# Fredom

### Anarchist Weekly 65

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#### OPERATION DURRUTI

A CCORDING to Octavio Alberola, Spain. who is in charge of co-ordination between the peninsular committee and overseas delegations of the FIJL, at a press conference given by him in New York on December 8, 1966, the five comrades, headed by Luis Edo, who were arrested in Madrid on October 24, had planned to kidnap, on October 25, not Mr. Angler Biddle Duke, the US Ambassador, but Rear-Admiral Norman G. Gillette, head of US Military Forces in

During 'Operation Durruti' the Rear-Admiral's car was to have been ambushed on a journey between Madrid and Torrejón. He was to have been transferred to another vehicle and taken to a room in Madrid where, in his presence, as a living symbol of the US occupation of Spain, the following document was to have been read to foreign newspaper reporters waiting there.

### US BASES IN SPAIN

(This document was to be the basis of a campaign designed to show up the false patriotism of the regime, it was confiscated by the secret police from the group of anarchists headed by Luis Edo who were about to launch the campaign by means of a spectacular action. Franco's Government has jealously guarded this document in secret, lest its divulgence show up the patriotic inconsequence of General Franco.)

TRANCO'S GOVERNMENT has put forward the problem of the Spanish sovereignty over the British military base on the Rock of Gibraltar, claiming this sovereignly as an act of legitimate patriotism and a necessary step in the decolonization general process of throughout the world.

In accordance with a UNO resolution. which declares that all actions leading to a partial or complete splitting of national unity or territorial integrality is incompatible with the propositions and principles of the United Nations Charter, Franco's Government is demanding UN intervention to force Britain into restitution of the colony of Gibraltar.

After the painful outrage and terrible warning of the nuclear bombs which fell in Palomares as the result of an accident by the pilots of atomic bombers of Strategic Air Command which has US bases in Spain, Franco's Government has launched a vast patriotic propaganda campaign to mobilize the Spanish people and international public opinion in favour of their claim to Gibraltar.

At the moment when this demagogic campaign reaches its climax, we are obliged to show up in all its dramatic and crude reality the dilettante patriotism of Franco's Government, which on September 26, 1953, authorized the US Government to occupy and install military bases on areas of national territory as 'worthy and beloved' as Gibraltar: Rota, Torrejón, Sanjurjo, Valenzuela, Moron, San Pablo, etc.

#### ANTECEDENTS TO THE INSTALLATION OF THE MILITARY BASES

During the period 1940-48 there existed in Spain a strong current of pro-American sympathy due, principally, to the hope of the Spanish people that, at the triumph of the democracies over nazifascism they would aid the Spanish democratic forces to free themselves from

### ANARCHY 71

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FREEDOM PRESS at 2s. on first Saturday of every month the Franco dictatorship which had been brutally imposed with the help of the troops of Hitler and Mussolini.

The world conflict against the Axis was seen in Spain as the prolongation of the struggle against fascism initiated in our country in 1936. Because of this they saw the Americans as convinced defenders of democracy. The strong personality of President Roosevelt and his declarations of 'democratic faith' expressed in the Atlantic Charter, also helped the Americans to enjoy a vast aura of popularity among Spanish public opinion. This popularity among the democratic forces and the working class was not supported by the reactionary groups and fascists-props of the Franco dictatorship. On the contrary, on more than one occasion, people coming out of the 'Casa Americana' in Madrid, were insulted and maltreated and fascist demonstrators stoned the windows of the American Embassy in Madrid. The communications issued by the British and American Embassies were read in secret and the BBC and Voice of America were listened to clandestinely with the constant fear of discovery and denunciation.

But, in spite of the repugnance shown by the democrats towards the Franco regime and in spite of the evident conspiracy between Franco and the Axis, it was the Americans who, at that time, instead of irrevocably condemning him, propagated a pact by virtue of which Franco would remain outside the conflict, in exchange for supplies of cotton and petrol and other basic materials to the value of some \$100 million and formal guarantees that once the Allies had won the war they would not molest Franco. This double-dealing started with the first negotiations of Ambassador Weddell. Meanwhile, the 'champions of democracy' promised the Spanish combatants, who were fighting against fascism on the fronts of North Africa, Norway, Italy, Greece, in the French Resistance and in other hard campaigns, that once they had finished with Hitler and Mussolini, they would proceed to wipe out the source of Franco's nazi-fascism and return their democratic liberties to the Spanish people.

As long as the war lasted and in the immediate post-war period, the US enjoyed popular sympathy in Spain. But, little by little this sympathy was being transformed into a growing repudiation as the Spanish people learned, with surprise and bitterness, how the US Government, instead of helping the democratic forces had changed into the strongest outside support for Franco, in place of Hitler and Mussolini. From 1948 the hope of an intervention by the 'democracies' disappeared altogether and at the time of the US-Franco Pact in 1953 hope and sympathy had become open and profound hostility, and eventually the Spanish people realized that the presence of US bases were a constant menace to their future and liberty and an undoubted danger with terrible consequences to the civil population in the event of a third world war. The animosity of the people against the imperialist and bellicose politics of the US Government reached its limits.

Continued on page 4

## Maness in Great Ones

N THE OBSERVER last Sunday there was the first part of a twopart story 'Mr. Brown: an American View' by Anthony Lewis, this was reprinted (with omissions) from the New York Times Magazine, December 25, 1966. The Times (London) had an editorial on this on Saturday, January 14, commenting on the Observer's intention to print the article and the News of the World went to town on the affair the World's quote from The Times: on Sunday.

The motives of The Times (especially now it is under new management) in defending George Brown and by implication attacking the Observer are obvious. The News of the World's capacity for sensationalism are well known and their device of not over-stressing the fact that the Observer was re-publishing the article and stressing that the Paris edition of the New York Times was doing so is a pathetic example of the News of the World's classic stance of joining in the attack but repudiating any responsibility.

However the News of the World makes a point which has its implications for anarchists. They say 'We considered then, as now, that though Mr. Brown has certainly provided ground in the past for the thought that he is not everyone's cup of tea, it is an injustice to drag up a man's alleged shortcomings unless that man has provided an immediate reason for so doing.'

For some time the radical movement has had a stock headline 'X Must Go'. The name varies, 'the dogs bark but the caravan moves on'. It would be invidious to single out George Brown, Jim Callaghan, from the factor that a sick man may

or Lloyd George as a special object of attack. The names change but otherwise things remain very much the same.

But the challenge of the News of the World can be met. They say unless that man has provided an immediate reason' for criticism, it is an injustice to drag up his shortcomings. The immediate anarchist reason is provided by the News of 'Sir Winston Churchill and William Pitt were both sociable drinkers; Lloyd George and Palmerston could not be trusted with women; Chatham, perhaps the greatest of them all, was actually mad while Prime Minister.' The Guardian on January 12 carried a story from its Paris correspondent that in 1920 the new President of France jumped out of a presidential train in his pyjamas. This was quoted in a book La Folie au Pouvoir raising the question: 'Does the exercise of immense power lead to mental derangement?'

The Guardian goes on to say that President Johnson is well known to have some peculiar personal habits, while his public activities hardly bear thinking about'. The Guardian writer lists mad rulers including Caligula, Tiberius, Nero, Charles VI of France, Paul I of Russia, Jeanne de Folle of Spain, Ludwig of Bavaria, Elizabeth of Austria, Christian VII of Denmark, George III and IV of Britain, Hitler and Stalin. Madness in rulers is almost an occupational disease. In hereditary monarchy it is a question of breeding but in more democratic ages it is more to be feared both Henry Brooke, Neville Chamberlain choose to be leader and that with

the world poised on the hair-trigger of atomic war the sick man's opportunities to bring the world down with him are greater. President Johnson is a sick man, but it is Vietnam which is dying too.

The Press from time to time reminds us of the sickness of politicians—usually, in obituaries, called statesmen—and we are asked to consider them as worn out with the cares of office. A list of sick politicians whose illness and personal idiosyncrasies may have affected their thinking to our detriment would include Hugh Gaitskell, Aneurin Bevan, Ellen Wilkinson, John Kennedy, Woodrow Wilson, Franklyn Roosevelt, Campbell Bannerman, Bonar Law, Ramsay Stanley Baldwin, MacDonald, Neville Chamberlain, Ernest Bevin, Anthony Eden, Harold Macmillan. The list is so huge that it would seem to be hard to find a completely sane, healthy man in politics. It may be that George Brown is no exception—he may be the rule.

Come to think of it, what sane, healthy man would go in for politics? Political power is after all only a substitute for a full life. Many of the so-called 'leaders' today are only working out their own warped, twisted personal problems and situations in the exercise of power over others.

Mr. Harold Wilson has probably the same views about George Brown as Anthony Lewis has. The re-appointment of Patrick Gordon Walker to the Cabinet is probably an indication that, in the famous phrase 'Brown Must Go'.

But what's the matter with Patrick Gordon Walker? JACK ROBINSON.

### WHITE IS RIGHT?

CONFIRMED AT LAST, what I've long suspected: the pillars of the Establishment are hollow. Inside there dwell all manner of rodent, parasite and woodworm. And for Mr. Duncan Sandys' 'Support Rhodesia' rally at Trafalgar Square on Sunday they all came crawling

Oswald Mosley's rank-and-file, I was surprised to discover, are by no means all crash-helmeted, black-leather-jacketed Hell's Angels. How strange to be handed a copy of Action by a young lady not merely Nordic, but distinctly patrician in origin! Here the patriots and those honest enough to actually call themselves fascists were at one: strangely, between 'Long live the Queen!' and 'Long live Smith!' there was only a short step. To

sum it all up in one word: bizarre. Despite a preponderance of copies of the Sunday Express, even patriotism, one suspected, would go by the board if it meant a choice between that and not expressing a touching solidarity with Smithy the Rebel, Smithy the Traitor. ('And you can call us rebels and you can call us rogues / We were founded by an Englishman by the name of Cecil Rhodes'). But as they say, blood is thicker than water. And shares are more valuable than blood. . . . Never have I seen so many expensive suits and big cigars milling around the Square at any one time. Clearly, money doesn't just talk; if cornered it can yell 'Sieg Heil!' with the best of them. I don't exaggerate.

Though opinions expressed on the platform ranged over what is termed 'a wide spectrum', it was the real mince-no-words Men of the Right that the crowd had come to hear. From what I know of Sandys, he is genuinely a decent chap. This quality he shares with Eichmann. If duty demanded, one feels, that he turn Jews (or blacks, for that matter) into soap, then he would do it; but with charm, with charm. As the goat-like strains of his voice rang out across the Square one felt hard put not to yell in tired agreement: 'Peace in our time!'.

It was an afternoon for slogans, and little much else. In typically English fashion, the meeting itself didn't prove to be the 'potential dynamite' predicted. It was more the time for political festivities, laced with the occasional scrap. 'Smith in!' cried one faction. 'Smith out!' cried the other. The youth of Britain had at last found a cause. Up went the bourgeois bread-cry: 'One man one vote! One man one vote!'. Despite sporadic violence, rarely have I seen the fuzz in such polite good humour. The sight of all those Union Jacks, perhaps, proved just too, too much!

One thing stood out: the sheer entertainment of it all. That, and the suspicion that this was really just some strange historical throw-back, some quirk of the time machine. (Beaverbrook is alive and well in the Ministry of Supply! Suez come back, all is forgiven!) Once the car carrying the Sandys entourage finally crushed its way through the massive crowd at Admiralty Arch, helped on its way by liberal quantities of spit and Nazi-style salutes, some lithe Young Tory, waving a huge Union Jack, cried out: 'To Number 10!' The mob, about two thousand in number, flags a-flurry, surged across Horse Guards Parade and into Whitehall. According to one report, one character-bedecked in red, white and blue rosettes-was actually shouting, 'Long live the Right Wing revolution!' as he ran. As I said, bizarre.

Oh, Sunken Glands! Even by your own standards, in calling this meeting you committed the ultimate sin: bad taste. For those with a tender spot left in their hearts for the British Empire, it was all well worth missing. Why couldn't you leave the whole rotting structure to experience its death throes in peace? they will ask.

Joking aside, the Rhodesia 'crisis' is really no different in origin from the crisis inherent in the very principle of government itself. As a perceptive article in the New Yorker recently pointed out, the one word that dominates political

discussions among white Rhodesians is 'chaos'.

'The avoidance of chaos emerges from white Rhodesian conversation as the final function of government. It is also the one principle that is reason for any course of action.' In this, the Salisbury régime is no different from any other State that has existed, or will exist, where expediency is all and human beings no-

Significantly, there were few black faces in the crowds on Sunday. Perhaps the poster proclaiming, 'The Sandys of Thyme are running out,' will prove more prophetic than humorous in the end.

No one noticed, but the man cleaning up all the garbage from Trafalgar Square after the politicians had long stopped mouthing their platitudes was black.

How long before he starts 'talking the language of power'?—with a vengeance. JOHN MACKAY.

NE of our comrades received the following poem in a Christmas card from Stuart Christie (serving 20 years for alleged terrorism, sentence imposed by a military court).

The poem (by A. E. Housman) needs no further comment from us.

Loveliest of trees the cherry now Is hung with bloom along the bough And stands about the woodland ride Wearing white for Eastertide. Now, of my three-score years and ten, Twenty will not come again, And take from seventy

springs a score, It only leaves me fifty more. And since to look at things in bloom Fifty springs are little room About the woodlands I will go To see the cherry hung with snow.

In case you have forgotten, the address of the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee is: c/o Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

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'RECONSTRUCTS' THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL. lished 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 socalled '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

'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 30s. 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 "petitbourgeois, 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

### 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 petitbourgeois 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 workingclass 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

IN A LETTER to Walter Lowenfels, 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 when Last Exit was in manuscript 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 DAVE CUNLIFFE. truth.

#### **Anarchist Federation of Britain**

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BELFAST. 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 Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff. DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence. Stracathre

Hospital, by Brechin, Angus.

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. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Pridays of month at above address.

IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cometery 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. I.I.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Barltrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden. ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Green-

ways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College. Oxford. PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth,

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks. SHEFFIELD. Contact Robin Lovell, c/e Students' Union, University, Sheffield. Tel. 24076. NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP. 'Dolphin' (back of St. Pancras Town Hall). Every Sunday 8 p.m. Next meeting: Jan. 22. Subject: 'A Certain Visit' (continued). Aumission by copy of this paper.

#### **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. Buxton: 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 Charlier. 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessint-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 thisparticularly 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 coordination 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.

RANK ABC CINEMAS are screening this

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

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 par-

son 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

MOVED BY THE television repeat of Cathy

the People so far forgot its venemous

attack on the King Hill hostellers as to

feature: "Cathy"-Now We Prove Bri-

tain's Shame', by Jeremy Sandford and

a team of People investigators. The

News of the World pursued its sociolo-

gical 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 hus-

bands 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 grow-

ing clamour for more houses. They are

badly needed.' End of quotation. . .

Some Time Together'. . . .

expression did not apply to him. . .

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

'Close Shave for a Royal Dog'-Morning Star

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 Come Home (or by its apparent success) designed to dissuade him from breaking wright and poet, on a charge of robbery 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

week 'Palaces of a Queen', showing six 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 1½1b. 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 Brittain'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 playand 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 JON QUIXOTE. million years.

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

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 rele-

The comrades of the FIJL Peninsular

gain support.

### HAVE WE FAILED?

N 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 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 occa-

#### 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)

sion, 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.

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

pleased to hear them. It looks as if I've

undertaken to organise it. As far as I'm

concerned I want a place where I don't

have to do any cooking or housework,

want, not too mountainous or cliffy for

the older people, safe for other people's

kids, a chance of some warm sun, a

camp bar, or a local pub not too far

away, no roaring passing traffic and some

Yours sincerely,

pleasant countryside nearby.

80 Marten Road,

LETTERS

vant and necessary function. This action still offers many possibilities and must not be abandoned.

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

DEFICIT:

£14

£180

£132

£48

£10 19 6

£18 0 6

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. £1/-/-; 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. £1/1/-; British Columbia: S.P. 9/6. TOTAL: £18 0 6

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

DEFICIT:

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. £1/7/6; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.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: Previously Acknowledged:

1967 Total to Date:

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Summer Camp

T THIS TIME of the year when the A 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

in quite substantial reductions. I'd like to suggestions for a suitable place I'd be 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 where we'd be left alone to do what we 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

#### London, E.17 Havelock Ellis Society

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.

BRONIA McDONALD.

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.

SYDNEY L. PEPPER, MARIE MAYOW, JESSIE MASON, JAMES STEWART, MARIE VAUGHAN. South Eastern Group, 93 Eversley Road,

Upper Norwood, S.E.19

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. Published by Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

## 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 Crawshay 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, studious, responsible, teetotaller, 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.

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 commenda-

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 Pablosecondary 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 (CINCUSNA-VEUR) 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 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).

For Workers' Control

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## SPAIN: A PERIOD OF CHANGE

CINCE 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 interestfree capital which came from budget grants and, all in all, were given preferential treatment over the private sec-

However, in the last few years the Dear Editors, Gibraltar at the UN, demanding that 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

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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 sitdown 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!

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.