

# CAN ISRAEL SURVIVE?

The Guardian said: "Israeli forces would return after mopping up the Egyptian fedayeen bases in the Sinai Peninsula. That alone was the intention of the operation".

The New York Times correspondent with the Israeli forces said: "Within four days of taking over the Gaza strip and the Sinai Peninsula Israel had started integrating the conquered territory into the nation. Already workmen are busy laying new railroad tracks between Israeli territory and Gaza". According to the British Minister of Defence "British casualties did not exceed 85, of whom no more than twenty were killed." The New York Times estimated that more than 1,000 soldiers and civilians were killed in Port Said.

Which war would that be now? This was the abortive campaign of 1956 in which Britain, France and Israel collaborated to attack Egypt, presumably to punish her for taking over the Suez Canal. America, for reasons best known to Eisenhower, intervened and halted the campaign. Russia at the time was busy pulling down the Hungarian rising.

It is impossible to find any abiding moral principle in international relations at any time. The only constant factor for the nation-state, as some English statesman explained, is its interests. Britain's interests in the Middle East were the same in 1956 as they are in 1973; then we were pro-Israeli, now we are assumed to be pro-Arab. Britain's interests are a supply of oil, plus our own oil companies' holdings in Middle East oilfields. Britain's enemies and allies vary

but her interests remain more or less the same.

Britain (and the world) have learned to live without the Suez Canal. With the growth of Arab nationalism and nationalization we may have to learn to live without the easy-gained flow of oil we assumed was a right.

It was obviously in the interests of the USA (aided by everyone's guilty conscience) to sponsor the new state of Israel but we have seen in action how a state grows -- by force and fraud. The United States itself grew in the same way, with the dispossession of the Indians and the forcible acquisition of New Mexico and Texas as the more recent evidence.

It has long been the pose of the ever-ambitious states that they are only interested in 'security'. It was put more succinctly by the avaricious farmer - "I only want the land next to mine". The Arab states like retired burglars are only interested in preserving their

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'I'VE A WONDERFUL IDEA

SIR. . .



why don't **WE** hire all the clever crooked lawyers and that way we'd win all our cases?"

## THE MINERS' CHALLENGE

ONCE AGAIN the task of challenging the Tory government's pay policies falls to the coalminers. Their rejection of the National Coal Board's offer has brought them into direct conflict with the government's Phase 3 pay and prices policy. But this is a conflict that affects each and every one of us. For since November 1972 wage increases have been held back but prices and profits have reached record levels. The government's claims that inflation can be checked by its pay and prices policies have been proved a fraud. What has happened is that living standards of wage earners have been attacked for the benefit of profits. This has already happened. Average increase in the profits of Britain's top twenty companies is 26% while these same companies gave their employees a 10.9% increase in wages.

The National Coal Board's offer to the miners falls in line with the government's Phase 3 limits. This includes all the extras like "unsocial" shift payments.

This will mean wide differences between those on the surface, those underground, and those who permanently work on the night shift. The offer could mean only £2.30 for some surface workers as a basic increase and £2.57 for those underground. The union is demanding a bigger basic increase all round. It is this demand that conflicts with the government's policy. Although this offer might be their second highest, after the Wilberforce settlement of last year, inflation makes such comparisons false. The miners, like all other wage earners, have suffered the effects of inflation while all the employers have done is to pass on their increased costs to the general public.

Now this robbery is being challenged by the miners' ban on overtime which, unlike last year's dispute, will include safety and maintenance work. This sort of work will now have

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"We want to stop the masses..."

In a speech at Leicester on 12 November, the Home Secretary (Mr. Robert Carr) spoke of the plans made to deal with threats to power supplies. An "intelligence centre" at New Scotland Yard would coordinate police action, and it has been arranged for police forces to make cooperative arrangements with their neighbouring forces for reinforcements to be sent at short notice.

He was determined to stop industrial violence "like that in Lincolnshire" (during last winter's power dispute). "At that time," he said, "bars and forks were taken from people on the way to a demonstration. We are determined this will not happen again. From my own experience at Bolton, the police have no chance of dispersing several hundred people who are inflamed by violent minorities. We want to stop the masses forming to start with."

(taken from The Guardian 13 Nov)

On Tuesday 13 November the government brought in Emergency Powers.

# IN BRIEF

The police director of Memphis, Tennessee, denied that a 19-year old girl from Arkansas had sexual relations with up to 300 Memphis policemen in September and October. He said only 18 officers might have had sexual encounters with the girl.

Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson, summing up at the Old Bailey in the seven-week trial of six members of Scotland Yard's drug squad on conspiracy to pervert the course of justice and perjury in the course of a drugs frame-up spoke, according to the Evening Standard, of the frustration sometimes felt by CID detectives who during their careers might often have experienced examples of guilty men escaping justice. That could lead to the temptation to gild the lily by adding bits and pieces of evidence which might make matters worse for an accused person. And maybe it was a temptation which was difficult to resist, he added. Sir Robert Mark, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, in one of his usual attacks upon the legal and jury system; said that 'a minority of criminal lawyers do very well from the proceeds of crime. A reputation for success, achieved by persistent lack of scruple in the defence of the most disreputable, soon attracts other clients who see little hope of acquittal in any other way. Experienced and respected Metropolitan detectives can identify lawyers' in criminal practice who are more harmful to society than the clients they represent.

Benedict Birnberg, the well-known civil liberties lawyer, claims that the police have a blacklist (which he is on) of lawyers, politicians and journalists whom Scotland Yard regard as hostile.

A report published by the Runnymede Trust accused Ealing (London) police of treating immigrants with partiality and brutality, Scotland Yard has refuted the allegation. Sir Robert Mark called for a system to deal with complaints against the police within 48 hours. Such a procedure, he said, would dispose quickly of the "minor and often ill-founded complaints." It would also, he said, protect his men from the malicious complaint and the professional agitator.

The former commander of Hong Kong's murder squad was found guilty of an offence under the Prevention of Bribery Ordinance and sentenced to jail for one year.

"Princess", a pop-song written to cash in on the royal wedding, contains the immortal lines "Princess...we're glad you've chosen a man." Well, it could have been a horse.

Sancho Panza

## ISRAEL...continued from P. 1

loot and safeguarding their oil deposits. They have little interest in the displaced Palestinian people.

It is significant that in their aggressive (but abortive) war of 1956, Israel's aims were the same as in her war of 1967 which she won with a classic pre-emptive strike at Egypt's airfields.

Although the Israelis knew of the possibility of the 1973 attack, they were allegedly caught off their guard, mainly it is claimed because the attack took place on Yom Kippur. (The Israelis have tried to publicize the war as The Yom Kippur War to enshrine this infamy.) But in fact the war also started during Ramadan (a Moslem religious fast) which overlaps with Yom Kippur.

This alleged unpreparedness has gained Israel some public sympathy which recent events had tended to forfeit. But it is mainly in Israel itself that the 'preparedness' controversy will rage most furiously. The postponed elections for the Knesset will take place in December. Mrs. Meir will be opposed by one of her victorious generals, Arik Sharon, the 'hero' of the Suez encirclement of the Egyptian Third Army and the driving force behind the right-wing Likud party. Sharon has been disciplined by the Minister of Defence (former hero Moyshe Dayan) for disobeying orders by giving an unauthorised interview to the press. It is thought, says the Telegraph, that Gen. Sharon will be discharged from active service and the case against him quietly dropped with possibly only a formal punishment.

Sharon was in fact a rival to Dayan for popular acclaim, not only in this war but in others. Dayan took great care to be photographed with a bandaged Sharon on the Canal front. (Dayan had previously had the satisfaction of having the Minister of Justice removed from office for criticising Dayan's conduct of the war.) The Israeli elections promise to be very lively.

General Sharon in fact broke the cease-fire and disobeyed orders when he camouflaged tanks as Egyptian and with the alleged aid of American reconnaissance broke through and encircled the Egyptian Third Army. However nothing succeeds like success and all's fair in love and war, especially a victorious war. Although it is hard to say who has won in this war.

The survival of Israel as a state is not in doubt. As long as it is to the advantage of some super-state (as it is obviously for America) to sponsor her she will survive and flourish like the green bay tree. In the



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same way the Aiab states and Egypt will survive and quarrel (as states naturally do) sponsored and armed by another super-state. The oil which they proudly claim as their most valued card is something which makes them envied, not respected or feared.

Meanwhile, back at the refugee camps... General Sharon apparently captured an entire Egyptian village the inhabitants of which have disappeared somewhere into Israel. Jack Robinson

Our diametrical contemporary, the Police Review, issues a warning about the growth of subversion (in a review of rightist Ian Greig's book) and gives as a source of subversion The Daily Worker. They are entitled to their opinion as to the firebrand qualities of the C.P.G.B. (King Street) but somebody should tell them it's been The Morning Star for years.

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## IN BRIEF

The Sunday Telegraph of Oct. 21  
apologised for an error made, it  
is claimed, by a reputable news  
agency) in claiming that members  
of the National Front clashed  
with the police outside Conway  
Hall, Red Lion Square, London.  
It was in fact, says the Tele-  
graph, anti-National Front demon-  
strators who clashed with the  
police.

Mohammad Ali, the boxer, attacked  
the press for giving attention to  
reports that he had injured his  
jaw. He said, "What's so import-  
ant about my jaw? People are  
dying in Egypt and Israel. You  
hardly hear about that. But my  
jaw is going to be on the front  
pages all over the world. People  
are dying, people are bleeding...  
and all this fuss over a mere  
boxing match. It shows how  
messed up the world is, I don't  
think it's right to get all this  
attention. People who deserve it  
don't get any."

# HE PROTESTS TOO MUCH

Joe King, General Secretary of  
the Union of Textile & Allied  
Workers and a member of the TUC,  
told a seminar on "Immigrants in  
Industry" at Rochdale, composed  
mainly of Freemasons, managers,  
personnel officers, social work-  
ers, students and the like,  
that we must watch out for the  
interference of "outside bodies"  
in race relations. He particu-  
larly referred to Arrow Mill,  
where he claimed outsiders had  
called a strike at a time when  
he was negotiating a settlement  
with management, and told the  
bosses that we must learn how to  
deal with these groups. This was  
his rather pathetic comment on  
the support local anarcho-syndi-  
calists gave in May 1970 to the  
Arrow Mill workers who were be-  
ing bullied, sacked and intimi-  
dated by the management and were  
getting no backing from their  
union.

Several anarcho-syndicalists  
were present at the seminar and  
one of these drew attention to  
the failure of Mr. King's own  
union (NUTAW) to print union  
communications and information  
on the administration of the  
union (union rule books and  
disputes procedure) in Urdu and  
other immigrant languages (Paki-  
stanis form about 33% of the  
union in Rochdale). The union  
does publish material in Urdu  
for purposes of recruitment.  
Albert Hilton, President of  
NUTAW in Rochdale, objected to  
questions of this kind being put

The Observer and The Guinness  
Book of Records rate as the  
Richest Man in Britain John  
Moore, founder of Littlewoods  
Football Pools, with a fortune  
of £400,000,000 in mid-1973.

Four hundred Turkish workers em-  
ployed in Wimpy (hamburger)  
houses won a week-old strike.  
The union has been recognized,  
with payment for overtime and  
increased rates. The proprie-  
tors of London Eating Houses  
Ltd. are Turkish and labour was  
recruited in Turkish villages.

The Conservation Society said  
of the report of the committee  
on transport set up by the Minis-  
ter for Transport and under the  
chairmanship of the chairman of  
the National Freight Corporation:  
"At a time when oil supplies are  
threatened, when road plans are  
being challenged throughout the  
country, and when the country's  
entire transport policy is in  
question on economic and environ-  
mental grounds, the National  
Freight Corporation's report is  
nothing less than a piece of  
anarchy. The Mafia could hardly  
do better. The report says that

by outside elements. The chair-  
man overruled the objection and  
Mr. King explained that most im-  
migrants are "illiterate in  
their own language". However,  
in Mr. King's union even the  
English workers have difficulties  
in acquiring information.

At the time of writing Tommy  
Cavanagh, a militant executive  
member of Mr. King's union in  
Oldham, is under threat of dis-  
ciplinary action for holding an  
"unofficial meeting".

Though it is some months now  
since the union (NUTAW), in reply  
to the syndicalists' demand for  
shop stewards in textiles, nego-  
tiated an agreement on introdu-  
cing mill representatives into  
the local mills, there is little  
sign of any effort by the union  
to set the system up. Militants  
in this area believe that the  
local officials are deliberately  
playing down the mill reps. so  
that it can be shelved on  
grounds of apathy on the part of  
the workers.

Meanwhile at Rochdale certain  
members are accusing the union  
president of sharp practices in  
connection with his conduct in  
the Arrow Mill strike and sit-in.  
The union executive at Rochdale  
has so far refused to do more  
than discuss the complaints and  
the matter has been "left on the  
table". Now there are signs  
that the old wounds are begin-  
ning to be reopened.

North West Workers

heavy lorries are the key 'to the  
good life' for ordinary people  
and are here to stay."

### Brixton cover-up

THE CASE OF the Brixton Prison  
trial (see FREEDOM 3rd November)  
has taken another extraordinary  
turn. Prior to the expected re-  
sumption of the hearing inside  
the prison on 5th November the  
prosecution used a little-known  
legal procedure to abandon the  
committal proceedings. On 2nd  
November Mr. Justice Melford  
Stevenson approved a voluntary  
bill of indictment, which means  
that the accused will now appear  
at the Old Bailey, probably in  
March. The Home Secretary is to  
be asked in the Commons why the  
committal proceedings were  
stopped. Meanwhile, the  
prisoners are at the mercy of  
the screws.

South London PROP and the  
Prisoners' Wives Union intend to  
initiate a number of activities  
to give wider publicity to the  
case. The National Council for  
Civil Liberties said the conduct  
of the case was "state power  
gone mad".

T.P.

# BAKUNIN AND NECHAEV

(Continued from last week)

BEFORE NECHAEV returned to Russia with the manuscript of the Catechism, he had already begun to carry out its provisions. Having already deceived his revolutionary comrades with the fake story of his arrest and escape, he now sent incriminating letters and revolutionary literature to his more moderate acquaintances in Russia in order to compromise them with the authorities and, in accordance with Paragraphs 18 and 19 of the Catechism, to involve them more deeply in radical activity. Between March and August 1869 no less than 560 items involving 387 persons were intercepted in St. Petersburg alone. Following the same principle, Nechaev would later steal private letters and papers from Bakunin and his circle in order to exert pressure on them, and would even carry out murder so as to bind his accomplices to his will. All this was part of a system of total disregard for decency and fairness which has gone down in revolutionary history under the name of "Nechaevism".

Meanwhile, Bakunin had indulged in a bit of mystification of his own. In May 1869 he issued Nechaev with a certificate designating him as "one of the accredited representatives of the Russian Section of the World Revolutionary Alliance, No. 2771". Signed by Bakunin, it bore the seal of the "European Revolutionary Alliance, Central Committee", a mere invention - similar to that already used by Ishutin and Nechaev - designed to create the impression of a worldwide network of revolutionaries. "Thus did Nechaev, the self-styled representative of a probably non-existent Russian revolutionary committee, receive from Bakunin authority to act in Russia as the representative of a non-existent European Revolutionary Alliance," E. H. Carr wryly comments. "It was a delicious situation which can have few parallels either in comedy or in history." To add further to Nechaev's prestige, Bakunin persuaded Ogarev to dedicate a poem, written for a student who had died a martyr's death in Siberia, to his "young friend Nechaev". The poem was printed as a leaflet, and by the fall of 1869 it was circulated in Russia where it helped build up the Nechaev legend.

At the end of August 1869 Nechaev returned to Russia armed with the poem, the Catechism, and the blessings of Bakunin and Ogarev. Arriving in Moscow he proceeded to organize a revolutionary society called The People's Justice - the same name as the brochure published in Geneva - on lines prescribed in the Catechism. It was a secret, disciplined association organized in groups of "revolutionary fives" (as with Ishutin's Hell and the first Land and Liberty organization of the 1860s as well as secret societies throughout Western Europe) with each member owing implicit obedience to a leader, who in turn took his orders from a central committee. Its chief aim was to unleash a popular upheaval on February 19, 1870, the ninth anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs, and its official seal was an axe with the words "Committee of The People's Justice of February 19, 1870". The organization was dominated by the person of Nechaev who, as all sources agree, demanded complete and unquestioning obedience from his comrades, to whom he issued orders in the name of a non-existent central committee. Nechaev set the members spying on one another and encouraged the use of extortion and blackmail to obtain money for the cause.

Such methods apparently proved too repugnant

to one of the ablest members of the organization, a student at the Petrovsk Agricultural Academy with the improbable name of Ivan Ivanovich Ivanov. Ivanov seems to have been an honourable and intelligent member of the circle at the Academy who was active in student co-operatives, spent time teaching children of peasants, and exercised considerable influence among his revolutionary comrades. At some point he evidently objected to Nechaev's orders, questioned the existence of the central committee in whose name Nechaev claimed to speak, and may even have threatened to form a new revolutionary group on more democratic lines, something that Nechaev would hardly tolerate. At all events, Nechaev managed to convince some of his followers that Ivanov was planning to inform on them, and that in accordance with Paragraph 16 of the Catechism ("those men must be destroyed who are particularly harmful to the revolutionary organization"), it was necessary to do away with him.

On the night of November 21, 1869 Ivanov was lured to a grotto in the park of the Agricultural Academy on the pretext of unearthing a clandestine printing press. There he was set upon and beaten by Nechaev and four accomplices. Nechaev tried to strangle him but was bitten very severely on the hand, whereupon he drew a pistol and shot Ivanov in the head. The body was weighed down with stones and dumped through an ice-hole in a nearby pond. In this way Nechaev removed a potential adversary, while at the same time incriminating his comrades to insure their obedience to his authority. It was an extreme example of his technique of gaining compliance through involving his comrades in crime. Their sole victim, however, was not an agent of the autocracy but one of their own number who had aroused the leader's antagonism.

The murder of Ivanov created a great sensation. Dostoevsky used the incident as the plot for his novel The Devils (The Possessed), with Verkhovensky representing Nechaev to Shatov's Ivanov. The discovery of Ivanov's body four days after the murder led to the arrest of some 300 revolutionaries and finally to the trial of 84 Nechaevtsy in the summer of 1871. One of the condemned was Lavrov's son-in-law Michael Negreskul, who had previously opposed Nechaev's tactics in St. Petersburg and who was among those whom Nechaev had sought to compromise by sending revolutionary proclamations from Switzerland. Negreskul was imprisoned in the Peter and Paul fortress, fell ill with consumption, and finally died under house arrest in February 1870. Nechaev, meanwhile, had slipped out of Moscow for St. Petersburg, where he obtained a false passport and succeeded in crossing the border in December 1869, leaving his comrades behind to take the rap.

## PART III

ON JANUARY 12, 1870 Bakunin, who was then living in Locarno, received a letter from Ogarev announcing that Nechaev had arrived in Geneva. Bakunin jumped for joy so violently that he "nearly broke the ceiling with his aged head." A short while later Nechaev came to Locarno and the two men resumed their collaboration, issuing two manifestoes to the Russian nobility, the first probably written by Bakunin and the second by Nechaev. Nechaev also published a second number of The People's Justice (dated Winter 1870), as well as six issues of The Bell in April and May 1870.

To finance these ventures Nechaev used money from the so-called Bakhmetiev fund, left to Alexander Herzen by a young Russian nobleman who in 1858 went to the South Pacific to found a utopian community. When Herzen met Nechaev in Geneva in 1869 he instinctively disliked him. But under pressure from Bakunin and Ogarev, he relinquished half of the fund, a good part of which passed to Nechaev, who used it to finance his revolutionary activities when he returned to Russia. When Herzen died in January 1870, Bakunin urged Ogarev to claim the balance of the fund from Herzen's family. Herzen's son handed it over, and from Ogarev nearly all of it went to Nechaev, who refused to sign a receipt but accepted it in the name of his non-existent central committee.

About the same time, Bakunin was having financial troubles of his own. He had accepted a commission from a Russian publisher named Poliakov to translate Marx's Kapital and had been paid an advance of 300 roubles, but he was unable to make any headway with the project. On February 17, 1870 Nechaev wrote a threatening letter to a Russian student named Liubavin, who had acted as an intermediary between Bakunin and Poliakov, demanding that Bakunin be left alone and be released from all claims upon him. The letter, written on stationery of the Central Committee of The People's Justice and adorned with an axe, a dagger, and a pistol, was later used by Marx to discredit Bakunin and have him expelled from the International.

Before long, however, relations between Bakunin and Nechaev began to deteriorate. The ensuing rift, as Lehning and Confino show, was a complicated affair involving psychological, financial, political, moral, and ideological considerations. During his second sojourn in Switzerland Nechaev's attitude towards Bakunin had changed from what it was a year earlier. According to Ralli, he no longer showed any deference to his mentor. On the contrary, he demanded that notice be taken of him as the only person with a serious revolutionary organization. He dealt more and more brusquely with Bakunin, even denying him money from the Bakhmetiev fund for his day-to-day needs. He complained to Sazhin that Bakunin no longer had "the level of energy and self-abnegation" required of a true revolutionary, a reflection of the conflict of the generations - of the sons against the fathers, the "men of the sixties" against the "men of the forties" - within the populist movement. He began, indeed, to treat Bakunin as the Catechism said liberals ought to be treated after one had gotten out of them all that one could. He sought to impose on Bakunin and his friends his own authoritarian methods, going so far as to steal their private papers in order to blackmail or manipulate them in the future ("one should take hold of them, get possession of all their secrets, compromise them to the utmost, so that no avenue of escape may be left to them" -- Paragraph 19 of the Catechism).

Bakunin's disillusionment was shattering. His pride had suffered dearly for his infatuation with the "Boy". "If you introduce him to a friend, he will immediately proceed to sow dissension, scandal, and intrigue between you and your friend and make you quarrel," Bakunin wrote. "If your friend has a wife or daughter, he will try to seduce her and get her with child in order to snatch her from the power of conventional morality and plunge her despite herself into revolutionary protest against society." (Such was precisely Nechaev's behaviour towards Natalie Herzen, as described in her diary.) Meanwhile, German Lopatin had arrived from Russia and was telling the truth about Ivanov's murder, explaining that the scars on Nechaev's finger were the death-marks of his victim, and exposing the fiction of Nechaev's central committee and of his boasted escape from the fortress.

The climax of the dispute came with the letter from Bakunin to Nechaev of June 2, 1870, an English translation of which (by Lydia Bott) was published in Encounter in July and August 1972 with a note by Professor Confino. The letter was not "discovered" by Confino, as Encounter states, though he was indeed the first to publish it. Its existence in the Bibliotheque Nationale had been previously known, and Arthur Lehning had examined it in 1962 along with other pertinent documents in the Natalie Herzen Archives. Moreover the Encounter note by Confino is mistaken in saying that it is the only letter from Bakunin to Nechaev still extant, as there is a short one of May 11, 1870 in the Lehning volume. Confino is nevertheless to call it one of the most extraordinary documents in the history of the nineteenth-century revolutionary movement. For it not only sheds light on the authorship of the famous Catechism, but it also clarifies the reasons for Bakunin's break with Nechaev, helps us to understand their differing views on secret organizations, and, above all, illuminates the question of revolutionary ethics - of the relationship between means and ends - which revolutionists everywhere have continued to face.

Bakunin, expressing his disappointment and almost unbearable humiliation, writes with great feeling and power. He complains to Nechaev of having had "complete faith in you, while you duped me. I turned out to be a complete fool. This is painful and shameful for a man of my experience and my age. Worse than this, I spoilt my situation with regard to the Russian and International causes." On the question of revolution Bakunin firmly rejects Nechaev's Jacobinism and Blanquism - his belief in the seizure of power by a revolutionary minority and the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship - calling instead for a spontaneous mass upheaval by the people themselves: "I am deeply convinced that any other revolution is dishonest, harmful, and spells death to liberty and the people."

Paul Avrich

TO BE CONTINUED

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# Letters

C O N F R O N T I N G \* F A S C I S M

--three readers comment

**SEX- POL ?** Both Terry Phillips and Rupert Williams seem to be very confident on how to confront fascism. Some anarchists think that fascists must be dealt with by preventing like the National Front from spreading their ideas, others say that it is completely against anarchist principles to attempt to gag someone we don't agree with.

But who is right? I for one don't pretend to be as sure about it as Rupert Williams is, this difference of opinion within the "movement" must be as old as anarchism itself; whether it is necessary or excusable to use fascist methods in fighting fascism. I've often felt pleased with myself when ripping down NF "Send Them Back" posters, but even that mild action makes me ask myself whether it is not of the same nature as burning books.

Clearly we've got to do something. But we must always remember that fascism is not just a particularly repulsive political movement but a characteristic that is probably in everyone to some extent. All through childhood and the education system we are sexually repressed and made to feel inferior, is it any wonder that some of us develop fascist attitudes?

The National Front may be impotent at the moment but if it ever got the backing of enough people to put them in power there would be very little we could do about it, maybe throw a few bombs, which would lead to all trade unionists, leftists, anarchists, etc., being interned or executed. If fascism is basically a mental illness then we ought to be more intent on attacking the root causes than the symptoms. This is why I think the "sexual revolution" is of utmost importance. Unfulfilled sexual yearnings, even in early childhood can lead to many manifestations, from religion to pop-star worship to fascism.

Apart from involving oneself in aspects of the sexual struggle it may be worthwhile attacking groups such as NF if only to provoke them into revealing their ugly nature to the public.

David Notman.

**THE MASS PSYCHO- LOGY...** Bob Borsley's criticism of Terry Phillips (FREEDOM no. 41) seems to have landed him in a vague, but basically self-contradictory, position. He is an anarchist, and yet rejects the value of total freedom of speech, advocating an authoritarian prohibition of the expression of other

people's disagreeable opinions. It is too shallow a defence to point out that, in fact, capitalists manipulate the media, or to cite the (inevitable) case of Hitler. Tyrants do not rise to power because they are given freedom of speech, but because the traditional systems of society provide channels of power especially helpful to aspiring dictators. Certainly to bring about anarchy something stronger than argument is required -- but the means to a free society necessarily excludes violations of personal freedom.

I'm surprised that Bob thinks that anarchists must support the type of actions carried out by Edinburgh left-wing students in stopping Martin Webster speaking at a union debate. This atrocity was a typical example of mass-hysteria, caused by ideological self-righteousness -- after wrecking the debate, a small elite of marxists appointed themselves as censors so that anyone outside their clique was not allowed to speak and labelled "fascist" (and often violently treated). I couldn't tell which political faction had the interests of the working class at heart (except that the "fascists" were more civilised) and I appeal to Bob to rethink his own criteria for distinguishing between marxist/fascist bully boys.

Surely anarchy is a state of mind, and anarchism its collective expression -- there is no place for paternalism or dogmatism. The anarchist revolution involves a change in one's own attitudes, and no amount of stifling objectionable theories (for fear that they corrupt minds) can help anarchy grow.

Ian C. Stobie

**MAINTAIN OUR DIFFERENCES** I have read the continuing advocacy of the denial of the rights of free speech and assembly to the National Front with some concern. Rupert Williams seeks to justify the denial of these rights to the NF by arguing that the crisis in the capitalist system is so severe that there is a very real danger of NF developing into a mass movement. For all his protesting that he does not agree with the Socialist Labour League on the imminence of the collapse of capitalism he has surely been swayed by their Armageddon urgency.

Personally I believe him to be ill advised in his keenness to

work with the authoritarian left to put down the NF. Experience does not show that such co-operation has dissuaded victorious Marxist groups from executing an anarchists who remain a threat to them at a later date.

And the argument does not seem convincing to me even if we accept the urgency of the crisis in the system. I find it distasteful to read anarchists who wish to put down the rights of free speech of any group of people. For the authoritarians who wish to suppress the NF, a suppression which certain anarchists are willing to justify, will surely, sooner rather than later, deem it needful to suppress the rights of free speech for anarchists, at which point they are unlikely to heed Rupert Williams' avowal that he always believed in free speech really. Remember comrades, today the National Front, tomorrow the flat earthers, next week the anarchists. There are plenty of people who feel that the rights of free speech do not belong to elements at the fringe, to opinions that are considered a little crazy; and there are many who would put anarchism in that category. Let the anarchist movement protect both its principles and its hard won rights by the continuing insistence that free speech is a right for all, and that it is probably most important to defend the rights of free speech for the heretic fringe groups.

Any success gained by a group like NF in extending its membership and influence must also be a reflection of the failure of revolutionary groups on the left, both Marxist and libertarian, to grow. I believe that the anarchist movement is best served by maintaining its differences from the authoritarian left, one of the most important of which is the anarchists' unconditional support of freedom of speech, rather than by co-operating with the authoritarians, which must involve sequestering these differences into the area of the unmentionable.

As to Bob Borsley's point about the reality of free speech in contemporary society, it is really totally inadequate. If we abandon the principle of free speech because the way the capitalist press interpret it does not suit us, what is to become of our desire for anarchy on such a criterion.

I also feel that the participants in the discussion have misunderstood one factor. The prevalence of the NF's preju-

# the marini case

Since our earlier reports, we have received the following detailed account from CRIFA.

"Giovanni Marini has been in prison since July 1972 for having defended himself against fascist aggression in Salerno, and is accused of the murder of the fascist Carlo Falvella. Decision of postponement of the trial was given in March 1973, and there is still no date for the trial.

"In Salerno, Marini had been the object of provocations and threats of all sorts over a period of several months; the fascists were after him and had already attacked him twice, to the extent that, sensing trouble, he left the town and sent a written allegation that he was being 'continually persecuted' to the papers.

"At this time Salerno was the scene of continuous fascist violence. Bands of 'smashers' went around destroying left wing offices and papers. As a result, the Prosecutor for the Republic had to open an enquiry on neofascism in Salerno; one of his dossiers, on the intimidation and violence which the fascists hoped would make the town their base in Central & Southern Italy, will be produced at the Marini trial.

"This was the atmosphere on 7 July 1972. On that day Marini was walking with our comrade Gennaro Cariati along the shore road, when he was approached, jeered at, and jostled by a group of fascists. Marini told his comrade not to respond, walked on, and met another comrade, Francesco Mastrogiovanni; at the same time, two fascists, Falvella and Giovanni Alfinito, left their group and started towards them. Marini walked on on his own, but on hearing the sounds of a scuffle turned round to see Mastrogiovanni on the ground with his leg bleeding, while the two fascists continued to lay into him. He rushed forward to drag his comrade away from the fury of the two 'smashers', who were armed with knives; the four rolled over on the pavement. Marini was knifed in the arm, but seized one of the knives, seriously wounding Falvella, who died shortly afterwards.

"Following Falvella's death, there was a continuous wave of fascist demonstrations, threats, and vandalism. The Falvella case became the Marini case when fascist became antifascist following the state indictment of Marini for trial on a charge of premeditated and wilful murder. Alfinito, who was to blame for the attack and the knifing in the first place, has never been arrested; the magistrate who indicted Marini acquitted him, while our wounded comrade Mastrogiovanni was given provi-

sional liberty after 6 months in prison. But the examining magistrate did state that the allegation of premeditation was untenable.

"While awaiting trial, Marini has been in 15 prisons in 14 months, always far removed from his parents and defence lawyers. From 7 August to 21 September 1973 he was in Caltanissetta prison, Sicily. After visiting him, his lawyer, Giuliano Spezzali of Milan, told the press: 'Since his transfer to Caltanissetta, Marini has been confined in a single punishment cell very like a tiger cage. It is a narrow, lightless and airless tunnel, with one opening about 9 feet from the ground, which is a sort of loophole rather like a wolf's mouth, and no bigger than 8" to 9" square. He sleeps on a wafer-thin wooden mattress on a stone bed. He has 15 minutes exercise a day, also in isolation. There is no sanitation, or washing facilities; he has almost choked on one occasion, and his eyesight has got worse. Marini is at the end of his physical and mental tether. You are given the impression that life is ebbing out of him. There are grounds for serious concern for his health, belied by his resistance and renewed mental activity. This long "Way of the Cross" from prison to prison which this prisoner "awaiting trial" has undergone, this distance from those whose right and duty it is to help him, this practical impossibility of writing to his lawyers (the latter was proved at Caltanissetta); these are stages of a wicked and intolerable punitive action that knows no trial or control, and lies beyond the normal penal regime. We must do all we can to preserve his personal safety, and this means his physical and mental wellbeing.'

"A statement similar to the above has been presented to the prosecutors at Caltanissetta and Salerno, and to Zagari, Minister of Justice and a socialist. On Friday, 21 September Marini was transferred to Salerno prison and put in a hospital cell. The following morning at 4 a.m. he was retransferred to Potenza prison. We wish to state that every time he is moved, Marini is the victim of violence, insults and provocations of all sorts.

"Doctors called in to examine the injuries inflicted on Marini by his warders during 'interrogations' are agreed that the unhealed lesions and scars are from injuries which occurred at least 33 and 23 days respectively before the date of examination; while the official doctor states that the unhealed wounds 'could heal in 8 days'. We are concerned with the nature of the injuries, because the scientific methods

normally employed in Italian prisons leave few visible traces.

"Umanita Nova of 29 September 1973 reports that 'Marini has been blatantly assaulted with harmful objects, probably iron clubs, otherwise he would not have injuries which have taken over 40 days to heal. This would indicate that his torturers were not expecting any comeback; that, if attention had not been focussed on him in time, he would have been left to die in that narrow prison isolation cell; that we must keep a close watch on the situation, for, as long as Marini is in the hands of state cops under the control of that Jesuit socialist Zagari, his life is in danger.

"On Sunday 7 October the three sections of the organized Italian anarchist movement [met] in Carrara to lay the groundwork for a campaign to free Marini. CRIFA asks anarchist federations and groups throughout the world to join with us in this campaign for Marini, to publish our protest in their press, and make known this case to their press and public opinion, with the aim of asserting the human right of every citizen on a criminal charge to due process of law, but never to have to go through a sort of pre-trial mental and physical mutilation."

translated by M.M.

(From ORA International Secretariat (CRIFA).)

Workers at the Triumph factory at Meriden, near Coventry, commenced their sit-in when the factory was closed last week, four months earlier than originally planned.

FASCISM...continued from P. 6

dices and assumptions about immigration frequently co-exist in the same person with a conviction that coloured people are all right as individuals and that a person can be totally opposed to further coloured immigration and still insist that they have no colour prejudice. People as individuals and in groups have these contradictions and live with them without any discomfort. And while they do the sympathy that exists for NF policies will not necessarily manifest itself in increased membership and activity.

So in general terms I do not believe that an anarchist can justify organising to suppress the rights of free speech, assembly and dissemination of propaganda to any group of people of any opinion. And in the particular area which this debate has occupied, I do not believe we are as near to the collapse of the system as some writers indicate, or that NF is or will ever become a real danger to the working class movement in this country. Chris Clifford.

to be done during normal shift hours rather than at weekends, and will mean that the ban will disrupt coal output much quicker than if only production workers were applying the ban.

The government and the N.C.B. have already started a campaign aimed at putting pressure on the miners to call off the ban. The Secretary of Trade and Industry, Mr. Walker, has accused the miners of damaging the nation when the world's oil shortage "is already threatening our national economy". But the world's energy crisis is not a result of wage demands but of the exploitation of raw materials for profits. The continual waste has meant that now governments are searching around for new sources of energy. Even before the cutback in oil supplies from the Middle East, coal was once again being looked at as an important source of energy after years when the government had been closing down pits. Really there is no such thing as a "national economy" because the government equates this with profits rather than the welfare of the community.

The ban will soon take effect and according to Mr. Gormley, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, "there will be few pits working after the first week". However, the N.C.B. has over 13 million tons of coal in stock, while the Central Electricity Generating Board has supplies for 11 weeks of normal consumption. But the C.E.G.B. is also facing a ban on stand-by duties by members of the Electrical Power Engineers Association. This ban has already affected output.

## KIRKBY RENT STRIKE

ON TUESDAY, 6th November the Liverpool County Court once again delivered court orders to tenants on Tower Hill (Kirkby) who have been on total rent strike since October 1972 telling them to appear in court on November 22nd. The tenants who received these letters are the same tenants who refused to appear in court on 22nd October. (See FREEDOM 3rd November). These latest court orders are worded very threateningly, the inference being that this is it if you don't attend you will definitely go to prison. This could be what the court has now decided to do, that they should lift some of the tenants so as to bring the other tenants to their senses. Also these latest court orders state that the tenants are required to attend court on 22nd November to purge their contempt by refusing to attend the last hearing and by refusing to allow the court

The miners are in a strong position to win their dispute with the government. For it is with the government that their conflict lies. But this conflict concerns all wage earners. The miners have made the running in the past and now they are once again leading the struggle which involves the whole of the working class. They should get its support. P.T.

access to the information that they required. What is being demanded this time by the court is that the tenants should appear at court and show cause why they should not be committed to prison. What they want is for the tenants to appear in court with cap in hand and say that they are sorry for not attending the last hearing and to give the court all the information that they require so that they can slap an earnings attachment order on the tenants.

The tenants' reply to the court's latest invitation is the same as before; the tenants are not prepared to go to court for being on rent strike and they are not going to court under any circumstances. At the tenants' meeting that was held on 6th November (the same day that the court orders were delivered) it was decided unanimously by the tenants to stand by their policy regarding the court, which is non-attendance of the courts.

A correspondent.

84 residents of Streetly, Staffs, who 'blockaded' their road, used as a short cut by juggernaut lorries, were fined £5 each for causing unnecessary obstruction.

The Central Electricity Generating Board has ordered £21,000 equipment to provide background noise from Sound Control Ltd. The equipment produces a constant background hum designed to disguise the sudden noises that can be so distracting in a large open-plan office.

British Leyland has exhaustingly explained that the gift by its 'independent' Chilean subsidiary of cars worth £10,000 to the new military government was a donation to a fund aimed at solving Chile's economic crisis.

ANARCHIST researching into Irish peasant movements would appreciate floor space in Dublin from mid-November for 3-4 weeks, or help in finding accommodation. Write Paul, 39 Moorland Ave., Leeds 6.

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Antonio Centurini, Casella Postale 163, Salerno,  
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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.

MANCHESTER SYNDICALIST GROUP (SWF). Those interested please contact the secretary, 559 Didsbury Road, Heaton Mersey, Stockport, Cheshire.

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