

# TOKEN STRIKE OR DIRECT ACTION

# HERE COMES THE BRIDLE

THE COMMISSION on Industrial Relations has not lost any time in making its report on the dispute over union recognition of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers by Con-Mech at Woking. The report recommends recognition of the union, but the Commission's recommendations are not binding on either party. So far, at the time of writing, the company's chairman Mr. Dilley has refused to comment and has shown no signs that he is prepared to negotiate along the lines suggested in the report.

It was Mr. Dilley's company who took the AUEW to the National Industrial Relations Court at which they were fined £75,000 for contempt of that court. In answer to this, engineers brought widespread disruption in car factories and throughout engineering industries, and completely stopped the national newspapers.

Direct action of this sort shows management where the power in industry really lies. It brings home that despite all talk about the law, direct action makes the law an ass. The trouble is that such action is not taken more often and for longer periods. As it is, Monday's action was but a token of what could happen if workers had the conscious desire to remove the Industrial Relations Act from the statute book. Indeed such action, if extensive enough, could overthrow the class system that uses such legislation to underpin its power.

However, the irony is that really there was no need for all these proceedings at court. After all, only the company was represented at the Court as the AUEW has refused to co-operate with the Act. It was the action of a reactionary employer who used the Court rather than accept the union. But the very law which has made this report possible has found in favour of the union and has at the same time imposed a fine on them.

The report called the AUEW members at Con-Mech "hasty and ill-considered" in their actions. These members were young and had only been "recently engaged". Because of this the report called them "inexperienced". In other words the Commission condemns them for taking action and then supports their demand. It is for taking action that they are condemned rather than for their demands. Direct action, or the threat of it, is what an employer understands. Demands on their own mean little or nothing and employers will talk forever rather than grant demands.

Without the law Con-Mech would have had to face similar strike action. The law now acts as a deterrent against workers' using the only weapon managements take any notice of. But by defying the law the workers at Con-Mech look as though they will force the management to recognise their union and in doing so have undermined the Act. Laws, as far as the ruling class are concerned, are not much good if they are continually broken and disregarded. The lessons are plain: the Industrial Relations Act and the Phase 3 legislation can be defeated if workers are prepared to use direct action. It is no good waiting for the TUC and the union executives. It has to be done and can be done by workers organising at their places of work and taking the necessary action.

P.T.



--Don't worry, Dick, there's always a job waiting for you with Honest Al.

"I CAN SEE the bridle carriage being towed out of the royal mews by a chosen team of Suffolk subjects all picked for their sturdy bloodline and yeoman stock. The Prime Minister is in the driver's seat and cracks the whip as they take the strain to haul the Royal carriage with the nervous young filly out to meet her stallion. The vets have pronounced both of them fit and well. The approach to the Westminster stud is lined with braying donkeys and whinnying mules allowed out from their haulage work for one day to join in the national cries of joy at this mating. The cost of it all has been met by deductions from their fodder ration, but they enjoy an occasional circus.

"The equine features of the bride-to-be peer from the horse-box to give a wave of her hoof from time to time to those lining the rails. She restrains her responses knowing of the demands to be made on her later.

"As they approach the great stud flanked across the Square by the great Augean dung-store with its clocktower illuminated by the methane which is its constant product, the crowd go delirious with a cacophony of brays trumpeting forth, whinneys shrieking out and the coconut-shell like vibration of hooves. The Suffolk team, perspiring, are flecked with foam and pride and one or two will proudly show scars of a whip wielded with Parliamentary skill by the Premier.

"With a clatter of hooves all dismount and the filly with her garland of plaited straw is escorted by the Greek Chariot-horse (her sire) and the old mare to the stall where awaits her mate and his gelded Archbishopric. The choir of Houynnhms bray an anthem to the holy joys of a true mating and a roll in the hay. The Archbishop whinnies and bleats his way through a complicated formula and the splendid stallion in his full gun-carriage rig stands at the mark waiting for the words which will make the service not only holy but legal.

...Continued on Page 7

AS THE CRUEL ACHE of age when the blood runs thin and the fading vision weeping in the winter's wind occupy more and more the ageing mind, then old memories become myths and then affirmations of accepted dogma that once there was a golden age when only the good ruled, students studied and every workman was a craftsman working for a gentle and kindly employer and all for the common good. When we all lived on wholesome cheap plain food, conversation was an art and there was no fouling in football. But we grow old and the young, stupid and arrogant by the nature of the beast strut in our fading high places and we know that in a breaking world only Guinness and free-style wrestling uphold the universal truths of a Platonic moral absolute that good can exist without man.

The Evening Standard newspaper carried the heart cry of one anonymous contributor who deserves to be preserved in full for he wrote that

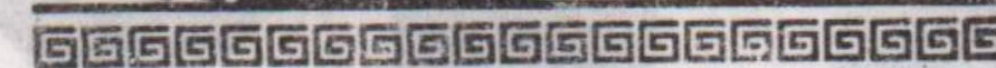
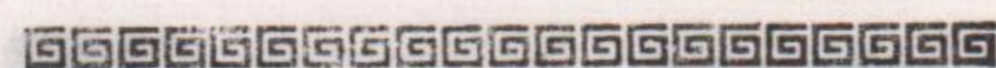
"I am a London ex-busdriver and was disgusted to read about the £50 per week driver and the £40 a week conductor crying about losing a measly pound a week commission through carrying, free, old-age pensioners. They took on the job to carry the public and I think it's scandalous that the transport board has to pay them extra for what they were originally engaged for. I left the buses with a first class reference from the then operation manager for what he described as excellent service over a number of years to the travelling public. Admittedly it was in 1965 but in those days we all did the job we were paid for. I happen to have an old pay envelope in front of me. Perhaps these money grabbers would like to read it. 'Wages £10.16.4. overtime £8.3.11. Total £19.0.3 less National Insurance 10.7d, Graduated Pension 5s.1d, Union subs. 1s.4d., Income Tax £2.10s - total deductions £3.7s. Take-home pay £15.13s.3d.' These days if they can belt by a request stop leaving people standing it's a smart bit of work; so is getting on the tail of the one in front, laying off at the stop and watching the crew in front taking the lot. The crews of today, with the exception of a few of the old hands make me want to vomit. P.C., of Chelsea". Anon.

Apart from the desired wish to publicly vomit which is the automatic saloon bar reaction to news concerning the misbehaviour of the working class and the content of his 1965 pay packet there is only one statement of P.C. Anon that could be accepted as containing a small grain of examinable fact, and that is that SOME busworkers do whine and snivel that old people are being carried free (to use an easy term).

Fact, Legend and History

In a garage of 200 workpeople I can think of less than a dozen who continually complain and I would hold that they are in the main those who hold and own their working-class semi-slum houses and whine as ratepayers, in common with tens of thousands of other ratepayers, P. C. Anon, and would deny a crucified Christ his vinegar if the cost came from the rates, and one would wish to dismiss them with a lordly wave of the hand were it not for the fact that it was this type of people who reintroduced charges on the free National Health Service and are now to introduce admission charges for entrance into museums. So a fight for social justice is never won, only a bridgehead gained and to be held. It is not true, P. C. Anon that busworkers' wages were reduced because of the free travelling permits for old people (and if it were it would surely be an injustice that the workers within an industry performing that service should have to pay for it out of their minority pocket), but the simple examinable facts are that the system of bonus on money paid in was upgraded by a few pence in the pound to cover the free travel of old people, and even if it were not then we should still have had the social conscience to make that small sacrifice.

P. C. Anon goes back to his golden days of 1965 but I can go back to 1946 in manual work on London's transport and he is talking plain and simple rubbish when he writes of bus crews 'doing the job they were paid to do', For in over a quarter of a century on London buses I have never known these idyllic conditions, for every work-evasion dodge employed by busworkers now was employed then and we ran early, dodged cinema, dog, and dance-hall crowds, measured off the bus in front--yea, in 1946, 1956 and 1973, and in 1946 one sat in the cafes and listened to the legends of maverick crews in the "golden years" between the wars who hid their buses in side streets to miss complete journeys, fought sackable punch-ups with passengers and officials, came to work too drunk to climb onto or into the bus. So, P.C. Anon, fortunately for the good of both our souls there was never a 100% slave mentality class working for London transport.



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## In Brief

In Barcelona police questioned  
100 people detained after a  
meeting of Catalan anti-Govern-  
ment groups.

The number of days lost to in-  
dustry through certified sick-  
ness absence rose in the year  
ending last May to just below the  
record level of May 1970. In  
1973 there were 10 million  
claims compared with 10.6 million  
in 1970, 8.6 million in 1971, and  
9.1 million up to May 1972.

Professor Hubert Campbell of the  
Welsh National School of Medicine  
claimed that anxiety about over-  
population in Britain by the end  
of the century is based on the  
baby boom of 1964, although birth  
rates have been falling since  
then.

### Time with a Gift from Page 2

I know that all these things are  
wrong and with the university dons  
I will deplore them, but while  
workers are employed in a job of  
repetition with hired officials  
to frighten them by the fear of  
the sack they will rebel and the  
only way in the daily struggle is  
in these methods. Craftsmanship,  
P. C. Anon, is a thing you have  
to pay for and all our existing  
100-year old slum buildings were  
built by workers for jerry build-  
ers. I have worked on luxury  
cars and plugged holes in the  
chassis with cardboard dipped in  
paint, I have stood at a bench in  
a foundry to OFFICIALLY fill in  
the cracks in aluminium castings  
with aluminium filings and grey  
paint, I have ON ORDERS driven  
slivers of wood into broken  
water pipes instead of wasting  
time wiping a lead joint. And all  
this and everything else on the  
expressed orders of the employer  
of the day, just as between the  
wars, P. C. Anon, lorry drivers  
had to fake their work working  
sheets or find another job. We  
are corrupt but we are corrupted  
through our pay packet and the  
threat and the carrot of the  
gaining of a few pence.

### Every man has his price

P. C. Anon seems incapable of  
even getting his false facts  
right, for he talks of £40 a week  
London bus conductors when even  
London Transport does not make  
this claim, for on the side of  
every bus is an offer of £39 to  
be a bus conductor. True in the  
TINY print it states 'with over-  
time' but as with all things it  
is Orwellian double talk. P. C.  
Anon tells of how in 1965 he  
only earned £10.16s4d and talks  
of 'money grabbers', but if a  
man then raked £8.3.11 on top of  
a £10.16.4 I can only say that  
Brother, it was overtime kings  
like P. C. Anon who helped to  
destroy the busworkers as a  
militant force. For the record,  
P. C. Anon, I can only offer my  
own pay slip for October 1973,  
and it is there for the viewing  
above and my gross wage for a  
43½ hour week is not £40 or £39  
but £35.55 with a take-home pay  
of £26.00 -- so people who pro-  
pagate should get the facts  
right no matter how much they  
wish to use part of them. I  
neither argue for or against  
this wage, I offer it as public  
exhibit. Sir Richard Way, the  
Chairman of London Transport,  
has over the last few months  
made sad pleasure over the

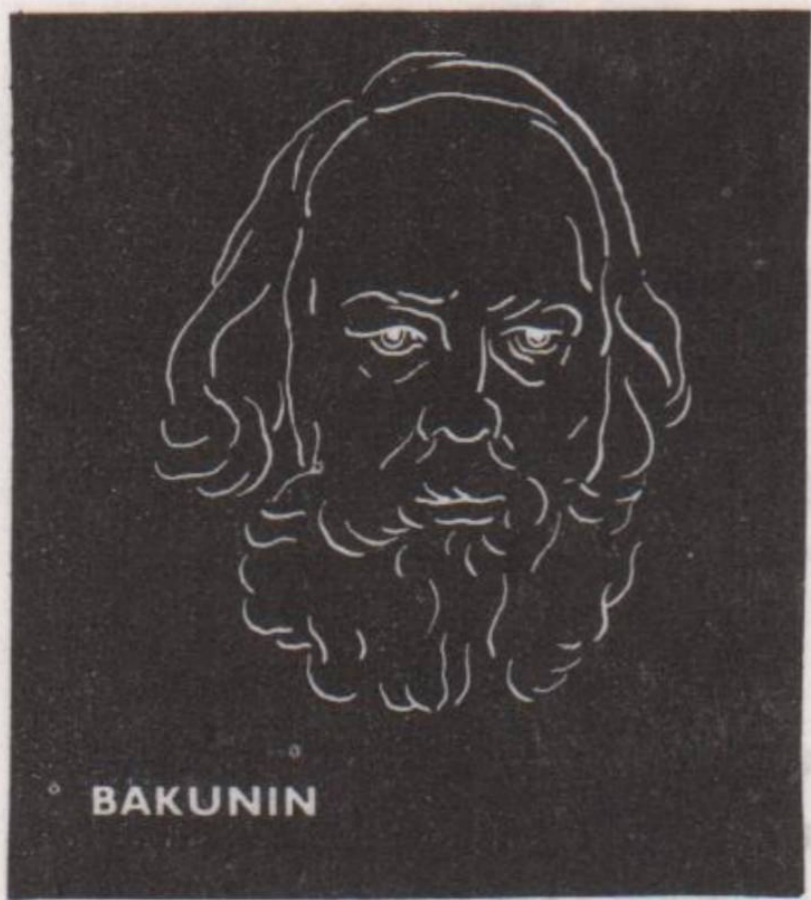
London busmen's wages and con-  
ditions yet after a quarter of a  
century one shrugs it off as so  
much happy talk, for within  
Phase Three or Two or One one  
can effect pay rises, as every  
employer knows, by just adjust-  
ing bonus systems within the  
work schedules or hours of work  
by private agreements with  
schedule departments, and dare  
one recall how officials in one  
particular nameless industry had  
their pay upgraded by all being  
given a phoney promotional up-  
grading and a 'legal' rise in  
pay.

These are the facts of life,  
P. C. Anon of Chelsea, and there  
never was a Golden Age despite  
William Morris and the only  
function of workers like P. C.  
anon is to speak on behalf of a  
vocal middle class who use men  
and women such as these to prate  
the half-truths and naughty  
things that could be construed  
as fibs. At the October Tory  
Conference 73-year old Harry  
Golding took the platform and  
spewed out his hatred of those  
among whom he lives and that  
middle class audience rose and  
cheered and cheered him when  
this ghastly old man cried out  
that in his Southwark there were  
thousands of layabouts drinking  
meths, militant strikers getting  
social security and all "pimping  
from social security". And this  
one-time card carrying member of  
a union stood smiling as "Sir  
Keith Joseph joined in the  
laughter and applause". And why  
should they not, for when Uncle  
Tom performs before his masters  
he has earned his one solitary  
hour of glory but not thousands,  
Harry boy, not £40 a week, P. C.  
Anon of Chelsea, and not £39 a  
week, Sir Richard Way of London's  
transport.

Arthur Moyse.

In a new Penguin, A Society on  
the Run, (50p), an American  
psychologist provides evidence  
about long-term mental damage  
suffered by men who underwent  
'hooding' treatment while under  
interrogation by security forces  
in Northern Ireland. She sug-  
gests that none of those who  
underwent interrogation escaped  
'a damaging personality change'.

The film SACCO AND VANZETTI has  
been passed by the British Board  
of Film Censors, but the film's  
distributors state that they  
have not scheduled it to be  
shown anywhere before 1974. At  
the same time they assure us  
that the film will be shown in  
Britain, and not left to rot on  
their shelves.



# BAKUNIN AND NECHAEV

## PART I I

BEFORE LEAVING RUSSIA, Nechaev began his career of mystification and deception. In March 1869 Vera Zasulich received an anonymous letter with the following words: "When walking today on the Vasilevsky Island, I saw a carriage conveying prisoners. A hand reached out of the window and dropped a note. At the same time I heard the following words: 'If you are a student, deliver this to the indicated address.' I am a student and consider it my duty to comply with the request. Destroy my letter." The accompanying note, in Nechaev's hand, informed his friends that he had been arrested and was being taken to the Peter and Paul fortress. Soon after this, a rumour was circulated that he had escaped from the fortress - an unprecedented feat - and was on his way to the West. Yet in fact there had been no escape, nor even an arrest. It was all a fabrication, the first of a whole series of escapades invented by Nechaev to build himself up as a hero, to surround himself with an aura of mystery, and to cast himself in the role of the "revolutionary prototype" of his and Tkachev's Programme of Revolutionary Action.

Nechaev crossed the Russian frontier on March 4, 1869. On reaching Geneva, he immediately called on Bakunin, claiming to represent a powerful revolutionary organization within the tsarist empire. Bakunin was at once infatuated with this "young savage", this "tiger cub", as he called Nechaev. "I have here with me," he wrote to James Guillaume on April 13, 1869, "one of those young fanatics who know no doubts, who fear nothing. . . believers without God, heroes without rhetoric." He saw in Nechaev the ideal revolutionary conspirator, the herald of a new generation whose energy, determination, and intransigence would overthrow the imperial order. Nechaev's arrival in Switzerland, as E. H. Carr has observed, gave the ageing Bakunin a new lease on life, a rebirth of revolutionary hope, and a breath of his native land, which he would never see again. For Bakunin, as Confino puts it, "Nechaev was Russian youth, revolutionary Russia, Russia itself."

During the spring and summer of 1869 Bakunin and Nechaev issued a series of pamphlets and manifestoes calling for a social upheaval in Russia. In Some Words to Our Young Brothers in Russia Bakunin exhorted the revolutionary youth to "go to the people" with a message of rebellion, to rouse them to a life-and-death struggle against the state and the privileged classes, following the model set by Stenka Rasin two centuries before. "Young men of education must become not the people's benefactors, not its dictators and guides, but merely a lever for the people to free itself, the unifier of the people's own energies and forces," Bakunin declared. "Take no notice of learning, in whose name men try to shackle you and strip you of your power. Learning of this kind must die together with the world of which it is an expression."

A similar proclamation To the Students of the University, the Academy, and the Technical Institute was drafted by Nechaev, and another called Russian Students by Ogarev. The rest - How the Revolutionary Question Presents Itself,

Principles of Revolution, and Publications of the Society of 'The People's Justice', No. 1 (consisting of two articles dated Summer 1869) - were all unsigned and their authorship has not been conclusively determined. Extolling indiscriminate destruction in the name of the revolution, they preached the justification of every means by the revolutionary end. How the Revolution Presents Itself is noteworthy for its eulogy of banditry in distinctively Bakuninist terms: "The brigand in Russia is the only true revolutionary -- the revolutionary without phrase-making, without bookish rhetoric, the irreconcilable, indefatigable, indomitable revolutionary of the deed. . . The anniversaries of Stenka Rasin and Pugachev are approaching; let us prepare for the feast." The authorship of Principles of Revolution (which seems to be the work of Nechaev) is especially important because of its strong stylistic resemblance to The Catechism of the Revolutionary: "We recognize no other activity but the work of extermination, but we admit that the forms which this activity will take will be extremely varied -- poison, the knife, the rope, etc. In this struggle the revolution sanctifies everything alike." The People's Justice No. 1, with its appeals for peasant rebellion a la Rasin and Pugachev and criticisms of the "unmasked-for-trachers" of the people whose learning has sapped them of their life-giving "popular juices", bears the earmarks of both Bakunin and Nechaev, though its appeal to the example of Ishutin sounds more like the "young savage": "Ishutin has taken the initiative; and now it is time for us to begin, before his hot tracks have cooled." Confino, unfortunately, says nothing about the authorship of these unsigned proclamations, and one hopes that Lehning will shed fresh light on the question of his forthcoming volume on 1869.

It was during this period between April and August 1869 that the notorious Catechism of the Revolutionary was written, the object of heated controversy and discussion ever since. Foreshadowed by earlier documents of the European revolutionary movement, it expresses ideas and sentiments that had been propounded by Zaichnevsky and Ishutin in Russia and by the Carbonari and Young Italy in the West. Yet by carrying to an ultimate extreme the ruthlessness and immorality of its predecessors, it constitutes the fullest statement of a revolutionary creed that has occupied a prominent place in revolutionary history for more than a century. In the Catechism the revolutionary is depicted as a complete immoralist, bound to commit any crime, any treachery, any baseness or deception to bring about the destruction of the existing order. Because of this Nicolas Walter has denounced it as a "revolting rather than revolutionary document," the expression of "pure, total, fanatical, destructive, nihilistic, self-defeating revolutionism".

The Catechism is divided into two parts: (1) General Rules of the Organisation, consisting of 22 numbered paragraphs, and (2) Rules of Conduct of Revolutionaries, with 26 paragraphs under three headings, The Attitude of the Revolutionary Towards Himself, The Attitude of the Revolutionary Towards His Revolutionary Comrades, and The Attitude of the Revolutionary Towards Society. Part Two, which is the famous part, has been widely published in many lan-

guages and editions, while Part One, to my knowledge, has never been translated into English, though a full French translation is included in the Confino volume. The original version of the Catechism, written in cipher in Latin characters, was taken back to Russia by Nechaev in August 1869. It was found by the police during a roundup of Nechaev's followers three months later and was used as evidence against them in their trial. The original manuscript, which was first published in Pravitel'stvennyi Vestnik (Government Herald) in July 1871, was lost in a fire in the Ministry of Justice in 1917; but the text was reprinted in 1924 in the journal Bor'ba Klassov (Class Struggle) from a copy found in the archives of the tsarist secret police. Part Two was published in French by the Marxists in 1873 during their campaign against Bakunin in the First International. The first English translation of Part Two was published in 1939 in Max Nomad's Apostles of Revolution, and another appeared in 1957 in Robert Payne's The Terrorists (reprinted in 1967 in an expanded version of the book called The Fortress). There are extensive excerpts in Franco Venturi's Roots of Revolution (1960); and between 1969 and 1971 at least three editions appeared in pamphlet form, the first issued by the Black Panther party in Berkeley, California, with an introduction by Eldridge Cleaver, the second by Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications in London with a preface by Nicolas Walter (both reproducing the Nomad translation), and in a new translation as Red Pamphlet No. 01 with an unsigned preface and no place of publication indicated.

"The revolutionary is a doomed man," begins Part Two of the Catechism in language reminiscent of Ishutin. "He has no personal interests, no affairs, no sentiments, attachments, property, not even a name of his own. Everything in him is absorbed by one exclusive interest, one thought, one passion -- the revolution" (Paragraph 1). He studies chemistry and other physical sciences for the purpose of destroying his enemies (Paragraph 3). He has severed all connections with the social order, with the world of education, and with conventional morality. "To him whatever aids the triumph of the revolution is ethical; all that hinders it is unethical and criminal" (Paragraph 4). "All tender, softening sentiments of kinship, friendship, love, gratitude, and even honour itself must be snuffed out in him by the one cold passion of the revolutionary cause. For him there is only one satisfaction, consolation, and delight -- the success of the revolution. Day and night he must have one thought, one aim -- inexorable destruction. Striving coldly and unfalteringly towards this aim, he must be ready to perish himself and to destroy with his own hands everything that hinders its realization" (Paragraph 6). The revolutionary organization must draw up a list of persons to be exterminated (Paragraph 15), and "those men must be destroyed who are particularly harmful to the revolutionary organization" (Paragraph 16). The revolutionary must trap those with money or influence and "turn them into one's slaves" (Paragraph 18). As for liberals, "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). The final paragraphs repeat the incendiary message of Some Words to Our Young Brothers, How the Revolutionary Question Presents Itself, and Principles of Revolution: "Our business is destruction, terrible, complete, universal, and merciless" (Paragraph 24). "Let us join hands with the bold world of bandits -- the only genuine revolutionists in Russia" (Paragraph 25).

The authorship of the Catechism has been

a subject of prolonged and bitter dispute. In the absence of conclusive evidence, scholars hostile to the anarchists have usually attributed it to Bakunin, while others have attributed it to Nechaev, and still others to both men as a product of their close collaboration during 1869. Thus the Kropotkin's Lighthouse edition gives Nechaev as the author, while both the Black Panther and Red Pamphlet editions list Bakunin, the anonymous editor of the latter insisting that "the myth that Nechaev wrote it was invented by petty bourgeois pseudo-'anarchists' who were revisionists from Bakunin". Such eminent scholars as Nettlau, Carr, and Venturi in the West, and B. P. Kozmin and Natalia Pirumova in the Soviet Union, have attributed the Catechism to Bakunin, as have Bakunin's own associates Z. K. Ralli and Michael Sazhin ("Armand Ross"), who claimed to have seen a copy of the manuscript in Bakunin's handwriting. Some, including Carr, have argued that the Catechism carries echoes of Bakunin's style and that the catechism was one of Bakunin's favourite forms of composition (he had published a Revolutionary Catechism in 1866). On the other hand, the catechism as a literary form was widely used by revolutionaries in both Russia and the West throughout the nineteenth century. Confino, moreover, maintains that a comparison of The Catechism of the Revolutionary with Bakunin's earlier Revolutionary Catechism shows that they are "radically dissimilar" in style and terminology. In both style and content, rather, the former seems to have emerged from the milieu of student revolutionism inside Russia during the 1860s -- a milieu in which Bakunin unlike Nechaev played no part -- rather than from among the older generation of exiles in Switzerland.

Important new evidence on this question is contained in a letter from Bakunin to Nechaev of June 2-9, 1870, located in the Natalie Herzen Archives of the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris and first published by Confino in 1966 in the Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique. It is the longest and most interesting letter that Bakunin ever wrote, requiring eight days to complete and occupying more than thirty pages of closely printed text. It forms the centerpiece of both Lehning's and Confino's volumes, and we shall have more to say about it later. In it Bakunin specifically repudiates what he calls "your catechism", along with Nechaev's whole "Jesuitical system". On the basis of this statement the Catechism must now be attributed to Nechaev, although it is by no means certain that Bakunin had no role in its composition or revision. For it was written during a period of intimate cooperation between the two men, and even if the burden of authorship was in fact Nechaev's, Bakunin may still have helped with the writing or editing. This, indeed, would account for the occasional Bakunist phraseology as well as for the alleged existence of a copy in Bakunin's handwriting. Bakunin's letter to Nechaev of June 2, 1870 acknowledges that he was familiar with it at the time of its composition -- a time when he was extremely susceptible to Nechaev's influence -- and, significantly, he raised no known protest against it until his falling-out with Nechaev a year later.

Paul Avrich

TO BE CONTINUED.

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# LETTER

## ANARCHISM and ORGANISATION

Dear Comrades,

When Peter E. Newell talks (FREEDOM October 6) about a "star system" he is, no doubt, talking about people who, having done a lot, said a lot, written a lot and been around a lot, for a long time, are now 'known figures' in the movement, to use police terminology. He does not of course put himself in this category - no doubt because he supports the right line and the "stars" one notices are apparently people he disagrees with.

Just to show how good they are, Newell illustrates his point, quite unbiasedly, by quoting from his own sect, ORA. ORA prevents the "star system" happening by insisting "all articles in Libertarian Struggle are "unsigned" (personally I would not have my name appearing there for all the tea in China, but that is another question). He continues "surnames" are "not to be used in Internal Bulletins and like documents". Obviously he has not realised the dangers of this course.

Firstly whenever I meet ORA supporters and engage them in discussion they spend about half the time disassociating themselves from most of the articles written in Libertarian Struggle, then saying much of the ORA stuff which is signed simply 'ORA' is put out by other people who have not actually consulted the rank and file, which brings me to my next point.

The putting of unsigned articles is completely contrary to an important anarchist tradition: personal responsibility. To use an analogy, rather pertinent I think. The reasons why we oppose The State are severalfold but one of our basic objections as anarchists is against the tacit assumption made by its supporters since the time of Rousseau. This is the assumption that the state is an organism. The state has an existence outside the individuals that support it, officer it, or compose it. The individual may fall by the wayside but The State continues. The theme is underwritten in the ideas of Hegel, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and the people we know and love in IS, IMG, SLL, the lot. State Socialism, Authoritarianism, Determinism, Collectivism, Communism, all owe their all to the doctrine. It is both anti-anarchist, and also, curiously enough, anti-British in other political senses too. It is contrary to the ideas of Locke, Bentham,

Burke, the Mills, Paine, and the British tradition of socialism. It is the alienness of this doctrine which has, in the past, prevented the acceptance of Marxism in its many forms by the British working class and its movements.

The organistic doctrine implies that a state officer, civil or military, is acting only as an agent of a wider power The State. If he commits an act which is contrary to common law and natural justice he is to be protected against this act. The official is nameless and blameless for he is acting in the name of the people, of the revolution, of, even, the working class. We, many of us, are highly critical of the present State system and its supporters. But whether we support The British State or not, look well at its content. Even The British State has a tendency towards the rejection of the power of blind officialdom in our midst. The 'Crichton Down' affair led to the downfall of a minister who held that as a departmental head he had personal responsibility for setting the tone of administration in such a way that civil servants acted only in accordance with the law.

All right, I know that one of the many reasons many of us call ourselves anarchists is because we think that even the British State is too bad, though I've met several Spanish comrades who felt that the British system, for all its faults was nearer to anarchism than any previously encountered. Support of the status quo is neither my point nor my rationale here. The doctrine of personal responsibility is an important tenet of the British anarchist movement. This is why I consider the ORA tactic a bad one. It is contrary to the tone and feeling of the British movement and the British people, and so the working class movement as a whole.

My this point about the ORA scheme is this: The Christian name thing. Do members of ORA seriously try to tell us that if a letter, article or directive appeared in their 'Newsletter' signed say Keith, Ro, Laurens, Steve, Chris, Peter E. etc., people would not know who these were? Of course they would. However if the names of the Tom, Dick or Harry (and I don't mean to be patronising here) who had just joined the group had something in it nobody would know who these were. This is the point. The ORA idea creates a two-tier hierarchy between the old guard of known ORAs and the new unknown ORAs. It also causes ambiguity. People tell me they sometimes have an awful job sorting out Newell's stuff from mine (heaven forbid) when

he signs his stuff P.N. (my initials) instead of P.E.N.

From this then comes my fourth point. ORA has begun to create its own "star system" within its own group. Further its very nature begins to re-create another "star system" because of its demand for a known membership. If the supporters of ORA say: "Stand up and be counted" it implies ipso facto 'Stand and declare your name'. For ORA substitute Galaxy. In other words within ORA (I nearly said "ORA is..." this organism thing is catching) you have the creation of an elite.

In fact, all this talk about "membership organisation" as being something pertaining to the British anarchist movement is nonsense. I am a member of the NCCL, a trade union, several professional societies, a public library, the National Film Theatre and the National Trust. All of these are useful to me, provide a useful service and if I feel I want them to do more for me I play a larger role within each. They provide me with something I would not have had access to if I had not become a member. On the other hand they make very limited demands upon me. They usually ask for a cash membership fee, but in most cases they make no more demands on me than I am prepared to give.

If however I join a membership group like ORA it is quite different. You must accept the basic principle of the group before joining and not deviate from them whilst a member (or be expelled like South London ORA was). In other words ORA is not just a membership organisation as Newell says it is. Nor is ORA an attempt to re-organise and re-structure the British anarchist movement.

The Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists is a group of people who support a specific view which they may call anarchism but I would have a different name for. They adhere to a rather suffocating type of anarchist communism that has none of the virtues of the genuine anarchist commune. It is totalitarian in organisation (if sloppy in the application of this) with an inbuilt tendency towards oligarchy. It is anti-personal responsibility, anti-freedom, anti-intellectual and anti-deviationist. In effect ORA is a rather restrictive version of a non-parliamentarian Political Party.

ORA, and any groups like it, should be strenuously opposed before they succeed in their aim of mystifying many a lonely anarchist who, since the, I would say forced, demise of the AFB, have longed for contact with

...Continued on Page 7

Dear Freedom,

It seems irresponsible of you to re-print from the industrial network bulletin Willie Allin's article replying to the one on 'The Lump' in 'Solidarity Swansea' without telling people who might be interested where they can obtain the article which is being replied to!

So, to correct this omission: 'Solidarity Swansea' can be obtained from D. Lamb, c/o 16 Uplands Crescent, Swansea, price 5p plus 4p postage on a single copy (proportionately less on larger orders).

The industrial network is 'open' in the sense that it includes members of about half a dozen different libertarian and anarchist groups, and people who aren't members of any group, but 'closed' in the sense that it obviously doesn't include community action groups et cetera (though comrades involved may also be involved in community action). Any comrades reading this who are interested and who are serious about class war will probably find that they know somebody who is already involved in the network.

I personally find Willie's vision of the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians becoming an 'industrial union' a nightmare. A bureaucratic union which is the sole official bargaining agent for an industry is likely to use its strength against dissidents in its own ranks. However, this disagreement between us is a difference of opinion between people who are basically on the same side and seeking to co-operate in the industrial struggle.

A Member of UCATT

#### IN BRIEF

Colchester left-wingers detained by the police have received an apology from the chairman of Essex police committee. They were detained 'in connection with' a suspected IRA bomb fire at Woolworth's, Colchester. Members of the Trades Council said "It's not good enough." The Essex County Standard reporting the apology also records fire officers experimenting into the inflammability of Woolworth cushions (amongst which the fire is alleged to have started). The current issue of Design magazine reports that fire experts and chemists are becoming increasingly suspicious that polyurethane foam plastics (widely used as filling material for cushions, chairs, mattresses and carpet backings) are capable of spontaneous combustion. Design says that the foam is made by an unstable process in which even a bad mix of component chemicals in the factory can cause instant fire.

Letter.

#### CASUAL WRITERS?

Dear Comrades,

Re the review of Political Murder in Northern Ireland by J.R. we in Ireland are playing a game called "Spot the inaccuracies". There is hardly one page in this book of which he thinks so highly that is free from bloomers.

- 1) Rose McCartney and Patrick O'Neill were NOT picked up after they went for a taxi, but in O'Neill's van as they drove from the Ardoyne to the Falls.
- 2) The UDF man Sinclair Johnstone was not shot dead by troops but by a policeman.
- 3) 'The Top of the Hill' massacre in December last year was NOT in revenge for William Johnstone the police Authority man from Armagh, but a re-action to the murder of a UDR man earlier in the day in Derry.
- 4) The authors keep on saying Tommy Herron was against murder. Whom do they think they are coddling? Certainly not many dead men and some living who had lucky escapes.
- 5) N.I.C.R.A. they say is entirely Roman Catholic. Yet I know two executive members personal friends who are both Protestant.
- 6) Bernard Rice they say was shot as he left his home for a CESA meeting. Actually he was killed when he left his Protestant dominated factory to attend the meeting.
- 7) Ingram Beckett the Loyalist leader was Not a Scot but a Belfast man born and bred.
- 8) The body of James Elliott did NOT have explosives attached to it when it was dumped.

One could go on indefinitely.

An unknowledgeable review of a book by unknowledgeable, careless and foolish writers who harm any peace attempts by such writings.

Yours etc  
Hilary Boyle,  
86 Pembroke Road,  
Dublin 4

Jack Robinson (who reviewed it) writes: I still think that despite its errors, its main theory is still valid and needs saying, especially to a wide public in England who still seem to think the IRA are responsible for everything. I do not pretend to a wide enough knowledge of the details of Irish events to check details.

In Burgos, Evenancio Echeverria, a Basque separatist, has been sentenced to a total of 47 years in prison for his part in bombing a road during a bicycle race, and for a hold-up.

Sancho Panza

#### The Wedding cont'd from P.1

"Do you mark and take this filly?"

'Yes,' he brays.

She whinnied softly in response.

"The stallion now rears up to his full height, his hooves clattering on the stone stable floor. He nuzzles the filly who ecstatically rolls over on to her back, her burnished and gilded hooves in the air. The great stallion bears down upon her. . . The organ crashes out in the mighty chords of 'O Perfect Love'...

"Several ponies faint and some become hysterical.

"We are now returning you to the Studio."

Jack Spratt.

#### NO CASE TO ANSWER

Eddie Murphy and Bert Dickinson, leaders of a successful strike for equal pay at the S.E.I factory, Heywood, Lancashire (see FREEDOM 20.9.73) came before the magistrates having been remanded on a charge under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1873. It was alleged that they were following a strike-breaking vehicle in order to hinder it.

For the defence it was put that they had no conspiratorial intention to hinder, they merely wished to ascertain where the vehicle was going, in order that, if it was going to strike-bound premises they could point it out to the driver.

The magistrate found there was no prima facie case, the facts were otherwise and the case was dismissed with no order for costs.

This is an important victory since defeat would have meant that a new hazard would be introduced for persons assisting in a strike picket.

I.W.W. & J.R.

A ticket tout known (sic) as Stanley Flashman has been claiming to have on offer tickets to the royal wedding. A Mr. Richard Nixon, at the time of going to press President of the United States, has not received an invitation to the wedding.

#### LETTER...cont'd from P.6

like minds. ORA will not revive a failing movement by calling for nationally-organised membership unity under its banner (exactly the same method used by Edward Heath at the Conservative Party Conference). An effective movement that is less-anarchist is not an effective movement in a real sense of the word 'anarchism'. But then do its supporters want anarchism, or only an apparent success. So as not to be a star I'll not put my full name - no stars for being right first time.

PETER

# Peace Without Freedom

ONE OF THE regular features of the Moscow scene is the peace conference where a gaggle of delegates from all over the world make the pilgrimage to Moscow to meet in friendly discourse to sit through platitudinous speeches in many languages signifying the undeniable hope of the common people for peace and the doubtful faith in the world mission of Communism and the Soviet Union in particular to promote this aim. The audience and participants are generally fellow-travellers and members of that stage-army of the good which has tramped from Holy Loch to Aldermaston and is glad to put its feet up in Moscow.

This year there was, for the Soviets, a disquieting departure from the usual platitudinous pro-Soviet flow. With the detente or easing of pressures on U.S.-Soviet relations the usual formulae of a Russia-surrounded-by-enemies-cannot-afford-the-luxury-of-civil-liberties would not work.

Pressure on the USSR, some emanating from pro-Chinese sources, has been centered on the persecution of intellectuals, endemic in a totalitarian society. Further fuel has been added by the anti-Zionist campaign with its attendant refusal of Jewish emigration visas. There has been much criticism of Soviet methods of dealing with dissidents. Many of these points were raised at the conference.

For example, the Committee to Defend Ivan Dayube and Vyacheslav Chornovil circulated an 'Open Letter to the British Delegates' which commences "The Moscow Peace Conference will, doubtless, rightly denounce the bloody repression and imperialist counter-revolution of regimes such as those of Spain, South Africa and Chile, which are killing, torturing and imprisoning working-class militants struggling for democratic liberties and socialism. As socialists, we give our support to such struggles and recognize that real peace can only be achieved in the world when the working

class follows the example of the Russian revolution and overthrows the capitalist system in all countries. But it is from this standpoint that it becomes an urgent duty for socialists to oppose the suppression of working-class democracy and national rights in the Soviet Union. One Ukrainian socialist has said, 'I cannot imagine true socialism without democratic freedoms; without the widest political and economic self-government of all cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee - and not merely a paper one - of the rights of all nations within a multi-national state.'"

It would be easy to quarrel with the innocence and contradictions of some of these remarks but Chornovil who uttered them is in prison. He is an Ukrainian and a journalist. He refused to testify (for the prosecution) in a political trial at Lvov and compiled a dossier on the methods of the authorities in secret trials and the behaviour of the KGB during arrests and interrogations. The 'Open Letter' describes the authorities' methods as 'illegal' and the KGB as 'terroristic' but we are certain, as anarchists, that the authorities' methods are perfectly legal and the KGB's behaviour is, for them, perfectly correct.

Ivan Dayuba, another Ukrainian dissident writer, is serving five years' imprisonment with five years in exile. He is suffering from tuberculosis and has petitioned for release in order 'to be able to die at liberty'. This request has been turned down.

The 'Open Letter' lists possible action such as raising the issue at the Peace Conference, raising it in trade unions, shop stewards' committee or Trades Council; sign and circulate a petition and support the defence committee.

The letter concludes: "A conference which claims to be dedicated to the struggle for world peace and against the repression of socialists and democrats which would not take up the repression of socialists like Chornovil and Dayuba would be nothing but an expensive farce."

J.R.

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

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