

FREEDOM

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TEN PENCE

LENINISM AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

NEVER has anarchy been talked about so much as in the last few days, and never has the real meaning of anarchy been so obscured.

THIS POPULARITY, unwanted by anarchists themselves, is due to various urban guerrilla nuclei existing in the Federal Republic of Germany, among which the RAF (now almost completely extinct) and the 2nd June Movement. The RAF ("Rote Armee Fraktion") is (or rather was) a clearly-defined Marxist-Leninist organisation. Not only by its structure, its tactics and attitudes, but above all by declaration. In its first communiqué *Der bewaffnete Kampf* (Armed struggle) they declared themselves to be decidedly Marxist-Leninist, spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat they wanted to impose in Germany, of the need to reconstitute a "Proletarian Communist Party", and of its function as *avant garde*; i. e. it was, from the beginning, clearly Marxist-Leninist. They often quoted Mao Tse Tung, while admitting that "even if we are not anarchists, we do not deny our respect for the value of many anarchists".

This was in 1971, a short while after the release of Andreas Baader from a Berlin prison.

The only difference at that time between the RAF and other Marxist-Leninist groups was that the former used violence instead of words. The first reaction by anarchists to RAF violence was a study of the RAF published in the Berlin anarchist periodical *883*, headed "The RAF, Leninists with guns"¹. This article explained that the RAF's main strategic error was in recognising "violence" only as the armed action of a small nucleus - of about 50 people - completely cut off from the population, and to completely ignore other more useful forms of violence like spontaneous strikes, occupations, direct action, etc.

At the same time, in *Anarco-Info*, an internal anarchist bulletin, appeared an article stating that the anarchists were neither against violence or the practice of violence by small groups, but they criticised the RAF for organising urban warfare in an irresponsible and dilettante way. This article stated the anarchists were interested in improving contacts between the projected guerrilla groups and "legal" groups. The debate caused a split between one sector favouring "illegal" action and another supporting work among the masses.

The "2nd June" was one offshoot of the first current.

As for the RAF and the accusation of dilettantism, it should be recognised that this group was never properly organised but a complex of heterogeneous groupings, driven to armed struggle by their own problems, and all by mounting police repression against the revolutionary movement between 1967 and 1969. Thus, its guerrilla history, fastidiously copied from Mao and Marighella, was applied without regard to the real situation. The members of the RAF had no preparation, or the experience indispensable to the development of armed struggle. For example:

The most well-known people in the RAF, U. Meinhof and A. Baader, were well known and active in "legal" political groups before becoming guerrillas, and were therefore persecuted by the police. Baader was arrested after they had set fire to a supermarket, and left incriminating material behind them. Finally, Meinhof was arrested when she asked someone for help who had never seen her before, and denounced her to the police.

The actions of the RAF became as a consequence ever more desperate and destructive. They were finally directed against the people and so it wasn't possible to justify them in our

U.S. TERRORISTS' BOMB OUTRAGE

U.S. TERRORISTS today released prisoner suspects after blowing up three ships and terrorising an island with the explosion of a bomb stated to be 15,000 lbs., believed to be the largest in their armoury. It is stated that the bomb was exploded after the prisoners were released but this is denied by the terrorists. Twenty-one terrorists were believed killed in the attack.

The same gang is, it is believed, responsible for recent outrages in Vietnam, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic and is thought to be the sinister conspiracy behind other plots in Chile and Portugal.

The group is known as the armed forces division of the U.S. government.

J. R.

press.

In 1972 most of the RAF members were arrested. In a survey in 1974 the Berlin libertarian periodical *Der lange Marsch*, successor to *883*, referred to the fact that during their imprisonment many RAF militants (e.g. Horst Malher, Dieter Kungelmann) became

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Editorial BAADER-MEINHOF TRIAL

AT THE TIME of going to press, the Baader-Meinhof trial has started in Stuttgart in a great show of publicity and security. It is scheduled to last six months so we shall have plenty of time to absorb through the capitalist press the shock, horror and outrage of which this gang is accused.

It will not be the first time, nor the last, that the anarchists will have to state their standpoint on the question of terrorism. It is futile for us to protest (with their own concurrence) that the Baader-Meinhof group is not anarchist. To merely state this obvious and oft-repeated truism can and will be interpreted by some as a repudiation of violence, as a betrayal of the proletariat and as a repudiation of anarchist doctrines.

Assuming the fact, not yet legally proven - although the trial by newspaper has already taken place - that the Baader-Meinhof group have committed the outrages alleged, one can debate whether such methods were justified, whether they will achieve the aims of the group and whether those aims are worth achieving.

It is undoubtedly true that the diagnosis of whether a situation is extreme enough for such extreme measures to be taken is best left to the comrades on the spot.

Secondly, without any recourse to pious pacifist platitudes it was becoming increasingly obvious that the brutality of the attentats was alienating the working class on whose behalf these acts were presumably performed.

Thirdly, since the group Baader-Meinhof is Marxist-Leninist in philosophy (some members have since become Maoists) this tactic of confrontation and heightening the isolated conflict until it becomes urban guerrilla warfare embracing the whole of the proletariat is anathema to anarchists since it embraces the concept of an elitist group's seizure of power.

Whilst we respect the comrades on trial in Stuttgart and deplore their barbarous treatment and applaud the revelations of the craven cowardice of the state we cannot wholeheartedly declare that we are with them entirely.

Editors.

members of the mini-Maoist party KPD (German Communist Party), criticising the "sectarian line of the RAF" and inviting their comrades and everyone else to join this party (which polled 0.2% at the elections).

Thus the RAF was revealed to be what it really is, a group of Leninists united in armed struggle through the outside pressures exerted on them, and by the authority of their leaders.

Yet in the beginning it was the anarchists who supported them, while they were criticised by Maoists as being a band supported by the government.

But the anarchists' support gradually declined, as the RAF's true nature was revealed, while the Maoists, too, reversed their position. (Though, of course, anarchists support and always have supported anyone in prison, whether RAF or not. At present there are over 300 political prisoners in W. Germany, less than 40 being RAF members.)

It must, however, be said that the public identification of the RAF with the anarchists is nothing but a trick of the State. From the very first moment the RAF were called "anarchist terrorists", not only from ignorance, but with precise intentions. . . So the number of anarchists in prison suspected of complicity with the RAF is now over 50, and police repression has increased with this convenient excuse.

. . . "2nd June" on the other hand claims to be libertarian, at least according to its communiqués and one of its ex-militants, Brockmann. It is older than the RAF, but several RAF members have belonged to it. Two Black Cross members, Georg Van Rauch and Thomas Weinsbecker, also members of "2nd June", were assassinated by the police in the group's early days. The group took its name from the date of the killing of a student, Benno Ohnesorg by the police during a peaceful demonstration in Berlin against the Shah of Persia.

Among the best-known actions of "2nd June" are

- The killing of an ex-member, forced by the police to reveal some information on the movement. This murder was much criticised by the anarchists.
- The murder of Von Drenkmann, Supreme Judge of Berlin, in response to the death of H. Meins, RAF member, through a hunger strike.

We do not usually condemn acts of vengeance on the State, but this was carried out in a very "dilletantist" way. Because (1) V. Drenkmann had absolutely nothing to do with the Meins case, (2) he was an antifascist who had spent several years in a Nazi concentration camp, (3) he was a member of the SPD, and already suffering from an incurable illness. It cannot be called a just action.

- The recent kidnapping of P. Lorenz, leader of the CDU, procuring the release of five RAF and anarchist prisoners (though H. Mahler refused to be released by the "2nd June").

INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE Marseilles. According to Le Monde, 9 May

"It is becoming difficult to deny that many, apparently arbitrary, sequestrations are taking place at the transit camp of Arenc, near Marseilles". The following is an extract from the new evidence of one of the victims, G Essaka, a political refugee from the Cameroons who had settled in France after obtaining political asylum, but who spent 27 days at Arenc between April and May 1971 without arrest or sentence.

"The 12 April 1971 I hear a knock on the door. . . Two armed policemen, without explanation, try to seize hold of me by force. They break two of my teeth and a thumb. I am taken to police headquarters and shut up there for two days. There I am hit for refusing to sign a document I haven't read. Finally, in desperation I sign. Then I am taken to Arenc where I am left for 16 days. . . On 28 April I unsuccessfully try to commit suicide by hanging myself with my clothes. This permits me to take advantage of my first hot meal. But the 30th April I am put on board a boat bound for Algiers. They tell me the Algerian government has offered me political asylum. This is false, and I'm not allowed out of the port. The same boat takes me back to Marseilles. Again I am shut up in Arenc, still without being told what I'm supposed to have done. I stay there till 12 May when permission is granted me to stay on French territory and I am assigned to Annecy. After waiting another 48 hours at Marseilles police headquarters I am escorted, handcuffed to the commissariat at Annecy, who release me. . . I am received by a pastor of the reformed church who helps me to get to Paris and continue my studies, but also to annul the expulsion order served on me, which I obtain easily. Still no explanations. . ."

Paris. Two policemen ("gardiens de la paix") have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment and 1000 francs' fine each for beating up M. Jean-Jacques Yon who was driving a friend (Greek composer Jean Spanos) home one night

Though this time the "2nd June" had hit on a much hated target, responsible for much repression, and supporter of a police state, the "2nd June" lost its only chance to make itself understood by the people. On television they didn't explain their reasons for the kidnapping, their political motivations, etc., but simply uttered a few words of revolutionary jargon, comprehensible to only a small minority.

--Horst Stowasser; German anarchist writing from Germany to (A)-Rivista Anarchica (translated from the issue of April, 1975).

and hadn't parked his car tidily enough!

M. Yon was so badly beaten up he couldn't go back to work for 18 days. He said the two "guardians of the peace" had dragged him out of the car, thrown him on the ground and dragged him to the police station by his feet. The 22 policemen in the station saw and heard nothing, and dismissed the evidence of two prostitutes by saying "They're only prostitutes." According to the prosecutor, however, the evidence of a prostitute is even more valuable than that of a policeman, since "It's in the interests of prostitutes to be on good terms with the police." (!) The prosecutor added "It is time the Aegean stables were cleaned and the black sheep in the police force quietened down."

In 1972 all policemen sentenced for acts of violence were reprieved.

Mulhouse. Members of the "Meinhold-Puig Antich" group claimed responsibility last week for two explosions causing damage at the nuclear power station under construction at Fessenheis, on the Rhine, north of Mulhouse. The explosions damaged a steam generator pump and the system for lowering uranium rods into the core.

According to The Times, "The explosions will heighten the controversy gathering strength recently about the security of nuclear power stations."

Left wing groups and many scientists are opposed to the way the French government is bulldozing through its nuclear power programme.

INDIA. The Indian Government is seeking powers to detain people for two years without trial without reference to an advisory board. This on the pretext that "anti-national" elements in Nagaland, Mizoram and other areas in the north-east of India require detention for longer periods because of the nature of their activities.

"At present," says The Times, "the Government detain people for three months without trial, but the case has to be presented to an advisory committee."

ITALY. Milan. Different groups of masked Red Brigade squads have been invading Christian Democrat headquarters in Milan and Mestre, to seize lists of Christian Democrat party members. One local leader was shot in the leg. Messages sprayed on walls and left in telephone kiosks proclaim a war of liquidation against "modern [Christian Democrat] fascism".

The Red Brigade squads however

THE ELECTIONS for the Regional administrations to be held in Italy in June have been the cause of great suffering, bloodshed and deliberate political confusion through terrorist activities. The reason why this should be so is that after 30 years of uninterrupted rule by the Christian Democrats the signs are that the electorate is becoming increasingly disillusioned with the party led by the odious Fanfani. Fanfani's biggest set-back was the Divorce Referendum held on May 13th 1974, which resulted in victory for the pro-divorce lobby and hence the Left, followed by the Sardinian Regional election which showed the electorate to be moving steadily leftwards.

Fanfani's "party-piece" all along has been the policy of "opposed extremisms"; i.e. both extreme left and extreme right are violent hoodlums, vote for the nice Christian Democrats and help to maintain democracy. And just to "prove" how "right" Fanfani is, there have been terrorist acts in great abundance supposedly by both right and left-wing extremists.

In the last issue of FREEDOM we saw how three left-wing youths had been killed owing to fascist and police violence. Just in time for this issue we can see that the extreme left has been very busy in its terrorist activities too. Isn't it amazing how "right" and "left" manage to co-ordinate so well? All these unfortunate incidents, however, have a "stage-managed" look about them.

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themselves resemble the fascist-type squads. Left wing political and trade union organisations have condemned the ultracomunists' "reactionary violence".

Rome. The Italian parliament has adopted a government bill on law and order, which will mean stronger police powers against violence and criminality. The extreme Left has called the bill "liberticide", and it is all the more suspect in that it is a triumph for the Christian Democrat secretary Fanfani and has the support of the MSI, although the refusal of provisory liberty is supposed to apply only in certain cases, for example attempts to "reconstitute the fascist party" (which the MSI declares itself not to be).

Its opponents hope the law will only be in force for a few months because a general reform of the penal code is expected to take place at the end of the year.

SPAIN. While mass repression is being carried out by the Spanish state against the Basque people, the extreme right wing Guerrillas of Christ the King have threatened to cross over into French territory to execute Basque independence fighters "on the spot" unless France send them back to Spain first.

ELECTIONS ALLA FANFANI

In the week from Friday, 9 May to Friday 16 May three separate incidents involving supposedly "left-wing" groups occurred. During the week beginning Monday the 5th, a leading Italian magistrate, Giuseppe di Gennaro was kidnapped by a group called Nuclei Armati Proletari (NAP). One the Friday evening (9 May) there was a revolt by three members of the group imprisoned at Viterbo. A phone-call from outside announced that the revolt was connected with the kidnapping of the magistrate. Three Nuclei were involved in the venture, one internal (i.e. in the prison) and two external. One Nucleus kidnapped the magistrate whilst the internal Nucleus and remaining external Nuclei organised the "revolt" in the prison. The internal Nucleus was well-armed and maintained contact with the external Nuclei through a radio transmitter and receiver.

What did this efficiently organised "revolt" seek to achieve? (a) the transfer of the three NAP prisoners to prisons in the Piemonte; (b) a promise to not take punitive action against the rest of the Viterbo prisoners; (c) the reading of two NAP bulletins on the national radio and TV networks.

Did such a trivial series of "demands" warrant such technical efficiency and co-ordinated action? How did the prisoners manage to receive guns and radio equipment inside the prison? Are the bulletins really revolutionary in origin? The bulletins were typed (inside the prison and before the revolt, and their style suggests not so much a revolutionary left-wing group as a "brigadiere", as *l'Espresso* put it.)

Of course in the Italian prisons over the last five years the fight for prison reform has been intense. Originally, both NAP and the Brigade Rosse (Red Brigade - often associated with the RAF of Baader-Meinhof fame) attracted considerable support. Now the only large revolutionary organisation left dealing with prison matters is

Soccorso Rosso (Red Aid). None of the prisoners' struggle long-standing demands were included in these three above-mentioned requests. Needless to say the "demands" of the NAP prisoners were speedily met by the authorities and the magistrate di Gennaro was released from captivity.

The other two incidents during that week were two attacks on offices of the Christian Democrats by the Brigade Rosse. These attacks consisted in daubing the walls with revolutionary slogans using red paint spray, and one Christian Democrat Parliamentary representative was shot in the leg (the wound was not a serious one). The reactionary *La Stampa* was emblazoned with headlines regarding the Brigade Rosse attacks. The reactionary Communist paper *L'Unita* claimed the attacks were a fascist ruse to make the left-wing seem to be the purveyors of disorder and violence. And so the argument goes on.

Our Italian comrades in *Umanita Nova* are calling for abstention from these "elections under the shadow of the machine-gun and terrorism". To vote and take part in parliamentary procedure is to betray the interests of the workers in favour of the interests of the ruling classes. However, abstention from voting must be accompanied by a much stronger development of the real working class struggle. To concentrate the people's efforts towards victory at the ballot-box is to push the people into an acceptance of the liars and thugs whom they would be voting for.

Fanfani's election campaign is progressing wonderfully. The number of lives lost is impressive. The confusion caused is also impressive. The way is paved for greater repression and Public Order laws are in the process of being debated. This horrific theatrical production can only be stopped by the audience getting up and storming the stage.

Francesco.

IN BRIEF

Almost a British disease...

In Scotland the other day Tory Q.C. and M.P. Nicholas Fairbairn woke up to the fact that "The idea that the British Parliament is still the best in the world is outdated. It may well have been so in 1850-90. The sovereignty of Parliament, however, today has passed to an army of bureaucrats and bureaucracy is becoming almost a British disease." He added, "The present House of Lords is a rubbish dump for political discardees with certain notable hereditary exceptions."

But what does this QC suggest as a remedy? A second elected House!

According to a list published by Amnesty International, 71 journalists are in prison or have disappeared in 17 different countries, because of their professional activities. The countries concerned are Bangladesh, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Chad, Singapore, Tanzania, Turkey, Soviet Union, North and South Vietnam and Yugoslavia. But Indonesia has the worst record with 27 journalists in prison.

The journalists are being held in violation of Art. 19 of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Man.

THE BOOKSHOP will be opened at 12 noon until 4 p.m. Saturday, 24th May

THE CHOICE THAT IS NO CHOICE

THE Daily Express, always wrong and always good for a laugh, heads its issue of Monday, May 19: "This is war. . . and we're on our own again", and inside gives its 'blueprint for survival' with Seven Vital Steps -- "the time for pussy footing is over".

There is an old malediction ascribed (as usual) to the Chinese: "May you live in interesting times". To one with an interest in politics and foreign affairs these are interesting times but unfortunately we are condemned to live through them and try to survive, and consequently suffer. With friends and patriots like the Daily Express and its all too familiar 'remedies' our survival, as human beings, will be doubtful and our sufferings will be greater.

The Express, with its usual flair picks out the enemy as inflation. Now the dismal science of economics is full of solutions to economic problems. We are quite used to thinking, as the Express does, that our problem is unique, the worst yet, there never has been a dilemma like this problem of inflation (except, it is sinisterly inserted, in Germany before the rise of Hitler). In the thirties when similar problems existed, when things seemed really bad, there were similar dilemmas, similar solutions. Now, those all seem faded and dog-eared eared like a tattered Gollancz or Left Book Club book which hot from the press seemed to give the quick ready express answer.

For example, What Everybody Wants to Know About Money (1933), edited by G. D. H. Cole, Fabian economist. Whatever happened to the Gold Standard? How was the dilemma between Free Trade and Protectionism solved (whatever happened to Beaverbrook's Empire Free Trade)? What ever could be done about reparations? As far as one knows, none of those problems were ever solved. Some, such as the Gold Standard, were abandoned without notably dire effects; tariffs were instituted, reparations were really never paid, which was just as well. There were in the thirties the same distortions, the same polarizations, the same choices that were not choices (like 'Fascism means war').

The Economist recently calculated that we have had fifteen crises since 1945. "In 1929," claims Cole, "which was on the eve of the world crisis, the financial circles of the world were congratulating themselves that the long period of currency disturbance which followed the World War had at length been brought successfully to an end. . . the reign of inflation and deflation alike was held to be over, and it was widely believed that the restoration of stability to the world currencies had laid sure foundations. . ."

It will be noted that Cole records that

the slump, crash and consequent unemployment of 1929 onwards followed the 'solution' of the problem of inflation.

It is being concealed from us that we must either, under the present system, have inflation or unemployment. The Express's solution points (1) Stop the Wages rot (i. e. a wage-freeze) and (3) Cut public spending - even on schools and hospitals. These steps will inevitably lead to wholesale unemployment, the first faltering steps towards this have been seen already. If inflation is going on, automatic wage agreements and adjustments of pensions, social security, etc. must be worked out; obviously such devices will penalise those on fixed incomes who are those behind agitation for a halt to inflation.

The Labour government seems quite prepared to condone inflation; indeed there has been no objection from even the Opposition to rises for judges, police and the armed forces, whose rises are clearly inflationary and whose productivity is of doubtful utility. Opposition comes from the middle class and upper class whose fixed incomes from investments is menaced by inflation and to whom the social services are not a necessity and could be dispensed with.

Unemployment in itself, having regard to the nature of much work today, is not an unmixed curse. We do not need a 'Right to Work' under the present system, we have a 'need for Pay'. It is inflation, which improperly controlled,

In Brief

The World Health Organization has called attention to the extensive trade in human blood. The blood sold by the poor in underdeveloped countries is being exported to affluent nations. W. H. O. describes it as "a river of blood flowing the wrong way".

Faced with the prospect of a decline in postal traffic due to increasing costs, the Post Office Workers decided to accept mechanization (with a graduated redundancy of 6000 jobs over twelve years).

Michael X (formerly Michael Malik) was hanged for murder in Port of Spain, Trinidad, following the signature by the Queen of an execution order, despite various appeals. It is claimed that Michael X was not given full opportunity to try out all sources of appeal. Several other men are awaiting execution in Port of Spain's 'Death Row'. The Queen recently completed a tour of the West Indies.

America carried out its most powerful nuclear test in nearly two years. It was believed to be of a megaton warhead, fifty times more powerful than the bomb dropped at Hiroshima, and it rattled doors and windows in Las Vegas, 110 miles away.

can menace that.

We are threatened obscurely with unemployment caused by inflation, which is merely a confession that in days of full employment, social welfare and trade union protection, investors cannot get sufficient profitable return on their money to justify investing in British industry. This has impelled the Labour Party to take measures of nationalisation almost amounting to corporatism in their concern for the industrialist.

The elevation of Benn's half-baked ideas has provided the ever-avid press with a scapegoat in Mr. Tony (Wedgwood) Benn formerly Lord Stansgate. Benn is painted up as the bogey-man, thus taking the pressure off Mr. Wilson who is not at all worried by his left wing's brawling with his right wing. We are faced with another choice. "Socialist nationalization or nationalist socialization?"

This inevitably brings us to the Common Market or the European Economic Community. Such is the chancy nature of economic development that it is not possible to say if remaining in the Market will improve our economic position or not. On the surface it is a further stage in the cartelisation of European agriculture and industry. The initial stages of its doubtful successes in stabilising agricultural prices means the necessity for performing a similar service for industrial products. Unfortunately the major raw materials, notably oil, are not under the control of the European members of the new cartel so we are experiencing disproportionate prices for agricultural products because of the basic contributory factors of the cost of oil and of fertilisers.

It is irrelevant in several senses to discuss the pros and cons of voting 'Yes' or 'No' in the forthcoming referendum. It is indeed a choice that is no choice.

It is not only that governments inevitably seem to find the wrong solutions, they just as inevitably seek to solve the wrong problems.

The problem is to find smaller units of society. We are present with the E. E. C. The problem is to find alternatives to capitalism. We are given state-aided capitalism. The problem is to find more productive small-scale agriculture. We are given C. A. P. The problem is to find meaningful work. We are given the welfare state. The problem is to find intermediate technology. We plan to go to the moon.

Clearly we are given the illusion of choice. Only the abolition of all states and the setting up of alternative societies, collectives and syndicates will achieve a free, peaceful and plentiful world.

Jack Robinson.

CAPITALISM has now run its course, its contradictions unresolved. Not quite the contradictions predicted by the Marxist socialists who dominate left-wing politics. The concern of William Morris and those associated with him about the alienating nature of the growing industrial society has proved to be the more correct attitude. Here, anarchist thought and attitudes are the real inheritors of the early radicals' concern about the impact on people of the destruction of a society which, with all its own privilege and implied human enslavement, did have a structure based upon its food resources. Privilege and power continued and, allied to technical and industrial advances, had still greater impact on man and his society.

The contradiction of capitalism is that its ethics have been accepted and adopted by the working class, therefore it has started to consume itself. The trade unions who represent the working class are wedded to differentiation and privilege and the rewards gained are relative to the power that they are able to exercise in society. The consequences are of course that the pressures on capitalism of behaving within the ethical structures when the resources upon which it is based are finite and strained are causing the financial system to expose its defects

That notorious representative of American capitalism, Dr. Kissinger, recently in resisting the primary producers' pressures to gain a more favourable position regarding the industrial countries, said peevishly that the old system has so far served society well. The question of course is who has the system served well? It has had two devastating wars, the death of millions in ideological struggles, and a vast number of people below the poverty level. Capitalism has become cannibalistic in that it consumes now the capital on which it is based, and this is creating the ecological difficulties of which we are becoming increasingly aware.

The endless discussion of experts, economists and politicians about the solution to economic problems and the common market result in advocating economic measures that cannot by their nature deal with these problems. The retention of privilege is unquestioned by these people who being privileged are quite unwilling to advocate the steps required to reorganise society. The plain fact is that it is interest and usury that is the main cause of inflation in a monetary society. It means that people receive in monetary terms more than they need. The middle class generally in the past have tended to save and to reinforce their privileged position by doing so; the working class largely tend to spend the surplus -- encouraged by the advertisers.

What has happened is that the whole treadmill has accelerated at such a fantastic rate that the energy consumed and the waste produced is becoming a major environmental haz-

FREEDOM FROM PRIVILEGE

ard. The equation of power, physical energy and technology, geared to privilege must, as the pressure on resources grows, inevitably equal an increasingly violent society. This is reflected in the increasing role of the armed forces, always "in the background" but now more overtly being trained to maintain the existing privilege.

Those who wish to manipulate the economic system to maintain that privilege carry a heavy responsibility for the environmental difficulties that such a system inevitably creates. The answer to inflation that is given by the experts is restriction of the purchasing power of the working class either by restricting wages or by unemployment. The glibness with which such experts talk about these problems shows how far removed they are from the situation of the underprivileged. They tut-tut about violence and vandalism on the part of the underprivileged, which is far less dangerous than the activities of such highly-paid vandals as Dr. Beeching and the wider vandalising of our environment that privileged society permits.

Money and the financial system has now become the joke of the century. It prevents a fair distribution of the resources, encourages the devastation of the environment; capitalism is unable to function without state interference. The market economy combined with this interference results in industry and agriculture floundering in a morass of undigested currency notes. One set of politicians blames the other for difficulties and all blame the working class for operating the market system.

Quite a sizeable section of young people of all classes are becoming aware of the contradictions of established society. With its intrinsic relevance anarchism, which insists that society is for people to live a joyful working and playful life in producing what is needed and related to the environment in which we live, and recognising that our various skills and abilities do not entitle us to privilege, which enslaves privileged and underprivileged alike, is the alternative to a society of violent tensions.

Alan Albon.

IN BRIEF

The Presbyterian Church has asked the Formosa Government to return 1,638 Amoy-Chinese Bibles donated to Taiwan. The Government is holding them because it wishes its subjects to speak and read Mandarin Chinese only 'to unify the language and the culture'.

The Baader-Meinhof group supporters are suspected of (among other things) stealing a quantity of mustard-gas the property of the Bonn government. This, it was revealed, was left by the British Army some years ago, with instructions to the Germans to dispose of it.

Judge Gwyn Morris, trying five Brixton West Indian youths for attacking and stealing from unaccompanied women, said "These attacks have become a monotonous feature of the suburbs of Brixton and Clapham areas which within memory were peaceful, safe and agreeable areas to live in. But the immigrant resettlement which has occurred over the last twenty years has radically transformed that environment." Judge Morris later said, "I want to emphasise that I was making no attack on the great majority of immigrants, who have settled in this country and have proved themselves to be law-abiding citizens of whom there can be no criticism." The youths were sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

The Court of Appeal upheld an interim injunction prohibiting Islington Tenants' Association from picketing the offices of a local estate agent. This does not, as was earlier thou

thought, make all non-industrial picketing illegal, but is a step on such a course if the estate agent concerned continues with court proceedings.

A Basque priest taken into custody, without criminal charges, in Bilbao, was reported to be on the point of death after interrogation by the Spanish police.

An Athens publisher was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for printing a Greek version of the Little Red School Book. The public prosecutor said "An international organization of narcotics dealers and white-slave traders lies behind the book." This is the first case against a publisher since the junta fell; the same publisher was held by the security police for two weeks after publishing a book on Chile.

The Minister of State, Home Office, said that the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1974 is to lapse as soon as it is safe to do so - but not yet! The motion to extend the Act for six months was agreed by the House of Lords, and passed through the House of Commons, with only ten (Labour) dissidents.

After a vote of 'No confidence', the National Directorate of the National Front are reported by the Guardian to be considering expelling John Tyndall from the party.

East Berlin border guards refused to allow West Berlin firemen and police to rescue a five year old boy who had fallen in the River Spree on the border.

Sancho Panza

JOB ALIENATION

— THE NEW LEFT-WING CHILDISHNESS ?

I BEGAN my working life in a blacksmith's shop; not a farriery where they show horses and the pungent odour of burning hooves stings the nostrils and the ring of hammer on anvil penetrates the ears and head and seems still to linger in both after the day's work is done. The one I worked in was an engine works smithy where they forged the steel chains, and nuts and flanges of all sizes for the giant ships being constructed out in the yards. The hammers used were mainly mechanical monsters that used to shake the building whenever they were used and make the permanent layer of cake dust that covered the floor dance and ripple just like the waves in the channel that flowed not far from the smithy doors. During the summer the doors would be flung open and the sea breezes would help cool our perspiring bodies and bring relief from the heat waves that buffeted us from the coke fires and gas ovens around us and the hot sun beating on the roof overhead.

You might think, if you accept some of the crackpot theories so fashionable nowadays, that a high degree of alienation was induced from the job environment and that this in turn led to the growth of a revolutionary consciousness. In fact I spent some of the happiest days of my life in that smith's shop and I don't recall a single one of my workmates who became so alienated that he wanted to rush out and man the barricades: some of them wouldn't have joined the trade union only they had to. But shipbuilding is an occupation that is subject to cyclical unemployment (it is the latter factor and not simple bloody-mindedness that was the source of many a demarcation dispute) and I subsequently experienced the sort of repetitive work described by Tom Bell in *Pioneering Days*. Bell relates how Arthur Mac Manus was employed daily on the job of pointing a mountain of needles in the Singer sewing-machine factory at Clydebank, the same factory, incidentally, where the IWW established their first base in Britain. "One morning he came in and found the table empty. He couldn't understand it. He began telling everyone excitedly that there were no needles on the table. It suddenly flashed on him how absurdly stupid it was to be spending his life like this. Without taking his jacket off, he turned on his heel and went out, to go for a ramble over the hills to Balloch."

The IWGB members from Singer's later formed the core of the shop-stewards movement in Britain but were never more than a small, though influential, minority; if we take into account the conditions existent in many workshops at the time it ought to have been a mass movement but it was not, because workers generally aimed at nothing more than an improvement in their working conditions and the "got the foreman's job at last" mood was most prevalent.

feelings of an unknown German miner, Max Lotz, as recorded in *Aus der Tiefe* ("Out of the Depths") reveal a

high degree of alienation caused by working conditions in the Ruhr mines at the turn of the century: "Let's set up the planking until Rheinhold comes back so that things don't look so scruffy," I said to Bittner, even though we would rather have stretched out on the pile of coal because we were so tired. He replied, "I don't care, but first I want to wring out my trousers." And standing there naked he started to squeeze the water from the garment. I followed his example. When we had finished it looked around us as though a bucket full of water had been spilled. I do not exaggerate. In other locations where it was warmer yet, the workers were forced to undergo this procedure several times during their working hours.

In his introduction Lotz's narrative, Peter Stearns says: "Lotz is a truly alienated worker. He finds no joy in his work and no satisfactory relationship to the established order around him. Only socialism tempers his isolation. Perhaps the labour movement, even when committed to revolution in theory, seemed to modify workers' alienation by giving them something to belong to, a separate society to identify with. . . Lotz stresses the evils of the job itself. Most outside observers and most historians have paid most attention to life outside the job, to consumption standards, and even more to formal labour movements. We tend to assume that workers managed to switch their own focus in the same way. . . Lotz tells us that one kind of worker, at least, did not easily make the adjustment, for he specifically says that no amount of pay could compensate for his degrading toil."

The phrase "his degrading toil" provides the key to the thinking of Lotz and others like him. To put it more bluntly (some may say cynically) my own experience of such types is that "socialism" will do until the foreman's job comes along. By contrast, some of the most dedicated socialists I have worked with, those who have been prepared to carry on under the most disheartening conditions, have been people who grumbled least about their own job situations but talked often and were concerned about wider social problems and possible solutions.

But it is worth remembering that consideration of this question of alienation is by no means new despite the notion abroad, at least in some quarters, that to allude knowingly to alienation shows that one possesses a "modern" outlook on industrial affairs. Much of the debate carried on nowadays on this and similar subjects is phrased in a pseudo-scientific jargon which borrows from psychiatry and other fields of science and seems to serve no other purpose than to provide a smoke screen that conceals lack of real knowledge; its protagonists seem to be in revolt against the use of plain English and in search of some magical incantation - or perhaps they are using incantations, it is often difficult to tell.

Aside from the fact that many of the

changes alleged to have taken place in industry over past decades are superficial changes, changes in the names of things but not in their content, it is not the trendy left elements who are responsible for raising the question anew. -- they are merely parroting phrases and catch-cries they have learned elsewhere - but the union bosses and politicians. The "pure and simple" form of trade unionism is still with us but efforts are being made to restructure British unions along the lines of the German model, which was created by the Allied Military Government after the last war, hence so much talk about non-revolutionary forms of industrial unionism.

Worker-participation is deemed essential to the smooth running of modern industry, hence so much talk about alienation from people like Jack Jones in his TGWU pamphlet *The Right to Participate*: "Working people are practical people, and they can be drawn into the tasks of management, and into a new interest in the success of industry, only on a practical basis. But they are not going to achieve this if we ignore the growing feeling that the nature of work in industry is repetitious, so soul destroying, and in many cases so very unpleasant, that it is something that has to be escaped from as often as possible and as soon as possible." And in another pamphlet *Trades Unionism In The Seventies* he points out that expenditure on aids to greater efficiency in industry would be "a mere drop in the ocean compared with the vast sums spent by management on the huge army of consultants. I believe these changes should come quickly or the penalty will be great - and I hope they will come, because of the urgent need to expand the whole range of measures designed to promote greater worker satisfaction in industry. This is what I meant when I said that trades unionism had to have a human face."

It is hardly necessary to point out that a rise in job satisfaction, which is more prevalent among the professional classes than elsewhere, is not likely to promote a rise in revolutionary consciousness but more likely to stimulate the "working class can kiss my ass, got the foreman's job at last" sort of attitude -- and that is why the union bosses and politicians are interested in job satisfaction. They are being aided in their task by those on the Left whose level of thought never rises above the superficial, the sort of people who unthinkingly accept the advertisers' claims that the new wonder ingredient in the new instant detergent will solve all washday problems and that the "new" concept of alienation provides the key that will unlock the floodgates of revolution.

Sometimes linked with their half-baked ideas on alienation is the equally "new" idea of "encroaching control" which was widely promoted by G. D. H. Cole and the guild socialists during the first world war and which led inevitably to the idea that if it was possible to ach-

LETTERS

Dear Editors,

In reply to R. Yves Breton (Letters, 26.4.75), I would point out that by voting 'No' in the referendum I shall be neither starting a workers' political movement, nor legislating to improve working conditions, nor creating bourgeois institutions. I shall only be answering a question.

Nor shall I be recognising the authority of one "faction" of the voters. The voters will have no authority. For this referendum is only consultative, not mandatory. The result (though some politicians are choosing, for the moment, to ignore the fact) will not be legally binding.

Legally, the authority to take the UK out of the EEC rests with parliament, which nobody can bind. Therefore voters in the referendum - unlike the voters in elections - will not be exercising authority, but only answering a question put to them by the state. Of course, in doing so, they will be recognising the state - but no more than when they complete a tax form or apply for a driving licence.

It may be said that public opinion has more influence than parliament, and that by voting in the referendum, which is meant to test public opinion, I shall be helping to exert that influence. But if that is wrong, it is wrong to express oneself at all, for the expression of any view contributes to public opinion. I agree that no referendum ever tests public opinion with complete accuracy. But the referendum will be even less accurate if those who think 'No' fail to vote 'No', and a 'Yes' result could help to create a vast tyranny.

As for Stirner, I would quote from James J. Martin's Introduction to *The Ego and His Own* (p. xviii): "Stirner was scornful of the German national unity fervour of the 1840's... In his view, unity would be just the superimposing of a far more grim and ferocious monster for the existing thirty-eight weaker ones of the existing states."

Likewise, I think Stirner would have viewed the EEC as an attempt to create one big monster out of nine separ-

ate weaker ones. And I see nothing in his philosophy against stating a preference for weaker rather than stronger monsters given any opportunity of doing so. Only a fool would gag himself.

Once for all, let's get it clear. The UK is a kind of prison. The state is the governor. We are the prisoners. The governor is saying to us: "Look, I will either keep you in this prison or put you in another. Which would you prefer?" Whatever we answer, only the governor will exercise authority. But if we answer wisely, and our answer affects his decision, we shall fare better.

Those who keep silent will not be refraining from exercising authority, for they have none. In fact, by failing to take advantage of their new-found right to be consulted, they will be strengthening the governor's authority just after he himself, by granting that right, has weakened it.

To abstain in this consultative referendum, then, is to play straight into the hands of the establishment, which has always hated the referendum precisely because it weakens the authority of the state. Even a massive 'Yes' would hardly please the establishment more than a massive abstention. To abstain is to strengthen an existing state and throw away a chance to stop the growth of a much worse one. To abstain, indeed, is almost tantamount to voting 'Yes': it will certainly be interpreted that way by the establishment. The only course for an anarchist is to vote 'No'.

Yours sincerely,
Francis Ellingham
Bristol

COMMUNITY COUNCILS

Dear Comrades,

As a follow-up to the letter on community councils (FREEDOM 10 May), you may be interested to know that a petition survey supporting the right to a referendum to determine the constitution of community councils was taken round to

Industrial democracy and workers' control are still being felt to this day in Britain. The real, revolutionary content of these twin concepts of industrial democracy and workers' control can only be rediscovered by examining the underlying theoretical assumptions and the practical policies of syndicalism. And this means examining the ideas of the syndicalists themselves and not those who have often claimed to speak for them.

As for "alienation" and "encroaching control", these merely provide a pair of toy rattles for the infantile Left to play with.

Henry Bell.

a limited number of homes in Edinburgh. The relative number of signatures obtained showed a considerable interest by the general population in this idea in the area surveyed and the petition forms have been sent to the district council.

As a result of interest in community councils and local residents' associations it has been discovered that one of the local associations is organising on an encouraging basis. They have just formed various co-ordinating committees and chosen street representatives. Having an organisation which includes representatives for what are relatively small streets means that they can obtain people's views and distribute leaflets rapidly. This particular association has been active for some time and in the past has been responsible for halting a road scheme which would have meant demolishing some of their homes. A view expressed at the meeting we attended indicated that they wanted to keep politics out of it. Presumably they meant party political speeches. However it would appear that this grass roots people's organisation could teach many politicians a thing or two.

One further item - a suggestion has come from Edinburgh libertarians association that a libertarian festival be held at Speakers' Corner in London, possibly on the weekend after the Windsor festival, with libertarian speakers, leaflets and maybe some free food and drink.

Your brother,
Andy Molony Anderson.

SPANISH BOOK EXHIBITION

Dear Comrades,

I would like to bring to the attention of your readers the following from "The Bookseller" of 3rd May:

"A Spanish Book Exhibition will be held at the Royal Festival Hall (main foyer) from 22nd May to 1st June. The Instituto Nacional del Libro Espanol, on behalf of the Spanish publishers and together with the Spanish embassy will present some 3,000 books covering a wide range of subjects. There will also be a selection of books in English about Spain and translated from Spanish; these have been chosen by the National Book League."

As a bookseller, the fact that the NBL is prepared to actively co-operate in this exhibition, presented as it is by the representatives of a regime which continues to suppress any freedom of the spoken or written word, disgusts me. I suggest that comrades who share this feeling express it in writing to the National Book League, 7 Albemarle Street, London, W.1 and The Bookseller, 13 Bedford Square, W.C.1. It may also be worth contacting the Booksellers' Association, 154 Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1 and the Publishers' Association, 19 Bedford Square, W.C.1.

Comrades should also consider the possibility of further action.

Fraternally,

Leonard Still.

level a measure of workers' control within the factory by means of encroachment then it was equally possible to achieve a degree of workers' control over the state apparatus by similar means. This latter policy was labelled "joint control" and resulted in an agreement to the proposals laid before the Sankey Commission of 1919, proposals rejected by the syndicalists as a snare and a delusion but accepted by the guildsmen and the Miners' Federation. The acceptance of these proposals by the guildsmen was the logical outcome of their own propaganda in favour of encroaching control but the disastrous effects of this propaganda of guild-socialism, a movement of bourgeois intellectuals, upon the concepts of

PRESS FUND

Contributions 1 - 14 May

GRANTHAM: G. A. I. 36p SAN FRANCISCO: Proceeds from a supper at Comrade Negri's per J. V. via Volonta: £29.95; WHALLEY: P. A. G. & S. L. G. £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. 60p; J. K. W. 10p; BELFAST: H. B. 50p; CHESTERFIELD: G. H. 25p; LONDON SW13: D. M. 12p; MIDDLESBROUGH: M. R. £1; BANGOR, N. I. : J. T. £5; LONDON, Ontario: D. B. 25p; WHALLEY: P. A. G. and S. L. G. £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. 60p; J. K. W. 10p; Speakers' Corner Sympathiser: £1; CAMBRIDGE: P. S. 63p; CHAUMONT: M. S. 50p; WHALLEY: P. A. G. & S. L. G. £1; LONDON E4: S. & A. G. 50p.

TOTAL: £44.46
Previously acknowledged £601.40

TOTAL TO DATE: £645.86

LAW-LESS ANARCHISTS

IN THE Conference Report of Scottish Libertarians there is a mention from a delegate that there was a law suit "over who should publish 'Freedom' and two distinct groups evolved from this; those who won the right to call their paper 'Freedom' and whose paper represents a very broad range of anarchist thought and the other more militant group who publish Black Flag."

The Freedom Collective would like to point out that no such law suit took place and those comrades who publish 'Black Flag' did so on their own accord. Indeed, just for the record, there was no split and no arguments, just a group of comrades deciding to publish a paper reporting and aiding anarchist political prisoners.

We don't know where delegate Mike Malet got his information from, but he is either wrong or misinformed.

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MEETINGS

A. S. NEILL Association- working meeting at Life Span Commune (near Sheffield June 6-7-8. Bring bedding & food. Kids welcome. Details of membership & weekend mtg. from Ray, 7 Manor Road Extension, Oadby, Leics. (Our aim to secure greater freedom for children & support projects which share this aim.)

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH Bike Rally & Demo Sun. 15 June County Hall 2.30 pm to protest at inadequate provision for cyclists & launch Bike Wk.

Alternate Sundays, Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, 1 pm Speakers' Crnr. Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcm.

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/Int. Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door. Tube Belsize Pk/Chalk Farm) From 7.30 pm -discussion, snacks.

MANCHESTER. SWF weekly mtgs. Enq. Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd. Manchester M1 7DU

CONTACT

PEOPLE/ORGANISATIONS

LIBRARY Workers contact Martin Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW with view to forming a network.

CHINESE anarchism, its history & its influence on Maoism. Information or contacts to Alan Charles, PO Box 460 BERKELEY Calif. 96701 USA.

POEMS & SONGS wanted from all over world for Abolish War Encycl./Anthol. Anarcho-Pacifist, Antimilitarist, Anti racist, also C.O.s' Tribunal Statements. Any lang. Mark Wm, Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church Street, London, SE5

SPACE for one or two adults, with or without children, in established communal household. Phone Thanet 57730 or write 22 Royal Road, Ramsgate, Kent.

GEORGE FOULSER - writings of his which a reader can purchase/duplicate (speedfreak, &c?). Write Phil Addington, 1 Ethelburga Drive, Lyminge, nr. Folkestone, Kent.

WINDSOR Free Festival. The People's Festival on again for 9 days from 23 August! Needs your cooperation. ADAM FREE. BM/Loving, London WC1V 6XX

GROUPS

CORBAY anarchists. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick.

DUNDEE. Brian Fleming, c/o Anarchist Society, Students' Union, University of Dundee, Dundee, Angus.

EDINBURGH Bob Gibson, 7 Union Street, Edinburgh (tel. 031-226 3073)

GLASGOW. Gerry Cranwell, 163 Gt. George Street, Hillhead, Glasgow.

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants.

N. LONDON Anarchist Workers Assn write BCM-N. Lon. AWA, London

WC1V 6XX

NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hey, 34 Buchanans Road, Christchurch 4 (tel. 496 793).

PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHISM LANCASTRUM No. 3 8p + post from AL, 16 Kingsmill Avenue, Whalley, Lancs. or Freedom Bookshop.

DIRECT ACTION No. 7 out now. Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU or Freedom Bookshop (5p + 5½p post)

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST (IWW) No. 3 out now. From Freedom Bookshop 10p + 5½p or from Organising Committee, 116 Chadderton Way, Oldham (Greater London Local ring Watford 39124).

THE MATCH! U.S. Anarchist Monthly. News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. \$3.00 per year (or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 13½p inc. post).

ANARCHY, a duplicated quarterly available in a few weeks. One dollar for 4 issues. Subs., help & suggestions to Anarchy, c/o 54 Buchanan Road, Christchurch 4 New Zealand.

WILDCAT No. 8 out now. 15p, sub £2.50 a year (monthly), Cheques to Alternative Publishing Co. Ltd., Box 999, 197 Kings X Road, London, WC1.

PRISONERS

Paul Pawlowski, 219089, H. M. Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW19 3HS. Letters, postcards. DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Address for letters & papers Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire. STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee Box 252, 240 Camden High St. London, NW1. Still needs donations for books.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILANO. The postcard we mentioned in Freedom, addressed to Marini in prison and with greeting in Italian, is still available from Freedom for 5½p (our postage to you) plus a donation for the Defence Committee.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday 5 June. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding and informal get-together.

LATEST DATE for receipt of copy for next Review section is Saturday 24 May. All other items for inclusion in next issue (news, letters, contact column, other articles) must arrive at the very latest by 2 June.

PREVIOUS ISSUE

We got the numbering wrong again. It should have been Nos. 18-19 (not 17-18 as shown).

LIBRARIANS PLEASE NOTE.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION and . . .

THE LIBERATION ARMY OF THE SOUTH

DURING THE LAST few decades, in country after country, the exploits of guerrilla "armies" and movements have regularly hit the headlines - in South East Asia, in South and Central America, the Middle East and even in Western Europe, including the co-called United Kingdom. To libertarians, the exploits of the Makhnovist Insurrectionary Army in the Ukraine between 1918 and 1921, and the Durutti columns during the Spanish Revolution in 1936, are well-known and generally well-documented. But the activities and struggles of the Liberation Army of the South and Centre, to give it its full title, are less well-known, even by libertarians. Led largely by the great Mexican libertarian, Emiliano Zapata, and the extremely independent chief, Genovevo de la O, and influenced by the anarchist propagandist, Ricardo Flores Magon, the Liberation Army was the first true guerrilla army - "a people in arms" - this century. Furthermore, the Zapatista Liberation Army of the South fought, almost continuously, for almost ten years.

At the period of the Maderista "revolution" in 1910, the movement in the State of Morelos (south of Mexico City) merely comprised a few scattered bands of peon insurrectos, each led by its elected village chief. Though their objectives - of defending their common lands (ejidos) against the great landowners (hacendados), the Mexican State and its Federal Army - were much the same, they were completely independent of each other. There were, moreover, petty jealousies between chiefs, as well as a certain amount of "regionalism". And, naturally, some villages and their chiefs were more impetuous, and more enthusiastic, than others. Indeed, in the early days, Emiliano Zapata was more inclined to hold back. It was in his nature to be cautious. However, once he had become convinced that armed struggle was the only effective method open to the peons and rancheros of the South and Morelos, he soon emerged as the natural commander of the growing Liberation Army. He was then elected Supreme Chief (Jefe) by most of the other chiefs who, in turn, were also elected by their (male) villagers.

* * *

In the early days of the struggle against the Mexican State - and at other periods later on - the Zapatistas were unable to fight open battles against the Federal Army. They merely made raids in order to capture arms and ammunition. Other "revolutionary" armies, such as the Maderistas, the Villistas and the Constitutionalists, were able, on numerous occasions, to buy arms in America and elsewhere; but the Zapatistas, who were almost entirely peons ("people of the earth"), suffered from a chronic shortage of military supplies for much of the time, as they lacked the money to buy them abroad. Except once, when Villa, after much delay, sent the Liberation Army of the South some cannons, the Zapatistas never had any artillery, and very few machine-guns. They did, however, manage to obtain considerable amounts of dynamite, mainly from the silver mines. Units of the Liberation Army

AS BOTH Zapatistas and Liberals (the anarchist-communists) fight for the common people, as they both attack the Church and the capitalists, as they both want the ownership in common of the land and everything therein, and, finally, as they both follow the same practice of expropriation of the land, machinery, means of transportation, etc., they are friendly towards each other and work in perfect harmony. With their frequent contact with the Liberals, and above all because of the tendencies of the race, the Zapatistas undoubtedly will become Anarchist Communists, and fight for the desired end - the Conquest of Bread.

-Enrique Flores Magon (FREEDOM, August 1914.)



Photograph Underwood & Underwood

Eufemio and Emiliano Zapata

had, therefore, to ride on their small but fast horses hundreds of miles to capture military supplies from the enemy - the Mexican State. At the beginning of their campaign, the Zapatistas were able to get limited numbers of guns and some ammunition from raids on local haciendas (sugar plantations and large estates).

The Liberation Army was, of necessity, forced to adopt the tactics of guerrilla warfare, of which it became extremely adept. Only on a few occasions, and at certain periods, did it become a "positional" army; when hard-pressed, it always reverted to guerrilla warfare. It broke up into small, largely autonomous, wide-ranging, highly-mobile units, based in numerous camps in the hills and mountains around the Valley of Morelos. From such camps each unit - generally linked with other units through messengers and couriers - would ride down on Federal troops and positions in rapid raids and ambushes. They would disappear again as quickly as they had appeared. They would cut supply lines and communications, blow up troop-trains and, when possible, take small towns. Thus, units of the Liberation Army of the South would destroy small enemy units and harass larger ones; they would avoid, if possible, formal and major battles until it was fairly certain that they would be victorious. Groups and units of the Liberation Army were constantly on the move. If the enemy, for example, advanced with a large column, he might find no one to fight; if he divided his forces, the Zapatistas would ambush them. "When ever a strong army group came close to the guerrillas, they disappeared, either by hiding or merging with the local population," observes Gerrit Huizer. When surrounded, the Zapatistas would merely bury their rifles and, later, dig them up again when the enemy had gone.

Continued on Page 10

The Zapatistas, says Rosa King, "not only fought: they had, in between, to work to provide for their families, cultivate their patches of corn and beans". In Rosa King's view, "The Zapatistas were not an army; they were a people in arms". John Womack, Jr. takes a similar view when he says that the Liberation Army was a "people's army". Being people counted more than being counted an army, he adds. And, of course, the Liberation Army remained completely independent of, and never subordinate to, any other army or political faction, even during its short flirtation with the Villistas, right up to the defeat of Carranza in 1920.

It is, indeed, worth stressing here that the Liberation Army of the South and the Centre was an integral part of Zapatismo and the Zapatista struggle of the people of Morelos and the South. It grew naturally. That was why it was able to operate for so long. No Zapatista, no Zapatista chief, nor Emiliano Zapata himself, was ever betrayed by the ordinary people of Morelos. Zapata was murdered, but it was by a Federal officer.

* * *

Of course, not every peon and ranchero in Morelos was an active member of the Liberation Army, though at certain periods most of the young able-bodied men - and some of the girls - in the State served in its ranks. At its zenith, the Liberation Army was possibly 80,000 strong. In bad times, it dwindled to less than a tenth of that figure. Ten years of almost continual struggle naturally took its toll. Recruitment was completely voluntary, though it was mooted at one time that "enemies of the people", such as those found guilty of banditry, should be drafted. Nothing seems to have come of that idea. Many of the Zapatistas were extremely young. From various accounts, it would seem that some were only thirteen- or fourteen-year-olds. A few of the dynamiters may have been even younger. Though the majority of armed Zapatistas were men, the Liberation Army of the South and the Centre also contained soldaderas - girl soldiers. There were also a few coronelas - women colonels!

ZAPATA

Cont'd
from P. 9

The Zapatistas wore no uniforms. A few generals and colonels wore charro suits, as did Zapata. Indeed, Emiliano Zapata has been called "the charro of charros". Furthermore, the Liberation Army only had three ranks: generals, colonels (who were generally chiefs) and soldiers, either mounted or on foot. Altogether, the Liberation Army had thirty-five generals at one time - a small number for a Mexican army. The Liberation Army was, like Makhno's Insurrectionary Army, entirely plebian. Most were Indians; a few were mestizos (part Indian and part Spanish). The number of non-peasants could probably be counted on the fingers of two hands. Among the Zapatistas there were perhaps a couple of former lawyers, two or three shopkeepers, one former school-teacher, a former civil engineer and, for a while, a former Protestant preacher. And that was about all.

* * *

DESPITE raids and forays into other areas - and the occasional occupation of Mexico City - the Liberation Army was primarily a defensive force. It stayed mainly in Morelos and the South. It was concerned with defending the lands that had been taken back from the wealthy hacendados and sugar planters, and with driving the Federal Army out of Morelos, Oaxaca, Puebla and the south. It had no desire to "carry the revolution" further afield, though the Zapatistas did try to win over the workers of Mexico City. Indeed, in 1915-16, when it could probably have successfully "conquered" other States, the Liberation Army of the South deliberately concentrated large groups at all the key passes between the mountains all around Morelos, - and for very many months no enemy could get in.

A number of attempts were made to improve the organisational structure of the army. For long periods, Zapata and his secretaries (mainly Magonistas like Diaz Soto y Gama), together with a fairly small force of horsemen, operated from a semi-permanent base camp. Sometimes they were forced to move to another camp. From his headquarters

camp, Zapata and his secretaries would often send out manifestos, requests for assistance and army "directives" to the various chiefs and their groups; but none of the other chiefs were under any obligation, or forced to obey. It is true, however, that the Liberation Army headquarters staff, and Zapata himself, sometimes persuaded chiefs to a considerable extent, though Zapata never attempted to dominate anyone. He had no power, except that derived from his influence among the ordinary peons and rancheros. Nevertheless, in 1913, instructions were sent out - probably by Manuel Palafox - to restructure the Liberation Army on a more hierarchical basis. Soldiers in one unit, said the instructions, should not mingle with soldiers of other units. And "subordinates" should obey officers whether they belonged to their own units or another. But nothing came of this "directive". Again, in 1917, Zapata attempted to organise the army more efficiently on the basis of infantry, cavalry and artillery units, with supporting engineering and sanitation units. But owing to increasing pressure against the Zapatistas from 1917 onwards, nothing came of this either. They remained "a people in arms".

Such was the Liberation Army of the South and the Centre - the fighting arm of Zapatismo.

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Peter E. Newell.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF . . .

BIG BROTHER'S WAGE SLAVE

MY NAME is A. Worker. I could be any one of the 1500 convicted wage slaves who arrive at the big Kingsnorth Power Station construction site forced labour camp by coach and car every morning. Our crime: we were born of the working class - for which we were automatically sentenced at birth to penal servitude for life with no right of appeal.

Every weekday morning I get on a coach or into a car. It could be at Barking, New Cross, Gravesend, Chatham, Canterbury, or many other places. Just before eight the coach or car slows down and stops on a winding narrow road leading into Kingsnorth Power Station, which is situated in the marshes adjoining the Medway estuary in North Kent.

I glance up from the paper I've been reading and peer through the windscreen at a line of vehicles immediately ahead. At the end of the long line of cars and coaches by some American-style gates I can see three or four faceless Securicor guards inspecting the pass of each

driver in turn. Behind these kapos and alongside the main Securicor headquarters building stands another black uniformed guard trying to keep a snarling Alsatian quiet with his left hand while nervously holding a short truncheon with his right. At the rear of the building I can see several more hungry-looking Alsations trying to climb the sides of a wire compound. I'm glad that I don't have much meat on me. If they break out, perhaps they'll start eating their controllers first.

As we move closer and closer to the Securicor guards I remember the phrase "creeping fascism", which was used by an ex-Nazi concentration camp inmate some years ago when we were talking together. He was trying to show me the real nature of the great industrial speed-up and the gradual strangling of individual liberty and initiative going on today in the name of the Nation, Profit, Managerial Control, Exports, Balance of Payments, and all the other false gods

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WAGE SLAVE

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of modern capitalism.

At this moment as I look at the "creeping fascists" just ahead and as I think about the scores of others waiting to take control of us as soon as we get inside the gates, I feel that we have already entered George Orwell's 1984. And it is so much worse than the fictional situation he portrayed because right now I am experiencing in real life certain aspects of what Orwell imagined.

I glance at my paper once more. Some big nob is telling the workers yet again to get their fingers out. We must raise productivity, the tycoon says. We must not strike. Strikes hurt Britain (and managers' control). We must win the great international capitalist battle for economic survival. Our balance of payments must be favourable. We must not take time off from work. We must buy British. Work, work, work! We must speed up, speed up and still further speed up. Never mind if the workers in every country are being told the same thing. Never mind if we are being run off our feet because the world is still divided into nation-states whose ruling classes are prepared to drain every drop of sweat, and blood if necessary, of their working classes in the course of trying to dominate each other. Never mind if we are doing something socially useless like advertising wholly unnecessary super detergents whose use will cause the death of all life in our rivers and lakes. Never mind if we are working in the booming armaments industry producing the means to incinerate human beings and the cities and towns of the world. Never mind if we are building a power station which is helping to burn in 150 years the fossil fuels which nature took 300 million years to make and which our descendants (if humanity survives its present attack of insanity) will need as raw materials for plastics and the like. Never mind that the stinking smoke and fumes from the Kingsnorth chimney will add considerably to the filthy pollution which now threatens to destroy our whole Earth. So long as the tycoon makes his fast buck and the managerial baron keeps his control over us we are not supposed to care.

The paper is full of adverts: each one trying to create a usually senseless need while at the same time seeking to satisfy it. Buy, buy, buy! the adverts say. Your old car is out of date. You're not with it if you don't have the latest cooker, washing machine or spindryer. You've never seen TV if you haven't got a colour set. Use only our brand of petrol! It has that extra ingredient! Even the political barons will not leave us alone. Vote Conservative! Vote Labour! Vote Liberal!... If there was any real difference between them so far as the working masses are concerned, it would not be so bad. But there isn't. All these parties see us as some great big political animal which must not be allowed to roam free; and which at all costs must be hitched to some bandwagon or other and driven along a path not of our choosing by the big political bosses. And whether they call themselves Conservatives, Socialists, Liberals, Fascists or Communists does not matter. In the end the workers of every country find out that the party bosses and managerial barons who control them are all the same, no matter what colour of flag they happen to wave.

Like puppets on a string, we are continually being got at, being manipulated, being pushed and pulled. We are indeed nothing more than marionettes. Last night after being nearly twelve hours away from home I staggered indoors only to be told: 'The Joneses next door are going to Morocco this year,' or was it, 'Mr. Jones has got a foreman's job, why can't you?' or perhaps it was, 'Mrs. Jones has got a new carpet for her front room and it makes our one look old.' How utterly absurd, irrelevant and trivial the whole basis of my life suddenly seemed. And yet I agreed with my wife when she insisted on a holiday in Majorca, even though we haven't finished paying for last year's one.

If I was to be completely honest with myself, I would have to admit that I had little choice about the matter. Because every thought, word and deed of mine springs from the principle of 'I'm alright Jack', and is directed almost entirely towards the goal of keeping up with the Joneses next door. It is impossible for me - or so it seems - for me to act in any other way. Like a cork in the middle of a raging river I am being borne along by fierce eddies and currents towards I don't know what. This is what I really feel. But I would never dare admit it to anyone other than myself.

With a jolt I'm awoken from my reverie by the mean-looking mug of a goggled Securicor guard as his soulless eyes peer at me through the windscreen. For a moment I feel like getting out and kicking that stupid moronic face. But the feeling passes, and I take my eyes off the leering guard as he motions us on. Almost immediately we are passing

by the huge grey coloured switch houses and the still bigger buildings housing the boilers and turbines. My spirits sink even lower. In a few minutes' time hundred of us will be driven out by yet more kapos to work in an around these buildings - which I have grown to hate as if these lifeless structures were themselves part of the monstrous managerial heel which crushes us daily.

In a few moments our vehicle arrives at some low, dark wooden huts of the same kind as those of Dachau and Auschwitz, where a different kind of forced labour was used. There is a bustle of activity going on outside. A number of coaches and cars which arrived before us are spewing their occupants out on the road. Shivering in the cold north-west wind they move like men going to their execution, towards a row of clocks attached to the wall of a hut facing the road. There is a short queue at one or two of the clocks. A spatter of rain falls. The men in the queues press their chins down on their chests and try to turn their faces away from the biting wind. In a few moments they have all registered as inmates for the day and have thus saved themselves from being marked a.w.o.l. with all the dire consequences for themselves and their families which this could bring.

Once outside on the roadway I have literally to force myself towards the clocks. I try to appear happy. I even manage to chuckle over some odd remark made by a mate. But it is an empty chuckle, as hollow as I myself feel right now. This is the moment of the workday which I hate most. No matter how much money I get. No matter how many things I own, at this particular moment I - in common with countless others in factories, offices, research establishments, hospitals, and so on - am in the process of becoming an order-taking slave. I am ceasing to be a person and, like it or not, I am being turned into a thing under the direct control of a dictatorial order-giving managerial bureaucracy within whose little kingdom mere caricatures of human beings, jealously guarding their positions of status in the local feudal hierarchy, have more power over workers than police and magistrates have on the 'outside'.

As I clock in and exchange my name for a number and my personality for a function, I reflect upon remarks continually being made by our political overlords and masters about us never having it so good in spite of this or that. They tell us we have cars, washing machines, TVs, and all the other gadgets of our tin can age. On top of this they keep reminding us that we have pensions and insurance schemes together with paid holidays and other so-called benefits - which have, incidentally, been won from their lordships only after decades of struggle and sacrifice on our part. Why then, they ask, are we not contented like cows in the middle of a meadow in May?

At this particular moment in the morning when I am being forced into a situation which I hate deep in my heart, it is easy to see that in the final analysis all these material things mean nothing so long as I remain a manual or clerical unit of production under a management which quite deliberately sets out to strip me of all my manly qualities and to transform me into a crawling, fawning, menial, servile, submissive slave who can be bought for a bit of bonus or overtime.

Like most other people I have a certain pride and self respect. I am therefore more than an animal, economic or otherwise. Though I need food, clothing, shelter and sex in order to satisfy my basic physical and emotional requirements, I want more than a full belly and a few sticks of furniture if I'm to live a full and happy life.

But how can I ever feel that my existence is meaningful if my whole life is spent striving for things which I'm told I must have if I'm to 'stay with it' - but which do not at all satisfy me? Or how can I be really happy if I feel at heart that my work is irrelevant and unappreciated, or so long as I feel that I've no control over events resulting from decisions made by incompetent little dictators for whom I have no respect?

At first sight the right to lead a full and meaningful life might seem the very least every human being should expect in our so-called advanced world. But for the vast majority of people everywhere this is far from being the case. Only a tiny ruling minority of autocrats in every nation-state are able to determine the course of their individual lives. For the great majority of the people in every country it is a case of submitting to the orders and the laws of the privileged few.

Sometimes I think we are fools to let things go on as they are. For, after all, we could easily change things - given the will. It makes me wonder, though, what would happen if all the people on every construction site, and in every factory, hospital, laboratory and office got together and decided to run things themselves. Fancy a bloke like me with overalls on having a real say in the running of things. I'm sure that together we would soon build a far better world - a world designed and built wholly by us, the working masses of the Earth.

Michael Tobin.

SPEAKING OF THE WORKERS

THE MIDDLE CLASS intellectual has always had a guilty desire to establish communication with the noble savage and the mad dream that, as with voices from deep space, his dirty doppelgänger will in turn send messages back in the primitive beautiful, and editors, publishers and art dealers have, for the last hundred years, stood around on intellectual street corners waiting for the mental manna penned by the stubby fingers of we the horny handed. It is well intentioned but futile and whatever is produced by we the proletariat is in the end no more than a good or bad pastiche of an alien culture. The rich and the poor are by economics driven into ghettos, with the ultra rich of their own making, while the middle class spreads forth in a cancerous growth absorbing the whole corpus of administration; and communication is the middle class tool and this, comrades, is what art is about, for without an audience there is no art, from the shithouse wall to the Sistine Chapel. It could be claimed that the peasant or the people of the jungle and the desert have produced an art peculiar to themselves but despite the mystique it is never more than decoration and rotted in time. Always there is the desire or the screamed condemnation that we the proletariat are creatures without art but in our defence it should be known that the landed gentry, the aristocracy and the bankers and lords of the huge industrial complexes as a class have never produced an upper class art, for the rich and the poor communicated by word of mouth and the middle class wrote letters between penning the documents of administration, and all the pretty pictures were for the walls of the castle, the cathedral and the great houses, the mini versions for medieval suburbia and the nineteenth century semi-detached four-servanted houses of the clerks.

Lesser minds than mine have examined the question and the cult of proletarian culture and Trotsky, one of the great scene shakers of modern revolutionary dialogues, dismissed proletarian culture when he wrote in Literatura i Revoljutsiya "It is fundamentally wrong to oppose proletarian culture and proletarian art to bourgeois culture and bourgeois art. The former will never exist at all, since the proletarian regime is temporary and transitory. The historical meaning and the moral grandeur of the proletarian revolution lies in this, that it is laying the foundation of a classless culture, the first that will be truly universal." Trotsky's premise is correct and his interpretation good solid propaganda for the faithful, for valid art is protest and after the parade it can only survive through its aesthetic qualities, and Wilde knew more than Leon on the subject of art. But the tables from Sinai for those faithful yearning posterwise to grip hands with the salt of the earth are contained in the writings of George Orwell, the melancholy muse of NW6, and in a discussion with Desmond Hawkins in 1940 Orwell dismissed any belief in proletarian literature, seeing it only as literature written about the proletariat, accepting The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists as almost a single exception to the gilded rule. What was odd about Orwell's discussion was that he saw magazines such as Cage-Birds, Home Chat, Exchange & Mart and the comic postcards of Donald McGill as representative of the proletariat, and comrades, it is these middle class writers who use the term proletariat every time they wish to refer to the social lower echelon, when all these things, yea even to the gaudy high-priced posters of yesteryear's much publicised underground revolution were and are the work of middle class entrepreneurs supplying a profitable service not to a class but to a cult. It is a sad and simple fact that there is no proletarian culture, for we are but figures in the artist's landscape of the mind, to be praised or derided according to his political beliefs. Dickens in his magnificent journalistic novels examined us, the American artists of the thirties revered us, the English middle-class writers hate and taunt us, and with the landed aristocracy we read the News of the World and the Sunday Times, watch Becket on BBC2 and Kojak on BBC1, buy our wine through the same wine club and eat sausage sandwiches while the middle class and George Orwell ("Yes, the term 'proletariat' is a political term belonging solely to the industrial age" - 1940) deny our existence yet at the same time declaim that we are

ruining their country and that a strong government should place us under rigorous political and economic control. We exist and we will always exist as long as men and women earn their daily bread with the sweat on their faces and our culture we leave to the birds, literally and metaphorically. Joe Stalin is dismissed as a literary square yet one can assume that he is the only proletarian who ever made the big time and lived to draw his pension, and it is of slight interest to note that the first 200 pages of his Collected Works are his contributions to the underground paper Proletariatis Bzdzola. Yet no one, Russian or otherwise, claims Stalin as a proletarian writer, for if you make it you're deemed to have crossed the social point of no return.

FIREWEED

A writers' and readers' cooperative have published the first number of their quarterly magazine Fireweed, a magazine of "working class and socialist arts". One should never knock a first number, said he reaching for the velvet covered cosh, but despite good intentions it has little in common with socialism and the workers, therefore one can only judge it in relation to other literary magazines and it is sadly uninspired and, to my jaundiced mind, no more than a rehash of all those gallant efforts of the last thirty years. Of socialism and the working class? Nay, the name of Bertolt Brecht in the first issue and the promise of work by Adrian Mitchell, John Arden, Edward Bond, Yevtushenko, Vonnegut and others embalm it in the mausoleum of the honoured dead who carried a brave banner in the class war, and even the threat that the first 1,200 subscribers will receive a free copy of Wesker's play The Journalists can add little to the magazine's value. The poetry is of the style that was fashionable ten years or so ago, rambling impressionistic, while the part of Act 2 of Ken Campbell's play The Great Caper is pastiche Pinter and as dated as Brecht's contributions. Old fashions can be revitalised but they need wit, talent and a sense of doom-laden immediacy to make the common reader pay out 60p. Yet Fireweed should and must be supported in spite of its first number for there is a terrible need for good and exciting small magazines.

NOT FOR BURNING

And Donald Gardner's paperback of poetry For the Flames is everything that Fireweed claims for itself and is not. Donald Gardner is of the lunatic fringe, the honoured company, and has made the world his own from Italy to the Lake of Nicaragua. In 1968 he started Guerrilla Poets and was arrested for reading poetry in London's Wardour Street, and is at the moment of writing an actor with the Living Theatre, bringing poetry and drama back into its mediaeval haunts of the town's streets. All this could simply be his thing and good for the ego of the people involved and one would wish them well but Gardner's polemical poetry is magnificent, on first reading, in its beauty, its rhythmic flow and its committed pity. As with the work of Christopher Logue one feels that the reader is intruding into private sorrows yet each poem creates and leaves a picture in the mind and in the contents of these magazines it is interesting to read Gardner's poetic rejection of Brecht's "What times are these/ when a conversation about trees seems almost a crime./ Because it includes a silence about so many misdeeds!" And Gardner answers, "It's like this, Brecht./ The end of the world/ is going on behind my/ shoulders as I write./ I am trying/ to describe/ this one flower./ I have never/ been so much in love/ with gardens./ The lighting's gone but/ the flames of the apocalypse /mean I can work/ by night too./ I am doing my best/ against odds/ to preserve some thing." And there speaks the mystic and the lover against the raging of the politician.

DATED VIRGINITY

Bleb 9 is one more poetry magazine existing, one as-

sumes, on grants from various American State and Art Council handouts. Its layout is a thing of beauty of virginal whiteness with the print and the tiny Chinese style illustrations edging onto the pages but again the poetry is of the fashion of the mode and the mode is dated. The pretty phrase, the three or four disjointed lines, the public tear no longer suffice for they are cliches for the backs and in my defence I can do no more than quote F. A. Nettlebeck to speak for his fellow contributors in Bleb 9, "SING, FUCKER softly, thighs/in wistful manner./burning in/the heart./a bird/floating/face up./I turn/around." Read one read all comrade.

SOCIAL VIOLENCE

It was over forty years ago that the collected works of Isaac Rosenberg was published and in those years of the National Socialist menace and the huge anti-war movement much was made of this young poet who was killed on All Fool's Day in 1918. Seven of them living in a single room in Whitechapel's Cable Street where a score of years after his death on the western front the street barricades went up against the uniformed fascist squads. Rosenberg was a mapped out martyr for the working class left, but in his short life and long death he failed to conform for he loathed his ghastly working class background and like so many of all classes he sought an escape in the romance and the nihilism of a political war. Like many young men of talent, Kit Wood and Gertler and Rosenberg hawked their talents on the only market prepared to buy. And their middle-class patrons demanded that youth and charm should be included in the price and Kit Wood and Gertler killed themselves and Rosenberg jumped in the public hell of '14 to '18 to escape. Always on edge, unprepossessing in his external appearance, he would only have had a short life as the favourite of the Town and death solved his and their problem. Jon Silkin's Out of Battle published in 1972 is the academic's all-purpose book on the poets of the First World War but Joseph Cohen's Life of Rosenberg, Journey to the Trenches should be required reading for those who wish to place this young and tragic anti-hero of poetry in his social and cultural context. I do not believe that the First World War produced any great poetry. Passionate, committed, but only because good versifiers were thrown into a situation in which theirs were the only letters from Hell. The television screen has destroyed the poets as the great weepers of history and now they sit in small back rooms sighing at the rain on the windows. After the Georgian poets the distant singer could not lose out and Rosenberg's lines of 1916 "Only a live thing leaps my hand-/A queer sardonic rat-/As I pull the parapet's poppy/To stick behind my ear./Droll rat, they shoot you if they knew/Your cosmopolitan sympathies." But this was to a civilian audience, the same audience who had decided to slop out Brooke's "and does the clock still stand at three and are there crumpets still for tea?" - - and I quote from an imper-

fect memory for ten years after that war we sat in the cinema to watch and enjoy seeing the sad young actor/hero reaching over the parapet for a butterfly and pppppppdoing kaput he's dead God Save the King and we make for the exits bitter and angry at capitalistic wars and wishing to God that we had been there knee deep in warm mud writing those great and bitter war poems. The man of genius stands outside his situation and the great artist performs no matter what the climate of the time if there is a paymaster to provide the leisure and the bread and the audience, and great social violence offers the minor craftsmen that rare opportunity to to play the muse to history.

Tonight we watch, on our television screens, the Cambodian people being driven out into the alien countryside and instant history is too fast for the poetry of protest so once more it becomes parochial and sinister and we are offered a dreary thug such as Charles Manson, and in place of the war poets those who in clouded prose would justify the murders committed by Manson's Family. Thirty-five years of age, he was the little boy lost in the period of America's hip hippy flower power scene and he gave a mystical rationalisation to the sad collection of neurotics that he gathered around him to go forth and murder in his name. Bugliosi in The Manson Murders has done a good journalistic job on this group and their 30 to 40 killings. And the violence of these people was accepted by an audience safe in American suburbia or a rent paid room in Greenwich Village, and our only salvation is that Manson did not write poetry (apart from the pop lyric, comrade!). He played Jesus for these pathetic people and quoted Revelations to them, but Manson and Bugliosi and all his apologists should have read the final two lines of Revelations that closes the Bible: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen". Don't kill in my name Father, Brother, Comrade, for any society it produces is damned by your actions. Be like Rosenberg and weep for the flower and the rat if you must contract out, for there is a time, and when that time comes of voluntary or enforced leisure we the working class will produce that proletarian culture that others so desperately seek.

Arthur Moyses.

FIREWEED
(14 Talacre Road, London, NW5 3PE) 60p
FOR THE FLAMES, Donald Gardner. (Fulcrum Press, 20 Fitzroy Square, London W.1.) Price ?
OUT OF BATTLE, The Poetry of the Great War, Jon Silkin (London University Press) £5.00
JOURNEY TO THE TRENCHES: The Life of Isaac Rosenberg, Joseph Cohen, (Robson) £4.95
THE MANSON MURDERS, Vincent Bugliosi (Bodley Head) £3.95

THEATRE REVIEW

SOFT OR A GIRL, a musical comedy by John McGrath. Adapted for the East End by Billy Colvill, directed by Pam Brighton, music by Cat's Cradle. With Alan Ford, Billy Colvill, Glyn Grain, Arbel Jones, Kate Gielgud, Ian Collier and Jean Gilpin. At the Half Moon Theatre, Alie Street (Aldgate East), London, E. 1.

TWO AIR-RAID wardens in the blitz look forward thirty years and see the roles they and their children are to play. Underlying the story of the confusion of a working class youth leaving his student-type girlfriend for a middle class girl living in a bungalow in Ilford, is a not unsuccessful attempt at describing the class struggle. The question of remaining true to one's class is raised several times, bordering on full blown separatism. In contrasting

the equally hopeless existence of both working and middle class aspirations, the dialogue nevertheless calls for stronger working class action, showing it to be far too meek up till now. One of the very popular duets recommends: "Take my advice and put your boot in." At the end of the play, the wardens meet again, one is a docker while the other has become the middle class building contractor who taunts, "What are you, soft or a girl?"

Apart from this strange reference to sex, there are attempts at showing the objectified role of women which I found slightly confusing, especially the scene where the middle class girl is wearing a leather cat suit and is about to take revenge on her ex-army husband.

Besides these lapses of continuity, I found the play very enjoyable, well produced, the music was good, and it's well worth seeing.

A. F.



"How did you find out you were incompatible?"
"When I discovered she was switching her hearing aid off during my poetry readings."

'T'WAS A FAMOUS VICTORY

A DESERVEDLY minor poet, Robert Southey, wrote a poem about old Kaspar and little Peterkin who are sitting in a garden at dusk at Blenheim; somebody has disinterred a skull and the child, with that gleeful morbidity which distinguishes the infant mind, wants to know what the skull is. The old man Kaspar, with that dutiful boring morbidity which distinguishes the guilty mature mind, tells him it is no doubt the skull of some soldier who fell at the battle of Blenheim (1704). Peterkin persists in his questioning about the battle and asks why it was fought. One of the few remaining memorable lines of the poem is the answer:

'Why that I cannot tell,' said he
'But 'twas a famous victory.'

Some of us like old Kaspar can look back at the war of 1939-1945 and echo with justifiable cynicism old Kaspar's remark "Twas a famous victory". Since those days many skulls have been dug up (notably and literally at Katyn Forest) that would have been better - for some persons - hid. Recently we have had A. J. P. Taylor's pronunciation that 'it was a good war - because it got rid of Hitler; Governor George Wallace's statement (retracted?) that America fought on the wrong side; Tito's complaint that Breshnev gave no credit to the partisans' part in the war (the T. L. S. has been debating the position of Mihailovitch, a pre-Tito partisan of doubtful allegiance); meanwhile, the eighty-year old Rudolf Hess, the last of the publicly tried war-criminals on the losing side, moulders away in Spandau with the war-time allies unable to agree on his fate; the highly-confused Colin Wilson debates in Books and Bookmen the reality of the six million Jews who died in concentration camps - maybe it was only two or four million? The myth-making continues.

LIES IN WAR-TIME

There has been much 'revisionism', some of it highly partisan and therefore suspect. The war of 1914-18 produced a seminal little book, Falsehood in War-Time, by Lord Ponsonby, which effectively disclosed much of the falsehood of that war, which was supplemented by the disclosure of secret treaties unveiled by the Bolshevik seizure of power.

It was optimistically expected that a similar work could be produced from the 1939-45 war but such was the mammoth nature of the propaganda (including the added dimension of a constant stream of radio propaganda) that it defied coverage and analysis. Archives of the defeated Germans and their allies were seized but embarrassing self-revelations were suppressed - even the quarrels between Russia and her old allies produced little in the way of revelations.

So that whilst the war of 1914-18

could be fully analysed and evaluated for the hopeless, bloody, brutal sham and swindle it was within about twenty years, we still await a verdict of history on the famous victory of 1939-45.

The pretension of 1914-18 'to preserve little Belgium', 'to make the world safe for democracy', 'to be a war to end war', 'to provide homes fit for heroes' were soon exploded. The myths of 1939-45 have been perpetuated more successfully. Britain, in a state of disarmament due to pacifist agitation found itself obliged to go to war against Germany (to whom she had given every chance) to prevent the invasion of Poland and to restore democracy and racial tolerance to Germany. In this task we (the British) were assisted (eventually) by Soviet Russia and the United States when we eventually defeated the Germans who were joined by Italy and Japan.

The seeds of World War Two were, in fact, sown by the settlement of World War One and a desire for revenge utilized by Hitler's national socialist party.

DID WE DISARM?

The impression of disarmament, even if assed by cost rather than content, was illusory. There was indeed a slowing up in the rate of increase (due to the financial crisis) between 1930 and 1933, but the rate of increase was resumed between 1934 and 1935. 1935 was the year of the Peace Ballot which resulted in favour of the League of Nations and its policy of collective security. It was against the private manufacture of armaments and in favour of sanctions which, whilst highly idealistic, was far from pacifism.

At the same time as we were theoretically 'disarming' Lord Londonderry spoke of his work at a Geneva disarmament conference (in 1932-33): "I had the greatest difficulty at that time amid the public outcry in preserving the use of the bombing plane even on the frontiers of the Middle East and India." It is also notable that in 1938 (during the Hitler period) an Anglo-German naval agreement was signed permitting a nominally disarmed Germany 35% of British naval tonnage.

THE RIGHTS OF POLAND

The occasion of the war was given as the invasion of Poland. It is superfluous to note that we could not and did not 'save' Poland. But it is more significant that parallel with the invasion of Poland by Germany was an invasion from the East by the Soviet army, halting at an agreed line for the partition of Poland -- which was settled on September 28th, 1939. This boundary was one result of the Soviet-German pact (signed August 23rd, 1939) which, if causes of the war are sought, can be taken into account. The Anglo-Polish agreement was signed two days later.

It is notably ironic that the defence of Poland was regarded as a cause of the war since Poland was notoriously, with its regimes of colonels, anti-democratic and anti-Semitic. It is nevertheless significant that one of the earliest rifts in the British-Soviet alliance was due to the Katyn Forest massacres when, in February 1943 the Germans stated that they had discovered 3,000 dead Polish officers in the Katyn forest, in Poland. The Germans claimed with some proofs that the officers had been slaughtered by the Russians during April 1940. The Germans suffered the fate of all liars in not being believed. The Polish ambassador in Moscow had raised the matter with Stalin in November, 1941 but by that time the Russians had been invaded by the Germans and the Soviets were 'our gallant allies' and Katyn Forest was a forbidden subject. Subsequently the territory was captured by the Russians and evidence was produced to prove German guilt.

The Polish underground fought on against the Germans but with the advance of the Soviet army it became necessary for the Russians to create their own Polish government as distinct from the exiled government in London (formed by the colonels). The Russians set up a 'liberation' government in Lublin of good party members and the Warsaw Rising, which was 'premature' and probably anti-communist, was allowed to fail and the Russians refrained from giving the help they could have given; furthermore they denied facilities to the British for giving help by air. So the Warsaw rising suffered the same fate that the Poles had allowed the Ghetto rising.

The 'London' Poles (i. e. the Government) were sent to Moscow to 'negotiate' with Stalin. They were promptly arrested and put on trial on trumped up charges. The Russians imposed the Oder-Niesse line and compensated Poland (now a people's democracy) with a portion of East Germany in exchange for part of Poland now in the Soviet Union.

WAR FOR FREEDOM?

If, as is argued, the war was fought to preserve democracy and freedom, the occasion could have been taken earlier with the help, presumably, of the League of Nations and, ambiguously, of the Soviet Union. On every occasion of challenge from 1934 onwards - Japan in China, Abyssinia, Spain, Czechoslovakia, even Finland during the war - Britain was actually or potentially on the side of reaction and of the aggressor. One can only hazard that the grand strategy (if there was one) was to bring Nazi Germany into conflict with Soviet Russia and let the two 'bump each other off'.

It is obvious that no country entered

the war (except Britain and France) until they were attacked. The United States and the Soviet Union were quite content with profitable neutrality (and in the case of the U. S. S. R. profitable aggression) until they were physically attacked. In Germany's case her two allies were a liability -- the Italians were frankly opportunist (Nice! Corsica!) whilst the Japanese dragged America into the war (or so it was said).

RUSSIA AND THE PHONEY WAR

Such was the enigmatic nature of this war, prematurely entered upon, almost, it might seem, on the wrong side, that there was a definite period - known in Britain as the "Sitzkrieg" or the "phoney war" - during which the Maginot line, soon to be by-passed was reinforced, the partition of Poland was consolidated, Finland lost its freedom to Russia, as did the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia who 'welcomed' their Russian rulers! Molotov explained it all thus: "It is our duty to think of the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the U. S. S. R. . . All the more since we are firmly convinced that the interests of the U. S. S. R. coincide with the fundamental interests of the people of her countries." Willie Gallacher, the Communist M. P., put it another way. "I will not come into conflict with the policy of my working class comrades of the Soviet Union." (23 Sept., 1939).

The Communist Party of G. B. started off the war on the wrong foot, thinking it was the anti-fascist war of their dreams. Even as late as 14th September 1939 the C. P. G. B. supported the war, "believing it to be a just war". Communications with Moscow must have been at fault, for by October 10th 1939 the Daily Worker came out against the war and Harry Pollitt was disciplined by the party for the initial error.

THE BOMBER GETS THROUGH

For the record, the first non-strategic bombing (excluding, that is to say, Warsaw) of civilians was carried out by the British over Germany on May 11th, 1940. From this to the bombings of Dresden, Nagasaki and Hiroshima it was a logical progression.

It came, then, as no surprise that when Britain mined Norwegian waters in order to stop shipments of Swedish steel reaching Germany, the Germans reciprocated by invading Norway. Churchill, who had planned the abortive naval campaign (which failed) assumed office as Prime Minister after the retreat and defeat of British troops in the Norwegian campaign. We can see from this, and the Russians' campaigns in Poland and Finland, that the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese were not the sole aggressors in the war.

COLLABORATION

The British have always boasted that they never would be slaves but when the Germans landed in force in the Channel Islands there were many of presumably British blood who collaborated with the Germans in just as great

a proportion as in the rest of conquered Europe. In fact, more so, for there was no resistance movement in the Channel Islands. Indeed, the British police maintained 'law and order' for the Germans in the same way that their Singapore counterpart performed the same service for the Japanese.

The impression given by the spate of war films and books which followed the war was that a majority of the population of the occupied countries was in the resistance. This is untrue, for if it were true the Germans would have been unable to hold Europe for the three years which they did, but passive acceptance of the Germans was a different attitude from the active collaboration which took place mainly at the higher levels of ownership and management where property and power were at stake.

THE COMMUNAZIS

The Communists collaborated with the Nazis up to the breakdown of the Nazi-Soviet Pact on June 22nd, 1941 and the Communists proclaimed their opposition to the war on 4th October, 1939. Such was their anti-war activity between those dates that they were blamed for the fall of France; in this country the Daily Worker, now Morning Star, was banned on January 21st 1941; the Communist peace activities were manoeuv-

red through the People's Convention, a popular peace front, they achieved the dubious distinction of having a Mexborough shop steward member interned under 18b (primarily anti-fascist legislation).

When Russia entered the war, the Communists changed sides and campaigned for the opening of a Second Front and collaborated on Anglo-Soviet friendship events. On a lower level, party members denounced deserters and and shunned former comrades of the peace movement as 'fascists'.

* * *

This essay has only touched on the fringes of some of the issues and questions of the 'famous victory' of the Second World War but the lessons are clear. Truth is the first casualty in war. History will tell all the necessary lies. The one truth is power and the maintenance of power, and for that any state, democratic or totalitarian, will commit any crime, make any compromise in order to achieve a famous illusory victory.

The last words must be with Southey:

But things like that, you know,
must be
After a famous victory.

J. R.

DO SOMETHING

NO, there doesn't seem to be much that we anarchists can do these days, does there? --I mean, most people complacently feel that England is the most liberal country in the world, with free speech, good honest democracy in parliament and just the right amount of Nationalisation to make sure the profits don't all go to the capitalists.

Looking around my hometown, London, you would think that the fires of rebellion would be raging in every freedom fighter. Everywhere the prison mentality of the State is mirrored by its plans to construct hell on earth for its subjects -- they're pulling down whole streets of houses and gardens and erecting council flats like filing cabinets, office blocks of concrete for bureaucrats and tea-ladies --all monuments to the State God. They're laying trunk roads through the hearts of communities where people once congregated and now have to shout over four lanes of juggernauts to ask for a pound of sugar. In place of local shops we're left with supermarkets, clean as hospitals, where the only human contact is between the shopper and a disinterested uniform, and if you have enough energy after working for five or six days a week for 40 years at a dull, unimaginative and useless job as a wage slave, to object, you're told that "this is a democracy and you can always change your vote every five years from Labour to Conservative and back again".

Nice, isn't it? And where are the anarchists, fighting for freedom? Haven't heard a whisper - I think they're all busy writing biographies of long dead Russian revolutionaries. Perhaps there is still hope - someone might

accidentally discover that these very rebels spent most of their efforts FIGHTING -- fighting the State, fighting ignorance, fighting the plans for controlling people, destroying the hierarchies and oppressive institutions that abounded as they still do today -- and the State is ten times stronger now than then.

So what must we, as anarchists, do? We can continue to pour scorn on laws and their police force and encourage mass civil disobedience, sabotage the inhuman plans to deify the car and kill our communal spirit, free by any means possible our brothers in jail, chuck the bureaucrats into their own out-tray and file the carbon copies under 'O' for obsolete. In our work places we must push hard the ideas and actions leading to workers taking over. We can establish alternative, even (dare I say it) revolutionary councils and confederations in all areas to prove that we can dump the politicians off our backs. And most important of all, we must communicate through our writings, our street and lavatory graffiti (as large as you can make it! -- but no aerosols, please. They pollute) our arguments, our example of refusal to be pushed around or enslaved and the intelligence of our alternatives for living after the collapse of the State, to people of every hue and walk of life, that everyone has the power to stand up and fight back against the long march of the National machine and to rebuild completely, as if FREEDOM was possible.

GOVERNMENT IS PRISON
...AND YOU'RE INSIDE.

BREAK OUT!

Elizabeth Siwell.

(Abridged)

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

THE BRITISH Anarchist press falls into several categories (nobody will agree with my categorization): from the pacifist (though more anarchist and "alternative" these days) Peace News, the "alternative technology" Undercurrents, through the syndicalist-oriented Direct Action, the IWW offshoot Industrial Unionist, the more generally anarchist Wildcat, FREEDOM and Anarchy, to the "international revolutionary" Black Flag.

TIGHT-ROPE WALKING

There is also a side-track called Libertarian Struggle. Its first issue since November, 1974 has just appeared, without any number on it to indicate continuity, and the reason for this becomes apparent in a piece entitled "What's happening in the A. W. A." [A. W. A. = Anarchist Workers' Association, the new name for ORA, Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists].

After some paragraphs criticising the British Anarchist movement for lack of organisation, and denying that ORA/AWA has or had Bolshevik tendencies, there comes the following revelatory paragraph:

"Near the beginning of 1974, a split took place in the ORA, when some members who had formed the Left Tendency, left. They concluded that it was in the nature of anarchism that the attempts to form a national organisation were bound to fail, and turned to Trotskyism. These were amongst the most active members of the ORA, and the organisation came to a virtual standstill..."

One marvels at Libertarian Struggle's dexterity, juggling with words whilst tight-rope walking over the abyss of the IVth International.

ORGANISE!

Their main propaganda weapon, at the moment, is a reprint of their 1972 translation of the Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists. There has already been an exchange of polemic over this 50-year old document in the columns of Wildcat, mainly between Nicolas Walter on the one side, and Peter E. Newell and Nick Heath on the other, over whether the General Union of Anarchists proposed by Arshinov & Co. in the Platform, is a hierarchically-structured political party or not.

Now the latest issue of Wildcat (May 1975) contains a review of the Platform, along with two pamphlets, concerned with organisational principles within the American Women's Liberation Movement, by Judy Greenaway. She seems to come down on the side of "organisation" (but not the ORA/AWA model) because "organisation is necessary to get things done". However, this emphasis on organisation as the primary consideration, strikes me as wrong, as disguising attempts to set up a power structure, as noxious as the so-called "tyranny of structurelessness" (there is no such

thing as structurelessness -- if you believe in that, you believe in the yellow-press interpretation of "anarchy").

SQUAT!

If any anarcho-sociologists need material for field-study of anarcho-organisation, they could do worse than go and visit squats, and there must be a vast amount of documentation in the British Anarchist press of the last thirty years.

The latest issue of Anarchy, in its new cut-down (and slightly more frequent) version contains a good article on the revolutionary and reformist ten-

dencies of squatters, amongst its usual dross. "What's Revolutionary about Squatting?" describes the variety of strategies adopted by people occupying empty property, by no means all of which are anarchist.

This does seem, however, a more fertile area for discussion, for the contemporary anarchist movement, than whether to have revolving chairmen at our meetings to set up the executing and guiding secretariats in our cells.

D. L. M.

F. BOOKSHOP NOTES

BOOKSHOP open: Mon-Fri 2 - 6 p.m.
(Thurs. until 8 p.m.)
Saturday 10 am-4 pm
(But see elsewhere in this issue announcement re Saturday 24th May, 1975)

IN MY NOTES this week, I'm going to concentrate on a writer who, although he never openly embraced anarchism, always viewed the anarchist and libertarian movement of his time from an affectionately critical standpoint; because of his honesty and integrity - attributes not in abundance on the left - then as now, George Orwell was able to provide insight and assessments that were and are extremely useful and prophetic, to those sufficiently open-minded to wish to examine them.

Two recent studies of Orwell complement each other nicely; Jeffrey Meyers' A Reader's Guide to George Orwell (£1.95 + 17p post) concentrates on an assessment and analysis of his literary achievements, taking each of the key books in turn and placing them in a literary, human and personal context. Alex Zwerdling's Orwell and the Left (£4.95 + 24p post) is more concerned to put Orwell himself into a social and political context, as regards the Left in the 30's and 40's, his attempts to "make political writing into an art" and to provide, albeit not consciously perhaps, a continuing and critical commentary on attitudes and developments within the leftist movement at that time and, regrettably perhaps, his criticisms seem even more relevant today.

Two older and shorter studies are to be found in the British Council's "Writers and Their Work" series: Tom Hopkinson's George Orwell (20p + 8p) which again is more concerned with Orwell as a literary figure; and Raymond Williams' Orwell (Fontana Modern Masters Series, 30p + 8p) which makes a balanced assessment of Orwell as writer, as a political journalist, and as a critic of the Left, and in so doing makes the important and often forgotten/ignored point that Orwell was normally further to the Left than those he criticised and not the other way round.

So on, of course, to Orwell's works themselves. Four are particularly important for anarchists: Homage to Catalonia (45p + 11p) which really blows the gaff on the Spanish Revolution in no uncertain way; and it is important to realise that in 1938 when it was written only Borkenau's book had appeared of the growing, but still small number of books which revealed the fatal flaws in the then almost uncritically accepted Communist Party view of the "war". 1984 (45p + 11p) and Animal Farm (25p + 8p) are perhaps too widely known to need comment. The Road to Wigan Pier - Orwell's "Urban Rides" - is a vivid and accurate chronicle of unemployment and slums in the north of England during the 30's. Perhaps, personally, I find his conclusions in this book at fault, although mine is still a much criticised view of technology amongst libertarians, despite such contemporary writers as Murray Bookchin and others; and certainly Orwell's criticisms were and are very important to be kept in mind by any who defend any aspects of modern technology within whatever social framework. Should we forget them, then his prophecies will fulfill themselves the more quickly and irrevocably.

Collected Essays, Journals and Letters

Collected Essays, Journals & Letters, edited by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 volumes (£2.00 the set + 48p), gives probably the finest insights into Orwell; the man, the journalist, essayist, critic and political figure, containing as it does many of his articles from Tribune and elsewhere, reviews, etc. from 1920 up to his death in 1950.

Lastly a personal favourite, Down and Out in Paris and London (40p + 10p), Orwell's first book, a "tale of two cities" portraying vividly life among the down-and-outs and working class at the beginning of the slump.

That which distinguishes Orwell from, to my mind, all other political writers is that he almost alone was not only a major political figure, he was a writer of real genius; many have been one or other, very few indeed have been both.

J. H.

(All the titles mentioned in these notes are available from Freedom Bookshop at the prices and postage mentioned.)