

IF YOU DON'T TICKLE IT ... IT WON'T GIGGLE

(incorporating 'Black Dwarf', 'Oz'
and 'If you don't hit it.... it won't fall')

no 8 free!



NAME: _____

TUESDAY 25th. May

8p.m..

PHONE 60251 or 600337

INFORMATION? INFORMATION- INFORMATION+ INFORMATION

CACTL (Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law) hold meetings and local action.
Phone 43081 or 602510.

GAY MOVEMENT

SATURDAY MAY 22nd. DISCO in aid of Gay Workers at the Yorker, Mansfield Rd.,
at 8p.m.

GAY WORKERS join the Campaign, get motions supporting gays through your
unions.

OTHER WORKERS- support the struggle of gay workers at work, in the Unions
and in the Community.

CONTACT- the Gay Workers Campaign at the People's Centre, 33, Mansfield Rd.
Tel. 76410

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

WOMEN'S RIGHTS DAY SCHOOL - SATURDAY MAY 22nd. at the Teachers Centre,
Cranmer St., 10.30a.m. - 5.00p.m.

Organised by Ø Nott'm Trades Council, N.C.C.L., Working Women's Charter
Campaign, and Nott'm Anti-Sex Discrimination Campaign.

Creche provided PHONE 601 588 for more details.

WOMEN'S DISCO WOMEN'S DISCO

SATURDAY MAY 8th., 8p.m. at the Yorker, Mansfield Rd., Late Bar. Women Only.

WORKING WOMEN'S CHARTER Contact Jane Browne Tel. 47304.

Next Meeting WEDS MAY 12th. 8p.m. at the Women's Centre (address below)

NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN Contact Mary Donnelly. Tel. 42808. Meets
most Tuesdays at the Women's Centre, 8p.m. Check above no. to make sure.
All welcome.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION GROUP Meets every Thursday at 8p.m. at the Women's
Centre. All Women Welcome. For more details phone Rachel Adams or Carrie
Salsedo. Nott'm 43081.

ADDRESS OF WOMEN'S CENTRE --- 26, NEWCASTLE CHAMBERS, ANGEL ROW, (NR. BELL INN), NOTT

NOTT'M WOMEN'S LIBERATION NEWSLETTER Comes out Monthly. New Address is
31, Alberta Terr., Sherwood Rise.

Around and on the weekend of the 12th June the NAC group is planning to organise
a mass leafletting campaign with street meetings, street theatre, door-to-door
discussion in the St Annes area. More news in the next newsletter.

BATTERED WIVES Phone Chris 35-5440

Lesbian group Char 76410

SEX DISCRIMINATION Liz 344-2667

Women Now Rosemary 36- 60612

WOMEN'S STREET THEATRE various women at 43081 Or 601593

Writing Group/ Write On Sisters Women at 43081, 601593 or 75985

Nurseries Margaret 863894

CHILEAN FOLK CONCERT

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTRE 61b Mansfield Rd. 8p.m. FRI MAY 21st. 50p.

CHILE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN Contact 34 or 26 Colville Terr. Nott'm.

THE BUILDING --- Hall and rooms can be used by groups/individuals. Contact Adrian at
36, Gregory Boulevard or Phone 600337. JUMBLE SALE SAT. 15th MAY 2p.m. ALL WELCOME

WORKING WEEKEND AT THE BUILDING- SAT. & SUN. 22nd. & 23rd. MAY. ALL WELCOME.

or, notes towards a political method. 1

This is the first of a series of political reviews, written to try and make sense of what is happening around us and to try and work out what the revolutionary possibilities might be.

I've chosen to review 'We Won't Pay' (*) because of a local interest in housing struggles at the moment, because it's focus is women in struggle and because of the general approach of the pamphlet.



I LOOKING AT THE SITUATION

Every housing area isn't the same; the area in this pamphlet - Tower Hill, a new housing estate near Liverpool - is 10 years old and still growing, built around an industrial estate of 200+ factories, thrown up on the edge of the city for the victims of slum clearance and overspill. Many of the families have children under 5. The rent rise was the straw that broke the camel's back. In this situation, a rent strike could perhaps be a useful action uniting all tenants. In a dockland or pit community where all the men are getting the sack and everyone's moving on or in a slum clearance area, collapsing under neglect and including a lot of single or transient people the problems may well be different. The point is to look at the situation, the people, their past, their problems.

'In Liverpool, as everywhere, families and communities are split up through housing policy, and on new estates people have to rebuild friendship and solidarity.

Tower Hill tenants did this quicker than most new estates through the rent strike ... a long hard, mass struggle which marked it out from other areas also fighting the Housing Finance Act. Through this struggle the working class on Tower Hill could begin to re-unify itself, against the fractures created by capitalist 'development'.

II WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

Looking at the situation of women they argue that:

'The point is not just women being involved but that they have something particular to say and win.' ... so they discuss ... 'women's struggle and its central role in unifying and building the autonomy of the whole class'.

'Everyone comments on price rises and the housewives budget. But only the women's movement and some other women in struggles have really got down to analyse the central struggle of housewives like all workers for more money, less work and more freedom to live well and happily' ... (whether or not she is also in waged work).

Commenting on the rent strike they point out:

'For many women on Tower Hill the rent strike was a first taste of collective struggle, a time when they made friends and overcame the

Note.. This is available from me, Mushroom Books, or from Big Flame direct at 632 Bristol Rd., Selly Oak, Birmingham 29. (10p) It's also in Big Flame Journal 1 (25p) which is also very good. It's written by BF Women's Commission.

isolation and passivity forced on them by life as housewives on the estate.'

There were many many problems:

'Obviously another factor affecting us was that as a small group of women with young children we had a lot of work to do just maintaining the homes and families, and just organising in a most basic way to have meetings and see to the kids collectively. Even when we were in the background of the Action Group none of us were ever 'doing nothing'.'

'...they knew why other women were less involved. Men's attitudes to women and womens' ideas about themselves could make them passive or nervous'

The womens group in the estate (set up with the help of BF women) often had a difficult time within the Rents Action Group.

'Either we failed to put across our ideas clearly or we were just knocked back. A lot of this was just the usual problem of not being used to speaking in meetings, and being easily silenced by the confidence, and even hostility of some men. We were also discouraged by the view put forward by some of the men that we were being divisive. Even though we knew that the womens group was simply trying to break divisions that already existed between militants and other tenants, between men and women etc. Divisions which are not thought of as such because they are accepted as the natural order of things.'

One of the biggest advantages of this pamphlet is the attempt to honestly examine the failings as well of the successes of the rent strike, of womens' role within that and of BF's intervention. We Won't Pay includes a lot of interesting discussion of the other activities of the womens group as well as Big Flame's approach to struggle generally.

The Womens' Commission try 'to explain why and how we are active on Tower Hill, and to describe some of the ideas of the womens group'. They explain that this is not meant to be 'a complete description and analysis of the rent strike'.

* * * * *

* When you talk about it with some	* Women get frustrated but they're told
* of the women, they say; 'I wish	* it's only a natural thing. It's typical
* I could be like that, I have not	* of women and it'll pass. ... when
* got the nerve.' But it only	* anything goes on, they laugh at her -
* takes once and you get the taste.	* 'that's not your worry'.

* * * * *

III THE RENT STRIKE THREATENED

The rent strike movement across the country didn't get strong enough to defeat the Government and throw out the Unfair Rents Act (this happened later with the help of the miners strike) and when the Court Orders threatening arrest started coming a lot of the tensions broke out onto the surface.

'In a large mass meeting the kids made a noise and men told the women to take them out. The simple question of organising it so that the women didn't all have to leave was treated as 'womens liberation rubbish'

'Collective childcare was needed in some form as a political solution to the isolation of women. Many women couldn't come more involved because these problems weren't worked out and they had to find personal solutions.'

'More and more individual men substituted brave but unrealistic rhetoric for discussion'.

I've noticed this in connection with preventing eviction from squats.

EVERYDAY LIFE & EMPTY RHETORIC - some conclusions.

"The total rent strike was itself a fantastic move towards political autonomy. And it lasted a long time because of the activity and forms of organisation that grew out of this. But autonomy can't be reduced to supermilitancy. What was important was that the rent strike welded together the daily struggle of the people on the estate into a united fight against the state and the interests of capitalism. This is crucial. When the working class starts to assert its own needs directly against capitalist

needs, and when in the process it refuses the mediation of the Labour Party and bureaucratic channels, then it begins to pose the question of revolutionary change and power. Not as an abstract future goal, but as integral to our struggle now, as we live it everyday."

This approach challenges the idea that 'politics comes from the outside' and instead tries to show the possibilities as well as the limitations of daily struggle. Within those struggles, mass collective action and equal involvement in making decisions is vital, but not enough. It's important too, to understand the different interests within those struggles and to see how real unity (rather than the 'unity imposed by the loudest voices') would be achieved. From this it might be possible to see what role revolutionaries can play.

Seen from within the excitement and conflict of a mass rent strike the fake action committees and campaigns of the 'left' and the 'liberals' seem rather pale.

keith

ALL WE HAVE IN COMMON IS THE ILLUSION OF BEING TOGETHER.....THERE IS ONLY THE COLLECTIVE DESIRE TO DESTROY ISOLATION.

THE DESIRE TO LIVE IS A POLITICAL DECISION. WE DO NOT WANT A WORLD IN WHICH THE GUARANTEE THAT WE WILL NOT DIE OF STARVATION IS BROUGHT BY ACCEPTING THE RISK OF DYING OF BOREDOM. (from Vaneigem's 'Revolution of Everyday Life')

REVIEW OF ZEROWORK - or, notes towards a political method 2

I'm reviewing this first issue of Zerowork (it came out of amerikka in Dec '76) because I find it's contents interesting and up-to-date. At the same time, what it argues is difficult to follow and I hope that others will buy or borrow a copy and discuss it with me.

This issue consists of seven articles dealing with: the USA in the '60s, the international crisis, auto workers, postal workers and the state, wildcat strikes in the coalfields, housewives and the community in Italy and what's happening in the universities.

The introduction presents the view that 'any discussion of revolutionary action must be based on an analysis of the present relation of the working class to capital'. That is, in modern times, revolution needs to have modern aims and modern ways of reaching those aims. Ideas like 'workers control', 'right to work' and 'meaningful work' cease to make much sense.

It's just not going to be possible to get more than a few points of Zero work across, so here's some

Three important periods of recent history are sketched out. The first, in which all was chaos, included the depressions of the 1920s and 30s. It was ended by the State acting to iron out the chaos and trying to plan the class struggle (and by the 2nd World War). Instead of allowing wages to rise and fall, the new scheme was to give regular wage rises and improvements in conditions in exchange for 'social peace' and the co-operation of the trade unions. This 'peace' made incredible expansion possible - industry, New Towns, housing estates etc - and so lead to juicy profits. Modern delights like mass isolation through shoppers cities, modern high rise and T.V. are a product of this 'expansion'.

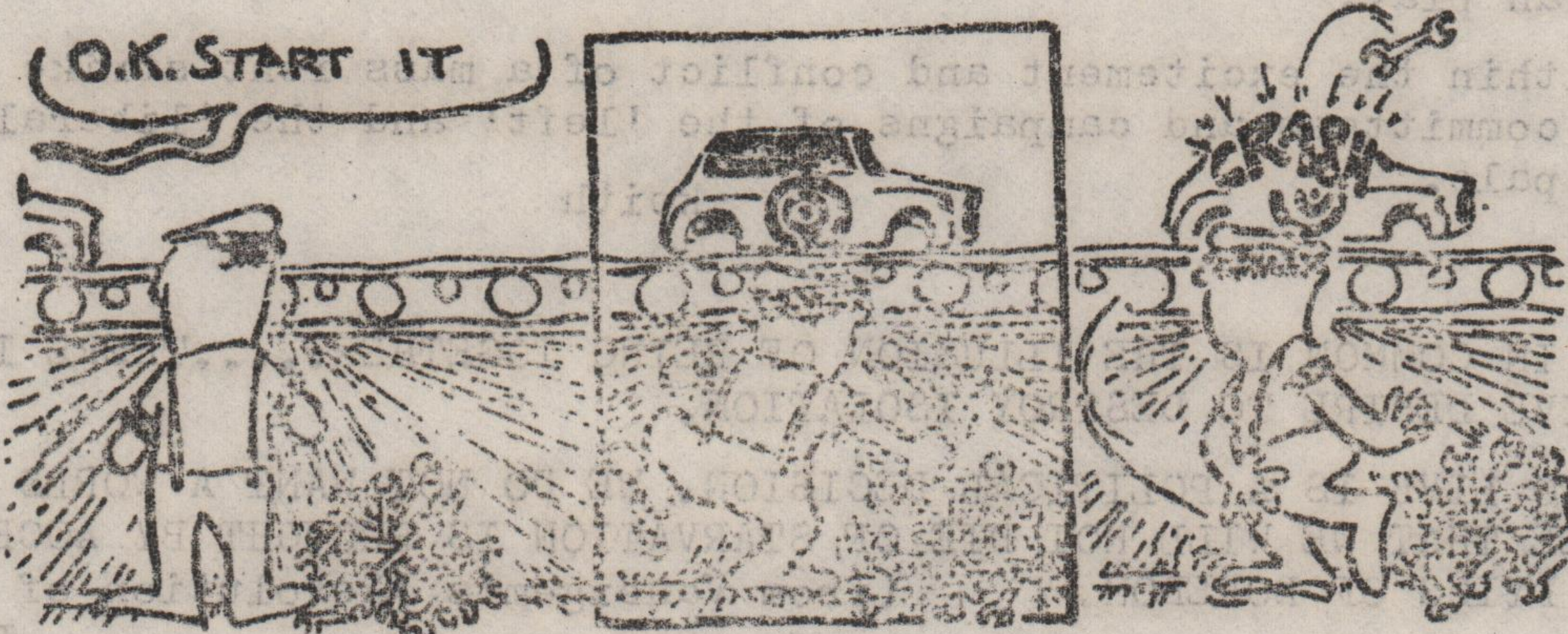
This period was brought to a close by the international wave of struggles in the late 60s that wasn't satisfied with full employment but instead went out for a fuller life with more income and less work. This refusal of work - whether by working less hard in factories, by going onto 'welfare' or dole and demanding increases or by refusing the slavery of the home - really upset the capitalists' plans.

LOOKING AT THE DETAILS

It's rare to find 'revolutionaries' bothering to find out in detail about the day-to-day battles that go on and try and make sense of their consequences. Quite the opposite here because these articles work from the understanding that the constant initiative of the majority of working class people forces employers and the state (as well as headmasters, Councils, psychiatrists the Left and so on) to have to rethinking their strategy. Working class

'autonomy' is a threat to capital's 'command' (control). For example, "The rising costs due to the levels of absenteeism, labour turnover, waste ful work practices and sabotage" (1) have become daily life in the auto-factories while the cunning use of paid sick leave is fundamental to the Appalachian miners (and, of course, most workers at different times). The Left may choose to ignore this but the employers have to take it into account when planning production targets etc. This is the important background to more open and collective actions like strikes.

THE MEAN MACHINE



One very important response to 'workers insubordination' has been to attack people with machines. For example, the postal workers boss (the State) (2) brought in automatic sorting machines to reduce the effectiveness of stroppy workers going slow or striking. The autofactory assembly line can be seen as a way of breaking up the solidarity of the workforce; this scheme makes the idea of 'workers control of car factories' suspect since the very way they are set up is to control workers. It seems that automation isn't freeing people from work but instead creative shittier work. Of course, this doesn't exactly run smoothly and the struggle changes to a 'higher level'.

.....GOING 'ROUND AND AROUND

But with each attempt to take the struggle in hand comes the possibility of new forms of struggle. This is well illustrated in the article about amerikka in 60s which describes how the black population was forced to move north because of the 'revolution in agriculture' in the south; in the northern city ghettos riots and marches developed and partly to cool out this rebellion blacks were sucked into the factories: "Jobs are the fulcrum on which a strengthening of the family, and through the family the Negro's role in American society ultimately rests" (3). Soon, however, tremendous factory occupations, wildcat strikes, walkouts etc took place, always with blacks (as well as women and freaks and Viet vets) well in the front line.

These actions are likely to encourage employers to move production to other places and then perhaps be faced with an increasing militancy in the new place. An international circulation may get set up. of course, it's not just factories - the stropyness and insistance of the Chilean and Portuguese people as a whole society made capital try and think up 'solutions' to escape their militancy.

Other effects might be the way the work is dressed-up to be more attractive. Afraid of "nothing less than the probability that most people would refuse to work at all" Volvo's director (Sweden) proposed 'humanisation' of the work organisation.

I could go on (and I'd like to, as this could be the most interesting book I've read for ages) but I won't. Instead, it's worth mentioning some of the proposals for revolutionary action outlined in Zerowork.

First is the need to understand what is really happening which probably means looking closely at individual and collective action in the schools, in the prisons, on housing estates, in factories etc. Talking with people might do for a start. Second comes the need to suss out how different actions effect different people; for example, do rent stikes effect men and women

differently? shaking up the family? Third, how do the 'official' organisations of the working class such as Labour Party, Trade Unions, Tenants Associations etc fit in? When can they be used by people? when do they use/abuse people? Fourthly, which way are things moving? meaner machines? more social workers? or what?

"The contemporary Left sees the crisis from the point of view of economists, that is, from the point of view of capital. The Left is basically for work. It cannot grasp either in theory or practice that the working class struggle against work is the source of the crisis and the starting point of organisation".

Whatever the truth of some of the assumptions and information in ZEROWORK I feel that the general approach goes a long way towards a starting point for revolutionary politics, It's worth reading - get it.

Notes Zerowork is available from me or from P.O. Box 515, Station C, Toronto, Canada.

(1) National Commission on Productivity

(2) A Blueprint for Change: Canada Post Office (Nov. 1972)

(3) Institute for Economic Affairs 1972

Also on this same theme (i.e. that working class and labour are no longer the same thing; that work equals exploitation; that there's a need to struggle against work) is Guido Baldi 'Thesis on Mass Worker and Social Capital' ; Mario Tronti 'Strategy of Refusal' ; F. Gambini 'Workers Struggles and the Development of Ford in Britain' etc

May 1st 1976

Keith

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SOME THOUGHTS ON CACTL

Doesn't anyone out there care about even more rights being taken away? The Nottingham branch of the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law has been going now for about 6 months; in that time we've had one public meeting, many other meetings, handed out thousands of leaflets, picketed the Guildhall, had a banner on the May Day parade, given interviews to radio's Nottingham and Trent, had articles in the Nottingham Voice and 4 times in IYDHI, written letters (dubious I know) to M.P.s Trade Unions and many others. And what has been the response? Only 5 people regularly are involved in the group and as few have been in touch to express interest.

Why so little reaction then? Personally, I am sure that trespass will be made a criminal offence inside a year, perhaps many more people feel the same way and thus have not bothered to participate in the Campaign. But the Nottingham branch has never been into just opposing these proposals. We have tried to show people that this law is part of the repressive forces at work in "our" society, seeking to stifle initiative in squatting, factory occupations, student sit-ins, and other direct action. We have tried to build up opposition to the proposals so that they can be fought, so that people are ready for them. We have tried to express our views that taking direct action is fundamental to people's liberation. And yet no response. Perhaps we have failed, perhaps we were presumptive in thinking that people needed to be told these things, or that people would consider them more important than the other daily chores of living. Perhaps we underestimated the inherent Conservatism of the Trade Union Movement. Perhaps, perhaps.

I am determined that the campaign should go forward, as I believe that these authoritarian proposals should be opposed all the way (who said that anarchists were the conscience of the socialist movement?). If you have any suggestions or want any information on what the campaign or proposals are about, please contact:

CACTL, Nottm. 602510 or 43081

Colin

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At the last meeting we discussed whether or not there should be more discussion about what goes in "If you don't . . ."; could we work more collectively? is it true to say now that "Uncritical acceptance will only lead to our mutual mediocrity"? The 'lively' discussion lead to no particular conclusions for the moment except we agreed to invite articles on WORK for the next issue. What is work, and what should it be? What do you feel about work? Is it a right, a duty, a privilege? Could it be more fun? Are there different types of work? Have you any work experiences others would be interested to hear about? There can then be a meeting to produce the newsletter and later a meeting on WORK itself.

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MAY DAYS

Last weekend saw not one but two glorious celebrations of working class solidarity and culture - the Trade Union March and Rally on Saturday May 1st, and the Labour Party Rally on the Sunday. The City Labour Party apparently couldn't face putting their star speaker, Dennis Healey, and supporting cast Carroll, Maynard, English and Whitlock, on the same platform as the despicable Moscow-bred John Peck, so they held their own rally! In the event they needn't have worried - there wasn't much sign of dangerous revolutionary activity on Saturday. As one incredulous friend from abroad was heard to remark - "Mass action? Riots? Taking the streets?!"

The Saturday march was accompanied by the usual officious marshalling into T.U.s, political groups, and "other organizations at the back". The back was of course the nicest place to be, with women's groups, gay groups, Chilean solidarity committee, a massive contingent from CACTL, and (thank you) the IMG. With lots of kids and some purple and black among the banners, the atmosphere among this rabble was pretty good. Not so for the rest of the procession. The Union and political banners looked very fine, but the chants coming from their followers were all pretty heavy - demands for the "right to work" and calls for "no coalition" etc. And there were so many men! The mass children's groups also provoked mixed feelings in me. O.K. so its good for kids to be involved and it's better than the scouts and guides, but the sight of the uniformed Woodcraft Folk, and the Calverton Solitaires made me feel a bit sick. Their organization under the leadership of adults, the militarism of the Woodcraft Folk, and the commercialism and sexism of the Solitaires seemed to embody all the worst aspects of the T.U. movement as a whole.

Going through Hyson Green and Radford was fun, with lots of support and smiles from the inmates of the Hyson Green flats, and the Saturday shoppers. The city centre shoppers were much more hostile, however, and by the time we got to the square I was ready to be bored by the speeches - and I was!

So, on to Sunday, and more boring speeches, this time from the biggest bore of them all, who can make a dynamic speech apparently of national importance, without actually saying anything. The rally was however enlivened by plenty of heckling. Unfortunately most of it came from the National Front who had a more vociferous contingent than all the Trotskyite and Stalinist paper-sellers put together. Unfortunately, too, some of the Trots used up their energy arguing with the Front instead of Healey, so leaving him free to proceed with some highly dubious statements unchallenged. Most unfortunate of all, Healey had the microphone and T.V. cameras, (as he lost no time in reminding us), And that just about sums the whole problem up!

Julie

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"He who, to hold his own, must count on the absence of will in others, is a thing made by these others, as the master is a thing made by the servant. If submissiveness ceased, it would be all over with lordship." Max Stirner.

Each issue of "If you DON'T" will now include a diary of struggles and important changes in fascist Spain. This is partly because of the importance of what is going on there and because of the interest of a few in Nottingham.

The info. has been taken from: Morning Star, Sindicalismo, The Guardian, La Region, Freedom, Socialist Worker, Red ..., Lib. Struggle, The Times; etc.

Think for yourself about the determination and awareness of the Spanish people living since 1939 under a fascist dictatorship which still exists beneath the front of King Juan Carlos. Trade unions, freedom of the press, demonstrating and marching, political parties, associating in groups in the street, etc. are all illegal with great possibilities of being imprisoned for 20 or 30 years.

FEBRUARY This month saw the increased development in the peoples struggles from the last month. 143,000 construction workers were on strike in Barcelona. When the police attacked their demonstration the workers built barricades in the streets. 50,000 factory workers in Sabadell a suburb of Barcelona, returned to work after the Minister of the Interior had ordered the release of workers imprisoned during the strike. Incidentally, this man is called Fraga and used to be the Spanish ambassador in London. Some people of the left (C.P.) thought he was a liberal; read on. 200,000 lorry drivers and teachers on strike; over 1m. kids sent home. 600 anarchist delegates meet in Barcelona. Workers were striking usually for more pay and better conditions but there was a definite increase in the demand for freedom, liberty, and amnesty for political prisoners.

MARCH

1 Spanish Foreign Minister Jose Maria de Areilza leaves Madrid for London to talk with P.M. Wilson and Foreign Secretary Callaghan on Spain's efforts to join the EEC. Areilza says that "political trials will stop as the penal code is changed in a matter of a few weeks...".

2 Army act as strike-breakers in Badajoz to try to defeat truck-drivers strike. 2,000 building workers in Madrid demonstrate for their own trade unions and amnesty for political prisoners. A group managed to march towards the HQ of the Madrid Military command, where they were attacked and dispersed by police. 4,000 Madrid students gather to hear Prof. Galvan, leader of the Popular Socialist Party (PSP).

At Aranjuez, near Madrid, general strike continues of engineering workers, teachers and other places of work in support of Unilever workers who had occupied the local church demanding the negotiations with management.

Over 20,000 teachers in state schools end their strike today after the education ministry said they would consider their pay demands.

3 Police kill 5 in Vitoria, in the Basque area) and injure hundreds to suppress the strike of about 80,000 factory and office workers. They were attacked while holding a meeting in a church. Barricades built. The strike has been going since 10th. January at the factories of Mevosa (ex DKW), Forjas, etc. Truck drivers in Madrid continue their strike over running costs and road taxes.

Police arrest 2 Madrid lawyers involved in the 7 week strike for more pay at a subsidiary of the multinational Unilever.

4 Thousands demonstrate throughout Spain to protest against the 5 killed in Vitoria. In Pamplona factories and shops close; demonstrators attacked by riot police with teargas and rubber bullets; In Bilbao, 17,000 workers and students' demonstration is broken up by baton-wielding police. In Vitoria workers groups call for a general strike and demand the resignation of the governor, the police chief and the mayor and the trial of the policemen who shot the demonstrators.

In these past months Vitoria has seen marches by women, some against hunger, large meetings of workers where decisions have been made together, the workers rejecting the use of the Organizacion Sindical (the official legal fascist controlled unions) and dealing direct with the employers.

5 Thousands in Vitoria mourn the 5 killed. Vitoria resembles an occupied town

as hundreds of riot police and civil guards enter the town, patrol the streets and attack any groups in the streets. 3 prominent militants arrested.

In Madrid, workers in the Chrysler car plant and the CASA aircraft factory down tools for several hours in protest.

Jack Jones (TGWU) recommends union's long-distance lorry drivers not to cross the Spanish frontier in solidarity with the Spanish lorry drivers strike.

- 7 70,000 on strike in Pamplona protesting against the killings in Vitoria. In Madrid, 1 major and 8 captains begin their court-martial, accused of being members of the Military Democratic Union (MDU).

In Tarragona 1 demonstrator killed.

In London, Democratic Junta and Democratic Platform leaders (see below) hold a meeting with those other great leaders of the workers, Jones and Foot and Marcelino Camacho demanding democracy in Spain (and in case you forgot, not revolution).

- 8 1-1/2m. Basque workers on strike in protest of the Vitoria killings. Police attack demonstrators in Basauri near Bilbao, killing an 18 year old metal worker as workers fight back with bricks and stones.

In Vitoria the general strike continues.

- 9 General strike in Basauri, home of the multinationals- Firestone Tyres and General Electric.

Trial of army officers ends in Madrid with sentences of between 2 and 8 years. Firemen and municipal police continue their strike in Barcelona; civil guard don't stop their protests, but they are later attacked by the riot police when it appears that their strike is affecting many workers.

The Fire Brigade Union in Britain protest to Arias Navarro (P.M.) about this attack.

AUEW protest to Callaghan about the Vitoria killings.

- 13 NUM vote to donate £5000 to Asturian miners, many of whom have been on strike since September.

In Spain a joint statement by the Democratic Junta and Democratic Platform they call for faster reforms and democratic rights.

- 14 Another army officer arrested.

- 15 In Vitoria steelworkers return to work but 5000 remain out calling for the re-instatement of their sacked work mates.

- 16 Spain's fascist leaders begin to realise the seriousness of the political situation, as Interior Minister Manuel Fraga fails to put down the Basques strikers as he said he would, and as Areilza reports the failure to convince E.E.C. governments with their wish to seek entry.

Meanwhile, back home, Prof. Galvan (PSP) talks at L.S.E. and calls for broad democratic coalition govt. to replace the present regime, to include the Communist Party and other democratic parties.

- 18 Even Cambio 16, a liberal magazine, calls for the governments resignation. In Barcelona 500 journalists held the first street demonstration authorised since the civil war, calling for freedom of expression.

- 19 The fascist regime continues its project to lift the ban on political parties, which has existed since 1939, allowing the Socialists and Christian Democrats

- 7 to organise, but not for "Communist, anarchist and separatist" groups or parties. At the same time it continues to outlaw picketing. This is to be submitted to the fascist Cortes (parliament). It also intends to allow political rallies and demonstrations "under certain conditions". Premier Arias Navarro has felt the pressure of the struggles and protests of workers and students, and as usual turned it into political gains for opposition leaders & parties. Meanwhile a leading Franco fascist, Jose Antonio Giron declared "No one has the right to suppose that the first government of the monarchy proposes to dismantle the Franco regime". And the police arrest 2 of Spain's most famous artists, the painter Juan Genoves and the sculptor Rafael Muyor, the former for a painting demanding amnesty for political prisoners. In protest 40 artists

held a sit-in in the Prado art gallery.

With Marcelino Camacho, the C.P. alledged leader of the Workers Commissions, arrested again after his return to Spain, Joe Gormley, Jack Jones, Will Paynter and TUC Chairman Cyril Plant demand his release to the new Spanish ambassador in London, the Marquis de Perinot and protest about the killings of workers. The ambassador said the killings in Vitoria were a "regrettable mistake" by the police who panicked when attacked.

The Left Christian Democrats and the Popular Democratic Federation decide to join the Democratic Coordination of 13 parties and organisations.

22 The C.P. puts forward a plan for a peaceful solution to Spain's problems, seeking an alliance with the armed forces, the church and politicians.

The UMD announces that since the trial of 9 officers, the organisation had grown in the army to include 461 captains, 11 majors, 54 lieutenant-colonels, 21 colonels and 5 generals. Out of about 1,100 officers with direct command of combat troops, only about 200 opposed the UMD.

23 Police kill demonstrator in Elda near Alicante on strike for more pay, when they attacked the police when they were returning to their barracks.

Strike by 1500 lorry drivers in Madrid spreads to Murcia, Valencia, Seville and Jaen.

A two-month old strike by coalminers in Asturias has lost the Hunosa mining company £9m.

In Catalonia over 120,000 workers are on strike.

Meanwhile, 80,000 Catalanian construction workers continue their week long strike. In Vigo, a shipbuilding and engineering company sack 3000 workers who refused to return to work after a 5-day lock-out.

A second clandestine group surfaces in the armed forces, the Democratic Union of Soldiers (UDS) calling for democratic rights and better pay, conditions and a reduction of compulsory military service.

24 Police baton-charge 300 journalists demonstrating in Madrid for press freedom.

26 A factory owner fired shots in the air and other executives used iron bars and axes to disperse pickets outside a leather factory in Madrid where 450 workers have been on strike for more than 9 weeks. Two strikers were injured and many pickets arrested by the police.

29 The International Metalworkers' Federation in Geneva denounces the fascist regime and those multi-nationals such as Chrysler, John Deere, General Electric, Phillips, ITT, Westinghouse, etc. who cooperate with it, Solzhenitsyn appears on Spanish TV supporting the fascist regime and advising the people of Spain to curb the process of democratisation.

1,055 Basque priests denounce the Spanish government; they "show with their deeds that they maintain an authoritarian and fascist concept of power".

Only 2000 of the ultra-right turned up to celebrate Franco's entry into Madrid in 1939.

APRIL

4 Barcelona- demonstrators marching for political freedom and amnesty attacked by police with tear gas grenades and smoke bombs. When this failed to disperse them they fired rubber bullets at point blank range injuring many.

At the same time the government authorised an ultra-right march but only a few hundred turned up.

Madrid- 200 arrested in a demonstration of thousands. Many ran with banners blocked traffic shouting "Amnesty" and "Liberty". The police charged them again and again unable to disperse the crowds. Car drivers joined in by hooting horns to the rythm of "Liberty".

30,000 workers still on strike at the National Telephone Company in the main cities. Army threaten to move in to break the strike.

5 30 political prisoners, mainly Basques (ETA), escape from Segovia prison. They head for the Pyrenees. 25 of them are caught near the frontier, one is shot dead, an anarchist from Catalonia and a few are injured in a battle.

4 are still free. They had quite a few arms on them- 5 Stein guns and many pistols.

7 Basque industrialist, Angel Berazadi, killed. Spanish papers are horrified give it an enormous amount of space and blame ETA.

9 Wives of detained say that there are more prosecutions in Spain now on political charges than in the last year of Franco's rule- 35% higher.

32 people arrested in Guipuzcoa after the death of the industrialist.

15 21 arrested by the police, supposedly members of ETA V.

12 (Sorry, I got the lines mixed up). Funeral of a civil guard in Bilbao, having

died from electrocution when he tried to take down a Basque separatist flag on a high tension cable in Baracaldo. This is the same place that 4 civil guards were blown up last September while going to take down a separatist flag while I was there. The atmosphere was unbelievable.

- 16 First Congress of the Union General de Trabajadores (UGT)- the communists and socialists work in it- held in Madrid since the civil war. 500 delegates attend.
- 18 Thousands of Basques in Pamplona defy police ban on a rally and demonstration to celebrate their traditional day of their land- Aberri Eguna. Japanese bombs found in various parts of Pamplona.

Painting of "Libertad @" on the Puerta Santa of the cathedral, the equivalent of Westminster Abbey. But you can imagine what it means in Spain; papers horrified. The "Acratas" accused, that is the anarchists.

- 28 Premier Arias Navarro plans a rigged referendum in October without the freedom of all political parties. He also threatens rigorous repression of any attempt to hold demonstrations anywhere during the May Day weekend- the first since Francos death,

Arrests all over Spain of workers preparing to organise strikes for May Day- Madrid, Malaga, Guadalajara, Jerez, Cadiz and Oviedo.

In Tarragona, Police arrest two 13 year olds, a girl and a boy accused of painting anti-regime slogans at their school.

Workers still on strike after over 70 days at the Michelin tyre company in Lasarte.

- 29 Massive mobilisation of armed police takes place in Madrid as a preparation for May Day celebrations. 95 women and 125 men arrested in Pamplona. In Barcelona over 10,000 metal workers and over 20,000 building workers down tools to mark the beginning of May Day.

MAY

- 1 Demonstrations and strikes and protests all over Spain- in every major city. Many street battles, with police of course, people on the streets, etc.

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All the parties of the left in Spain claim to be leading or at least a great part in leading the workers, as the LCR/ETAVI speaker Durrutti (sic) said at recent meeting in Nottingham by the IMG about the struggles in Vitoria. As if a handful of members can lead over 80,000 strikers. It is about time some people had more respect for others and stop propagandising workers as if they were sheep, even though some are Morenos. The C.P. take the same line about the Workers Commissions.

I suggest it is nearer reality that the C.P. has a great influence amongst workers, esp. in the Workers Commissions and neighbourhood associations. This is because the fascist regime since 1939 has always blamed disturbances on Communists, so people tend to identify and join the Party because it seems to be leading the struggle of workers, and also because they- the ordinary member in Spain works hard for change. But, the Workers Commissions and the vast majority of strikes and demonstrations since the civil war and especially now, are not organised or controlled by them, nor by any other political party or trade union. The majority of struggles have been created, continued and maintained by the ordinary men, women and children in their homes, streets and factories. Many of the strike meetings have been made up of hundreds of members, sometimes held in churches on a Sunday as if they are going to Mass. The struggles are mainly local but they seem to have increasingly become wider, news traveling fast through different organisations and parties. The C.P.'s influence has waned proportionately with the growth of the separatist, libertarian and left groups or parties. But it is the libertarian and anarchist movement (now don't all run away with your English literal eyes!) which has re-emerged in the past 10 years that is having a great effect. Now this is not some centralised vertical organisation(s), but a loose network of groups who struggle when they feel the need for it.

Together with pre-Soviet state, Spain has had probably the most significant anarchist movement. In the mid-30's during the beginning of the civil war (1936-9) about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population of 24m. was involved in some form or other in a social revolution. In the fields, factories, transport, shops, and militia many people organised work collectively. This movement was severely crushed with the victory of Franco's fascists, with a little help from his friends- Hitler and Mussolini, in the civil war. But the CNT-FAI, a horizontal workers organisation which in the 30's had about 2m. members is now emerging strongly. This can be seen esp. in Barcelona and its area Catalonia, the main area with a history of libertarianism. See Orwell if you want. This diary will continue. An exhibition is being organised of the collective movement in the 30's after the summer and meetings which will be announced. SALUD.

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