On the question of Army (S.A.S.?) killings they are suitably cautious; they can only pinpoint two deliberate, inexcusable Army killings. One may quarrel that they are confining themselves too precisely to the terms of their book and Protestant and Catholic killings cannot claim the same margins of error and official excusability 'in the line of duty'.

Nevertheless, the authors devote a great deal of space to the theories of Brigadier Kitson and their implications. It could be that the laws of libel preclude any fuller development of this theme but precisely the lack of drawing absolute conclusions leads an intelligent reader to draw his own conclusions.

The authors are fair enough to give space to Protestant political statements and there are some interesting conclusions drawn from the split between Tommy Herron and other Protestant factions. Herron's killing came whilst the book was in the press and was foreshadowed in the book.

J.R.

The Christian Science Monitor has decided to recognise the material reality of the newsprint shortage by suspending its Saturday issue. It has already cut the amount of news published.



So the military junta seems very firmly in the saddle in Chile, as may be judged with bitterness by the speed with which their fellows in the various governments have assessed the situation and recognised the fait accompli. One notes with contempt how the BBC and the British press, having 'played it cool' until the British government had made known its recognition with scarcely a peep of protest, can now openly report the thousands of imprisonments, the executions, the hounding of leftists in working class quarters and the book-burning. There is little anarchists can do at this moment in Chile. As Alan Angell says in the lead article in The Listener (20/9/73) "There is no force in Chile comparable to the Spanish Anarchists prepared to face anything to prevent military rule".

There is something we can do here, and now. It is as true as it was in the 14th century when Etienne de Boetie said it, and as it has been ever since. A single tyrant has only two arms; Chile's generals and admirals could not themselves drive all the tanks to the factories against the occupying workers' few rifles, nor the vehicles that rounded up thousands of people into the world's newest concentration camps.

Some of the killing and rampaging has no doubt been done by the storm troopers of the fascist 'Patrie et Liberte(!)', but it is a safe bet that most of the guns that pointed at the resisters were in the hands of other workers who found a job in the army - the dirty work the 'poor bloody infantry' always does. In Chile it is done and it may take years to undo. Here it has not happened yet; except to the Northern Irish 'casualties of war', the woman blinded by a rubber bullet, the demonstrators shot down, the occasional man or boy in the way of a high velocity bullet aimed at a gunman, the youth thought to have been carrying a weapon, the child run down by an armoured car - and a few thousand men imprisoned without trial in a broad sweep to catch up suspected terrorists. The soldiers are 'obeying orders' as is the way of soldiers everywhere.

What if in the 'winter of discontent' we are promised and the economic disaster which seems to loom, we had here in England a general strike, or even food riots caused by insanely rising prices -- and General Kitson brought in to apply the strong-arm methods he is already paid to study and invent? The lesson is one for us to practise now.

#### SUBVERT THE MILITARY

If we leave it to the few people who are at present concentrating on the 'Withdraw the

troops from N.Ireland' campaign and to the couple of comrades who have been these past few months visiting army barracks and recruiting offices with their leaflets, we may find before long it is too little and too late. It can happen here.

M.C.

\*FREEDOM 22.9.73

Dennis Gould of Digger Press (6A Penrhyn Street, Redruth, Cornwall) has published a pamphlet (duplicated, 15p) "What Rough Beast? : Alex Comfort Intro. by Colin Ward", and on November 6th the Anti-Advertising Agency will publish - with Books of Leeds (84 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds, LS2 8AB) "The Global Village Idiot - Extracts from the Nixon Tapes" by Clifford Irving, at 50p paperback and £4. According to its own blurb, "This is a work of fiction ...it reads as extracts from his Nixon's diaries 1962-72."

#### BAKUNIN...continued from Page 3

been published in full in any language, though Lehning has been doing more than anyone since the death of Max Nettlau 30 years ago to complete this task. Nevertheless, Lehning insists, 'they constitute a coherent social philosophy, with a complementary theory of revolutionary practice'; and he emphasises two factors in the continuing failure to recognise this -- that most people concerned with the subject are ignorant of what Bakunin actually wrote; and that Bakunin always wrote for a particular purpose and for a particular audience. (A third factor he doesn't mention is that Bakunin's rhetorical style is alien to a more prosaic age.)

The summary of Bakunin's life which takes up the rest of the introduction is good and clear, placing in context nearly all the writings represented in the book (though not the letter to his sisters, which isn't worth the six pages it occupies). But it would have been helpful to have more systematic and specific references to particular passages. It is frustrating to come across descriptions of The Appeal to the Slavs (1848) or the Confession (1851) without any extracts from them (here Dolgoff does better), or else to have no discussion of such important works as The Knouto-Germanic Empire or Statism and Anarchy. It is also mildly irritating to have no indications of the sources of the many quotations in the introduction.

It looks as if the introduction had to be shortened, since it comes to a rather abrupt end, playing down or leaving out many

important events in Bakunin's last years, such as his relationship with Nechayev in 1869-1872, or his part in the Bologna rising and his exclusion from his own group in 1874. But Lehning does manage to justify the claim for his importance, and appropriately quotes one of his last manuscripts: 'My name will live on, and to this name will attach the real, legitimate glory of having been the pitiless and irreconcilable adversary, not of their own persons, but of their authoritarian theories and ridiculous, odious pretensions to world dictatorship.' If Lehning had had more space, it would have been interesting to have a proper discussion of Bakunin's relationship with Blarquism before him and with Bolshevism after him, with the pan-Slavist movement in his early career and with the South-West European labour movement in his later career. But what we have is as much as we could expect.

One small point is that Lehning twice describes E. H. Carr's Michael Bakunin as the 'standard biography' in English, without making it clear just how defective this book really is -- as Paul Avrigh explained on October 13 -- being learned and elegant, no doubt, but also biased and incomplete. Another small point is that Lehning describes Nettlau's huge biography of Bakunin as being 'translated into French from the German', when in fact the text is in German, though the many Bakunin manuscripts quoted are given in the original language, which is generally French.

In conclusion, if one must choose a single anthology of Bakunin's works, Lehning's Selected Writings is probably the most useful and reliable one for beginners. Dolgoff's Bakunin on Anarchy and Maximoff's Political Philosophy of Bakunin are really more suitable for readers who know something about the subject. What is really needed, though, is a proper edition of Bakunin's works in English -- if not a complete edition, on the lines of the Archives Bakounine (described by Paul Avrigh on October 20), then at least a collected edition of his most important and interesting works, on the lines of those in French, German, Russian and Spanish (described by Paul Avrigh on October 13). It would perhaps be an advantage if the editor were not a committed Bakunist, since a critical approach is really necessary to get the best out of this neglected but remarkable man who did the most to found the movement we belong to. The centenary of his death comes in 1876; let's hope we can manage something by then.

N. W.

NOTE: In a future issue Paul Avrigh will discuss Bakunin's relations with Nechayev.



# LETTERS

COULL IT COMRADES !

Dear Freedom,

I see from your Contact section that somebody is trying to disinter the corpse of the so-called Anarchist Federation of Britain. Well, if their tastes run to necrophilia, that is their own business. But if they were to pretend - as enthusiasts for the AFB used to do - that the revived body was in some way representative of the anarchist movement, it would become the business of us all.

So, just in case they have some such intention, I would like to tell anyone reading your paper who is unfamiliar with the anarchist movement that, should any group of people decide to call themselves 'The Anarchist Federation of Britain', they will be merely one of the factions of the anarchist movement.

The anarchist movement in 'Britain' consists of 3 main organised groups and a number of other tendencies.

The 3 main groups are all committed to the class struggle. They are the Black Cross, the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists (another outfit whose title is, like the AFB's, misleading), and the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance.

I would advise anyone who wishes to participate in an anarchist 'federation' to take part in the activities of one (or, if they see no reason why not, all) of these groups.

Fraternally,  
Dave Coull

## CONFRONTING FASCISM -- I

Dear Comrades,

When I wrote that "when fascists try to impose their will by force they will be forcibly resisted by anarchists" it meant precisely what it said. Is Rupert Williams so tied up in his own rhetoric that he can't tell the difference between words and action?

I don't like wasting FREEDOM's space correcting the misconceptions of regurgitated Trotskyism but I have to inform him that British capitalism is not in a serious crisis -- despite the daily predictions from the Trots that the end is nigh! The strength of the National Front is greatly exaggerated and they are completely without influence in the unions -- outside their traditional small fascist footholds in the London docks, etc. Despite an incredible effort at mobilising

their members from all over the country, they only managed to muster 900 people (Spearhead's own figure) for their annual march in London last July. Compare this with the number of soldiers on the streets in Northern Ireland -- and remember that they have guns in their hands.

I know that facism is in action in N. Ireland which is precisely why I have spent most of my time in the last 5 months leafleting, talking to people in the streets about the repressive role of the Army in N. Ireland (and everywhere else), and trying to convince soldiers to quit the Army. One comrade - who would doubtless be dismissed by Rupert Williams as a mere "liberal pacifist" - faces the possibility of a prison sentence on a charge of "incitement to disaffection". I have yet to see Rupert Williams and his ilk do anything on Ireland other than churn out oh-so-revolutionary rhetoric from the comfort of their armchairs.

Fraternally,  
Terry Phillips.



## --- Confronting Fascism - II

Dear Comrades,

Terry Phillips' rather confused article 'Confronting Fascism' (FREEDOM October 13) calls for some comment.

There is much in the article that it is hard to disagree with. I agree that I.M.G. are elitist, that many marxists show a naive idealization of a mythical working class, and that the identification of anarchism as a petit bourgeois deviation is absurd. Other points in the article are, however, more questionable.

Phillips suggests that British fascists are impotent. This is surely a rather complacent judgement. In the light of history, it is only prudent to treat fascism as a serious threat at a time of persisting economic crisis. Equally complacent is Phillips' view that workers will not be impressed by fascism because they are not stupid. The suggestion, of course, is not that workers are stupid but that in time of social and economic stress workers' environments may

make them receptive to fascist ideas. The evidence is that among some sections of the working class this possibility is being realized, and this is a serious matter.

Phillips says that the fight against authoritarianism including fascism must be carried on every day. But he seems to suggest that the only weapon in this fight should be argument. One should not, on his view, prevent fascists speaking because freedom of speech is 'sacred'. Phillips is surely aware of the nature of free speech in capitalist society, of the way in which the class structure and the dominance of conservative ideologies constrain and restrict political debate and discussion. In this situation freedom of speech is not quite the wonderful thing liberals would have us believe and there can be good reasons for violating it. There are, in particular, good reasons for denying free speech to fascists. Such action, of course, is not taken because one cannot refute fascist arguments, but because something stronger than argument is required. No doubt the left in Germany in 1930 could refute Hitler's arguments but that did not stop him.

Phillips' apparent identification of marxists with fascists as two rival groups of bully boys also requires comment. Such an identification is a part of the conventional wisdom of liberals which anarchists should be able to rise above. Of course one should criticize marxists, but one ought to be able to tell marxists from fascists.

There was recently action here in Edinburgh to prevent Martin Webster of the National Front speaking at a student union debate. This was not an action of 'the self-appointed saviours of the working class' but an important example of student-worker cooperation and solidarity. There is every reason, I think, for anarchists to support such actions.

Yours,  
Bob Borsley

continued from Page 2

independent but detached people, a culture of unknown origin and time; a language that challenges any person's mind!

Finally, I quote from John Donne's Devotions: "No man is an island unto himself, every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main...any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." (Devotions XVI, Meditation XVIII)

Hoping you won't forget them,  
Comradely yours,  
Victor Mark Manso

P.S. Don't make repression national! It is not!



## THAI "ANARCHY" cont'd from P. 1

prepared to tolerate and accept the attempts to form a new, more moderate (but not liberal) government (General Kris Sivara refused to send troops against rioting students, stating "I can't. These are all our children.") a new feeling of strength and of troubles to come echoes in the words of student Tamet when he said, "Socialism is discussed more and more. But it's very distant. It seems such a dream."

"Maybe 5 per cent of the students think they are Marxists," said another student during the interview given to the Guardian, "and maybe they had their secret plans and weapons. But I think they were as surprised by the actual events as we were."

Had the remaining 95% of the students been Marxists, I suspect that at this hour in Thailand the students would still be busy building up a glorified Revolutionary Party and canalizing into the Party's elitist activities the spontaneity of the students - the weapon which made it possible for them, regardless of their class origins (bourgeoisie) to boot out of the

country the few old despots who had tyrannized Thailand for so long. Although the Thai students have not dared to make a revolution, I beg the British Marxist-Leninists to note their effort, because through practice they have learned that leadership and Marxist class-consciousness are totally irrelevant in people's struggle against tyranny, as Mr. Woollacott found out when he reported, on 18th October, in the Guardian:

"But to the astonishment of the students' own leaders, the continuing demonstrations built up to gigantic proportions, as more students and even sixth-formers from secondary schools joined in. By Friday they felt strong enough to issue an ultimatum that the 13 arrested should be released by Saturday, but by now the leaders were no longer in complete control of what they had created."

PRESS FUND

Claude.

### Contributions 11-17 October

ABERDEEN: B. L. 75p; COVENTRY: H.D. 90p; LEEDS: G.H.L. 39p; NEW YORK: H.S. £6.50; COLUMBIA Mo.: R.A.R. £1; WORTHING: R.P. 25p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p.

TOTAL: £10.29

Previously acknowledged £1029.93

TOTAL TO DATE £1040.22

## Shoplifting

Lt. Col. Wasfullah Alizai, of the Pakistan army, has been fined £200, and is to be sent back to Pakistan 'in disgrace', truncating his medical studies in this country, and to face a possible court-martial; for stealing goods worth less than £10 from a London store (Times 19.10.73).

There is no limit to the righteous indignation, deliberately encouraged in public opinion by the papers and TV, on behalf of the consumer goods traders at such tiny threats to the property they amass. No doubt the anorak taken by Col. Alizai has been returned to the store. But Col. Alizai's life is being deliberately broken.

There has been a systematic campaign, in the courts and in the 'media', to terrorize foreign visitors who so-called shoplift. This is to ensure that the vast profits of the post-Europe-entry tourist industry are captured intact.

Rod McBeth

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

## Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

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

London School of Nonviolence. Monday 29th Oct.: Trade Union of the Third World, Jonathan Power. Wed. 31 Oct.: Aggression, nonviolence and life-style, Satish Kumar.

AFB CONFERENCE will be held at Leicester University, television room of the Percy Gee building on Saturday & Sunday 24 & 25 November. Those interested please write to Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, 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

HALF MOON THEATRE Alie St. E.1 (phone 480 6465) current production GET OF MY BACK! is an account of the East End'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 and they say "bring a drink".

Can anyone offer a tape of the 'Angry Brigade' TV programme size 1 7/8" or 3 1/4" ips 2 or 4 track up to 5 1/2" reel? R. W. Aldridge, 142 Corporation Road Grangetown, Cardiff.

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

Ecologically sound, recyclable (& recycled except for dates) Anarchist calendar 1974 with "anarchik" cartoon and quotation from Walt Whitman. Kropotkin's Lighthouse publ, available from Freedom Bookshop 10p each plus 3p post. Discount for bulk.

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

THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT for people & groups who want to build a federal society of communities. To join send £1 for journal sub plus 20p and 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 Road, Ipswich (tel. 79238).

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, tel. 622 8961

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