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PAGES

ANGOLA:

CUBA'S VIETNAM?

EVERY NOW and again a minor war turns up (with major deaths and disasters for the individuals involved) which is the powder-keg, the pay-off, the lead-in to the cataclysmic catastrophe which will mean the end of civilization as we don't know it. One sometimes suspects the Left of a death-wish or, to re-echo a phrase from Hitler Germany, "Better a terrible end than an endless terror", and Angola is the present victim on the operating-table.

Portugal has the shameful distinction of being the first colonial power and almost the last. Its four hundred years of colonialism were marked by an origin in slavery and a later pretension to a doctrine of assimilation which was in fact the hypocrisy of a long established habit. Early slavery was supplanted by the more economic and acceptable forced labour. A bloody flux of liberation weakened Portugal both at home and in her colonies and the dictatorship fell, to be replaced by a government of soldiers infected with the malaise which had forced them to leave Africa.

Now the newly liberated land must liberate itself from its opportunist political sponsors. Like its neighbour the Congo (Zaire) it has suffered from too swift a plunge from a totalitarian tyranny into responsibility for its own future. Jeers from the sidelines that these newly created states make all the mistakes can be countered by the assertion that these mistakes are their own mistakes and not the mistakes of their colonial masters.



ARTHUR MOXSE

"ROUGH LUCK, KID, BUT YOU'RE ON."

In fact the pattern of African 'liberation' politics resembles that of medieval Europe with its crudities and barbarism. This is aggravated by the conception that African states must recapitulate the history of class struggle with a military baronial class, a mercantile class, a capitalist class and a working class to be raised to power and duly overthrown. Is it necessary to take the same path?

The interference of great (and small) powers in Angola is a continuation of colonialism by other means. South Africa is preserving its illegal incursion into South-West Africa, the United States (whose assistance is both explicit and concealed) is continuing its anti-Communist campaign (regardless of S. A. L. T. and China's interests in Africa); the USSR is interfering in the name of liberation (but curiously Pravda hints at withdrawal); Cuba claims that it has a debt to pay to the slaves' descendants.

The uneasiness of the allies - US and South Africa; Russia and Cuba,

have caused some hesitation and the delicacy of the situation vis-a-vis China and the manifest illegality of South Africa in Namibia makes it improbable that this war will continue for long. Additionally the anti-Communist forces in Angola are known to be in an uneasy alliance.

The Christian Science Monitor whose journalistic standards are high (except when the parties concerned are Christian Scientists) created a fuss by printing a story by David Anable, its New York correspondent, stating that the C.I.A. were recruiting through an agency American mercenaries to fight in Angola. Anable comments that American mercenaries tend to adhere to Dr. Savimbi's U. N. I. T. A. rather than the F. N. L. A. since it is assumed that the "second round" will be against the F. N. L. A. and they [the Americans] do not wish to end up fighting each other".

There has been elaborate back-tracking denial of Anable's story from the U. S. Government but it will be remembered that the Bay of Pigs (Cuba) operation was similarly staffed and similarly denied. Many of the surviving volunteer mercenaries survived to feature in the smaller-scale fiasco of Watergate. American cover-ups feature the fact that an American private-enterprise commercial company arranges the supply of mercenaries to beleaguered governments and their friends. This is more a comment on the commercial ethos of the USA than an alibi.

Anable comments on the mercenaries "They are united by a fierce opposition to communism, a desire for excitement or money and a marketable commodity

(Cont on p.2)

RADICAL PROGRESS

TWO SUPPOSEDLY progressive pieces of legislation have recently been passed by the Italian Parliament. One of these is a law which makes abortion a possibility and the other is a law which "literally" allows the smoking of pot.

Under the new abortion law a woman can request an abortion from a doctor (with whom the decision rests) nominated by the health authorities in the following circumstances:

- where the health (physical or mental) of the woman is at risk through either her condition of health, or her economic, social and family circumstances;
- where it is known beforehand that the foetus will either be malformed or be infected with disease;
- where the pregnancy is the result of either carnal violence or incest.

However, the same law makes abortion by itself a crime which is punishable by 3 years' minimum imprisonment for the doctor. Our Italian comrades predicted in Umanita Nova that this will result in legalised abortion for the rich and illegal abortion for

the poor. The woman with money and whose husband or lover has influence in high places will be able to get access to a legal abortion for whatever reason. The poor woman will have to beg and probably die before she has a hope of having her pregnancy terminated legally.

The second piece of legislation referred to above makes the consumption of soft drugs legal. However, whilst the holder of "small" quantities of soft drugs is not punishable, it is forbidden by law to produce, fabricate, extract, offer, sell, distribute, acquire, give or take drugs of all kinds. The minimum sentence has now been increased from 2 years (previously) to 4 years' minimum imprisonment. Thus, as far as the mere smoker of pot is concerned the legal situation is even more severe now.

This legislation has done wonders, furthermore, for the mafia's drug trade. The reasoning given for this two-faced legislation was that it would punish the drug traffickers and not the

CUBA'S VIETNAM ?

[cont. from P.1]

--their military experience. Together they are the C. I. A. 's undercover 'army'. " It is now stated by the Christian Science Monitor that recruitment has been halted.

It has been commented in the Guardian (29. XII. 75) that "whilst the U. S. has been pouring millions into military aid in Angola, the Red Cross rescue operation totters towards collapse through lack of cash". Hundreds of thousands of Angolans are suffering from food shortages and an almost complete lack of doctors. It was estimated that at least 100,000 people were in need of emergency food relief.

It is pointed out by David Ottaway, the Guardian correspondent, that Portugal was able to raise enough dollars to fly out 300,000 Portuguese settlers from Angola but now the need for planes and supplies is just as great there is no help, only military and rhetorical.

There has been reflection in the world's press that 'at this moment in time' to use the jargon, there is a crisis of leadership in the world. Breshnev is sick, Mao-Tse-Tung and Chou-en-Lai are old, Ford is a lame-duck president in an election year and Harold Wilson (if anyone mentions him) is not so well either. We and the people of Angola are probably fortunate that there is this crisis of leadership for it probably will lead to fumbling, hesitant, indecisive errors and shabby, face-saving compromises rather than the swift, annihilating, brutal statesmanlike errors we could get from firm leadership.

Jack Robinson

RADICAL PROGRESS

[cont. from P.1]

soft drug users. The mafia will benefit in two ways :

- a) the availability of soft drugs on the open market (i. e. not distributed by the mafia) will automatically stop altogether, with the consequent rise in prices and the easier opening up of markets for hard drugs;
- b) reinforcement of the bonds between supplier and consumer since the former will extract more solid guarantees from the latter and will be freer to increase his income at will.

*

Both pieces of legislation are the result of pressure from the Radical Party whose intention is nothing more than to push the leaders of both the Socialist Party (PSI) and the Communist Party (PCI) into a slightly more left-wing position and hence bring about some progress as they see it. Their weapons consist of gathering signatures for referendums and demonstrating against how far behind Italy is compared to the rest of Western Europe.

Whilst it was impossible for the PCI and PSI to openly campaign in favour of these "reforms" owing to aspirations of power through the historical compro-

mise (i. e. on no account must either the Christian Democrats or the Church be offended) the Radical Party was able to freely campaign on these issues. They can be seen, in fact, as the testing ground for PCI and PSI policy. In fact, one of the leading lights in the Radical Party is Loris Fortuna who is also a PSI member of Parliament.

The Radicals to our mind constitute one of the greatest obstacles to freedom in the real sense of the word. They delude people into thinking that through contributing a signature for a referendum on some law or other and putting pressure on left-wing parliamentarians to ensure that these issues are brought up in Parliament a real step towards freedom will have been taken. At the very best these actions will only result in token concessions to liberty with some slight progress hampered by the fact that the oppressive State machinery still exists. At its worst (as has happened in Italy) a person's individual liberty remains at the same point or retrogresses to an even worse position.

In the case of the laws on abortion and on drugs both situations have been brought about. Before the abortion law (which has taken the wind out of the Radicals' campaign for a referendum) a rich woman with influence could always obtain an abortion in any circumstances, compared to the poor woman who had to visit the back-street abortionist. The situation has remained the same except that the rich woman will have legal backing.

In the case of the drug laws the situation has deteriorated considerably. The mafia, whom the law was supposed to attack, has been handed the whole drug market in Italy on a platter and the person to receive the tougher sentences will be the consumer. The mafia, it is well known, is part and parcel of the Italian administration.

Despite the feigned outrages of the administration and the church at the start of the Radicals' campaigns, the forces of power and privilege have had the last laugh. Tougher anti-drug laws have been obtained, the abortion situation has remained virtually unaltered, the Church and Christian Democrats can play at being outraged Christians and the Communists have gained popularity. The population at large also remained under the illusion that a liberalisation of the law has been brought about by parliamentary means.

We have said it before and we will say it again. Real freedom will never be achieved by pampering and voting for the same parties and their Parliamentary System. Real freedom means anarchism and that is what we must work towards.

VIVA L'ANARCHIA.

Francesco.

HEADLINE in Soviet News -- "Best Five-Year Plan in History of USSR." Oh God, Tovarich, Not Another!

WORKERS' COUNCILS

It would seem that the formation of the Ulster Workers' Council has raised some doubts about the whole concept of workers' self-management in the minds of some of our friends in the "Solidarity" group and possibly among other groups in Britain. FREEDOM (8th November, p.16) informs us that they issued a discussion document on whether self-management must necessarily be socialist/revolutionary in view of the UWC stoppage in 1974. The question raised can only be answered if we take it as a point of departure from which to investigate the origins of workers' councils and what function they were meant to serve.

"A rose by any other name..." as the saying goes, and at first sight there may seem to be little connection between industrial unionism and workers' councils, but industrial unionism is more than a method of organization, it is also a science of fighting which has been summed up in the term "direct action" coined by Pelloutier in 1897. The syndicalist method of organization meant that workers were organized at the point of production according to the product of the industrial group and not according to the tools of the trade. But even in nineteenth century France the workman did not spend all of his waking hours in the factory, office or shop, and once work was finished he often had to travel some distance to his home which was probably in another district from that in which he was employed.

Hence the Bourses du Travail provided a district centre where workers employed in different trades could meet and discuss their common interests. In addition to discussions on tactics and strategy in the industrial sphere they also concentrated on activities in their own district; and Pelloutier saw them as the chosen instrument for the work "of moral, administrative and technical education, necessary to make a society of free men viable." As described in the first series of Anarchy, 40 (1964, unfortunately out of print):

"Under Pelloutier's aegis, the educational possibilities of the Bourses were given an emphasis never repeated by his successors. The various technical and educational courses, the periodic conferences, the statistical services, the libraries, the never to be realised projects of labour museums were not for Pelloutier peripheral but essential functions of the Bourses... He proudly described the intelligent eclecticism of the bibliothèques of the Bourses where volumes by Marx, Saint-Simon, Darwin and Kropotkin were found... Not all of the militants were ready for this rich diet but even those whose literary interests had to be 'artificially aroused' could benefit from the novelists closest to them in age and orientation."

To digress for a moment, it is worth pointing out that if Marx was read he was read critically and some of the most valid criticisms of marxism emanated from the Bourses. Another point is that French syndicalism had the sympathy and support of many intellectuals, and in this respect it differed from the movement in Britain, where intellectuals like G.D.H. Cole set out to deliberately distort syndicalist ideas.

In America the IWW formed District Councils and the purpose of these is made clear in "The IWW, Its History, Structure and Methods", by Vincent St John:

Workers' Councils: Ulster & elsewhere

"(5) District Councils, in order that every given industrial district shall have complete industrial solidarity among the workers in all industries of such district; as well as among the workers of each industry. The Industrial District Council combines all the local industrial unions of the district. Through it concerted action is maintained for its district.

It was means of the district council that the IWW carried out its famous "free speech fights" and other activities.

In Britain, Tom Mann who had studied the methods of the CGT and the IWW had similar ideas and at the syndicalist conference in London in November 1912 it was proposed that Trades Councils and Industrial Unions should be the basic elements of the future society. The war and subsequent events dealt a blow to these hopes but the right intentions were there at the start and Mann, perhaps optimistically, saw the Trades Councils as paralleling the work of the Bourses in France.

For what it is worth it has always been the opinion of this writer that syndicalists in Britain would do better to concentrate their efforts upon workers' councils and industrial co-operatives rather than upon dual unionism - the formation of separate unions - which is a non-starter in Britain today. This does not mean that the concept of industrial unionism ought to be abandoned but that it ought to be placed lower down in the order of priorities. In any case we can benefit to some degree from the propaganda in favour of industrial unionism - the method of organization divorced from the science of fighting - which will be carried out in future by the Labour Party in Britain.

But to return to "Solidarity" and the UWC. It seems to me to be pointless to debate in abstract terms whether or not "Workers' self-management" or "Workers' councils" must necessarily be socialist/revolutionary in content. Workers' councils formed part of a coherent strategy but a "workers' council" may be formed for any purpose as happened in Ulster. It is only in the context of a broader revolutionary strategy that workers' councils are themselves revolutionary. And if our friends in "Solidarity" will take this idea as their point of departure I feel sure that they might arrive at a different conclusion. To indulge overmuch in abstract theorising often has one unfortunate consequence - it leaves the theorists themselves tied up in metaphysical knots.

H.B.

DESPITE THE unavailing demos of left-wing opponents to cement them together the National Front split of its own volition, the right-wing respectable wing expelling the neolithic Nazis and vice versa with alternate groups squatting in headquarters in response to court orders.

THE AMERICAN Senate passed a bill (despite filibustering tactics) to legalize picketing on building construction sites. It now has to go to the president after a committee to revise the Bill.

ARAB STATES (with the exception of Saudi Arabia who promised \$11,200,000 to UNRWA which deals with Palestine refugees) are not so generous when looking after the

MARXIST PLOT

PRESIDENT PEENOCHEE

THE RECENT malicious attempts to smear the good name of Chile and of General Pinochet in particular is the latest in a long line of Marxist-inspired plots to ruin the hard work of anti-Communists and bring about the breakdown of law and order. General Pinochet was astounded at the allegations made by the marxist-maoist terrorist anarcho-trotskyist Sheila Cassidy against the public-spirited Chilean police. As our exclusive photograph reveals, a tearful Pinochet was heard to utter, "If senorita Cassidy was being subjected to the torture, why she did not lodge complaint official?"

In fact the Chilean ambassador in London was quick to point out that "President Pinochet has given strict orders that there shall be no rough treatment of prisoners, and it is a long time since there were any reports of torture. . . Our harshness is directed against the terrorists, not against ordinary decent people."

The matter has been made much more serious by Marxist elements in that once-respectable paper the Sunday Times carrying an article entitled: "Torture: the overwhelming case against Chile."

WHAT A GAS!

Anarcho-Marxist elements were also

IN BRIEF

THE JACKWIL Casket Company of Indiana is producing (for Bicentennial year) a coffin decorated with stars and stripes. 400 have already been sold at £500 each.

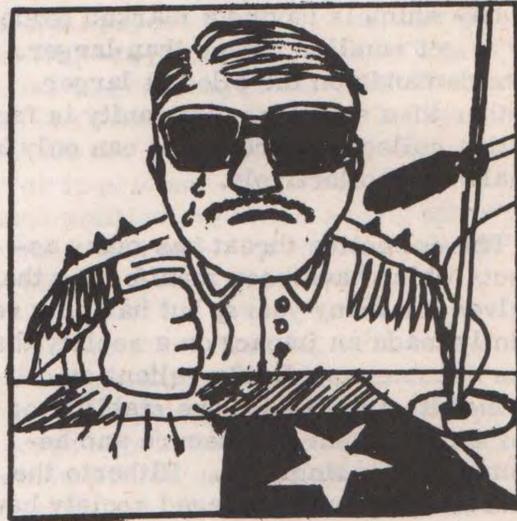
JEAN PAUL Sartre has been demoted in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia from an 'active fighter for peace against imperialism' to one whose thought 'is marked by sharp oscillations between liberal democratism and left-radical extremism'.

THREE HUNDRED and seventy-two miners were killed in an Indian coal pit at Bihar. Criticisms have been made of the failure to take precautions when sinking a new shaft and of the employment of inexperienced casual labour.

OWING TO cuts in public expenditure prisoners will not receive the wage rise suggested by the TUC. They will still receive an average of 90p per week.

POULTRY FARMERS are to be paid a special slaughter subsidy of 2½p per lb. for hens they want to get rid of. The hens will go to offal factories for animal feeding stuffs. This is stated to be because of falling prices of eggs and rising costs. It is estimated that 300,000 hens will be killed.

responsible for the smearing of the good name of another great anti-Communist, namely Adolf Hitler. In an exclusive interview with Mr. Hitler published in the anarchist paper "War Commentary" (see exclusive photo) the German Chancellor asked "If the Jewish Saboteurs of the Aryan race are being mistreated in our leisure camps, why have they not lodged an official



complaint?"

JESUS CHRIST!!!

Searching through our archives we found that these socialist-trotskyist smear campaigns are by no means confined to this century. The ancient-Roman anarchist fortnightly "Libertas" once bore an exclusive interview with a certain Mr. Pilate concerning an allegation that Jews were being crucified for organising resistance to the Roman army, and of one totally innocent man in particular (so it was claimed). Mr. Pilate Ino photograph I'm afraid because cameras hadn't been invented then) said, "This is the result of a National-



ist-Communist inspired plot. If that fanatical activist, son of a Jewish prostitute, is being mistreated, why has he not lodged an official complaint using the appropriate forms?"

ONE BAD APPLE

In yet another exclusive interview with God in the anarchist fortnightly "Apple" concerning allegations of unlawful eviction (continued on page 230)

by Nota Sniffa

TURNING POINT

REPORT of a Meeting held on November 29th, 1975 in Conway Hall, London, organised by Peter Cadogan, James Robertson et al.

ALL HUMANITY feeds from one pile of hay which is having a marked tendency to get smaller rather than larger. The demands on the pile get larger rather than smaller. Humanity is faced with a collective threat that can only be dealt with collectively.

The collective threat has many aspects which have been manifesting themselves for many years, but has only recently made an impact on a society that has become completely reliant on oil to fuel its activities. The stability of our environment is insecure and becomes increasingly so. Hitherto the shortcomings of privileged society have been visited on the underprivileged and indeed continue to be, but a point is being reached as the consequences are becoming universal, engulfing privileged and underprivileged alike.

The threats can be briefly identified as

- 1) The military-technical development culminating in nuclear weapons and their sophistication.
- 2) The consequences of excessive use of hubocarbon energy.
- 3) The pressure of population and urban overcrowding.
- 4) Chemical control of the environment in fields of agriculture and medicine and the industrialisation of agriculture (and fisheries).

The meeting discussing these problems was divided into three parts: one in which four speakers spoke on different aspects of the problems, the second in which groups discussed informally the problems, the third, and by far the most productive part of the proceedings, in which the informal discussions were brought together.

The speaker for the Conservation Society pointed out that there is no one major institution tackling fundamental problems and observed that none is in the position to do so. "The result is that we have an almost closed network of established values, institutions that perpetuate the past, short term thinking, and massive inertia to all forms of change. And yet in our hearts, we know that we cannot continue much longer without some more sensible arrangement of our affairs."

Here is a questioning of established values and institutions among the professional and middle classe who largely man and own those institutions. Until recently anarchists have been the only group that have criticised the basic nature of our institutions. This inertia is probably inherent in institutions based on privilege.

The inability of these institutions to deal with these problems and indeed their tendency to make the problems greater should enable anarchists to expand their dialogue.

The question of science and technology was dealt with in a paper by Jerry Ravetz:

"THE SCIENCE and technology of European civilisation has yielded enormous power over the material world. Its application has enabled people in rich nations to achieve, overall, very high standards of comfort and security. Belief in the efficacy of this science and technology continues strong down to the present. It is now the only survivor of Victorian assurance of our present superiority and continued progress.

The price for this science is only now becoming clear, for hitherto it has been paid mainly by the poor of our species and the vulnerable of others. We now see that our style of material overkill of human problems brings only a temporary relief. We do not, after all, win permanent victories over nature. Thus the indiscriminate use of anti-biotics, resulting from the usual mixture of indifference and greed, has bred up resistant strains of traditional epidemic diseases. These first afflict the world's poor, of course, but we will not remain immune forever. The wasteful and extravagant use of energy, encouraged by generations of exploitation, be it of miners at home or of neo-colonies abroad, now leaves us with buildings and lifestyles that become increasingly difficult to sustain.

The dream of gaining something for nothing from the spontaneous heat of nuclear disintegration has led to expensive, dangerous, misleading and ultimately futile search for an acceptable mode of civil nuclear power production. And let us not forget the Bomb, that example of how scientific rationalism can be a sorcery as evil as any of olden times.

With our whole civilisation addicted to the products of this science, withdrawal will not be easy. We do not even know how much of our affluent culture, and its consequent alleviation of political tensions, depends on our many sided technological fix. Most political radicals refuse to put technology into the revolution, and the ideas of "intermediate" or "appropriate" technology are only beginning to be applied to high-technology civilisations.

Perhaps the best thing for each of us to do at this stage is to raise our own awareness of ourselves, and ask how much and which of our consumption and technological support is necessary, and which could be dispensed with easily if a worthwhile cause demanded it. One need not be a crank or purity faddist to do this, a quiet personal disengagement is a start.

With a detachment from material supports to happiness, we may then cultivate the others, then an intelligent social selection of our technical achievements, on grounds other than fear and greed,

would become possible. This could become the turning point in science and technology."

Renee-Marie Croose Parry, speaking on Values for Survival, viewed with pessimism the dangers of the super powers' sophisticated weapons, and went on to ask: "Have the Macro developments become runaway systems, fuelled by the prevalent 'values' of capitalism which are breeding and absolutizing individualistic utilitarianism, both in individuals and groups?" She seemed very concerned about the consequences of the containment of Russia by the West. However, I view the indiscriminate nature of nuclear war and its effects being unconfined as having a deterrent effect on established powers.

In a more positive view the speaker went on to "Freedom - only to be obtained and maintained through persons: Freedom seen as the condition in which it is possible to exercise the responsibility of realising oneself in order to assist the creation of a climate of economic and socio-political justice which, in turn, enhances the birth of more freedom in an additive, rising, spiralling movement" to "A rich unity through responsible diversity: the New Earth seen as a place where a basic, common and unitive ethic provides the constant on which the diversity and complexity of the many can come to fruition for the benefit and commonwealth of the whole of humanity."

Sheila Rothwell of The Fawcett Society spoke of the changing role of the sexes and the movement from traditional roles, the growth of consciousness, although one might suggest that many changes had been enforced by economic forces. (The place the vulnerable nuclear family has had in the development of capitalist society and the alternatives could have been discussed in more depth.)

James Robertson outlined the criticism of large organisations and institutions largely implicit in the works of Ivan Illich and the role they play in the breakdown of modern society. He further suggested that a breakthrough is being achieved by people who are: "changing their own lifestyles to live more in harmony with nature and their fellow men and women; developing modern science and technology on a human scale; raising our consciousness about ecology, so that we keep the planet fit for habitation; trying to make sure that sex equality will help to transform the institutions of the man-made world into something more balanced and human; working to change the institutions of society into mechanisms for balancing the interests of different members and sections of the human race; promoting an ethic of self-help, self-sufficiency and self-realisation; giving us new ideological and spiritual insights into the present crisis of human evolution. -- all are working to create the foundations for a new kind of world society. All of these tasks are important; none is more important than the others. And

DEATH THROUGH SILENCE

The deterioration of "democratic rights" in West Germany continues unabated. For a long time western countries have known about political repression in W. Germany, for example the prohibition of left-wingers in the public services and the malpractices of justice... Now a new phenomenon is taking place in W. Germany, already well known to Italy. The government of the Federal German Republic is at present taking action against political prisoners. The intention now is to rationalise punishment techniques, as in the case of the women's prison of Lehrter Strasse in West Berlin. Contacts with other prisoners will be broken off by isolation of political prisoners. The government has built special concentration camps and the old prisons are going to be transformed into "silent sections". Behind this new development are the ideology and interests of the new gestapo which is called BKA (Federal Criminal Board). Its aims are: destruction of revolutionaries in prison by breaking down their resistance, destroying their personalities and identities. But this can only happen if the people forget the revolutionaries in prison.

It appears that the line proposed by the BKA is now to be put into practice in Berlin. Federal lawyer Buback and his accomplices in the BKA are trying to get direct control over our comrades and subject them to their machinery of destruction. Because of lack of space (Berlin's prisons are over-

don't forget the people who have decided that their task is to manage the collapse of the old system so that as few people as possible suffer badly as it collapses. They are on the side of the angels too. The important question is: how can we all, working as we rightly are doing in our various fields, support and encourage one another?"

*

The interesting part about the meeting was the informal discussions and the attempt to communicate between people of widely differing backgrounds. The group I was in was largely professional - teachers, lecturers - and probably I was the only manual productive worker. One man, a businessman long connected with the Soil Association contended to the amazement of every other member of the group that all the effects of an exploitative society could be avoided in it. This highlights the difficulty of all in groups beating their own little drum. Everybody seems convinced of the universality of problems. My own observations that nearly everybody were members of privileged groups and that to convince the mass of people about sustainable life styles equality must have a large part in the programmes, received the support this point of view merited.

Alan Albon.

crowded!) it is not possible for them to put the arrested women prisoners in (destructive) isolation cells as at Stuttgart-Stammheim in West Germany. The senate's idea of using Spandau Prison for this purpose failed to materialise because of the expense involved. They are therefore preparing the youth prison of Duppel so as to isolate women there. This will mean separation between prisoners on trial and those already serving their sentences. Until now the conditions of political prisoners in Berlin were in contradiction to West German practice.

The BKA, the justice minister, etc., have constantly asserted the total impossibility of putting political and "other" prisoners together. Herold (head of the BKA), Maihofer (Federal minister of security) etc. talk of "political prisoners who want to stay together in order to keep their privileges" and that it would be far too dangerous to put political prisoners together with "other" prisoners. But this is precisely what has happened during the last few years in Berlin. The contradiction was noted by papers like Frankfurter Rundschau, Tagesspiegel and others. The so-called "Berlin Model" has always been a disturbing factor for the policy of "top security" isolation and the secret destruction of prisoners, a "spanner in the works" that will now be removed with the transfer of Brigitte and Ingrid, which marks the putting into practice of the "BKA line", the deterioration of conditions in Tegel prison, the construction of the new women's prison in Duppel and so on.

What has been the situation in Lehrter Strasse prison until now? There was the beginning of a movement of equality among prisoners, fighting in common for their needs and for the vitally necessary improvement of conditions for all prisoners. The comrades have struggled with the prison administration for greater autonomy, for example by making their own decisions as to who they will work with in their work groups, or with whom they will play table tennis. The struggle for self-management had begun and their immediate needs made known. At first the prison administrators together with the state security service, tried to make scapegoats out of the comrades, reducing TV time and attempting to divide the political prisoners from the others by making "police spies" of the latter. But the intention was revealed, and opposed.

Solidarity between the two categories of prisoners in Lehrter-strasse was also expressed through hunger strikes. These were begun by the political prisoners, and many others, realising that the hunger strikes were a part of their struggle too, joined in. But this solidarity, resulting from common experience, will now be broken by the separation and removal of Brigitte and

Ingrid from the collective in Lehrterstrasse. They will be cut off from growing friendships and from their work of common resistance to obtain better prison conditions. It must be added that in Preungesheim (another prison with a different organisation and conditions) the method of destruction through isolation will be used. Here in Lehrter-strasse the state security service can't practice isolation as well as in Preungesheim because of the prisoners' solidarity. Transfer was their last alternative.

The resolution made by the BGH (Federal Court of Justice) concerning the trial proceedings (of the four RAF members in Stuttgart) is their legal basis. According to the BGH "Detention in solitary confinement is legal because the prisoners subtly disturb order in prison. Their aim is to arouse political agitation among other prisoners in order to cause a prison revolt."

This agitation, that is, resistance against conditions that lead to the destruction of prisoners, will be prevented through separation and isolation. This method will be carried out on an increasing scale because the new laws will cause an increase in political imprisonment.

Clutterbuck, one of the international "anti-terrorism experts" wishes to develop prisons in such a way that political prisoners will be forgotten. He calls this "death through silence". It is the shattering of the individual's identity with his movement and his people.

WHY SHOULD OUR TWO COMRADES NOT BE REMOVED ?

We mean that both comrades, who face solitary confinement, and other comrades in solitary must be defended. It is not a question of their political line, of a value judgement, but of defence against the attack by the ruling class, the corrupt social democracy, the security authorities, on the whole left movement.

Two demonstrations outside Tegel prison recently have shown that the left has a mistaken idea about the function of prisons. This means that even now, after the passing of the special laws to suppress all left wing activity, the political work of some groups is still "harmless" for the system and for themselves. One of the aims of solitary confinement is to scare left-wingers away from political activity, and this has worked. Most of our comrades have no knowledge of prisons and think the matter is over when they are arrested. This is precisely why it is so important to realise the problems connected with imprisonment and with resistance within the prisons, and to establish a common front. Resistance is possible, and we must recover our courage and imagination, weakened through fear of prison.

EQUALITY OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS WITH ALL "OTHER" PRISONERS.

--Berlin Comrades (Red Help)

BOMBS AND REVOLUTION

Dear Comrades,

A few words about Nino Francesco Staffa's article "Bombs and Revolution" (FREEDOM 27 Dec.).

How can any anarchist find even one fault in the assassination of Admiral Carrero Blanco? Who cares if the bourgeois press use the incident to denounce 'terrorism'. Carrero Blanco was an important member of a fascist regime which has systematically and institutionally terrorised a whole nation for nearly two generations. His assassination however small its long-term effects was a blow against the whole Spanish ruling class. It demonstrated that there is still after forty years of brutal degradation and humiliation the will to resist tyranny. It is not the act of an "authoritarian mug" to show that the mighty can be brought low'

Yours fraternally,
A. M. Edwards

TALKING TO THE POLICE

Dear Friends,

Nicolas Walter's correspondence with the gentleman from the Police College who invited him to lecture on anarchism (FREEDOM 20-27 Dec., 1975) raises some interesting questions. N.W. does make a convincing case, if that case is necessary to make, that the Police College is unwilling (in lieu of lecturer's fee) to contribute money to the BWNIC defense fund; and he has made it clear, what was surely beyond doubt, that he is unwilling to be a tool of the police. But I think that he missed an opportunity, and I should like to point this out, not in criticism of him but for the sake of a more general conclusion. N.W. wrote that he is "not prepared to be involved in any political action of the kind you /the Police College/ suggest". But isn't there an "involvement" which consists in, precisely, attacking and undercutting the politics one has been asked to cooperate with? What is wrong with such an "involvement"? --or maybe better "counter-involvement"? I should think that N.W. would be just the person to explain to policemen what anarchism really is, in a quite concrete way: why anarchists have the view of police that we do; what the role of police in the society is, not abstractly but with illustrative detail, of which I would bet that N.W. possesses an abundance, not all from political cases either; why anarchists hold that an honest man on the police force should resign his position; and so forth. In short, oblige these people to justify themselves. Does one know that one can't make (some of) these people ashamed of their work? A fifty-minute talk could, also, make a neat little pamphlet, What a Policeman Is, as Explained to Policemen by an Anarchist, which could be distributed to a wider audience. And then, one might take the lecture fee and apply it to the printing cost--a nice

LETTERS

irony, one might think. I'm sure that some Ultras of the British "Left" would gossip about N.W.'s having "worked for the police," "sold out," etc., but then, just hand those idiots the pamphlet.

I said that I would be making a more general point. But perhaps that point is obvious.

David Wieck,
Troy, N. Y. USA

"RADICAL CHIC"

Dear Comrades,

Welcome from the land of thirty below zero. As I sit here sipping my vodka, your papers of the last month or two are beginning to arrive in a batch, the mail strike being over (the state conveniently arranged to have all my unpaid bills delivered by scab labour before the strike was even over--but not one piece of other mail). I just figured I'd write to comment on Woodcock's review of 'Radical Regeneration'. I could not agree more with his distrust of Hain's 'radicalism'. As an ex-member of a political party (the N. D. P. - quasi socialists), an aberration of my earlier semi-trot days, I really don't believe that the youth section of a party (or any section of a party for that matter) can long survive if it is 'really' in opposition to the dominant section of the party. I know, I've seen the 'left' section of the N. D. P. crushed time and time again, both before and after I resigned my membership. To my mind the 'radicalism' of the young Liberals in your country is, as Woodcock suggests, merely a harmless safety valve allowed by the party in their recruitment of the young. You will notice that the young Liberals don't have the effrontery to actually challenge the present party leadership. Suspicious?

In Solidarity,
P. Murtagh, Regina.

CORRECTION - REPUBLICA

Comrades,

Please note that, probably due to a typing error the word NOT was omitted from the first lines of the 9th paragraph of Republica's article published in Nos. 51-52-53 (p. 3). These lines should read:

"Honest and practical implementation of Revolutionary theories requires an equalitarian consciousness and will, which, in my opinion, does not exist in the vast majority of the workers of Republica."

A more obvious omission is the non-publication on the same page of Republica's Editorial Statutes referred to in my article, Statutes which I hope you will manage to insert in the next issue of FREEDOM.

Sincerely yours,
Claude

IRISH SOCIALISM

People,

I am replying to several comments in H.B.'s "Non-revolutionary Republicanism" in the November 22nd issue of FREEDOM.

Although H.B. criticizes the Vanguardism of McAliskey and the IRSP, he does not argue with McAliskey's definitions and terms. By default, H.B. seems to suggest that there is no real alternative. I suggest (rather) that McAliskey's analysis is acceptable only in the most narrow of Nation-State definitions of Irishness. And that McAliskey's conclusions are possible only if (from the beginning) you define the Irish of the Migration as non-Irish. Clearly, there is no historical or cultural justification for doing this. Migration is the fact of celtic history.

According to McAliskey (and H.B. seems to agree) the freedom movement was "ever a rural phenomenon, a peasant ideology, combining agrarian radicalism with the struggle for independence." However, the Irish people were first proletarianized on a mass scale not in Ireland but in America (and, to a lesser extent, Britain and the Argentine). Perhaps, if only to be fair, McAliskey and H.B. ought to examine the first response of these Irish proletarian masses... which was to create a freedom movement, the Molly Maguires. Not rural, not peasant, not agrarian. But a proletarian revolutionary movement in the (at that time) crucial industry of American capitalism. And still committed to the independence of Ireland.

I am aware that liberal academics and historians in Britain and America discredit the Molly Maguires by the usual mechanisms. I am also aware of a confusion which wrongly identifies the Molly Maguires with a similarly named but peasant movement in Ireland at roughly the same time. However, on examination, two features of the Molly Maguires are overwhelmingly clear: (1), they were direct-actionist, and devoted to unmeliorated class-struggle; and (2), they were industrial-unionist. All subsequent working-class history in America is delineated by these two factors, initiated through Irish proletarian masses in freedom motion. Industrial-unionist and direct-actionist... these characteristics are observable in the Knights of Labor, the IWW, the early CIO, and the numberless escalating wildcats of the 70s.

H.B. writes: "Since no socialist programme or policies have ever originated in Ireland, the socialist content of Connolly's policies all being foreign in origin, we are left in the dark as to where they are to come from." But Connolly's mature revolutionary philosophy (i.e. class-struggle, direct action, socialist industrial-unionism) was developed through his observations of the experience of Irish workers in America. Is this "foreign"? Both Connolly and Larkin were members of the IWW, wherein they were involved with large numbers of Irish workers.

The IRA was not founded within Ireland. It was originally founded in New York City. It transferred the locus of its activities to Ireland for two reasons: (1), the projection of an Irish nation-state; and (2), most importantly, because the initial IRA was rejected as "revisionist" within the wider freedom movement of the migration. Even the AOH (originally a revolutionary organization, and still at the time the IRA was founded) dismissed the IRA as revisionist, because of vanguardism and militarism, and the attempt to substitute a clandestine army in the place of the freedom struggle by the whole people. Therefore, I suggest that there is a clear Irish tradition of wider freedom movement which H.B. has ignored.

Leninists believe that the working class can-

not come to socialism by its own thought or action. Socialism (think the Leninists) is an invention of middle class intellectuals, and the working class can only come to "trade-union consciousness"... Socialism (thus) must be brought to the working class by the intellectuals. And then there are DeLeonists who think that DeLeon invented socialist industrial-unionism. They sometimes charge Connolly with being a plagiarist. (Is this what H.B. means by Connolly's socialism being "foreign" in origin?) However, DeLeon did not invent socialist industrial-unionism. The Debsian faction of the Socialist Party and the American anarcho-syndicalists were using the term (and the concept) long before DeLeon adopted it.

Connolly (like Kropotkin, and unlike the Trotskyists) did not think socialist industrial-unionism an invention of the intellectuals. Nor did he think the working class unable to come to socialism by its own efforts. Nor did he accept the "trade-union consciousness" theory. Connolly, by an inductive process, developed his own view of socialism through the experience of Irish workers in the migration (... "We are not just muscle. We can also think"). Connolly's socialist industrial-unionism was invented by Irish workers (as masses in freedom activity) in America.

Connolly was not a disciple of DeLeon. The first week that Connolly was in America, he visited DeLeon at the national offices of the SLP. He walked out immediately. He was utterly repulsed by DeLeon. The revulsion was mutual: DeLeon hated Connolly. At one time, while Connolly was an organizer for the IWW, DeLeon had Connolly brought up on charges for expulsion from the IWW... saying that Connolly was "an agent of the Vatican." The charges were later dropped. But not before 40,000 Irish dockworkers in the eastern cities quit the IWW in protest. These workers were committed to the IWW idea, but they were antagonized by DeLeon's attempted purge.

I suggest that there is a wider freedom movement of the Irish people (historically and today) than H.B. or McAliskey will allow. Furthermore, I suggest that my libertarian cousins in Ireland (as well as criticizing militarism and vanguardism) be less cynical about building the libertarian alternative.

Seamas Cain.

PEDRO ASTUDILLO

Pedro Astudillo is a 48 year old Spanish worker and refugee, who is serving a term in the French prison, Fresnes, near Paris. The Spanish government has requested Astudillo's extradition for various heavy offences against the Spanish army. Two French courts have granted the extradition. The only hope to save comrade Astudillo from certain death is to have the French government reverse the courts' decision. To obtain this, obviously Astudillo's case should be widely publicised in France and in every other country, and the public should vigorously state their support for Pedro Astudillo. What follows is an abridged translation of Astudillo's story:

"My name is Pedro Jose Astudillo Calleja. I was born in 1927 in the Basque province of Vizcaya. My father, after fighting with the Republicans, was captured and shot in 1940. My mother was tortured by members of the Falange and died shortly afterwards. When the army called

me up in 1949 I refused to join, but was arrested four years later, served one year in prison, and was forcibly enlisted. However, after barely three months, I was again arrested inside the barracks and sentenced by a war tribunal to six years and one day imprisonment. I decided to break jail. I succeeded with the help of some comrades, but was captured by the Guardia Civil one month later and taken back to the same barracks. My former officers tortured me fiercely (e.g. by forcing me to drink petrol) to obtain the names of those comrades who had helped me. I refused to give them away. After a period of unconsciousness I found myself with a torn cheek, one testical crushed and several ribs broken. About four months later, the same comrades helped me once more to escape. I have not been recaptured since. I was told later on that they had sentenced me in absentia to twelve years imprisonment.

"I crossed over to France secretly at the end of 1954 and asked for political asylum. I had no job, no papers, no fixed address and did not know the French language. I was driven to steal in order to survive. After a petty theft in a car in Marseilles I received a sixmonth sentence. On two further occasions I was refused political asylum. Again I had to steal to survive, was arrested in 1957 and was liable to be sent out of France. But I found myself a wife and an illegal job and stayed on in the country. In 1969, as the resistance against Franco's regime was growing in strength, I went over secretly to Spain. In 1970 some comrades asked me how to procure arms. I proposed to go and fetch them from the barracks where I had served. During the summer of 1970, after a reconnoitre of the premises, which were familiar to me, we laid our hands on some light arms (without violence), and ammunition, and also some political documents concerning the "goings on" in the military police. This expropriation was done on my own initiative, for exclusively political aims and without personal material interest. In March 1971 two comrades whom I did not know were stopped by the Guardia Civil. After a shoot-out, one was wounded, captured and found in possession of a pistol that had been stolen from the barracks. When he was subjected to torture he gave my name. I was living then with my wife, who is French, and our daughter in Basauri, near Bilbao. Friends warned me about the arrest and I took off without luggage. Soon after this, my brother and his wife, who had given me shelter in their house in Portugalete, near Bilbao, were both tortured to force them to give away my hideout. I had to go on living illegally in France. In 1973 I was arrested with a false I.D. and sentenced to one year of imprisonment. The Spanish Embassy requested my extradition on the grounds of theft, possession of arms, transportation of arms and ammunition. The tribunal in charge of the extradition procedures is the "Chambre des Mises en Accusation". My counsel presented them with a set of political statements in my favour, and I gave the fullest details about the arms theft. Accordingly, the tribunal ordered that I should be set free after my one year in prison, although the administration had decided to expel me from French territory. I was also told that I was wanted by an army judge in San Sebastian for an action against the Spanish state.

"Now I am in prison again. The Spanish undercover agents in Paris engineered a plot involving an official of the Spanish Consulate who was dealing in false passports, and I was framed in this plot. On this occasion, the Spanish Government asked again for my extradition and now the French Tribunal has granted it. Only if the Government decides not to follow the tribunal's advice can I be saved from being turned over to the Spanish Army. The danger

which threatens me is very serious indeed. For a soldier to have committed a theft of arms and political documents in his own barracks is high treason and all the more serious is that the arms found their way into the hands of the regime's enemies. If I am extradited, I shall be first horribly tortured to force out of me the names of my comrades, and later my fate will be the firing squad."

Pedro Astudillo.

For further information contact:
J. Neko, 2 rue Bellart, 75015 Paris, France.

Source:
"International Archive Team" in 'Direct Action'

IN BRIEF

A FULL-page advert in the national press advertises a product which we are told
"It will reassure you when you need it. It will help restore your confidence should it ever desert you. It will soothe and solace you after a hectic day. It will insulate you from the noise and chaos of the outside world. It will rebuild your morale, your ambitions. But most of all, it will remind you that your life has not been totally without success."
No prize for guessing the product.*

THE DOWAGER Lady Birdwood, one of the founders of the anti-strike, anti-terrorist organization, Current Affairs Press, denied claims by solicitors for the McWhirter family that the organization and its publication Majority had ceased with the assassination of Ross McWhirter. Lady Birdwood said the name of the paper was to revert to the British Gazette (this was the name of a paper edited by Winston Churchill in the 1926 General Strike); a decision taken before McWhirter's death.

TWO Hundred Thousand workers filled the major avenue of Mexico City on Nov. 15 in a march condemning union leadership and calling for the democratic unity of all trade unions. It was the biggest demonstration of the working class in over a decade in Mexico and was organized by a rank & file movement within SUTERN (Union of Electrical Workers). The march condemned the collaboration of their union leaders with multinational corporations and demanded agrarian reform. Organisers said the march was also to pay homage to those who were massacred at Tlalteleleo in 1968 (when 1,000 demonstrators were shot by the paramilitary police) and to the 15 students who were killed in Mexico City and Monterray in June 1971. --P.N.S.

*Jaguar cars from Leyland --not a Government subsidy!

THANK YOU!

THANK YOU, COMRADES, FOR THE LARGE AND MANY SMALL DONATIONS WHICH MADE US SOLVENT LAST YEAR.

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11-31st December, 1975

BROMLEY: S.D.: 84p; SOUTH YARRA, Australia: J.F. £150; WELLINGTON Salop: L.O. 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 90p; J.K.W. 10p; EDINBURGH: B.M. & B.W. £2.85; KIRKBY, Notts: A.B. 84p; SAN FRANCISCO: H.S. £2.50; WESTON, Ont.: A.B. £82.10; DETROIT: P.P. £4.95; J.A. £4.95; SAN FRANCISCO Comrades (gathering 6.12.75) per L.M. £49.50; RICHTERSWIL: J.G.C. 20p; BRISTOL: E.M. 34p; HARTFIELD, Sx.: D.M. £1; NEWTON TOWY: D.M.F. 50p; LONDON W.5: M.W.M. 20p; LONDON NW4: N.W. £3.70; LONDON N.W.2.: D.S. £8; LONDON, N.7: J.H.J. £10.70; GLASGOW: J.A.B. £1.70; CHALFONT Bucks: W.C. £5.70; HITCHIN: A.C. 25p; FARNBOROUGH: . G. £1.19; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 20p; J.L. £1.80; R.H. & J.H. £2; In Bookshop: Anons 40p; D.B. £6; A.W. £1; G.P.H. 25p.

TOTAL: £ 346.61

Previously acknowledged: £ 1254.60

TOTAL for 1975: £ 1600.61

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WE WELCOME news, articles, reviews, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for include in next Review section is Monday 12 January. News/Features/Reports/Letters/Contact Column Monday 19 January.

MEETINGS

LONDON Wed. Jan. 14, E. London Libertarians, at 123 Lathom Rd. E.6.

Starts 7.30 p.m.

Sat. 17th January "La Comunidad del Sur" (Community of the South), a talk ill. with slides, by a spokesman from the S. American anarchist movement on 'An experience of the libertarian way of life where everything was brought into question - work, leisure, sexuality, education.' At Centro Iberico, 83a Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd). Tube: Chalk Farm or Belsize Park. Starts 7.30 p.m.

BRIGHTON Mon. Jan 19, 8pm Inaug'1 mtg. local group Nat. Council for Civil Liberties, Friend Centre, Ship St.

ANARCHIST Forum, Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, alternate Sundays 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcome.

SAN FRANCISCO. A meeting will be held in near future to set up a Bay Area organization to carry out libertarian socialist (council communist/anarchist collectivist) perspectives. Independent collectives & interested individuals with complementary (anti-Statist, anti-electoral) views invited to participate. Write or call us to discuss your participation and for copies of proposals L.S.F. P.O. Box 1587, S.F. Cal. 94101. S.F. 552-3762. Oak. 893-6872

LONDON Sat. 7 Feb. AWA Open Day School, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square 10 am-6 pm. Creche provided. 30p in advance, 40p at door.

CONTACT

NEXT DESPATCHING date of FREEDOM is Thursday 22 January. Come and help from 2 pm. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session.

GROUPS

BATH anarchists & non-violent activists contact Banana, c/o Students Union, University, Claverton Down, Bath.

BIRMINGHAM anarchists contact Bob Prew, 40 C, Trafalgar Rd. Moseley 13

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516).

Anyone interested in the syndicalist Workers' Federation in Bolton area contact or write SWF at this address.

CORBAY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN1 211

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

DUNDEE. Alistair Dempster, c/o Students Union, Airlie Place, Dundee

GLASGOW now has a centre at 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.

EDINBURGH. Bob Gibson, 7 Union Rd. Edinburgh

HARROW. Write Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Gardens, Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB

IRELAND. Libertarian Communists contact Alan Mac Simoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

LEEDS anarchists contact Cahal Mc Laughlin, 15 Brudenell Grove, Leeds 6

LEICESTER Anarchist Group. Contact Pete and Jean Miller, 41 Norman St., (tel. 549652).

LEICESTER Libertarian Circle meets Thursdays, Black Flag Bks. 1 Wilne St.

OXFORD anarchist group c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street.

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 21 Havelock Rd, Spithsea, Portsmouth, Hants

SIDCUP & Bexlev. Will any anarchists contact 29 Halfway St. Sidcup, Kent.

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

PEOPLE/PUBLICATIONS &c.

SIMON O'D of Aire - please write again, this time including your address, to R.Y.B. C.P. Stn. Place D'Armes, Montreal, P.Q. H2Y 3E9, Canada.

CHANGE of address: Celia, Fiona and Laurens Otter now at College Farm House, Wellington, Salop TF1 1PR Tel. still 0952 54728

ANARCHISM LANCASTRUM No. 6. Cheerful, scatological, thoughtful and beautifully printed as usual, with free stickers. Sevenpence + 6½p post from AL 16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley, Lancs (We only have enough for ourselves.)

THE SQUATTER, newspaper succeeding Squatters News Bulletin. 6p + 6½p post from 6 Bowden St. S.E. 11 or Freedom Bookshop.

SQUATTERS HANDBOOK Dec. 75. Practical & legal information 10p + 6½p post from 2 St. Pauls Road, London N1 or Freedom Bookshop.

AN ANARCHY OF WORDS, a short autobiography of Poems, 25p from Pat Parker, 186 Gloucester Terr., W. 2.

PORTUGAL. The Portuguese Anarcho-Syndicalist paper A BATALHA (sales 5000 copies per fortnight) needs the support of all comrades outside Portugal. Send your donations, books, pamphlets &c. to A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal, 17-2-Eº, LISBOA.)

PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE (184051 HM Prison, Du Cane Road, London, W.12, serving sentence for action against vivisection &c. Postcards.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore, Noel Murray & Ronan Stenson. Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire. MARIE MURRAY is in Limerick Prison.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, 240 Camden High St., London, NW1.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

RALF STEIN is still at 5 KOLN 30, Rochusstrasse 350, Germany,

Claude, who from time to time writes articles for publication in FREEDOM and A BATALHA, wishes it to be known that he is not the Claude who wrote an article on Portugal in the French publication LA LANTERNE NOIRE No. 4

Published by Freedom Press, London, E. 1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.

THE SECOND CASUALTY

THE FIRST CASUALTY: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker from the Crimea to Vietnam, by Phillip Knightley. 425pp., Bibliog., Notes, Index. (Andrew Deutsch. £5.95).

ONE OF THE results of inflation appears to be the price of books. The price of the book being reviewed may appear to be excessive but compared with, say, the cost of gramophone records, admission fees to sports, cinemas, theatres and concerts this is not an excessive rise in cost. The printed word, in general, has for a variety of reasons been fighting a losing battle over many years and when assessing priorities, book possession and the building up of a library (especially at £5.95 a time) comes low on many people's list. The rise in book costs and prices is both cause and effect.

However, supposing one had £5.95 this book is an excellent choice for the outlay and would make a good work of reference in its wide range and historical scope.

Veterans of the peace movement will remember with gratitude a book by Lord Ponsonby, Falsehood in War-Time (first published in 1928 and going into numerous editions, selling at 2/6 -- 12½p). As its title indicates, it dealt with the propaganda lies put out by correspondents (and others) in the 1914-18 war. Optimistically it was thought to do a similar compilation for the 1939-45 war but the sheer bulk of the output would dismay the stoutest heart and defeat the most capacious card index. Mr. Knightley's book does much to fill this gap although its scope and sweep, as its title indicates, range from the Crimea (1854-56) to the recent end of the Vietnam war.

According to his tombstone in St. Paul's, William Howard Russell of the Times was 'the first and greatest' war correspondent -- he went to the Crimea in 1854. Knightley denies this claim but undoubtedly the Crimean war was the beginning of newspaper war correspondents.

Russell is credited, too, with inspiring Florence Nightingale to start her nursing service in the Crimea but the credit for this must go to Edwin Godkin of the London Daily News. The Times, in fact, gets a "very bad press" in The First Casualty.

The Crimean War was commented on by Queen Victoria with "the war is popular beyond belief". The newspapers, quick to follow public opinion, decided to send correspondents to send back reports of the war. The Crimean, like every other war, as Knightley ably witnesses, was a mass of incompetence, mistakes and treachery. If war is the health of the state, the state is very unhealthy indeed.

The correspondents were allowed to freely move all over the theatre of war, to visit and converse with and report whom whom they wished. War was not yet total; Goethe and his family had picnicked in full view of the Battle of Waterloo. Laurence Sterne and Sir Humphrey Davy both found themselves visitors and tourists in countries with which their native countries were at war; nobody thought it odd, treasonable or unpatriotic.

As the Crimean War progressed from disaster to disaster the correspondents' activities were denounced in England as 'little short of treason'. The new commander-in-chief (succeeding Lord Raglan of Light Brigade infamy), Sir William Codrington, consulted with the Secretary for War who suggested dealing with the correspondents by putting it "to their patriotism and honour whether they would endanger the success of the army by premature and improper publication of its number, conditions, etc.". Codrington, however, issued a general order in 1856 that forbade the publication of details of value to the enemy, and he authorised the ejection of a correspondent who, it was alleged, had published such details and threatened future offenders with the same punishment. Typically, the war was over by the time this edict was issued but this was the beginning of military censorship. At the same time a precedent was set for the establishment of 'official' war commentators. Prince Albert, conscious of the need for counter-propaganda, sent out Roger Fenton, a photographer who according to Knightley proved that though "the camera does not lie directly, it can lie brilliantly by omission. Fenton's photographs... portray a war where everything looks ship-shape and everyone happy".

Mathew Brady, another photographer, followed the Northern Armies in the American Civil War into battle and produced a comprehensive pictorial account of the war (1861-5) but unfortunately technology was not sufficiently advanced to make it possible to reproduce them in newsprint.

Godkin wrote, "There never was a war which afforded such materials for special correspondents as this one." Knightley comments that "most Civil War correspondents failed miserably". Earlier he says that the European correspondents "were as bad, if not worse" than their American colleagues. "More subtle in their bias, more devious in their propaganda, and better assisted by the political intrigues of their editors, they completely misled their readers on what was really occurring in America. The Times of London was particularly bad." The Northern papers in America carried stories like "the Confederate women had necklaces made from Yankee eyes while the 'unholy Northerners' used head of Confederate dead for footballs" similar stories recur from war to war.

An interesting sidelight on the America civil war is that the noted Gettysburg address received hardly a mention in the press at the time. As ever, "Accuracy became a minor consideration". Casualties were grossly underestimated; Generals listed as killed lived on to die of old age; battles were reported on days when there was no action at all; at times the whole Southern army was reported to be marching on Washington, Atlanta was reported captured a week before the battle for the town took place. It was a small step from ignoring accuracy to faking whole reports".

Knightley describes the period between 1868 and 1914 as the golden age of war correspondence, when the Education Act had made it compulsory for every child to read (and a peer's comment on this was, "Now we must educate our masters"). In Britain the number of newspapers doubled between 1880 and 1900. During the Franco-Prussian war the Daily News trebled its circulation.

These newspapers required war correspondents and they were given carte blanche to write what would increase their paper's circulation. "They were a colourful crew," comments Knightley, pandering to their readership. "Edmund O'Donovan of the London Evening News danced drunk and naked around what the Muslims believed to be Eve's tomb, shouting "To the devil with the Mahdi!". Lunchtime O'Booze's origin? The only correspondent for whom Knightley had respect was Moncure D. Conway (after whom the London hall is named), who was so sickened by what he saw that he gave up being a war correspondent altogether.

In 1898 the Americans were, such is the whirligig of time and alliances, supporting Cuban insurgents in their struggle

against Spain. William Randolph Hearst (Patty's grandfather) had engaged Richard Harding Davis (a flamboyant popular novelist) to report on the insurrection with the aim of getting direct American intervention. He sent out an artist, Frederick Remington, to cover the 'war' pictorially. It is said that Remington cabled: EVERYTHING IS QUIET. THERE IS NO TROUBLE HERE. THERE WILL BE NO WAR. I WISH TO RETURN. Hearst replied: PLEASE REMAIN. YOU FURNISH PICTURES. I WILL FURNISH THE WAR. Hearst kept his promise, and when the American battleship Maine blew up in Havana harbour, Hearst without any proof blamed the Spaniards and his slogan "Remember the Maine" helped the patriotic fervour that accompanied the Spanish American war. "Hearst's enthusiasm for American victories," says Knightley, "became even more marked in the American campaign to suppress the revolt in the Philippines" (1899-1902). The 20th Kansas swept through a town of 17,000 inhabitants, not leaving one alive. Hearst's New York Journal said, "The weak must go to the wall and stay there. We'll rule in Asia as we rule at home. We shall establish in Asia a branch agent of the true American movement towards liberty." Foreshadowings of Viet Nam.

The Cuban campaign was graced (if that is the word) by one Winston Churchill who, as a subaltern, was bored by peace -- as he frequently was. "It seemed to my youthful mind that it must be a thrilling and immense experience to hear the whizz of bullets all round and to play at hazard from moment to moment with death and wounds."

Later in the Boer War (1899-1902) Churchill staged a dual role as combatant/correspondent. He was then 25 years old and with his passion for 'self-advertisement' went on an armoured train, was ambushed by the Boers. Churchill, although a war correspondent, took an active part in the action. He was captured, and denied that he was a combatant, but escaped from the Boer jail - ironically just before his jailers decided he was to be treated as a non-combatant. Knightley sums him up: "His main shortcomings were his lust for publicity and his dual role as soldier-correspondent." In 1944, he admitted censorship of correspondents' Italian reports. He said "Such words as 'desperate' ought not to be used about a situation in battle when they are false. Still less should they have been used if they were true." He commented that he would not have been allowed to say that the position at Ladysmith (in South Africa) was desperate.

Another myth-making figure arose in the South African war who gave the correspondents much of their copy: Sir Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scouts, who, says Knightley, "came from one of those upper-middle-class English backgrounds where it is difficult to draw the line between eccentricity and psychosis". The Times ignored its correspondent's debunking of the 'siege' of Mafeking as a minor sideshow and refused to print a story that Baden-Powell himself was starving the natives to drive them out of town. Knightley divulges that correspondents were regularly able to get dispatches out of the Boer supposed 'ring of steel' round Mafeking and Kimberley.

Edgar Wallace (now honoured with a bust in Fleet Street) wrote such 'atrocities' stories from the South African war that the British government told him to tone down his "vivid stories on flimsy evidence". The Daily Mail replied that Wallace was merely counteracting the anti-British stories of the Continental press. Only in 1906 was the Times able to say (in a history of the war), "In the moment of their triumph the Boers behaved with the same unaffected kindheartedness... which they displayed after most of their victories."

One 'atrocities' survived to embarrass the British in the 1939-45 wars. Kitchener's policy of burning the farms of unco-operative Boers left him with the problem of dealing with the dispossessed women and children. These he interned in tents in encampments. The crowded conditions led to the inevitable evils with a soaring death rate. No correspondents reported this, according to Knightley. It was left to Emily Hobhouse, a Quaker, and leader of the South African Conciliation Committee, to report conditions to Members of Parliament. The case was taken up by the Opposition in Parliament, was snapped up by German newspapers, for example, who referred to the British as 'Hunnen in Sud

Afrika'; the position was defended by some newspapers and the military and some reforms were carried out. The Boers were not very interested in capitalizing on these 'concentration camps' since they felt that the provision of rations and supplies for such camps weakened their enemies.

The First World War - known till we knew better (or worse) as the Great War - was, Knightley says, "like no other war either before or since. It began with the promise of splendour, honour and glory. It ended as a genocidal conflict on an unparalleled scale, a meaningless act of slaughter, that continued until a state of exhaustion set in because no one knew how to stop it."

Of the correspondents' role Knightley says: "More deliberate lies were told than in any other period of history, and the whole apparatus of the state went into action to suppress the truth."

One of the major instruments of British state censorship was the Defence of the Realm Act. (Knightley points out that the State's power to examine cables and to censor newspapers still exists - granted by this Act.) It was also pointed out by Walter Millis in The Road to War that Britain has established a monopoly control of the Atlantic cables, and any messages from Germany or her allies to America were supervised by the British.

One of the most noteworthy and self-deceiving of the correspondents was (Sir) Philip Gibbs who wrote - afterwards - "Nobody believed us. Though some of us wrote the truth from the first to the last apart from the naked realism of horrors and losses, and criticism of the facts which did not come within the liberty of our pen."

The German ineptitude at propaganda was one of their weaknesses (a weakness remembered by Hitler and Goebbels). The French shot a woman for helping German soldiers to es-

THE LAST WAR [1915-17] WAS THE MOST COLOSSAL, MURDEROUS, MISMANAGED BUTCHERY THAT HAS EVER TAKEN PLACE ON EARTH. ANY WRITER WHO SAID OTHERWISE LIED. SO THE WRITERS EITHER WROTE PROPAGANDA, SHUT UP OR FOUGHT.

Ernest Hemingway.

cape (and during the course of the war shot eight women for capital offences) and yet one only remembers Edith Cavell, shot in 1915 by the Germans for exactly the same offence. The organ stops were pulled out to accuse the Germans of every crime in the calendar.

For not the first time in this rough island story the British were faced with a superior foe and retreated. The Press Bureau (set up to issue hand-outs to correspondents) put out the statement: "The British forces have reached their new position. Fighting has gone on more or less continuously, but the enemy has not effectively harassed our operations... The casualties cannot be estimated exactly but are not heavy."

Due to political manoeuvres on the part of F. E. Smith (later Lord Birkenhead), chief censor of the Press Bureau, news of the Mons defeat reached the newspapers coupled with demands for troop reinforcements. Smith eventually had to resign from the Bureau.

No such luck with reports of the Battle of the Frontiers, fought between 14th and 25th August 1914, a German victory wiping out 300,000 French soldiers (about 25% of the combatants. This news, says Knightley, remained completely unreported in Britain until the war was over. The Times had a correspondent with the French forces and knew and approved of his reticence.

Lord Northcliffe, Napoleon of Fleet Street at that time, coined the slogan 'Trust the Generals' and it was clear that the Press would back the war wholeheartedly.

Gibbs wrote (in 1923 of course!) "There was no need of censorship of our despatches. We were our own censors." One is reminded of Humbert Wolfe's bitter words:

One cannot hope to bribe or twist
Thank God! the English journalist.
But seeing what he'll unbribed do
There's really no occasion to.

Knightley writes: "Retreats became strategic retirements, evacuations were rectifications of the line and a defeat such as that at the Somme - in July 1916 - perhaps the most bloody defeat in England's history - brought only bland innocuous reports, with nothing to show that the Allies had not had a good day, or even a victory." Gibbs wrote of the Somme, "It is a day of promise in this war."

Keith Murdoch, a young Australian newspaperman (father of Rupert Murdoch, a present newspaper magnate) visited the front at Gallipoli (a Churchillian failure) where Australian and New Zealand troops were engaged. He was dismayed to be told of the grimness of the position and of the censorship. Murdoch agreed to take an uncensored dispatch to London. Knightley states that H. W. Nevinson of the Manchester Guardian (et tu, Brute?) betrayed him and he was detained at Marseilles until he gave up the dispatch.

Murdoch, nothing daunted, returned to London and recreated Ashmead-Bartlett's dispatches from memory. The criticisms were centred on the need to recall General Sir Ian Hamilton - in charge of Gallipoli operations. Asquith received the dispatch via Lloyd George (an opponent of the campaign) and passed it on to the Dardanelles Committee which sacked Hamilton, and the evacuation of the Gallipoli began in December 1915. A Royal Commission later found the campaign was a mistake.

IF THE LIE IS BIG ENOUGH IT WILL BE BELIEVED
--after J. Goebbels

It will be seen that the intellectuals and men of letters were no better than the hack journalists and the corrupted politicians when it came to reporting on war. H. G. Wells, as is well-known, was a leading propagandist at Crew House, under Northcliffe. Shaw's attitude on the war was ambivalent. He toured the trenches and wrote: "There is no need of censorship. While the war lasts we must be our own censors. All one's ideas of the war are divided into two planes of thought which never meet. One plane deals with the folly and wickedness of war. The other plane is the immediate necessity of beating the Boche."

Meanwhile correspondents went on inventing atrocities. One well-remembered story is of a corpse-factory (commented on fully by Ponsonby) boiling down corpses for glycerine. The Times substantiated this with the account from a German correspondent of a Kadaver verwertungsanstalt or Corpse Exploitation Factory. It was pointed out by Ponsonby that the word 'Kadaver' was only used for the corpses of animals and the factory was indeed for animal corpses. A British M.P. pointed this out but the story was never denied by the British since it was particularly useful as propaganda in Eastern countries. Unfortunately, World War II (such is human progress) saw the utilization of human corpses in concentration camps.

Babies were invented by correspondents to arouse the sympathy of readers. One such non-existent baby was swamped with offers of adoption and gifts of clothes to the Daily Mail, which asked the correspondent to send the baby to London. Whereon the correspondent arranged for the baby to 'die' of an infectious disease.

A more sinister baby story was of the Belgian baby-without-hands started by the Times in 1914, arms chopped off - of course - by German soldiers. Cardinal Mercier was unable to substantiate the story and after the war a series of investigations failed to find a single case of this nature. The story probably had its origins if not in the unconscious, in the discoveries of Sir Roger Casement in the Belgian Congo of natives whose hands were undeniably chopped off for transgressions against King Leopold of the Belgians' rubber plantations overseers.

The British public - and the French and the German - did

not know or understand the full extent of casualties until after the war -- thanks to correspondents. Half a million Frenchmen were lost in the first four months, one million by the end of 1915, and five million by 1918. The Allies lost 600,000 men in one battle. At Stalingrad in the Second World War the Germans had 230,000 men in the field. The Germans lost 325,000, killed or wounded, at the Battle of Verdun alone. After only eight months of war in 1915 the Germans killed, wounded and missing were two-and-three-quarter millions.

Lloyd George told C.P. Scott (editor of the Manchester Guardian) in 1917: "If people really knew, the war would be stopped tomorrow. But of course they don't know and can't know. The correspondents don't write and the censorship would not pass the truth." This was the keynote of the 'War to end War', to quote H. G. Wells' catchphrase which he (and we) lived to regret.

By the time the Americans entered (and probably 'won') the war, correspondents and censors had settled down to an uninterrupted symbiotic relationship. Knightley writes about 1917-18 that Westbrook Pegler (later a right-wing columnist) wrote of some habitual scandal: "Censorship is developing more in the news interests of the military than in that of the American reader." Even a story about cases of wine presented to the Americans by the French as a gesture of goodwill was banned. The censors vetoed it on the ground that "it suggests bibulous indulgence by American soldiers which might offend temperance forces in the United States". By then the U.S., in the absence of the 'bibulous' at the war, was introducing prohibition.

Russia, the most totalitarian of the Allies, had been so weakened by her casualties and a rigorous censorship that she was the first to quit the war. Hindenburg, the German commander, estimated the German losses at five to eight million. A regiment of 4,000 men stationed at Kiev had such a high casualty rate that 36,000 replacements passed through it in one year.

The Allies refused to believe and the correspondents failed to report that Russia was quitting the war and the Russians were in the midst of a revolution. The Daily Mirror published a photograph of Russian soldiers 'voting with their feet' on the way back to their villages under the heading RUSSIAN TROOPS HASTEN TO THE FRONT.

Although the Guardian's Phillips Price and Arthur Ransome of the Daily News sent despatches describing and forecasting the success of the Bolsheviks their papers prophesied the doom of Bolshevism, ignoring their own correspondents. The Guardian, facing both ways as usual, had two correspondents - Price, and David Soskice who fled when the Winter Palace fell and wrote in the Guardian (from Oslo) "The Bolsheviks must fall".

The Times struck the anti-Bolshevik note and replied to revolutionary messages from the Sovjet Congress with an editorial saying that "the remedy for Bolshevism is bullets" and, says Knightley, "The Times readers began to regard the Bolsheviks as a gang of murderers, thieves and blasphemers whom it was almost a sacred duty to destroy as vermin."

In November, 1917 the Russians released all secret treaties negotiated between the Czarist regime and the Allies. Phillips Price scooped the world by borrowing the documents from Trotsky's secretary, with Trotsky's permission to borrow them overnight. He translated the documents, working through the night, and telegraphed them in four or five despatches to the Manchester Guardian which published them in some detail.

These treaties were 'dynamite'. They proved who would get what for entering the war on the 'right' side. France was given a 'free hand' in Western Europe in exchange for Russia's similar 'hand' in Poland. Bribes for Roumania and the splitting up of Persia between Britain and Russia. The Arabs who were being promised independence by T. E. Lawrence were double-crossed by the Sykes-Picot agreement.

The Times published the summary but decided (according to its History) "not to inconvenience the British, French

and Italian Governments, and to maintain silence about the Secret treaties; also as far as possible to curtail its Petrograd correspondent's despatches on the subject. . . As the Governments themselves were bound by the Treaties to be silent The Times decided it could only follow their example."

By 1919 the wars of intervention against the Bolshevik revolution had coloured the British press reports which were pure anti-Bolshevik propaganda. Phillips Price, still battling against the censorship, telegraphed "The Allies are sowing dragon's teeth in Eastern Europe. Some day they will grow into bayonets and will be turned into directions that we least desire." This was censored by the British and Phillips Price "realized by this time that 'a conspiracy of silence' had been decided on about the war of intervention which the Western Allies were waging against Soviet Russia. Only reports favourable to the intervention were allowed and these were being retailed by Lord Northcliffe." Northcliffe (who must by then have started going mad) was convinced that the Bolsheviks were murderous German agents working for the Kaiser. The Observer reported that "the Bolsheviks proposed that all capitalists over eight years of age should

I WOULDN'T TELL THE PEOPLE ANYTHING UNTIL THE WAR IS OVER AND THEN I'D TELL THEM WHO WON.

U.S. Military Censor in Washington (1941-45)

be killed". Its source was a despatch from Copenhagen quoting a message from Stockholm quoting 'travellers' who had heard the story in Helsinki. Horatio Bottomley, a notorious swindler, M.P. and yellow-press journalist (founder-editor of John Bull) said there was a group of debased creatures in Britain who called themselves the 47,000 whose function it was to allow "British Bolsheviks to foment anarchy and propagate vice throughout the land". This is an echo of Pemberton-Billings' Black Book (a piece of anti-German propaganda) and a foretaste of Senator McCarthy's lists.

The honour of delivering the coup de grâce to the intervention belongs, of all papers, to the Daily Express which published in September, 1918 a letter from an impeccable South African war hero, Lt.-Col. John Sherwood-Kelly, asserting that the reasons for which Churchill's 'last throw' scheme of intervention at Archangel was being put forward amounted to false pretences since there was no "loyal Russian army; no government save puppets of the British and" --concludes Sherwood-Kelly, "I became convinced that my duty to my country lay not in helping to forward a mistaken policy but in exposing it to the British public." This testimony from an unimpeachable source made the evacuation of British forces, the White Russians and their allies inevitable.

Sherwood-Kelly was, of course, court-martialled for communicating his views on a military subject to the press. He was sentenced to only a severe reprimand. This court martial was held under the instigation of Churchill.

*

Knightley's next chapter deals with the Abyssinian War of 1935-3. The Ethiopian government had no knowledge of public relations or propaganda and failed to give proper facilities to correspondents. Consequently the Fascist forces of Mussolini, for which the press had already a predilection, got the best press. Knightley takes the view that the obnoxious pro-Mussolini Evelyn Waugh's novel Scoop is not a parody but a piece of straight reporting from Abyssinia disguised as a novel to avoid libel actions.

There was little evidence (due to bad press relations) of Italian atrocities. According to Herbert Matthews of the New York Times "ninety-nine out of a hundred press photographs of the war had been faked".

The Abyssinians grossly misused whatever flimsy protection the Red Cross emblem gave. (Knightley states that for centuries in Abyssinia the Red Cross had been used to designate a brothel.) God was as ever on the side of the big battalions and the Italians won.

The chapter following on the Spanish Civil War (some of which was extracted for the Sunday Times) is prefaced by a quotation from George Orwell, "Early in life I had noticed that no event is ever correctly reported in a newspaper, but in Spain, for the first time, I saw newspaper reports which did not bear any relation to the facts, not even the relationship which is implied in an ordinary lie." (Orwell went out as a correspondent for the New Statesman: which typically refused to publish some of his pro-anarchist despatches.)

There was bias on all sides. Herbert Matthews of the New York Times said, "I would always opt for honest open bias. A newspaperman should work with his heart as well as his mind." But the borderline between bias, suppression and deliberate untruths was sometimes overstepped even by the correspondents of the Left. Claud Cockburn was in Spain as a correspondent (Frank Pitcairn) of The Daily Worker and as editor of his own paper The Week. He wrote Reporter in Spain on the orders of Harry Pollitt; he wrote it (as ordered) in a week.

Cockburn later, under orders from Otto Katz, chief assistant to Willie Muenzenberg (propagandist for the Communists), reported an entirely fictitious battle in order to put pressure on the French to allow delivery of a consignment of arms to the Republicans. He and Koltzov (of Pravda) attacked Louis Fischer for objective reporting and Cockburn denied that readers had a 'right' to the truth. Koltzov was killed in one of Stalin's purges, Muenzenberg died mysteriously.

Arthur Koestler, himself a correspondent for the News Chronicle, was not guiltless of distortions for the sake of propaganda. He wrote Spanish Testament under the supervision of Muenzenberg who, Koestler wrote later, shouted at him after reading typescript sheets, "Too weak. Too objective. Hit them! Hit them hard! Tell the world how they run over their prisoners with tanks, how they pour petrol over them and burn them alive. Make the world gasp with horror." He showed Koestler a cutting from the Berliner Nachtausgabe of the 'Red' militia in Madrid giving vouchers 'good for one rape'. The widow of a high official was found dead in her flat. By her bedside lay 64 of these vouchers. "That," said Muenzenberg approvingly, "is propaganda."

The propaganda emanating from the insurgents which was lapped up by the majority of the British (and world) press is too sickeningly familiar to bear repetition. Cecil Geraghty of the Daily Mail (and later author of Right Book Club choice The Spanish Arena) wrote among other gems his thesis that the anarchists and Reds have a peculiar smell. "One gets it in the churches that have been occupied by the

THE FIRST CASUALTY WHEN WAR COMES IS TRUTH
Senator Hiram Johnson (1917)

Reds as well as their houses, but in this building it seemed to be concentrated and left me with the impression that I should never be near a real anarchist again without my nostrils warning me of his presence."

One of the great 'symbols' in Spain was Ernest Hemingway, there to report for the North American Newspaper Alliance. "His performance as a war correspondent was abysmally bad," says Knightley. Hemingway was kept informed by that same Koltzov (of Pravda) and assisted in the same gross political betrayal. Only in a private letter to Maxwell Perkins of his publisher, Scribners, did he admit that what he had not written as a correspondent was "that there was a carnival of treachery and rottenness on both sides". His appalling novel For Whom the Bell Tolls (1940- during the Nazi-Soviet pact) admits some of the truth - including a portrait of the paranoid André Marty who, according to Knightley, admitted to 500 executions. Gustav Regler, a political commissar, had told Hemingway of Marty's spy mania but Hemingway never mentioned it, or the executions, in his despatches.

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By 1939 we knew for whom the bell tolled. The editors had officially no compulsory censorship, they merely 'consulted' the censors for 'advice' on what information might

be 'useful to the enemy', which was the broad catch-all. The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act authorised the government to do virtually what it liked to prosecute the war. Everyone, was prohibited from "obtaining, recording, communicating to any other person or publishing information which might be useful to the enemy. One example given by Knightley of the absolute powers of censorship. The navy's was the toughest. In October, 1942 the Queen Mary rammed and sank a light cruiser, drowning 338. This news was not released till May 14, 1945.

Knightley ranges over a wide field of lying, deception, misjudgements and simple mistakes made by war correspondents, on both sides, consciously or unconsciously aiding in the slaughter of truth. The German P.K. (Propaganda Konpanien) under the Ministry of Propaganda was a well-managed agency based upon Goebells' admiration of Britain's 1914-18 propaganda. During the Norwegian campaign (1940) neutral countries, including the U.S., demanded P.K. material since the British and their Allies failed to meet the demand and were highly misleading. The Glasgow Evening News reported the Norwegian campaign as a triumph on May 29, just nine days before all the Allied

THIS, THE GREATEST OF ALL WARS, IS NOT JUST ANOTHER WAR -- IT IS THE LAST WAR.
H. G. Wells (Directorship of propaganda staff 1914-18)

Forces in Norway were evacuated.

The Eastern front following the invasion of Russia by Germany was, says Knightley, "the most poorly reported part of the Second World War". The major stories - of the battles, the panic of the Russian government, the 800,000 Russians who fought for the Germans, the Katyn Forest massacre were, says Knightley, "not written at all or were written as virtual propaganda hand-outs. It was the fate of the Germans to be such liars that the presumably true story of the Russian massacre of Polish officers in the Katyn forest was never (and still is not) believed."

Even when correspondents in the Soviet Union had opinions of their own, they did not get through the censorship. "No individual opinions, no speculations, no predictions were allowed." Such was the rigidity of the Russian press censorship that it was officially believed that if the Russians allowed correspondents to communicate their personal views to their own papers, it would be believed that such views were the opinions of the censors, hence of the Russian government.

Quentin Reynolds went so far as to deny that there were any collaborators with the Germans in Russia. Alexander Werth, writing about the Katyn Forest massacre, said that he stifled his doubts about the Russian case, for "To suggest that the Russian case was as bad as Goebbel's case or even worse was something one couldn't do in wartime. It was imperative not to play into the Germans' hands." True, as Day Lewis said early in the war -- "We, who live by honest dreams defend the bad against the worse."

John Steinbeck, like many others, became involved in the American theatre of war as a correspondent. Later he wrote, "We were all part of the war effort. We went along with it, and not only that we abetted it. Gradually it became part of us that the truth about anything was automatically secret and that to trifle with it was to interfere with the war effort."

Even the news of the American success at Midway was censored and one correspondent who pieced together a story of the battle was investigated for espionage by a grand jury. It later developed that the Americans had cracked the Japanese naval code and suppressed the news of their 'victory' since the Japanese might deduce the reason for the American success, and change their code. (In a similar manner, it has recently been revealed that Britain knew the German code and was aware that Coventry was to be bombed, but

nothing was done about it - such as evacuation of civilians - because the Germans might know we knew!) Such are the complexities of the military mind.

The myth-making went on. Knightley writes on the creation of Orde Wingate as a Lawrence of Arabia figure in the India-Burma campaign.

Bombing raids intensified. The Dam Busters made their way into legend with an ineffective attack on a hydro-electric installation which achieved the flooding of agricultural land and the drowning of several hundred Allied servicemen and Russian prisoners of war.

Of the opprobrious British raid on Dresden (February 13, 1945) correspondents printed the official line that Dresden was an important military target. The neutral countries printed horrifying accounts of the raid (an estimated 60,000 were killed, some consumed in a fire-storm). On February 17th, Allied Supreme Headquarters reported (for U.S. consumption only): "Allied Air Chiefs have made the long-awaited decision to adopt deliberate terror bombings of German population centres as a ruthless expedient of hastening Hitler's doom." In fact this policy had been going on for three years. Three weeks after the event the Manchester Guardian published a modified account of the raid.

After the war, as is usual, the correspondents were seized with feelings of guilt and inadequacy. For example, Charles Lynch, a Canadian attached to Reuters, said to Knightley, "It's humiliating to look back at what we wrote during the war. It was crap -- and I don't exclude the Ernie Pyles or the Alan Moorheads. We were a propaganda arm of our governments. At the start the censors enforced that, but by the end we were our own censors. We were cheerleaders. I suppose there wasn't an alternative at the time. It was total war. But, for God's sake, let's not glorify our role. It wasn't good journalism. It wasn't journalism at all."

There have been many wars since 1945. Some of them were minor affairs -- except to the individuals who died, suffered or were or were tortured by the war.

The usual pattern of suppression of the truth was followed in the minor wars as in the major. One particular instance concerned James Cameron (a real, brilliant correspondent) who went to South Korea for the now defunct Picture Post. Cameron reported the (still continuing) brutality of the South Korean authorities towards political prisoners. To balance the article there was a description of an American P.O.W. being taunted through the streets of Pyong Yang. Edward

EVERY GOVERNMENT IS RUN BY LIARS AND NOTHING THEY SAY SHOULD BE BELIEVED. I. F. Stone.

Hulton, the proprietor of Picture Post (and Lilliput and a score of other journals) said "it was giving aid and comfort to the enemy". It was already on the presses and Hopkinson, Picture Post's editor, was asked to withdraw it, which he refused to do. He was sacked by Hulton. Ultimately the Picture Post empire collapsed and it is conceivable that Hulton's lack of courage contributed.

The wounds of the war in Vietnam are too recent, too raw and too unhealed to make it necessary to survey Knightley's 26-page indictment. Suffice it that the debacle aftermath proved that Pentagon and White House reports which editors preferred to their own Vietnam correspondents' were untrue. As John Shaw of Time said, "For years the press corps in Vietnam was undermined by The White House and the Pentagon. Many American editors ignored what their correspondents in Vietnam were telling them in favour of the Washington version. Yet the Pentagon Papers proved to the hilt that what the correspondents in Saigon had been sending was true."

Martha Gelhorn, who had been a war correspondent in Spain, China and Finland, wrote reports as a free-lance

WELFARE STATE

CUTTING THE WELFARE STATE
-- "Crisis" - C. I. S. - C. D. P. Special
Report

THE TENDENCIES of Governments (of whatever colour) to cut public spending has received a lot of attention from the media. Indeed, we have even joined with the left-wing of institutionalised politics in condemning the tactics of a crisis-ridden State whose only idea as regards resolving their self-imposed troubles seems to be that of attacking those in society who are the weakest. It was with considerable interest, therefore, that we greeted the arrival of this C. I. S. report. The work of C. I. S. in the past has been impressive with their well-prepared reports on the London property market, the City's insurance and pension funds schemers, Rio Tinto Zinc, etc. . . .

There are lots of pictures in this report and they merit examination on their own in order to set the tone of the report. The introductory explanation of "the social wage packet" is adorned with pictures of Harold Wilson, Michael Foot and Barbara Castle. At the beginning of the chapter on the City and the State the photograph shows C. B. I. representatives entering 11 Downing Street with the Tory chancellor Barber. Past further pictures of City buildings, men and Tory ministers, we arrive at a lovely picture of Barber, the Shah and Walker, under which we have an irrelevant photograph of "property for Sale" signs attached to a small insert on the Construction Industry.

In the section dealing with the National Health Service we find lots of small inserts showing insides of empty hospital wards, hospital cupboards,

etc. . . . and one picture of a nurse feeding children, probably taken in the immediate post-war period if not before. A similar type of photograph appears in the section on Education in which a whole row of what look like early 1960s grammar school boys tackling a massive array of milk bottles. Apparently it is all Sir Keith Joseph's fault, who appears on the next page with the caption, "His ideas . . . are now being put into practice." He is confronted with a view of a bored-looking collection of teachers, (supposedly) doing nothing (except yawning perhaps) over the caption, "But teachers protest".

"Highly-emotive" photographs of black kids holding a packet of corn flakes, and other such irrelevancies abound, with the worst example of such propagandist trash being that of a picture of Concorde next to a picture of a toddler holding a placard reading "We demand re-housing".

In despair you start to read the text to see whether the report has any compensatory features. The report contains many inserts on various aspects of the welfare state, some of which contain useful information. The outstanding section is that on the National Health Service which seems to be a thorough indictment of the systematic and hypocritical dismantling of the Health Service, and how at the same time private enterprise benefits from this process.

However, the section on Housing is extremely shoddy and the way in which some of the figures are quoted provides powerful clues as to the ideological inspiration behind the report. "There are currently 170,000 construction workers unemployed, yet 100,000 people are homeless." I would have thought that a

more appropriate comparison would have been the number of empty properties. Figures exist for privately-owned empty properties in London, at least. In any case the number of empty dwellings can always be estimated from the Census statistics. Of course, if you start to mention empty properties you get involved with squatters, and squatters have always met with hostility from the Labour Party and the International Socialists.

Further, the whole philosophy behind this report seems to be that the lack of investment in British industry in the past has caused British Governments to desperately look around for solutions. Reflationary methods have been tried and the result has always been inflation. Hence the solution of cutting down on public spending is now being sought. So far, so good! However, the implication behind the report is that this "attack on the working class" is all the result of some fiendish plot worked out between the Tories and the City Institutions and the Labour Government is a mere slave of these capitalist oppressors.

The report also compares Liverpool's economic plight with the heavy cutting down in public spending as regards hospitals, schools, etc., etc. . . . Have the C. I. S., C. D. P. group never heard of the over-centralisation of economic and social power in London which automatically causes disadvantages to other regions? They also express surprise that Newham "is in the heart of the prosperous South" and yet "over half the workers in the area have been made redundant in the past ten years". Of course, the systematic cuts in public expenditure are to blame for this. Are the authors completely unaware of the long-established economic fact that the "prosperous South" does not include Inner London, especially the East End?

Shoddy presentations of facts and

which exposed the futility and ruthlessness of this 'new kind of war'. She concluded, "We, unintentionally, are killing and wounding three or four times more people than the Viet Cong do, so we are told, on purpose." No. U.S. newspaper would take Martha Gelhorn's services. "Too tough!" The St. Louis Post-Dispatch took two of the mildest. The Guardian (having nothing to lose) published them. Miss Gelhorn was refused a visa to return to Vietnam.

The My Lai story, the most significant of the war, was not revealed by a war correspondent but by a newspaper reporter who followed the lead of an individual discharged soldier who sent out thirty letters to prominent politicians and authorities, suggesting that some action should be taken on the killing at My Lai of between ninety and 130 civilians.

The investigation was sparked off by a Congressman and was given little publicity by the press (one hundred words by the Associated Press). A reporter who had covered the Pentagon 1966-67 and had hated it ("just one lie after another") followed the story up and eventually got 36 out of 50 papers to publish a story. Then the story "appeared to die" and was only revived by a sordid haggle over the pictures of the massacre which the Japanese threatened to pirate and the New York Times printed since they claimed the pictures were U.S. government property! "Suddenly," says Knightley, "nearly every war correspondent who had been in Vietnam had an atrocity story to tell."

Other massacres and 'atrocities' had prior to My Lai appeared in the American monthlies (New Yorker July 1967, Esquire August 1969) but the newspapers had formed the impression that their "public was not ready to listen", says Knightley. More accurately, the newspapers had been so occupied with printing what the public wished to believe that they could not switch their stories for fear of losing circulation and government favour. Once one paper had done it, they could all do it. The supporters of the war in Vietnam now cry 'foul' in that the war suffered from over-exposure on television and the newspapers. When it is realized how slowly the public was allowed to know what their soldiers were doing in Vietnam it was the peace which suffered from under-exposure of the lies, self-deceits and evasions which kept the war going for ten years.

Truth, as cannot be too often repeated, is the first casualty in war. But the second casualty is freedom, for without truth upon which to make decisions there is no freedom. Freedom is the second casualty, when the freedom of the journalist to report the truth is lost or voluntarily surrendered, propaganda has us in its grip and we are conditioned to the stock responses set down by our captors. War is not only an evil in itself but it contains within itself all other evils.

It is the health of the state and war correspondents are its quack physicians.

Jack Robinson,

figures abound in this report and these are tacked onto even shoddier and transparent political arguments. The final chapter, in fact, is nothing more than a summary of the pressures which have led the British Government to take the actions they have so far taken and why they will inevitably carry on doing so, by even greater leaps and bounds (the old favourite -- the exponential curve). They explain these pressures in such a forceful manner that we are led to conclude that the Labour Government is doing the only thing it can do, so much so, that the appeal in the final paragraph to the solidarity and militancy of the working classes seems to be a despairing, irrelevant plea.

Are the Tories the only party to have strong links with big business? If so, the report might seem more credible. Last November James Callaghan was seen going to a Board Meeting of a very large Italian bank - Monte Dei Paschi di Siena. Government Ministers, of course, are not supposed to hold personal business interests.

What, in fact, do the national and international balance of trade figures

mean? To the individual they are a set of irrelevant figures showing the economic condition of an even greater irrelevancy -- the nation State. In a time of "economic crisis" which supposedly affects each and every one of us you never see the rich man getting any thinner and Government ministers usually take on obscene proportions. At the same time, the unemployment queues grow and the measly social benefits become even more insignificant. Not once does the report question the relevancy of the balance of trade figures on which the rationale for the public spending cuts is based.

The "welfare state", it is implied by the report, is an element of some sort of socialist heaven which once existed, and of course, can only be found in a Socialist State, which is why the services are now being cut. The Germans and Italians living under Hitler's and Mussolini's regimes saw for the first time in their lives social security, paid holidays, immunity from unemployment, family allowances, the saving of employment in case of sickness, etc...etc... Of course, these people had to sacrifice all their liberties in order to have these privileges conferred on them. Don't we have a similar, but modified, version of the same situ-

ation nowadays? The bureaucratic attempts to redistribute resources to the needy will always fail unless totally authoritarian rule is imposed in which any inconveniences to the system are totally eliminated.

The alternative is a way of life based on solidarity through direct action and not a nominal solidarity through the bog-paper known as "legislation" or "the appropriate form". This alternative is, again, only possible through direct expropriation of the resources available which will then be put to socially useful purposes.

Finally, not many people know yet who the C.I.S. actually represents. "CIS is financed by sales, subscriptions, donations, and grants." Grants from whom? C.D.P. is "jointly sponsored by the Home Office, and the Local Authorities in each area". Is this the reason for the lack of direct criticism of the present administration? Quite frankly, the CIS reports of the past have always been admirable pieces of research and presentation. However, even 45p would seem to be a waste for this load of shoddy, opportunistic, Labour Party and/or International Socialists propaganda.

Francesco.

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FOR MANY years the works of Wilhelm Reich were almost impossible to obtain in this country; rumours were widespread that either political considerations or publishers' wheeling and dealing over rights, etc., or attempts by members of Reich's family to suppress certain of his works, were responsible for this.

Now however thanks to publishers such as Vision Press and Socialist Reproductions as well as Penguin and Panther, many of his most important works are easily obtainable.

We have currently in stock The Mass Psychology of Fascism (£1. + 19p), possibly Reich's most important work, written just prior to 1933, it is one of the most penetrating and original analyses of Fascism ever written, putting the responsibility for its emergence not with a few egomaniacs but, where it belongs, with us -- as "an expression of the irrational character structure of the average human being".

The Function of the Orgasm (£0.50 + 19p) contains Reich's views on pre-Freudian and post-Freudian psychiatry,

particularly as it applies to sexuality. The themes it contains are extended in The Invasion of Compulsory Sex-Morality (£0.60 + 14p) in which Reich sets out to analyse and explain, from the historical viewpoint, the problems associated with mass human neurosis; arguing that the roots of these lie in sexual suppression and the patriarchal society.

Reich's views on Freud are further illustrated in Reich Speaks of Freud (£0.75 + 16p), most of which is devoted to an interview which took place between Reich and a representative of the Sigmund Freud Archives, recorded in 1952. Various matters taken up during the interview are analysed in greater depth in the second part of the book.

Perhaps the best introduction of all to Reich's work is his Listen, Little Man (£0.50 + 9p), amusingly illustrated with cartoons by William Steig. Written in 1945, it - like the Mass Psychology of Fascism - shows how the ordinary people forge their own chains by their unquestioning acceptance of sexual and social norms, striving to find, all the time, opportunities and excuses for conformity rather than its opposite.

Character Analysis (£3.00 + 42p) grew out of a paper of the same title which Reich published in 1928 on the patient's resistance to psychoanalysis and methods of overcoming this. It finally appeared in book form in German in 1933 and its translation in 1945, by which time it had grown to incorporate an exposition of the biological causes of neurosis and finally to the discovery of the cosmic orgone energy, functioning within the individual as specifically biological energy.

Reich's thesis on the need for sexual

liberation as a prerequisite for social revolution is further explored in his classic The Sexual Revolution (£0.90 + 21p); on this same theme as it specifically affects the young - oppressed, in sexual matters as in others, more heavily than their elders - he wrote The Sexual Struggle of Youth (£0.40 + 14p).

Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis is Reich's reaction not only to Freud, but to Marx and Hegel; an attempt to discover the relevance of psychoanalysis to Marxist economic and social theory (£0.25 + 11p).

A useful collection of Reich's writings is available in Sex-Pol: Essays 1924-1934 (£1.60 + 19p). It includes 'What is Class Consciousness', 'Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis', 'Reforming the Labour Movement', 'The Sexual Problem of Youth', 'Psychoanalysis in the Soviet Union' and 'The Imposition of Sexual Morality'.

The Murder of Christ (£1.95 + 19p) examines the distortions and misuses of religion and specifically the Christian religion and the role of Christianity in sexual, and therefore, social repression. To Reich "God" is, correctly, nature; and Christ is the realisation of Natural Law.

Few works on Reich's work are easily available in this country. Two that are, are Charles Rycroft's book in the Fontana Modern Masters series, Reich (£0.30 + 11p), which concentrates on his ideas rather than on a narrative of his life; and, Wilhelm Reich: A Personal Biography (£2.50 + 29p) by his wife Ilse Ollendorff Reich, which complements it nicely in this respect, whilst in no way neglecting the importance and relevance of his work.

J. H.

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

C.I.R.A., the International Centre for Research on Anarchism (Case 51, CH-1211 Geneva 13, Switzerland) has, in the past, published pamphlets -- a French translation of Nicolas Walter's About Anarchism, French and English editions of Bakunin's The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State and Carlos da Fonseca's pamphlet (in French) on the early Portuguese anarchist movement -- and a small-format book giving the views of people in the movement on the past and present movement in their countries: Société et contre-société chez les anarchistes et les anti-autoritaires.

BAKUNIN

Now, under the imprint Noir, they are about to bring out a 320-page biography of Bakunin: Michel Bakunin, une vie d'homme, to coincide with the centenary of his death. The author is Jeanne-Marie. No surname is given, but we are informed that she is the daughter of a mother who has lived in Russia and is related to a family of French political refugees. Her book is described as "a vast work in which the intimate life and the social life of Bakunin are never separated".

It is to be hoped that biography will show a marked superiority to both of the two British efforts of 1975 -- Anthony Masters' new "popularisation", and the reprint, without new information, of E. H. Carr's snide anti-hagiography (at a monstrous £9).

RICARDO FLORES MAGON

C.I.R.A. also publish a bulletin twice a year, listing the new acquisitions in their library, and printing articles -- usually reviews of books about anarchism, or bibliographical surveys.

THIS PAMPHLET* sets out the twists and turns of policy and attitudes of the British Communist Party in its first years following its formation in 1920-21. The authors argue that the only alternative to this formation was the "fragmentation and complete ineffectiveness of the revolutionary left". Such conclusions spring from the marxist pursuit of unity. But in the preceding war years workers had created their own organisations and had brought this country close to a revolutionary situation. That was achieved without the Communist Party. It is true that political parties and groupings did play a part but it was a unity of purpose and not the narrow and excluding limits of a party line, which shook the ruling class.

It is probably true that once the First

*TRADE UNIONS AND REVOLUTION: The Industrial Politics of the Early British Communist Party, by James Hinton and Richard Hyman. Pluto Press, 90p.

The latest one, for instance, (no. 30) contains an article about the Bancroft L. Library which is on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, and is a rich source of documentary material on the history of Mexico. Its main interest for anarchists is its holdings of the papers of Silvestre Terrazas, a politician and journalist who was intimately involved in the whole period of the Mexican Revolution. 465 items in the collection concern Ricardo Flores Magón and his brothers, and the anarchist paper, Regeneración which he edited.

The collection has apparently been well-used by American researchers for theses and books (a list is given), but hardly at all by Mexicans. Perhaps the article will stimulate Mexican anarchists to undertake further research.

MUJERES LIBRES

Mexico was one of the major havens for Spanish anarchists in exile from the Franco régime, so it's no surprise that from there should come a book of biographies of women prominent in the social struggle and the anarchist movement in Spain before and during the Civil War. The book is La Mujer en la Lucha Social by Lola Iturbide, published by Editores Mexicanes Unidos.

But more surprising is the fact that it should be a Spanish publisher (Editorial Tusquets in Barcelona) which has published a 236-page compilation of extracts from Mujeres Libres (edited, with an introduction by Mary Nash) the anarchist and feminist review of the Spanish Libertarian women's association, Mujeres Libres, during the Civil War. Mujeres Libres en Exilio still continues, but this selection is from the

period 1936-9, when the journal was published in editions of 60,000 and the association had 20,000 members. There were no stars among the producers of the magazine, it was the reflection of a movement.

These two books should be added to the bibliography in Liz Willis's Solidarity Pamphlet Women in the Spanish Revolution. Although Solidarity spurn the label "anarchist", their latest pamphlet is a reprint of Murray Bookchin's Spontaneity and Organization, first published in the USA in 1972. The latest Solidarity magazine is a dossier on Portugal, consisting of translations of manifestoes and editorials, a reply to I.S., and Maurice Brinton's Portuguese Diary.

All written before November 25th, but there's an air of gloom about. The new issue of La Lanterne Noire (no. 4 December 1975) has a good analysis of the recent events in Portugal: "Portugal sur la défensive", and they've even managed to get in a post-script on the aborted coup. One of the most comprehensible analyses I've yet read.

A large part of the magazine is devoted to translations from John Olday's International Archive Team magazine Mit-teilung on repression in West Germany, and Japan. There does seem to be a little pandering to the more "spectacular" side of the revolutionary movement in Germany. There are other articles on the creation of a proletariat in Africa, and on the contradictory attitudes towards the use of "popular" tribunals amongst the French Left. All in all a good finish to the first year of La Lanterne Noire.

D. L. M.

BOOK REVIEW

OUT OF POWER

World War was over the chances of revolutionary change receded. The post war slump hit the industries where workers were well organised. Militants were sacked and others had already been drafted into the forces. It is true that the Russian revolution was an inspiration but the propaganda put out by the newly formed C.P. did not reflect the social upheaval that had taken place in Russia. Its policies were dictated by the Comintern: industrial cells, gaining positions in the trade unions and supporting the 'left' officials. As the pamphlet says, the C.P. had no analysis of the current economic and political situation and no programme to combat the oppression and the 'betray-

als of the 1926 General Strike and its aftermath. It was a party which only reacted to situations, which supported and have power to the very leaders who in the end went along with the 'right wing' of the trade unions. This led to the collapse of a movement and disillusionment of the working class.

Anarchists have always showed in their propaganda the role, not only of the C.P. but of all political parties, that they are only interested in capturing power. Any social upheaval which ensues is subordinated to that end, all aspirations for freedom and control over our own lives are used merely as slogans in order to gain power. That was true with Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917 as it is true with the slogan-shouting and reformist propaganda of the International Socialists of which the pamphlet's authors are members.

P. T.

THE THIRD PART OF V.R.'s REPLY TO SAM DOLGOFF IS HELD OVER TO OUR NEXT ISSUE.