

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 6d

MAY 27 1967 Vol. 28 No. 16

SUPPRESSION BY REQUEST

THE POLICE are continuing their preposterous charges against Terry Chandler and Melvyn Estrin who were in the dock at Marlborough Street on May 18 when Mr. Edward Robey, the magistrate, heard the case outlined against them by the Prosecution in the dollar leaflets case. Terry was defending himself and Melvyn was defended by Mr. Benedict Birnberg. After a submission by Mr. Birnberg, the charge against Melvyn of conspiracy to forge dollar bills was dismissed but he was still committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court on a charge of 'possessing 400 pieces of paper bearing markings similar to those on genuine dollar notes'. Terry Chandler was committed for trial on charges of conspiring with Charles Radcliffe and others unknown to forge United States dollar notes. The magistrate granted bail to Melvyn and also to Terry although Detective-sergeant A. Noble strongly objected. At the time of writing Terry is still in jail as he was also remanded in custody over the Greek Embassy demonstration.

A warrant has been issued for the arrest of Charles Radcliffe and a Paul Smith, whom we hope are still at liberty. The proceedings were of unrelieved gloom. In a country which prides itself on its sense of humour, our comrades are being charged with the forging of 'dollar' notes that are clearly meant to be anti-war propaganda. An indication as to why our comrades are being prosecuted came when a Mr. James Griffith of the American Embassy in Paris gave his evidence. The Clerk of the Court asked for his occupation and prompted him: 'Are you employed in the detection of counterfeit currency?' 'No, sir,' replied the American unwisely, letting the cat out of the bag. 'My job is the suppression of counterfeit currency.' In other words the request for prosecution must have come from Griffith and the English authorities have blindly complied. The danger is, that if they are not to look complete asses in front of an independent jury, they might want to resort to some kind of 'frame-up'. But as the case stands at the moment even the notorious Mr. Robey seemed quite unconvinced.

JOHN RETY.



This is the anti-war leaflet that the police maintain is a forged dollar bill.

'PEASANTS' REVOLT' IN MAYFAIR

BY THE TIME this issue of FREEDOM is on the streets, we shall know the gist of the prosecution's case against the 42 people arrested in the Greek Embassy on April 28. Committal proceedings are being taken as we go to press, on May 23 and 24.

As was generally predicted, the charges have been changed from the original nonsense. The police could never have

hoped to get a conviction for Common Law Affray or for breach of the Public Order Act, because of minor technical points (what is the definition of a public place, etc.) which the Courts always regard as of much greater importance than issues of principle. However, the supposition that the authorities would substitute lesser charges (as at Marham), which would carry crippling fines and bindings over but not create the political risk of a mass trial at the Old Bailey and a group of political prisoners here, has not been upheld. The new charges are, if anything, more serious, and certainly more significant, than the old.

By charging the group with Riot and with Forcible Entry under the Act of 1381, the police have taken the bull firmly by the horns and publicly admitted not only the political nature of the original action at the Embassy but also the political nature of the prosecution. In passing, one can comment that this is a new departure. We are accustomed to their procedure of delving deep into the statute books for strange and ancient laws when their more conventional armoury fails them; the obscure eccle-

THE VIETNAMESE WAR is escalating rapidly. On April 25, the US bombed railway yards two and a quarter miles from the centre of Hanoi and a cement factory just one mile from the centre of Hai-phong. More recently they have bombed the bases of Russian-supplied Mig's and, if they force them to retreat to Chinese bases, the *Guardian* correspondent asks, will US bombing follow them? Hai-phong harbour is being repeatedly attacked. As I write (May 19), the news of the US invasion of the buffer zone (in which N. Vietnamese troops were already) is being broadcast. A land war throughout Vietnam threatens and, according to U Thant on May 11, 'I am afraid we are witnessing the initial stages of World War III.'

Harrison Salisbury's *Behind the Lines - Hanoi* (Secker and Warburg, 30/-), stems from a two-week visit, December 23, 1966-January 7, 1967, before these events took place, but it is still very relevant. The increasing US savagery and N. Vietnam rigidity stems from false stereotypes of their own and their opponent's intentions and actions and Mr. Salisbury's book does something to correct these. For example, the US claims, as McGeorge Bundy wrote, in January 1967, 'The bombing of the North has been the most accurate and the most restrained in modern warfare.' Harrison Salisbury, in his *New York Times* despatches, wrote: 'the conclusion is inescapable that, whatever may be the cause, far more bombs are hitting civilians than are accomplishing any military purpose'. Because of this, the North Vietnamese believe that the US are deliberately aiming at civilian targets. Salisbury's account of the effects of US bombing and his consideration of its intentions seems the most reliable yet written. He is interesting on the issue of religious freedom in the North and on the relations of Hanoi to the NLF and to Russia and China. Detailed accounts are given of his interviews with Pham Van Dong, the N. Vietnamese Premier, and with NLF representatives in the North. The book's main faults (apart from the unnecessary journalistic padding of the first 40 pages) are that it makes no men-

tion of the 1946 Vietminh purge of non-Communist elements, only a brief and imprecise mention of the N. Vietnam land reform slaughters and emphasises the North's 'distrust stemming from 1946 and 1954', without mentioning the Vietminh provocations and terror (as well as the French ones) in 1946 and the impossibility of holding the Geneva-planned unifying elections when the North was oppressing massive resistance (as well as the South's oppression of many opposition groups).

The US began bombing the North to bolster the morale of the South Vietnamese Government, to weaken Hanoi's will to fight, to avoid committing large US ground forces, and later reasons were to bomb Hanoi to the conference table and to interdict the movement of men and supplies to the South. In all but the first case, as the facts of World War II and Korean War bombing should have indicated beforehand, the bombing has failed. US ground forces have escalated enormously from 25,000 in March 1965 to 440,000 now. According to General Westmoreland, the movement of men and supplies has increased greatly and, in any case, most NLF arms were taken from US and Saigon troops. Hanoi shows very little sign of wanting to end the war: Pham Van Dong said to Salisbury, '... we are preparing for a long war. How many years would you say? Ten, twenty—what do you think about twenty?' (p. 196). The bombing has united the North Vietnamese against the US as nothing else could. Indeed, the threat of bombing seems to have saved Ho Chi Minh from a large political crisis. Ernst Kux wrote in *Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, September 23, 1964: 'One of the main reasons for the pressure for quick Communist successes in S. Vietnam was the growing economic insolvency and confusion in home affairs in N. Vietnam... food production was nowhere keeping pace with the growth in population... In view of the chaotic supply position, emergency measures were introduced, privately owned land was expropriated from farmers... ration cards were introduced... In March Ho Chi Minh proclaimed a state of emergency.' (Quoted by Adam Roberts, *New Society*, January 12, 1967.)

Is the deliberate bombing of civilians a major part of US policy, as the Russell War Crimes Tribunal and all N. Vietnamese think? After reading Salisbury and the accounts of the Tribunal investigators, it seems to me to be still an open question, but the important thing is that thousands are being killed and maimed whatever the US's intention. Salisbury visited Namdinh, the third largest city in the North and saw the savage damage it had suffered which the Mayor said amounted to destruction of 13% of the city's housing, with 89 killed and 405 wounded from 51 attacks. Salisbury comments: '... there were no very remarkable targets in Namdinh. True, material going south passed through... there was a railroad, a small freightyard, an area along the river bank where boat and barge cargo was... re-shipped... This was... perhaps the fatal fallacy in our whole bombing policy. When you totalled all the "military objectives" in N. Vietnam, they didn't total much' (p. 104). Of the destruction in the

Phatdiem rural area, Salisbury writes: 'One cause for the repeated attacks... might be that Seventh Fleet planes flying to Ninhbinh and Namdinh... (possibly) jettisoned leftover bombs on the way back or exhausted their rocket stocks... planes which had difficulty in returning to base might lighten their loads in the Phatdiem area. There were anti-aircraft installations in this region... Yet when all this was taken into account, the fact remained that an astonishing amount of high explosives was falling on a simple rice-growing area' (p. 125). Of the bomb damage Salisbury then saw in Hanoi—the smashed Pho Nguyen Thiep Street and Phuc Tan Street—he notices that they were very near the main Long Bien Bridge (p. 64). Of the anti-personnel weapons, particularly the lazy dog bomb, which the War Crimes Tribunal made so much of, he notes that: 'They were devised for use against anti-aircraft gunners, machine gun nests or other military groups occupying exposed or semi-exposed positions... I suppose that (they) were dropped by our planes by on what they presumed to be (these)... they inevitably took a toll among civilians' (pp. 213-214). Salisbury suggests that US reconnaissance methods and bomb-dropping were nowhere near so precise as the US imagined (or pretended) and also that 'the series of gradations which governed the pattern of air operations in North Vietnam... was complex and confusing. It seemed to me that it inevitably would give rise to honest pilot errors. Again and again it seemed to me that the commanders of the air operations were placing on their men burdens which were beyond the ability of the best technology and the best trained men' (p. 212). Other questions he raises are: (a) If roads and railways are the target, why should the bombing be programmed for where they pass through villages and towns where more civilians will die and there will be stronger anti-aircraft positions? (b) Are the US deliberately using Vietnam as a laboratory for experiments? 'Proof was difficult... there were enough oddities so that the question might be raised.' (c) Is the air war a dry run for a war with China?

Finally, there was the question of the dykes whose destruction would destroy the country, wiping out millions of acres of rice land, drowning millions of Vietnamese and making it impossible for the country to feed itself. Salisbury saw bomb-craters in the Namdinh area and believed evidence of bombing in the Phatdiem area (p. 123). Was this accidental? The US had said repeatedly that they were not officially targeted. Salisbury concludes that, even given the good intentions of the US, 'The "humaneness" of the American air effort produced the same desolated countryside, wounded, injured and mangled men, women and children... of the air war... during World War II.'

Salisbury judges that the North Vietnamese are united against the Americans and, undoubtedly the main contributory factor to this is the Americans' own bombing. One sign is the very great number who have been armed. As a Communist official said: 'Here you can see for yourself that the people support their government. If they didn't, they have the weapons in their hands with which to change it.' An important

Continued on page 7

ANARCHY 76

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Continued on page 7

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FRANCE

A REPORT in the Brussels paper *Le Soir* reveals some disturbing facts about French hospitals: there is at present an estimated bed shortage of 300,000, not counting the 200,000 (of the 600,000 in use) that need to be replaced; the result is that patients sometimes find themselves on improvised beds in corridors and that ambulances often have to carry accident cases from one hospital to another in search of the necessary places. There are hospitals which have no anaesthetist or blood bank. Analytical work is often in private hands, which can entail a wait of up to a week for an X-ray result.

Things are little better on the personnel side: cases are cited where there was one night nurse for 500 patients; the lack of qualified staff leads to such anomalies as a hospital secretary working as a laboratory assistant, or a ward waitress as a nurse. Hospital wages bear little relation to the cost of living, so that new vacancies often go unfilled, especially in the Paris area where living costs are high and where the most modern hospital was built in 1934.

To which M. Jeanneney, Minister of Social Services, replies that he has at last succeeded in getting the hospital grant raised from the figure established in 1954; and that public health is sixth on the list of national priorities only because people are more interested in phones and motorways. Not to mention, of course, atom bombs and Mongénéral's *Farce de Froppé*.

From an interview with the pop singer Absalon:

Through the Anarchist Press

Q. Would you go to gaol rather than do military service?

A. No. But I'd be prepared to make them think I was homosexual, which is another way out of the same problem.

Q. If your country was invaded, would you lie in front of the enemy tanks like the non-violent resisters?

A. Of course not. I would have been gone long before the tanks got there.

JOHN THURSTON.

(Source: *Défense de l'Homme*.)

The *Combat Syndicaliste* published by our French and Spanish comrades in France, appears to be hard up. They describe their foreign subscriptions as 'calamitous' and they lose a great deal of money through people who don't pay for issues sent on credit (postage alone comes to 2,683.8 francs per annum). Donations should be sent to *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, 24 Rue Ste-Marthe, Paris X, France.

SPAIN

The 'Agence France-Press' reported to *Le Monde* that eleven political prisoners in the Carabanchel Prison have declared a hunger strike. They had sent a message to the prison directors, which was followed by the imposition of sanctions. Sr. López Enriquez has been put in a punishment cell, since the authorities have charged him with inciting the strike. The other ten remain in solitary. They include an Italian, Sr. Ricardo Gualino.

CADIZ

According to statistics, in Cadiz there are 3,160 families occupying only one room each, 4,475 occupying two rooms each, 6,135 relying on communal services with other families, and 5,201 families whose homes have insufficient ventilation, the grand total of persons living in inferior dwellings coming to 37,550.

VIETNAM

Commenting on the question of a third world war over Vietnam, a writer says, 'For a long time now, every time I see the name "Vietnam", I involuntarily read "Sarajevo".'

'OCTOPUS DEI'

The Mexican paper *Tierra y Libertad* publishes an article on the Roman Catholic Church, highlighting its consistent contradictions. The Pope begs for peace in Vietnam while his (and God's—what's the difference?) ministers are not reproached for former misdeeds, nor for 'blessing' the murder weapons and tranquillizing the consciences of the uniformed butchers of that same war. Neither are any of the tyrannical perpetrations of the Jesuits or previous Popes put to rights; in fact, the Church is the first to grab the monopoly and the riches of the Earth where it can, with the accompanying degree of control over the people.

Nor are these idle accusations. In Spain, Opus Dei, a clerical organisation

threw up. And I use the word Tory deliberately, for the women that fill Léonor Fini's frames are the hard-faced bitches of any cosmopolitan society. Those that are dressed wear the clothes of their rank and they move through their background with a trained contempt even for themselves. Like characters from an embittered Waugh novel, they exist to exist.

In her use of colour Léonor Fini captures the wraith world of Marie Laurencin yet her creatures move through the somnolent moon-taunted world of Paul Delvaux, and in place of Delvaux's buxom broads we have Beardsley figures slim-built enough to bring joy, though not satisfaction, to the shade of Oscar. They pause and they pose and examine each other like tired gourmands saturated by an excess of living. It is claimed, and with truth, that Genet has praised her work and his *Lettre a Léonor Fini* still awaits our inspection if we can play God for an idle moment.

Yet, all in all, these two exhibitions by Proctor and Léonor Fini are worthy of your time and applause for, though at first viewing this may seem an ill-marriage of Mayfair and the King's Road, Chelsea, they deserve to be seen for their simple, naive honesty.

For those that seek the orthodox, in subject if not in style, then the paintings by Sheila Oliner at the Woodstock Gallery at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1, are worth a walk for her work has shown a magnificent improvement within the last few years and her strongly delineated nudes strain within their frames in a harmony of colour and a sureness of line that bids well for her future, but it is Léonor Fini, tough and unyielding as her own subject matter, who carries the palm.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

THIS is a week when two major galleries have given their walls over to two artists who have decided to ignore the orthodox sex war for a display of camp not seen in the Town since David Hockney's display of Alexandrian etchings at the Kasmin Gallery in July of '66. Their abrogation of all ideological content and their hedonistic final solution in the matter of pictorial matter comes as a cheerful relief after all those screaming manifestoes from the blood and paint school who have tortured us and their canvases in their weekly declaration of faith.

And so, with a gay giggle and a questioning eyebrow, we can do no more than join the Town as it pads to the Redfern Gallery at 20 Cork Street, W.1, to enjoy, though not to accept, the current exhibition of paintings by Patrick Proctor. In the final judgement each individual painting must stand or fall on its own internal merit and, no matter how sincere the painter or novel or brave his message, the passage of the years, new problems and new generations will shunt his heart's cry to the basements of a provincial museum or gallery according to his ability or lack of ability as a painter.

There is a brash urchin audacity in these paintings of Patrick Proctor that embraces the Rolling Stones in full drag, to Proctor's version of the Red Guard high-stepping the great leap forward in an uneven chorus line across the floor of the cave temples of Mai-chi-shan, with frescoes of Chairman Mao and a Wuhan steel worker to fill the wings with a blurred vision of David Hockney peering through a rosy mist as the father

figure of the boys' club. Yet the difference between the leather boys and the Red Guards has been synthesised by Proctor into an illustrated version of Selby's *Last Exit to Brooklyn*, and I do not mean this unkindly, for, if you reject the social and political pressures that create the Western leather boys and the Eastern Red Guard, then all you are left with are groups of tough Youngmen waiting to roll an elderly customer. His painting of the Rolling Stones in tatty drag may, in the beginning, have been part of a *Daily Mirror* spread but now Proctor must claim that particular vision subjectwise while the painting itself could be used to illustrate a record sleeve in a bad month. The bearded character posing in woman's dress in two of Proctor's paintings is not only a slapdash essay in lazy painting but an exercise in self-expression that fails to amuse. All these leather-garbed Youngmen lounging in these vast and silent rooms will, I have no doubt, find a place on some tough Chelsea wall and the sad little pencil drawings of sad and naked Youngmen sprawling in bed or bath will form an icon for those who reject the Evergreen mammary types.

If these paintings or drawings give a small particle of happiness to that unfortunate minority cult able to afford them, then they will have justified their creation but beyond that function I feel that they have failed.

Léonor Fini, at the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. George Street, W.1, is a tough vessel, for her exhibition of paintings portrays a coven of hard-faced dolls as selfish and as anti-social as anything the women's branch of the Tory Party ever

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

1967 AFB Conference. Sept. 29, 30, Oct. 1. For details of London venue and proposals for agenda apply to LFA.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.

Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2.

Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Gerrick Street, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube).

MAY 28 Open discussion.

JUNE 4 Social

JUNE 11 Action meeting

Subject: London Campaign

JUNE 18 John Reay

'The Anarchist Daily'

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

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennywell, Harlow or John Barwick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

SOUTHWARK ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Dave Burden, 45b Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22. Proposed meetings to be held on first and third Thursday of each month.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

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 Rouou's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North

NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 23.

BRIGHTON ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Frantically meetings.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Robin Lovell, c/o Students' Union, University, Sheffield. Tel. 24076.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST GROUP. Meetings every Saturday, Feltham High Street. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanworth, Middlesex.

SWANSEA. Please get in touch with Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Paulson, Flat 9, 619 Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester, 21.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

PROPOSED GROUPS

LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical

and a sort of God's Mafia (see *Time Magazine*, 12.5.67) is managing to get its hands on (with the blessing of the Pope) a vast amount of the riches of Spain. No wonder many Spaniards call it 'Octopus Dei'.

Not only does the organisation run schools and the like (including the University of Navarra, thus determining the futures of the 5,220 students there) and control publications such as *Diario de Madrid*, *Actualidad Española*, *Actualidad Económica*, *Ama* and many others, but also more than fourteen banks and finance companies, four film companies, ten publishing houses, four chemical companies, and fifteen construction businesses, etc. These are only the known assets of God's Octopus in Spain.

Translators:

JOHN THURSTON AND B.B. (Sources: *Tierra y Libertad*, *Combat Syndicaliste*, *Défense de l'Homme*.)

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All contributions to: 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4

GREEK DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1967 AT 2.30 P.M.

CARLTON GARDENS—BROOK STREET (To be renamed)

CORSHAM/COPENACRE THIS WEEKEND

Saturday to Monday — May 27/29. Corsham is between Bath and Chippenham.

SATURDAY: Assemble at 2.30 p.m. at Pickwick Road, Corsham. Procession, public meeting at Corsham Court, launching of a petition for a non-military future for Corsham. (Bring a tent if you can.)

SUNDAY: Tour and study of the military installations. Exhibition. Discussion Groups.

MONDAY: Leafletting, literature sales, signing the petition. Final meeting, march to Copenacre, vigil.

Various other activities currently under discussion — civil disobedience — not planned.

Corsham/Copenacre Action Group: Tony Allwright, 105 Ashley Road, Bristol, 6.

ADVANCE NOTICE: A SOCIAL EVENING

with our Spanish comrades films—theatre—songs—colour—jazz dancing—food

(entertainers and jazz band wanted)

Tickets available from Mujeres Libres, LFA and Freedom Press

Price 6/-, Children 2/6

SATURDAY, JULY 1, 6 p.m.-11 p.m.

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1

Further details later

Chorley Anarchists 24-hr VIETNAM FAST

6 pm Friday June 2 opp. Chorley Bus Station

DAVE CUNLIFFE was involved in a serious motor accident on Saturday. Friends will no doubt like to write to Tina,

Group. Contact Rodney Hodges, 2 Cambridge Drive, Lee, S.E.12.

NORTH WALES: Bangor. Contact Geoff Brown, 39 Caelella, Bangor, Caerns.

SOMERSET. John and Jill Driver wish to contact local libertarians, 4 Obridge Road, Taunton, Somerset.

ROCHDALE. Please contact Richard Crawford, 4 Hargreaves Street, Sudden, Rochdale.

SLOUGH. Contact Sid Rawle, 4 Hillperton Road, Slough, Bucks.

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Would readers interested in proposed group write to P. Newell, 'May-bush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.

ELTHAM. 'Sons of Durruity' Group. Get in touch with T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9.

Group. Contact Rodney Hodges, 2 Cambridge Drive, Lee, S.E.12.

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The Barcelona 'May Days'

THIRTY YEARS AGO, under the warm May skies of Barcelona, the history of the anarchist movement in Europe was decided for decades. We are still suffering from its aftermath, both here and the many thousands of our comrades who pace the stone cages of Franco's present 'liberal' regime. We in England have taken to a large extent the CNT/FAI as our heroes, the nearest point that the organised syndicates led by the anarchists came to the social revolution. We talk of the collectives and the communes of the militia columns and the barricades even today with the fond remembrance of a forgotten dream that was in fact a nightmare of stupidity and betrayal—firing squads and the blood of our comrades, defending the revolution that had never taken place, dying in the gutters of history, uselessly murdered once more by the Stalinist and the bourgeois Government. The act was committed by others but upon the leaders of the CNT/FAI falls the most terrible responsibility which permitted those who crushed the workers of Barcelona to do what they pleased.

In the first weeks of the Spanish Civil War a decision had to be taken by the leaders of the CNT whether or not to regard the Franco uprising as the opening of the social revolution or an isolated act of a reactionary minority backed by the aristocracy and the middle classes. They decided that it was the latter. Their certainty was not shared by Companys, the Catalan premier (Catalonia was recently an autonomous republic), a lawyer who had often acted in the past for the CNT. He stated that he thought that they should all join together for their mutual defence against fascism. He said also that if it was the CNT's decision that the time was ripe for the social revolution then he would go. He stayed and the collaboration with the Government began. The CNT controlled Catalonia with the exception of Saragossa and Huesca, these garrisons were under the Francoist troops. The CNT suggested the composition of the Generalidad; this was accepted by a grateful Companys who must have sighed with relief when he saw the political composition of the Generalidad (Cabinet). The CNT proposed the representation of all the Catalan parties on the list (including the right-wing Esquerra Catala). The bourgeois merely had to sit back and watch their work being done for them.

Matters came to a head after much struggle and loss of revolutionary gains achieved in the July 1936 days. True there were three anarchists in the Madrid Government. But that hardly compensated for the loss of control of the collectives and factories or the miserable conditions of the militia units who were denied arms and support. Orwell points out that they (the POUM) had to hand over their rifles to each other when they relieved units in the trenches. Meanwhile the Assault Guards, who seemed only capable of assaulting the workers, were strutting the streets of Barcelona re-equipped and well dressed with the latest Russian arms. Stalin always looked after his police better than his army. Needs must!

The CNT, in following a policy of complete co-operation with the Central Government in Valencia and the Generalidad in Catalonia, was nonetheless in a position of complete power within Barcelona and the surrounding area. This was in fact the sore point of the Central Government. Determined to put an end to this period of dual power, the Stalinists and the bourgeois parties had been secretly planning how to defeat the strength of the CNT/FAI. As early as April 17, moves had been made against the CNT-controlled frontier post at Puigcerda by the Assault Guards and the Civil Guards; the CNT

April 29, Antonio Martín, the council president of Puigcerda, well-known CNT militant, was shot by a joint Stalinist-Civil Guard patrol. The repression against the defence committees in Murcia and Madrid became known in the pages of *Solidarad Obrera* just before May Day.

The Government had banned all public demonstrations on May 1 with the consent of the CNT ministers. The weekend went quietly, the police breathed a sigh of relief and started to think that they could smash the CNT and the POUM once and for all.

Ever since the July days of '36 the CNT had occupied the Telephonica which stood in the centre of Barcelona with its black and red flag commanding the city. The Telephone Exchange was a prime example of duality of power within the Catalan Republic. The CNT controlled it. There was, it was true, a Government delegate and a UGT delegate also on the administration committee; nonetheless the workers were CNT. It meant that no action could be undertaken against the CNT as the lines of communication were in their hands.

On Monday at 3 p.m. three truckloads of Assault Guards arrived at the Telephonica under the command of the Catalan Commissioner of Public Order. The guards on the lower floors were surprised and disarmed and the advance was only stopped on the second floor by a machine gun barring the way. Meanwhile the crowds of workers were gather-

The Assault Guard, the PSUC and the Esquerra Catala erected a few isolated barricades which were not attacked and left severely alone in response to the Casa CNT's repeated appeals for calm and unity in the face of this provocation. It even instructed the workers in the Telephonica to pass through all messages impartially. (How impartial can you get with three hundred cops on your tail!)

Lois Orr, the wife of the editor of the English-language POUM paper, reported, 'By the next morning (Tuesday, May 4) the armed workers dominated the greatest part of Barcelona. The entire port and with it Montjuich fortress which commands the port and city with its cannon was held by the anarchists; all the suburbs of the city were in their hands; and the government forces, with the exception of a few isolated barricades, were completely outnumbered and were concentrated in the centre of the city, the bourgeois area, where they could easily have been called in from all sides as were the rebels (Franco's men) on July 19, 1936.'

CNT locals in Catalonia also ensured that the government forces were disarmed particularly on the approach roads to Barcelona. The locals of the CNT/FAI took all the initiative, the Friends of Durrutti called for a revolutionary junta and complete disarmament of the Assault Guards. The CNT issued a statement calling once more for unity and disowned the Friends of Durrutti. The joint CNT/FAI statement was broadcast:

'The CNT and FAI, who have helped decisively in the defeat of fascism in Barcelona and Catalonia alongside other anti-fascist organisations, appeal today to all of you to lay down your arms. Think of our great goal, common to all the workers in the rear and at the front.

'The government of the Generalid must be cleaned out. These demoralising acts will have to cease regardless of who is performing them, including the ministers.

'Workers of the CNT, Workers of the UGT, don't be deceived by these rumours. Above all unity. Put down your arms. Only one slogan. We must work to beat fascism. Down with fascism.'

The predictable results were that the CNT started to drift from the barricades despite appeals from the anarchist youth and the locals. The police of course did no such thing. Just after the appeal across the road from the Casa CNT, two of the anarchist youths were stopped and got out of the car at a PSUC barrier. Defenceless, they were shot down. The Casa did nothing. 'We did not even yield to this provocation,' says Souchy.

The fighting carried on until the end of the week but each time the barricades were manned they were asked to go home and put down their arms. After the fighting on the Wednesday/Thursday, the workers were tearing up *Solidarad Obrera* and cursing Fedric Montseny

who had been sent down by the Valencia Government to stop the fighting.

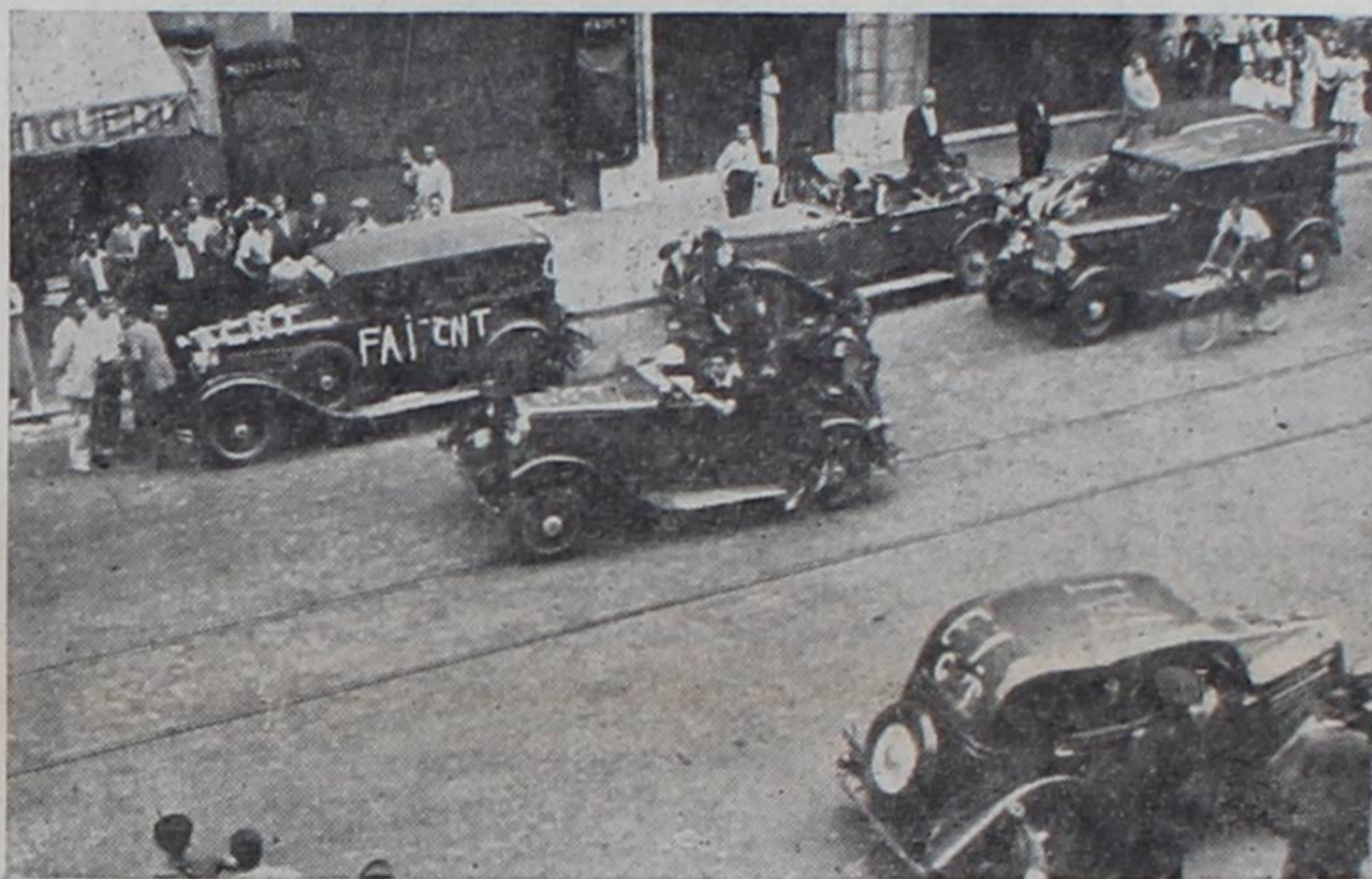
On the Thursday night, when the Casa had even gone to the extreme of physically dismantling some of the barricades themselves, the PSUC once more repeated their intentions of an honourable truce. Camilo Berneri and one of his comrades were arrested for being 'counter revolutionaries' and machined-gunned to death at the side of the police barracks by a squad of PSUC police. Camilio Berneri was an anarchist who had been in Mussolini's jails and was the editor of the independent anarchist paper, *Guerra di Classe*. He had been a thorn in the side of the reformist anarchist ministers and constantly attacked the FAI and the CNT for their part in the Government and their responsibility in the piecemeal destruction of the great gains made since the July days by the bourgeois Government.

The lessons had come full circle. Participation in a government means the impotence of a revolutionary movement. The FAI leaders, who had always preached the social revolution, had sold it down the river for a mess of potage. Five hundred dead and 1,500 wounded was the cost. Obey the Government was the call. The workers were sick of the Government and so were the militias. Men died and starved while at the front the Assault Guards and the Stalinist police carried on the repressions against the peasants of Aragon and the workers of Barcelona. Power, once wrested from the hands of the bourgeois state and their military and their police, must be firmly rooted where it belonged . . . in the people. The FAI failed to learn that and so bears the brunt of the responsibility of the massacres in the May days and the imprisonments afterwards. Yet they still defend it to this day. Not all, but Fedrica Montseny for instance has never recanted on what she did. Garcia Oliver even had the temerity to found an Anarchist Party some years ago. To enter the Cortes when it is liberalised.

The lesson to us is equally obvious. It determines our stance on the CND and our attitudes to the provos. But let us make it clear. Once we fail to realise that of all the liberties that we demand and will fight for, economic liberty is the hardest to attain and the most essential to our intrinsic liberty, then we will walk down the same slippery path of collaboration and end up selling the whole of our freedom.

M. J. WALSH

(Sources: *Spain and the World Supplement*, June 11, 1937, *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain*, Felix Morrow, *Spanish Civil War*, Hugh Thomas, Rudolph Rocker, V. Richards and G. Brennan.)



BARCELONA STREET SCENE 1937

leaders stepped in and persuaded the local unit to hand over its arms and control of the post. The Assault Guards stepped up their campaign against the CNT/FAI and succeeded in disarming workers' patrols in Barcelona, again after intervention by the Casa CNT. On

ing outside and took up the cry of treason. They sped to the Casa CNT and the working class suburbs. At 5 p.m. the barricades were being thrown up by the locals of the CNT and the FAI. During the night many of the Government police permitted themselves to be disarmed.

FURTHER nay FURTHER

WRITING in the *Socialist Leader* recently, an elderly member of the SPGB said the party had in the last year grown faster than ever before.

There has also been in this country, since Cuba, a phenomenal growth of the more obnoxious varieties of Trotskyism and other Mao-oriented factions.

Yet we must admit that the upsurge of Libertarianism that we expected at the time of Cuba, when the anarchist revival first became apparent, just has not materialized to the extent anarchists had expected. We are a larger movement than we were at the end of the 50s (indeed we probably have more active groups than we then had individuals) but we have not as yet emerged as a movement counting our active and committed group memberships in thousands or even in the high hundreds.

This being so, we need to be fairly certain in our own minds that we are following the right policies. However preferable an anarchist society to all others, and however necessary to abolish the State, if we have no hope at all of achieving this we might as well pack up and go home to call ourselves individualists—and if there is a tactic around that might with a little alteration lead to an approximation of anarchism, while our own achieves no results, then too we would have to pack in our own position. So we need to be certain that though it may be possible for a Marxist grouping to capture power, it will not bring socialism, and we need to be certain that though an Utopian grouping like the SPGB or old guard Pacifists might achieve temporary results they cannot

achieve more.

It is not surprising that the effect of the inability of the CP to put up more than token resistance to the Wilson Government (if for no other reason its ambitions within the TU bureaucracy preclude any open confrontation with social-democracy) has led to a flowering of Maoist groups whether openly Stalinist or allegedly Trotskyist. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a Maoist movement counting its membership in five figures might in time emerge; and because its aim is revolution in the backward countries rather than here, it is in the comfortable position of being able to mouth red-hot revolutionary calls while studiously avoiding any 'adventurist' action here.

On issues such as pay, hours and conditions where militant struggles may be waged against the bosses, and yet be kept firmly within the structure of the present class system, they can afford to play a very militant role, without spoiling their immediate chances by telling those with whom they work that to succeed they must challenge the whole State system. It is unlikely that they would ever wish to go further than this point, and that there is any danger of them setting up a Leninist dictatorship, though a little bit of thuggery on the way may well be expected and, like their predecessors of the thirties, they may brand real revolutionaries as objectively fascist.

The collapse of CND—and the fact that those who described themselves as Multi-lateralists who mean it, have now shewn that whatever else they may have

meant they did not mean Unilateralism—makes it also not surprising that there has been a rebirth of traditional Utopian anti-Militarism whether Pacifist or Spugub. Unready as it is to challenge the power political structure represented by the State except by means that the State as the agent of such powers has laid down in the certainty that here it can win, they are doomed to failure but as they offer what appears an easy way they naturally have a superficial attraction.

Relatively new on the political scene, one has the 'new look' New Liberals with their policies of 'workers' control' in a fashion that does nothing to change the control of money, and assumes that a measure of partial control in industry, leaving the rest of control untouched, and leaving finance as it is, can constitute a meaningful reform. One also has the remains of the New Left and the Revisionist Trot or ex-Trot influences working with them, also advocating a form of 'workers' control' modelled almost exactly on Mussolini's Corporate State.

We offer as against this a revolutionary perspective which we are aware is not easy, which we are aware demands more from the masses in order to make a revolution than the methods our various rivals would demand (if it ever happened that they did set about trying to fulfil their aims), but which by the same token gives the masses more; and only that much more can prevent reversion to a class society. We are often called socialists in a hurry, this is not the case. We are anarchists because unfortunately there is no short cut, our way—the long way—is unluckily the only road which has a bridge on the road to

carry us over the chasm that lies between us and freedom.

But we need make much plainer than we have just what we are proposing and why the short cuts will be seen to be *cul de sacs*. For only when we have persuaded more people of this will we have even enough propagandists to make it possible to tell everyone about anarchism.

There is here a need to understand the effects of political propaganda on two distinct categories of people most likely to be immediately influenced. Those who (while having inadequate conceptions of the nature of power in the State) are nevertheless militant within the limits of their present analysis (as Left Labour constituency workers, Left Liberals, Nuclear Disarmers, Colonial Freedomists, Oxfam or such) and need a fuller analysis to sustain their actions; and those who, intellectually, are receptive to a large part of our case but have subjective reasons for not wishing to be very militant and so come to nationalize their inaction with phrases of waiting for the masses to become conscious.

Naturally those who are already militant need to be eclectic in their choice of libertarian ideas to supplement their militancy and do not fully embrace our ideas. On the other hand those who wish to avoid real revolutionary action shelter behind the dogmatism of a revolutionary vanguard or a party of conscious internationalists. In both cases their ranks are strengthened by some who, at the end of the Committee of 100's heyday, came to consider anarchism in the heat of the moment but who alternatively declare themselves free individuals and provide reasons why work to change society would detract

from such freedom; a particular instance of this is the tendency to believe drugs liberate, and those who do are so afraid subsequently of being busted by the police that they give up anarchist activity in order not to draw attention to themselves. What role the police first play in introducing the drugs remains a mystery.

Then, with the passage of time some wished to join a larger movement or a less militant one; and, furthermore, others, who were once hard-core anarchists but fatigued by long struggle, gave up. We therefore have little reason to worry too much that others have grown faster than us, as it in no way prejudices our case.

L.O.



SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.

PROVO IS AGAIN working on an anxious Dutch public. The right-wing daily *De Telegraaf* began it with stories of Provos and foreign beatniks living in indescribable filth, moral and physical, aboard the barge *Hashimin*, maliciously concluding that Provos were carriers of scabies. More recently *De Haagse Post* manufactured a sensational feature—'Provos' New Image: Terror', from minimal information. Police found cans of nitrobenzene, a cleaning fluid with explosive properties, in the Provo Apollo Theatre and now the neighbourhood quakes and blusters. The dirty Provos are dangerous, they're making bombs and they're living next door to us. (NATO bombs? They are our protection, they are clean, they are made in special factories and taken to airfields far from where we live.) Our children meet these dreadful Provos, sometimes join them.

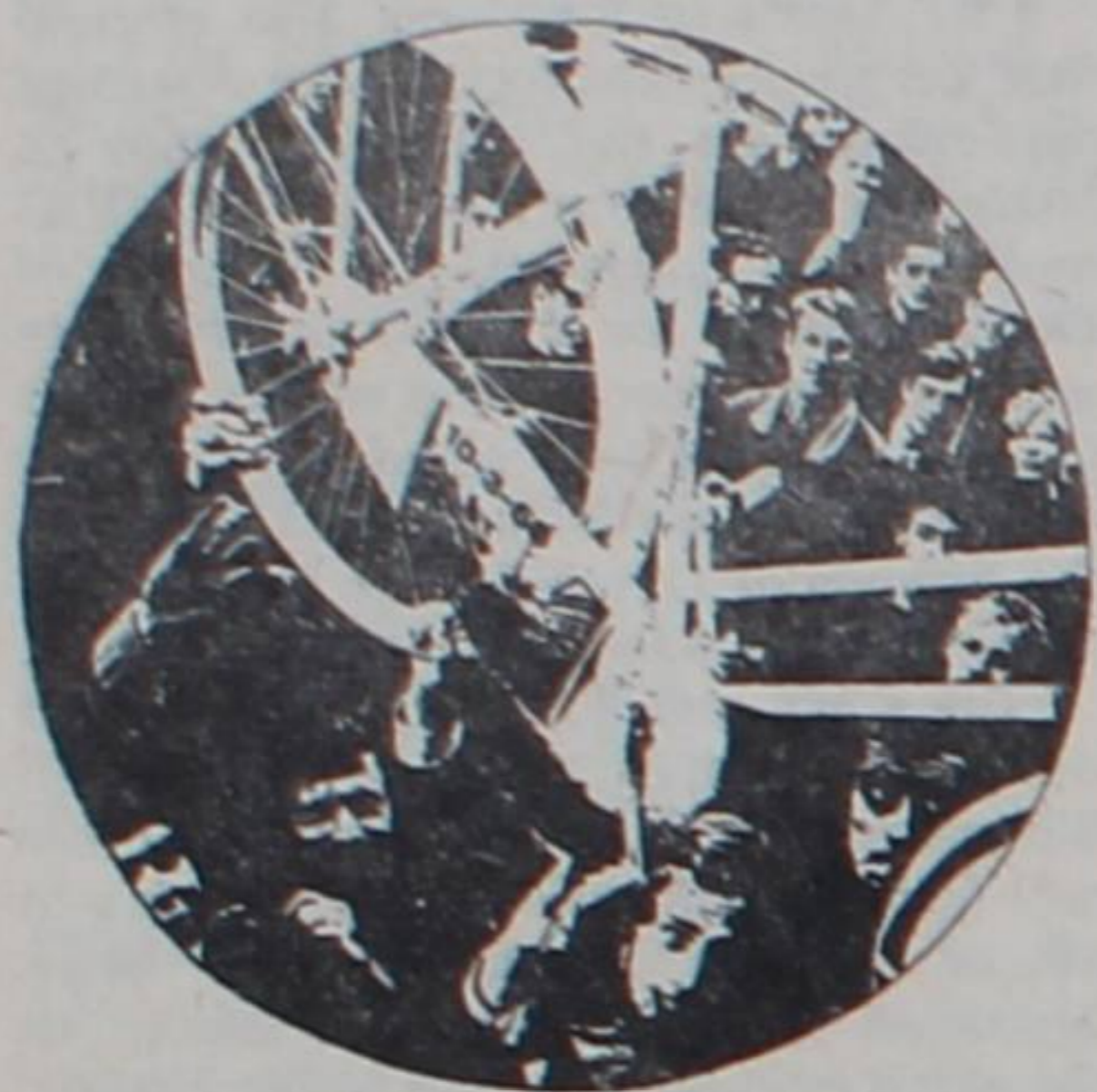
The first place Amsterdam cops call, in search of runaway girls, is the barge or cellar. Admit to a Dutch kid out of town that you are a Provo and they gambol about, half awed, half rejoicing—one of Batman's real henchmen. An exchange I had with an Amsterdam cop went as follows:

'Could you tell me the way to Haarlemmerstraat, please?'
'What are you doing?'
'Going to see friends.'
'How much money have you got?' I explain I am going back to England shortly.
'You are a professional Provo?'
'No!' Mock incredulity. 'Could you tell me how to get to Haarlemmerstraat?'

'If you go to the police station they might inform you.'
As for the Provos themselves, they take reaction in their stride, knowing from experience that smear campaigns tend to overreach themselves, and end by providing extensive free publicity. The barge in fact, as any visitor can see, is a floating guesthouse, cleaned out daily and responsibly organized; so that people from all over Europe can find a place to kip while on the road.

IMAGE

'Provo is an Image' is one of their slogans. This may suggest Provo is largely a fiction, owing everything to the police, press and civic authorities. Nearly 20 films have been made about the Provos and they are currently making one of their own from this material. They will admit that the weekend street riots (equals suppressed happening) are now increasingly creations of the police. Despite its influence, Provo has no thought of being a political party—plus organization, plus capulated ideology. It is effective precisely because it is formless, fluid and unpredictable; without hierarchies and decentralized, its comment and provocation appearing in upwards of 15 cartoon papers and free-form journals from all over Holland. 'Image' really means simply this: watch out for a body of real and imaginative ideas.



Rob Stolk joked up a rumour that the explosion was really the work of fascists trying to discredit Provo. Didn't the CIA plant a man in the Black Muslims to blow up the Statue of Liberty and then have their 'exposure' exposed?

Provo is divided over violence. Bernhard de Vries told me he hoped to see Amsterdam's Provos breaking up into numerous small groups over this issue. Future violent actions would then be the work of small groups of three or four, giving more cover to individuals involved than had been so with the Van Heutz bomb. The Provo cellar is watched and comings and goings sometimes photographed. Holland has a maniac internal security service. A leaflet currently circulating has been put out by the 'Revolutionary Terrorism Circle', which of course consists of no one in particular. 'We place our Terror against the Terror of the Security Service.' It goes on to ask: 'Do legal protests have any sense?', ending with seven incitements to throw bombs. Those hurled through the Spanish Embassy windows are

to be seen as a warning to international fascism that its opponents may be driven to violent acts of resistance. Suggested targets for the future include American Express offices. Anti-American feeling is generally very strong among Provos.

The violence, however, is symbolic and tactical. It is not directed against persons and it is too sporadic to be a campaign of sabotage or of violence on principle. It is aimed at the public via the mass media and targets are chosen to ram home the political context of violence elsewhere. Rob Stolk explains the current Provo interest in terrorism in this way: 'It depends on the action of Pop Art.' Provo protest is largely expressed through outrageous cartoons, in their magazines or acted out in street play. If these are suppressed, unless 'there is a lot of fun and possibilities to have things happening', the use of violence becomes more likely. Provos have made it their business to learn how to make their own bombs. How many English anarchists are similarly prepared? What of propaganda by deed?

BLOWING AUTHORITY'S COOL

Take the lid off and spill the beans. Offer the public the secrets of the military and of big business. Then watch authority panic, lash out in embarrassment and further expose its criminal duplicity. LYNX, organ of the Hague Provos, recently published the proceedings of the Bilderberg Conference, a top-secret debate on Holland's place in NATO, chaired by Prince Bernhard. How Provos obtained the complete text is their secret. The police seized the few copies that had not been sold, and by their ill-considered seizure of LYNX's press made national news of the Conference.

More to come. Amsterdam's Provos have conjured up an 'Economic Terroristic Council'. Results of a Europe-wide investigation that takes in London's City, will be blown in *Provo 16*, the next issue. The scandal concerns the Teixeira de Mattos Company, a private bank that suddenly announced bankruptcy, but not before all the big clients had swiftly withdrawn their holdings. The man in the street with his smaller deposit lost everything. The president of the bank was never questioned or arrested and the lawyer who took up the case of the small clients was bought off. During the war Holland was a part of the German state. Over the years the personnel of authority don't change that much. *Provo 16* will reveal how the bank was formed, by Dutch-German collaboration in the last days of the war, in a large part out of money taken from the Jewish community, and how various big corporations of today are connected

A Case for

with the affair; these include the Union Minière and the Société Générale.

ANTI-FASCIST FEELING

On the Dutch Easter Peace March the theme was Vietnam rather than nuclear weapons. 'Johnson Moor-denaar', at first an isolated shout, became a mass refrain in the heart of Amsterdam, chanted to the Provo handclap (one-two/one-two-three). The mounted police had to lump it, there were too many people to arrest, for words a judge has declared illegal. The presentation of the final demonstration showed Provo's imaginative influence. A huge bell, tolled steadily by a man in black standing on a black trolley, was followed by three companies of demonstrators, 30 or so in each, the first bearing white wooden crosses, the next picture placards with the caption '250,000 dead in Vietnam', and the last group, all in gold helmets, was headed by a banner: 'Gold is the price of blood'.

Holland is now guest-nation for NATO, since headquarters were moved from outside Paris to Limburg in the south of the Netherlands. This vast complex is 20 kilometres from Maastricht where Provos publish a surreal magazine, *Breakfast in Bed*. Maastricht Provos cultivate a light-hearted joyful mood in order to win sympathy in a very reactionary area. When Provos presented the visiting Head of NATO, General von Keyserling, with a record of his responsibility for Nazi mass-murders in Poland, he replied that he was not interested.

Provos constantly needle their elders with memories of wartime occupation. One cartoon shows the royal arms evolving into a swastika, another a furious policeman at the double belting into the same shape. A leaflet I saw, below three royal heads asked 'Which of these is the greater democrat?', giving clues:—Carlos, husband of the younger princess; son of ex-King of Spain and would-be successor to Franco; Claus, husband of the elder princess; ex-Nazi Youth, ex-cornet in the Wehrmacht; Bernhard, husband of Queen Juliana; sung at his wedding, 'Horst Wessel Lied', the official Nazi hymn.

FEARLESS CARTOONISTS

Amsterdam cannot easily live down its history of free presses. Countless political and religious tracts were once published here while their authors hid from repression. The inside walls of the Provo theatre are to be covered with sheets

of such refugee literature, forcing an unmistakable backdrop into every photographer's picture. The location of Provo presses is usually kept secret. Should one be seized, Provos in another town run off the next issues for their fellows. Open a booklet like *God Nederland and Orange* and the furore Provo cartooning has caused becomes intelligible. The ridicule is merciless, no holds are barred. Queen Juliana suckles a black German eagle. Or she sits by a red lamp, fingering her skirt as she watches for customers, her immense salary displayed on a window card. In another the Queen of Holland singe a variation on Marlene Dietrich: 'I am full of money from head to foot'. Churchy attitudes to sex are also staple for lampoons. A very ordinary little bourgeois hangs nailed over the sexual parts of Christ crucified. A fatuous monk boasts a church tower in place of genitals. A horrified matron holds a snake/penis at arm's length. In England monarchy and the established church are too flat to invite further deflating. But how many English cartoonists have the marvellous sense of the body and its satirical possibilities shown in Provo cartoons?

OFF-THE-POINT PROVOCATION

The cartoonist applies the magic possibilities of humour. The same appreciation of the subliminal thrust underlies happenings. A recent idea from Amsterdam's exhibitionist, Robert Jasper Grootveldt, is a relay race through the city. Like most of his actions the aim is to ridicule the consumer, in this case the blind aiding and abetting of American World Empire. Runners would carry coca colas, their faces stuck in a tooth-paste smile, handing out chewing gum to spectators and singing America's praises: 'Johnson is a bloody good fellow' or such like. This kind of protest, not quite to the point but slightly to one side, has been insufficiently explored as a variation on straight demonstrations. It requires less people, is more dramatic in its impact, and is more fun to participate in. But the main advantage is that the authorities rarely recognise for what it is in time to stop it. Playing with ideas like this, no Provo need ever repeat himself. The idea is to be continually surprising the general public, waking people up to themselves and their environment, in a way newsprint never can. Should the happenner be jailed, like all good

THE STRASBOURG SITUATIONISTS

THE OLD WAY of dismissing any self-assertive student body was to treat it as a mere juvenile extension of the bourgeoisie, having its fling before returning to spend its life in the bosom of its class; whether it let off its steam in a left- or right-wing direction made little difference to the ultimate re-absorption into conformity. This view is certainly no longer valid; a degree of democratisation in education, slight though it may be, has increased the number of students in all countries and provided opportunities for a wider social range than before. Now any revolutionary movement worth its salt cannot fail to take students into account; all the more so when a section of a student body sees a direct link between its own aims and actions and the general movement towards improvement of the worker's position.

Hot on the heels of the Provos we have the Situationists, although to treat them as similar would be a mistake which the latter group would never forgive. The Situationists claim to move on an international front, but their most significant success so far has been the taking over of the Students' Association of Strasbourg, a branch of the National Union of French Students. Since the takeover they have been opposed by the serried ranks of the academic establishment, the professors in particular, and

even by the National Union of Students itself; in short, by all the people they describe with the blanket term 'cretins'. But the opposition doesn't worry them; on the contrary, they systematically provoke it. For to be a Situationist you must first of all 'situate yourself', and doing this means breaking with all the terms of reference of the society with which you find yourself at odds.

The important thing about these scathing young people is that they know what they're talking about, and that very few groups find any favour with them. Their professors are described as 'nostalgic old men, embittered at being forced by the economic system to abandon their rôle as smug watchdogs of the intellect for that of mere sheep-dogs, guiding the white-collar brigade towards their offices and factories'. Fellow students are treated no less kindly for their faith in political solutions: 'The student dresses himself in the rags of a leftist movement that was obliterated 40 years ago by socialist reformism and Stalin's counter-revolution. . . . He proudly opposes de Gaulle's archaic policies without realizing that he does so only in the name of past mistakes and that his youthful approach is thus even more antiquated than that of the power-complex that manipulates him.'

This rigorous criticism is characteristic

of the Situationist attitude to all rebellious manifestations: the mod-rocker style of revolt is seen as false because its proponents reject work while relying on a capitalist system to supply the things they want; Provo is considerably better, but is ultimately dismissed as a 'merely reformist' movement burdened with an increasingly repressive hierarchy.

Institutionalized groups come in for the most devastating criticism of all, as in this section on communism from the recent Situationist manifesto: 'The results of the Russian counter-revolution were, within Russia, the development of a new form of exploitation, bureaucratic state capitalism; and, outside Russia, the proliferation of branches of the so-called "communist" international, branches formed with the sole aim of defending the Russian model and extending its influence. Capitalism, in both its bureaucratic and bourgeois variations bloomed once more, this time over the bodies of the Kronstadt sailors, the peasants of the Ukraine, the workers of Berlin, Turin, Shanghai and later Barcelona.'

It would be wrong, though, to get the idea that Situationists can't manage anything more positive than insults and general abuse. The manifesto just mentioned sets out to examine 'the difficulties of the student life from the economic, political, psychological, sexual and above

all intellectual points of view, with suggestions for improvements'. Granted there's no shortage of coarseness, all of it deliberate, but a real clarity of vision shows itself as well, as in the analysis of the part students are conditioned to play within the capitalist framework: 'Student status is merely provisional, preparing the student for the definitive rôle in which he makes a positive and appreciable contribution to the functioning of the buying-and-selling system. . . . Modern capitalism demands that students be no more than docile skilled workers, cogs in the big money machine.'

Identification is felt with the student revolt in the US; and with movements in the Eastern bloc where student opposition to authority is seen essentially as proletarian criticism of bureaucracy. This link with the working class is a prime situationist consideration, and the student movements in Britain and especially Japan are highly respected on this score. Little faith, however, is placed in trade unionism in any country; student trade unions, say the Situationists, would be no more than a caricature of a caricature.

These general attitudes, especially the solidarity with the working class and the rejection of institutions, demonstrate a real affinity between Situationists and Anarchists, an affinity strengthened by the overall Situationist aim: 'the proletarian', they say, 'is any man deprived of the power to control the course of his own life'; it is the task of the student, and of everybody, to identify with this



Typical Malicious Approach

man, to join with him in a movement towards workers' control and individual freedom.

RAYMOND GUILLORE,
in *La Révolution prolétarienne*
abridged and translated by
John Thurston.

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Provocation

magicians he will work his magic through the walls. Happeners seized by Amsterdam's police have regularly drawn scores of Provos to protest and perform outside the prison.

The Provo apple, now appearing as a badge in England, is a further example of applied magic. Drawn properly it is the perfect insignia for an underground movement. The apple represents an outline map of Amsterdam's main waterways, the 'eye' being the Spui, scene of the first happenings; it is also the apple of creation, a cigarette (straight or joint) smoker, an invitation to sexual pleasure, and a key.

KLAAS

Beside the apple is often written the word 'Gnot'. There is an echo of God, but the nearest translation is bringer of satisfaction. Gnot will come to announce the era of Klaas. Klaas is an imagined future time when heaven or bliss prevails, when 'homo ludens' inherits the earth. There is of course a double pun in Klaas — at the expense of Prince Claus and upon commercial Santa Klaus.

The more humourless radical may dismiss all this as a load of poetic rubbish. However, who is there who has never experienced a moment's bliss in their life and has not imagined its continuation? The quaint mythology of the Provos does have a rough and ready correspondence to reality. Some Provos already live the part of 'homo ludens'. Within the theatre they loon about, day and night, doodling or painting depth-lettering over the walls (examples of décor in English: I WANT MORE AND LET'S GO AND GET IT) or else sit quietly in the 'LSD Research Room', anticipating the era of total leisure.

In this ambience, origination of ideas like the Klaas Bank is less of a mystery. The Klaas Bank is a projected means of exchange which would replace money, money that standardises, alienates, and reduces all to its own value as lowest common denominator. Instead of money paper notes will circulate; their value would vary according to the number of individual signatures on a note. Every transaction or gift then becomes a real expression of the individual's sense of value. Like giving flowers to your girl friend the gift of a klaas note is a gesture of love. Widen the area of its disuse and money becomes progressively

less necessary. Witness the Diggers in America. The Klaas Bank makes a fool of the miser and nonsense of capitalism. Most subversive of all is its sacrifice of the sacred cow of the bourgeois, private property. No mine. No Yours. Everything Ours, everything gaining value as we add our names to it. The klaas note must be passed round, used by as many people as possible, else it has little value. The idea grows that property is worth sharing.

In practice old ideas of self-interest and the business of law-makers would hinder the clandestine development of a Klaas Bank within a money economy. The first cheque was bought for 15 guilders (30/-), but that is purely incidental, for the meaning of Klaas emerges precisely because of the obstacles to its realization: there can be no true social revolution without a new understanding between people. In other words psychological change will have to precede social change. The Klaas Bank could never be enforced by law. The lunatic Provos are the most truly subversive.



DIRECT ACTION OR REFORMISM?

Provo issues a direct challenge to the official spectacle. When Rob Stolk appeared on the Dutch equivalent of TWTWTW, the programme was at first scheduled to be a live broadcast from a hall in the centre of Amsterdam. Foreseeing there would be little chance given to express Provo's attitude to the monarchy, Provos planned to take the building over and convert the interview into a debate for the viewers and themselves. Word got out, however, and Provo's spokesman for the occasion had to be content with being pre-recorded.

I was puzzled by the inclusion between the pages of *Provo* 13 of an Armed Forces recruiting magazine—until a Provo explained. A thousand copies were stolen and

then inkstamped in characteristic dada fashion with 'Extra Christmas Colour Supplement' and a ring of gibberish. Provos are also apparently responsible for the removal of weapons from Dutch museums. Someone was arrested on this year's Easter March for displaying a beltful of bullets.

With a bit of imagination many official privileges can be made meaningless, at least temporarily. Provo Amsterdam is going to issue press cards with future copies on the principle that every reader of *Provo* is also a (potential) reporter/contributor. And recently they forged 20,000 entry cards in order to overrun an official motor vehicles exhibition. Each card was stamped FIRM: PROVO. FACTORY FOR THROWING AWAY CARS. All of which has some bearing on the fate of the White Bicycle Plan.

Bernhard de Vries has made way on the Amsterdam Municipal Council for Luid Schimmelpennick, the Provo who fathered the original White Bike Plan and still has high hopes for a modified version. He estimates that at any moment there are 3,000 bicyclists in the city centre. He will therefore ask the council to lay on 4,000 public bicycles, in conjunction with electric taxis (noiseless) and white buses (fumeless). Originally Provos painted their own bicycles white and introduced the idea to the public themselves—direct action and a revolutionary snub to private property. Presented through reformist channels the White Bicycle Plan may stand a better chance with Amsterdam's elders. However its fate indicates a major weakness of Provo. They lack the material resources and organisation with which to make a fait accompli of their White Plans, most of which the public would welcome once it were seen how these would humanise the urban environment. Thus Provo ideas suffer a demoralising time lag before being considered by the establishment. Can Provo congratulate itself on Philips, the largest corporation in Holland, forcibly presenting its Amsterdam employees with a bicycle each on which to come to work? The only hint taken in this case is that people need more space to move in.

Provos will have to shake up established power far more thoroughly before it will be worth their while themselves doing the work of translating their ideas into action. For at present the authorities leave too little room for people to initiate their own projects, whether these be reformist or revolutionary in intention.

SPAN OF PROVO

Provo is so various, even con-

tradictory, that it defies labelling. New Provo magazines are starting all the time. In February *The Awakener* from Arnhem, in March one from Dordrecht. Groups outside Holland have recently sprung up in Copenhagen and in Frankfurt. Provo does printing for revolutionaries in Ethiopia, like Holland burdened with a reactionary monarchy. The most articulate activists have travelled a great deal around the Low Countries to lecture on Provo to schools and societies, sometimes earning a living from talks. The Socialist Youth and the Left of the Universities are both much influenced by Provo. Other Provos survive without being employed by selling their magazine in their hometown.

Several Provos have written books about Provo, not to mention the numerous essays by sociologists and other pundits. Roel van Duyh, a prime mover and philosopher of Provo, is author of *White Fear*. Duco van Weerlee recently brought out a booklet, *What the Provos want*. Hans Tuynman's *Full Time Provo* gives a picture of the day-to-day life style of the happening Provos.

What sort of people become Provos? Apart from the obvious—that activists are mainly young people of middle-class background and include very few girls—one has to ask Provos themselves who they are, and on this they will give you different answers. One will deny that poet and Simatist Simon Vinkenoog has any connection with Provo, while another said 'he's a real Provo for me'. Equally many of the Provos, who groove about between the barge, cellar and theatre, show no interest in Provo's municipal councillor. But someone else will extol Luid Schimmelpennick for his value as a 'Provo ombudsman', coming as he does from a traditionally liberal family, whose part in republican struggles every Dutch schoolboy knows.

Easily overlooked is the fact that many of the contributions to *Provo* are from writers quite unconnected with the Provo scene. A front? No, for there is no organisation behind Provo. Its attraction is for individuals. Finance? *Provo* more than pays for itself by selling 20,000 copies per issue. The press used to bring out the first issue was a present from a generous Provo who asked for his inheritance in advance. The theatre they could use for free but they prefer to pay to secure some rights. When in difficulties Provo can call on good lawyers. Provo is literally self-running and takes care of itself without any formal structure or offices. Everybody answers the telephone. Some-

one is always in the cellar. There appear to be no routines to consume the energy of activists. Provocation is the be all and end all. CND, compare cost and effect with Provo!

PROVOCATION

Provo's aim is to provoke everyone who is not already a Provo, particularly the functionaries of the State. It is the most extroverted movement imaginable. The struggle against authority, the struggle for more freedoms, is more important than any conception of class struggle. The state excludes middle- and working-class alike from control of their lives. Provo has no illusions about the possibility of revolution in advanced Western European industrial society. 'We cannot convince the masses. We hardly want to. How one can put one's trust in this apathetic, dependent, spiritless horde of cockroaches, beetles and ladybirds is incomprehensible,' wrote van Duyn in the first issue of *Provo*. But Provo must not neglect its own, the unaffiliated youth it has named the Provotariat, those with nothing to lose, those who hesitate to swallow the lies of the organized system. Their unfocused rage needs educating, rebellion of the teenager growing into rebellion of the adult. For the riots that terrify the authorities, to borrow words from *Heatwave*, are inseparably a form of self-realization and an objective assault on contemporary life. A society that has suppressed all adventure has made the only adventure the suppression of that society's.

Provo does not need to get bigger in the sense of occupying more seats on municipal councils (which would make of it just another political party, trying with decreasing impetus to reform the establishment it increasingly becomes a part of); rather it needs to provoke more and more effectively, until the day when to be in authority over others is regarded with universal distaste and submission to authority meets with universal contempt. Provo has been effective to date because it declines to play by the rules of the liberal protest game. The attitude is closer to schoolboy truant's: rules exist to be broken. Their anarchism is coupled with a shrewd appreciation of how fascinating the cowed masses find their disobedience, fascinating even after castration by the mass media. Provo does not despair because it is a minority style, without established power. With our spoofs and our stunts we will nuisance you intolerably, is their supporting faith. In this they are vindicated.

G.G.

NO ADVANCE ON 1956!

YOU asked for comments on your edition of *FREEDOM*, Spring 1967, which had eight pages. I now give mine. Kindly excuse their length. They are, however, the first I have offered to your columns, and they may be the last. They are also the fruit of some years thought, both on your work and politics generally.

It disappointed me that your first photo should have been of Stalin's toppled statue. One of Kennedy's coffin would have disappointed me less. Both were tyrants, but Stalin for me the less so, called as he was 'Uncle Joe' by those about me in the war, naval ratings close to mutiny who knew instinctively that no matter what he'd done to ambitious intelligent Russians, he'd helped the dull ones, and that we could do with a Joe instead of Churchill and Mountbatten.

With the photo was the article on the Hungarian rising of 1956. It happens that I first read *FREEDOM* that year, when the truths about Stalin had been confirmed at the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP. That Congress decided me never to believe wholly the official statements of Communist governments, though I would continue to read *Soviet Weekly*, etc., always modifying my picture with a scrutiny of the equally unbelievable anti-Soviet Western press. The need for this scepticism, which I still practise, was reinforced by the Hungarian uprising, with the disheartening lesson that, in the best of worlds, Communist will still fight Communist, and by the return from Hungary of Dr. Bone, whose imprison-

ment in Hungary had been concealed by the *Daily Worker*. As well as this scepticism, I adopted the philosophy 'I expect Communism. I don't fear it. I look forward to it a little. But I won't work for it. Nor will I allow that a single man's death is permissible to bring it nearer.'

What attracted me to *FREEDOM* that year was an article explaining American non-intervention in Hungary in answer to Nagy's plea. Briefly you claimed that despite the Voice of America's inspiration to revolt in Hungary, neither Wall Street nor Whitehall welcomed it. And for the first time I saw with you that Soviet and Western leaders were a match in many ways.

Your article this year, 1967, however, makes no advance in the interpretation of 1956. It forgets that troops landed at Port Said as tanks ringed Budapest. It forgets that the Western press charged the Soviet Union with bombing Budapest and deporting people, charges forgotten later. About this I would like to point out, for the attention of the anti-Soviet writers in your columns, one respect in which, though most governments are black, the Soviet government is only grey. I mean bombing. So far as I'm aware, the Communist countries have to their credit not a single Guernica, Rotterdam, Coventry, Hamburg or Hiroshima. It will be shrilly argued that the Soviets have killed with tanks, and to die by tank-fire is no worse than by bomb. But tank-fire is more accurate and con-

finer to the guilty. The bomb almost always finds the innocent. And anyhow all Western governments have used the tank as well as the bomb.

A cause of this is the inflamed hysterical drunken thinking of the West. From World War I the bomber was prophesied as a weapon of success in war. Hitler, Churchill and Bomber Harris writhed in this hysteria, though Germans escaped the war only when troops wrested their land from them, not earlier when bigger bombs evoked better shelters.

I am saying, in short, then, that restraint in not bombing South Korea, when the Americans bombed North, or in bombing South Vietnam when the Americans bomb North, marks Communist governments as more humane. Of course they are more politic too, since the bombing hysteria must have gained many enemies for the West, but if they are more politic then I prefer them, since the wisdom implicit in such real politic is such as I would desire my governors to have, if I must have a governor. After all it has been safe to be a Russian since 1945 and a Chinaman since 1948. But to have been a North American has not been safe at all. I might have died in Korea, in Vietnam, or in whatever idiocy the bomb-happy hysterics at the Pentagon think up.

Let me finish, however, with a question or two. Will some comrade explain to me what I have to fear from Communists? Shortly after 1956, when I'd met a few Anarchists and began to think myself one, I was told about Kronstadt. So I read about it and wept a little. Then about the Civil War in Spain. And I wept again. Yes, I'm being ironical. All right, I'll admit it was sad. And

more sincerely still, I admit it infuriates me that the naval pigs thrown overboard from the *Potemkin* should have swum aboard again and now lord it over the lower deck like officers anywhere in the West. But what am I now being told? If I'm being told 'Watch the Commies!', well all right, I've got the message. But am I being told 'Don't join with the Commies even to establish their type of Communism, namely authoritarian Communism!' then I won't obey. I see



authoritarian Communism of the Russian or Czech sort as a step on the way to anarchism — in Czechoslovakia it's marvellously difficult to find anybody who'll take responsibility at present and

they take the mickey out of the Russians. I like the reasonableness of Communist life—despite its lesser freedom—to the crawling nest of property shite-hawks built over and on to England.

Nor have I anything to fear. With the Commies in Westminster and Whitehall, with the Opposition thrown into the Thames with the Peers—allowed to swim ashore soiled, of course—with the Metropolitan Police renamed People's Militia, with the mines and factories allegedly run by the workers, as now in the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia, why then at least the buses will be free and I won't run the risk of being fined again for not paying my fare on the tube. And you'll be able to pitch yer tent on a bit of England that some duke or cunt doesn't own.

Prison? Purged? Don't you believe it. I'm stopping at the bottom. Kropotkin's trouble was that his name got known. Schweik, the Good Soldier Schweik, Hasek's Schweik is the anarchist proper. He stays at the bottom. The boss always suspects he's lying, but can never be sure.

Honesty's only one policy. We've got to be dishonest now and again. And Faith's the big sin, as Percy Shelley always sings to us. Cos when Eichman looks back he's got to find suddenly that the platoon's not formed up behind 'im.

In Czechoslovakia I found that Party people lamented that the best people wouldn't join the Party. Good. I also heard that down in the south near the Austrian border were young people like our layabouts. Good again. The state will wither away yet.

Your fellow Schweik.

STUART MITCHELL.

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FRANCE

A REPORT in the Brussels paper *Le Soir* reveals some disturbing facts about French hospitals: there is at present an estimated bed shortage of 300,000, not counting the 200,000 (of the 600,000 in use) that need to be replaced; the result is that patients sometimes find themselves on improvised beds in corridors and that ambulances often have to carry accident cases from one hospital to another in search of the necessary places. There are hospitals which have no anaesthetist or blood bank. Analytical work is often in private hands, which can entail a wait of up to a week for an X-ray result.

Things are little better on the personnel side: cases are cited where there was one night nurse for 500 patients; the lack of qualified staff leads to such anomalies as a hospital secretary working as a laboratory assistant, or a ward waitress as a nurse. Hospital wages bear little relation to the cost of living, so that new vacancies often go unfilled, especially in the Paris area where living costs are high and where the most modern hospital was built in 1934.

To which M. Jeanneney, Minister of Social Services, replies that he has at last succeeded in getting the hospital grant raised from the figure established in 1954; and that public health is sixth on the list of national priorities only because people are more interested in phones and motorways. Not to mention, of course, atom bombs and Mongénéral's *Farce de Froppe*.

From an interview with the pop singer Absalon:

Through the Anarchist Press

Q. Would you go to gaol rather than do military service?

A. No. But I'd be prepared to make them think I was homosexual, which is another way out of the same problem.

Q. If your country was invaded, would you lie in front of the enemy tanks like the non-violent resisters?

A. Of course not. I would have been gone long before the tanks got there.

JOHN THURSTON.
(Source: *Défense de l'Homme*.)

The *Combat Syndicaliste* published by our French and Spanish comrades in France, appears to be hard up. They describe their foreign subscriptions as 'calamitous' and they lose a great deal of money through people who don't pay for issues sent on credit (postage alone comes to 2,683.8 francs per annum). Donations should be sent to *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, 24 Rue Ste.-Marthe, Paris X, France.

SPAIN

The 'Agence France-Press' reported to *Le Monde* that eleven political prisoners in the Carabanchel Prison have declared a hunger strike. They had sent a message to the prison directors, which was followed by the imposition of sanctions. Sr. López Enriquez has been put in a punishment cell, since the authorities have charged him with inciting the strike. The other ten remain in solitary. They include an Italian, Sr. Ricardo Gualino.

CADIZ

According to statistics, in Cadiz there are 3,160 families occupying only one room each, 4,475 occupying two rooms each, 6,135 relying on communal services with other families, and 5,201 families whose homes have insufficient ventilation, the grand total of persons living in inferior dwellings coming to 37,550.

VIETNAM

Commenting on the question of a third world war over Vietnam, a writer says, 'For a long time now, every time I see the name "Vietnam", I involuntarily read "Sarajevo".'

'OCTOPUS DEI'

The Mexican paper *Tierra y Libertad* publishes an article on the Roman Catholic Church, highlighting its consistent contradictions. The Pope begs for peace in Vietnam while his (and God's—what's the difference?) ministers are not reproached for former misdeeds, nor for 'blessing' the murder weapons and tranquillizing the consciences of the uniformed butchers of that same war. Neither are any of the tyrannical perpetrations of the Jesuits or previous Popes put to rights; in fact, the Church is the first to grab the monopoly and the riches of the Earth where it can, with the accompanying degree of control over the public.

Nor are these idle accusations. In Spain, Opus Dei, a clerical organisation

AROUND THE GALLERIES

THIS is a week when two major galleries have given their walls over to two artists who have decided to ignore the orthodox sex war for a display of camp not seen in the Town since David Hockney's display of Alexandrian etchings at the Kasmin Gallery in July of '66. Their abrogation of all ideological content and their hedonistic final solution in the matter of pictorial matter comes as a cheerful relief after all those screaming manifestoes from the blood and paint school who have tortured us and their canvases in their weekly declaration of faith.

And so, with a gay giggle and a queuing eyebrow, we can do no more than join the Town as it pads to the Redfern Gallery at 20 Cork Street, W.1, to enjoy, though not to accept, the current exhibition of paintings by Patrick Proctor. In the final judgement each individual painting must stand or fall on its own internal merit and, no matter how sincere the painter or novel or brave his message, the passage of the years, new problems and new generations will shunt his heart's cry to the basements of a provincial museum or gallery according to his ability or lack of ability as a painter.

There is a brash urchin audacity in these paintings of Patrick Proctor that embraces the Rolling Stones in full drag, to Proctor's version of the Red Guard high-stepping the *great leap forward* in an uneven chorus line across the floor of the cave temples of Mai-chi-shan, with frescoes of Chairman Mao and a Wuhan steel worker to fill the wings with a blurred vision of David Hockney peering through a rosy mist as the father

figure of the boys' club. Yet the difference between the leather boys and the Red Guards has been synthesised by Proctor into an illustrated version of Selby's *Last Exit to Brooklyn*, and I do not mean this unkindly, for, if you reject the social and political pressures that create the Western leather boys and the Eastern Red Guard, then all you are left with are groups of tough Youngmen waiting to roll an elderly customer. His painting of the Rolling Stones in tatty drag may, in the beginning, have been part of a *Daily Mirror* spread but now Proctor must claim that particular vision subjectwise while the painting itself could be used to illustrate a record sleeve in a bad month. The bearded character posing in woman's dress in two of Proctor's paintings is not only a slapdash essay in lazy painting but an exercise in self-expression that fails to amuse. All these leather-garbed Youngmen lounging in these vast and silent rooms will, I have no doubt, find a place on some tough Chelsea wall and the sad little pencil drawings of sad and naked Youngmen sprawling in bed or bath will form an icon for those who reject the Evergreen mammary types.

If these paintings or drawings give a small particle of happiness to that unfortunate minority cult able to afford them, then they will have justified their creation but beyond that function I feel that they have failed.

Léonor Fini, at the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. George Street, W.1, is a tough vessel, for her exhibition of paintings portrays a coven of hard-faced dolls as selfish and as anti-social as anything the women's branch of the Tory Party ever

threw up. And I use the word Tory deliberately, for the women that fill Léonor Fini's frames are the hard-faced bitches of any cosmopolitan society. Those that are dressed wear the clothes of their rank and they move through their background with a trained contempt even for themselves. Like characters from an embittered Waugh novel, they exist to exist.

In her use of colour Léonor Fini captures the wraith world of Marie Laurencin yet her creatures move through the somnolent moon-taunted world of Paul Delvaux, and in place of Delvaux's buxom broads we have Beardsley figures slim-built enough to bring joy, though not satisfaction, to the shade of Oscar. They pause and they pose and examine each other like tired gourmands saturated by an excess of living. It is claimed, and with truth, that Genet has praised her work and his *Lettre a Léonor Fini* still awaits our inspection if we can play God for an idle moment.

Yet, all in all, these two exhibitions by Proctor and Léonor Fini are worthy of your time and applause for, though at first viewing this may seem an ill-marriage of Mayfair and the King's Road, Chelsea, they deserve to be seen for their simple, naive honesty.

For those that seek the orthodox, in subject if not in style, then the paintings by Sheila Oliner at the Woodstock Gallery at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1, are worth a walk for her work has shown a magnificent improvement within the last few years and her strongly delineated nudes strain within their frames in a harmony of colour and a sureness of line that bids well for her future, but it is Léonor Fini, tough and unyielding as her own subject matter, who carries the palm.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

1967 AFB Conference. Sept. 29, 30, Oct. 1. For details of London venue and proposals for agenda apply to LFA.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.

Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2.

Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube).

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

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

SOUTHWARK ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Dave Burden, 45b Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22. Proposed meetings to be held on first and third Thursday of each month.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

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 Saverne Road, London, N.W.3.

Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to Michael Day, 86 Rosemount Place, Aberdeen.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnhurst, Kent.

BELFAST. Contact Tony Adams, 11 Winetavern Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Geoff Charlton, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Bearwood, Smethwick, 41. Regular meetings at Geoff and Caroline's above address, top flat. First Wednesday of month.

RESISTANCE GROUP. C/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP. Contact: Dave Kipling, 87 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Birmingham 24.

BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

BRISTOL. Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Row, Bristol, 6.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Gowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Uma Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, G.1.

HERTS. GROUP. Contact Stuart Mitchell at 46 Hughendon Road, Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Teempest, 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.

NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Mr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 23.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Fortnightly meetings.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Robin Lovell, c/o Students' Union, University, Sheffield, Tel. 24076.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST GROUP. Meetings every Saturday, Feltham High Street. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanworth, Middlesex.

SWANSEA. Please get in touch with Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, Flat 9, 619 Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester, 21.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

PROPOSED GROUPS

LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical

and a sort of God's Mafia (see *Time Magazine*, 12.5.67) is managing to get its hands on (with the blessing of the Pope) a vast amount of the riches of Spain. No wonder many Spaniards call it 'Octopus Dei'.

Not only does the organisation run schools and the like (including the University of Navarra, thus determining the futures of the 5,220 students there) and control publications such as *Diario de Madrid*, *Actualidad Española*, *Actualidad Económica*, *Ama* and many others, but also more than fourteen banks and finance companies, four film companies, ten publishing houses, four chemical companies, and fifteen construction businesses, etc. These are only the known assets of God's Octopus in Spain.

Translators:
JOHN THURSTON AND B.B.
(Sources: *Tierra y Libertad*, *Combat Syndicaliste*, *Défense de l'Homme*.)

Don't forget
'SAVE GREECE NOW'
DEFENCE FUND
All contributions to:
13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4

GREEK DEMONSTRATION
SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1967
AT 2.30 P.M.
CARLTON GARDENS—
BROOK STREET
(To be renamed)

CORSHAM/COPENACRE
THIS WEEKEND

Saturday to Monday — May 27/29. Corsham is between Bath and Chippenham.

SATURDAY: Assemble at 2.30 p.m. at Pickwick Road, Corsham. Procession, public meeting at Corsham Court, launching of a petition for a non-military future for Corsham. (Bring a tent if you can.)

SUNDAY: Tour and study of the military installations. Exhibition. Discussion Groups.

MONDAY: Leafletting, literature sales, signing the petition. Final meeting, march to Copenacre, vigil.

Various other activities currently under discussion — civil disobedience — not planned.

Corsham/Copenacre Action Group: Tony Allwright, 105 Ashley Road, Bristol, 6.

ADVANCE NOTICE:
A SOCIAL EVENING
with our Spanish comrades
films—theatre—songs—colour—jazz
dancing—food

(entertainers and jazz band wanted)

Tickets available from Mujeres Libres, LFA and Freedom Press

Price 6/-, Children 2/6

SATURDAY, JULY 1,

6 p.m.—11 p.m.

CONWAY HALL,

RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1

Further details later

Chorley Anarchists
24-hr VIETNAM FAST
6 pm Friday June 2
opp. Chorley Bus Station

DAVE CUNLIFFE was involved in a serious motor accident on Saturday. Friends will no doubt like to write to Tina.

ABROAD

U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY. N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o York Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening.

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. 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 RED 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

CANADA: Winnipeg. Anyone interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Madison Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclémissin-Liege, Belgium.

EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

USA: NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA. Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minn. 55720, USA.

The Barcelona 'May Days'

THIRTY YEARS AGO, under the warm May skies of Barcelona, the history of the anarchist movement in Europe was decided for decades. We are still suffering from its aftermath, both here and the many thousands of our comrades who pace the stone cages of Franco's present 'liberal' regime. We in England have taken to a large extent the CNT/FAI as our heroes, the nearest point that the organised syndicates led by the anarchists came to the social revolution. We talk of the collectives and the communes of the militia columns and the barricades even today with the fond remembrance of a forgotten dream that was in fact a nightmare of stupidity and betrayal—firing squads and the blood of our comrades, defending the revolution that had never taken place, dying in the gutters of history, uselessly murdered once more by the Stalinist and the bourgeois Government. The act was committed by others but upon the leaders of the CNT/FAI falls the most terrible responsibility which permitted those who crushed the workers of Barcelona to do what they pleased.

In the first weeks of the Spanish Civil War a decision had to be taken by the leaders of the CNT whether or not to regard the Franco uprising as the opening of the social revolution or an isolated act of a reactionary minority backed by the aristocracy and the middle classes. They decided that it was the latter. Their certainty was not shared by Companys, the Catalan premier (Catalonia was recently an autonomous republic), a lawyer who had often acted in the past for the CNT. He stated that he thought that they should all join together for their mutual defence against fascism. He said also that if it was the CNT's decision that the time was ripe for the social revolution then he would go. He stayed and the collaboration with the Government began. The CNT controlled Catalonia with the exception of Saragossa and Huesca, these garrisons were under the Francoist troops. The CNT suggested the composition of the Generalidad; this was accepted by a grateful Companys who must have sighed with relief when he saw the political composition of the Generalidad (Cabinet). The CNT proposed the representation of all the Catalan parties on the list (including the right-wing Esquerra Catala). The bourgeois merely had to sit back and watch their work being done for them.

Matters came to a head after much struggle and loss of revolutionary gains achieved in the July 1936 days. True there were three anarchists in the Madrid Government. But that hardly compensated for the loss of control of the collectives and factories or the miserable conditions of the militia units who were denied arms and support. Orwell points out that they (the POUM) had to hand over their rifles to each other when they relieved units in the trenches. Meanwhile the Assault Guards, who seemed only capable of assaulting the workers, were strutting the streets of Barcelona re-equipped and well dressed with the latest Russian arms. Stalin always looked after his police better than his army. Needs must!

The CNT, in following a policy of complete co-operation with the Central Government in Valencia and the Generalidad in Catalonia, was nonetheless in a position of complete power within Barcelona and the surrounding area. This was in fact the sore point of the Central Government. Determined to put an end to this period of dual power, the Stalinists and the bourgeois parties had been secretly planning how to defeat the strength of the CNT/FAI. As early as April 17, moves had been made against the CNT-controlled frontier post at Puiggrada by the Assault Guards and the Civil Guards; the CNT

April 29, Antonio Martin, the council president of Puiggrada, well-known CNT militant, was shot by a joint Stalinist-Civil Guard patrol. The repression against the defence committees in Murcia and Madrid became known in the pages of *Solidarad Obrera* just before May Day.

The Government had banned all public demonstrations on May 1 with the consent of the CNT ministers. The weekend went quietly, the police breathed a sigh of relief and started to think that they could smash the CNT and the POUM once and for all.

Ever since the July days of '36 the CNT had occupied the Telephonica which stood in the centre of Barcelona with its black and red flag commanding the city. The Telephone Exchange was a prime example of duality of power within the Catalan Republic. The CNT controlled it. There was, it was true, a Government delegate and a UGT delegate also on the administration committee; nonetheless the workers were CNT. It meant that no action could be undertaken against the CNT as the lines of communication were in their hands.

On Monday at 3 p.m. three truckloads of Assault Guards arrived at the Telephonica under the command of the Catalan Commissioner of Public Order. The guards on the lower floors were surprised and disarmed and the advance was only stopped on the second floor by a machine gun barring the way. Meanwhile the crowds of workers were gather-

The Assault Guard, the PSUC and the Esquerra Catala erected a few isolated barricades which were not attacked and left severely alone in response to the Casa CNT's repeated appeals for calm and unity in the face of this provocation. It even instructed the workers in the Telephonica to pass through all messages impartially. (How impartial can you get with three hundred cops on your tail!)

Lois Orr, the wife of the editor of the English-language POUM paper, reported, 'By the next morning (Tuesday, May 4) the armed workers dominated the greatest part of Barcelona. The entire port and with it Montjuich fortress which commands the port and city with its cannon was held by the anarchists; all the suburbs of the city were in their hands; and the government forces, with the exception of a few isolated barricades, were completely outnumbered and were concentrated in the centre of the city, the bourgeois area, where they could easily have been called in from all sides as were the rebels (Franco's men) on July 19, 1936.'

CNT locals in Catalonia also ensured that the government forces were disarmed particularly on the approach roads to Barcelona. The locals of the CNT/FAI took all the initiative, the Friends of Durrutti called for a revolutionary junta and complete disarmament of the Assault Guards. The CNT issued a statement calling once more for unity and disowned the Friends of Durrutti. The joint CNT/FAI statement was broadcast:

'The CNT and FAI, who have helped decisively in the defeat of fascism in Barcelona and Catalonia alongside other anti-fascist organisations, appeal today to all of you to lay down your arms. Think of our great goal, common to all the workers in the rear and at the front.

'The government of the Generalid must be cleaned out. These demoralising acts will have to cease regardless of who is performing them, including the ministers. 'Workers of the CNT, Workers of the UGT, don't be deceived by these rumours. Above all unity. Put down your arms. Only one slogan. We must work to beat fascism. Down with fascism.'

The predictable results were that the CNT started to drift from the barricades despite appeals from the anarchist youth and the locals. The police of course did no such thing. Just after the appeal across the road from the Casa CNT, two of the anarchist youths were stopped and got out of the car at a PSUC barrier. Defenceless, they were shot down. The Casa did nothing. 'We did not even yield to this provocation,' says Souchy.

The fighting carried on until the end of the week but each time the barricades were manned they were asked to go home and put down their arms. After the fighting on the Wednesday/Thursday, the workers were tearing up *Solidarad Obrera* and cursing Fedric Montseny

who had been sent down by the Valencia Government to stop the fighting.

On the Thursday night, when the Casa had even gone to the extreme of physically dismantling some of the barricades themselves, the PSUC once more repeated their intentions of an honourable truce. Camilo Berneri and one of his comrades were arrested for being 'counter revolutionaries' and machined-gunned to death at the side of the police barracks by a squad of PSUC police. Camilio Berneri was an anarchist who had been in Mussolini's jails and was the editor of the independent anarchist paper, *Guerra di Classe*. He had been a thorn in the side of the reformist anarchist ministers and constantly attacked the FAI and the CNT for their part in the Government and their responsibility in the piecemeal destruction of the great gains made since the July days by the bourgeois Government.

The lessons had come full circle. Participation in a government means the impotence of a revolutionary movement. The FAI leaders, who had always preached the social revolution, had sold it down the river for a mess of potage. Five hundred dead and 1,500 wounded was the cost. Obey the Government was the call. The workers were sick of the Government and so were the militias. Men died and starved while at the front the Assault Guards and the Stalinist police carried on the repressions against the peasants of Aragon and the workers of Barcelona. Power, once wrested from the hands of the bourgeois state and their military and their police, must be firmly rooted where it belonged . . . in the people. The FAI failed to learn that and so bears the brunt of the responsibility of the massacres in the May days and the imprisonments afterwards. Yet they still defend it to this day. Not all, but Fedrica Montseny for instance has never recanted on what she did. Garcia Oliver even had the temerity to found an Anarchist Party some years ago. To enter the Cortes when it is liberalised.

The lesson to us is equally obvious. It determines our stance on the CND and our attitudes to the provos. But let us make it clear. Once we fail to realise that of all the liberties that we demand and will fight for, economic liberty is the hardest to attain and the most essential to our intrinsic liberty, then we will walk down the same slippery path of collaboration and end up selling the whole of our freedom.

M. J. WALSH

(Sources: *Spain and the World Supplement*, June 11, 1937, *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain*, Felix Morrow, *Spanish Civil War*, Hugh Thomas, Rudolph Rocker, V. Richards and G. Brennan.)



BARCELONA STREET SCENE 1937

leaders stepped in and persuaded the local unit to hand over its arms and control of the post. The Assault Guards stepped up their campaign against the CNT/FAI and succeeded in disarming workers' patrols in Barcelona, again after intervention by the Casa CNT. On

ing outside and took up the cry of treason. They sped to the Casa CNT and the working class suburbs. At 5 p.m. the barricades were being thrown up by the locals of the CNT and the FAI. During the night many of the Government police permitted themselves to be disarmed.

FURTHER nay FURTHER

WRITING in the *Socialist Leader* recently, an elderly member of the SPGB said the party had in the last year grown faster than ever before.

There has also been in this country, since Cuba, a phenomenal growth of the more obnoxious varieties of Trotskyism and other Mao-oriented factions.

Yet we must admit that the upsurge of Libertarianism that we expected at the time of Cuba, when the anarchist revival first became apparent, just has not materialized to the extent anarchists had expected. We are a larger movement than we were at the end of the 50s (indeed we probably have more active groups than we then had individuals) but we have not as yet emerged as a movement counting our active and committed group memberships in thousands or even in the high hundreds.

This being so, we need to be fairly certain in our own minds that we are following the right policies. However preferable an anarchist society to all others, and however necessary to abolish the State, if we have no hope at all of achieving this we might as well pack up and go home to call ourselves individualists—and if there is a tactic around that might with a little alteration lead to an approximation of anarchism, while our own achieves no results, then too we would have to pack in our own position. So we need to be certain that though it may be possible for a Marxist grouping to capture power, it will not bring socialism, and we need to be certain that though an Utopian grouping like the SPGB or old guard Pacifists might achieve temporary results they cannot

achieve more.

It is not surprising that the effect of the inability of the CP to put up more than token resistance to the Wilson Government (if for no other reason its ambitions within the TU bureaucracy preclude any open confrontation with social-democracy) has led to a flowering of Maoist groups whether openly Stalinist or allegedly Trotskyist. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a Maoist movement counting its membership in five figures might in time emerge; and because its aim is revolution in the backward countries rather than here, it is in the comfortable position of being able to mouth red-hot revolutionary calls while studiously avoiding any 'adventurist' action here.

On issues such as pay, hours and conditions where militant struggles may be waged against the bosses, and yet be kept firmly within the structure of the present class system, they can afford to play a very militant role, without spoiling their immediate chances by telling those with whom they work that to succeed they must challenge the whole State system. It is unlikely that they would ever wish to go further than this point, and that there is any danger of them setting up a Leninist dictatorship, though a little bit of thuggery on the way may well be expected and, like their predecessors of the thirties, they may brand real revolutionaries as objectively fascist.

The collapse of CND—and the fact that those who described themselves as Multi-lateralists who mean it, have now shewn that whatever else they may have

meant they did not mean Unilateralism—makes it also not surprising that there has been a rebirth of traditional Utopian anti-Militarism whether Pacifist or Spugub. Unready as it is to challenge the power political structure represented by the State except by means that the State as the agent of such powers has laid down in the certainty that here it can win, they are doomed to failure but as they offer what appears an easy way they naturally have a superficial attraction.

Relatively new on the political scene, one has the 'new look' New Liberals with their policies of 'workers' control' in a fashion that does nothing to change the control of money, and assumes that a measure of partial control in industry, leaving the rest of control untouched, and leaving finance as it is, can constitute a meaningful reform. One also has the remains of the New Left and the Revisionist Trot or ex-Trot influences working with them, also advocating a form of 'workers' control' modelled almost exactly on Mussolini's Corporate State.

We offer as against this a revolutionary perspective which we are aware is not easy, which we are aware demands more from the masses in order to make a revolution than the methods our various rivals would demand (if it ever happened that they did set about trying to fulfil their aims), but which by the same token gives the masses more; and only that much more can prevent reversion to a class society. We are often called socialists in a hurry, this is not the case. We are anarchists because unfortunately there is no short cut, our way—the long way—is unlikly the only road which has a bridge on the road to

carry us over the chasm that lies between us and freedom.

But we need make much plainer than we have just what we are proposing and why the short cuts will be seen to be *cul de sacs*. For only when we have persuaded more people of this will we have even enough propagandists to make it possible to tell everyone about anarchism.

There is here a need to understand the effects of political propaganda on two distinct categories of people most likely to be immediately influenced. Those who (while having inadequate conceptions of the nature of power in the State) are nevertheless militant within the limits of their present analysis (as Left Labour constituency workers, Left Liberals, Nuclear Disarmers, Colonial Freedomists, Oxfam or such) and need a fuller analysis to sustain their actions; and those who, intellectually, are receptive to a large part of our case but have subjective reasons for not wishing to be very militant and so come to nationalize their inaction with phrases of waiting for the masses to become conscious.

Naturally those who are already militant need to be eclectic in their choice of libertarian ideas to supplement their militancy and do not fully embrace our ideas. On the other hand those who wish to avoid real revolutionary action shelter behind the dogmatism of a revolutionary vanguard or a party of conscious internationalists. In both cases their ranks are strengthened by some who, at the end of the Committee of 100's heyday, came to consider anarchism in the heat of the moment but who alternatively declare themselves free individuals and provide reasons why work to change society would detract

from such freedom; a particular instance of this is the tendency to believe drugs liberate, and those who so do are so afraid subsequently of being busted by the police that they give up anarchist activity in order not to draw attention to themselves. What role the police first play in introducing the drugs remains a mystery.

Then, with the passage of time some wished to join a larger movement or a less militant one; and, furthermore, others, who were once hard-core anarchists but fatigued by long struggle, gave up. We therefore have little reason to worry too much that others have grown faster than us, as it in no way prejudices our case.

L.O.



SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.

Shots in the Arm

PROFIT is the life-blood of the capitalist system. Over the last ten years, there has been a continued squeeze on profit margins for, as international competition has increased, so have profit margins been reduced. Of course, if companies can no longer produce the

necessary return on investments, then investors will not risk their money.

This in itself illustrates the fallacy about an Incomes Policy restraining all incomes. If in a capitalist society profits are restrained, then economic growth will be dampened down and if you are to remain competitive, you cannot afford to let this happen.

Obviously many companies and their investors were scared stiff that, with a Labour Government, their profits would be taken away. Even Mr. Paul Chambers, head of ICI, talks as though Mr. Wilson is against the profit motive. He speaks of State monopoly but, when it comes to ICI, it is referred to as an economic viable unit. But all companies have to be this, from the small building firm round the corner to ICI, and it was just a lack of this viability that produced a setback for British capitalism.

The advent of a Labour Government might have reduced the confidence of some companies and investors, but on the whole these surely were the rather old-fashioned sort or perhaps they really believed the *Daily Express*. Whichever party is elected, it still has to administer a capitalist society. The problems are the same and, in fact, other economically developed countries face similar ones.

With capitalism becoming more international, so are the problems and the remedies to cure them. The Common Market is one of the cures, in that by having a common system of tariffs, one market is created for all members to compete in. It becomes, basically, a larger home market and big companies, like ICI, will be on a better footing to compete. One only has to look at the welcome given by the big business interests to the formal request to join the 'Six' to realise who had the most to gain from this country's entry into the Common Market. Certainly since the last application, British capitalism is in a better position to compete and this improvement has come about since the Labour Government came to power.

CAPITALIST PLANNING

One thing the Labour Party has always been talking about is planning. Many Labour supporters thought this meant socialist planning for the whole of the community, but this is not so. The Labour Government is all for planning for capitalism, for this and the continuing growth of the system are synonymous.

Nowadays, because there are huge companies and combines, it is necessary for the State to intervene in their affairs, but there has not been much of an uproar about this. The whole point of State intervention with an Incomes Policy has been to give higher profit margins. It has also allowed companies greater accuracy of costing and so given them more scope in planning ahead.

The State's plans for mergers of companies are welcomed and acted upon. They are, of course, an economic fact of life and necessary if, as in shipbuilding, the industries are to survive. An article in the *Financial Times*, May 12, pointed this out. 'The lesson for the shipbuilding industry is clear; fewer ships may be needed in future to carry the world's seaborne trade—and so fewer shipyards, grouped together or otherwise, may be necessary.' So even the present proposals for mergers may be overtaken.

Because of the easier access to bigger markets, the process of mergers and amalgamations will continue. Capitalism is becoming more and more international and policies of isolationism are a thing of the past.

RICH MAN'S AGREEMENT

Last week's agreement at the

Kennedy Round on tariff cuts was an achievement for the international Keynesian. It widens the areas of near free trade and so will increase the possibilities of world trade. In other words, it is another shot in the arm for the powerful industrial nations. Although this might promote trade between these nations, the tariff cuts in no way help the less developed nations of Africa, Asia and South America. The Common Market, America and Britain, all have their tariff preferences with the poor nations of these continents, but there is no move by any of the rich countries to reduce them. The Kennedy Round was a rich man's agreement to make themselves richer.

While they might get richer, many of the workers who actually produce this wealth are themselves feeling the effects of capitalist rationalisation. This has not just meant a change of job, but unemployment. While this month's figures for unemployment in this country are down, the seasonal adjusted trend, nevertheless, shows an increase. Unless this trend is halted, a new peak of unemployment will be reached in the winter of 1967-68.

Britain is not the only country facing this problem. It is beginning to face international capitalism as a whole. In France, the trend is the same and, in recent strikes, demands have included security of employment and illustrate that workers there are conscious of the threat. In Germany, unemployment is also rising. In the industrial area of the Ruhr it has reached 6%, showing the changes in industry, with some, like coal, sinking and 100,000 coal miners facing the sack. The industry is privately owned and mergers are likely in the near future.

From the above it may be seen that common problems face workers in all these countries. It must be admitted, however, that workers have failed to see, at least on any scale, for a long time now, the necessity of facing these problems together. Even the highly organised shop stewards at Fords of Dagenham failed, a few years ago, to establish any substantial links with their counterparts at Fords in Germany. They even feared the effects that the new Halewood factory might have on their own plant.

I know that problems facing the unofficial rank and file organisation in industry in this country are tremendous. It is difficult enough to link up with workers in other parts of the country. However, it is imperative that struggles of workers do not remain isolated and fragmented. Every opportunity should be taken to establish contact with unofficial groupings both here and abroad. The internationalism, which was a part of working-class tradition, must be revived and enlarged if workers are to put up a fight, let alone overcome, the present rationalisation that is taking place within capitalism.

P.T.

STRIKE APPEAL

IT WAS on Friday, April 21, that the members of the Transport & General Workers' Union decided unanimously to strike at the Coneygre Foundry Ltd. in order to protest against sackings and the dictatorial behaviour of the management.

The strikers, who are Indian and Pakistani, along with one English worker, are fighting this just struggle in support of two trade union principles, namely work sharing rather than sacking, and in the case of redundancy the operation of the 'last-in, first-out' principle.

The management are operating a policy of racial discrimination, and are carrying out policies designed to divide the workers. They have already sacked 21 workers who are coloured. Despite appreciable efforts by the Transport & General Workers' officials, no agreement

Freedom For Workers' Control

MAY 27 1967 Vol. 28 No. 16

PROTECT US FROM OUR FRIENDS

THE GOVERNMENT have dropped the Longbridge Group of car delivery agents well and truly in the mud. Some time ago a wage freeze order was slapped on the drivers' claim, and since that date they have refused to bring their wagons back loaded from the docks, in other words a return journey empty. The drivers claim that returning full was part of their productivity arrangement for the increase. The employers wrote to the Ministry claiming they were losing money through the drivers' actions, plus the fact that in their estimation the drivers were taking industrial action against the freeze, and therefore were liable to prosecution under the Prices and Incomes Act. The Government, after sitting on the problem for over three weeks, informed the employers that, after consulting law officers, they had no case against the drivers but if the employers paid they would be liable to prosecution.

Obviously the Government had no intention of sticking its neck out at this stage of the wage freeze, and decided to allow the car delivery employers to carry the can. That, Mr. Wilson, is not the way to win friends.

RATIONALISATION

A plan is afoot for workers to help manage the nationalised steel industry. The idea is to have only people working at different levels including managerial. They would be part-timers and would continue in their jobs. Shop stewards would have to relinquish their union duties during their three-year term of office on the Board, but only because

of the demands that will be made upon them.

The price for this great honour is rationalisation of the industry to the extent of a possible 30%, in this case it is bodies for honour and glory. The TUC, to their credit, have given the proposal the thumbs down and described the idea as a waste of time. The plan was not subtle enough, the catch stood out a mile.

Whilst on the subject of the TUC, its incomes policy committee rejected 33 claims out of 43 at its last sitting. 'Anything they can do we can do better,' and what's more they are proving it.

CHAMPION OF FREEDOM

The *Daily Telegraph*, in its editorial of 22.5.67, poses the question of union affiliation to the Labour Party and ends its party piece with, 'Which is to be preferred—the role of privileged poodle or that of responsible citizens?'

The whole editorial sounds nice and democratic and talks about change in the character of the movement. It then goes on to mention Robert Carr's speech to Conservative trade unionists about the damage that can come to trade unionism in Britain from the maintenance of the historic links between the unions and the Labour Party.

Surely the Conservatives do not expect us to believe that all will be well under Tory Government. The Labour Party has opened the door for them to rush in. The Shadow Minister of Labour paints the picture quite clear—'Do as you are told or else!'

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

BILBAO (SPAIN)

THE ECHEVARRY STRIKE

THE STRIKE at the Echevarry works (cold-rolling) has now entered its fifth month. Five hundred and sixty four are maintaining the conflict most courageously, seeing strike, then lock-out, then strike successively. The original cause of the strike was apparently a claim for certain economic advantages, which was not only rejected by the company, but accompanied by the dismissal of 25 employees considered by the company to be the leaders of the strike. Working towards its own ends, the company then ceded some of the advantages claimed, on condition that the 25 workers remained out of their employ. Rejecting this arrangement, the workers found themselves locked out by the company, which also annulled the previously ceded advantages. Then, the factory was reopened previous to the readmission of some of the dismissed, but there followed another refusal by the strikers, with consequent retaliatory action by the company.

Out of the whole thing, one thing is apparent; the Echevarry strikers were backed by the solidarity of the Spanish workers.

Recently (April 4), after a full four months' strike, a demonstration in the streets of Bilbao, in support of the

strikers, saw 8,000 sympathisers attending. Always prepared for the carriage of injustice, the authorities dispatched several squadrons of the armed police against the demonstrators, initiating quite a disturbance and causing dozens of wounds and detentions numbering about 20.

On account of this disturbance, there reigns great excitement and enthusiasm amongst the public and student circles of the Basque capital.

The Latest on the Strike

The *La Vanguardia Español* newspaper reports that negotiations have been restarted between the representatives of both sides. The workers demand the reinstatement of all the sacked persons without exception. *La Vanguardia* adds that the factory has practically come to a halt.

The company is prepared to reinstate the workers, but reserves the right to make an exception of any whom they consider to be 'a menace to the normal running of the plant'. The representatives of the workers have replied that this insistence by the company is a serious threat to the solidarity of the strikers.

Translated from
Le Combat Syndicaliste
by R.J.A.

P.T. writes:

Thousands of workers from the Bilbao area have again shown their solidarity with the Echevarry works strikers by staging one-hour strikes. Despite threats by the Civil Governor of the Biscay Province that the May Day demonstration, planned by 'disaffected elements', would be broken up by the police, workers nevertheless came out on the streets of Bilbao.

has yet been reached.

The Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain, declares its full solidarity with the strikers and appeals on their behalf for generous contributions.

Please send all contributions to the Central Executive Committee, Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain, 1 Birch Croft, Birmingham, 24.

Contact Column

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

Unfurnished Accommodation Wanted. Responsible gentleman, thirties, exemplary tenant, requires spacious self-contained flat/house, minimum three bedrooms, central London, quiet surroundings. Maximum seven guineas inclusive. No premium. Could decorate. Reciprocal references. Box 52.

Former Junkie. Wants job and accommodation in London. Box 54.

Accommodation. Anarchist seeks accommodation in Camden Town or Islington. Box 50.

Continental Hitch-Hiking. Is anyone else wanting to hitch-hike around continent, July to September? If so, please contact Judith Walker, Westfield College (University of London), London, N.W.3.

Meeting: Free Hugo Blanco; Protest Against Peruvian Repression. Friday, May 26. Caxton Hall, London, S.W.1. 8 p.m. Speakers: Bill Molloy, MP, Robin Blackburn, Farris Glubb. Chairman: Roger Protz. British Committee for Solidarity with Victims of Repression in Peru.

Leaflet. Lewisham Group. Basic Anarchist Leaflet now available. 2/6 per 100 (postage extra 2/6 per 100). Orders to Lewisham Group address.

Work Wanted. Fairly intelligent and responsible anarchist (18) needs congenial job. Anywhere, anything considered. Box 55.

Needed. Literary (philosophical or practical) and financial contributions for 'STONEBREAKER'S YARD'. Journal of the Anarchist Movement in Northeastern Minnesota. James W. Cain, editor, Stonebreaker's Yard, P.O. Box 26, Duluth, Minnesota, USA.

Accommodation Wanted—London. Two secretaries. Peace-loving, thoughtful, require bright flatlet; good cooking facilities essential. No petty restrictions. Wanted end of May. With easy access to town. Approx. £5 to £5 5s. p.w. Box 56.

Resistance: for Peace Action. Published by West Midland Committee of 100. 1/- plus postage. Subscription 6/- for six issues. From Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.

Anyone interested in reconstituting a group of people, 'The Diggers', who could be called the first practising English Anarchists, please contact P.D., c/o Lewisham Anarchist Group address.

Accommodation Wanted. Camden Town or Kentish Town area. Young couple, expecting first baby, urgently need 2-roomed flat. C/o J. Thurston, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

Accommodation Wanted—London. Accommodation wanted in London area for Finnish student for three weeks, end May—mid-June. Can afford £3 a week. C/o Lewisham Group address.

Accommodation Wanted. Anarcho-Syndicalist seeks flat in Hackney/Islington area. Box 58.

Spain! Travelling-companion (either sex) folk-singer under 21 preferred, for travel in Spain. Aug./Sept. Box 57.

Aberdeen Anarchists. Require loan of, or information on, Balthazar Dromundo's book *Emiliano Zapata* (Mexico City, 1934). Gratefully appreciated. Contact Aberdeen Group.

Stuart Christie. Willing to work in renewed campaign? Write Box 60.

Spanish Libertarian Movement in Exile. Lecture—Ken Hawkes (SWF)—in English: 'State Socialism or Workers' Control'. Sunday, May 28, 3.30 p.m. Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, London, W.C.1.

Whisper and Shout. Invite singers/poets to join us. May 29-June 3 in Leicester and Dudley; June 6-12 in Cambridge; June 13-20 in Bristol; June 26-29 in Reading Area. Contact Dennis Gould, c/o 47 St. Albans Road, Leicester.

If you wish to make contact let us know.