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FIVE PENCE

PAWNS IN THE GAME

WE (that is, the human race - British section) are apt to compliment ourselves upon the fact that we have survived thirty years without a major war. But a casual glance at telly or newspaper - and such glances are casual; "human kind cannot bear too much reality" - will reveal a small war or two going on somewhere all the time. That it does not concern or involve us British (or us Americans) is not only an illusion but often a comforting lie.

Since the advent of The Bomb and technology's improvement and enmeshing of communications, a war on one is a war on all. Given the capabilities of nuclear destruction it requires but a small spark to involve us all in the cataclysmic World War Three. That such has not yet happened is more by luck than by the good judgement of our statesmen.

It has long been the practice of states to have their wars in other people's countries. Belgium was once known as 'The Cockpit of Europe'. The great 'eyeball to eyeball' confrontations of Khrushchev and Kennedy took place around Cuba and Berlin so that, did events turn nasty - to a limited extent - both America and Russia would be playing away from home.

The bloody charred stump of Vietnam witnesses to the greatest experimental war, Vietnam. Now American has shruggingly returned to the drawing board leaving the Vietnamese to their fate, a Vietnamesed war.

The new draughtsman of America's foreign policy is too clever by half. Kissinger the admirer of Metternich worked on a policy of setting Russia ag-

ainst China, alternately wooing one and the other. The easing off of tension with Russia was supposed to be crowned with the S. A. L. T. agreement which witnessed to the fact that a precarious balance of terror-power is so difficult to maintain that in desperation rival nations may agree to stabilize their arms at the same level.

An entirely new factor entered the foreign relations scene when commodities became a new gambit in the power-game. The Arabs used their near-monopoly of oil to blackmail and dictate foreign policy, especially in relation to Israel. Israel's run of luck and use of the universal guilt regarding the Nazi holocaust ran out, and many of her former friends deserted her for Arab favours regarding oil supplies.

Even 'Big Daddy' America was not immune from the oil-hunger. Battered by the Vietnam withdrawal and the Watergate revelations, America is no longer what she was. A simon-pure President proved to be impotent in the face of a Democratic Senate and Congress, so Kissinger's machiavellian manoeuvres to get a Russian trade pact without conditions were negated. The subsequent conditional pact was rejected by the Russians who would give no freedom to Soviet Jews. Now the Russians have obviously wooed and won Harold Wilson.

From the ruin of American foreign policy fragments have been salvaged - the necessity to choose between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus (Greece was an obvious choice, having regard to the great Greek vote in America - but whatever happened to Spiro Agnew?). The slogging effort to patch up a Middle East peace and a pro-Moslem reversal of policy towards Pakistan.

In some indiscreet musings Kissinger let fall the permanent option of great States, to get their way by force, in this case the possibility of U. S. bombing its way to supplies of Middle East oil. That such action might destroy the very supplies they fought for was not even speculated upon by that genius, Henry Kissinger. However, the thought was glossed over and almost forgotten, which was just as well.

The current Time magazine carries a story that Saudi Arabia (one of the most conciliatory Arab states) had not long ago (pre- the Kissinger utterance) asked the Pentagon for assistance in reorganizing the Saudi-Arabian defence forces. The U. S. government (in a pro-Israeli mood) had declined to help

but the Pentagon went ahead and recommended that Saudi-Arabia approach the Vinell Corporation, engineers and building contractors in Alhambra, California. This firm took on the job and now Saudi-Arabia has been supplied with American mercenaries and her army is well on the way to reorganized efficiency.

Time speculates as to the probability that if Kissinger's dream of bombing his way to the pipe-line had been carried out, American citizens would be at the receiving end - and, it may be added, on the despatching end.

In all this chequer-board play of grand manoeuvres and world-strategies there is no concern for the fate of the peoples of the world. They, like the minor powers whose subjects they are, are mere pawns in the power-game and highly expendable.

The gross farces of nationalist self-determination uproot, bludgeon and kill thousands and millions of the common people who have no concept of nationalism save their family, no concept of government save taxes and military service, and no concept of military glory and power save their own death and injury.

Jack Robinson.

ANARCHISTS vs JUDICIARY

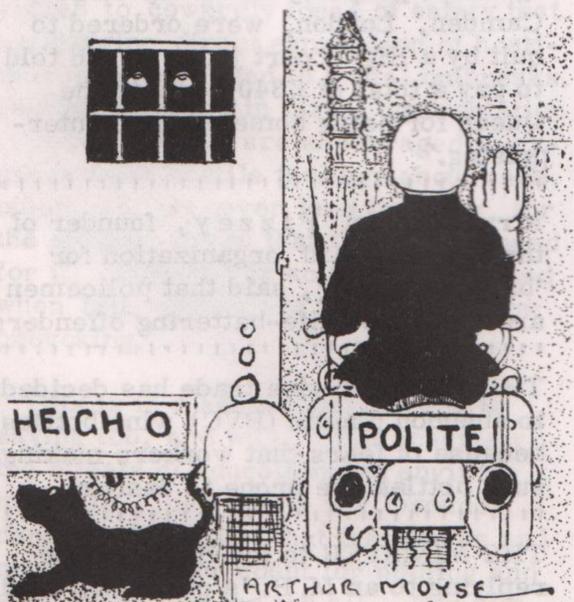
A ROUND-UP

SPAIN: The trial of the four Spanish anarcho-syndicalists, Luis Andres Edo, David Urbano Bermudez, Luis Burro Molina and Juan Ferran Serafini, whose opening we reported last week, closed last weekend with them all being found guilty of "illegal association", that is, reactivating the CNT in opposition to the official "vertical syndicates". Their sentences have not been announced as we go to press, but it will be interesting to see if, against the present background of unrest and the (actually non-legal) reduction of the sentences of the Communist organizers of the Workers Commissions, the Spanish judiciary will be obliged to restrain its usual and traditional savagery towards anarchists.

Legal observers of the trial were sent by anarchist organisations in France, Italy (A-Rivista Anarchica) and Britain (Anarchist Black Cross). The latter's representative, Jeremy Smith, should be presenting his report this Tuesday (25.2.75) and we hope to be able to carry a resume of it next week.

FRANCE: Ironically, the four Spaniards were amongst thirty anarchist militants arrested by the Spanish police in early July last year acting upon information sent to them by M. Alain Bernard, the French examining magistrate in charge of in-

Continued on Page 2



MAKE WAY FOR YOUR NEW
SHADOW FOREIGN SECRETARY

vestigations into the kidnapping of the Spanish banker, Balthasar Suarez, in Paris. Eight were held in detention, and the four were finally charged ---with reconstituting the CNT!

Now, Octavio Alberola Sunilach, the well-known anarchist militant, and the last person held in prison in Paris in connection with the kidnapping, has been released on bail. The case appears to be collapsing about the authorities' ears for lack of evidence.

But the alleged members of G. A. R. I. who have been verously arrested over the past year in connection mainly with some "exemplary" bombings of property, are all still in prison, and have been on hunger strike since December 14th, claiming the right to be treated as political prisoners, since the statute under which they have been indicted is solely concerned with political offences.

ITALY: The trials of Giovanni Marini continue. Last Friday (21.2) he was due to go on trial again in Rome, for defamation of his jailers in Matera, just one of a dozen "minor" trials he will have to undergo for his courageous behaviour in court and in detention.

Another defamation trial was due to open the day before, this time against the former "responsible director" of the Italian Anarchist magazine - A-Rivista Anarchica. The motive for the trial was an article in the ninth issue of the magazine, which is said to "damage the reputation" of a well-known fascist, Pio D'Auria, by reporting the testimony of the lawyer, Ambrosini, which implicated D'Auria deeply in the bombing of the agricultural bank in the Piazza Fontana, Milan, in December 1969. On 24th October, 1971, Ambrosini, like so many other witnesses in the Valpreda affair, became the late Ambrosini, by descending rapidly from the seventh floor of a Rome clinic.

The trial had originally been set by the Prosecutor of the Republic of Milan, in splendid bad taste, for the 12th December last, the fifth anniversary of the massacre, but it had to be postponed to last week, because D'Auria, the originator of the complaint, didn't turn up in court, and couldn't be found at the address he had given. It remains to be seen whether the rat will have emerged from his sewer to play the role of offended party.

D. L. M.

THE TERMS of the social compact between these two estates of men [rich and poor] may be summed up in a few words. "You have need of me, because I am rich and you are poor. We will therefore come to an agreement. I will permit you to have the honour of serving me, on condition that you bestow on me the little you have left, in return for the pains I shall take to command you."

--Jean Jacques Rousseau
"Discourse on Political Economy" (1758)

H.M. MRS THATCHER

THE NEW woman star has brought The Guardian fawning to its knees like the other newspapers. Rarely is the cravenness of reporters to sickeningly obvious. Worse:- "Queen-like in black taffeta", "Brought before the meeting almost as the bride at a royal wedding" ... In the act of reporting the rise of Mrs. Thatcher to power and the pay rise of the Queen, The Guardian confused the two figures. In other newspapers, words like "Coronation" bubbled up in the frothy wake of The Guardian.

This is an unwittingly shrewd comparison. They are both wealthy, plain, middle-aged humourless bourgeois who dully mouth platitudes penned by others. I can well imagine Mrs. Thatcher berating her ministers sternly in the same way as Her Majesty ticks off Philip when he comes home late

Whether her recent lowering of the timbre of her voice makes Mrs. Thatcher sound less or more like the Queen, will no doubt be the subject of countless conversations in Toryland.

To the Thatcher publicity machine, the comparison is highly - well, desirable is not the word I would choose. The Queen as leader of the Conservative Party! Excellent symbolism. So much for tradition and national unity. What about policies? She hasn't any. The headline "Margaret, queen of Scots for a day" cannot hide the fact that she has already shown her hierarchical insensitivity by reappointing two of the least popular Scottish Tory supremos, who were partly responsible for the Tory debacle in Scotland in the last election.

As the daughter of a small shopkeeper, it would clearly come naturally to her to display the narrow jingoism of her class. Hail the nation of shopkeepers! But, just as Mrs. Thatcher is wedded to a Burmah Oil executive, so the Tory Party is wedded to a languid Europeanism, unlike the small Tory shopkeepers, who are as English as bingo. Mrs. Thatcher is in fact continuing Heath's unsuccessful policy of 'national unity' in a different guise. One twist is that she is emphasizing the 'self-reliance' and 'self-improving' qualities which traditionally imbue her parents' social class. Heath was unable to turn his social roots to political significance. This is partly a failure of the publicity machine. PR men shape the image of Mrs. Thatcher and are prominent in her entourage. Ex-Cambridge don Patrick Cosgrave of The Spectator writes her speeches, which perfectly match banality with the other qualities I have mentioned. The late President Kennedy found speechwriters to create the appropriate heroic rhetoric for him. When Heath declaimed: "Once more we hear the beating of Drake's drum", it was farcical. The sordid lesson of Mrs. Thatcher's success is that some PR men are more successful than others, when their ener-

gies are engaged by a product which suits their aspirations.

It may be that the hollow crown of national unity will prove a smart fit in June, when the referendum over Britain's membership of the Common Market takes place. For months before, journalists and TV professionals will be flooding the current affairs marketplace with sub-Churchillian paragraphs about the 'national interest'. In this context, the First Lady may find her apotheosis. Or she may not. All Wilson's tortuous shifts in policy will come into play. How will he manage both to acknowledge and to ignore the result of the referendum? Such are the tactical preoccupations of political power. But Mrs. Thatcher is not Aunt Sally, nor is Wilson a straw man. They stand for real power, real inequality. The more we unpuft their pretensions, the more we encroach on their command, the better for us all.

Julius.

I. W. W. NEWS

MAY DAY observances in the past often had a chosen theme for that year, and this year the New York branch of the IWW plans to make May Day 1975 an international Day of Solidarity with The Struggles of Hispanic-Speaking Workers Everywhere - in support of the labour and libertarian struggles in Europe (CNT in Portugal, Spain and exile), in Latin America (against the ABC repression in Argentina-Brazil-Chile), in North America (Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and others). Actions, leafletting, meetings, picketing of consulates and airlines, etc., are planned for the week and where wider support is organised, a secondary these could be added: Universal Amnesty - to apply both to Hispanic victims of reaction and to American war refusers, as well as other victims of totalitarianism elsewhere.

from IWW Bulletin.

SQUATTERS in Crown Estate (the Queen's) property in Albany Street, Camden, London, were ordered to quit by a High Court judge - and told to pay a total of £340 costs to the Queen for being homeless and enterprising.

.....
Mrs. Erin Pizzey, founder of the Women's Aid organization for 'battered wives', said that policemen are the worst wife-battering offenders.
.....

THE FRENCH wine trade has decided to abandon plastic (PVC) wine bottles because of fears that workers making such bottles are prone to cancer.
.....

THE MINISTER to the Home Office replying to an M. P.'s question, said that 1,700 people were in jail on remand awaiting trial.

NOT ANOTHER BARBICAN!

THE TRANSPORT & General Workers Union has wrongly gained a reputation for being a militant union. This impression has been created by the speeches of their general secretary, Jack Jones. But as any trade unionist militant knows, speeches and resolutions are cheap, what counts is action at the work place. Like all trade union leaders Jack Jones is foremost a political animal, in the sense that he puts the Labour Party and their government first. He was in on the ground floor with the social contract and has given it his full support. But despite what the readers of the Daily Telegraph might think, Jack Jones and the T & GWU are much the same as any other union leader and union, all wind and piss.

This must be what T & GWU scaffolders are now thinking after being involved in an unofficial dispute in Newcastle upon Tyne since November. The dispute started after 14 scaffolders had taken part in a half-day stoppage over bonus. The contractor, Sir Robert McAlpine, sacked them. Other scaffolders on the huge Eldon Square shopping centre gave their support and came out on strike. But throughout this period the union has not made the strike official.

In January, the union did not even raise any objection to McAlpine bringing in other scaffolders from London. The T & GWU have also withdrawn the shop steward credentials from the scaffolders. But despite opposition from McAlpine and the union, the dispute goes on. In fact, it is spreading to other sites in the town. Sympathy strikes by other scaffolders and a walk out by the other trades on the shopping centre could force the hands of the union and McAlpine.

As with the Barbican strike in London in 1966-67, a union has been very

active with the employer, trying to break the resolve of trade unionists. During the Barbican dispute all the unions involved signed an advertisement in the press with the employers urging trade unionists to apply for work and scab on the Myton site. The police also broke up a peaceful picket with drawn truncheons and arrests.

Pickets in Newcastle have also been arrested and charged with a breach of the peace. However the union are guilty of not giving support to their members who have obviously been victimised by McAlpine. Whether the union has collaborated with the employer from the start, as the carpenters' union did with Sunley at the time of the Barbican dispute, might never be known, but it does smell like it.

But the real ingredients of a successful dispute seem to be coming now with the sympathy action. This support will make the employer and the union realise that they have bitten off more than they can chew. Then we might see a settlement soon, but if like the Barbican the strikers are left out on the stones alone, then it will be defeat. The lessons are there; building workers don't want another Barbican.

P. T.

This Ireland

IT LOOKS as though the threat of a takeover by Protestant paramilitary groups was only so much huffing and puffing after all, despite their warning that all who stood in the way would end up in Roselawn, which is a local cemetery and crematorium. Not a whimper was heard from the self-styled provisional government beyond a statement that they had resolved their differences with the loyalist politicians. A bit of a disappointment it turned out to be, as the threatened disclosure of information about some of the politicians was eagerly anticipated by many.

Whatever the reason for the climb down some of the politicians are alleging that political gangsterism is rife on the Shankill Road and one local councillor connected with Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party was shot when he answered a knock at the door a couple of nights ago and is seriously ill in hospital. And the boss of West Belfast UDA, Harding Smith, reputed to be in favour of clearing out the gangsters, has been forced to quit his post following two attempts on his life. He was wounded both times and is now in hospital.

Harry West, leader of the Official Unionist Party, has intimated that under certain conditions they might be prepared to enter into a coalition with the elected representatives from

other parties, including the SDLP (Social and Democratic Labour Party.) Exactly what those conditions might be has not been spelled out. Meanwhile, another wee Orangemen's story to poner over.

We Willie, who was about twelve years old and a member of a junior Orange Lodge, became very ill and took to his bed. Falling into a coma, he awoke the next day and called out, "Ma, bring me my wee Orange sash," and after he had donned the sash he called, "Ma, bring me my wee Orange drum." Then he propped himself up on the pillows and gave one last bang on his wee Orange drum and one last cry of "To hell with the pope" - and flew straight into the arms of Jesus. And that is exactly how the Orangement tell it.

H. B.

YUGOSLAVIA

The suppression of the review Praxis (reputedly the only magazine published in a Communist country and concerned with the theory of communism which is not subservient to the Party line) demonstrates once again that despite the lip-service paid to workers' self-management, Yugoslav society is still controlled by an authoritarian power-structure (witness also the refusal to allow Makavejev to show his film about Reich in his own country) in the shape of the League of Communists and its leaders. Before the suppression of Praxis eight professors in the Philosophy Department of Belgrade University had been dismissed from office by the direct intervention of the League in matters which, theoretically, did not concern them. Their dismissal had been demanded by the League because of their criticisms (some of them made in the columns of Praxis) of the way the regime was taking the country. They were accused of "leading astray" their students (early in 1974 several of the students had been accused of "deviationism" in the familiar jargon of Leninist-Trotskyist-Stalinism, for daring to say that Yugoslavia was becoming capitalist), and when the organs competent to decide their fate refused to deprive them of office, the regime passed a law which enabled it to do so. There followed an "in-depth study" of the articles published in Praxis by the League of Communists of Zagreb University "in line with the struggle being made by the League of Communists against anarcho-leftist tendencies", and a demand to the editors of Praxis to change their "orientation". When they refused, the Republic of Croatia withdrew the grant they always made towards the cost of the magazine, and the printers who usually produced it were "persuaded" to refuse to take on the work anymore. And that was that. (The term "anarcho-leftist", if it means anything, may be a reference to the fact that those two ex-Hegelian arrivistes, Herbert Marcuse and Henri Lefebvre, were contributors to the magazine.)

D. L. M.



"Irresponsible working person, your strike is immoral."

--"Then, brilliant Doctor, your go-slow must also be immoral."

"Rubbish, stupid working person. We middle class professional people are above common morality!"

THE DEMAND for management to open the books, so prevalent nowadays as part of worker participation schemes, usually includes a heavy price being paid for a glimpse at the account sheets, these schemes often involving agreements on redundancy being negotiated between workers' representatives and management. Under these conditions attention needs to be focussed upon the worker participation scheme as a whole and avoidance of any tendency to concentrate upon the demand to open the books and consider it in isolation. There are other methods of gaining knowledge of and a measure of control over the allocation and investment of funds, many of these methods being time-honoured in the syndicalist movement, as the question of just how the boss makes his profits has always been of interest to syndicalists.

To begin with one of the most recent, the January 1975 issue of the internal bulletin of the IWW contains an interesting story. A nurse's aide employed at a nursing home in Cambridge, Mass. decided to research the company profits. This involved her in visits to the City Hall, Security Exchange Commission, Etc.. It took her a while to piece together what was going on but gradually the picture began to take shape. Working with members of the Boston IWW she became interested in the organisation and joined it and to date they have spent money on copies of financial documents to help them determine the financial state of the institution and on legal fees for analysing deeds of the property. They still have some way to go before the research stage of their work is completed but the knowledge thus gained will prove invaluable when they begin to organise an IWW branch at the hospital. (Union organisation in America tends to be a long drawn out and complicated business because of legal requirements.)

The belief that workers can run their workplace more efficiently than the bosses is an old one as proved by the following examples of syndicalism in action. In 1900 the Federation of Italian Glass Blowers conceived ambitious plans and decided to invest their funds in a co-operative factory. They bought an old factory in Leghorn and, working as bricklayers, masons and mechanics in their spare time, constructed the furnaces and started production in October, 1903. From being a narrow craft union the glassblowers moved towards industrial unionism and admitted all workers, stokers, carpenters, gasometer tenders, etc., into their ranks. The first year of co-operative manufacture and trading showed a net profit of 150,000 lire.

"It is interesting to note the marvellous discipline which is maintained in the five factories run by the co-operative; there is not a single overseer in any of them and the business and technical directors are drawn from the rank and file." (Odon Por in Syndicalism in Action.)

Membership of the glassblowers federation increased to 4,000 and

1,500 members of reformist craft unions in the employ of the Glass Trust decided that they could not afford to remain outside the federation and entered into negotiations with it. The outbreak of the war with Tripoli resulted in a financial credit squeeze and the bankers singled out the federation because of its anti-war stance and the fact that its director was the general manager of a socialist newspaper which was denouncing high finance as the cause of the war. But even then the federation did not go bankrupt but went through a period of reorganisation.

The anarcho-syndicalist, Labriola, may have had the experience of the glassblowers in mind when he wrote the following before the outbreak of World War One.

"We can imagine that, at a certain period of its development, the workers' union might hire the capital of the capitalists for a fixed return, and then use it co-operatively, either working in

WORKERS CONTROL OF CAPITAL

mass or through several co-operational bodies, keeping separate and distinct accounts. And finally the federation of various syndicates would become strong enough to refuse all return for the use of capital, and so possess itself of it without any compensation. The revolution would then be complete. The capitalist class would have to work in order to live. Syndicates opposed to monopoly, and therefore open to all, would enthusiastically receive the capitalists of yesterday, and make use of their indisputable directive and administrative capacity." (Arturo Labriola in Riforme e Rivoluzione Sociale, quoted in The New Unionism by Andre Tridon, New York, 1913.)

In England, Tom Mann had pointed out that the co-operative movement in some districts was burdened with more capital than could be advantageously used and he urged that unions and co-operatives would be wiser "to get complete control" in various parts of the country of "a number of coal mines, from which household supplies could be drawn and thus ensure supplies during a dispute". Unions today ought to be under pressure to invest their funds in other than capitalist business concerns. The range of options open to them today in the field of investment is a subject which ought to be exploited more fully with union-sponsored enterprises, including a high degree of self-management being top of the agenda.

Franz Borkenau, in The Spanish Cockpit, tells of a visit to a factory of the General Bus Company in Barcelona which was being managed by the anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT. A bus bearing the inscription "constructed under workers' control" had been completed in five days as against an average of seven days under the prev-

ious management. The new management had been elected by the workers themselves but was in fact the old factory committee of the CNT. Borkenau found them interested in and able to discuss various aspects of financial management and concludes that "it is an extraordinary achievement for a group of workers to take over a factory under however favourable conditions, and within a few days to make it run with complete regularity. It bears brilliant witness to the general standard of efficiency of the Catalan workers and to the organising capacities of the Barcelona trade unions."

But is it so extraordinary after all that workers should be capable of running their own factory? Borkenau however is less than honest (if he is not merely being stupid) when he compares the form of organisation of the CNT with that of the CIO in America. The form of organisation adopted by the CNT in 1919 was that of revolutionary industrial unionism and the industrial unions ('sindicatos unicos')

were deliberately shaped in such a way as to ensure that the same organisation that carried on the daily struggle in the workshops was also designed to carry on production in the most efficient manner after the workers had dumped the bosses off their backs. When an organisation has been designed for the purpose of a specific function it ought not to be surprising that it is able to perform that function - part of which involves control over management of funds. So let us insist that the books be opened by all means but at the same time query all items of information provided by management and recognise that we don't need them nearly so much as they need us.

Nor do we need the self-appointed leadership being offered by lecturers in sociology in England today by people who are reviving syndicalist ideas on workers' control and claiming them as the most recent discoveries of dishonest and conceited intellectuals.* Even Bert Ramelson of the Communist Party of Great Britain recognised these as a revival of the ideas of the syndicalist militants of half a century ago and informed the "new unionists" of the fact. This problem of intellectuals having nothing to do with the workers' movement (Sorel in France for example) dabbling in industrial affairs is an old sore where syndicalists are concerned and we could do worse than emulate the attitude of a syndicalist militant of the C.G.T. whose advice to them was brief and to the point -- "leave us in peace."

Henry Bell,

*Also Anthony Howard of the New Statesman in a recent "Any Questions?" (BBC radio). EDS.

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HEALTH OF THE DOCTOR

MEDICAL NEMESIS: the Expropriation of
Health, by Ivan Illich. Calder & Boyars,
183pp., £ 3.50 hardback, £ 1.25 paperback

MODERN MEDICINE is supposed to be ab-
out healing. Illich has tried to show that on
the contrary, professional medical care makes
health worse. Throughout he emphasises that
the most important factor in general health is
not medical care but the environment: food,
housing, working conditions. His definition
of what health is, is concerned not with mere
absence of disease, but with some kind of
personal fulfilment, and the possibility of
changing the world: "The capacity for re-
volt and perseverance, for patience and
resignation, are integral parts of human
health." Hence: "Healthy people need no
bureaucratic interference to mate, give
birth, share the human condition, and die."

It is these basic human functions which
Illich says the medical establishment has tak-
en over and monopolised. In three major
sections of his book he defines and assesses
three kinds of 'iatrogenesis'. This word is
most commonly used to describe drugs which
have adverse effects - thalidomide being the
most horrific and widely-publicised instance
of recent years. Illich's definition however
includes not only drugs but all aspects of
life which can be and are invaded by state
welfare:

"Iatrogenesis is clinical when pain, sick-
ness and death result from medical care;
it is social when health policies reinforce
an industrial organisation which generates
ill-health; it is structural when medically
sponsored behaviour and delusions restrict
the vital autonomy of people by undermin-
ing their competence in growing up, car-
ing for each other and aging, or when
medical intervention disables personal
responses to pain, disability, impairment,
anguish and death."

SACRED COW

Many critics have usefully and rightly at-
tacked different aspects of medical ortho-
doxy, but the criticisms are not usually put
in the context of uncompromising attack on
the whole industrial-capitalist system. More-
over, for Illich, medicine has a particular
significance which sets it apart from other
institutions:

"Since medicine is a sacred cow, its slaugh-
ter would have a vibration effect; peo-
ple who can face suffering and death with-
out need for magicians and mystagogues
are free to rebel against other forms of ex-
propriation now practised by teachers, en-
gineers, lawyers, priests and party offi-
cials."

The logic of his argument demands the dis-
mantling not only of the medical establish-
ment, but of all establishments which threa-
ten the autonomy of human beings.

Illich's book is a weird mixture of passion-
ate propaganda and wide-ranging scholar-
ship, and is thick with fact-crammed, often
illuminating footnotes. Many of his argu-
ments have been made before by respectable
academics, such as Prof. A. L. Cochrane,
author of an excellent book, Effectiveness
& Efficiency. Cochrane for instance ack-
nowledges that the self-healing powers of
the human body are more important than the
treatment given it; that much treatment is

useless and is frequently harmful; that too
many people are kept in hospital too long or
should not be there at all; that diagnostics
is at best an imprecise science. And of
course many of these points were made 30
years ago by the biologists of the Peckham
Experiment, who were also aware of their
political implications. One of the Peckham
team, Dr. G. Scott Williamson, stated in
his book Physician Heal Thyself (1945): "in
the environment lie all the causes of disorder
and disease; the patient suffers the conse-
quences." As an example he made some in-
teresting comments on the eradication of TB.
TB is caused by diseased cows. So what did
the specialist do? "What he did was to
blame the patient, accusing him of spreading
the disease by his dirty habits. Next he ac-
cused the doctor of not knowing how to treat
the patient, so he took the patient from his
own doctor, built TB clinics...etc., and
proceeded to treat the patient, leaving the
cause, which was in the environment, alone

THERE ARE GOOD DOCTORS

Now there's no doubt that people are fre-
quently intimidated and actually harmed by
doctors and their treatments. However, it's
unfortunate that Illich doesn't admit the pos-
sibility that good doctors exist. He is per-
verse enough to believe that medical depriva-
tion is a positive advantage. There are good
doctors, even if they exist in spite of the sys-
tem and not because of it. And there will
always be a place for highly skilled doctors
such as surgeons and paediatricians. The
need is for different emphasis and priorities,
away from excessive refinements of specialis-
ation and technology, to the community and
to basic care. This has happened in China,
where lay people are trained to diagnose and
treat most illnesses at a very local level, and
great stress is laid on preventive measures.

As for Britain's sickness service (it can hard-
ly be called a health service, since its main
activity is treating symptoms rather than the
whole person, and curing disease rather than
promoting health), the question is not how to
abolish it, but how can it be transformed?

INEQUALITIES

There have always been inequalities in the
NHS, which have not lessened over the years.
A report by Prof. Peter Townsend published
last year found that the working classes gen-
erally get less out of the service than the rest.
It's not a widely publicised fact that the mor-
tality rate of social class V (those feckless
idlers recently castigated by Sir K. Joseph)
actually rose from 1951-61. Parts of the
country which were deprived of GPs and other
facilities 25 years ago still are now. The
policy of building huge hospitals with under-
used equipment at the expense of cottage or
local hospitals (a policy which dates from
Enoch Powell's ministry in 1962), has increased
these inequalities, which have been further
intensified by the new centralised, over-
bureaucratized and undemocratic NHS struc-
ture.

The selection and training of doctors must
be more flexible and imaginative. We need
better distribution of GPs. We need to weed
out obvious abuses such as the £ 11 million
consultants' merit awards doled out by the old
boy network. We need rigorous enforcement
by working people at their workplaces of fac-

Continued on P 6

THE HEALTH OF THE DOCTOR ... continued from P. 5

tory and safety legislation to stop the appalling waste from industrial injury and disease. We need less pollution of air, food and water. We need decent housing for everyone.

SELF-HELP Vs. SELF MEDICATION

Most of these things aren't going to happen tomorrow. What we can start doing now is to try and unlearn our dependence on doctors and drugs, and develop the ability to care for ourselves and each other. Some good initiatives have come from the women's movement with, for example, the self-help manual, Our Bodies Our Selves, and with the development of the cannula abortion technique which can be used by lay people after simply instructions.

The current fashionable idea of self-medication isn't necessarily progressive though. A bottle of aspirin will do as much good, or harm, whether bought from a chemist or prescribed by a GP. The fact is that most minor illnesses cure themselves, through the body's own recuperative powers. Most drugs impede rather than help this self-healing capacity. The sale of proprietary drugs, currently running at £ 100 million a year and boosted by dishonest advertising, is largely a waste of money which only goes to line the drug companies' pockets.

'NATURAL' DEATH

Yet Illich is surely wrong to condemn the use of drugs entirely. He is an idealist and a perfectionist who reckons that a well-balanced person looked after by caring people has the capacity to cope with pain and death without medicine. But it is a misleading half-truth to claim that people used to be able to endure pain, were better for it and that therefore we should do the same. There is so much of value in Illich's writing - though it's quite difficult to read - that criticism is necessarily of the shades-of-grey variety. Illich has a lot to say about death and how we cope with it. He shows how medicine has generally usurped the function of the family in caring for the dying, though there are other factors such as the division of labour and splitting up of large family units which can hardly be blamed on the medical profession. Two out of three deaths nowadays takes place in the aseptic surroundings of hospital. Against this, Illich advocates 'natural' death. But as George Orwell observed, "'Natural' death, almost by definition, means something slow, smelly and painful". Terminal illness is ugly, and drugs can alleviate it. Life for most of us in Britain is no longer nasty, brutish or short. But neither can everything in life, or in utopia, be naturally noble and beautiful.

J. E.

AUSTRALIAN weather bureaux have decided to discontinue the exclusive use of women's names for cyclones and to include men's names in future as a gesture for International Women's Year.

Mrs. Mary Whitehouse's National Viewers' and Listeners' Association had Sir Keith Joseph as a guest speaker at its convention. He said, "The forces you were formed to fight are powerful... The key lies with public opinion, invisible, inaudible, hard to measure and yet so powerful, so difficult to resist." Some invisible force made Norah, a prospective mother albeit unmarried, in The Archers, have a miscarriage.

SECOND LOOK AT LORENZ

MANY ANARCHISTS know Konrad Lorenz as one of the chief culprits of the theory that aggression is an inescapable biological fact. In his emphasis on instinct rather than social structure, class divisions and conditioning they see in Lorenz a scientific counterpart to those philosophers who justified State absolutism with the irrationality of humankind, and render absurd any prospect of an effective libertarian revolution that relies on individual responsibility.

A rejection of "instinctivism" is expressed in a recent issue of the French anarchist monthly Le Monde Libertaire and reproduced in the latest issue of the Italian Rivista Anarchica under the title "Hierarchic society, not Nature, makes Man aggressive". The article is centred round a review of the psychologist Erich Fromm's new book The anatomy of human destructivity (publ. Holt-Reinhart-Wiston, New York) which denies that destructive aggression is innate in human nature. Challenging Lorenz's view that in man as in other animals there is an internal urge to attack, Fromm says it is a mistake to apply to a complete being like man observations which only concern other animals. For Fromm the destructive and sadistic aggression shown by man, his readiness to torture and make war, is not a question of instinct but an existential dilemma exasperated by society's hierarchic structure and by a too rapid technological development. The ability to destroy is only one means among others given to man to help him solve his own existential problem. In favourable conditions a creative and peaceful society could as naturally be established. The best way to do this is to develop autonomous groups in which individuals would learn to co-operate with each other on an equal basis.

Such a belief is basic to anarchist philosophy. Yet is it really necessary to repudiate the "instinctivist" view of Lorenz and others that aggression is biologically determined, in order to continue to believe in the possibility of a different and more peaceful society of the kind Fromm envisages?

It may, for instance, have escaped some of Lorenz's critics that apart from his On Aggression a slim little book was published ten years later in 1973 and called The Eight Deadly Sins of Human Civilisation (Die acht Todsünden der zivilisierten Menschheit). In this Lorenz raises the question of what is and is not natural aggression, or rather he makes it quite clear that, as Fromm in fact says, modern civilisation has distorted and degraded human behaviour. Lorenz here concentrates his anger on what he considers the far from inevitable phenomena of social and economic competition and the sick destructive kind of violence engendered by a capitalist system (whether private or State).

Lorenz's Deadly Sins are all distinct but linked together by a chain of cause and effect. They are, predictably enough, the alienation, disruption and spiritual degradation caused by overcrowding and devastation of the natural environment, competitiveness, the numbing effects of unintelligent technology, the loss of a "natural sense of justice", the generation gap, brainwashing and nuclear armaments. Lorenz is particularly concerned with the dehumanising process of modern civilisation and the way it has reduced the individual's sense of responsibility for his actions - a problem all too familiar to anarchists. But what some anarchist critics of Lorenz perhaps do not know is that Lorenz, however unwittingly, has taken up their cause in stressing the vital factors of size and mutual aid rather than competition in determining a saner society. For him competition is not natural, but an antibody that threatens the whole world organism and is rapidly liquidating all free forms of life. That is the important thing. On the other hand a "really human activity" is reflection - an art among others that we have lost because "Time is money" and because, like Dorian Gray, we are by now afraid of being confronted with the reality of our own terrible image.

It seems too simple to be sound. Yet we know it is. Money was a means but has become an end. With ever faster transport those extra ten or twenty minutes have become the one absolute and intrinsic value for which no sacrifice is too great. Suffocated by overconsumption and Brave New World soma the many affluent among us have lost touch with the instinctive and life-giving experiences of joy and pain and are more and more afraid of taking risks. Our instinct for beauty is dulled by the excrescences of "unilateral growth". Our natural sense of justice is blunted and distorted by the impersonal bureaucracy of law.

Lorenz says aggression ("the so-called evil") is biological, and the article refers to a "discouraging" remark of his that "There would be no love without aggression". But what aggression? Certainly not the hatred stirred up by powerful elites, competition and class. Certainly not the violence of a twisted technology, nor the positive purifying terrorism that has been preached by Fanon. For Lorenz aggression is a basic need to challenge and is often a swift and spontaneous action tempered by natural compassion. [Is it not in fact loss of contact with nature and with other species and with each other that has replaced such natural aggression with a kind of numbed inability to run to the help of the victim of a sick and murderous "civilisation"?

Giving his case for anarchic cities Richard Bennett in his book The Uses

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LETTERS

Dear Editors,

In answer to Laurens Otter (FREEDOM 22.2.75) I am well aware that the referendum will only offer a choice between a corporate-capitalist EEC and a corporate-capitalist independent UK, but I reject the argument that a vote against the former will by implication be a vote for the latter.

If I am living in a bad council house called 'UK' and the council offers me another house 'EEC' which on inspection I find to be even worse, do I imply by saying 'No' to 'EEC' that I like 'UK'? Of course not!

If I fail to reply to the offer (abstain) the council may conclude that I am too stupid to see the difference and move me into 'EEC'.

If I reply that I dislike both houses (spoil my ballot paper) that will not represent an answer to the question put to me, namely, Do I want to move into 'EEC'? The true answer is, No. And unless I say no, I shall fail to express my view of the relative demerits of 'EEC' and 'UK'.

I agree that in elections, in which one can only vote for some corrupt politician, anarchists abstain: such abstention, far from failing to express a view, is a true expression of anarchism. But in this referendum, in which one can vote against an evil without voting for anything, the anarchist view will only be expressed by a 'No' -- a 'No' to the formation of ever larger, ever more centralized and bureaucratic power blocs, with all that that entails for individual freedom.

Yours sincerely,

Francis Ellingham.

In the face of the postage stamp price rise, I don't see that FREEDOM has any choice but to go fortnightly. This is an appalling measure which echoes all the denial of public service that made Beeching notorious throughout the land. If everything has to make a profit, there is no such thing as a public service. The future for public transport becomes even grimmer. And these are public services which are useful directly, almost without mediation, unlike the dubiously 'independent' and heavily bureaucratic BBC.

A telephone is already a sign of social class. At £8-25 for three months' rental before you've even made a single phone call, it must become more exclusive.

These are regressive anti-egalitarian acts by what Mrs. Thatcher conventionally calls not Labour but 'the Socialists'. Since they favour the rich, it is no wonder that the Tories are lost for policies.

I have no idea how to fight such measures, but fight them we must.

Julius.

THOSE PRANCING BULLS AND BEARS

Comrades:

Your correspondent A. C. (15.2.75) takes me to task about my contribution "Prancing Bulls & Bears" for suggesting that anarchist concepts are adequate to deal with the problems of population and resources. The difference between anarchism and power-based political concepts is the comprehensive view of

reme importance of conditioning provides a real temptation for the men of power to try and shape people like so much plasticine. "The magnate of capitalist industry and the Soviet functionary have an equal interest," he says, "in conditioning individuals so as to make of them subnects who are completely uniform and incapable of revellion. . ."

Like all learned men Lorenz may have fallen too much in love with his own thesis and done well out of it too, with Nobel prizes and all that. But even if much of what he says is debatable, is he not partly right? No society would ever end all violence and all rivalry. In their belief that human nature not only responds with reason to reasonable treatment but also with instinctive outrage to injustice and abuse, anarchists should not assert that this can be so. A measure of conflict and violence of some kind, in whatever society, will always be, and always and always anarchy will have to be fought for and defended. Not, however, with the totalitarian instruments of terror, but with a cool and ever-critical intelligence and imagination.

G. F.

life that it presupposes. A narrow vested interest is always a deterrent to the acceptance of problems and the solution to them. Anarchism by its nature has never been "a solo wonder cure". (As Eugene Debs said: 'If I could lead you into the Promised Land, somebody else could lead you out of it.') Anarchism is for a wide and comprehensive involvement in the common community activities and problems by everybody.

While the problems of resources and population remain in the realm of finance and power their solution will remain dangerously remote. The nub of the anarchist approach is to identify the problems, to spread an appreciation of them and to advocate and attempt to practice a mode of social organisation that enables every member of the communal body to play a part in their solution.

It is the very vastness and power of economic and political organisations that have led to the problems of population and resources becoming more intractable. With the growth of capitalist individualism and the withdrawal of people into intimate cells, collective problems that can only be dealt with collectively have been left to institutions and power groups which by their nature can only deal with them sectionally, nationally, and ineffectively.

From the point of view of human need the larger the institution the less effective it is in dealing with those needs.

As your correspondent suggests, population is pre-eminent in human problems and the problems of food, housing and energy follow. However, the highest pressure on resources, and its resulting pollution, is from the wealthier nations, not necessarily the most numerous. The profligate use of resources is a problem of a market and consumer orientated economy. The problem of population and resources is bound up with human, economic, social and political institutions. Therefore the type of social organisation may well have a decisive effect on those problems. The type of social organisation that may well evolve to deal with them could be collectives comprised of units of food production and industry complementing each other and where the population is related to its resources.

Such collectives could overcome many of the undesirable attributes of the small nuclear family and also avoid the threat of overpopulation. There is no reason why anarchists could not now cooperate on some limited basis to cope with these problems.

The largeness and complexity of human problems have reached that stage because we have made them large and complex by adding dimensions to simple problems that intervene between supply and need.

Fraternally,

Alan Albon.

LORENZ... continued from Page 6

of Disorder is convinced of the importance of aggression in man's social activities. "In a dense city where power has been changed so that people are forced to deal directly with each other as men, not as parts of a planned order, aggressive hostilities involved in conflict could be directed to the objects of provocation. We are so enslaved to cowardly ideas of safety that we imagine direct expression of hostilities can only lead to brutal outbreaks. But experiments in direct confrontation... where people are encouraged to express their hostile feelings about each other, almost never lead to blows, for the simple reason that there is no need for it. Hostility is actively expressed when felt, not left to foster and grow provoking."

This is in a sense what Lorenz is saying too, and why, while accepting the effects of education and environment etc., he rejects the "pseudo-democratic" belief that the senses and nervous system count for nothing and social conditioning for all. For him instinct is indissolubly linked with the preservation of basic human values, while unquestioning belief in the sup-

IN BRIEF

PRISONERS in Maidstone Gaol are claimed to be taking LSD. With the variety of forms available prison Governor Mr. Ralph Skrine said, "I can't see any way we can altogether stop it."

THE Spectator, well-known right-wing journal, is to revive its offspring magazine Lilliput next year, in order to obtain financial support. Lilliput, which died in 1961, was and will be a Tit and Teeth glamour rag.

VIENNA's new prostitution laws ban married women partaking of an official career. Future professionals will only include divorced or single women over the age of 19, each registering with the Police.

READING council officials admitted last week that their new £7,000 "Accommodation" computer would not directly help people get a place to live. But it would tell them why they were homeless.

BISHOP Mgr. Roger Tort was taken ill outside a Paris brothel, asked for help and died soon afterwards in one of the rooms, it was stated by a Roman Catholic Church inquiry last week. And not as other discreditable interpretations claimed.

BRITISH housewives spent £58 million on prepared foods last year. Including enough fish fingers (2,000,000,000) to stretch four-and-a-half times around the world

THE HOME OFFICE has admitted that 'alternative uses' are being found for control units (special sections in prisons where 'problem' prisoners can spend indefinite solitary confinement). The Home Office has informed a protest group that there are only two prisoners in the Wakefield unit.

P.F.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 13-19 February

SAN FRANCISCO from Italian comrades' gathering of Feb. 1st per L. M. £16.60; MIAMI: M. S. £2.10; MONTREAL: W. F. £2.28 A. C. £1; LLANWRST: M. B. £2; LONDON NW3: D. R. £2; D. S. £5; BANGOR N.I.: J. T. £5; LONDON E2: W. J. G. 38p; BELFAST: P. S. 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. 50p; J. K. W. 10p; ABERDEEN: G. W. £1; NOTTINGHAM: D. A. H. £1.25

TOTAL: £39.71

Previously acknowledged : £258.81

TOTAL TO DATE £298.52

MEETINGS

DEFEND THE 14 CAMPAIGN. MASS PICKET Monday March 3 Outside Lambeth Magistrates' Court starting at 10 am and to continue as long as the case lasts. (Monday is first day of committal proceedings.) Try to bring an appropriate poster. Organised by British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign Defence Committee, Box 69, c/o Kings Cross Road, London W.C.1.

LONDON. Draft Resistance in Europe Today, Mon. 10 March (in French) 7 pm at London School of Non-Violence, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. Jean Fabre, militant draft resister, on the Revolutionary Implications of Draft Resistance today in Europe. Tues. 11 March 7 pm at Friends House, Euston Rd., NW1 same speaker/subject in English

BLACKBURN Sat March 15 Anarchist Meeting (Agenda: contact, ideas, a piss-up) at Amamus Book shop, Market St. Lane. (Write to A L, 16 Kingsmill Avenue, Whalley, Lancs.)

shop or Organising Committee, 116 Chadderton Way, Oldham, Lancs. (Greater London Local ring Watford 39124).

THE MATCH! U.S. Anarchist Monthly for News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona 85722 (\$3.00 per year - or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 11p including postage).

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre New telephone no. 01-722 1604.

CIRA: Please note new address is CIRA, Case Postale 51, 1211 GENEVA 13, Switzerland.

British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign - Incitement to Disaffection Trial: see Meetings.

GROUPS

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write to 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

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

CONTACT

CAMBRIDGE Anarchists. Public Meeting Thurs. 20 March. Albert Meltzer on The Relevance of Anarchism, 8 pm at the Royal Standard, Mill Road.

MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Enquire Secretary c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

NEW YORK. Libertarian Book Club 1975 Lectures, every second Thursday at 7 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Ave (SW corner 29 Street)

Mar. 13 Franz Fleigler: Recollections of a Wobbly
April 10 Paul Berman: Anarchism and the American Novel
April 24 Robert Barnes: Class, Culture and Revolt

PUBLICATIONS

Does anyone know of information/books/articles on William Godwin and the Romantic Poets from an anarchist viewpoint? Please tell Robert Johnstone, 149a Lisburn Road, Belfast BT10 0LH

USA Anarchist literature & syndicalist group desires correspondence & information on obtaining literature and from people involved women's & worker struggles. Write A Pestalozzi, Box 716 Cooper Station, New York City, NY 10003

Industrial Workers of the World - IWW - for information read Industrial Unionist from Freedom Book

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, Warwick University, Coventry.

EDINBURGH Anarchists, Contact Bob Gibson, 7 Union Street, Ed Edinburgh, Tel 031-226-3073.

GLASGOW Anarchist Association. Contact Gerry at 21 Bute Gardens, Glasgow.

PORTSMOUTH. Write to Rob Atkinson at 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants.

PRISONERS

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089 HM Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS. Letters & postcards please.

G. A. R. I. (International Revolutionary Action Groups). Committee in support of GARI is raising funds for support and legal expenses of 25 anti-Francoists awaiting trial in France on charges of arson and bombing 'demonstrations' claimed by GARI (also kidnapping of Spanish banker), and has published a folder of 15 drawings by well-known French caricaturists. £2 from Ali Touati, 43D Anerley Park, London SE20 : all funds to defence committee. Names & prison addresses from same.

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