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HEALY 'RECONSTRUCTS' THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. Published in New York, price 35 cents.

THIS is a most instructive and (for an outsider) amusing pamphlet. Who is Healy and what is the Fourth International? Some explanation is needed before we can delve into the booklet.

Let's start with the FI first. It was founded by Trotsky in 1938 and these are the rival heirs that claim to have carried on his work (page 33): the so-called official Fourth International led by Frank and Germain; the Latin-American Bureau of Posadas; the so-called 'Marxist-Revolutionary' tendency of Pablo; and the International Committee.

It is this last group, which concerns us and which called an international conference in London with the aim of reconstructing the Fourth International. The conference was held from April 4 to 8 last year and although it was afterwards described by the organisers as 'most impressive' it depends what you are impressed by—as the authors of the pamphlet abundantly show.

The conference was 'guided in its deliberations' by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League (the largest of the Trotskyist groups in the UK).

One of the main aims of the conference was to unite two Trotskyist groups—Spartacist and the American Committee of the FI—led by Jim Robertson and Tim Wohlforth respectively. The third Trotskyist group in the US, the Socialist Workers Party, is evidently outside the FI and is frequently abused in the pamphlet.

The unification plan was a failure. How this came about deserves to be quoted in full:

'An apparently trivial incident occurred at the conference. Robertson was absent from one of the sessions.

In the Socialist Labour League, under National Secretary Healy, something like that is not "trivial". You can be hauled up on charges for it.

That's not all. You must acknowledge your guilt. Moreover you must admit in a way to meet some exacting specifications. If you don't, the charges can rapidly escalate.

Thus Robertson found himself, to his consternation, suddenly sinking in quicksand.

1. He was charged with being absent from a session.
2. He admitted his guilt.
3. A motion was passed demanding that he apologise and admit having committed a "petit-bourgeois act".
4. He apologized in an emphatic way for having been absent but refused to acknowledge that he had committed a "petit-bourgeois act".
5. The escalation proceeded. Healy, according to Rose J., scorned Robertson's absence and his refusal to vote for his condemnation, characterising it as a "petit-bourgeois, reactionary act expressing the chauvinism of American imperialism, etc."
6. Robertson was threatened with expulsion if he did not voice approval of the motion branding him with the alleged class nature of his crime.
7. The dazed man still said, no.
8. He was expelled.

Exit Robertson and the rest of the Spartacists. Before you all die from laughter here is Gerry Healy's explanation (in a letter to two American Trotskyists) of what happened. According to Healy, Robertson made a report on the United States and claimed that the Trotskyist role there could only be that of a propaganda group. Immediately after his report he asked Healy to be excused from the rest

A CHILD'S GARLAND OF CLICHES

of the session as he wanted 'to go to bed since he was working all night on a document'. Healy told him that he would convey his request to the appropriate comrades controlling the congress but that permission was unanimously refused. It was pointed out to Robertson that rules (on attendance) were implicit in all Bolshevik congresses, otherwise everyone would do as he pleased.

An American Trotskyist, Rose J. (only this initial is printed in the pamphlet) has this comment to make:

'(But) I'm very saddened and fearful of the kind of mistake (my italics) which leads the SLL to an almost (ditto) Stalinist version of democratic-centralism. This concept of obeying the majority will to the extent of declaring oneself a petit-bourgeois expression of American chauvinism is quite dangerous and is part of the "methods" of fake Bolshevik disciplines such as that practised by the SWP to avoid political struggle with the factions. . . .

'A very sad effect is that it lets the SWP with their rotten politics and organisational methods off the hook for a time. The SLL, like the SWP, has raised a similar type of "Bolshevik discipline" to a basic political principle, a methodological concept which supposedly differentiates working-class organisations from petit-bourgeois organisations.'

Please also note Rose J.'s language. Phrases like democratic centralism, petit-bourgeois expression, American chauvinism, fake Bolshevik discipline, methodological concept—do all Trotskyists use jargon for thinking?

Let me quote at random from other pages. In this one tends to exclude Joseph Hansen whose introduction is refreshingly human. Only once does he grandiosely declare that in the Socialist Workers Party a 'free discussion of several years' duration was held on the

nature and results of the Cuban Revolution. The party ranks (to which Hansen presumably belongs) almost in their entirety decided that Cuba was a workers' state', he writes.

One must understand the above statement and such phrases as follow:—'anti-theory tendency', 'Cuba—a deformed workers' state', 'anti-centralist', 'superficial activist conception' (all by Healy); 'Spartacist recognises its historic responsibility for the development of a working-class vanguard in the stronghold of world capitalism and the significance of this vanguard for mankind's future' (Harry Turner); 'anti-theory syndicalism', 'it should be noted that the SLL is a group which prides itself on its "anti-impressionism"' (Mark Tishman); 'we continue to believe firmly that a fusion in the US of the Leninist-type principles projected in the Montreal agreement remains a political responsibility for genuine Trotskyists' (J. Robertson); 'Opponent organisation' (Daniel Freeman); 'foundering on the shoals of petit-bourgeois opportunism' (Georges Kaldy)—in order to understand Robertson's expulsion.

Even those mildly libertarian Trotskyists who group round the Socialist current will expound the necessity of 'taking the correct line'. Therefore it is not laughable that perhaps 100 people in the United States should have a free discussion of several years' duration and come to the conclusion that Cuba (Russia, China, Albania, Timbuctoo) is a workers' state. Healy nevertheless says Cuba is capitalist. Two lines cannot be correct—and it is on the correctness of the line that a world revolutionary party must depend.

But what is the point of the correct line when there is no longer a mass movement to put it into effect? The Trotskyists maintain that the revolution will come when their correct line corresponds with the wishes of the masses.

Therefore they constantly struggle among themselves in order to evolve the correct approach.

You may laugh at a dozen or so people deliberating whether Cuba is a capitalist, workers', deformed workers' state, a concentration camp or a paradise on earth but they cannot see that this is mere speculation, an evaluation of things after the event.

Another of their curious beliefs is in the value of democratic centralism. Basically this means that individuals and factions can argue any issue until a decision is reached by the majority, after that there must be complete agreement. The case of Robertson's expulsion is the direct result of revolutionary day-dreaming, the acting out of parts in a historical pageant.

Some of their centralist decisions can result not only in wild expulsions and beatings-up but in pathetic confusion. A story of the individual who in youthful idealism joined the Labour Party comes to mind. When disillusion set in he became a member of the Communist Party and then drifted further and joined a Trotskyist group. They believe in entrism and tried to persuade him to join once more the Labour Party. 'This,' he said, 'is where we came in.'

JOHN RETY.

8 page FREEDOM Next Week !

Terrible and Shameful Truth

LAST EXIT TO BROOKLYN by Hubert Selby Jr. Published by Calder & Boyars at 30s.

IN A LETTER to Walter Lowenfels, when *Last Exit* was in manuscript form, Selby described the impetus behind the book. It was his conviction that pure love is latent in all of us and the only barrier to its realisation is the violence 'that we deny exists and, therefore, direct against others and/or ourselves'. Selby believes that we must understand this violence fully, its source, direction and implications before we can exorcise it. 'The only way to make people aware of this is to blow it up as much as possible; light it with neon, powdered magnesium, but not red ribbons and flowers.' *Last Exit* is an attempt to make this destructive violence so stark and real that 'no matter how much the reader is upset, disgusted; no matter how much he may curse me for an idiot, for a writer of filth, that he will not be able to deny what has happened inside of him while and after reading it'.

That many literary critics have attacked the 'one-sidedness' of this book probably means they either don't understand or agree with Selby's intentions. That a handful of puritan and hysterical politicians, publishers and hack journalists have attacked, persecuted and prosecuted

the book is perhaps indicative that Selby's ideas are basically right and that he has made some people, in some part, aware of their own suppressed and actualised aggression, violence and hatred. Those who have advocated the book's suppression have certainly manifested these terrible qualities.

It is true that *Last Exit* lacks a wider vision than brute man but Selby has attempted no more than to probe our inner tensions and conflicts and their most brutal outer expressions. All his characters are selfish, savage and suicidal. They are the personalised, individualised spectres of contemporary governments, bureaucracies, nations and states. They have no sense of moral responsibility. In Selby's words, 'control of the body and the mind are contingent . . . each of the people in the stories lost control and died. . . .'

Last Exit is a collection of 'stories' with a continuity of theme and an essential unity of direction. When his young hoodlums put the boot in, they do so impersonally and mindlessly. His queens and their boy-friends drag a pregnant woman, in her own blood and agony, out of the room because if she was to have her baby there it would terminate the party, bring them down, curb their pleasure. His drunken prostitute dies after

a mammoth gang bang and others go home 'roaring with laughter'. His strike leader cheats on his union, discovers his latent homosexuality, tries to suck-off a child and gets booted by the hard-men he kept supplied with the beer intended for thirsty pickets. His group of women, gossiping on a housing estate, watch a child crawling on a high ledge and hope it will fall off.

Selby's people are real and believable, if often only two-dimensional, and there is no false sentimentality or fake goodness. They use each other, their friendships are no more than mutually convenient and when they make love it becomes a mutual rape. Georgette, his hip queen, for a few brief magic moments holds his hoodlums entranced in the beauty of inspired poetry but 'the guys mumbled and smiled and Vinnie struggled with the softness he felt, trying honestly, for a second, to understand it, then let it slide'. They'd lost control and remained lost.

It is not a pretty or encouraging book. It is a deeply depressing book for it is about us at this moment in time. It is, sadly, a more-or-less accurate depiction. If you don't believe me, pick up any newspaper, any day. It will confirm *Last Exit's* and our, terrible and shameful truth. DAVE CUNLIFFE.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)

ANARCHIST MEETINGS AT HYDE PARK EVERY SUNDAY AT 2 P.M.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.
HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.
HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.
IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.
NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate.
NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Brian Joseph, 1st floor, 27 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11. Meeting every first Thursday of the month at 8 p.m., Flat 3, 8 Colville Houses, W.11.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS
3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Room's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.
ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to M. Day, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.
BELEFAST. Contact: Roy McLoughlin, 46 Mooreland Park, Belfast 11, Ireland.
BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Dave Massey, 138 Church Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 24.
UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP. Contact: D. J. Austin, 5 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Birmingham.
BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.
BRISTOL. Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brow, Bristol, 6.
CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Caspary, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.
DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Lisa Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence Stracathro Hospital, by Brechin, Angus.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 8 Warwick Road, Chorlton, Manchester, 21. Meeting: Feb. 25, 12 noon at The Salutation, Cavendish Street, near All Saints, Manchester. **Easton:** Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. **Chorley:** Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley, Manchester. **Mike Mitchell,** 3 Bakewell Road, Droylesden, Manchester. **Brenda Mercer,** 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6. **Rochdale:** Ian Heywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. **Stoke-on-Trent:** Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS. Contact Lionel Donnelly, 322a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Regular meetings.
WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

WEST LONDON FEDERATION

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.
EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Adrian Derbyshire, 2 Oakley House, Oakley Avenue, London, W.5.
LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

PROPOSED GROUPS

WATFORD. Anyone interested please contact Alan Pritchard, 8 Bedford Street, Watford, Herts.
MEDWAY TOWNS AREA. Proposed Group. Erroll Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester.
WISBECH. Anyone interested write Albert

Community, Chaptor House, Leverington, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.
CAMDEN (LONDON). Provos. Anarchist/Provo/C.100/Action group—anyone interested please contact Chris Davis at 56 Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.
WEST SUFFOLK. Please write to Carl Pinel, c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
S.W. MIDLANDS. Kate, Bill and baby Jane Beveridge wish to contact libertarians in S.W. Midlands. Phone Mickleton 275 or write to Myrtle House, Mickleton, Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.
GOLDERS GREEN, LONDON, N.W.11. Proposed group. Get in touch with Jane Wilson, 77 Erskine Hill, N.W.11 or David McLellan, 54 Litchfield Way, N.W.11. (Tel.: SPE 1783.)
MIDLAND YOUTH AGAINST AUTHORITY AND BUREAUCRACY. Proposed group. Contact N. Jackson, 8 Leighs Close, High Heath, Pelsall, Walsall.

ABROAD

U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY. N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening.
AUSTRALIA. Anarchist group, PO Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.
DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.
VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.
U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.
SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.
CANADA: Winnipeg. Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.
BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Belhier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Scllessint-Liege, Belgium.

SOREL REVISITED

ONE of the theories associated with anarchism that Marxists most deride, and which, since unfortunately it became associated with Mussolini anarchists have tended of late to discard, is the theory of the political myth.

Sorel derived from Bergson the belief that all the greatest advances in human relations come from people who are motivated by a driving belief in something which in the light of pure logic is an impossibility. The advances are seen as accidental on the road to the central unattainable aim. Sorel adapted this—particularly with the General Strike. If the mass of workers were so conscious of the need to change society that they were prepared for the sacrifice necessary to carry out a successful social general strike, then they would be so conscious as to act in hundreds of lesser ways which would nevertheless achieve the socialist aim. So he advocated (or rather furthered the advocacy by the CGT) the General Strike while at the same time saying that before it could be achieved it would be unnecessary.

The theory of the political myth he unfortunately took with him, when he abandoned anarchist ideas and became a monarchist—the inspirer of Mussolini's move to the Right. In consequence anarchist advocates of it were branded by the Leninists—by an early usage of the later Stalin-McCarthy 'guilt by association' tactics—as reactionary. In point of fact most Communists, Revisionist Communists and Trotskyists in England have, at some time relied on slogans which, in effect, were political myths.

Years ago the myth used to be a Leftist Labour Government, which would 'in association (or alliance) with the Communists' capture the state for the workers. Any Marxist member of the Labour or Communist Parties would have been perfectly ready to explain to you why the Labour Party could never be socialist, and this indeed was their expressed reason for being members of Marxist groups, yet they were prepared

to operate on the assumption that it could. In certain peripheral fields such as Colonial freedom work on this basis did in fact achieve appreciable results.

After the Brighton 1957 debacle when Bevan left the Labour Party Left out in the cold, a new myth was nevertheless produced, a Unilateralist Labour Party—or as the Trots used to chant on the Marches—'Labour to power minus the Bomb'. Again the Marxists who advocated it were perfectly well aware that the Labour Party (like any other body designed to run class society on slightly more humane lines) was incapable of making such a revolutionary move as Unilateral Disarmament. About four years ago the New Left and its various inheritors spawned a new myth—that of the Hegemonic Socialist Labour Party. This was conceived when Labour's fortunes seemed to be at a low ebb, and the New Left decided that the only way it could get Labour elected (even to fulfil a social-democrat programme) was to integrate a mass of rank and file activist groups (of all walks of life and of all interests) into the Labour Party. Obviously if these had existed and could so have been integrated, one could equally easily have built a mass revolutionary movement.

The Hegemonic Party idea was allowed to slide, when Labour was re-elected; but now that Wilson has shown himself in his true colours (and even the Labour Left is beginning to understand what the needs of socialism are), the concept is being revived in a different form. The aim is now an Hegemonic Labour Left. They are therefore advocating the co-ordination of militant rank and file groups in a body distinct from, and to an extent opposed to, the Labour leadership. The time would seem to be ripe for us to get in on the act, with an alternative simple demand, which like the social general strike can only be implemented by a conscious revolutionary anarchist movement, but which superficially is easy enough to attract wide support. L.O.

'Close Shave for a Royal Dog'—Morning Star

HUGH CUDLIP SAID on Monday he was resigning from the board of Associated Television, on Friday he said he was not, because the restrictions on freedom of expression did not apply to him.

TERENCE FRISBY OBTAINED a temporary injunction restraining the BBC from broadcasting his play without the line 'My friend Sylv told me it was safe standing up'. The Judge was impressed by Lord Willis's evidence referring to *Pygmalion* as showing how a single line might be structural. Mr. Frisby reported receiving a letter from a country parson congratulating him on exposing the 'standing-up' birth control method fallacy. On the other hand Mr. Ed Sullivan of the US television show of the same name accepted the Rolling Stones amended version of a song 'Let's Spend The Night Together' to 'Let's Spend Some Time Together'.

MOVED BY THE television repeat of *Cathy Come Home* (or by its apparent success) the People so far forgot its venomous attack on the King Hill hostellers as to feature: "Cathy"—Now We Prove Britain's Shame, by Jeremy Sandford and a team of People investigators. The *News of the World* pursued its sociological studies with 'It's Cathy Come Home—In Real Life' containing the following deathless tribute to Fleet Street, 'It was the Press [caps please] which persuaded the then London County Council to scrap its inhuman policy of barring husbands from living with their families in hostels. The same persuasion has been effective with the Kent County Council at its now notorious King Hill hostel.' Is there a Mr. Mills in the house? A withered nosegay was handed to 'Cathy' by Mr. Anthony Greenwood (one-time CND-er), Minister of Housing, 'The Government welcomes the contribution made on the subject of homelessness by the BBC play *Cathy Come Home*. The BBC team has done a wonderful job in informing public opinion, and I shall certainly not complain if there is a growing clamour for more houses. They are badly needed.' End of quotation.

week 'Palaces of a Queen', showing six palaces belonging to or lived in by the Queen. Specimen commentary: 'Whilst certain changes have been made in the palace, the Queen and Prince Philip are still aware of their responsibilities. For example, the chandelier, here shown, takes two months to clean.' The manager of the ABC-Rank circuit in rejecting a plea from short-film makers to withdraw *Look at Life* and show 'shorts' said that it could not be withdrawn until there was some expression of opinion on the part of the public. Will somebody please make it? . . .

THE EDITOR OF THE Law Society's *Gazette* voiced his disagreement with the Brighton magistrate's decision to fine two men for warning motorists of a police radar speed trap. The *Gazette* says, 'Looking at this trivial incident in the broadest way, one wonders how in the name of logic it can conceivably be an offence to pass information to a third party designed to dissuade him from breaking the law.' A correspondent in the *Guardian* writing on the prosecution in Brighton of a Methodist minister for procuring hemp to illustrate a sermon on drug perils concluded, 'While agreeing that the proper organization for fighting crime is the police, I submit that one recognised organization for fighting evil is a Christian community.' Nicolas Walter replied, 'Once you decide that the police and the magistrates are the right people to deal with the drug problem, you must be prepared to help them catch and punish the people who use and distribute drugs—or else you risk being caught and punished yourself. If that is wrong, perhaps the original decision was wrong too.' Nicolas Walter pointed out that, as far as the minister was concerned, it wasn't because the minister procured the phial that he was prosecuted, it was because he wouldn't tell the police where he got it from.

ACCORDING TO THE *Sun*, two London doctors (Dr. Chapple and Dr. Gray), tired of waiting for Government action, are starting their own clinic to treat drug addicts. They will be running a clinic with beds for in-patients and they

are exploring the possibility of buying a country house for chronic addicts. Patients will not however be given their drug prescriptions, they will have to collect them from chemists shops which will prevent alterations and stem the over-prescribing.

THE POLICE CLAIMED to have broken up a drug-smuggling ring partly based in Sydney and including three former policemen. In Hollywood police seized 1½ lb. LSD which they valued at £180,000, 10 persons were booked on possessing dangerous drugs under California State law. In Britain a price-cutting war started in supermarkets in cigarettes. . . . THE EAST VILLAGE OTHER carried a delightful misprint. In an article 'Make Love Not War', it referred to Vera Britain's *Lay Into Woman*. That was no 'lay' that was 'lady'.

EVO ALSO CARRIES a story on an attempt by police to frame Leroi Jones, the playwright and poet, on a charge of robbery and felonious assault in New York. The complainant stated that he had been mistaken as to the identity of his assailant and had asked the police to drop charges, which they had refused to do. 'I think,' he said, 'the state believes it now has ample grounds to take Leroi out of circulation for a while. I resent being used towards this end.'

A SWEDISH COURT decided that a brother and sister could continue to live together as a married couple and a Swedish MP has said he will attempt to force a change in the law so that brothers and sisters may marry. The Vatican has revised its ruling on indulgences. 'Partial indulgences will no longer be counted as good for so many days or years,' says the *Guardian's* Rome correspondent. 'A partial indulgence will simply liberate the sinner only partially from temporal punishment without having time value.'

DR. L. S. B. LEAKEY claims that man has had a million generations of ancestors since he evolved from the apes. This makes it about 20 million years ago rather than the original estimate of five million years. JON QUIXOTE.

HAVE WE FAILED?

ON THE Human Rights Day demonstration in London, among the usual nuts who hang around was one very irritating gentleman who insisted on shouting, 'Oxfam, Oxfam' at us and telling us in no uncertain terms that we shouldn't have been wasting our time there but supporting Oxfam marches and helping the world's hungry.

During this performance many of us were extremely irritated, not least when he stood in front of the steps when carol singing was taking place and blocked off the view of the photographers. However, upon reflection I think he made a very important point.

Many of us have supported Oxfam, and War on Want and so on, by fasts, marches and collections, and often, as we did so, we played down the fact that we were peace/political activists. We tried to show propaganda by deed. Perhaps we succeeded, I do not know. All I do know is that here we find a nut shouting at us on a Vietnam Peace demo that what we are doing is irrelevant to world poverty and world hunger. To a certain extent I think we have failed, I therefore would like to make a proposal.

I suggest to my comrades that they should openly participate in Oxfam, etc., marches and other activities. Take your red and black banners along, draw up posters putting the connection between the warfare state and capitalism and the world hunger of the depressed third of the world. Sell FREEDOM, *Anarchy*, *Peace News*, and so on. Give out leaflets specially designed for the particular occasion, leaflets not only for the general public, but also to educate your fellow workers. In fact, turn campaigns like Oxfam, etc., into direct action political campaigns against hunger and poverty.

We are losing a generation of political activists, who yesterday might have gone into the CND and Committee of 100, but today never rise above AA or Oxfam. We must go where they can be found, politically educate them to see it is not enough to ease world starvation, one must prevent it by attacking its root causes in political and social life. If we believe our anarchism is the answer, why be shy about it, let it reverberate. I heard my comrades shouting, 'Anarchy, Anarchy' on the Human Rights Day demo, why not on an Oxfam walk too? Remember, if you let this opportunity pass they might be, quite idealistically, pumping bullets into the third of the world tomorrow in the names of liberalism, democracy and anti-communism, these Oxfam marchers.

PETER NEVILLE.

Summer Camp

AT THIS TIME of the year when the newspapers are full of advertisements for summer holidays I suppose even anarchists are giving them a passing thought. I fell to wondering what it would be like to take a holiday amongst anarchists. Before you turn away shuddering at the thought of political talk for 14 days let me add that I don't believe it would be like that at all. Most of us are scattered around Britain and only the luckiest of us live near enough to have firm relationships with friends who are anarchists. When we do get together it's only for a two-day conference, a weekend school or camping in the south of France. What would it really be like in a future anarchist society to be amongst only anarchists for days, weeks, months, years? I'd like to find out. Having decided I was for it—I came to think about where. Obviously it would have to be somewhere inexpensive.

Most of us cringe at the idea of holiday camps. We've come to think of them as regimented hells. But, you know, the original idea was quite pleasant. Simple huts set in rural or seaside surroundings with communal eating and washing facilities and complete freedom to do what you like or organise amongst yourselves. Such places still exist. Or so I'm told. A block booking would undoubtedly result

RANK ABC CINEMAS are screening this

SPAIN: A PERIOD OF CHANGE

Continued from page 4

Court agreed to drop charges and release the six workers.

ON STRIKE FOR SEVEN WEEKS

In the Barcelona Seat car factory, 11,000 workers have held meetings to discuss proposals for a work-to-rule, which were followed by the arrest of shop stewards. At the Barreiros car plant in Madrid, workers were again arrested when they demanded that redundancy notices be withdrawn. Sheet-metal workers in Bilbao have been on strike for seven weeks now over 'contract violations' by their employer.

Time magazine has this to say about the recent labour disputes: 'But with the sting of official disapproval removed from the act of striking, the regime has not tried to enforce all the law's stipulations. Government mediators have been working furiously since mid-December to try to head off a nation-wide rail strike threatened by the National Transportation Syndicate, a supposedly docile trade union controlled by the Government.'

It seems this dispute just about exhausted the official procedure which even *Time* magazine describes as 'weeks of mediation and complicated bureaucratic process to obtain Government permission' [to strike]. However, the *Financial Times* blames the recent syndicate election for the railway's labour problems.

Although there has been some relaxation, and no doubt some in power would like to see more, old habits of repression die hard. Whether the regime will tighten up if strikes, which seem mainly over sackings and higher wages, continue, is a matter of conjecture. However, with the regime trying to take its place economically in Europe, the signs are that the relaxation will continue, and the letter of the law will not be enforced.

Obviously this is still a very difficult period for workers in Spain, especially our active comrades of the FIJL and CNT. They have the immensely difficult task of building new groups for making propaganda within the changing, but essentially totalitarian State. In many

places a start will be made from scratch, but as demands from workers continue, I am certain that the propaganda of our comrades will get a good hearing and gain support.

The comrades of the FIJL Peninsular Committee summed it up in the article, 'Spain as It Is' (FREEDOM, 13.8.66), 'We firmly believe that anarchist action must not depart from its positive syndicalist action. This does not exclude other manifestations. But for many reasons we feel that the syndicalist action and the constructive participation of anarchists in working-class struggles is still a relevant and necessary function. This action still offers many possibilities and must not be abandoned.'

P.T.

PRESS FUND

WEEK 1, JANUARY 7, 1967:
Expenses: 1 week at £90: £90
Income: Sales and Subs.: £76
DEFICIT: £14

Croydon: P.T. 8/-; Isleworth: L.W. 2/6; Bury St. Edmunds: C.P.* 5/-; London, N.W.6: C.F. 10/-; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Cardiff: Anarchist Group* 10/-; Melbourne: M.S. 17/6; Bradford: E.R. 4/-; London, E.11: L.R. 5/-; Grantham: G.J. 5/-; Tiptree: P.N. £11/-; St. Cloud: M.A. £6/16/10; B. du Rhone: D.P. 14/2; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Chipping Camden: K.B. 5/-; Ontario: A.B. £7/10/-; Cheshire: G.R. £11/-; British Columbia: S.P. 9/6.
TOTAL: £18 0 6

WEEK 2, JANUARY 14, 1967:
Expenses: 2 weeks at £90: £180
Income: Sales and Subs.: £132
DEFICIT: £48

London, S.W.18: J.P. 5/6; London, N.W.2: D.S. 5/-; London, N.19: M.S. £3/10/-; Brighton: P.L. 5/-; New York: B.M. 17/-; British Columbia: S.P. £17/6; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; I.L.* 3/-; Glasgow: T.D. 10/-; Frankfurt: H.B. 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Madison: E.T. £1/15/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group* 3/6; Belfast: H.M. 3/6; Polish Sympathiser 4/-; N.L.A.D.G.: 3/6.
TOTAL: £10 19 6
Previously Acknowledged: £18 0 6

1967 Total to Date: £29 0 0

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

in quite substantial reductions. I'd like to see all ages there, from babies in arms to old age pensioners. I'd like to laze and swim and talk and booze, relax and open out, knowing I hadn't got to think about getting the coach home at a certain time the next day and who's going to put me up tonight. After a couple of days, of course, we might all hate each other's guts, but somehow I don't think so. I think we might be enriched. After all those who hate the very idea of it don't have to bloody well come.

If any comrades are interested would they write to me? And if there are any

Havelock Ellis Society

Sirs,
We, the undersigned, propose the formation of a Havelock Ellis Society, because we feel that this great man, who did more than any other Englishman to clarify and rationalise sexual behaviour, is becoming increasingly neglected. It would be a pity if this and future generations fail to realise, and take advantage of, the debt they owe to this man, who dedicated his life to studying the man-woman relationship. But Havelock's contribution to philosophical thought and literary criticism, in his many essays, works of sociology and psychology and studies of religion and ethics, was equally important. Most of

his books are now out of print and difficult to obtain, and this should be remedied. In this project we have the blessing of the friend and inspiration of his later years—Françoise Delisle. We will be pleased to hear from readers interested in forming this Society, and if sufficient support is forthcoming we will arrange an inauguration meeting in London.

Yours sincerely,
80 Marten Road, BRONIA McDONALD.
London, E.17

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SYDNEY L. PEPPER, MARIE MAYOW, JESSIE MASON, JAMES STEWART, MARIE VAUGHAN.
South Eastern Group,
93 Eversley Road,
Upper Norwood, S.E.19

New Sub Rates

The new rates are:—

FREEDOM only (per year)
£1 10s. (\$4.50) surface mail
£2 16s. (\$8.00) airmail

ANARCHY only (unchanged) (per year)
£1 6s. (\$3.50) surface mail
£2 7s. (\$7.00) airmail

COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION
FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year)
£2 10s. (\$7.50) surface mail both
£4 15s. (\$12.50) airmail both

FREEDOM (airmail) &
ANARCHY (seamail)
£3 17s. (\$10.50) (per year)

The 'Fast One' that Failed

IN OCTOBER 1965 ASLEF signed a single manning agreement for long distance loco drivers, in the belief that talks would take place in the near future for freight and short distance drivers. ASLEF also wanted the same guarantees that no man made surplus by an incentive scheme would be displaced from grade or depot. British Railways would not give such an undertaking and the seeds were sown for future industrial unrest.

December 1966 and not the faintest chance of an agreement for the freight drivers, therefore, ASLEF was forced to propose industrial action, and a work to rule was called commencing January 16, 1967. Immediately Gunter dived in. After separate discussions with both British Railways and the footplatemen it was agreed that British Railways present their proposals in documentary form on an incentive bonus for freight and short distance drivers. ASLEF leadership were forced to 'stay on their work to rule' proposal because it was obvious that if they didn't rank and file footplatemen would take action themselves.

All the talks proved to be abortive, so therefore on January 2, 1967, rank and file footplatemen took Direct Action. Freight drivers from three depots struck work for a day, and threatened to cancel the single manning agreement which had been in widespread operation since September 1965.

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

Freedom Selling. Saturday, January 28, 7 p.m. Meet in forecourt Charing Cross Railway Station for West-End FREEDOM selling. Organised by N.L.A.D.G.

Accommodation Wanted. Girl wants flat in London sharing with 2/3 others. Lesley Owen, 24 Crawshaw Drive, Emmer Green, Reading.

Work. Urgent; young couple, both graduates, seek any work in which they can be together (for personal reasons this is more important than the money). John Tittensor, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

Accommodation. Young couple (with two small sons) urgently need 3-room s.c. flat at reasonable rent. Willing to decorate, baby mind, help in house, garden, etc. Box 42.

Mujeres Libres Lecture. Sunday, January 29, G. Baldelli, on Technocracy and Society (in English) at Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, W.C.1 (near Russell Square) at 3.30 p.m.

Translators. Translators and Summarists wanted for FREEDOM. Spanish and Italian language. Get in touch with Editors.

A Certain Visit. Anarchist Welcoming Committee meets outside Intourist (Moscow) Ltd., 314 Regent Street, W.1, February 4 at 11 a.m. Then march to another place. Bring your own posters.

Accommodation wanted. Tourist accommodation wanted. Australian woman, travelling in Europe needs CHEAP accommodation in London for approximately four weeks in February, 1967. Prefer relatively central location. Would also like companion for travels in March. Box 43.

Accommodation: Bristol anarchist sympathiser, studios, responsible, teetotaler, needs bedsitter in Bristol. Clifton, Redlands, Hotwell area preferred. Large house. Box No. 44.

Work Wanted in France. Long shot. Can anyone help married couple (30's) find permanent work—France/Switz. Box 47.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

By January 10 Gunter was really getting the 'wind up' (nothing like a threatened railway stoppage to get governments moving). He invited the British Rail chairman and ASLEF to another meeting, and according to reports attempted lay according to reports attempted to lay down the law. The footplatemen dancy' or no talks about productivity agreements, ASLEF leadership knew the score, any deviation and the rank and file would have taken over.

It was finally agreed that Jack Scamp who conducted the enquiry in 1965 be asked to intervene and adjudicate. On January 12 Jack Scamp heard the arguments from both ASLEF and British Railways, and promised to give his decision the following day.

His verdict was an unqualified 'yes'. The redundancy agreement covering the long distance drivers also covered freight and short

distance drivers. Obviously British Railways, fully supported by the Government, had tried to pull a 'fast one', but on this occasion they had failed. It appears that British Railways have bought breathing space, ASLEF have called off their proposed industrial action, but the task of obtaining a productivity agreement remains.

Wilson and his band of henchmen have 'hit' the railwaymen ever since they have been in office. Remember when Wilson 'bought off' the last stoppage with a promise of a rise in the near future. A national rail pay increase was due in September 1966 but was deferred for six months, which means of course that the increase will be useless.

If any section of industrial workers, other than the seamen, have been blackmailed by the Labour Government it is the railwaymen. Every Government which comes into office will do the same unless the railwaymen themselves do something about it. One wonders how much longer they will stand being used as an industrial doormat in the interests of the country.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

US Bases in Spain

Continued from page 1

But the changes of attitude were even more notorious on the part of the Spanish fascist regime. The US quickly forgot the attitude of the Franco supporters during the Second World War. The Spanish press, dependent on the Government, had taken advantage of the occasion to publish all sorts of insulting commentaries on the US, but had to radically change its attitude with the triumph of the Allies, and the attacks became eulogies and servile commendations.

In 1950 there was talk of the integration of Spain in the defence of Western Europe which culminated in a meeting of the French and Italian Foreign Ministers with the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, in Washington, to discuss the problem of the security of the Mediterranean.

In the same year the Latin American group, with the exception of Mexico and one other, asked for the agreement, made four years previously, on the isolation of Franco Spain to be revoked. This was carried and the ambassadors of the 'champions of democracy' returned to Madrid.

Finally on September 26, 1953, the agreement between the US and Spain was signed. The Pentagon had its bases in Spain. Franco was no longer isolated and received enormous economic aid—worth more than £2,500 million.

NETWORK OF US BASES IN SPAIN

The system of US bases, finished in 1959, consists of four main bases: three air bases—Sanjurjo-Valenzuela (Zaragoza); Torrejón (Madrid); Moron y San Pablo (Sevilla)—and one naval air base—Rota (Cadiz).

The construction of an oil pipeline Rota-Moron-Torrejón-Sanjurjo covering some 780 kilometres to supply the bases was agreed. The Americans also control 25 auxiliary installations, the chief of which are as follows: San Pablo—secondary air base and communication centre; Reus—early warning and training station; El Ferrol—oil store and auxiliary centre; Cartagena—store for oil and munitions and auxiliary centre. Radar systems—Puig Mayor (Majorca) linked with the Nato networks of Italy and Gibraltar which control the complete strategic base of the Western Mediterranean. Six other installations are distributed throughout the Peninsula. The co-ordination is effected at the central control of air defence, Torrejón.

STRUCTURE OF THE US MILITARY HIGH COMMAND IN SPAIN

JUSMG (Joint US Military Group) is the co-ordinator of the whole military programme in Spain, the head of which is subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief

US in Europe (USCINCEUR). The MAAG (Military Aid Advisory Group) is responsible to the Administration on the programme of military aid. The head of JUSMG-MAAG (at present Rear-Admiral Norman C. Gillette, who recently replaced General Stanley J. Donovan, Commander-in-Chief of the 16th Air Force based at Torrejón) is also the military aide of the US Ambassador in contact with the Spanish authorities.

The naval activities in Spain depend on the High Command of the head of the naval force in Europe (CINCUSNAVEUR) resident in London.

The three principle air bases are for the giant B47 and B52 bombers of SAC and have special runways and installations. The main base in which the High Command of the 16th Air Force is found is Torrejón and its commander is in permanent contact with the headquarters of SAC in OFFUT (Nebraska).

The naval air base at Rota is the main one and the best-equipped of its type outside the US. It is the operational base of the 6th Fleet. Among its vast installations are special runways for the super-bombers of the SYC on the ground and a series of complex subterranean installations for the reception of atomic submarines carrying Polaris missiles.

Apart from the Pentagon and the US Military high command no one knows the ultra-secret arrangements of all these installations in Spanish territory. And in case of an alert, they would all become operational without the Spanish State even being advised or able to intervene. The maximum control is entirely in the hands of the US military authorities.

THE US BASES AND GIBRALTAR ARE EQUAL CASES OF COLONIALISM

In the same way that Franco's Government had brought up the case of Gibraltar at the UN, demanding that Britain end the occupation of this Spanish territory, it should have also demanded the end of the US occupation of the territories on which the US military bases are situated. But such a 'patriotic' claim would not be currently convenient to, or in the interest of, the Franco regime, which at the same time has permitted Yankee capital and economic colonization without precedent, in the last 20 years.

A regime which has in the past allowed Hitler's and Mussolini's troops to try out their arms on national territory and build their strategic bases for the Second World War and now permitted the occupation of areas of Spanish territory by US military forces has no moral right to claim the restitution of Gibraltar.

Only the Spanish people have the moral authority to claim Gibraltar, to demand the dismantling of the US bases and the end of Yankee colonization of Spain, which is the principle support of the Franco dictatorship.

PENINSULAR COMMITTEE OF THE IBERIAN FEDERATION OF LIBERTARIAN YOUTH (FIJL).

FREEDOM

For Workers' Control

JANUARY 21 1967 Vol 28 No 2

SPAIN: A PERIOD OF CHANGE

SINCE 1939 the whole socio-economic structure of Spain has changed. Then, the country's economy was mainly agrarian, which involved about 64% of the population. Despite the feudal totalitarianism of Franco's regime, changes in this structure make the government's politics an anachronism.

Nearly nine million people have now left the land and gone to work mainly in the industrial areas of the North. Many others have obtained jobs in the building industry, which has mushroomed with the booming tourist trade and others, nearly one million, in fact, have left to find work elsewhere in Europe, particularly in Germany.

Spain today is the last country in Europe to make the changeover to a capitalist economy. It is undeveloped in comparison and as such it is ripe for investment. For the hard-headed, farsighted business executive of today, it could be the manufacturing base for the exporting of goods to Africa.

'Internationalist' wrote in 'Whither CNT?' (FREEDOM, 18.1.66): 'The Spanish capitalist has a hard task in the transformation of a feudal economy, but at least is no nationalist, and it is the international consortium of finance that wants to develop and exploit Spain and is frustrated by the persistence of feudalism.' But those who favour the old system of feudalism are on their way out, even though they still hold considerable power. International capitalism will see to this, assisted by the new rising middle class, who will benefit considerably from this change.

For those Socialists and Communists who believe in State control of industry, Spain offered the incongruity of a large number of its industries being controlled by the State, through the medium of an industrial corporation, known as the Instituto Nacional de Industria, which was founded in 1941. These included steel and aluminium production, shipbuilding and car manufacturing, in addition to the unprofitable ones which are usually taken over by 'democratic' states. As in Communist countries, these INI industries were favoured by the State and received special tax and import duty concessions. They had access to interest-free capital which came from budget grants and, all in all, were given preferential treatment over the private sector.

However, in the last few years the State has handed over many companies to private control. With this development the preferential treatment has been abolished and since 1963 incentives are offered equally to both private, State and jointly controlled companies. As the capitalist economy strengthens, this changeover will spread and the State will transfer further control to both foreign and Spanish concerns.

NEW PRESS LAWS

Accompanying this more liberal economic policy are attempts to change the totalitarian image of the regime. New press laws have been enacted, even though they are surrounded by severe limitations. According to Stacy Waddy of the *Guardian*, 'The role of the censor has been abolished. Individual items no longer have to be approved, but for editors in doubt, there is voluntary censorship. The State retains the power to seize publications with police aid, though they must go to court promptly; and all publications must arrive for official scrutiny at least half an hour before they are available to the public. . . . Accounts of labour strikes, the protests of students and priests, and police shooting appear

for the first time for 30 years.' This relaxation has helped to break down the feeling of isolation felt by those students and workers who have taken action to remedy grievances.

At the end of 1965, the Franco regime relaxed the law on the right to strike, but once again this was hedged with severe limitations. No strike which the regime interpreted as having political overtones would be lawful, nor would any strike which had not gone through the drawn-out complicated procedure. But to anybody living under nearly 30 years of totalitarian rule, these relaxations must have been seen as cracks, although small, in the edifice of Franco's regime.

SYNDICATE ELECTIONS

According to two reports, one in the *Morning Star* and the other in the *Financial Times*, considerable changes took place in the elections of representatives in the official syndicates. The *Financial Times* says that: 'According to some sources in some of the bigger firms, underground workers' committees have won more than 50% of shop stewards posts, which, if confirmed, may mean serious labour disputes in future months.' The *Morning Star's* Foreign Editor wrote: 'Since the syndicate elections last September large numbers of genuine working-class representatives from the unofficial "workers' commissions" have been elected as factory delegates, while most of the official candidates have been defeated.' Information about these elections would be welcomed from any FIJL or CNT group.

With what does seem a more genuine representation, Spanish workers have been involved to a considerable degree in different forms of direct action. In Madrid, 13,000 workers at three Standard Electric Company factories staged a sit-down strike in protest against the arrest of six workers at a demonstration of 3,000 workers who marched in protest against the management's plans for sackings. The sit-down occupation of the factories was successful and, after a delegation had visited police headquarters, a judge of the Public Order

Continued on page 3

Evidence Please!

Dear Editors,

John Rety, your reviewer of Bill Christopher's new pamphlet 'Smash the Wage Freeze', who says he hopes it will receive wide circulation would help to do this by moderating his language.

I have heard it suggested that the employers are a plot and that the state is a plot yet I have never before heard that employers, state and TU bosses are all together in one big plot to 'take the last scrap of food out of our mouths'.

What melodramatic nonsense. The employers are interested in profits, the state in power and the TU bosses in their cushy jobs. They would all prefer general prosperity if only because it means less real discontent and their privileged positions become more secure.

I should also like to know what evidence John Rety has that employers run a private police force which 'dogs the footsteps of anarchists' and why he thinks the welfare state will ensure a speedy progress from poverty to the grave. Does he believe the Health Service runs secret gas chambers to kill off the unemployed? Judging by the tone of his review it wouldn't surprise me if he does.

24.12.66

JEFF ROBINSON.