



WITHDRAW TROOPS NOW!

THE POLITICAL WHEELING and dealing in Northern Ireland is over—at least for the time being. By admitting the politicians of the SDLP to the new ruling coalition Whitelaw hopes to seduce the Catholic working class into docile acceptance of the status quo. Similarly, the new political arrangement is meant as a sedative to calm the fears of the Protestant working class that they may be forced into a "united" Ireland against their will. The IRA and the UDA (and its more militant off-shoots) will show the chagrin which is to be expected from power-seekers deprived of a share of the power.

Meanwhile, the politicians in London and Dublin are only too happy to hail Whitelaw's "victory" and find an easy excuse to forget the problems and suffering of the people of N. Ireland. Despite the politicians' euphoria nothing has changed: N. Ireland is still under military control and men are still imprisoned without trial. The sweeping repressive powers still remain.

The problems of N. Ireland can only be solved by the people there themselves, but those of us on this side of the Irish Sea can help by demanding the withdrawal of the British Troops now. The brutality of the Army has been used to justify, and seek support for, the callous, indiscriminate slaughter by the Provisional IRA. This, in turn, has been used to justify the murders by the Protestant groups such as the UVF and the so-called Ulster Freedom Fighters.

To demand the withdrawal of troops is certainly NOT to surrender to, or become a fellow-traveller of, the confused political objectives of Irish Republicanism. The presence of the Army has forced the Catholic working class into the arms of the IRA posing as a "protector", and the withdrawal of troops will contribute to breaking that hold. The much talked-about possibility of a program conducted against the Catholic minority by the Protestant majority if the Army is withdrawn completely ignores the crude balance of terror which exists in the situation. Any such pogrom would be to invite intervention by the Government of the South.

Whether the people of Northern Ireland are ruled from London, Belfast or Dublin they will still be pawns in other people's power games: a change of masters is no change at all. The political schemes dreamed of by Sinn Fein or Vanguard will do nothing to end the exploitation of capitalism or the tyranny of government.

The day is coming when people everywhere will throw off their rulers and exploiters and reject all those who would impose their will upon them. The factories and workshops are there for the taking, to be worked in common and used for the good of all. When people seize control of their own communities the decision-making will pass to where it rightly belongs—in the hands of the people with everyone involved. To create this real social revolution it is necessary to free the minds of men and women from the crippling burden of political ideology and religious dogma. In Ireland that struggle has only just begun.

Terry Phillips

A GREEK DRAMA

GEORGE PAPADOPOULUS, probably the most hated man in Greece, was last Sunday quietly pushed out of his bloody "ice", apparently by the same gang of fascists that in 1967 grabbed from the hands of the Greek people the little freedom and democracy they had.

No doubt the disappearance from the political scene of demagogues such as the King Constantine and George Papadopoulos must come as a healthy relief to the Greek people, but already Greeks in exile have made clear that the CIA could be behind the new coup d'etat which has just propelled to power another Greek fascist, one among many, the obscure and Royalist general Phaeton Gizikis, Commander of the First Army.

What else can the Greek people hope to receive from the new-old regime than the familiar fascist bullet, tortures, repression, concentration camps, and the knowledge that once more freedom in Greece is for sale for the benefit of greedy foreign investors. It is significant that in its editorial of 26 November the Financial Times informed its readers (usually wealthy individuals, international companies, banks, etc.) that So far there is nothing to suppose that foreign investors need have fears, except inasmuch as the events this autumn have made Greece look less stable politically than used to be widely believed.

Such editorial content should be given the credit deserved by an

international network of "Special Correspondents" such as the Financial Times keeps posted abroad. Their man in Athens has doubtless firsthand information of what is going on in Greece. If this capitalist paper states that foreign investments are not in jeopardy after Gizikis' coup, we should certainly not doubt that, other than the "forced" departure of Papadopoulos, little has changed or will change for the Greek people.

Perhaps the Financial Times and Aristotle Onassis were more worried by the student revolt (joined by workers) which, allegedly of 'anarchist' inspiration, sparked off the coup. King Constantine and the liberal Helen Vlachos are vainly waiting for the call back to Greece, the birthplace of democracy!

Aristotle Onassis and Co. are probably better placed than anybody else in the scale of priorities to nurse expectations and hope for privileges from the new regime, but as far as bread and freedom for the Greek people are concerned I am sorry to say that thousands and thousands more heroes will be needed to overthrow fascism in Greece.

The only thing we can do in this country to help in this direction is to support materially and ideologically any Greeks willing to free Greece from misery, oppression and authority.

Claude.

THE WANING OF POWER

SECONDBAND NEW Books



HAVE YOU EVER seen bluebottles collecting round a choice mess of decaying matter and, that being exhausted, move on to another lump? That, as Aldous Huxley described it once, is the position of mankind regarding coal and oil. Mankind has gathered in war, colonialism and trade round these mucky deposits and founded his technological 'civilizations'.

But, unlike the bluebottle, the corrupting masses are finite and with a wearisome 'buzz, buzz, buzz' mankind complains if its supplies run out, and it vainly flaps its wings searching for that which it so profligately wasted and hardly ever planning not to place its sustenance at the mercy of such evanescent droppings.

Always, of course, there is a scapegoat -- growth of population, war, acts of God, the wicked Trade Unions, the wicked Arabs -- anything or anybody to save the prevailing Governments and people from apportioning blame where it lies and seeking appropriate remedies.

Once, mankind moved by technological change, not by exhaustion. The power of wind- and water-mills was insufficient but left villages and mills (cotton and flour and 'dark satanic') grouped round the source. The coal mines and their Aberfan slag-heaps bear eloquent testimony to the short and messy dangerous reign of King Coal. We have yet to look upon (and sample?) the glowing radioactivity which will mark the epoch of nuclear power.

At the moment it is oil that is our most acute problem. We have forgotten that America was experiencing an oil shortage before the Arabs' boycott. It is possible that oil reserves are becoming exhausted, it is probable that the Arabs would wish to conserve remaining supplies, and it is certain that the Arabs would wish to get the highest price and the greatest political and strategic advantage from their possession of such a desirable commodity. If this is blackmail, what then is the whole of commerce and shopkeeping?

Peregrine Worsthorne (that most honest of reactionaries) boldly proclaims in the Sunday Telegraph (25.11.73) "Oil : Was Colonel Blimp Right?" and makes a straightforward case that it is the decline of British power that has made it possible for the Arabs to dictate terms. He says, "Arabia, which has contributed nothing to civilization in modern times, has a perfect moral and legal right to deny oil to the West, with all the crippling consequences that this may involve for tens of millions

of people, and the West has no moral or legal right whatsoever to use force to escape this fate." Worsthorne denies the validity of such an idea, and obviously being a Blimp himself laments for the days when one could send a gunboat in order to force unwilling 'wogs' to let us have their petrol or whatever in exchange for a few beads or a round of gunfire.

Of course Britain lacks power, but what use is the power of the United States if the wells are running dry? It is untrue that the Arabs have made no contribution to civilization in modern times (except in the absolutely literal sense). What of algebra, geometry, medicine, chemistry? True, the Arabs developed their own ecological problem; over-grazing, which made a desert of once fertile wheatlands, but then many countries in the West have done and are doing the same thing.

* * *

Not only the Arabs but the capitalists of the West have now realized how to make a good thing out of scarcity. For years the curse of too-abundant harvests has mocked the penniless famine-victims. Now we are in a pre-scarcity society with a vengeance. You name it, we haven't got it! Paper, zinc, oil, coal, timber, copper, all are 'in short supply'.

Whether this is the dire prophecies of the ecologists coming true well beforetime or the usual scarcity economics one cannot judge.

But, like honoured prophets the ecologists are now being taken seriously as they should be. We have been living on the decaying carcasses far too long. The concept that whatever can technically be done must be done has dominated us too long. The concept that whatever makes a profit is good for us must go. The concept that there is only one fashionable, profitable way of making energy must be realized as false.

Mankind is multiple and the options are many. Let us choose the most pleasant, not the fastest, the biggest or the most profitable. We have lived on the excreta of the past far too long. Let us make a virtue of what seems to be a painful necessity of living within our means.

Jack Robinson.

IN BRIEF

One-third of the prisoners in Gartree prison, Leicestershire, are to be moved to other prisons in an attempt to reduce tension.

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The first issue of FREEDOM - Oct. 1886 - photo-copy. Price "at least" 20p including post.

Number eleven of Anarchy new series has at long last appeared (from 29 Grosvenor Avenue, London N.5). Its main concern is on prisons, with articles on Gartree Prison riots, prison abolition, a long article on Vorkuta, the Soviet prison camp, by Peter E. Newell. Also there are three short pieces on Women's Lib and a fulmination by Albert Meltzer on the 'Nature of Non-Violent Fascism and the George Woodcock Myth' aptly illustrated by a hatchet. (For those who like this sort of Meltzer thing, this is the sort of thing they'll like). Technically Anarchy is well produced. Price 20p. (sub.rate not yet fixed)

Sancho Panza

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IN BRIEF

How short our memories are! Who
was Paul Storey? and James
Duignan? and Mustafa Fuat? And,
by the way, whatever happened to
mugging? Don't see much about it
in the papers nowadays. And you
certainly won't see anything about
Paul, James and Musty (as he is
known). They are serving twenty
years, for Paul, and two sentences
of ten years' detention for the
others. Stupid reactionaries may
say that these harsh sentences
stopped 'muggings'. Rubbish. Ever
hear about the pickpockets at the
public hanging of pickpockets?
Paul, James and Musty are not for-
gotten. Especially by the P, J &
M Support Committee (134 Villa
Road, Handsworth, Birmingham
B19 1NN) who have produced a pamph-
let "Twenty Years" setting forth
details of the case and going more
deeply into the social issues in-
volved, including 'hysterical res-
ponses from the press & judiciary'.

A Grimsby seed firm is marketing
weed-seeds in order to reclaim
waste-land or slag heaps.

LETTER

CONFRONTING FASCISM

It is all very well for some of
your correspondents to advocate a
total freedom of expression, not
so good for an unfortunate black
or Asian (to name today's obvious
targets) who has been beaten up
as a direct result - yes, it hap-
pens - of a Fascist speech. Even
on moral grounds, the victim
might be excused for feeling that
his personal liberty and indivi-
dual safety were being attacked.

Recently, there was a 'test
case' in Camden with the autumn
Film Festival. A number of young
film-makers threatened to withdraw
their entries when they learned
that 'England: Whose England?'
was to be shown; 'as a counter-
balance to the Left', in the words
of the organizer. The film is a
virtual incitement to violence,
and, after consultation with the
Race Relations Board, it was
withdrawn.

Anarchists have always drawn a
sharp line between what they con-
sider to be right and wrong. At
times, something has got to be
done, and can be done - in this
case, peaceably.

Whose liberty?

B.S., N.W.6.

LETTER SUMMARY

Laurens Otter of Wellington, re-
ferring to a letter by "Peter"
(FREEDOM 10/11/73) which implies
he is a 'leading member' of ORA -
Laurens says (at some length and
our space is limited) that he is
not even a member of ORA.

Libertarian Workers Union

If J.A.L. of Brighton will send us
(for publication) his name and
address where interested readers
can contact him, we will gladly
print his letter proposing a
Libertarian Workers Union.

Correspondents please note that
our space is limited and long
and/or boring or abusive letters
may get squeezed out. EDS.

The election of the first woman
alderperson in the City of
London was vetoed by Sir Dennis
Truscott, the senior Alderman.

Peking's People's Daily accuses
Plato of being a reactionary like
the departed President Lin Shao-
Chi and to be only "a pool of
dead water reeking with the stink
of the bourgeoisie".

THOSE ATTENDING last weekend's
Anarchist Federation of Britain
conference obviously felt the need
for some form of loose Federation
which would enable groups who are
not inclined to join either the
Organisation of Revolutionary An-
archists or the Anarchist Syndic-
alist Alliance to have a means of
contact and the necessary organisa-
tion to produce an internal bul-
letin. Comrades in Manchester
took on the responsibility for
this job.

As with most anarchist confer-
ences, comrades spoke of problems
of propaganda and of getting local
authorities to provide even basic
amenities. One concerned a commu-
nity centre for tenants on a
Liverpool housing estate, and those
of the Leicester comrades
who had experienced difficulties
in obtaining a pre-school centre
for children.

Although the item of publications
appeared on the agenda only Freedom
and Libertarian Education were
really discussed. Both received a
great deal of criticism. Some
wanted a bigger, brighter and more
attractive Freedom without really
understanding the cost involved.
Others really disagreed with the
pluralistic approach rather than a
hard line attitude. Yet others
found it difficult to read. The
criticism of Libertarian Education
was about who was the paper
directed at, teachers, parents or
kids.

Our thanks are due to the
Leicester comrades for providing a
venue and making the necessary
arrangements. The conference pro-
vided many a chance to get
together to exchange views and
experiences and to meet friends
again. For that alone it was
worthwhile.

Peter Turner.

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PRESS FUND

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BAKUNIN AND NECHAEV

PART IV (Conclusion)

WHAT THEN may we conclude about Nechaev? Was he an unmitigated scoundrel without any redeeming qualities, or a devoted revolutionary who has been unjustly maligned by his detractors? To some extent, of course, he remains an enigma, and a full-scale biography, based on all available sources, would be a fascinating and worthwhile undertaking. Meanwhile, however, certain judgments can be made. On the positive side, his courage and dedication cannot be denied. He was endowed, according to Sazhin, with "colossal energy, fanatical devotion to the revolution, a character of steel, and an indefatigable capacity for work". He lived a life of poverty and extreme self-denial. Of the money he obtained from the Bakhmetiev fund he did not spend a penny on himself. Nor can the genuineness of his revolutionary fervour or his hatred of privilege and exploitation be doubted. He paid for it by being shut up in the dungeon for nearly a third of his life, a fate which he bore with an endurance and nobility that are unsurpassed in the annals of revolutionary martyrdom.

But his selfless dedication carried a harsh and ruthless stamp. It was untempered by the warmth and human compassion which Bakunin possessed in such abundance. Nechaev won his influence, rather, by his fierce energy, his calculated immorality, and his boundless hatred of the establishment and of all whom he considered his enemies. His chief faults, wrote Lev Deutsch, were "an infinite confidence in his own infallibility, a total scorn of human beings, and a systematic application of the principle that the end justifies the means". He regarded all men and women as mere tools in the revolutionary struggle, thereby stripping them of their personal dignity, indeed of their very identity. From the beginning of his career, wrote Camus in The Rebel, Nechaev "never ceased to suborn the students around him, Bakunin himself, the revolutionary refugees, and finally the guards in his prison". He thought nothing of bringing less uncompromising radicals under police suspicion in order to involve them more deeply in his own conspiratorial activities. He raised revolutionary expediency to an absolute good, before which all accepted morality must retreat. In the interests of the revolution, of which he himself was to be sole judge, every action was justified, every crime was legitimate, however repugnant it might be. He himself practised the theft, blackmail, and murder that he preached to his fellow conspirators. He practised them, moreover, on friends as well as enemies. "He deceived everyone he met," as E. H. Carr has observed, "and when he was no longer able to deceive them, his power was gone." His originality, as Camus pointed out, lay in "justifying the violence done to one's brother". Thus he ultimately foreshadows, on however small a scale, the mass murders of Stalin in the name of revolutionary necessity.

In short, while Bakunin, whatever his failings, was essentially a libertarian, Nechaev, whatever his virtues, was essentially an authoritarian. His real mentors were not Fourier, Proudhon, and Bakunin, but Robespierre, Babeuf, and Tkachev, whose Jacobin principles he pushed to their ultimate extent. Far from being an anarchist, he was an apostle of political expediency, concerned with the means of conspiracy and with centralized organization rather than with the goal of a stateless society. His Jacobinism and Machiavellianism clashed fundamentally with the libertarian spirit, surrounding anarchism with an aura of brutality and ruthlessness that was foreign to its basic humanity. In Nechaev's hands, anarchism, the



Michel Bakounine

ideal of human freedom and dignity, was soiled, debased, and finally distorted beyond recognition.

Yet Nechaev had a profound influence upon the revolutionary movement, among anarchists and non-anarchists alike. Though revealed as a murderer of a fellow revolutionary, not to say a thief and a blackmailer, his misdeeds were held by some to be offset by his zeal and self-sacrifice. Thus the People's Will raised his courage and dedication above the darker aspects of his career; and Lenin, who admired his organizational talents and selfless devotion to the cause, praised him as a "revolutionary titan". During the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 the image of Nechaev gripped more than a few young militants of the extreme Left, who, in their passion for revolutionary conspiracy, terrorist methods, and extreme hostility towards intellectuals, bore their mentor's peculiar stamp.

Modern Counterparts

In addition, such contemporary groups as the Black Panthers, the Black September, the Weathermen, and the Red Army Fraction have employed the methods of Nechaev - including indiscriminate terror and the subordination of means to ends - in the name of the revolutionary cause. The Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver tells us in Soul on Ice that he "fell in love" with The Catechism of the Revolutionary and took it as a revolutionary bible, incorporating its principles into his everyday life by employing "tactics of ruthlessness in my dealings with everyone with whom I came into contact". (The Catechism was published as a pamphlet in 1969 by the Black Panthers of Berkeley with an introduction by Cleaver!) Even the murder of Ivanov, strangely enough, has had its modern counterparts in the slaying of an alleged informer by the Black Panther group in New Haven in 1969, and in the massacre in 1972 by the leader of the United Red Army in Japan of no less than fourteen members of his group for violations of "revolutionary discipline".

Contemporary Opponents

But the tactics of "Nechaevism" have also provoked widespread revulsion within the revolutionary movement. In his own circle in St. Petersburg at the end of the 1860s Nechaev already found opponents in such libertarian socialists as Mark Hatanson, Feliks Volkhovsky, German Lopatin, and Michael Negreskul. The Chaikovsky Circle of the 1870s - including Kropotkin and Kravchinsky as well as Natanson, Volkhovsky, and Lopatin - also recoiled from Nechaev's Jacobin methods, his cynical immorality, and his dictatorial party organization. In contrast to his People's Justice, they

sought to create an atmosphere of confidence and trust and to found an organization based on mutual aid and mutual respect among its members. Repelled by Nechaev's Machiavellianism, they argued that no end, however noble, could fail to be corrupted by such monstrous means; and they asked, like Bakunin, whether the training of revolutionary groups along the lines proposed by Nechaev might not create an arrogant elite of power-seekers who would give the people what they ought to want, whether they in fact did so or not. Thus they ranged themselves with the libertarian socialism of Herzen, Bakunin, and Lavrov against the authoritarian revolutionism of Ishutin, Tkachev, and Nechaev, who, they felt, could not inspire a true socialist revolution because they lacked a true socialist morality.

The identical criticism was later levelled against the Bolsheviks by Peter Kropotkin, on whose lips, said Maria Goldsmith, "the word 'Nechaevism' was always a strong rebuke". As a member of the Chaikovsky Circle, Kropotkin decried all self-contained associations of "professional revolutionaries", with their clandestine schemes, ruling committees, iron discipline, and subordination of means to ends. He insisted that "a morally

developed individuality must be the foundation of every organization". For Kropotkin the ends and the means were inseparable, and he was inflexible in his opposition to all tactics that conflicted with his principles and goals. Nor would Bakunin, in his most far-seeing moments, have disagreed. As he wrote to Ogarev less than two years before his death:

"Realize at length that nothing living and firm can be built upon Jesuitical trickery, that revolutionary activity aiming to succeed must not seek its support in base and petty passions, and that no revolution can achieve victory without lofty and conspicuously clear ideas."

Paul Avrich.

NOTE: The English edition of Confino's book, Daughter of a Revolutionary (Alcove Press) will indeed contain the diary of Natalie Herzen [referred to in Part I, FREEDOM 3/11/73]. Also, the Soviet scholar Pirumova attributes the Catechism not to Bakunin but to Nechaev [see Part II, 10/11/73] P.A.

RECORD OF A HUNDRED YEARS

BIBLIOGRAFIA DELL'ANARCHISMO.
Volume I, Part 1: Periodici e numeri unici anarchici in lingua italiana pubblicati in Italia (1872-1971). Compiled by Leonardo Bettini. Florence, CP Editrice, 1972, 429pp. \$4 (from Freedom Bookshop).

SOME 75 YEARS have passed since Max Nettlau compiled his classic Bibliographie de l'anarchie (1897), and in Leonardo Bettini he has at last found a successor to carry on his work. Until now, to supplement Nettlau's book and Josef Stammhammer's three-volume Bibliographie des Sozialismus und Kommunismus (1893-1909/reprinted 1963-64), which includes a good many anarchist entries, we have had to rely primarily on the separate bibliographies in histories of anarchist movements in different countries (such as Jean Maitron on France and Edgar Rodrigues on Brazil) and in biographical studies of individual anarchists (such as Robert Hoffman on Proudhon and Eugene Lunn on Landauer). In addition, there have been a number of useful bibliographical essays in journals and symposia, for instance by Nicolas Walter in Anarchism Today and Gino Cerrito in Anarchici e Anarchia nel mondo contemporaneo (both published in 1971). To these one might have added Threads in the Black Flag, a 24-page bibliography published recently by David DeLeon, were it not for its numerous errors, indiscriminating selection, and general unreliability.

Bettini, by contrast, has produced a model bibliography that is at once scholarly, accurate, and comprehensive. Volume I, year, will list the hundreds of

additional journals that were issued abroad (in Europe, North Africa, and North and South America) by Italian emigres and exiles. Further volumes - numbering ten or more in all - will list periodicals in French, Spanish, English and other languages, as well as books and pamphlets by anarchists and historians of anarchism alike. The series when completed will thus constitute an indispensable record of anarchist literature produced throughout the world during the past century.

Each entry in the present volume is furnished with relevant bibliographical information: title, subtitle, slogans, place and dates of publication, editors and publishers, frequency of publication, size and format, libraries where located, and explanatory notes. The titles themselves, when grouped by theme, tell an interesting story. To give some examples: (1) (1) Agitation--Revolution--Emancipation--The Commune--Anarchy; (2) The First of May--The Bomb--The Chicago Martyrs--The Eleventh of November--Sacco and Vanzetti; (3) Land and Liberty--To Michael Bakunin--The International--Carlo Cafiero--Freedom; (4) Satan--Antichrist--The Iconoclast--Free Thought--Francisco Ferrer and the Idea of the Modern School--The New Era.

Part 1 lists some 600 Italian-language periodicals and single issues (numeri unici) that were published inside Italy during the last hundred years. The titles are presented in chronological order, with an alphabetical index at the end. Part 2, scheduled to appear next

The shortcomings of this initial volume are few and of relatively minor proportions. It would have benefitted perhaps from a fuller and more analytical introduction, including some general observations about the diverse periodicals which the editor has so diligently catalogued. Moreover, although the listings begin with 1872, the year of the founding of the Italian Federation at Rimini and of the Anti-Authoritarian International at Saint-Imier (to which the volume is dedicated), the first Italian anarchist journals--Liberta e Giustizia (Liberty and Justice), L'Uguaglianza (Equality), L'Internazionale (The International)--began to appear in 1866 and 1867 under the influence of Bakunin, whose ideas had begun to take root among the left-wing intellectuals and the labouring classes. Apart from this, however, omissions and errors are remarkably rare for a work of such broad scope, and they can be easily rectified in a succeeding volume.

This multi-volume bibliography of anarchism is an enormous project for one man to have undertaken single-handed, involving extensive travel and correspondence to ferret out old, obscure, and crumbling publications scattered all over the world. But Bettini's devotion to his task is manifested on every page. This is obviously a labour of love and of painstaking care, and we eagerly await the appearance of the next instalment.

Paul Avrich.

IT'S NOT OUR PROBLEM

CLEARLY THE politicians of the two main parties are anxious about the effects of the energy crisis on their electoral prospects. The government have at last admitted that there is some cause for alarm and are clearly out to blame the miners and engineers for the shortage of power. They also want to avoid the stigma of introducing petrol rationing, something they have always pinned on the Labour Party.

With all the talk about "snap" elections Mr. Prentice, shadow Minister of Employment, has turned his attention, not on the Tories, but on the 'left wing' of his party and on those trade unionists who propagate "sillier forms" of militancy. Mr. Prentice has also attacked Hugh Scanlon and the engineering union for actively opposing the Industrial Relations Act.

However, what our constitutionally minded politicians forget is that many of the major reforms in this country were brought about because people were prepared to break the law. Change occurs not because of the goodwill of the "moderates" about whom Mr. Prentice prattles but by the force of public opinion, by defiance of the law and by direct action. If enough trade unionists had actively opposed the Industrial Relations Act it would have been defeated by now.

Having enacted Phase 3 Mr. Heath expects the miners to obey legislation which his party rejected in 1970 and he spoke against in June 1971: "We utterly reject the philosophy of compulsory wage control" --Conservative election manifesto.

"It (prices and incomes policy) has been tried in the past and failed. Nobody can show any reason why it should succeed in the future. Many free enterprise countries in the Western world have been able to achieve results without a compulsory policy for wages and prices. And I believe in a free enterprise economy in which people take their own decisions and run their own lives."

Not only have Tories reversed their policy on prices and incomes, but modern capitalism has very little to do with free enterprise and everything to do with monopoly control. As for Mr. Heath's last sentence, nothing could be farther from the truth. In fact, as the ownership and control of industry falls into fewer and fewer hands ordinary people have less control.

Mr. Heath also said in October that "We stand now on the threshold of a period of growth and prosperity unparalleled since the war."

With the energy crisis this so-called prosperity has faded away.

The Tories are in real trouble and the Labour Party are so discredited that it seems unlikely that they could win a "who rules Britain" election.

While people are disillusioned with the political parties there are few signs that they are turning to anarchism. Leadership and authority are still respected by the vast majority of people. The law still means a lot to those who have been brought up to obey. However the miners have challenged the law. The miners know that their industrial power can smash the government's Phase 3. Mr. Heath knows it as well. But while we saluted the stand of the miners last year, the economics of the capitalist system makes it again necessary for the miners to challenge the government. Such will be the role of the working class until it is realised that their industrial strength can be used to finally overthrow the system that keeps us in wage slavery. The problems now facing the system are of their own making and do not concern the working class in that we should consider them when demanding higher wages and better conditions. But we shouldn't be demanding anything, we should be taking over the industries we work in and run them so that people reap the benefits and not those who at present run and control industry.

P.T.

***L E T T H E M

E A T C A K E...

--Mr. Baker, I would like to buy a loaf.
 --Yes sir, that will be seventeen and a half pence.
 --But it was sixteen pence last week.
 --I know...but...
 --But this is inflationary!
 --We could negotiate.
 --But I decided not to pay any more increases.
 --Well, my fuel is costing me more, and the upkeep of the ovens is very high, besides the flames are very hot and dangerous, I sweat a lot and I have to work nights.
 --I might consider you a special case but the cake-makers are also asking for more and I can't get any potatoes. My wife and children are crying out for bread.
 --What has that got to do with me?
 --Well, you ought to consider my special welfare.
 --You'll be calling it 'black-mail' next.
 --I might let you have sixteen-and-a-quarter now and another one-and-a-quarter when you're sixty-five.
 --I can't wait that long. What about the fact I can't go out at nights?

--I suppose that is anti-social, but think of society!
 --Listen, if I don't get this price I'll close down the shop.
 --Then we'll have to wait for another baker.
 --You know what you're doing, don't you?
 --What?
 --You're asking for a confrontation.
 --No...no. Let's talk it over like decent chaps. Let's get round the table. Take a vote on it. Have a plebiscite.
 --I don't believe the matter has been fully and frankly discussed. I must consult my wife.
 --And I too.

[/They do so/

The baker: Well?
 Customer: Well?
 --Seventeen pence
 --Sixteen-and-a-half pence
 --Seventeen
 --Sixteen and three quarters
 --Sixteen and seven-eighths
 --I think we should take it to arbitration.
 --Sixteen and four-fifths.
 --Wait till the prices board hears about this...I'll take it.
 Jack Spratt.

BILLIONAIRE Paul Getty will NOT pay a penny ransom for his kidnapped grandson. The 80-year-old oil tycoon made his flat refusal today—after seeing pictures of Paul Junior with his right ear cut off.



"Aren't you glad your Grand Daddy's not a billionaire."

Kensington and Chelsea council, owners (by compulsory purchase) of the former site of 10 Rillington Place (where Christie the mass-murderer operated) are planning to sell the site area to a development firm to build homes at £20,000 each. There are 5,000 families on Kensington's waiting list for rented property and 72 council houses could be built in the area compared with about 50 for private sale. These houses would be offered (at sale price) to families on the waiting list. It seems that it was not only Christie who got away with murder in this borough!

Sancho Panza

Dead Men On Leave

C A B A R E T
of the Minorities

LEVINE: THE LIFE OF A REVOLUTIONARY. By Rosa Leviné-Meyer. Saxon House £2.50. Pluto Press (Book Link), paperback £1.25.

THE LIVES OF revolutionaries are seldom written by their wives. The best-known exception is Lenin; now here is Leviné. This book was first published in Germany last year, and has been incompetently translated, edited and printed for the English edition.

Eugen Levine was one of the martyrs of the German revolution of 1918-19. He was born in 1883 to a Germanised Russian-Jewish bourgeois family, and joined the revolutionary movement when he was twenty. He worked for the Social Revolutionaries in Russia, being imprisoned and tortured, and then moved to Germany, where he worked for the Social Democrats, becoming a noted writer and speaker.

In 1914 Leviné became a member of the left-wing minority of the party which opposed the First World War, and he later became a leader first of the Spartacus League and then of the Communist Party. He managed to escape from Berlin after the unsuccessful rising in January 1919, when Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered, and was sent by the party to Munich, which was then under an increasingly precarious socialist regime.

For a month Leviné struggled to develop the workers' organisations -- i.e. to bring them under Communist control -- and opposed a premature rising -- i.e. one which was not under Communist control -- but in April 1919 he became the most important figure in the reluctant "Soviet Republic" which was dominated by the Communists and turned out to be

the last of a series of increasingly left-wing governments. It collapsed after only a fortnight; Leviné was arrested, tried by a military court, and shot for treason in June.

His widow, who later married another Communist leader, has lived in England since 1934 and retains her revolutionary convictions, though she seems to have moved recently towards Maoism rather than Leninism. Her account of Leviné is a moving and illuminating record, but it contains far too much special pleading and far too little reliable information to be more than a document, and it has been absurdly over-praised for political reasons. Leviné was certainly clever and courageous, but he had several unpleasant personal traits (which she does not attempt to hide) and also the obvious political defects (which she obscures when she does not overlook them). He was an early example of a type which later became all too familiar, the revolutionary leader sent in by the Communist Party to take over a revolution and thus to destroy it.

One of the two good things about him is that he was much more humane and humorous than most of his successors. The other is the magnificent speech he made at his trial on June 2, 1919, in which he coined the famous phrase, 'We Communists are all dead men on leave'. The whole speech is given as an appendix, and it is the best thing in the book.

N. W

∟The paperback edition is available only by direct mail-order from the Pluto Press, Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1.∟

Blast-Off

The handbook acknowledges this ultimate desperate reaction. Nobody has to appear on TV. Many militants refuse to. But it's like the off switch on your TV. Turning off the crap is OK, but that won't stop 20 million others from watching. Withdrawing your cooperation from newsmongers won't stop them from finding their stories. This handbook tells you a great many things you can do before you say piss off. One or two lines of action it leaves to your imagination... It blasts a huge gust of fresh air through all the lies and distortions and half-truths and technical mystifications that TV

John Olday, former cartoonist for War Commentary, is back in England after many years in Australia, Germany and U.S.A. He is starting what he calls a "Cabaret of the Minorities" and has already staged two recitals and is available for further bookings. This is an entirely non-commercial venture and he will be glad to receive enquiries.

We hope that John will be shortly again contributing cartoons to FREEDOM.

is all about. It says: you have more power than you realise. USE IT. It is a practical manual written in simple language for anyone whether north of the Clyde or south of the Thames. Every page is intended to stimulate understanding and action. That includes the funny cartoons. At every different stage or area of involvement with TV, the reader is provided with examples of what has happened in the past, with miners, night cleaners, Indian workers, Welsh nationalists, etc. What could happen is up to you.

Timely News

Everyone knows that broadcasting is biased. All the information and advice given in this handbook should be common knowledge. Until now, it has not been. The American book Guerilla TV is not widely known, and is in any case virtually useless. We owe a great debt to the militants who have thus explained and interpreted their experience and knowledge for the use of the common man and woman. This is what demystification means. The handbook appears at a time when right-wing businessmen are becoming increasingly aware that they could put over their case for capitalism even better than the TV professionals. Aims of Industry are now bringing out 'Case Studies on Presentation of Business on Television'. No. 1 concludes: "If a programme is to be done on your firm, make sure you know exactly how it will be conducted. Don't be hustled and don't accept vague answers from the people who ask you to appear - and who may not be the decision takers. If you are not satisfied, refuse and say why, preferably in writing. Remember, the political parties have learnt all this from bitter experience."

Screw the political parties and the presentation of business. What we are concerned with is US --our presentation of ourselves. That's what the TV Handbook is all about. Read it and use it.

THE TV HANDBOOK, 20p (post 4p) from Freedom Bookshop or the publishers: Scan, c/o F.C.G., 1 Ivor Street, London, N.W.1.

THIS HANDBOOK is a rare source of information and pleasure to anyone of us who watches TV and wonders how to put over our strike or occupation or struggle or agitation or campaign to the public. You don't have to design whisky ads for tube stations to be aware that effective publicity is important. There are times when you will say to the newsmen: "We've had enough. You have completely wasted our time. What is worse, we have no influence or control over what you are about to spew out in the papers or on the box. So piss off!"

Book Review

Documenting the Commune

THE COMMUNARDS OF PARIS, 1871.
Edited by Stewart Edwards.
Thames & Hudson. £2.75 (paper-
back £1.35)

THE FIRST BOOK in Heinz Lubasz's 'Documents of Revolution' series was Paul Avrich's collection on The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution (reviewed in FREEDOM on May 19, 1973). The second is Stewart Edwards's collection on The Communards of Paris. Two years ago Edwards produced The Paris Commune, the newest and fullest general history of the episode in English (reviewed in FREEDOM on April 1, 1972), and the new book is in effect a companion volume. It gathers from contemporary sources 66 passages translated by Nean McNeil and 39 pictures chosen by Alla Weaver to illustrate one of the most vivid events in revolutionary history. The obvious comparison is with Eugene Schulkind's collection in the 'Writings of the Left' series, The Paris Commune of 1871 (also reviewed in FREEDOM on April 1, 1972), but that was much more concerned with how the left saw the Commune from 1871 onwards; this book is concerned to document the Commune itself, and it is certainly the most useful source of primary materials for anyone who cannot read French.

Edwards has contributed a 30-page introduction giving the basic facts, with frequent reference to the documents, and each of the eleven sections of documents is prefaced with a commentary. The book ends with a glossary of names, a brief bibliography, a chronology, and an index. There is nothing very exciting in the editorial apparatus, but it is clear and useful. The point of view taken is one of general left-wing

In brief

A lost portion of a poem by Abraham Cowley, 17th Century English poet, has been discovered proving he had not suppressed part of it in order to disguise his Royalist sympathies. A book by Merle Miller discloses that ex-President Truman thought Richard Nixon was a "shifty-eyed goddam liar" (in 1961); Eisenhower was a weak battlefield general and a cowardly politician. The late Sir R. Bruce Lockhart disclosed in his posthumous diaries that he thought that the Duke of Windsor was quite 'pro-Hitler'.

The Government has decided, despite the Public Accounts Committee of the House of Commons, not to divulge the selling price of Concorde. "In the case of Concorde," says the Government, "and for many other advanced technological projects, the Government's negotiating position with the firms and its control of expenditure could be seriously prejudiced by disclosure of its confidential estimates of the extent to which the firms may achieve targets and profit levels such as were supplied to the committee in confidence."

sympathy, free from the usual Marxist sectarianism, and at least aware of the particular perspective offered by an anarchist interpretation -- though the single quotation from Kropotkin is attributed to an imaginary French book called "Actes et Paroles" (instead of Paroles d'un Révolté) and comes from an essay which has been available in English for eighty years; while Bakunin and the Reclus brothers are only mentioned in passing, and Louise Michel is not mentioned at all.

N.W.

By 27 to 12, the Irish Senate gave a first reading to a private members' bill which could remove contraception from the criminal code, provide for a licensed system of distribution, and change the censorship laws to end the ban on advertising and propagating information.

Mrs. Verwoerd, widow of the late (assassinated) Prime Minister of South Africa, said of white children brought up by black 'nannies' that their colour consciousness will be blunted. They will develop a natural attachment for their black 'mother'. "Even the characteristic smell, which is normally repulsive to a white person, will become associated in the child's mind with whom he spends most of his time ^[sic]" writes Mrs. Verwoerd in the journal of the African Language and Cultural Association. "Can this later repel him when he grows up?"

Japanese fishermen are blockading the trials of a nuclear ship for the Japanese merchant marine since they believe that an accident (or its ordinary running) might cause radioactive contamination of the bay where they gain their livelihood from scallops.

Mrs. Mary Whitehouse, secretary of the National Viewers and Listeners Association, attacked a BBC survey of viewers' reactions to sex and violence because it inquires into the social background and habits of those canvassed. She said it was "totally unacceptable to delve into viewers' backgrounds" and the survey had dangerous connotations. She was worried that the BBC might 'sociologise' about what kind of viewers gave what kind of answer.

An Armenian (Soviet) director of a paper and cardboard factory, under criminal investigation for embezzlement, lined his work-study with marble and installed a fountain in his reception room.

Contact

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

SATURDAY DEC. 1st: British Troops Out of Ireland
Demo and Rally. Assemble 1.30 p.m. Shepherds Bush Green and march to rally in Hammersmith Town Hall (Troops Out Movement), preceded by Anti-recruitment picket from 12 noon at Para Reserve H.Q., Wood Lane, Shepherd's Bush (adjoining TV Centre). Further information from Terry Phillips at 05366-66781.

Postgraduate history student, attempting research into anarchist activities in Catalonia 1936-37 wants information on documents for consultation and contacts with eyewitnesses or veterans of left-wing parties/groups. Paul Sharkey, c/o 'Moyle', Grange Road, Rathfarnham, Dublin.

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

INDUSTRIAL NETWORK contact Willie Allin, c/o 9 Wood Road, Manchester 16.

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO
83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3, phone 586-2038
Meets Saturdays & Sundays 7.30 p.m. ALL WELCOME
IRISH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST Federation - write
New Earth, 112 Thomas Street, Dublin 8.

SOME LONDON ANARCHISTS meet socially every Sunday
7.30 p.m. at Finch's, The One Tun, Goodge Street,
W. 1. (Don't ask at bar.)

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE is at
54 Harcombe Road, London, N.16
BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 88 Roslyn Road,
London, N. 15.
MARTIN SOSTRE DEFENSE COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 839,
Ellicott station, Buffalo, New York 14205
GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee, write to
Antonio Centurini, Casella Postale 163, Salerno,
Italy.

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