

## THE ILL-HEALTH OF THE STATE

AFTER A campaign by the National Union of Public Employees, the government has decided to speed up the phasing out of private beds in National Health hospitals. This private bed system is yet another example of wealth/class privilege existing within society, that for enough money a patient can have immediate medical treatment, with a private room, etc. in a N.H.S. hospital, at the expense of other, less well off patients (and most probably needing treatment just as quickly) who must wait for a free bed in the "public" wards. Yet the action by the union has been strongly condemned (as anyone reading the national press will have seen). So far they have been selfish, jealous, and

by illegal ? action have stopped the "free choice" of the individual to be either private or NHS patients. Yet to be given the opportunity to have special treatment at the expense of many others is a privilege that our so called "democratic" society can do without. Those in favour of the pay bed system argue that private patients somehow subsidise the National Health Service. If this is true it shows how rotten the system must be. (It is interesting that while doctors and specialists are paid fees by the private patients, the nurses, etc. have no extra salary.

There is a vested interest all along the line to retain the pay bed/private patient system, from

the upper class snob who does not want to mix with the "common people" and the rich who do not want to wait for treatment in an already overcrowded system, to employers who offer the B.U.P.A. scheme (medical insurance) as an extra incentive to their employees (yet the boss always wins because it is to his advantage that his staff have quick medical treatment and thus cut short time spent in sick leave). It is time that all those who feel they must pay extra for their medical treatment (or think that the NHS treatment is not good enough) should no longer exploit the National Health Service.

Although in this country we have a health system that is far superior to many others, if it is to work well, and cater for the needs of sick human beings, the management must be taken from the bureaucratic hospital boards by the doctors and nurses who actually run the hospitals. Then maybe the strict hierarchical set up within the hospitals will be overcome, and the abuse and exploitation of doctors, nurses, cleaners and kitchen staff will end.

D.P.

DURING THE LAST few months we have been inundated with discussions on the contest, which side would win, whether the tactics were right, whether the captains (and players) were the right choice, whether the rules of the game should be changed - but never whether they should continue playing this escapist, adolescent, ceremonial game. The captains, Heath and Wilson, glower at each other from the centre of the field, dark accusations are made of foul play by and of Wilson, Benn, Castle, Foot and even Silkin whilst Heath's team perform strenuous feats of gamesmanship, scoring occasional goals but never really seeming to want a victory, which event would give the game too nasty a shake-up. Every now and again Thorpe and his retinue of players seek to join some team or other but nobody is wild to get them at their transfer fee.

Meanwhile Wilson, whose knowledge of the real game of football, judging by one of his speeches, is not very great continues to play a cautious game. He uses his left wing to terrify his opponents and cheer the fans of the left - without actually letting the left score any goals. He tries to do the same thing with his right-wing who now and again appear to actually score. But since the battle between the two sides is more apparent than

## IT'S ONLY A GAME!

real the whole game is oriented to his right-wing players.

Heath's team is disgruntled and demoralised by defeats and its morale suffers from the occasional conviction that they have the wrong captain and even the wrong tactics, and do not improve matters by changing strategy in mid-field. Nevertheless the game has a great following despite the fact that the results are palpably fixed and the enmity between the teams is stage-managed. The hand-shaking and bonhomie in the dressing-rooms and sometimes on the field itself are the true reflection of the relation of the teams to each other. They have the greatest admiration for each other as players and their contempt is reserved for the spectators. After all...it's only a game!

On other fields the game goes on. The common man daily goes out on the field. The ball is at his feet, he is exhorted from every side to score which it is said is easy and expected of him but the ball is sometimes made of lead or is chained to his foot.

The goalposts he must reach - otherwise knows as the simple aims of food, clothing and shelter - are made of elastic and retreat before his advance. That his management can make his own goalposts retreat in a similar (though slower) fashion makes little difference. If his opponents' seem to be losing they change the rules or declare goals null and invalid. It is even fixed that throughout the match the value of opposition goals is progressively devalued. He is cheered by others with the retort "It's only a game". But in this 'game' men suffer, are crippled and die and there are no spectators.

There are other games, the game of Law, the game of War to name but two, where the realities are clouded, the values are juvenile and the rules are corroded by time and the whole game is stacked in favour of the big battalion teams. The constant urge is to be a sportsman, to take defeat as it comes, and not to complain. The

...Continued on Page 3 Col. 3

# FOOTBALL MAGIC

SOMEONE ONCE wrote in FREEDOM that sport was now the opium of the people. Well if this is true, then many football freaks, like myself, have been as high as kites over the past three weeks. For this year's World Cup Finals in Germany have provided some of the finest football we have ever seen or are ever likely to see again.

However, before we take another puff on the pipe it must be said that behind all this marvellous entertainment, poetry, craftsmanship and pure skill lies money and heaps of it. Footballers in these finals are not only being paid enormous sums of money just to play, but will reap extra bonuses if they win or reach certain stages in the tournament. For football is big, big business. There is far more to this world cup than the games on the TV and chat shows that have now become part and parcel of the football package. It is sickening to see Pele, probably the greatest footballer of all time, and now a millionaire, advertising a soft drink which has as much connection with football as Ted Heath and the Tory party. In fact anyone watching the matches on TV cannot but be aware of the commercial exploitation of football. Behind each goal and along the touchlines one is bombarded by ads for all manner of things. The manufacturers and advertising agencies obviously feel this is a good sell with near continuous commercials by courtesy of TV and football.

George Orwell wrote that he felt that international sporting events, rather than bringing people together made them more nationalistic. Obviously there is some truth in this and with Hitler's use of the 1936 Olympic games in mind Orwell was somewhat blinded by this outright fascist use of sport to show the world that Germans were the greatest. But in fact what everyone recalls of those games was the black figure of Jesse Owens winning the long jump and hundred metres and thus pricking the Nazi's balloon.

But football for the spectator is about support for a certain team. England's failure to qualify for the finals in Germany meant that all that support switched to Scotland. But what has emerged from the present finals is admiration for pure football skills that we have seen from a number of teams and players. Spectators have been quick to show both their appreciation and disapproval of style and tactics of teams. Fans at last seem to want to see pure football with

all the skill, craftsmanship, flair, poetry of motion and finally that magic which this sport can achieve. Everyone likes supporting a winning team, but a lot of teams have been successful by playing safe defensive football rather than attacking and going out for goals. They've achieved results but it's been dull and not very entertaining to watch. In fact, that was what Sir Alf did for English football, safe, dull and so predictable.

What this World Cup produced was the two best sides in the final. I myself was committed to Holland because they have played complete football. Every player has at one time or other attacked the opposing goal. They gave everything to attack and have given fans a series of entertaining, thrill packed and unpredictable games. Individual players (like Cruyff) stand out but the team as a whole has that magic which truly makes them an all time great side.

It is this type of football that has come out on top and will influence the youngsters. This can only be good for the game. Football fans should demand this type of attacking game and make their objections known to managers. For too long fans have been expected to turn up week after week to see the same predictable dull, safe game. The fans should be a part of their clubs rather than mere spectators on the terraces. Fans have demonstrated their disagreement with decisions made by managers and directors. Clubs should be a part of the community and not remote business interests. The supporters should be involved in the running of the clubs. Attendances at matches will continue to decline if these changes are not made. If that happens everyone will lose out because football can be the greatest of all games to watch.

P.T.

EVERY SATURDAY Mental Patients Union. 2 pm 37 Mayola Rd. E.5. (tel. 01-986 5251). Information on activities elsewhere from same address.

Tuesday 23 July POETRY READING for East Enders. 7.30 p.m. at Half Moon Theatre, Alie St. E.1 (tube Aldgate East). If you have poems bring & read them (or have them read if you're too shy).

Sat, July 27 British Withdrawal from N.Ireland Campaign GENERAL MEETING 2 p.m. at Martin Luther King Centre, Aston University, Birmingham.

## FREEDOM PRESS

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET  
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

## Publications

- A B C of Anarchism, Alexander Berkman 25p (post 5p)  
USA 75c post free
- About Anarchism, what anarchists believe...how anarchists differ  
Nicolas Walter 15p (post 3½p)  
USA 40c post free
- Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rudolf Rocker 20p (post 5p)  
USA 65c post free
- Anarchy, Errico Malatesta 25p (post 5p)  
USA 75c post free
- Neither East Nor West, Marie-Louise Berneri, sel. writings 1939-48 30p (post 10p)  
USA \$1.00 post free
- The State, Its Historic Role, P. Kropotkin 20p (post 5p)  
USA 65c post free
- Lessons of the Spanish Revolution 1936-39, Vernon Richards  
cloth £1.50 (post 22½p)  
paper £0.75 " " "  
USA cloth \$4.00 : paper \$2.00

List of other titles, including annual vols. Selections from "Freedom" 1954-64 and back issues ANARCHY 1961-70 on request.

\*

BOOKSHOP open Tues-Fri. 2 - 6 pm  
(Thursday to 8.00 p.m.)  
Saturday 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

Please add postage as in brackets when ordering. Any book not in stock but in print can be supplied

- Emma Goldman: Living My Life, 2 vols. £3.92 (25p)
- Herbert Read: Anarchy & Order £1.50 (15p)
- Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, his life & work, George Woodcock £2.50 (15p)
- The Anarchist Prince (Peter Kropotkin), George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic £2.00 (22½p)
- \*Individualist Anarchism:
- Lysander Spooner: No Treason £0.50 (5p)
- Benjamin R. Tucker: State Socialism and Anarchism £0.50 (3½p)
- James L. Waler: The Philosophy of Egoism £0.60 (5p)

- Max Stirner: The False Principle of Our Education £0.35 (3½p)
- John Badcock jr.: Slaves to Duty £0.45 (3½p)
- James J. Martin: Men Against the State £1.25 (17p)
- ditto: Revisionist Viewpoints £1.25 (15p)

Individualist Anarchist Pamphlets  
Sel. writings of Henry Boal, Lysander Spooner and Edwin C. Waller £3.75 (12p)

Benjamin R. Tucker: Instead of a Book (by a man too busy to write one) £7.00 (23p)

\*These all published in USA

Postcards: Sacco & Vanzetti and Joe Hill. Each in pkts. 1 doz assorted colours 30p per pkt. post free.

# BAKUNIN SPEAKS

... on WOMEN, MARRIAGE & FAMILY

AS MUCH as anyone else I am a partisan of the complete emancipation of women and their social equality with men. The expression "social equality with men" implies that we demand along with freedom, equal rights and duties for men and women -- that is, equalisation of the rights of women, political as well as social and economic rights, with those of men; consequently, we want the abolition of family and marriage law, and of the ecclesiastic as well as the civil law, indissolubly bound up with the right of inheritance. In accepting the anarchist revolutionary programme, which alone, in our opinion, offers conditions for a real and complete emancipation of the common people, and convinced that the existence of the State in any form whatever is incompatible with the freedom of the proletariat, and that it does not permit the international fraternal union of nations, we therefore put forth the demand for the abolition of all States. Abolition of States and of the juridical right will necessarily entail the abolition of personal inheritable property and the juridical family based upon this property, since both do not admit of human justice.

..We are convinced that in abolishing religious, civil and juridical marriage we restore life, reality and morality to natural marriage based solely upon human respect and the freedom of two persons; a man and woman who love each other. We are convinced that in recognising the freedom of either party to the marriage to part from the other whenever he or she wishes to, without having to ask anyone's permission for it --and that likewise in denying the necessity of needing any permission to unite in marriage and rejecting in general

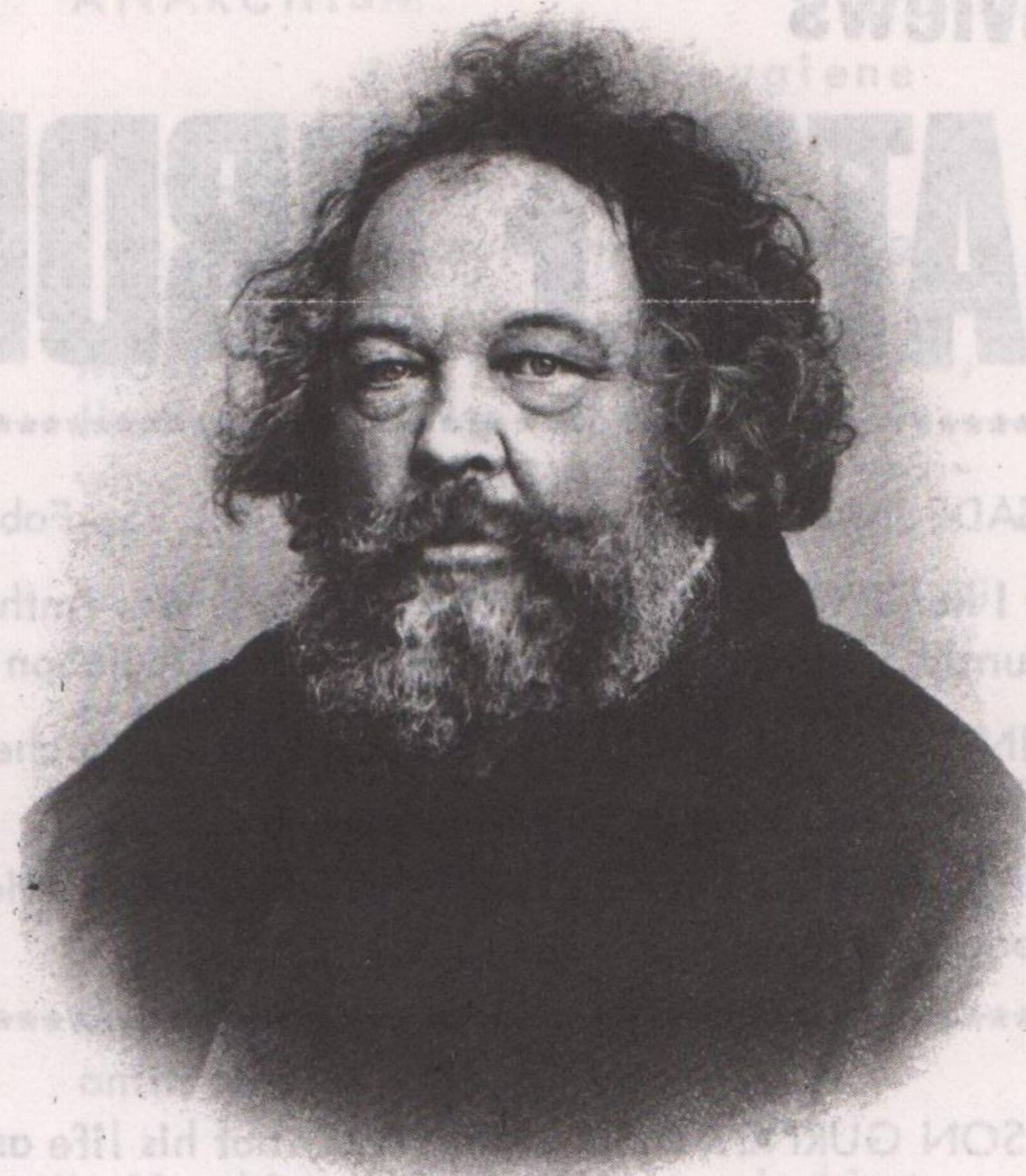
the interference of any authority with that union, we make them more closely united to each other. And we are equally convinced that when the accursed State power is no longer with us to force individuals, associations, communes, provinces, and regions to live together against their will, all these will constitute a much closer union, a much more living unity, more real and more powerful than that which was forced upon them by the crushing power of the State.

## CHILDREN

With the abolition of marriage there comes to the fore the question of the upbringing of children. Their upkeep from the time of their mother's pregnancy until their maturity, their training and education, equal for all - industrial and intellectual training combining preparation for both manual and mental labour - must be mainly the concern of the free society.

Children do not constitute anyone's property: they are neither the property of the parents nor even of society. They belong only to their own future freedom. But in children this freedom is not yet real; it is only potential. For real freedom - that is, the full awareness and the realisation thereof in every individual, pre-eminently based upon a feeling of one's dignity and upon the genuine respect for someone else's freedom and dignity, i.e. upon justice - such freedom can develop in children only through the rational development of their minds, character and will.

Hence it follows that society, the whole future of which depends upon adequate education



Michel Bakounine

and upbringing of children, and which therefore has not only the right but also the duty to watch over them, is the sole guardian of the children of both sexes. And since, as a result of the forthcoming abolition of the right of inheritance, society is to become the only heir, it will then deem as one of its first duties the furnishing of all the necessary means for the maintenance, upbringing, and education of children of both sexes, irrespective of their origin or of their parents.

The rights of the parents shall be confined to loving their children and exercising over them the only authority compatible with that love, in so far as this authority does not run counter to their morality, their mental development, or their future freedom. Marriage, in the sense of being a civil and a political act, like any intervention of society in questions of love, is bound to disappear. The children will be entrusted - naturally and not by right - to the mother, her prerogative under rational supervision of society.

x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x-x

## A GAME...continued from P.1

protagonists at a higher level, fraternise with each other, the other members die and suffer but to the 'Pros' the finer points of the game are subject for discussion and admiration. The whole purpose is to raise the sporting element to a complete abstraction.

Our rulers are, it is said, corrupted by the upper-class school image of sportsmanship but it is not only they who take refuge in these shadow conflicts. Is it not time that we ceased to be spectators and participants in these mock conflicts with their pre-set rules and pre-destined results?

Jack Robinson.

## PRESS FUND

### Donations

27 June - 3 July

PARAGOULD, Ark.: B.M. 37p;  
LONDON E.16: P.W. £1.85; Anon 3p;  
DUBLIN: R.W. £3.22; KIRKBY Notts  
A.B. 83p; LONDON E.16: G.I. £1;  
WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 10p; J.L.  
40p; BIRMINGHAM: L.C. 75p;  
DAGENHAM: M.I. £1; LINCOLN:  
C.J. 30p.

TOTAL: £14.85

Prev. acknowledged: £633.92

TOTAL TO DATE: £648.77

PERHAPS the philosophy of anarchism has its greatest appeal to the young at heart. At any rate the following anecdote seems to bear out this view.

Voltairine De Cleyre, talking with Kropotkin lamented that the young people, after only a few years of enthusiasm and activity for anarchist ideals, faded away and were lost, and Kropotkin consoled her with the reply, "Let them go, Voltairine, we had the best of them, we had them when they were young."

Recounted by Harry Kelly in his introduction to Beyond the Horizon (Thomas B. Eyges).

## Reviews

# BATTLE ORDER

\*\*\*\*\*

CRUSADE IN SPAIN by Jason Gurney. £ 2.95 Faber and Faber

AND I REMEMBER SPAIN: A Spanish Civil War Anthology, edited by Murray Sperber. £ 4.95 Hart-Davis, Macgibbon

HEMINGWAY IN SPAIN by Jose Luis Castillo-Puche. \$10.95 Doubleday

REPORT OF THE PAROLE BOARD FOR 1973. 3lp. Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

\*\*\*\*\*

JASON GURNEY DIED LAST YEAR, but his life as he foresaw it ended in the aftermath of the battle of Jarama valley, with his hand destroyed by a single stray bullet. In 1936 he had all the gifts that life could offer. He was young, good looking in the David Niven fashion, had talent as a sculptor, lived above the poverty level in bohemian Chelsea, possessed a social conscience and was rightly aware that he would in time join the establishment of successful artists. His writing is good reportage in that he catches the feel of the period, and when he mentions Dylan Thomas, Rex Harrison, Leslie Charteris and Betty May, it is not name dropping, for in that environment, circulating around the Six Bells pub, those who made it stamp their image on the memory.

Jason's nostalgia is tinged with bitterness, and I think that his version of romantic poverty does not tally with the harsh facts of life of that time. He writes of a good meal for five shillings, but 5/- was five hours' pay for a skilled craftsman, of two and sixpence a day to eat, but that was the daily allowance for an unemployed male to feed, clothe and house himself, and after six months literally nothing. He writes of £3 as a comfortable income, but men were working a 48 hour week for two thirds of that, and when he writes of £10 a week as affluent, then he is thinking in terms of £100.00 a week by today's standard.

And so I have disgorged my own personal bitter memories. It was a time when Sir Oswald Mosley's uniformed army fought to control the streets, when the national Daily Mail sang their swine song for the blackshirted fascists, and Whitehead's College at Chelsea's World's End was the blackshirt barracks with Division 1 Squad draped in black shirts, riding breeches and jack boots strutting out their role in history as the drummers of Red Lion Square in 1974, and the death of Kevin Gately as their evil battle honour.

This was the life and the time of Jason Gurney, and in the fever and the passion of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War he volunteered to take his place within the ranks of the Republican Army fighting in Spain. Let us play time's fool and find pleasure in the music of the distant drum and in the living of our shabby lives, dream that we might have made one with the Greeks at the pass, the company of archers, the sailors of the Revenge, and all that great and glorious company who died for lost causes.

Shaw, who reduced every great truth to the level of a Town Hall memorandum, rightly wrote that all men condemn war but are ashamed not to have taken part in one, and while one has to justify one's active participation in the official Second World War, one is ashamed not to have been among the British volunteers who marched in Spain. Clive James, the season's latest wit, wrote that 5,000 English speaking volunteers went to Spain and 1,500 books in English came out of it. And Jason Gurney's makes 1,501, Clive! Jason's book is intensely personal and we coast along with him through the farewell parties in Chelsea, and then the journey into Spain to the holding barracks in Barcelona. He gives the impression on page after page of the odd man out, for he appeared to have no deep political convictions and, socially, little in common with his fellow volunteers, but he took his place within their ranks. He had that middle class gitt of being able to move around within an organisation to suit his own situation, and he moves in and out of hospitals and from the British Brigade to the 120 men of the American Brigade, as a matter of choice rather than necessity. Where he succeeds, for me, is to bring out of myth and legend the battle of the Jarama river valley

and this he does superbly, highlighting all the courage and confusion of that battle, that is now one of the great and noble battle honours of the Left. The Greeks and the archers and the men of the Revenge never knew that they were making history, and of the 800 men of the British Battalion, only 200 were left in the line one month later, ill-fed, poorly armed yet standing their ground for the conscience of Europe.

It was the American counter-attack that ended the battle of the Jarama river valley, and of the 45,000 casualties 25,000 of them were Republican soldiers. Where Jason failed, and it is a small pedantic point, is that he creates a situation in isolation when it was part of a loose and fluid front line, and the 45,000 casualties make the point, but 40,000 volunteers went to Spain and one third died. Some one rewrote the words of the "Red River Valley" to "There's a valley in Spain called Jarama", and the last two lines are "So remember the Jarama valley/And the old men who wait patiently." "I am old, I am old, I shall wear the bottoms of my trousers rolled", wrote the tory poet, Eliot, but we shall remember, we shall remember. Jason, as all good autobiographers should, had his revenge in print against enemies and associates, and there is a great naming of names, with Tom Wintringham dismissed out of hand, Macartney and the Political Commissar, Dave Springhall given the kiss of death, and poor Giles Romilly swept under the rug as a leader of a group of middle class intellectuals, twenty in all, and mostly homosexuals, for Jason may not have been a political animal, but he absorbed the Stalinist jargon. There were three men who dominated Jason's outlook while he was in Spain. He hated Peter Kerrigan, whom he described as the eminence grise of the Communist Party, the mysterious Brigadier George Nathan was his father figure, but the only genuine admiration he showed was for old Jack Lemaans, the Wobblie anarchist.

In 1974 we can make debating points, but Jason Gurney and every man he named, stood up to be counted and the ground they stood on was the Spanish earth, and their common grave the Spanish soil. Murray's anthology of Spanish Civil War writings is what its title claims. Alexander Solzhenitsyn made the point, somewhere in his Gulag Archipelago, that while millions of peasants and workers marched into the Russian Labour Camps, it was not until the Russian middle class and the intellectuals became engulfed in the wave of arrests that the documents and the literature of this horror began to appear, for the middle class and the intellectuals can communicate in the third person, and in so doing always dominate the action in the historical records of the period; so too with the Spanish Civil War, and this anthology is the overloaded documents of a brave minority who took their place in the line of battle.

Orwell is the centre-piece of this anthology, and it is good to see Roy Campbell accepted as the magnificent lyric poet he was. As a man, he was a disgusting creature, straight out of the Tottenham Court Road literary saloon bars, and his claim to have fought for Franco was, and is, a sick joke. But he was, and is, a magnificent poet, and while the people of Spain fought and died, the intelligentsia debated their consciences, and here it is, page by page.

Castillo-Puche's book on Hemingway is no more than spitting on the tarnished legend to light a way to a bank. Poor old Papa Hemingway is due for a long bad press, and Gurney writes of this unfortunate hollow man visiting their front and loosing off a burst of machine gun fire that caused their position to be mortared, and all for world fun. Ernest Hemingway tried to live up to his own publicity and only succeeded in making a fool of himself. No Hollywood starlet ever did worse by their own image, and his tough prose and good minor talent found their quietus in 1961 when he killed himself, and Castillo-Puche does little for his memory with this rubbish.

And from Brenda, my queen, comes the report of the 1973 Parole Board. Facts fact facts on the human condition, and every unit of every statistic is an imprisoned man or woman. 3,344 prisoners were recommended for parole in 1973 and 4,421 serving determined sentences, and in all 813 were paroled. 10,614 cases were dealt with, and 768 DID NOT WISH TO BE CONSIDERED FOR PAROLE. 206 prisoners serving life sentences were considered and 62 recommended for parole, and these are the figures. This year, with 41,000 people in prison, a prisoners' paper is to be produced with a grant of £10,000; and it is said that the Krays at Parkhurst now have Straffen for their waiter, Johnson to cook for them, and Young to collect their newspapers, but our concern should be for the 768 who do not wish to be paroled, for I would hold that they have become so institutionalised that they cannot and will not accept the officially offered freedom.

Arthur Moyses.

# I'M A UNION MAN

THE NATIONAL Union of Bank Employees (NUBE) is what is known as a moderate union. It registered under the Industrial Relations Act and is non-political in the sense that it doesn't give money to the Labour Party. Both these things stem from the bank clerks' traditional picture of themselves. Basically they have tended to think of themselves as being like the girl in the Aero advertisement: "so different from the crowd". The situation is nicely put by T. P. Lyons (the director in charge of personnel for Williams & Glyn's Bank) as follows:- "the average bank employee does not regard himself as working class - i.e. unprivileged". (June issue of the Institute of Bankers Journal). Lyons goes on to say that, "He could in fact be less privileged than some car workers: the point is that he does not FEEL it so much - or he does not WANT to feel it because it goes against his grain to be categorized as working class." Nothing more or less in fact than snobbery. As for having anything to do with the miners and dustmen of the Labour Party -- well, really!

At the moment the Union is having to fight off Clive Jenkins' ASTMS. (Because we registered under the I.R. Act we have to leave the TUC and therefore were no longer covered by the Bridlington agreement.) The Banks think we are a much safer proposition than ASTMS so we are in the pathetic position of being championed by the management. (Rather like they used to champion their Staff Associations against NUBE.) The danger is that NUBE will end up as a glorified staff association and measures are being taken to guard against this.

Certainly the management is prepared to go some distance in order to be nice to NUBE. In Williams & Glyn's our staff association has been dissolved and we now have a system of office representatives; i.e. WORKERS' PARTICIPATION! According to the union's newspaper the office representative is elected by the staff "to look after their interests and act as a vital link in union communications". However, if any manager is worried about a loss of personal authority, then he should have a look at T.P. Lyons' article where he talks about "the essential preserve of management" and makes it clear that this is what it says and "collective representation" must keep out.

There's obviously not much doing in the office representative system so back to the Union. Its internal structure is

so complex that only the dedicated few know what it is: most members follow the what's happening (if at all) via the monthly newspaper. For example our side of the NUBE/ASTMS row, selective strikes in the Co-op Bank now negotiations over pensions have broken down, no non-sense about a Social Contract and so on. In brief, the Union's real work goes on independent of the majority of members and looks like staying that way.

MO.

## Valpreda

THE ITALIAN Supreme Court has ruled Pietro Valpreda's trial null and void but this doesn't mean that Valpreda and the other comrades have been acquitted; the trial is only postponed (and maybe will start in November 1974). But this time we won't see only the anarchists judged; tried with them will be the neo-fascists Freda and Ventura, also charged with the Milan bombings. This is in a few words what the bourgeois press said a few days after the bombs: that the slaughter had been planned and carried out by anarchists and fascists. It is on a political level a disgrace that within a short time of the Brescia slaughter the Supreme Court goes on to align itself with those forces that since 1969 have tried to give credibility to the theory of the "opposite extremisms".

This is clearly an attack on all the working-class movement that has for years denounced the complicity of the state about the fascists. The magistrates go on without minding public opinion to cover the criminal responsibility of the fascists. The new trial will offer the opportunity to cover the real truth about the slaughter, and there'll be the risk that in the court we'll see again fascist violence. But the comrades will be there to kick out any fascist provocation.

After 4 years and 6 months Valpreda and comrades are sentenced to wait once more.

C.D.P.

Dolores Ibarruri - La Pasionaria of the Spanish Civil War - and now President of the Spanish Communist Party said last week that Spain will seek its own road to socialism, apparently via a capitalist democracy since she said that foreign capital would continue to be welcome in Spain. "The dynamic neo-capitalist bourgeois forces inside Spain" are evidently to be used to build industries for returning migrant workers.

## ANARCHISM

& Natural hygiene

"Your anarchism I dig.  
But your Natural Hygiene! Aaargh!"

MORE THAN A FEW times, by friends, I'm thus told. Nor is it difficult to see why. I'm projecting the idea of Anarchism, I project a spirit of freedom, non-coercion, non-puritanism. I'm projecting a kind of coercion ("East such & such but not such & such"), a kind of puritanism, the word "Hygiene" itself smacking of some Sunday-schoolish "You must be clean!"

I can thus understand how one would see Anarchism and Natural Hygiene as antithetical.

Yet this antithesis, if there, is skin-deep. A deeper delve into Natural Hygiene would show it as not outside the Anarchist spirit, as indeed analogous to it. Medicine is to the individual body as the state is to the SOCIAL body. Health in each case is from within, not from without. The crux in each is self-reliance, the touchstone spontaneity. Neither needs the expert, be it the medical expert (MD) a la the individual body, or statist expert (bureaucrat) a la the SOCIAL body.

(It was either Kropotkin or Bakunin who claimed the non-political scientific expert as valid authority. I don't agree. When the system of authoritarianism is at last put on the run, it will - unless we're alert - leave behind its secret weapon, the "non-political", seemingly non-authoritarian expert, like the scientific voodoo man known as MD.)

"The kingdom of god is within you," said Tolstoy. "The kingdom of health is within you," says Natural Hygiene. Leave society alone, withdraw the state, and society will go on. And go on as meant to, like a bed of blossoms in springtime. Leave the individual body alone, withdraw the drugs, the pills, the "immunization" shots -- the whole creepy psychology of must-do-something-to-the-body (meaning fucking it over) -- and the body will go on. And as meant to, like the individual blossom.

This coming July 21-27, 1974 will be the 26th annual Natural Hygiene convention. I'm not calling it an Anarchist convention. Technically it isn't. Technically it'll be to "learn about proper nutrition, fasting, recovery from disease, organic gardening..." But the spirit of Anarchism will hover, spirit of spontaneity.

But come see for yourself. At the University of Windsor (just across from Detroit).  
Sam Cohen.  
Detroit.

Guy, 22, would like to get together with 6-8 people to start a commune. If interested please write to Steve Cook, c/o 60 Settle Street, London, E. 1.

# LETTERS

## COME THE REVOLUTION. . .

Much technology is totally irrelevant to the problems of mankind and a large proportion is against its interest. Most energy as Germaine Greer rightly points out, is directed to ulterior purposes. This applies to physical and psychical energy.

Those who like your correspondent Kathy Perlo are opposed to the scale and irrelevance of such activity are always told that the wheels of progress cannot be reversed. If we are to assert ourselves as human beings we must exercise the ability to reverse processes which are clearly becoming destructive.

Ambition and power are the most dangerous perversions of the modern world and the larger our political and economic institutions the greater the opportunities for the practice of these activities. Kathy Perlo is right in pointing out the importance of agriculture and the irrelevance of industrially based revolutionary programmes which accept the illusion that industrial society is capable with all its imbalance of being the basis of an equitable and free society. The application of industrial technique to agriculture will result in very many adverse effects and particularly in the decline in production per acre.

The degree of freedom acquired by society depends on the freedom of those making up society. The fear of freedom is something that we must strive to overcome in relationships with people - adults and children; in economic and social relationships.

As your correspondent says, it is not easy and often the shouting of slogans and so-called revolutionary activity is an impotent alternative to practical applications of our energies to the changing of our ways of life.

The attitude to self-employed workers by trade unionists, particularly in the building trade, is particularly reactionary. Building trade unions should be encouraged to encourage workers to form collectives and to use the funds now sent to political parties in direct labour building of houses for their own and other workers' use.

The reliance of people on groups of professionals in the fields of health, housing, art and pleasure activities should be questioned. The native intelligence of people to provide for their own needs should be firmly encouraged.

Sincerely,  
Alan Albon.

## WHO ARE THE FASCISTS ?

Dear Editors,

I would like to raise a few points concerning the Red Lion Square demo, and others.

1. Most people - including anarchists - would assert the right of self-defence.

Why then are we so amazed that the police should react a trifle aggressively when charged head-on by several hundred demonstrators --if it has been the NF charging and then been attacked and had one of their men killed would we be so upset?

2. I can only speak from reports from this particular demo but my experience from others showed that there was no lack of people who could not wait to get at the police: O.K. But don't be surprised if they then react.

3. In the circumstances it was INEVITABLE that there would be an almighty punch-up between the Left and the police or NF or maybe both. Could anyone explain to me just what such a punch-up would do to help fight racialism?

4. I assume that the idea of a public demonstration is to propagate an idea or point-of-view to a mass audience. Can anyone explain how the sight of scruffy, hairy students brawling with the police will further the cause of anti-racialism? I'm sorry to talk of "scruffy, hairy students" but you know as well as I do that that is exactly how 90 per cent of the population will see it.

5. I stand to be corrected but I don't recall seeing any black faces in this march against racialism -- why not? And are we so sure that the Black communities approved of this march on their behalf?

How many more Kevin Gately's must there be before we stop and actually THINK about what we're doing at these demos.

Fraternally,

David Lister.



" NICE ONE, ALBERT ! "

Dear Comrades,

First of all, let me thank you for your thoughtful generosity in continuing to send me FREEDOM even though my subscription had expired. I would have renewed it at once but for the financial difficulties that I have been experiencing. Now that these difficulties are largely cleared away, at least for the time being, I am enclosing the money that was due a few months ago plus a little extra to be used in whatever way you feel will be most beneficial to our movement. I enjoy reading your excellent paper and also spreading your well written, lucid, and intelligent propaganda among my friends and anyone else I feel is open to our movement...but wherever I go, I always try to propagandize the Idea.

The books you publish are of great benefit in explaining the anarchist position to those who are not aware of it or who have been (mis-)educated by the System to oppose it. I feel that the Revolution must take place in the minds and the hearts of the people on an individual basis first before its collective expression as a social reality takes place. I feel that FREEDOM PRESS is doing an exemplary job in this important work and it is an honor to be a friend of such a wonderful anarchist group. I hope that the anarchists of all descriptions in the US will be able to get some type of communication going between individuals and groups. The Anarchist Conference held in New York this past April was a step in that direction and I hope that it will turn out to be a positive one.

Finally, I would like to commend FREEDOM and FREEDOM PRESS for the courageous way you stood behind our fallen comrade, Salvador Puig Antich and also for the continuing support given to our brothers and sisters in the Spanish Anarchist Movement. Their bravery and selfless dedication will stand as an inspiration to all humanity long after the nightmare of fascism is extinguished.

Sincerely yours in Love,  
Peace & the Joy of Anarchy,

Albert F. Stokes, Jr.  
Ventura.

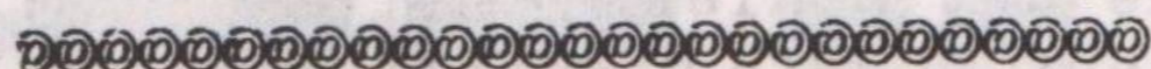
ANARCHIST WOMEN's group meets Mondays. Tel. 01-883 2457.

BLACKBURN anarchist group. Contact Keith Sowerby (corresp. only) 150 Shorrocks Lane, Blackburn BB2 4TT

CENTRO IBERICO meets Sats/Suns 6.30 p.m. 83A Haverstock Hill N.W.3. (side entrance Steele's Rd) Buses 31, 68. Tube Chalk Fm or Belsize Park.

# LETTER

PUT IT SIMPLY



Dear Comrades,

I am writing to your magazine because it is hard to find people with the courage to say that they are anarchists.

While proclaiming that anarchy is the only real 'truth' and the only real 'freedom' that can possibly be obtained, one at the same time must say that freedom will not come easy and life will not have a prepared path to travel.

The majority of the people in this country live in a state of 'purgatory', in which life itself is very seldom experienced. An almost continuous state of guerilla warfare would be a far more preferable alternative which would give an initial meaning to life for millions of people.

But anarchy is not, as many people believe it to be, a continual state of disruption, violence and hate; it has a goal. It fights for the coming together of human beings with the aim of mutual help, but it will not tolerate the oppression of one man by another for any reasons.

The stranglehold the minority, the capitalist fascists (and

nake no mistake these men are fascists) have on the working man is almost omnipotent. They have created a system through extensive propaganda and extreme thuggery whereby its existence has become essential to the existence of life itself. They have created the truth from a lie; while many people accept there are injustices inside the system, to think of changing it, to think of it as basically, morally wrong is quite unacceptable to the way they have been trained to think.

And yet, this is where the revolution must come from, this is where our movement must find its grass roots. For too long now have anarchists come from high sounding intellectuals too concerned in the theoretical side of anarchy without giving a damn for the people. For too long have they failed to act. The ideology of anarchy is basically simple, to live with, work with and help other people, to oppose oppression in any form. It is for the basically simple people and we should put it to them simply. It is inevitable that we succeed.

Yours faithfully,

H. James.

## PRISONERS

**DUBLIN ANARCHISTS** Robert Cullen, Eddie Jones, Desmond Keane, Columba Longmore, Noel Murray, all remanded in Detention Centre, Curragh Military Camp, Co. Kildare, Ireland, wd. like letters.

**STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE** Solidarity Committee, 54 Harcombe Rd. N.15

**GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE** Paolo Braschi, C.P.4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy. Letters, postcards to Giovanni Marini, Carcere di Potenza, 85100 POTENZA, Italy. Still awaiting trial after 2 yrs.

11 held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Georges Riviere; Lucio Urtubia Gimenez; Pierre Gilbert and Arnaud Chastel at Prison de Fresnes, Paris, and to Ariane Gransac Sadori; Jean Helen Weir; Annie Playen; Anne Urtubia; Daniele Hass and Chantal Chastel at Prison de Femmes, Fleury Merogis, Paris

**ARTHUR MOYSE's** ironically wounding, lamentably laughing, dreadfully beautiful evil flower garden. \$2.50 (£1) post paid. IDEA Publishing House, c/o Matsuki Building, 1-464 Higashiokubo, Shinjuku-ku, TOKYO.

tation systems of big cities is the "White Bicycle Plan" of those inspirational anarchists, the Provos of Amsterdam (not to be confused with the usurpers of their name, the sluggish-minded and thuggish Provisional I.R.A., who should, by all etymological rights, be called the Provvies - the original misappellation was no doubt applied by some ignorant journalist who thought there could be some connection between them, and has been perpetuated by the equally mind-less and word-deaf media).

The Provos' original plan envisaged the closure of the ancient city-centre of Amsterdam to motorized traffic, and the provision by the municipality of 20,000 bicycles each year to supplement public transport. The White Bicycles were to belong to everyone and to no one, thus attacking the central symbol of modern consumerist society - private possession of a petrol-powered, fume-producing, noise-generating lump of potential scrap-iron.

The Friends of the Earth's demands for bicycle lanes separated from cars, seem reformist in comparison, and though practical, have been "sympathetically" rejected by the G.L.C. The culture of our cities (the ability to hold a conversation in the Euston Road without damaging the lungs, or even to cross the bloody thing) is being speedily eroded by peaceful co-existence with the motor-car -- city-life is vanishing fast and we have no time for compromise.

Free Wheeler.

# BIKE-INS vs. WHITE BICYCLES

THIS SUNDAY (July 14) Camden Friends of the Earth are organizing a large bike-in starting in Covent Garden at 10.00 a.m. Let's hope that a lot of cyclo-commuters, tourists, bike-freaks and others turn out, because this kind of activity needs plenty to be effective

and safe. (The last one I went on was lacking in numbers, which some people tried to make up for by kami-kaze riding in front of enraged motorists, a mindless and dangerous animal.)

Perhaps the immediate ancestor of these efforts to restore a little sanity to the transpor-

## subscribe

THE MOST CONVENIENT WAY OF OBTAINING FREEDOM IS BY DIRECT SUBSCRIPTION. USE THE COUPON TO ORDER, THEN COPIES WILL ARRIVE EACH WEEK BY POST. PLEASE SEND PAYMENT WITH ORDER CHEQUES AND P.O.'s PAYABLE TO FREEDOM PRESS.

	1 year	6 months	3 months
INLAND, and OVERSEAS SURFACE MAIL	<input type="checkbox"/> £4.00	<input type="checkbox"/> £2.00	<input type="checkbox"/> £1.00
AIRMAIL EUROPE	<input type="checkbox"/> £4.60	<input type="checkbox"/> £2.30	<input type="checkbox"/> £1.20
AIRMAIL THE AMERICAS	<input type="checkbox"/> \$14.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$7.25	<input type="checkbox"/> \$4.00
AIRMAIL AUSTRALASIA, JAPAN &c	<input type="checkbox"/> £5.85	<input type="checkbox"/> £2.95	<input type="checkbox"/> £1.50

PLEASE ENTER MY SUBSCRIPTION AS TICKED. I ENCLOSE/HAVE REMITTED BY INTERNATIONAL MONEY ORDER PAYMENT OF .....

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

# THE IMPATIENT REVOLUTIONARIES

--- AND WHERE

THEY ARE GOING

THE CURRENT TREND in 'revolutionary politics is for 'anti-fascist' demonstrations, and activities aimed at denying 'fascists' the right to speak. It is claimed there is an 'imminent danger of fascism' and the only solution to 'clear the fascists from the streets'.

The revolutionaries pushing these policies offer us a superficial picture of society, where social change is defined in terms of 'capturing power', show contempt for the working class they claim to represent (a 'representation' clearly defined as 'leadership') and an impatience for political power.

As anarchists, our objective is a stateless and classless society, differing from all existing and previous societies in that for the first time each and every citizen will decide for himself how he will live, what he believes and what he rejects. This free society will be consciously created by the entire population. It is impossible to learn swimming without getting into the water; it is absurd to imagine the population to a man can 'learn' to manage his own affairs in the abstract. We build the classless society here and now. The fight for the free society is the free society in construction.

'Decision making' is the very ABC of the free society, and it is the right to this decision making that the trendy revolutionary would deny us. The assumption behind the "banning" of a 'fascist' speaker is that people are so stupid, so unintelligent, so gullible that a few words from Enoch Powell or H. J. Eysenck will suffice to convert them to racism and fascism. What contempt for the very masses that the same trendies declare will create the new social order!!

Are the arguments for racialism really so dangerous, so contagious, so convincing? Given free expression would fascism really win the battle for the mind? And are the arguments for a libertarian society so unconvincing? If the answer to these questions is "Yes", our hopes for a 'free' society are best forgotten, for citizens who, after a rational consideration of the facts opt in favour of authoritarianism will never create the classless society.

\*

To what extent is fascism a threat here and now? Strangely enough even Socialist Worker, organ of the International So-

cialists, one of the key bodies involved in the recent counter-demonstrations, doesn't rate the danger very high. In the edition of 22 June (immediately after the Red Lion Square events) Chris Harman, a member of the IS Executive, writes:

"Fortunately, the National Front is weak. It cannot even translate the few thousand votes it gets in elections into demonstration strength. On Saturday it had fewer than 1000 people marching with it."

Had it not been for the counter-demonstration called by the combined forces of the vanguard, the C.P., I.S. and I.M.G., the NF demonstration would have passed by unnoticed and unheeded.

But counter demos of this kind are popular with the rank and file of the traditional left. There is always a good turn out, reflecting the impatience a superficial understanding of social revolution can generate. Politics becomes so much simpler if it's just a question of who controls London's (generally empty during demonstrations) streets. Chris Harman ends his above quoted article in this vein: "...the fascists can develop into a real menace -- and the working class needs to use physical force to clear that menace from the streets".

If the revolution is just a matter of 'leadership', if the fascists are serious contenders for working class, and hence state 'leadership', then political struggle degenerates into a conflict between rival gangs to 'control' the streets.

Our concepts go deeper. The movement towards the anarchist-communist society is the daily battle of ideas deep in society, in the factories and fields, at work and leisure. There are no short cuts.

This is not to belittle those who participate. They are a measure of the frustrations of everyday life where at work and study people are 'objectified', turned into cogs in the giant all-embracing productive apparatus, and at the slow pace towards the social revolution envisaged by the traditional left. There is an understandable desire to do something now. It's much easier to simplify the struggle, to see fascism as a form of rule qualitatively different from 'normal' capitalism (which, of course, it isn't). Hence the popularity of the many broad anti-fascist fronts during the last 50 years.

(It is the same impatience that leads to the superficial, simplistic politics on which all vanguardism is based and nourished, the desire, in concrete

## Contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press, followed by get-together with refreshments.

Catonsville Roadrunner: In issue 54 - TV, Drugs and Religion Oppose Social Change, Women Speak on Class and Religion, On the Road in Africa. 10p a copy. Sub £1.60 for 12 issues, 80p for six From 28 Brundretts Road. Manchester 21.

Houseworker's Handbook, articles, cartoons, poems, comments on Women's work. \$1.00. c/o Leghorn & Warrior, Women's Center, 46 Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

WILDCAT monthly anarchist bulletin. Send details demos, groups &c to WILDCAT, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

R.I.P. from Apathy, June 1974. The Anarchist Industrial Network.

ANARCHO FEMINIST NETWORK formed at Anarchist Conference April. We'd like to make contact with our sisters everywhere. A-F Network, c/o Unity Press, E. 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

ANARCHO-FEMINIST ANTHOLOGY - we are collecting material for an anthology of anarcho-feminism. Arlene, c/o Siren, 713 W.Armitage, Chicago, Ill.60614 USA

Alternate Sundays HYDE PARK ANARCHIST FORUM, Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

Portuguese Libertarian Movement needs books, pamphlets, free copies of anarchist publications, money & ideological support. Send what you can spare to Movimento Libertario Portugues, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2<sup>o</sup>-E, LISBOA 1, Portugal

terms, to 'skip history' by substituting 'leaders' and 'dictatorships' - proletarian or otherwise - what's in a name?)

Far from advancing the revolution, the anti-fascist demo is at best a safety valve of those pent up frustrations, and at worst, a guarantee of good publicity for the fascists.

The real struggle may not appear so glamorous to those who do not base their politics on a total view of society. But if recent history has shown us anything, it is that 'elitism' in its final logic of deciding for people, offers us a society different from Western Capitalism only in that it is more repressive, more alienatory, more inhuman.

Bob Potter.

Published by Freedom Press, London, E.1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.