

# FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

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'Under a government which imprisons any man unjustly the true place for a just man is also in prison . . . the only house in a slave state in which a free man can abide with honour.'

H. D. THOREAU

## Christie & Carballo!

The Defence Committee

Still needs FUNDS!

SINCE the last issue of FREEDOM appeared the 18-year old Scottish anarchist Stuart Christie has been found guilty by a Military Court of "terrorist activities against the Spanish Government" and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. His alleged accomplice, Spanish carpenter, 40-year old Fernando Carballo of Madrid, has received a 30-year sentence. At a trial lasting less than four hours the Court was satisfied that the accused were guilty, and a few hours later announced the price they must pay for their guilt. Both accused, according to the reports, admitted their guilt, and Mr. Neil McDermott, O.C., M.P., who had been instructed by the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee's London solicitors and who flew to Madrid to attend the trial said at a press conference on his return that Christie had told him that he had made his confession freely; that he had made a full confession because he was caught red-handed.

Christie's alleged confession has caused consternation among a number of our comrades up and down the country who from the outset were convinced that he was the victim of a frame-up because from what they knew of him, he would not have been willing to become involved in activities connected with terrorist violence. Other comrades have expressed their fears that the considerable publicity given to the case will have done great harm to the anarchist cause in this country by reviving, or confirming, the once popular view that equated anarchism with bomb-throwing.

Since everything that could be done for Christie and Carballo, by

at least Christie's friends in this country (for we have still been unable to establish the identity of Carballo, in the vital period between his arrest and trial, has been done, we would earnestly suggest that there is not the remotest possibility that the Franco government will consider any drastic revision of the sentence or re-open the case in the immediate future, we must accept that Christie is locked-up and Carballo too, assuming he is a comrade (and not a stool-pigeon who will soon be back doing his master's bidding), and that we have therefore time to regain our breath and examine the situation as calmly as our intelligence and objectives permit.

### No more Martyrs!

WE believe we interpret the feelings of the comrades whom we esteem when we say that our overriding concern is that Stuart Christie should serve as little of his prison sentence as possible. (Needless to say we link Carballo to Christie if he is, in fact, an anarchist or anti-Franco revolutionary). The anarchist movement, just as the socialist, communist and every dissident movement in a hostile regime, has had martyrs. But un-

like the movements that rely on symbolic figures, inspired leaders (and martyrs fit the bill perfectly) the anarchist approach is to ordinary individuals, working men, who they seek to influence in the direction of self-responsibility and militancy, by the validity of their arguments and the values they defend. Anarchists, if anything, are embarrassed by actions which appear a self-conscious invitation to martyrdom; by which we mean actions, or gestures which are doomed *a priori* to failure.

We have seen quite a number of examples of this during the past few years in the anti-nuclear movement. We are not referring to the original intentions of the Committee of 100 to engage in mass demonstrations of civil disobedience in which one courted mass arrest, the approach clearly being *against* individual sacrifice and martyrdom; indeed the theory was that the whole legal and penal machinery would break down. It was when that mass support was not available on a sufficient scale to even hope to prevent the police from doing just as they liked with demonstrators—selective arrests, persecution of organisers and the activists—that the "demoralisation" of the civil disobedience movement, in our opinion, set in.

Martyrdom is a bad thing, is bad propaganda for minority movements such as ours because it tends to inhibit people who are sympathetic to a cause and would be prepared to contribute what they can to it, but who do not feel able to rise to such heights nor are prepared, for various reasons, to take risks which might involve them in persecution and imprisonment. These sympathisers,

faced with the militancy and martyrdom of the few, may well conclude that they have nothing to give, or that their intended contribution is derisory, and will therefore withdraw from activity of any kind. There is a parallel surely here with the party and Union rank-and-file who leave everything to their leaders because the latter have been built-up as supermen who get things done.

### The Terrorism of Governments

IF the Stuart Christie case has done harm to our cause in this country it will be for the reasons we have outlined above and not because it has revived the "image" of anarchists as terrorists and bomb-throwers. If these were characteristics attributable only to the anarchists there would be reason to feel worried. But terrorism is, in fact, used by all governments without

hesitation in certain situations. What are the Commandos, every "civilised" nation boasts of possessing as part of its armed forces, if not terrorists? Think of the number of books, films based on commando raids, think of the number of medals for valour awarded to commandos and parachutists for services rendered! We shall be told, "but this

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## General Dock Strike?

Port workers' delegates have rejected the "final" pay offer by the employers and have decided to ask the executives of the four unions to sanction strike action in order to gain demands.

The new "final" offer, once again kept secret by the unions and the employers, was 12/6d. per week for time-workers and 3½% for piece-workers. The employers also offered increased "fall-back" rates from £7 16s. 9d. to £9. This is the wage received by dockers, who on reporting to work, find none available. However this offer was conditional on discussions on the decasualisation of the docks.

After hearing of this rejection, Mr. Cousins, General Secretary of the Transport & General Workers' Union, said "This is a serious situation, but we shall hope to avoid a conflict. There will be a discussion by the executive

of our union on September 21."

If the union executives agree to strike on this date, then they will follow the "disputes procedure" laid down in the national agreement. This is that 28 days' notice will be given as they intend to end the agreement and then 14 days' notice of strike action. This brings them to November 1st, and as the date now favoured for the General Election is October 15th, the threat of a national dock strike is possible during the election period.

This has been pointed out by the national press, as well as the fact that Mr. Cousins was concerned with the busmen's strike in 1956 which was supposed to have contributed to the defeat of the Labour Party at the election in the following year. Will Mr. Cousins take the chance and back strike action?

Of course there is still plenty of time to reach some sort of agreement, although going on what the employers say, they are ready to make a stand. After all the government was very quick to blame them in 1962 when they conceded and so avoided a national strike by one hour. They say: "There will be no retreat. We have made an extremely generous offer, and the force of our arguments is so overwhelming that we should only be buying off trouble if we offered more money."

In actual fact, I think the union executives agree that it is a "generous" offer, but the rank and file docker doesn't think so. They have shown their opposition to this and are out for 25/- for time-workers and 5% for piece-workers. The time-worker, a minority, is unable to gain higher rates through local negotiations and so these men are determined to get the 25/-. They are not alone in this for they have the back-

ings of their piece-work mates.

Because of this opposition, the union leadership, though possibly willing to accept, are in an awkward spot. They will insist, as they have already done, on going through *all* of the procedure formalities in the hope of finding some way out. Although arbitration has already been rejected, there is always the possibility of a court of inquiry. There is still time for compromise, for I doubt very much that the unions' executives want a strike on their hands, especially during the general election period.

By using these procedure formalities, the union leaders may be able to hold off any unofficial action. They are helped in this by certain political groupings, active in industry, who, when official action is being considered, hold back workers wishing to take immediate action. These groupings, who compete amongst themselves, are another set of leaders, waiting to gain the positions, influence or control of union executives.

If these claims are to be won, then some form of industrial action will have to be taken. There is no point in delay. Employers might say that the average wage of the dockers is above that of other workers, but this is because action has been taken to make it so. They don't get this wage for nothing, and the employers prefer not to point out the vast increase in productivity and the increased profits they have reaped over the years. Added to this are the attempts of the employers to do a deal with the unions over decasualisation, seeking even bigger profits at the expense of the docker.

The unions know that their members are against these plans of "buying the rule book" in return for decasualisation and have so far made no agreement. They also know of the determination to win these new claims. The rank and file should not wait for the leadership to make its procedure decisions, but organise now for industrial action to win the demands.

P.T.

### INDUSTRIAL NOTES

## THE ANNUAL PRETENCE

SOME months ago the magazine *New Society* ran a series of articles on issues of social importance such as hospitals and care of old people, which were going to be ignored by mutual consent by the major parties at the forthcoming general election. With the election approaching, the range of subjects that must not be mentioned in case the poor electors' imaginations of the two parties becomes blurred, is becoming larger and the non-issues more specific.

At the T.U.C. Congress which will be in progress when this article appears efforts are being made to prevent, or hush up the subject of opposition to Polaris bases, which the A.S.L.E.F. is seeking to have reaffirmed. It is also hoped that delegates who want to discuss the question of trade union structure will obediently shut up rather than cause any unseemly disagreements.

Let us suppose for a moment that without being extreme and expecting the workers all to be anarchists, the trade union movement was inspired by a spirit of democracy and a desire to reflect and represent its members. Then the annual Congress would surely be a meeting at which the most controversial subjects would be heatedly debated, possibly leaving those on which there was substantial agreement to be dealt with by committees. After having come to a decision on these important issues, the delegates would make sure that any Council elected for the coming year reflected the views of the Congress on important matters, and that special groups would be charged with implementing the important resolutions.

What we see at the present T.U.C. is that the Council is in disagreement with the Congress decision calling for the removal of Polaris missiles and American nuclear bases

from Britain and has done nothing to implement it, and that the Congress hasn't done a thing about it. The arrangement for next week seems to be to let the reaffirmation through quietly rather than make a fuss. After all, no one is going to put it into practice!

This manoeuvre, which the T.U.C. chiefs are obviously happy to have taking place anyway, is excused by the idea that a discussion on militarism might alienate votes from Labour. The subjugation of the workers' organisation to the political needs of a parliamentary party has the effect of helping the bureaucracy to impose itself, stifling discussion, and acting as a brake on direct action. The threats to withhold the full force of strike action that the dockers could wield in their wage demands are another example.

However, it is impossible to expect change while the majority of workers are just not interested in taking action about their conditions of work or the relation of labour to social conditions. Yet ultimately the positions of the Union leaders depends on the passive support of the millions of card-holding members, and the fact that this assent, passively given, can put these leaders into some of the controlling cliques in the country, is surely a sign that if it were used intelligently and vigorously by the people, they could overthrow the present system of capitalism and militarism.

The intrigues at Blackpool, the farce that pretends to be the annual meeting of representatives of the working people of Britain, is at the same time a symbol of the stultifying effect of political socialism, and of the fact that no genuine workers' organisation can live unless the vast majority of its members are conscious, active and determined to take part in it.

P.H.

## ANARCHY 43

ON SALE NOW DISCUSSES PARENTS & TEACHERS

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## THE CHRISTIE TERROR TRIAL

Continued from page 1  
is in time of war" and we cannot but reply except by asking: Was Britain at war with the Arabs in Palestine when they terror-bombed defenceless villages? Or with India at Amritsar, or with Egypt in 1956? or in Kenya when they engaged in public hangings, concentration camps and torture against the very people they now "recognise"? Was France at war with Algeria when they gave their "paras" free rein to torture and kill their political enemies? Did not de Gaulle come to power with the support of the very people who, once he was in power and abandoned them, directed their *plastiques* against him? Did not the Kennedy government finance and equip the Florida-Cubans to carry

### A Mass of Contradictions

CHRISTIE'S guilt or innocence to the charges on which he has been found guilty should not be a moral issue, for anarchists, nor, for that matter, all that generation which seizes every opportunity to reiterate that the struggle of 1936-39 in Spain is perhaps the most significant event in their lives. If we return to the Christie case it is because in spite of the confessions, and Mr. McDermott's statement that Christie had told him that he had made his confession freely, the "evidence" as reported, leaves us unconvinced, and to accept Christie's guilt without question as does the guest diarist, in last week's *New Statesman*, is to take for granted what we are not prepared to take for granted and which if Christie had been arrested in Russia or any Iron Curtain country neither the Press nor anybody else would have accepted without very serious reservations. (For example the case of the business man, Mr. Wynne whose "story" is currently being published in the *Sunday Telegraph*. Mr. Wynne "confessed" at the time of his trial yet presumably the purpose of the *S.T.* articles is to prove that he was innocent.)

Because it has proved impossible to secure the transcript of the trial (and if one cannot, by law, appeal against the verdict, it follows that there is no point in a transcript being available to the victim), we are obliged to rely on the press reports. According to the *Evening Standard* (Sept 1), Christie told the Court that

he had come to Spain at the request of two Spanish exiles he met at a summer camp in Southern France. They gave him 350 new francs [about £26] but "not in payment for bringing what I thought was propaganda against Franco into Spain—just some money to help me out on my holiday here."

A more contradictory statement it would be difficult to concoct, and more so if one accepts as a fact that Christie did not attend the summer camp in Southern France!

The *Guardian* report (Sept. 2) stated that

Christie told the five-man Court he had planned a holiday in Spain since January. He had heard so many conflicting stories about the nation and "I just wanted to see for myself".

With an introduction from a family friend in Britain, he said, he met two men in Paris, one of whom was named Germain Gracia, who gave him 350 francs in return for his help in taking a parcel to Spain for them.

Christie is quoted by the *Evening Standard* report as saying

"that he had been instructed to contact Blanco when he reached Madrid and that they were to identify each other by pre-arranged signals. He wore a band-

out terror raids in Cuba? Did not Khrushchev suppress the Hungarian uprising? . . . and in none of these "incidents" was anybody officially at war with anybody else! So let's not be afraid to declare that hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Spaniards in exile and within Spain itself feel "at war" with the Franco regime, and that we are not surprised if against a regime which denies elementary freedoms to the people, terrorism should be among the methods used to combat it, and that compared with the examples we have given, in all of which governments used terrorism to impose their power on nations struggling to free themselves, the purpose of anti-Franco terrorism has always been to free the country from dictatorship.

age on his arm and when Blanco approached him he told the Spaniard: "I am a German. He responded, 'Then you are my man', but just then the police grabbed us," Christie said.

The *Guardian* version is that Christie on arrival in Madrid went to the

American Express office to ask for mail. As a letter was handed to him, police closed in and arrested him. Carballo, a carpenter, said he went to a rendezvous in the Rosales district of Madrid given him from Paris but police swooped and arrested him at once.

According to the *Standard* report Christie said "he co-operated with the police and helped in the capture of Carballo".

Apart from the mass of contradictions between reports, which in the circumstances, is in itself strange, since one assumes the Press reporters at the trial in view of the language difficulties probably relied on an official, or Agency report of proceedings, there are the contradictions within each report, which make it virtually impossible to follow what is alleged to have happened.

It may be recalled that at the time of Christie's arrest, Franco's directorate of security made two statements (1) that he was arrested in Madrid after a tip-off from Spanish secret agents operating in Britain (2) that in investigating the activities of Spanish terrorist elements in foreign countries they discovered "that they were planning a campaign of violence in Madrid . . . following these investigations it was found that a highly suspicious foreigner (Christie) had entered the national territory and hitch-hiked to Madrid. He was constantly watched and was arrested by police in Madrid."

If one attempts to link these two statements in turn with the evidence given to the Court none of the evidence makes any sense at all!

### Cut and Dried

CHRISTIE, we are told made a full confession of his own free will. He told the Court that "the Police were marvellous. I have not been denied anything and I have been well treated". He also is alleged to have said that he "voluntarily co-operated with the police and helped in the capture of Carballo". If everything between himself and the Spanish police had been so marvellous, why was it that he was interrogated by them after arrest for five or six days? Can one imagine the Spanish police (now or ever in the past, even in pre-Franco days) being able not to ill-treat a political arrested on suspicion of terrorism?

At the 37th Session of the Economic and Social Council meeting of United Nations in Geneva it was decided to designate 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. . . .

AN APPEAL was made for financial help for the family of Peter Anthony Allen who was hanged on August 13th. The treasurer is Miss Rose Vere, c/o The Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, 1 Brunswick Square, Bristol 1. Five victims who were convicted on the evidence of former Detective-Sergeant Challenor are to claim damages from the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. Mr. Lionel King who received a free pardon after wrongful conviction by Challenor has not yet received any compensation. The enquiry into the responsibility for the continued employment of Det.-Sergeant Challenor will take place in public. A Cambridge policeman was found not guilty of assault, and causing actual bodily harm. His Superintendent said: "He is one of those officers who is completely dedicated to his job, perhaps a bit uncompromising, but nevertheless a dedicated policeman." A Grand Jury in New York cleared Thomas Gilligan, a policeman, of any criminal liability in the fatal shooting in July of James Powell (15), a negro. The boy's death touched off a series of Harlem riots. . . .

TWO MEMBERS of the Ku Klux Klan were found not guilty of the murder of Lieut.-Colonel Lemuel Penn, a negro reserve officer. The Georgia jury was all-white. The sister of one of the accused said: "When God is on your side men cannot harm you." The accused will remain in custody charged under Federal law with violating Colonel Penn's civil rights. . . .

DENNIS HIGGS, a university lecturer, was returned by South Africa to Northern Rhodesia from where he had been kidnapped. The South African government claim that whilst they knew nothing of the kidnapping, Mr. Higgs was wanted for questioning about a bomb explosion in Johannesburg. However, they did not apply for extradition and Mr. Higgs flew to London. South African extremists have threatened murder the next time they abduct any suspect from adjoining territory. It is claimed that there have been four similar cases this year. . . .

A PSYCHIATRIST claimed at a conference that a man who had committed the murder of two children died of "conscience" in prison after confessing to the psychiatrist. Another psychiatrist explained Mr. Krushchev's anger at the U2 incident by the fact that when Mr. Krushchev was a boy, his mother had killed, by flinging it against a wall, a cat which she had caught licking up some milk. Soviet territory—in Mr. K's eyes represented [or so says the *Evening Standard*] the material bosom "from which milk was being stolen". . . .

THE SOVIET UNION formally announced at Geneva that it opposed for the present the creation of a special disarmament working party to study the elimination

Obviously one cannot exclude the possibility that Christie was involved in something; equally that he was the dupe of an *agent-provocateur*; and last but not least, that he was the victim of a frame-up. The haste with which the trial was staged made it impossible for any kind of defence to be prepared with witnesses or "sworn" statements to be produced. It allowed the defence for instance no opportunity to find out who, for instance, Carballo really is. And the trial itself lasted a few hours, and bearing in mind the language difficulties, involving the need to translate the "evidence" from both sides, it must have all been nicely cut and dried, with abject confessions from the prisoners. We are asked to believe for instance Carballo's alleged statement that:

while in France he had been shown how to manipulate explosives by people who, he claimed, belonged to an anarchist organisation.

Carballo said he returned to Spain, and these people sent him money and explosives. They ordered him to place an explosive charge in the presidential box at the Santiago Berabeu stadium in Madrid for the football cup final this summer when General Franco was in the box.

If not, he said he was instructed to



of nuclear missiles. Mr. Tsarapkin, the Soviet delegate said, "Conditions are not yet ripe for the creation of such a working-group, but they had not given up hope that the time would come." At the T.U.C. conference a motion condemning Polaris bases was withdrawn from the agenda for the sake of a more harmonious conference in an election year. A man was found guilty in Middlesbrough of being in possession of an offensive weapon, a bow, and discharging an arrow in the street. He was fined £7 with £1 costs. . . .

THE BRITISH in conjunction with the French, are, it is stated, working on a missile that uses television to track its target. The Americans have doubled the range of one of their long-range ballistic missiles. . . .

### CHRISTIE-CARBALLO DEFENCE

## ACTION IN BRISTOL & GLASGOW

Continued from page 2

A letter has been sent to the Embassy by the Chelsea Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, protesting over the nature of the trial, the long sentences imposed and calling for the immediate release of both Christie and Carballo.

London has not had the monopoly of protest activity. A comrade from Bristol writes: "A Committee for the Release of Stuart Christie was formed here when the news first came through. Two comrades picketed the Vice-Consulate on the Tues. 18th and a picket of 10 people took place on the following Saturday. An *ad hoc* committee was set up pending a delegate committee.

"Last Saturday (29th) we held a poster parade and were to have a meeting at the city centre, but the police were awkward, and the non-anarchist majority of the committee members present agreed to desist rather than lose the respectable co-operative image so far gained. On the Sunday appeals for money were sent to known left-wingers, councillors, etc., and a successful meeting and collection was held on the Downs. Then we heard the trial was imminent, and Monday night several of us took

"WAR RESISTANCE", the magazine of the W.R.I. quotes C. P. Snow as saying, "When you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you will find more hideous crimes have been committed in the name of obedience than have ever been committed in the name of rebellion". It goes on to review the experiments of Stanley Milgram (now of Harvard) to study man's destructive obedience in laboratory conditions. The experiment consisted of ordering 'naive subjects' to administer increasingly more severe electric shocks to a victim. The victim was a confederate and the shocks were simulated, but the experimenter found that 26 out of 40 would press the button giving a 'shock' of 450 volts. All 40 pressed the button for an "intensive shock" Stanley Milgram concludes. "Gas chambers were built, death camps were guarded, daily quotas of corpses were produced with the same efficiency as the manufacture of appliances. These inhuman policies may have originated in the mind of a single person, but they could only be carried out on a massive scale if a very large number of persons obeyed orders. Obedience is the psychological mechanism that links individual action to political purpose. It is the dispositional cement that binds men to systems of authority. Facts of recent history and observation in daily life suggest that for many persons obedience may be a deeply ingrained behaviour tendency, indeed a preponderant impulse over-riding in ethics, sympathy and moral conduct".

JON QUOTE

a collection on the city centre around a large placard asking for £1,000 for a lawyer. The police were more co-operative but took names and addresses for illegal collecting. Representatives have attended D.A.T.A., E.T.U., C.N.D and Y.C.L. meetings, resolutions have been passed and all together about £18 collected.

"These activities were reported quite widely in the local press, even mentioning the appeal for cash and giving the treasurer's address."

In Glasgow last Friday comrades picketed the consulate with placards. Signatures were also obtained from passers-by for a petition which has been sent to Home, Wilson and Grimond. Letters have been sent to various organisations asking for their support.

P.T.  
M.C.

### APPEALS FOR CLEMENCY

The address of the Spanish ambassador is:—

24, Belgrave Square, London, W.1.  
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is at The Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.

place the bomb near the cars of General Franco's escort. He said that every time he got such orders he always pretended to have obeyed them—but explained to the alleged anarchists the fact that no explosions took place by saying he was not sufficiently skilled in fixing the mechanism of the bombs. "I deceived them," he said.—*Reuter*.

If one bears in mind that it is also claimed that Carballo is a member of the CNT (the former anarcho-syndicalist trade union in Spain) and not some American-style professional murderer, it is difficult to

### Franco the Protector!

IF the whole trial was a frame-up or a plant what interest, it will be asked, had the Spanish authorities, in staging the trial which has received great publicity abroad, and the kind of publicity which the Spanish government would prefer not to have.

We believe that the government and the Security forces have an interest in Spain to keep alive the idea that the "enemies of Spain" are continually plotting acts of violence to upset the peace, and that only by continued vigilance and a regime such as Franco's can protect the "people" from these threats and outrages. In other words the terror-

believe that he would be taking "orders" from outside; and the idea that he would wait for them to tell him when to put a bomb under Franco's seat is too comical to be taken seriously except in Spain. It is furthermore very curious that Carballo does not appear to have named his "bosses" in France, nor that he appears to have any associates to denounce in Madrid. And enquiries have failed to discover anyone who knows or has heard of Carballo in anti-Franco circles.

ists from outside—real and imaginary—are being used by the Franco regime to resist the growing demands from all quarters—and possibly above all from the emerging well-to-do professional and technical classes—for a more liberal political set-up. It seems obvious to us that this will take place in the not too distant future in spite of Franco and his personal circle of powerful interests. But after 25 years, not of "Peace" as he claims but of dictatorial power, no one wants to give it up least of all a vain old man, and he will resist to the end, even if he has to organise "terrorist outrages from outside" himself!

