

Zero

Labour government moves to close radical magazines

In a bizarre sequel to the Agee and Hosenball deportations, and the charges under the Official Secrets Act against two journalists, Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell, and former soldier John Berry, two independent left magazines are threatened with closure through the actions of the Labour Government.

The two papers, *The Leveller* and *Peace News* face contempt of court proceedings because they printed the name of Colonel Hugh A Johnstone, the former head of the Army's section of the British Signals Intelligence ('SIGINT') effort. Johnstone gave evidence against Aubrey, Berry and Campbell when their preliminary hearing took place at Tottenham magistrates' Court, in North London, last November. Magistrates allowed him to give evidence anonymously, under the name of 'Colonel B'. But they made no direct order that his name should not be published.

In court, questions by the defence lawyers elicited the name of his former unit—Army General Staff, DI 24, the date of his transfer, and the fact that this information had been published. The Clerk of the Court helped along by asking when and where the details had been in print, and Col. Johnstone replied that it had been the December 1974 issue of *Wire*—the magazine of the Royal Signals Association. This

organisation is the old soldiers' club of the Royal Corps of Signals, whose soldiers provide the Army's contribution to SIGINT.

Anyone concerned could have looked up his name, and *The Leveller* and *Peace News* did so. Both published the name in January this year, and shortly afterwards were visited by Special Branch (political police) officers. Calls were also paid to various individuals connected with the magazines, and all were warned that the Labour Government's Attorney General, Sam Silkin, was considering prosecution. At the end of March, Silkin went to the High Court and took out orders asking that the two magazines, and five individuals connected with each, should be tried for contempt. Provisional date for the opening of proceedings is May 22. The Government is known to be anxious to have the *Leveller* and *Peace News* case out of the way before the full trial of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell takes place in September.

Members of the collectives which produce both magazines believe that the prosecutions cannot be seen as a warning, as an attempt to alter their politics, or as a token gesture. If the fines and court costs are comparable to those in previous cases, it is an attempt to close the magazines down. Prison sentences are unlikely because

they create martyrs. But five years ago, in the left wing weekly *Socialist Worker*, Paul Foot named a witness in a blackmail case whom the Judge had allowed to remain anonymous.

This case was similar in that the Judge gave no order that the man concerned should not be identified: he merely asked for the co-operation of the press. It was as an attack on the spineless complicity of the press that Foot identified the person in question. To deal with him, the Judges concerned made up the law as they desired it to be. Or, as they put it, they decided that the case had 'illuminated a hitherto obscure corner of the law on contempt'. If the Judges in the *Leveller/Peace News* case do the same, a guilty verdict seems only too likely. Foot and *Socialist Worker* were fined £250 each, but court costs were £6,000. Comparable costs today would probably finish off both magazines, a fact which the Government is well aware of.

The non-violent anarchist magazine *Peace News* has the largest circulation of all anarchist papers. It played an important role during the years of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Committee of 100 in the 50's and 60's. In the 70's it has focussed on sexual politics and alternative ways of living, while maintaining its opposition to the military and all preparations for

war, including the role played by British troops in Northern Ireland.

The Leveller is just over two years old. Subtitled 'The new radical examiner', it has done such inconvenient things as naming police officers accused of torturing prisoners, also in Northern Ireland.

The apparent wish of the Government to see both magazines close down provides another piece of evidence of the paranoia surrounding SIGINT. Such technically gathered information now accounts for probably more than 95 per cent of the intelligence available to Western governments from their secret agencies. It comes from spy satellites, huge ground aerals, spy planes, and even spy ships.

As well as listening to the messages of the "other side's" armed forces, SIGINT intercepts diplomatic, business and military communications, including those of neutral and friendly nations. Business information finds its way to the multinationals, particularly the US multinationals. So SIGINT is a very expensive market research tool, amongst other things.

The predominance of SIGINT means that GCHQ itself has acquired tremendous prestige within the intelligence community and inside Government. Some observers believe that it has even begun to outrank the political prestige of MI6, the foreign intelligence service, and MI5, the domestic secret police; others are not prepared to write off the more traditional spooks.

Sir Leonard Hooper, Director of GCHQ for more than 20 years, is now the Cabinet Office's Co-ordinator of Security and Intelligence. On policy questions—as opposed to the day-to-day operations of the secret agencies, Hooper has more control of intelligence than anyone else in the land.

Yet little reference was made anywhere to SIGINT, and the vast sums spent on it, until Duncan Campbell and Mark Hosenball wrote an article, 'The Eavesdroppers', for *Time Out* magazine in 1976. The article was widely believed to have contributed to Hosenball's deportation; at Hosenball's hearing, Campbell admitted having written most of it, and from public sources.

During the course of the Campaign against the deportations, a former Royal Signals Corporal, John Berry, approached the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee. He said at ABC preliminary hearing that he had done so because the people of this country were unaware of the extent to which legal, commercial and political activity in this country was monitored by GCHQ, unaware of the amount of money spent on SIGINT, and unaware of the domination of the field by the United States.

As a result of the permanent surveillance of the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee by MI5, a meeting arranged between Berry and Campbell, and *Time Out's* Crispin Aubrey was monitored by the Special Branch. The three were arrested, and face charges under the Official Secrets Act.

At their preliminary hearing, the
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Duncan Campbell (right) conspiring on stage with *The Yachts'* lead singer Henry Priestman (centre), during official secret revelry at the close of April 2's ABC Defence benefit at Dingwalls, North London. Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell, charged with "communicating and receiving information covered by the Official Secrets Act", are due to stand trial at the Old Bailey on September 5. Each faces 14 years imprisonment. The benefit, which also featured Swift, raised some £600 towards defence costs for what promises to be a three month court case, but still more is needed. The ABC Defence Committee is intent on staging further risks to British security in the meantime. Next planned piece of diversionary action is a mass 'picketnic' outside the General Communications HQ in Cheltenham, Gloucester, sometime over the May 27-29 holiday. Since the activity has been designed to save the intelligence community from an otherwise boring Whit weekend, you should not miss it. Ring 01-278 2377 for finalised details and last seen well before that time in a restaurant in Rome, chatting about his plans to make a film, and quite unconcerned about the Dutch authorities.

LETTERS

Letters marked* have been cut for reasons of space.



Dear Zero

We are three women, calling ourselves an Auckland anarcho-feminist huddle. We've been going since early this year and have put out a paper on anarcho-feminism, which we were asked to write for the national feminist congress. We're compiling (and printing) a women's poetry book *Selene* and a leaflet on self help. We think your paper's shit hot. love

Chris, Anne, Kay
Auckland, New Zealand



Dear Zero people

Sorry the Essex conference turned out to be a sexist jamboree—it was never meant to turn out that way by the "hidden" workshop of Essex Libertarians who organised it.

Months prior to the affair, we decided that the structure of the gathering should be determined by *all* those coming, rather than the sponsoring few. Both our advance publicity and the mode of advance organising attempted to avoid the debacle of the Friday night planning meeting.

Since arranging food things proscribed me from attending workshops, I can't comment on what transpired in them. But the pre-Conference "hidden" workshop went to great efforts to arrange things in a non-sexist/authoritarian manner. Pre-Conference publicity, room bookings, accommodation, food and transport were arranged by individual members without interference from their fellows, though, where necessary, with group support (eg, advance mailing and typing). Though we discussed what we we'd like to see happen we did not wish it to impose happenings on one another or those attending—which is possibly why although the organisational aspect worked well, whereas content-wise, discussions were unsatisfactory.

It's clear that no agenda and small group gatherings instead of suggested topics and workshops may have been better. The ego-tripping and defensiveness which prevailed in the large meetings could have been lessened by such devices. Lack of previous experience in organising Conferences by the Essex group has been remedied by our involvement with this gathering, as has awareness of the inadequacy of the Conference's critique of sexism.

In future I'd suggest that sponsoring groups get those interested in attending Anarc/Conferences to contribute in advance suggestions regarding topics of possible mutual interest for general circulation. This would pre-empt the arrangers from imposing a structure (even by default), and involve more people in directly and personally considering sexism (for example), before the gathering occurs. In spite of the advance publicity about the Essex Conference afforded by Zero and other libertarian publications, many of those who attended the meeting had clearly not been prepared to talk about the issues that arose until they were mooted by the collective discussions.

guff
Essex University, Colchester.



Dear Zero

We are writing to explain why so many of us have just resigned from the Anarchist Communist Association.

This is not because we feel that we're particularly important but because we know that some comrades may use our resignation as yet another example of

how the kind of organisation we were trying will not work.

To begin with, we didn't set up the ACA on the basis of common political agreement — we were all people who had either been expelled or had resigned from the AWA. Although we subsequently agreed on a statement of aims and principles, the longer we worked the more it became apparent that we didn't in fact have the same view of the organisation or the same priorities for political activity.

Despite paying lip-service to the personal as political and the importance of the struggle against patriarchy, we felt that these things in particular were never taken up seriously by the organisation as a whole.

We finally decided that our leaving would make it easier for all of us — including those still in the ACA — to get on with what we thought was important.

We have not yet rejected the idea of an anarchist organisation. But we'll certainly spend time learning from our experience of the ACA before involving ourselves in another one.

Alan, Anne, Babs, John, Lin, Steve B, Tom, Will.
London



Dear Comrades*

Zero's article *Sexism sabotages Essex conference* gave a very misleading idea of the anti-authoritarian

press workshop on the Saturday by the general implication that anyone who didn't agree 100% with anarcho-feminist views was a saboteur.

Anarcho-feminists insisted that patriarchy was the sole root of all authoritarianism and the only target to attack, for all other forms of authority and exploitation would collapse once this was conquered. The other view in the discussion was basically that patriarchy and politico-economic authority were joint evils which had to be attacked simultaneously i.e. both had to be destroyed because the fall of the one did not automatically signify the immediate fall of the other.

We feel that the struggle should be a liberation from sexual roles and stereotypes because it is not just a war across the sex boundary. To succeed it must have the support of men who are sympathetic for only with their involvement will they face up to their own self-plausible hypocrisy. But to say that every man is an exploiter is almost like saying that everyone who lives in a capitalist society is a capitalist.

We therefore feel that it would be a tragedy for the anarchist movement as a whole if an unnatural rift developed between anarcho-feminism and 'traditional' anarchism. And while feeling that the 'patriarchy is the sole oppressor' idea would entail an almost total concentration on feminism in all anarchist publications (though Zero itself has an excellent balance), we fully accept the criticism levelled at anarchist publications that not enough prominence is given to the feminist movement.

Let us make sure that something concrete comes as a result of the conference that was so well organised at Essex. The anarcho-feminists must examine the best way to help us face up to our lingering sexism through articles and constructive criticism, and we must not only examine our own complacency, but also make very active efforts in our publications which has been the case up to now. It is a very dangerous situation, though, if any group starts claiming the total monopoly on truth, and villifying those who do not accept their point of view

unquestioningly.

Anthony Beevor
London SW6

Dave Poole
London W3

Ame (Zero collective) replies:

I disagree that the struggle for liberation is simply one of being liberated from constraining sex roles. Our struggle against oppression is a struggle against patriarchy, of which sexism is a manifestation.

I see patriarchy as the institutionalised system of domination by men over women. The nuts and bolts of this system are the oppressions based on class, race, sex, age. Patriarchy oppresses us politically, psychologically, economically, emotionally and socially. It is older than capitalism and survives socialism. It is the basis and model for all domination and authority, and cuts across class, caste, race and time.

History demonstrates that the fall of the 'politico-economic authority' is not immediately followed by the fall of 'sex-roles and stereotypes', let alone patriarchy. If one was to use the "domino" theory, patriarchy would be the table upon which the dominoes of oppression stand. It is the table that needs destroying.

As for sympathetic men—who defines a sympathetic man? Surely, as the oppressed it is up to women to define who they wish to work with. Patriarchy was consciously developed by men and is continually upheld by them whether consciously or unconsciously. Because men are at the top of this power structure they can have no real understanding of the extent and nature of women's oppression. They *can* sympathise but sympathy is *not* enough. Freedom cannot be given, it must be taken. For men to change they must relinquish their privileges and power. It is not up to women to take on the burden and responsibility of trying to change men. Men must want to change for themselves. Men could begin by examining their own 'masculinity' and competitive tendencies and by asking why they feel so threatened by exclusion by women. For men to constantly look to women for help and direction merely reinforces our servicing role.

The criticism of the anarchist press is not one of only the lack of coverage of women's issues but of the whole male left attitude that divides issues into 'main' (i.e. male) issues and women's issues. Are men not involved in child care, contraception and sexuality? The male left *still* sees the liberation of women as secondary to the 'main' revolution.



Dear Zero Collective*

Your first few issues reflected the demands of the collective to move beyond the approach of traditional anarchist papers, concentrating on issues which affect our daily lives, instead of harping on about the 'glorious past'. In issue 5 the paper has lost its revolutionary anarchist perspective and is virtually indistinguishable from any other liberal monthly, basically this issue appears to us as irrelevant.

Firstly, your coverage of the *Evening News* occupation falls into the trap of opportunism. By giving it front page coverage you make it seem like the most important thing happening. There is no attack on the press concerning its *daily* filthy tactics, but an apparent expectation of the press to reform. For anarchists to support such legalistic demands with the coverage you gave it is wrong — the revolutionary perspective is missing.

Your two page article on Gay Men's Week suggested that all gay people are revolutionary by exaggerating its

importance. Being gay is not in itself revolutionary and therefore the account is pointless, offering no criticism and no achievement, which invalidates the heading *Queers in Revolt*.

As far as the item headed *Gays set precedent in elisting non gay support* goes, we suggest that all anarchist groups affiliate to the Young Liberals.

Anarchists should speak to their shop stewards and MPs demanding that something be done. We suggest the following resolution: "We the anarchist movement deplore the use of law and authority to erode our freedom as evidenced by the rule of a privileged minority over the majority. We call for a repeal of law and authority and urge everybody to support the forthcoming international revolution".

Your report on the Essex conference was misleading in that it suggested that sexism was the only topic. If that was so, and if the forthcoming conference is about sexism, you have not criticised that fact.

Black Aid People
London WC2

Tom Woodhouse (Zero collective) replies:

There is no suggestion in the front page article of trying to reform Fleet Street. The article is about direct action and the attempts of the women involved to organise that action in a non-hierarchical way. It's all right in retrospect to debate revolutionary perspective (perspective does, after all, require distance). Your attitude is like asking someone who is being kicked in the head to debate the nature of violence, rather than let them just go right ahead and kick back. A group of feminists and lesbians invading Fleet Street is revolutionary action, and that's enough to get on with.

The article on Gay Men's Week does not suggest that all gay people are revolutionary, a noticeable lack. 'Coming out' is revolutionary. If you want to experiment I can lend you some gay badges to wear, and then you can tell me about the revolutionary potential of homosexuality. If we get up 'their' noses (and yours) that much, they/you must be pretty frightened; that is our power.

In your criticism of the *Gays Set Precedent* item, you suggest that anarchist groups affiliate to the Young Liberals. I'm not quite sure why you want this, but I'm sure you have your reasons. Until recently the Gay Movement was completely autonomous; enlisting non-gay support is a new decision, and letters like yours make me think that it was the wrong decision. As to your resolution, I completely agree with the words but feel that when you say "We, the Anarchist Movement", you mean 'We, privileged male heterosexual anarchists demand on behalf of our unfortunate brothers and sisters'; the women's and gay movements feeling is confirmed by the fact that every major article from the autonomous gay and women's movements generates the same hysterical replies from traditional anarchists (mostly male and straight), month after month. The whole point in *Zero*, in case you hadn't noticed, is that women and gays have demands too, that we make for ourselves as anarchists, feminists and gays.

Sexism was not the only 'topic' at the Essex conference, it was the major oppression. From the straight men who looked appalled when I asked them if they wanted to go to a gay workshop (what, me a queer!), to the same men who were too busy preparing for the forthcoming glorious revolution to see that without anarchist feminism it will be just another patriarchal rebellion which I, for one, want no part in.

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State produced Col. Johnstone as their 'expert witness' to testify that what the three had discussed was of the greatest threat to civilisation as he knew it. Although the magistrate then asked those in court to whom his real name had been given—mainly lawyers—not to reveal it, it was too late. The facts which directly identified him were public knowledge.

Embarrassed by the *Peace News/Leveller* publication, the government proceeded to give the stable door a resounding slam as the horse galloped at high speed down the road. If the potential consequences for the two magazines were not so serious, the affair would be laughable.

The paranoia with which SIGINT personnel view public discussions of their activities comes over clearly from Col. Johnstone's remarks during the preliminary hearing. 'I do not think that there should be a discussion about SIGINT, including the amount of money spent in respect of it, outside the community to which I have referred' (those security cleared to operate SIGINT). 'Until this case, the general public, as far as I am aware, has been unaware of UK SIGINT activities. As a result of these proceedings, the fact that SIGINT exists is no longer secret...'

So in a nutshell, informed comment is banned because all the necessary

information has to stay secret. Other comment can be ignored because it is uninformed. It goes without saying that members of Parliament are also not allowed to ask questions of ministers about SIGINT, or indeed any intelligence activities. Rarely has the hermetically sealed world of the security services been better summed up.

The Leveller and *Peace News* printed Col. Johnstone's name because they felt that the absurd hysteria which the 'secret witness' had helped to whip up around the Aubrey-Berry-Campbell trial was effectively an attempt to prejudice their main trial in September this year, and they wanted to counter this.

As far as is possible in the proceedings against *Peace News* and *The Leveller*, the issues raised by GCHQ, SIGINT, and the absurd cover-up will be raised. That the State is prepared to go as far as closing down two magazines is a warning about the extent to which the secret state will go to protect itself □ **Richard Hannay**

A joint defence fund has been set up, to collect money to help pay fines and legal costs—this fund needs several thousand pounds within the next few weeks. Donations can be sent to: Peace News/Leveller Defence Fund, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1. See latest issues of Peace News and Leveller for complete list of defence groups, which have been set up across the country.

Spain

Woman organise against rape



Madrid: Women take to the streets against rape. In a recent case a woman who had been kidnapped and raped by three men received no response from Madrid police. She received no response when she phoned the police to say that she had seen her assailants again, or when she later found out the licence no. of their car. Only when the Madrid newspaper *Diario 16* took up her case did police arrest a suspect.

Several thousand women marched through the streets of Seville and Cadiz in February, in angry protest against the increasing number of violent attacks on women. In Galicia women demonstrated against a government proposed divorce bill, calling instead for unrestricted rights to divorce within the framework of a democratic constitution.

Sparking the campaign in Andalusia were the death of a young student and the hospitalization of several women after rape attacks. The walls of both southern cities are covered with anti-rape slogans, and women's groups are demanding more street lighting, better public transportation and the formation of rape-investigation commissions.

Andalusia has traditionally been one of the most socially backwards regions for women in Spain, and the fact that the Women's Liberation Movement can organise a demonstration of thousands there, is a sign of its growing strength and confidence □ **Iberian News Service**

London

Thought police phone lines rumbled

Recent publicity about the activities of Britain's security agencies, MI5 (the service responsible for internal security and counter-subversion) and MI6 (the Secret Intelligence Service, which looks after intelligence gathering overseas) has not mentioned how closely these agencies work together inside the UK.

In fact MI5 and MI6 run a Joint Section at a separate address from their own headquarters at Curzon Street House in Mayfair (MI5) and Century House in Southwark (MI6). This Joint Section operates at 140 Gower Street, WC1, next to Euston Square Underground station. Outside, the Government offices are listed as being various departments of the Inland Revenue, the Lord Chancellor's Office, the DHSS and the Civil Service Council for Further Education. Unlisted, but

also present, is the MI5/MI6 Joint Section.

The exact functions of this Joint Section are not yet ascertained. But the fact that it exists separately from the headquarters of its parents and is under deeper cover indicates that it might be where some of the state's "dirty tricks" are devised. There is an obvious intention to keep the public's attention firmly fixed on the more obvious "secret" landmarks of London, such as Century House, while hiding such outposts as 140 Gower Street.

Personnel from one of the security agencies are frequently attached to the other. The Joint Section is further indication of how closely our spies abroad work with our spies at home.

MI5, the internal service, has only recently moved into its offices in



MI5/6 Joint section: 140 Gower Street WC1

Curzon Street House. Leconfield House, at the other end of Curzon Street, was for many years the MI5 headquarters, and is still used by them. Curzon Street House has two main telephone lines, 01-491 4488 and 01-930 6789.

MI6 is meant to operate outside Britain and its former colonies. However, in addition to its Head Office at Century House, it has a "British Station" in London, 60 Vauxhall Bridge Road, a building described variously as being offices of the Department of the Environment or of the Foreign Office. Here COMINT operations are carried out. COMINT stands for Communications Intercept: interceptions of nearly all telephone lines into the London embassies of other countries are made by the Post Office, and the tapes are brought to Vauxhall Bridge Road for transcription. The Vauxhall Bridge Road building shares the same telephone number, 01-928 5600, as Century House, as does MI6's training department, 296-302 Borough High Street, SE1 □ **CaRSI**

London

Fines and remand for Stammheim protest

Eight people appeared at Horseferry Road court from March 21-23, to face charges arising out of the Black Aid demonstration held in London on December 10. The charges ranged from obstructing the highway and the police, to assaulting the police. All eight comrades had pleaded not guilty at a previous hearing.

The first two days of the trial were taken up by the 14 police witnesses (as truthful and upstanding collection of people as you could wish to meet), giving their evidence. As the arrested put forward a collective defence, each police witness was cross examined eight times, giving them ample opportunity to contradict themselves and each other. Undisputed star of the show was one Sgt. Morgans, who seemed at times to be having as much trouble keeping a straight face as the rest of us.

Morgans claimed that while arresting someone for refusing to take down a flag, he also arrested another person who tried to get the first person free from his grip. While still holding on to

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Illustration: Mike Bradshaw

Some of the 2-3000 women at the eighth National Women's Liberation conference, held in Birmingham the weekend of April 7/9. On the Saturday we divided into small groups of between 20-30 women, where we discussed three main areas—how as women do we oppress each other? existing campaigns, their effectiveness and alternatives; and how do we come together in terms of our organisation? From 4-6pm there was space for topic workshops (during which time nearly 200 women got together to talk about anarcho-feminism). The Saturday night social was enjoyable— theatre, folk music or dancing to women's bands. Most of Sunday was taken up by the mass plenary session, the discussion of the seventh demand monopolising most of this time—finally being passed in the following form: "We demand the freedom for all women from intimidation, to live free from the threat or use of violence or sexual coercion regardless of marital status and an end to all rules, assumptions and institutions which perpetuate male domination and men's aggression with women." which excluded its original opening statement: "Male violence is an expression of male supremacy and the political control of women." The sixth demand became: "An end to all discrimination of Lesbians." and its other half became part of the general introduction to the (now) seven demands: "The Women's Liberation Movement asserts the right of Women to self-defined sexuality."

Each year women have expressed a general dissatisfaction with national conferences. As the movement has grown, so has the problem of organising such events. The Saturday workshops this year

were an attempt to get over the feeling of alienation that is felt amongst such huge numbers—the idea being that over Saturday you would at least get to know your small group well. The disadvantage with this structure was that it limited the time available for topic workshops, and some women felt frustrated because a national conference is a good place for campaigns/activities to coordinate, and there was not adequate space. Similarly, many women were frustrated by Sunday's plenary. It is important that as feminists we find new, effective ways of decision making and coordinating and this was mainly what we discussed in the anarcho-feminist workshop. Many of us felt oppressed, silenced and deflated by plenaries; seeing them as pointless imitations of male left voting systems in which passing resolutions (demands) is a façade—how can we 'demand' an end to violence against women? That would involve destroying patriarchy. Furthermore, plenaries allow for any one group to dominate—often in a destructive way—this year was no exception.

Most women seemed to feel that what is really positive about a national conference is seeing, meeting and inspiring each other, and having a good time. To be amongst so many feminists gives an amazing feeling of solidarity, which perhaps a festival would be a more enjoyable and constructive way of expressing; and Birmingham certainly generated a discussion about alternative ways of organising on a national level in the future (Sharon)



Angela Phillips (IFL)

the two arrested comrades, this fearless defender of law and order was then jumped on by 'at least' three other demonstrators, and knocked to the ground. Undeterred he struggled to his feet and took the two arrested to the police bus.

The whole three days was taken up with similar farcical episodes. The end result of it all was that the police were unable to bring even the flimsiest of a case against two comrades, who were both acquitted. Five others were fined £35 each including costs. More worrying though was the imprisonment

of Gerhard Sollinger, the person charged with assault. The exact sentence will be fixed at a later date.

After the trial Gerhard was taken to Pentonville prison for one week, during which time he was beaten up and placed in solitary. When he appeared before the judge in chambers Gerhard was surprisingly given bail, and is now waiting to hear his sentence, which is due on April 13.

Help towards paying the fines is urgently needed. Please send any contributions to: Black Aid, c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

National

Nuclear front

In the wake of Justice Parker's decision in favour of British Nuclear Fuels, *Friends of the Earth* are mobilising the anti-nuclear forces for what seems likely to be one of the most important confrontations of '78 between protest and state. Already in France, W. Germany and Belgium (see *Zero 3*) anti-nuclear protestors have clashed violently with police and army. The EEC are determined to protect themselves against the possibility of another Arab oil embargo and against the coming world shortage of fossil fuels. The decision to reprocess oxide fuels at Windscale in Cumbria (for use in Fast Breeder Reactors) is central not only to British desire to launch the first commercial Fast Reactor but also to the general European nuclear expansion. What they tend to gloss over in the process is that Windscale will become a centre of production for plutonium, one of the most dangerous and longest living substances we have ever produced (also a key ingredient in nuclear weaponry).

The Windscale rally will be held on April 29, assemble Speaker's Corner at noon for march and rally at Trafalgar Sq. A group of people who will have cycled from Windscale will centre on

Trafalgar Sq. in time for the rally, they're hoping that as many people as possible will join them as they come through London.

On May 6 and 7 there will be a march and rally to protest against the proposed expansion of nuclear power at Torness (about thirty miles from Edinburgh). This protest is planned to include theatre, games, films, alternative energy display, food, and workshops. The Green Peace trawler 'Rainbow Warrior' will send ashore a windmill to be erected on the Torness site. It's important that as many people as possible get to Torness. It's not just a Scottish issue, Torness will be the first new nuclear reactor in Britain in ten years. Anyway it's about time that English imperialists stopped using Scotland for nuclear experiments, like the proposal of the UK Atomic Energy Authority to carry out test drilling for waste disposal at Loch Doon in Ayrshire, which involves filling most of a mountain with nuclear waste. ☐ Tom Woodhouse

Details of the Anti Nuclear Campaign from: Friends of the Earth, 9 Poland St, London W1. SCRAM (Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace), 2 Ainslie Place, Edinburgh.

London

Finsbury Park — reclaiming more night

The campaign to reclaim the night is part of the general fight against male violence and power. As women we are organising rape action groups, rape crisis centres, women's aid (refuges), to combat male violence to women. The reclaiming the night campaign demands that we—as women—be free to walk down the streets at night without hassle and fear (plus of course the reality of rape and assault). At present men (on average) experience greater freedom of movement, women are expected to have a male escort late at night, or to stay in.

Finsbury Park was chosen as it is an area of great hassle for women late at night. There was controversy over this as some women felt that in a multi cultural area—a predominantly white march would have racist implications. However, as Haringey women's group

(the organisers) pointed out, men hassle women regardless of class or race and this was the issue. Furthermore they elicited support from black groups in the area, as well as leafletting the whole area on the morning of the march explaining clearly the reasons for the demonstration.

March 11, women assembled at 10pm. Around a hundred women, some with flaming torches, others in fancy dress, singing and chanting through the formerly dim, awesome streets. For once we felt in control of the streets. Some women started burning a sexist hoarding, others defiantly stopped traffic. It was a feeling of women's power. The police turned up, were obviously at a loss with the sight of so many women surging past them. Despite the ban on marches in the London area they disappeared. ☐ Sharon

Spain

Prison boss assassinated

The funeral of 25 year old CNT militant Agustin Rueda took place on March 18th, following his murder by prison guards in Madrid's notorious Carabanchel prison on March 13.

The governor of Carabanchel and his two deputies have since been dismissed, and ten warders are being held in custody awaiting trial. An official statement gave the cause of Rueda's death as "a result of physical violence administered by officials of the prison while carrying out an investigation in relation to the discovery of a tunnel".

Before his murder Rueda had smuggled out a letter from Gerona prison (prior to his transfer to Carabanchel), condemning the

conditions inside Spain's prisons, the lack of medical facilities and adequate food, and the brutality of the warders. The funeral took place in Sallents. A general strike was called for in the area, and 3,000 people took part in the funeral procession. A few days later the head of the Spanish prison service, Jesus Haddad, was shot dead by three armed men while on his way to work. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the AntiFascist Resistance Groups of the 1st October (GRAPO), the military wing of the Reconstituted Spanish Communist Party. It is known that GRAPO has been infiltrated by agents provocateurs in the past, and the group arouses much suspicion amongst the Spanish left. ☐ INS

National

Defence Committee becomes Activist Alliance

On Feb 25 the *Gay News Defence Committee* changed its title to the *Gay Activist Alliance* (GAA for short). Since the demise of GLF and the continuing failure of CHE to become an active political group, there has been a need within the Gay Movement for a national activist/co-ordinating body. It is hoped that the GAA will fulfil that role. In their policy statement they say "The aim of the group is to co-ordinate at

national level the fight against the increasing attacks being made on homosexuality and homosexuals. We see our struggle as part of that of all other oppressed people and therefore we seek to win the active participation of the maximum number of gay and non-gay individuals and organisations in this aim."

A lot of the strength and enthusiasm for the GAA comes in the afterglow of

the success of the Gay News Defence Committee

A lot of the strength and enthusiasm for the GAA comes in the afterglow of the success of the Gay News Defence Committee. Their demonstration on Feb 11 was the biggest ever show of gay power in this country. With these origins it is not surprising that the GAA have adopted a policy of single issue politics. They are concentrating their campaign at the moment on W H Smith (W H Smith's have refused to stock *Gay News*). A picket, attended by up to forty people, was held outside W H Smith's Notting Hill branch on Mar 18. It was relatively successful despite lack of numbers. During a confrontation with a woman who was abusing people on the picket one man was arrested when he told her to fuck off (indecent language). He was then used as a

bargaining piece by the police to try and stop the picket, unsuccessfully, I'm glad to say.

GAA has its flaws. We may find that the Gay Movement has neither the energy nor the numbers to sustain campaigns such as the Gay News Defence Committee and single issue politics can tend to highlight some aspects of oppression to the detriment of the whole, eg. the damage to feminism done by the concentration on the demand for the vote. Also, the continued association of the GAA with *Gay News* (sexist rag for gay men) can do nothing but alienate the Alliance from lesbians and the Women's Movement.

The address of the Gay Activist Alliance is: GAA/Lamda, Box 449, Ship Street, Brighton BN1 1UU.
☐ Tom Woodhouse

London

Theatre group splits over play on rape

David Widgery's recent claim that the Socialist Workers Party has undergone a 'sea of change' on sexual politics (*Socialist Challenge* 35) is hardly borne out by events in the theatre group CounterAct from which four people resigned in January, to form Scarlet Women Theatre Group.

CounterAct was founded around 1975 as a non-aligned revolutionary socialist theatre company, and until January this year, consisted of three groups working independently on separate plays with a common administration. Of the four who resigned, three were socialist feminist women, and all had been working for the previous three months on a new play about rape called *She Asked For It*. Over that period the other CounterAct groups and the administration began to show increasing signs of domination by the politics of the SWP that disconcerted the rape play group. Among other things the administration proposed that the SWP's Rock Against Racism campaign should share the address of the, up to then, independent CounterAct.

"We were quite happy to work with people with whom we had political differences" Scarlet Woman told *Zero* as long as the company was democratically run and our politics respected, but we were very concerned that CounterAct as a whole should remain a non-aligned theatre group. From the date we expressed this concern we began to be told that as we were not members of a party we could have no real political commitment. We were becoming a minority socialist feminist wing within an SWP group, but the rest of the company refused to acknowledge this as a problem. We were seen as 'just feminists' and 'second class socialists' and therefore to be dismissed politically." They were also instructed not to use the women's symbol on any publicity material for their new play. "Two of the men were consistently patronising and dismissive towards us, both as women and feminists. Political differences were fought out on an artistic terrain. The SWP members never explicitly said that they wanted us out because we were a political opposition, instead they tried to deny our abilities as writers and performers: we were told that we were undisciplined etc. This had the effect of undermining our confidence and we found it more and more difficult to write the play."

It was at this point that the administration announced that CounterAct did not have enough money to put the new rape play on tour. Forced into a position where they were unable to pursue their work, the rape play group resigned during one of a series of confrontational meetings. Afterwards they learned that, had they not left of their own accord, they would have been asked to.

On leaving, the four formed themselves into the Scarlet Woman Theatre Group to tour their play on rape, only to find that CounterAct were rehearsing a play (written from scratch in a few

weeks) using the publicity material, tourdates and even the title of *She Asked For It*. "They made it clear to us that, as far as they are concerned, the two plays are in commercial competition, and they have refused to hand over any of the contact addresses we built up together, including those we made personally while touring our play about nurseries last year."

"What has happened in CounterAct simply reflects wider issues which are generally important to feminists and the left. First the SWP were unwilling to take the women's movement seriously or to give political credibility to the socialist feminist grouping within the women's movement. Second, they engaged in sectarianism, whereby recruitment to the party was seen as the main task and put before any attempts to unite with revolutionary socialists with political differences."

The SWP has a new theatre group, and possibly more muscle in Equity, Rock Against Racism a new office, and *Scarlet Woman* as yet no funds and a play which they have to rename. But then perhaps they asked for it ☐

United States

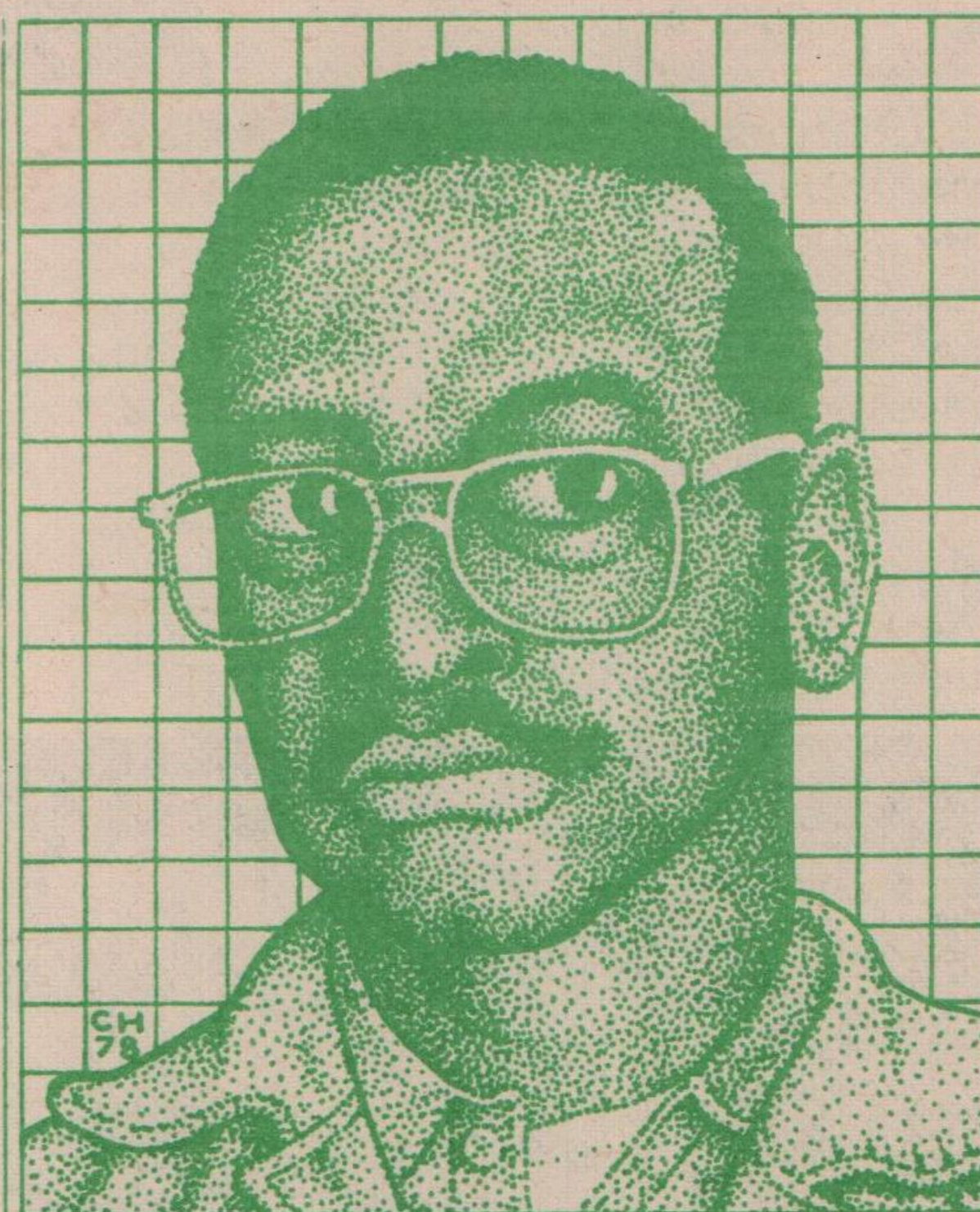
Anti-war GI serves life term

Lorenzo "Komboa" Ervin is a thirty year old ex-GI now serving life in Marion maximum security jail for hijacking a plane as a protest against US involvement in Vietnam.

In the early sixties, soon after joining up, he and other young black GIs serving in Mannheim, West Germany, secretly formed Black GIs United to fight racialism in the army, and became involved in anti-Vietnam war activities, taking part in demonstrations with West German students. Later, as whole units of GIs in France and West Germany were sent to Vietnam, Black GIs United responded by calling on soldiers to desert. The consequent harassment suffered by Komboa and his friends came to a head when Komboa was himself drafted to Vietnam and decided to go AWOL instead.

He was soon captured, and after being severely beaten-up and serving six months in the stockade, he was thrown out of the army and sent home to Chatanooga. Once there, he became involved with the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) and its attempts to educate black youth about their own history and what was really happening in Vietnam. This earned him the constant attention of the local police and at one point they tried to frame him and two others for several robberies, but bungled the attempt so effectively that all three were acquitted.

He was soon on the run again, however, after being arrested for contempt when he refused to testify before the Hamilton Grand Jury 'investigation'



Lorenzo "Komboa" Ervin

into the Black Power movement in Chatanooga. He decided that now was the time for a dramatic protest and so, in February 1969 at Atlanta airport, he boarded a plane bound for Miami. Shortly after take-off, he produced a gun and announced that he was commandeering the plane as a "protest against the war in Vietnam and the domestic war against Black America, especially the attacks on the Black Panther Party and the SNCC."

The plane landed in Cuba, where Komboa sought political asylum, arranging with Cuban officials to stay there for a few months and then to travel, with a Cuban passport, to Czechoslovakia to stay with African students

there.

After a short stay in Prague he complied with the foreign minister's request that he should go to the US embassy to get an American passport. It was, of course, a trap and security staff were waiting for him with a plane ticket back to the FBI in New York. Nevertheless he made a run for it as they took him out of the embassy and escaped to East Berlin, where he knew he could stay with African students. His freedom didn't last long, and in September 1969 the CIA kidnapped him from his bed, drugged him and smuggled him across the border to the US consulate in West Berlin. There he was told that he was a suspected "communist intelligence agent" and asked to sign a "confession". He refused and was systematically tortured for a week by being deprived of sleep, and by the use of drugs which made him vomit and defecate continuously. After this, he signed the "confession" and a "voluntary repatriation" form and was taken back to the USA.

At his trial in Newnan, Georgia, a red-neck jury and a racist judge sent him to prison for life. He has received little support from outside the US, and is under constant threat from racist screws. His former Marxist-Leninist comrades now regard him as a traitor because, after correspondence with several anarchists, he declared himself to have "naturally progressed" to anarchism ☐ Hapotec
 Write: Lorenzo Ervin, 18759-175, PO box 1000, Marion, Illinois, 62959, USA.



Saturday morning shoppers discover homosexuality on the streets of Notting Hill

International

Support grows to free Irmgard Moeller



Irmgard Moeller

"It is hard to think of a modern love affair that has caused more havoc" (*Observer* Oct 23 '77) This quote is meant to describe the formation and leadership of the RAF. For as long as women have taken up arms against the state, the media has acted to psychologically repudiate women's ability to think and act politically. "In the lives of women terrorists about whom we know enough to form an opinion, we find that men, as husbands, lovers or teachers, have had a decisive influence in persuading them to resort to violence and stay with the movement" "Norbert Krocher was later arrested in Sweden where he had found other women to influence" (*Observer* Dec 11) And if it's not men that have persuaded them, then its women reacting against men who disappointed them. "Ulrike was a religious blue stocking when she fell in love with Klaus Rainer Rohl. He claims he taught her politics. When

his infidelity broke up the marriage, Ulrike took a relentless revenge." No word of her making the film *Bambule* about women in borstal, fighting against nuclear armament in the late 50s, against state emergency laws in '68, against the rightwing politics of Strauss, against press monopolist Springer, against US bases in the FDR.

"They want the picture and role women have in capitalism, to be helpless, will-less, the weaker sex, the victim—all of which we have shattered—to be restored. They want to restore it by interpreting our decision to fight as guerillas, to break from the violence and mystification of the old class, as accidental and pathological, a product of fate and sickness, the result of threats and blackmail. In this way they portray the woman guerilla's situation as a property relationship, and the fight for liberation as altogether senseless."—Gudrun Ensslin

The attempt on Irmgard Moeller's

life took place because the existence of every woman guerilla destroys this picture. Found on October 18 in her cell with severe knife wounds, she is being kept in solitary confinement although her sentence has run out.

The pretext being used for her continued imprisonment is that further charges are being brought based on the testimony of ex RAF informer Gerhard Muller. To ensure the safety of her life it is essential that she is freed immediately. Not only has she finished her original sentence, but German law allows release of prisoners too ill to be kept inside. Carmen Roll and Astrid Proll were both released under this law after 5 months in the *toten trakt* (control units). There is a growing international campaign to free Irmgard Moeller. Those interested in spreading that solidarity to this country should contact Black Aid through Box 71, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street London N1.

□ Annette.

● The petition which has been circulating among Italian left writers, directors and intellectuals in support of Irmgard Moeller has caused a furore in the Italian Communist Party. The petition, which first appeared in the magazine *Cinema Nueve*, was instigated by Franca Rama, actress and founder of *Soccorso Rosso* (Red Aid), and actor and playwright Dario Fo, joint authors of the play *Ulrike Meinhof* which Rama performed last year. Fo also wrote *Death of An Anarchist*, a play on Pinelli. It is the number of Communist signatories, among them Carlo Lizzani and Bernardo Bertolucci, that has embarrassed the PCI.

Communist MP and minor poet Antonello Trombadori denounced the petition in an open letter to the communist paper *L'Unita*, accusing Rama and Fo of making "no distinction between political ideology and the crimes of the people they are defending . . . because they agree with them in practice. The only difference between them and actual terrorists is that they haven't got the courage to assume responsibility for their actions, and risk their lives with a machine gun in their hands. In reality they're less respectable (than the terrorists)".

Later Trombadori started a counter-petition "against Fo and people like him who spread confusion and try to make common criminals into martyrs of the system".

Fo's reply to these bleatings began "Trombadori is a terrorist. Not in the sense of creating terror. No, he doesn't point a pistol, but his finger, and if you take a close look at the end of his index finger, you'll see the sights of a gun where the nail should be.

Trombadori's finger is hollow inside, with 'spiral of violence' rifling. The swollen muscle connection from index to thumb is actually a breach loaded with an anti-petition and recoiling with 'good intentions', and concealed in the remaining three fingers folded into the palm of his hand, is a magazine with fifteen .38 calibre rounds and an automatic detonator. Trombadori fires anathemas! Every time he touches the trigger he yells, 'If you move I'll shoot!' He normally uses the 'silencer of distinction' . . . and fires at people who sign petitions in defence of civil rights. His latest victims are the signatories of a document published in *Cinema Nueve* which publicly accuses the West German courts and prison authorities of Bonn of abuse of power, and mental and physical violence inflicted on a prisoner named Irmgard Moeller. Our infallible self-appointed sharpshooter Trombadori would be a lot better off pointing his firearm-finger at the judicial system and prison authorities of West Germany . . . etc. etc □ Tony Mitchell

New Zealand

Women fail to defeat new SPUC sponsored abortion bill

New Zealand now has one of the world's most repressive abortion laws. The legislation, based on the findings of the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion severely limits the grounds and procedures for abortion. The woman must first go to her own doctor, then to a specialist and finally to two certifying consultants (one of whom must be a gynaecologist) who will decide whether or not her case fits the criteria for abortion. By which time it will probably be too late.

A Statutory Committee has been set up which will act as the country's abortion mafia, appointing consultants, granting licences to hospitals and generally making sure that abortions are very hard to get.

As well as creating an amazing bureaucratic apparatus to intimidate desperate women, the law has restricted the grounds for abortion. The Wall Amendment prohibits abortion when serious danger to the physical or mental health of the woman can be averted by any other means. The practical effect of this clause will be to totally outlaw legal



Christchurch New Zealand. marching against repressive abortion legislation.

abortion. Rape and foetal abnormality are definitely not sufficient grounds for a termination, according to the new law, and the use of prostoglandin, menstrual extraction and the IUD are technically illegal.

The pandering of politicians to anti-abortion organisations such as SPUC was blatantly obvious throughout the debate, and the ruthlessness with

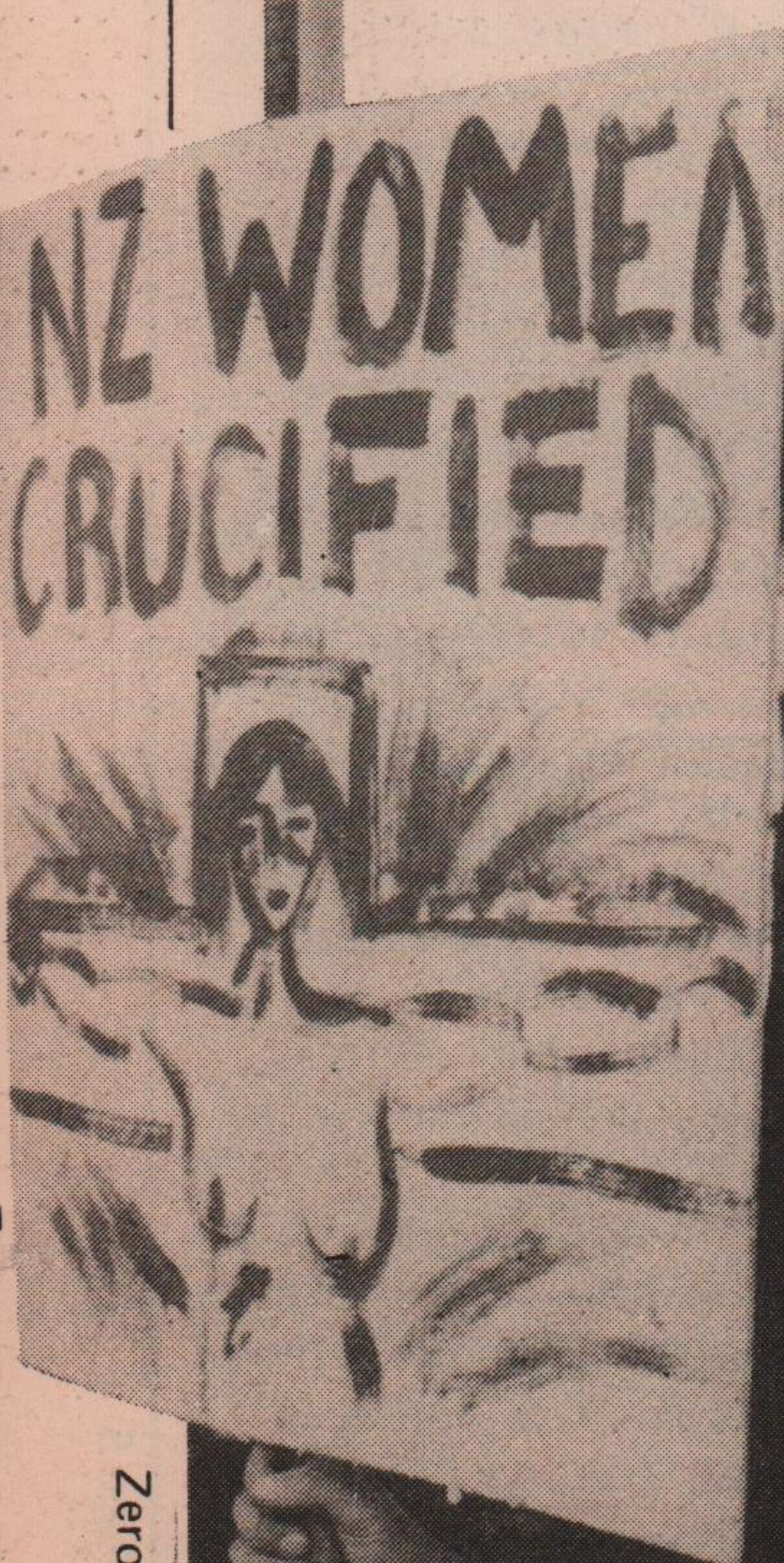
which Prime Minister Muldoon pushed the legislation through all night sittings while many pro-abortion MPs were absent indicated the lengths to which the government was prepared to go to repress and virulently attack women's rights.

The country's only abortion clinic has closed and will not be able to re-open under the new law. The only alternative for those women who have 600 dollars to spare is a flight to Australia where abortions are more freely available, and for those without it's back to the backstreet butcher.

Sisters Overseas Service (SOS) are arranging trips to Australia and hopes to charter flights to Sydney — again it's one law for the rich and another for the poor. Many women's groups have indicated that they are prepared to break the law and learn to do abortions themselves if necessary.

Protest throughout the country has been constant — with angry demonstrations in the major cities and towns. MPs' homes have been attacked, churches have been "desecrated" and government buildings have had windows broken. In Christchurch a group of black clad women marched into the Catholic cathedral during mass, and laid a wreath for all those women who will suffer under the new law. This caused a storm of reaction within the church and around the country. **Women are going to fight back until our right to control our bodies is won again.**

□ Margaret Flaws



Argentina

Unremitting repression enters third year

Since the bloody military takeover in Argentina in March 1976, tens of thousands have either been killed, arrested, tortured, imprisoned without trial, or have simply disappeared. We have received information concerning just one of these people.

On February 28th last year, Nelida Forti, a 41 year old member of the Argentinian Libertarian Movement, was arrested at Buenos Aires International Airport, along with 5 of her 6 children. They were on their way to Venezuela to join up with Nelida's husband, who had already been forced to seek refuge there. Police stopped the plane as it was taxiing down the runway, and seized Nelida and her 5 children. After learning news of the arrests, the

FORA (anarcho-syndicalist union) and the Libertarian Federation began organising release work, in very difficult circumstances. After 15 days the children were released from custody but the authorities then denied any knowledge as to the whereabouts of Nelida Forti, saying she had at no time been held in detention.

The implications are obvious. Widespread international protest is the most effective way of bringing pressure against the fascist regimes of Latin America. It's important that as many people as possible write letters to the Argentine authorities (in Britain: Argentine Embassy, 9 Wilton Crescent, London SW1) demanding Nelida Forti's release.

Cambridge

Picket "unexpected" at chauvinist wank

On March 6 the Cambridge Union Society was picketed by feminists and their supporters protesting against the evening's debate. The motion for discussion was "A woman's place is in the harem", described by the organisers as "only a joke". Of the guest speakers invited for the evening eight were men and only one was a woman, and the entertainment was sponsored by Barclays, the British bank with most investment in South Africa.

Over 150 people, by no means all of them students, turned up to join the picket which was supported by Women's Liberation, Cambridge Students Union, Gay Cambridge and the Cambridge Anarchist Group. The anarchists distributed a leaflet among those arriving for the debate requesting them not to attend and comparing the motion with others such as "A nigger's place is on the plantation" and "A jew's place is in the concentration camp". The pickets poured scorn on the idea that the debate was 'purely for fun', chanting "It's only a joke, ho, ho, ho" and "You think it's wit, we think it's shit".

The demonstrators were continually insulted by those entering the Union building; feminists were called "stupid little bitches" and told that what they really wanted was a "good screw", and guest speaker Derek Nimmo persuaded a fellow Equity member to cross the picket line by saying "it's not a real picket, they're just silly girls".

The picket was apparently unexpected, an indication of how male-dominated Cambridge University is, and when Princess Anne, the Union Society's special guest arrived, the few policemen present had difficulty in forcing a way into the debating chamber.

The next morning the press had a

field day, concentrating almost totally on the presence of Princess Anne and ignoring the views of the pickets. The *Daily Mirror* ran a banner headline proclaiming "Anne In Mob Fury", the *Sun* reported that Anne was "ambushed by a mob of furious demonstrators" and the *Telegraph* described the pickets as "humourless bigots", "children who won't grow up" and "psychopaths". The *Cambridge Evening News* was the only paper to give any space to the demonstrators' point of view—eight lines out of a total of two hundred and twenty four. Andrew Mitchell, the Union Society's president, aired his bigotry in William Hickey's column in the *Daily Express*, describing the pickets as "ugly old queens" and declaring the whole protest to be a "cheap stunt". No doubt if he had organised it, it would have been.

Some of the feminists felt that the picket was "taken over by aggressive men" and stressed that they had wished it to be a demonstrably peaceful demonstration. Towards the end of the protest ugly scenes developed when police forcibly removed demonstrators who were banging on doors outside the debating chamber. Men who were present complied with feminists' requests to leave, but were then asked by others to stay. A passive sit-down picket might have lessened the fury of the press, but there were many feminists present who clearly were not content with this and felt that the situation demanded a more active protest.

In the end, no one was arrested or injured, but the national media took another opportunity to belittle and vilify the feminist movement.

□ Paul Roberts

News shorts

● The Women's Liberation Movement national information service WIRES moves to a new five woman collective in York, having been run for its first 2½ years by women in Leeds. WIRES (Women's Information, Referral and Enquiry Service) was set up at the 1975 WLM National Conference as a communication channel for a fast growing movement functioning cohesively and efficiently without hierarchical structure. In addition to answering continual queries—"Could you tell me where the nearest lesbian group is?", "Could you tell me about the various feminist publications available and where I could get hold of them?"—for the movement, and building up (and making accessible) information, WIRES also produces the fortnightly internal newsletter of the Women's Movement. This is available (to women only) at the following rates: Individual rate £6 (£4 if poor); Group rate £12 (£8 if poor) from WIRES' new address: WIRES Collective, 32 Parliament Street, York.

● March 29. Twenty angry feminists invade Oxford Street Top Shop to bring out the connection between sexist advertising for feminine clothes and rape: *Top Shop... where girls look like girls and men just look* (Capital Radio and Thames TV ad).

Store detectives leapt on feminists as they put up stickers like: *Just look? Rubbish. They leer. They grab. They rape. and Try running from the fellas who don't just look in crippling Top Shop gear.* Women shoppers began to listen and agree with the protest, as they too saw the connections and objected to being seen as sex objects. The manageress adopted a predictable liberal line, promising to pass on complaints...

Once outside, walls were plastered with stickers: *Warning. This shop sells Rape Gear.* Each minute's action cost Top Shop money, as customers turned away—a sure way of hitting male organisations! The police turned up, the feminists slowly made their way off leaving behind a mass of stickers, and determined to return if the ads continued *with more women and more anger.*

● February saw the publication of *Black Rag*, Ireland's first anarchist/anarcho feminist paper. There are articles on Italy, Germany, gay politics and drugs. It's just about the best thing to come out in Ireland since the Thomson sub machine gun (except perhaps for Cormac's cartoons in *Republican News*). Even more amazing is that their offices are in the middle of Provie territory on the Falls Road, rather than the more obvious University area. Their first run was sold out in a week and we're hoping that despite the obvious difficulties we'll see number two soon. Their address is: c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12.

We're getting reports from India of a libertarian women's group launching a magazine, will keep you in touch. Also starting soon in Canada is an anarchist sexuality/gay sexuality periodical. They're looking for articles and contributions, write to: The Some People Can't Read Until Their Backs Are Against The Wall Collective, 20 Fairview Avenue, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada N2H 3E8.

● Despite rumours to the contrary the Grunwick strike is still on. Having achieved an improvement in wages and conditions in the factory, the strikers now hold out little hope of either reinstatement of workers sacked for joining APEX, or union recognition, their two other demands. With APEX discouraging both mass picketing and the blacking of Grunwick mail, the only actions that have posed any serious threat to Ward and his scab labour force, the strike committee sees May 14's National Conference on the dispute

as its likely moratorium. After 20 months on the picket line morale is low and financial resources practically exhausted. Some fifty of the strikers have now found other jobs. The Grunwick strikers need our solidarity on the picket (8-9.30am weekdays, Dollis Hill tube) while there is still time, and our support of the strike fund (Grunwick Strike Committee, 375 High Road, Willesden, London, NW10).

● Silver lining in dark cloud over rainbow squat... the Danish parliament has reversed its decision to evict Copenhagen's squatted town Christiania, on condition that "affairs are brought up to a legal standard".

Zero6

Zero is an anarchist/anarcha-feminist newsmagazine produced by a mixed collective, mainly from East London, (See *Anarchism/Feminism* in *Zero1* for a statement of our ideas). *Zero* is looking for streetsellers (pick up *Zeros* from Rising Free—cash returned against unsold copies) and distributors abroad. Contact us through address below.

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Next issue *Zero* will include a 4 page *Anti-authoritarian Yellow Pages* pull out indexing activities/campaigns/magazines/presses/groups and networks of the anti-authoritarian movement. Those wishing to be listed should send a filing card with 1) Group name, 2) Brief description of activities, and 3) Updated contact address/phone number as soon as possible.

ZERO BENEFIT BOPs back by popular demand! Friday May 19 with Soul Yard. 8-12pm, licence+food. £1 (claimants 75p) at Seven Dials Club, Shelton Street, Covent Garden, Covent Garden tube. Be there! Bastille Day Benefit (and approximately *Zero's* first birthday) Friday July 14 with

. See *Zero7* or *Time Out* for finalised details.

This issue *Zero* grows to 16 pages, and its cover price to 25 pence. The price rise is unashamed (a third more pages for a quarter more cost) and does nothing to alleviate our precarious financial position. Outlet and distribution costs account for a full half of the cover price, leaving just 12.5p to filter back towards *Zero's* basic production costs, currently £600 an issue. Disregarding the increase to 16 pages, typesetting and print costs have risen 20% this issue. *Zero* needs urgent financial support. You can support *Zero* with a subscription even if you can't contribute cash. 200 subscriptions will underwrite one issue.

Zero collective is currently in the process of restructuring itself to sort out the problems that have arisen so far. For the foreseeable future we have also decided that the collective will be closed to men joining, and that up till the next issue it will be closed altogether, to allow a stable period during which change can take place.



The subjects are revolting! Ms Mark Phillips crosses the picket line.

ANARCHIST MAYDAY



In 1889, at an International Socialist Congress in Paris, it was resolved to call an international one day strike for May 1 the following year, in pursuit of an eight hour day and in memory of the Chicago anarchists. Why May 1 was chosen is not known, and the accounts of the Congress in contemporary socialist papers give no clues. All that is known is that earlier, Canadian and American anarchists meeting in 1884, had settled on May 1 1886 as the date for a united strike for the eight hour day. It was during this strike that the bomb was thrown at police for which five Chicago anarchists were hung in consequence, although there is no evidence that they were responsible.

In these circumstances a little over-confident guesswork goes a long way, and there are a number of possible reasons why one day out of 365 should be chosen for an international socialist strike. May 1 has traditionally been held to be the first day of summer. See for example the old folk song *Hal and Tow*.

We were up long before the day-o
To welcome in the summertime,
To welcome in the May-o.
For Summer is a-coming in
And Winter's gone away.

May 1 was a day for children to decorate Maypoles with interwoven ribbons, a time when crops were already underway—in short it was a time for fertility to be much on everybody's minds. And while ritual or custom might differ from place to place, Mayday was a time of celebration, hope and awakening. Which wouldn't be a bad reason at all for declaring it for socialism's own. But as I said earlier, all this remains so much speculation.

What is certain is that May 1 was chosen at an International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889. The 1880's had seen a steady growth in the socialist movements of Europe and elsewhere. And the two Congresses called in Paris in 1889 represented both that growth and the different tendencies within the movement. One Congress was called by the French Socialists and was an 'eminently respectable and parliamentary assemblage' as *Freedom* put it. The other Congress had been popularly called the 'Marxist' one because its delegates had a majority of German Social Democrats who were supposed to be faithful followers of Groucho's brother Karl. But the 'Marxist' Congress was also about one-third composed of anarchists. The result was an action replay of the performances in the First International. An Italian delegate reported how, in Italy, Social Democracy was dying and anarchist communism was flourishing. The Social Democrat translator refused to put his speech into English and German. An English anarchist, Frank Kitz, clashed with Keir Hardie over the question of what was *really* happening in Britain. Shouts of "Hurrah for Anarchism!" were much to be heard and finally when an anarchist speaker was not permitted in a debate by the chair a punch-up developed which resulted in the anarchists being expelled from the hall. Meanwhile the other Congress had called for an international day of solidarity. It had got off to a good start.

As far as the parliamentary socialists on the continent were concerned May 1 was intended to be a *symbol* of solidarity, with processions and speeches and so on. The anarchists wanted something considerably more lively. In France both in 1890 and 1891 there were violent incidents. It was in fact the treatment meted out to anarchists arrested after a gun battle with police in 1891 which inspired Ravachol to set bombs at the houses of the judge and prosecutor. In England the anarchists together with some of the more leftist of the socialists also wanted a more lively demonstration, but in the relatively quieter atmosphere of British politics had to be content with pursuing merely a more forthright symbol. In the early 1890's this involved insisting on May 1 as the time for demonstrations not the first Sunday in May which was all that the official trades unions and other socialist groups were prepared to offer as a concession to international solidarity.

Still in 1890 the demonstrations in England were impressive. Sparked off by the dockers and gas workers in 1889 a huge wave of trade union organising had spread all over Britain and the initiatives of previously unorganised workers had dented the idea that trade unions were only for the labour aristocracy. In the period up to 1895 this new militancy was to recede and many of the small new unions were to collapse under the pressure of economic slump and a counter-attack by the employers but in 1890 the movement was in full flood. On Thursday May 1 some 10,000 people followed the initiative of the anarchists of the Socialist League and a leftist faction of the Social Democratic Federation and marched to Hyde Park where the crowd that assembled was reckoned to number some 20,000. (This is put in its proper perspective however when it is said that more than 100,000 people marched—and perhaps a half-million met in the park—under the leadership of the more respectable trade unions on Sunday May 4). And the official reception given to each demon-

stration differed considerably. The Sunday demonstration met with the most cordial police co-operation. The May 1 demonstration saw a police attack on East End socialists in Aldgate, a French procession was set on in St. Martin's Lane by police and a group of women workers from an envelope factory were attacked at Clerkenwell Green. The authorities seemed to have had a clear idea as to where the strongest opposition lay . . .

By 1891 the revolutionary opposition was much weakened. As *Justice*, the paper of the Social Democratic Federation, remarked: 'The wave of industrial organising which swept over the metropolis 18 months ago extended to the provinces and there it has not yet spent its force. But in London there can be no doubt there is a reaction; and men are in numerous cases backing out of the recently formed unions as rapidly as they rushed in . . .' And it was more than union members who were backing out. In March 1891 Ravachol's bombs had exploded in Paris. Due to his incredible indiscretions he had been arrested at a restaurant. In revenge for his arrest the restaurant was blown up in April. All this had created something of a stir and the English anarchists had started up a bit of (verbal) terrorism of their own. The Social Democrats became wary of being thought in the same bag. *Justice* wrote: 'out of . . . 365 days odd the anarchists might choose any one for scalping the capitalists, blowing up all the public buildings and making a final end of the State . . . But instead of exhibiting their tremendous powers on any of the other 364 days they must fix upon the 1st of May, which assuredly is no anniversary of theirs (sic), to create useless and disorganised disturbances. . . ' And after describing the anarchist ranks as riddled with police spies they went on: 'Therefore Social Democrats, who have no faith whatsoever in the efficacy of unorganised individual violence, are obliged to disavow all connection with, or responsibility for, Anarchists and Anarchism either in London or elsewhere . . . '

What this meant in short was that they weren't going to do anything on May 1. It was left to the anarchists to call a demonstration in Hyde Park which was attended by only about 700 people. They made up for this with heavy speeches. Louise Michel, for example, said: 'Let us salute every act of revolt; salute everyone who smashes windows in shops; salute robbers because they too are in revolt against society; salute revolt in every form . . . ' In the evening a much more successful meeting was held at Mile End where large numbers of people were attracted by a heavy police presence—the audience being largely composed of dock workers. The anarchist paper *Commonweal* reported: 'It is worth noting that the most revolutionary sentiments were the best received'. What is meant here by 'most revolutionary' can be taken to mean 'most violent' and the following can be taken as typical

' . . . let the dockers get revolvers too, and don't let all the corpses be on one side. "Intimidation" is the name of the game and let us have plenty of it. The capitalists have entered into a conspiracy to crush the workers by starvation. A few pounds of dynamite placed in close proximity to the wharves would "crush" capitalists and blacklegs most effectively . . . '

The trouble with this sort of thing was not that it was necessarily wrong in its analysis but that it remained overwhelmingly unaccomplished.

But not completely so. In early January 1892 a group of anarchists were arrested in Walsall and charged with conspiracy to manufacture bombs. The conspiracy had been instigated by a police agent but had been carried on by the Walsall anarchists to a stage sufficient to provide enough material evidence, with a confession from one of them, to convict all four. On hearing the news of the conviction David Nicoll, the editor of the *Commonweal* published a wild piece in the paper calling, in effect, for the assassination of the judicial worthies involved. The result was a raid on the *Commonweal* and the arrest of Nicoll on an 'incitement to murder' charge. These events provided an enormous, if transient, sympathetic interest in anarchist ideas. May 1 in 1892 was at the weekend, and both that weekend and the weekend before large crowds were addressed by the anarchists who witnessed the largest sale of anarchist literature they had ever seen. However beneath the harassment and confusion caused by the police raids, the anarchist movement was growing.

There were disputes over the question of revolutionary violence, there were personal squabbles, but there was no doubt that revolutionary violence, particularly on the continent, established anarchists as a *serious* movement. Furthermore, when slump and unemployment combined with vicious attacks by employers it produced widespread bitterness, and perhaps for the first time a popular readiness to listen to the revolutionary anarchist message.

The May 1 demonstration in Hyde Park in 1893 did not perhaps demonstrate this conclusively. Some 700

anarchists from the English movement together with 600 Jewish anarchists and trade unionists held meetings in the park. But it was enough to start the SDF thinking that it might be a good idea to get into the act themselves. For in 1894 they decided to hold their own demonstration on May 1. The anarchists wrote offering to co-operate. The SDF refused on the grounds that 'bomb throwing was prejudicial to socialism' and began to write round to organisations who had previously co-operated with anarchists on May 1 inviting them to join the SDF demonstration instead. This, of course, caused a rare commotion in the political chicken shack and much principled indignation was shown on all sides.

But the growth of the anarchist movement (reflected in activities reported in newspapers) and the way it had begun to play a significant part in the battle of ideas had had other consequences and had attracted some meaty opposition. In February 1894 the anarchist Martial Bourdin had blown himself up in Greenwich Park by means of a bomb that he was probably about to test on Blackheath. Some anarchists thought fit to make a lot of propaganda claiming Bourdin as a martyr to the workers' cause. (After all had he not dared to take steps preparatory to an act designed to throw terror into the ruling classes etc. etc.). This campaign had backfired. At Bourdin's funeral were large numbers of people who tried to break through the police cordon and wreck the hearse. Some of them were conscious reactionaries but most were 'ordinary' people (whatever that meant). There had been further trouble in Peckham where police co-operated with 'constitutional Peckhamites' to break up anarchist meetings. These lessons had not been lost on the police.

On May 1 1894 the anarchists were holding their meeting in Hyde Park in advance of the arrival of the 'legal revolutionists'. And the police, together with a mob of heavies they had recruited, attacked one of the platforms. The *Commonweal* correspondent wrote 'they deliberately struck at, and with both fists, any comrade they knew (and they know us now pretty well) . . . I saw Banham punched and kicked, Tochatti brutally struck in the head and face, Leon kicked and struck in the face and his spectacles struck and smashed on his eyes . . . One of our flags and a platform were destroyed by a rush of detectives, who justified the criticism Leggatt had bestowed on them by knocking him down and kicking him . . . ' And many other people were hurt.

This incident was not alone. In August 1894 two anarchist speakers were arrested and sent to gaol for 6 months on trumped up charges. A free-speech fight by anarchists in Manchester was lost in the Autumn of 1894. Scandal and suspicion were spreading in the movement over the activities of police spies and provocateurs. Nevertheless, the anarchist insistence on May 1 had appeared to prove a contagious example. In reply to a snotty leader in a newspaper, a writer in the anarchist journal *Liberty* wrote of the 1895 May Day:

' . . . we anarchists are always saying that the exploiters and profit-mongers are not a bit afraid of plenty of empty show and brass bands on a legitimate law and *ordered* holiday; because it don't mean nothing significant done *that* way. No we are not going to "dwindle into insignificance" as you put it. No fear! Significance don't lie in numbers or show but in spirit and proof of a determination to do things independant . . . Look here; in '93 only us held a May Day meeting in the Park and preached the *meaning* of it. In '94 the SDF didn't like to be left behind because the people are taking to the idea of "no politics" too fast for them, so they turned out too. In 1895 there's us and SDF and ILP and Unions; that's "dwindling" ain't it? And what puts you out worst of all is the obstinate fact that the rain washed away all the *parliamentary* demonstrators and left us and our attentive crowd with the field to ourselves . . . And as the people walked away they were heard saying "it was plainer every year which lot was in earnest and which was only playing at it" . . . '

Yet for all their protestations the anarchists *were* to dwindle into insignificance with horrifying rapidity. In 1896 they held a May 1 meeting alone. In 1897 no meeting was held. This sudden decline was linked with a period of resignation and apathy after the labour storms of the early '90's, a rise in jingoism and royalism and a steady growth of influence of reformist and electoral socialist tendencies. In 1894 the *Commonweal* had collapsed. *Liberty* collapsed in 1896. Two more papers collapsed in 1897 and by 1898 *Freedom* stood on its own. And even *Freedom* had great difficulties in surviving the next five or so years. In eight years the Anarchist First of May had come and gone

□ John Quail

John Quail's history of English anarchism The Slow Burning Fuse will be published by Paladin at the end of the year.

Petra Krause is reputed by Interpol to be the coordinator of the non-existent conspiratorial group to which the authorities have given the *News of the World* worthy name: International Anarchist Organisation.

The powers of this woman, who started life in Auschwitz, are so amazing that she is even capable of personally committing a crime in Italy whilst being held in a cell in Switzerland. The crime was non-appearance at her trial in the Milan Court of Assizes in November 1976 for allegedly burning down the Face Standard building (owned by ITT) on the 22nd of June 1974. In fact she was in Zurich prison, in total isolation, in a cell 3.80 metres by 1.70, with one hour a day exercise. On top of this she faces charges implicating her in the theft of war materials and armaments from Swiss military bases in Zurich and Algeria in November 1974, explosives which, according to West German police, were later used by members of the Baader-Meinhof group in an attack on the German embassy in Stockholm(!). Amongst other crimes she is alleged to have committed are armed robbery, harbouring criminals, subversive associations, housebreaking, forgery, impersonation, and aiding and abetting. She had been held by both since 1975 but in 1977 an Italian group, *Soccorso Rosso* (Red Aid) managed to obtain her temporary release pending trial in Italy, followed by Switzerland and then Germany.

Understandably she decided to maintain secrecy over her line of defence, but unfortunately only consented to grant an interview to the Italian centre-left political/cultural glossie weekly *L'Espresso* and to no other papers. In this interview she describes her personal and political development.

Petra Krause was born in Berlin in 1939, of Jewish parents. She was imprisoned in Auschwitz when she was a few months old. Her family was exterminated and Petra survived only because she was used in medical experiments to find out how much liquid a baby's stomach could hold before the baby went into a coma. Her body still bears the scars. As a girl in Germany she describes herself as constantly needing to know "who I am and where I came from" as for the generation of Nazism recent history was taboo, and she says, "As a result, my first 'political' impulse was the spontaneous need to fathom out and come to terms with my own fear. Even now I can't talk of my own fear with detachment."

In 1957 she went to live in Taranto, S. Italy, where she came in contact with Communist Party militants amongst the fish-sales women and dockers. She returned to Germany, married in 1959, separated in 1964 after having a son (who is now battling for Petra's freedom), and returned to Milan (1964). She says of this time:

"I lived in Milan; I'd split up from my husband and was broke. All I had was a son, a cat, and a goldfish. Then I found a job as a translator for a plastics firm (about £45 a month). Apart from my work mates I didn't know a soul except for Anna Trogu, Marco's nursery teacher, an anarchist full of enthusiasm, who's dead now. Everything changed because of Anna. After a few months I was active in the anti-nuclear movement. We had great conviction — I thought it should be everyone's duty to find out about crucial problems." The anti-nuclear movement included radicals (mostly), libertarian-communists and anti-Stalinists.

Her political commitment to non-violent anarchism changed when she joined the Radical Party and as police harassment of her increased (after she lent her passport to a Spanish woman militant who was arrested at the border) and her main commitment moved towards "the communist revolutionary struggle" and "to the feminist movement, which I wasn't actively committed to, but which I was drawn to, especially after the experience of my failed marriage." Her world-wide interest in political affairs must have made her an easy victim of the amazingly fertile imagination of Interpol and other neo-Nazi "security" organisations. In Italy, she describes how she "got involved in militant and risky work — doing counter-information research with some comrades for the book *Strage di Stato* (The State Massacre — a counter enquiry into the Pinelli-Valpreda-Calabresi affair carried out by members of the Italian extra-parliamentary left, which clearly established collusion between the Italian police and fascists in covering up the bomb attacks of 1969).

Her criticisms of Zionism, as opposed to her desire for the construction of socialism in Israel, also made her unpopular with Zionist propagandists, at the time of Arab-Israeli

«Red bitch, we didn't manage to gas you at Auschwitz but you won't live much longer»

'Terrorist conspiracies' have in recent years become the 'raison d'être' of that well known extension of the Third Reich, Interpol. Latest victim of these fabrications is Petra Krause. A thirty eight year old Italo-German citizen, imprisoned without trial for two and a half years in Switzerland, she now faces the threat of a further fifteen years, probably in a 'model' West German jail.

war in 1967, who were trying to alter the Italian left's support for the Palestinian movement. She was verbally warned that her life was in danger and also started getting threatening letters: "Red bitch, we didn't manage to gas you at Auschwitz but you won't live much longer." The first of these were anonymous, but later they were signed by *Giustizieri d'Italia* (a fascist group).

Petra Krause was active in many campaigns, including a society started in Frankfurt to distribute Italian left wing publications there, through the underground bookshops to reach the 500 thousand Italian emigrants. However, the climate in the FDR, she states, "was still more hostile than in Italy, and when the heat was on with the RAF it was getting hard to breathe." Eventually she came to be accused of 'connivance' with the Baader-Meinhof group. But she explains:

"In fact all I did was to publicly support the rights of political prisoners. Isolation, beatings, the new scientific methods of sensory deprivation — it was the condemnation of these, first in West Germany, then in Milan, by the Democratic committee for the defence of political prisoners that caused a scandal. I was and am involved in it in the same way as I was with anti-fascism in Portugal or Chile, because I am convinced that the FDR is the heir of the Third Reich. It's a bitter conviction, probably a political version of my fear as a child. I've always felt the recurring danger of German capitalism, and now the European left is talking about *Germanization*. As for the RAF, I think one needs time before passing judgement, apart from saying that the lack of a proletarian following is a limiting factor for anyone advocating revolution."

The rest is silence, as Petra Krause and her lawyers painstakingly plan their long battle against a long list of charges. In court on the Italian arson charge (the Face Standard building) Petra Krause had the following to say: "Because of my political and human convictions I can only state the name of the person responsible for the attack and the fire when all the partisan of the second world are free, when the anarchists falsely accused of the bombs in Piazza Fontana are given full compensation, when the real circumstances of the death of Giuseppe Pinelli are made public from the police files, when the anarchist Marini, found guilty of defending himself against fascist scum is free, when reforms are seen to be applied to the penal and penitentiary code, and when the just struggles for detainees in Italy are no longer drowned in blood."

□ Tony Mitchell



Junta culture upgrades FDR style

Since the fall of the junta in '73 the Greek state has been working overtime to integrate Greece into Europe, in collaboration with West Germany. Although along with the other ex-fascist states Spain and Portugal, full EEC membership may still be several years away, the two countries have been working closely to bring about the requisite conditions. These are the build up of international capital in Greece and the development of 'European style political stability', that is, a *contained* left. The burgeoning of the Greek anarchist movement since '73 has singled it out for special attention in the government's programme for bringing the left under control, a programme which differs little from that of the preceding regime's except in its West German guidance.

The protests in Greece at the murders in Stammheim have been the excuse for the launching of a wave of state terrorism. There have been over thirty arrests, house searching, imprisoning, deportation of foreigners, and the murder of revolutionary Christos Kasimis. Since then, out of thirteen people arrested, three remain in jail: seventeen year old Giorgos Tsachtsiris, convicted by the high court to two years imprisonment for participating in a demonstration; Yiannis Felekis, who remains detained without trial accused of 'moral instigation'; and Yiannis Serifis who is accused of the murder of Christos Kasimis. The expression of solidarity from other countries has been a contributing factor in either the quashing or decreasing of the sentences of ten prisoners of this new attack from the state. We hope that by detailing the events leading to the murder of Christos Kasimis and the subsequent treatment of Yiannis Serifis that his position too may be affected for the better.

Along with other groups or individuals who attacked various German targets (consulates at Patros and Iraklion, firms' representatives etc.) one revolutionary group under the name of 'Internationalist Solidarity' attempted to place bombs at the factory of the German firm AEG in Piraeus, on the night of Oct. 19 '77. In their statement to the press they said 'As the appropriate expression, in the act of international revolutionary solidarity, and within the program and the prospects of the class struggle in our country, against the establishment, we took the decision to hit the German multinational corporation of AEG. International Solidarity is our duty, it is an integral part of the very class struggle in our country, against international bosses, the State and their puppets.'

A detailed account of what happened during that evening outside the AEG factory has been given by

the group, it was sent to the press along with diagrams and published in the Greek daily papers the next day accompanied by the statement above. According to this description, while three of the four members of the group were in the grounds of the factory preparing the sabotage, Christos Kasimis went towards their car to fetch some equipment. Two policemen who were passing by approached him, immobilised and disarmed him. Kasimis' three companions started to move towards the policemen hoping to immobilise them without using their guns. While they were about three or four metres away Kasimis began to run and was immediately shot by the police, he was mortally wounded in the head. An armed engagement ensued in which the two police were slightly wounded as were two members of the group. In spite of this they managed to escape.

The police version of the events was launched the next day with statements by the notorious chief of the Piraeus police (and well known torturer) Karathanasis and which was verified by the testimonies of the two policemen. This version is as follows: the two policemen, while on patrol spotted someone (Kasimis) doing something that they regarded as suspicious. They approached him and asked for his papers. At first he pretended he would give them but then tried to run away. The policemen struggled with him and disarmed him, they heard shots and turning round saw three or four people approaching them shooting. One of these broke away from the others, came up to within one metre of them and shot Kasimis in the head, 'so that he doesn't talk!' Then he shot and wounded the two policemen and the group escaped.

From then on the only problem for the police was to find someone who could be accused of the murder,

he turned out to be thirty-nine year old machinist Yiannis Serifis who was arrested on Oct. 31 '77, eleven days after the attempt against AEG, and has been held in custody since then on charges of murder.

Serifis was one of hundreds of thousands of Greek emigrant workers in Germany. For ten years he worked there for AEG and owing to his class activism he was blacklisted by his employers. However effective action by his fellow workers prevented his dismissal or deportation. During the Greek military regime he was a member of the '20th October' group. In October '71 four members of that organisation were arrested by the police. The prosecution of the '20th October' group was directed by Karathanasis police-chief, the same man now prosecuting Serifis.

When in July '74 'democratic capitalism' took over from the dictatorship, Serifis returned to Greece and got a job with AEG. During the spring of 1977 he was active in a strike at AEG which lasted for seventy days. He was also involved in an attempt to coordinate the autonomous factory unions and committees, which had been formed during the strike, outside the official trades union apparatus. Because of these activities he was sacked by AEG in April '77 and then blacklisted among employers which meant that he couldn't work in any of the big factories. Using these facts the prosecution could be sure that the official trades unions would not support him, and they could use his sacking as a motive for the bombing attempt.

However the police version of the events leading up to the murder of Kasimis is full of contradictions, the main ones are:

1. Why did Serifis shoot his comrade Kasimis when according to the police version of events he had ample opportunity to shoot the policemen *and* help Kasimis escape?
2. The identification of Serifis from photographs by the two policemen has been proven to have been arranged in advance.
3. Their statement that Kasimis was shot at point blank range has been refuted by forensic evidence.
4. Medical evidence shows that Kasimis did not fight with the police, as they claim, before he was shot.

Serifis continues to be detained in Koridallios prison, Piraeus, officially under interrogation. The campaign to have him freed is greatly hampered by the continuing police terrorism, house and office searching, seizure of papers etc. More importantly, his fellow workers have been unable to organise to help through the dispersion of the most militant elements (mainly through dismissals; 43 workers, Serifis among them, were fired by AEG alone). The *Solidarity Committee for the liberation of Yiannis Serifis* ask for support, for donations, and for publicity. Their address is: Nicos Karamanlis, Akadimias 74, Athens, Greece □



The authorities' campaign against the anarchist movement began with the May Day demonstrations last year when 800 anarchists fought the police on the streets. At that time, the police raided *Diethnis Bibliothiki* (World Books) an anarchist publishing group, and its co-ordinators were arrested and beaten-up. Among them were Christo Konstantinidis (left) and S. Papadopoulos who runs the *Mavro Rodo* (Black Rose) bookshop in Athens. Photo above shows them leaving court after the police had failed to get them remanded. The effects of the beatings are clearly visible on Konstantinidis' body. After demonstrations against the West German state's murder of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe, Konstantinidis was sentenced to 28 months for "injuries to authority", but has since been released on a technicality, after the Greek government had been embarrassed by the publicity generated around the world by various anti-authoritarian groups.

DEMOCRACY IN CHINA



The Cultural Revolution, Mao's strategy for absorbing the growing dissent within China by staging an official cult of criticism, ended abruptly with the arrest and rehabilitation of many of its central participants. Things clearly got out of hand—those detained at the close were accused of holding the very criticisms that only weeks earlier

had been officially encouraged, and many Red Guards found it expedient to

flee to Hong Kong. This interview with ex-Red Guards Mak Hoi, Fang Kuo, Yu Shuet and Wu Man, was conducted by the University of Hong Kong's student paper *Undergrad*, and is in part a discussion of the key opposition documents of that period, *Whither China?* and *Concerning Socialist Democracy and Legality*. Both these statements are contained in the 70s Group's collection *The Revolution Is Dead Long Live The Revolution* which also contains Yu Shuet's *Dust Of Rationality* and Wu Man's introduction to *Revelations That Moved*

The Earth To Tears, and which is still the best writing on recent events in China. Yu Shuet was interviewed in *Zero 4*. Her book *Social Personality In China*, co-written with Wu Man, has just been published (although not yet in English). The Hong Kong libertarian magazine *Minus 7* describes it as a 'mind-blowing job'.

Based on your living experience in China, can you tell us in concrete terms the kind of democratic rights that the Chinese people are granted? How are the democratic rights provided by the constitution being realised in practice? How can people's opinions be transmitted to the decision makers?

Yu Shuet: Concepts like 'constitution' and 'democracy' were alien to us; we were not familiar with the constitution, nor did we have any knowledge of legality. Overseas Chinese might know the constitution better than we do.

Mak Hoi: Prior to the cultural revolution, there were few cases where people put forward their opinion to the top decision makers. We merely obeyed the Party and lent ourselves to accept the Party's education. For example, during high school days there was a team organisation¹ which ensured that we only listened to the instructions of the Party, seldom doubting the infallibility of the Party branch.

Students being like this, the peasants are even more ignorant. Paying no attention whatsoever to the constitution, they are very realistic. Only at the brink of hunger do they stir things up. Generally speaking, nobody cares for the constitution because what is stipulated in the constitution may not be implemented in reality.

Say for instance the case of the People's Congress—we only know that this is a national meeting called upon by the Party. As to how the deputies of the People's Congress are elected, we don't know a thing. We have never elected any deputies. We only learn that so and so are representing us to attend the People's Congress from unconventional sources, and that they come back as the Congress has flopped, again from unconventional sources.

Yu Shuet: In no cases are there objections to the Party's policy. All that the people are expected to do is to confirm the correctness of the Party by actions. For example, during the Great Leap Forward² the Party's policy was to promote production. Heads of production teams had to give false reports on the quantity of production to conform to the Party's policy. As a result, the team had to give in a much higher amount of public grain to the Centre and the peasants met with hunger. One leader was fired because he reported the actual quantity of production, though this same act won him the respect of the peasants.

What has been said refers to the state of affairs before the Cultural Revolution. Is the post-Cultural Revolution situation any different?

Yu Shuet: During the Cultural Revolution, the people could make use of the 'Four Great Freedoms'³ to criticise the cadres, but this kind of criticism never went beyond the narrow confines of Mao's thought.

Mak Hoi: At the beginning of the cultural revolution there was an assertion of the importance of democracy and the initiation of the masses. This was, however, primarily aimed at defending the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao so that it had its limitations. For instance, two red guards in Peking once, after analysing a speech of Lin Piao, discovered that his saying "spend 99 per cent of the time in the works of Mao, and the other one per cent in learning Marxism-Leninism" was unscientific, as Marxism-Leninism should provide the foundation for Mao's thought. These two people, correct though they may have been, were finally condemned as counter-revolutionary and arrested because their criticism "opposed Chairman Mao's headquarters".

During the Cultural Revolution, we could even criticise and launch a struggle against cadres at the provincial level, but once a cadre had been decided upon by the Party Central Committee then they were immune from criticisms.

In sum, prior to the Cultural Revolution, we had complete faith in the top leadership and tried hard to follow the instructions. Take, for example, during the Learn from Leifeng campaign⁴, anyone secretly engaging in wrong acts (such as reading illicit novels) would keep on criticising themselves until they were driven by guilty feelings to give up the act. In fact, the Cultural Revolution erupted under the instruction of the Party, and the *Renmen Ribao*⁵ served as the Party's mouthpiece.

Despite the limitations set by the thoughts of Mao, people have to depend more on their own independent judgement. When the people apply Mao-Tse Tung thought to the reality, they find that many cadres—from the school's Party Committee to the City Committee to finally even Mao himself—are corrupt. The Cultural Revolution did give rise to a group of people who are capable of analysing questions and casting independent judgement. People like Li I-Che⁶ can only be the product of the Cultural Revolution. **Wu Man:** The totalitarian personality moulded before the Cultural Revolution was shattered during it. To give an example, there were people condemned as counter-revolutionary for their objection to Lin Piao. But these people have not been rehabilitated even after Lin Piao's fall because they have not only rejected the 'authority' of Lin, but also the totalitarian personality of the whole society, hence rendering themselves unacceptable by the society. This is the

same with the fate of those who oppose the Gang of Four.

You have pointed out that before the Cultural Revolution, you were all docile instruments of the Party. How and why is such obedience to the Party being insured?

Mak Hoi: Before the Cultural Revolution (particularly after the Hundred Flowers Bloom) China had basically refuted liberal democracy, calling it capitalistic and regressive. We are told by the education we received that democracy is merely a means by which feudalism can be overthrown by the bourgeoisie and therefore doesn't belong to the proletariat. We know nothing about the different strands of thought in the West to the extent that years after Yugoslavia has been criticised, we're still not too sure what sort of society Yugoslavia is!

Apart from the education of thought, obedience is also ensured by means of administrative suppression. Forwarding opinions to the class teacher too often will be criticised and recorded as having committed mistakes, greatly hampering one's future prospects.

Many "counter-revolutionaries" were so labelled merely because their opinions ran into conflict with the Party. Here in China, laws are what the leading cadres say, and disobeying their authority means violating the law. In fact, prior to the Cultural Revolution, all those who dared to put forward oppositional opinion could not but end up tragically.

"Different opinions" were only tolerated when they were concerned with how to carry out Party policy in the best possible way. Hence, one could suggest many a way to learn from Lei-feng, and contribute ideas such as breaking down the window panes for steel refining during the Great Leap Forward, but no oppositional opinions were allowed.

What's been said is mainly concerned with situations before the Cultural Revolution. Have things changed in any way since then?

Yu Shuet: In my opinion, Mao Tse-tung knew exactly what system he was heading at. His organisation inevitably led to the corruption of revolutionary ideals so that he had to initiate political movements once in a while to renew cadres.

As for the comparison between the pre- and post-Cultural Revolution situations, I feel that the democratic ideals of the people are regressing and not progressing. Students during the Hundred Flowers period had already put forward questions concerning relations between workers and peasants, and the separation of power. This surely is more progressive than at the Cultural Revolution. The control over the people's thoughts is executed through a kind of religious indoctrination: Communism is good, thereby disallowing any form of individualism.

A new question: you must have known that the Cultural Revolution saw the emergence of Shang Wu-Lien⁷, who later wrote several famous essays, notably Whither China?⁸ after the Cultural Revolution; we also have Li I-Che and their Concerning the Socialist Democracy and Legality. What are the differences in their analyses of, and solutions to China's problems?

Fang Kuo: I think that we should view them as a process of development. Yang Hsi-Kwang was only 19 when he wrote *Whither China?* Due to his lack of experience, what he wrote was somewhat naive. His essay is anarchist in spirit but it was impossible for him at that time to conceive of smashing the entire state machinery of China. However, the essay is particularly good in critically pointing out the new contradiction of the new society, paving the road of rebellion from the Li I-Che big character poster. Li's viewpoint is definitely more mature and I am sure there will be more progressive essays to come (for example, there is a *Tientsin Li I-Che* big character poster⁹, although we have not the chance to read it). However, Li I-Che, not having sufficient social experience, had not touched upon questions like corporate management and the administration of the State Council either.

Mak Hoi: The spearheads of Li and Yang's struggles were directed at the same target: the bureaucracy of the Party. In their strategies, however, Yang called for the smashing-up of the entire bureaucratic class and the setting-up of communes. Li, on the other hand, demanded that people may be granted democracy to guard against the privileged and privileges, and called for the setting-up of a legal system to ensure the effective execution of people's democratic rights. Li saw that the replacement of old cadres by new ones could never solve the problem, since the new cadres themselves would ultimately become corrupted too. Hence, he regarded democracy and legality as the better guarantee.

Yu Shuet: I don't think we should called Yang Hsi-Kwang's proposal naive, but rather, idealistic. His "People's Commune of China" has not been realised because the present ruling machinery is too oppressive

to be smashed at once, but not because of the impracticality of the idea of the commune itself.

Mak Hoi: Yang had not paid attention to what came after the overthrow of the bureaucrats, but Li put forward "democracy and legality" as a concrete means to restrict the bureaucratic privileges. The fact that cadres are easily corrupted is mainly due to the people's lack of democracy for effective check against the senior cadres. Therefore I feel that Li's suggestion is more basic as well as more realistic.

Yu Shuet: But why is there no democracy in China? Yang attributed this to the one-party dictatorship. Li, however, accepted the one-party dictatorship as necessary, only that it has to be guarded against by laws. Can Li's method really solve the problem? Don't forget that the laws he proposed can be accepted by the rulers!

Wu Man: I think that Yang Hsi-Kwang purifies Marx's ideals and for the first time sows the seeds of Marxist Humanism. Hence, Yang's masterpiece can be likened to a beautiful sunrise. I was very much astounded by Yang's essay. For the first time, he made known to the Chinese people the fact that what China has now is not Communism. Li I-Che is more concerned with the problem of people's existence. He had witnessed slaughter more atrocious than that of the Kuomintang and the Fascists so that he tended to approach the question from "the possibility of people's existence". I think that there is no such distinction as naive or mature, between the two. Yang put forward a question many had forgotten, while Li said what dared not be said.

Fang Kuo: Yang's idea of the "People's Commune of China" is directly influenced by Marx's discussion of the Paris Commune. I once had a discussion, in Changsa, with Yang Hsi-Kwang. Upon reading the draft of *Whither China?*, I suggested that he may think about Lenin's saying "State capitalism is still needed during the dictatorship of the proletariat." Nevertheless, Yang's essay was soon published. Anarchism had once been realised in Changsa in Hunan:¹⁰ little Red Guards went into the streets to direct traffic and they did it well. However, Changsa is only a very small city with very few cars. It is questionable whether the same can be applied to larger cities. In my opinion, having ideals alone cannot qualify as being progressive. Ideals must be incorporated with the reality. Entertaining ideals alone is a form of regressive act, rather.

Mak Hoi: In fact, the people in general have no fervent demands for democracy. The peasants are particularly backward in this aspect. Under such circumstances, even where there are two parties or commune committees, the leaders will still inevitably be corrupted. The most basic thing to do now is therefore transmitting democratic ideas to the people so that they can have the courage to check against the cadres, and protect them from being avenged.

Fang Kuo: Many people are keen in the pursuit of political democracy and economic centralism. For example, one needs money to publish newspapers. In a state of economic centralism, such investment can only come from the state which, as the boss of the press, will certainly not allow the people to criticise the state through the press. I believe that true politicians are all pragmatists. As history has demonstrated, during the revolution ideals like equality are held high, but after the revolution, all these ideals will be betrayed.

Yu Shuet: The reason why Li I-Che has been suppressed is not that the state cannot accept the idea of legality, but rather Li dares to voice oppositional opinions. Actually, Chinese 'socialism', like capitalism, has its flexibility and it can grant the people legality sooner or later. We should therefore think in terms of the crisis of all the people □ Minus 7

Notes

1. The Youth Communist League, a youth/student organisation based in schools but under direct Party control. Most Red Guards go through it.
2. Launched by Mao in 1958 to lessen industrial and economic underdevelopment by using the human resources of the whole country, eg. making steel in the back yard.
3. Official definition: "Freedom to air one's views, contend and debate to the full, and publicise those views in wall posters."
4. Lei-Feng, a military student who was praised by Mao in 1963 as a model of Chinese youth. Lei-Feng had said "Oh great party . . . all that's mine belongs to you; I will listen to your orders forever, and be faithful to you and be your ever honest son."
5. *People's Daily*—official newspaper.
6. Collective pseudonym for three young people who wrote a poster *Concerning Socialist Democracy and Legality* (1974). It pointed out that it wasn't enough to just criticise Lin Piao and not the whole Lin Piao (ie. bureaucratic) system; and that people should have better legal rights. (See *News From Red China* in *Zero 1* for an account of their persecution.)
7. Chinese ultra-left organisation.
8. Essay, dated January 6, 1968, which set out the aims and proposed methods of Shang Wu-Lien.
9. Another poster, of which no details are known.
10. What is meant here by anarchism is not our usual understanding. In Changsa people tried to organise things themselves, eg. communal work and production, but still believed in and submitted to Mao and the state.

REVIEWS

HOW IT ALL BEGAN by Micheal (Bommi) Baumann. (Pulp Press £2)

Michael "Bommi" Baumann left the June 2nd movement in 1972 and wrote this book, which should be read by anarchists and leftists of all varieties because it's a remarkably open and revealing account of how "a perfectly normal person" became involved in the underground activities of the German guerilla organisations. It covers his experiences within various groups and his criticisms of them (and himself) in looking back over the period, which leads him to conclude that, for him, guerilla activity is now no longer the right road.

He sees that the most important aspect of the ultimate failure of the groups he worked with was the contradiction between their anti-authoritarian theories and the way they actually functioned, both in carrying out actions and on a personal level. It's this contradiction that comes out of the book more strongly than anything else, through Baumann's own perception of it, which nevertheless still fails to come to terms with the sexism which lies at its heart.



The oppression of women by men seems to have been ever-present in all the groups Baumann talks about, from the K.I. commune in Berlin (1967) where he says he wasn't interested in discussions about sexuality because it was a "bourgeois problem"; it was never a problem for him because "sometimes you slept with a chick, then with another one, you were constantly chasing them, and at that time so many of them were chasing you, you never worried about a thing." There were always the "schoolgirls" hanging around K.I. who were known to the men as "our fan club", and who were used to run errands and were treated, Baumann realises, just like the apprentices on the construction sites he worked on.

Later on, the Wieland commune (1968) eventually dissolved because the group within it which was into "terrorism" had begun to deny demands such as "the expansion of communal experience and the destruction of bourgeois relationships. We said, if you've got the correct political praxis, the rest will solve itself."

In the early seventies, the West Berlin Tupamaros, he admits, "were just pure oppressors of women; it can't be put any other way." The consciousness-raising and personal politics of the earlier communes had now been completely eliminated in

favour of rigid actionism; a situation in which, he says, the women could no longer tolerate the insensitivity of the men who treated them as objects, except during the course of actions when they treated them as if they were men.

As the groups became more and more underground, some members, especially the women, were reduced to a subservient role, performing essential tasks to preserve the secrecy of the elite who actually carried out the bombings and robberies. As Baumann says, it's not surprising that some of these people, forced into the position of outsiders, subsequently cracked under interrogation and became informers.

Despite realising that these contradictions existed, he can still talk about problems within the groups like "most of us didn't have a woman they ran around for the whole year without seeing a woman," or "you can't bring some chick back to your pad because it's illegal and no one is allowed to know about it."

Although he stands by his past, saying that the book is his contribution and experiences, and has no universal validity, Baumann concludes with a personal rejection of guerilla activities because of the objectification and destruction of personal relationships that, in his experience, always went with them. He defines the problem as one of violence, and the consequent pressures of illegality, preventing people relating to each other on any decent level, due to the "fear of love", which he sees as the force which led him into "terrorism", and which must be overcome in order to create "human values which did not exist under capitalism".

Therefore, he rejects "terror" in favour of "love", his vague use of these terms serving to mystify the real problem, which reflects his inability to face the fact that the Movement's failure to deal with personal politics is firmly rooted in its own all-pervading sexism. It's not enough to simply recognise that the oppression of women by men exists; it's necessary to confront it constantly, and it's precisely this that Bommi Baumann's reappraisal avoids.

□ Geoff Ingarfield

LAND AND LIBERTY: Anarchist Influences In The Mexican Revolution. by Ricardo Flores Magon. (Cienfuegos Press £2.35)

This publication, compiled and introduced by Dave Poole, provides valuable material on the part played by Ricardo and Enrique Magon before and during the Mexican Revolution. We have a useful background on Ricardo by Dave Poole which can be supplemented by reference to his article on Magon in 'Cienfuegos Anarchist Review' No. 3; an historical outline of the Mexican Revolution by B. Cano Ruiz from 'Tierra y Libertad', and the major contribution of articles from 'Regeneracion' between 1910 and 1912 by Ricardo Magon, William Owen and Antonio de P. Arango. There are manifestos from 1911 concerning the Mexican Revolution from the Magons and their colleagues, Magon's letters from prison, his obituary by William Owen, a chronology of Magonist events between 1864 and 1975 and finally a full bibliography.

In many ways this is an admirable compilation, bringing together source material and historical framework. Yet there is some confusion in the book. It is quite a task to get a clear picture of what happened in Mexico during the period and assessing the Magonist

influence is difficult. There is a fairly small sample of Ricardo's own writing and it is of varying quality. Some of it is, as William Owen mentions, "deplorable polemics" but other sections are timeless contributions to anarchist literature. The writing by William Owen, who later became an editor of 'Freedom', also shows variability. There is a beautiful piece, 'That Evening At The Beach' but a strange Social Darwinism betrays a certain elitism in his approach.

Ricardo Magon is at his best when writing of Mexico and describing how political liberty is of no value without economic liberty. Here he has much of interest to convey to those involved in Third World politics today. However he can also write: "We Revolutionists march onward. The abyss does not stop us; when the water is falling over the precipice it is most beautiful. If we die, we shall die like suns, diffusing light." A questionable statement, along with: "Rebellion! It is the shout of men." None the less Magon's advice delivered 24 hours before the Mexican Revolution was excellent and followed to a significant degree: "Take the land! The law tells you that you must not take it, since it is private property; but the law which so instructs you was a law written by those who are holding you in slavery and a law that needs to be supported by force is a law that does not respond to general needs. If the law were the result of general agreement it would not need upholding by the policeman, the jailer, the judge, the hangman, the soldier and the official".



Although 'Land and Liberty' can be criticised, as can Ricardo Magon, Cienfuegos Press and Dave Poole have provided a very worthwhile historical reference book. As mentioned previously in 'Zero' Cienfuegos Press have acute financial problems. They have important material held up through lack of funds, so support them.

□ Jerry Westall

ANDRÉ BRETON AND THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF SURREALISM by Franklin Rosemont. (Pluto £1.80)

WHAT IS SURREALISM? André Breton: Selected writings. Edited by Franklin Rosemont. (Pluto £5)

The predictable flood of harmless fatuities with which the press has swamped the Hayward Exhibition has launched one really damaging attack

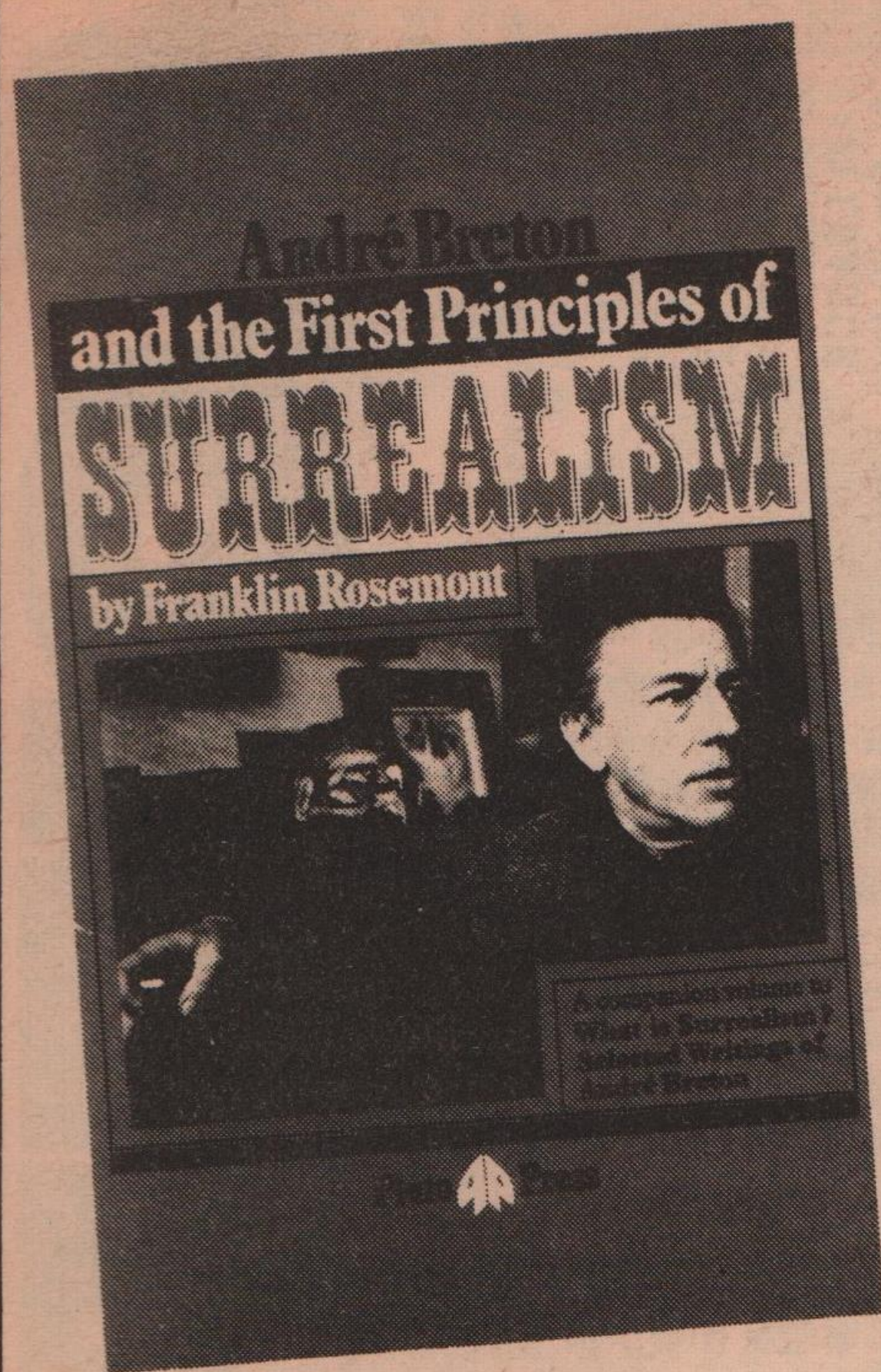
upon Surrealism in the form of an American propagandist, Franklin Rosemont. He has produced a book of translations from Breton to provide cover for his own bid to become Leader of Surrealism (which needs no leaders) in the English-speaking world, in much the same way that his friend Conroy Maddox mounted at Camden an exhibition entitled *Surrealism Unlimited* in which his own paintings outnumbered those of all the others he had exploited. Each seeks authentication-by-association.

Rosemont's method is to take the vocabulary of surrealism and distort its meanings. Revolution is presented in terms of such antique and simple-minded allegedly Marxist rigidity that nobody of sufficient intelligence or imagination to threaten his position will join him. Many free spirits who would by now have joined the surrealist movement, to its benefit, have refused the word as devalued by such opportunists.

For surrealists, the first principle of surrealism is self-liberation by recognition of unity. As understanding and experience of liberty increases, it becomes clear that for one to be free, all must be free. They have rifled the world to investigate all and any means which will tend to the liberation of the individual in her/his innermost being for a free society. Much has been learned from Marx—as Rosemont says (though he never says what, for he never gives the impression of understanding Marx or knowing liberty)—but also from others whose ideas are not compatible with what Rosemont presents as the marxist political prescription—Fourrier, Sade, Zen, Stirner, primitive peoples, etc. Marx's critical method has been invaluable within its limits; but the political fruits of his doctrine have added less to the sum of liberty than they have taken away, since that doctrine proved very open to perversion, and his predictions no less fallible than is usually the case. The question remains open; the means always to be improved; there is more, much more, to be known.

But not for Rosemont. For him, Marx was the inventor of a body of Finite Truth, impregnable to imagination and new discovery. All must accept it as Holy Writ, and Rosemont will be its final expositor . . . in an obfuscating stream of rhetoric, each adjective a superlative, every paragraph decked with "we insist", "inescapable necessity", "nothing less than", "we do not hesitate to" . . . all leading to bathos; and a riot of flatulent tautology such as "culmination and supersession of anterior poetic and artistic development". It perfectly exemplifies that devaluation of language so hated by the surrealists. He seems to believe that since Breton was by no means the 'Pope' that critics called him, it has fallen to Rosemont to be Pope and Holy Roman Emperor combined—an emperor in apparatchik's clothing.

Instead of Breton's vision of ultimate unity, which exists already in reality and needs only to be recognised, we are given a display of raucous categorizing of the 'stand in line or go to the wall' variety, and little else. The surrealist celebration of a person's impulse to human liberation, no matter how divergent in other respects s/he may be, gives place here to a dismal diagnostic handbook of errors which will justify hostility. "The reintegration of the entire species" is seemingly to be brought about not by the identification and



expression of the deepest desires of that species and a vigorous heightening of awareness and sense of kind, but by exclusion and murder in the cause of old dogma.

There is no room in Rosemont's revolution for anarchists, who have always been the closest political allies of the surrealists in England and some other countries. No 'first principles' are enunciated in this book, and specific applications of the surrealist view are drowned in rhetoric. There are vague references of the quality of "the fundamental anti-eroticism of social regimes based on capitalist production" (as if anti-eroticism were not a characteristic of all power-systems), and much *talk* of taking "risks", sabre-rattling bravado, but no issues are stated or faced. There is idolatry, but no irreverence, no humour, no celebration. Rancour is all.

The revolution and the surrealist movement are presented in terms of what Erikson calls 'pseudo-speciation', described recently by a commentator in words exactly fitting the tenor of this destructive book as "our most dangerous tendency: the belief that our own group is *the* human race and that others belong to some different species to whom the rules of the game—*my* game—do not apply . . . a negating, invading, subjugating mentality: enemies are invited in order to stiffen the aggressor's own shaky boundary." Thus one can read in the magazine which Rosemont edits, and which his publishers wrongly claim to be the organ of "international surrealism", such liberty-loving sentiments as "to the meaningless catch-phrase, 'Freedom for homosexuals' we MUST reply 'Freedom FROM homosexuality—freedom from repression!'" Firstly, a 'minority group' is dubbed 'enemy' secondly, by a mental sideslip the group is understood to have originated the hostility, and thirdly, since enemies seek to thwart one, the group becomes 'repressive'. If you ask why the "MUST", who obliges them to "reply" (the word which suggests that the homosexuals have initiated hostility), Erikson says it is due to "lack of playful reciprocity in childhood". (Note, in passing, that 'reciprocity' is held to be an essential element of surrealism, and that play is present in all its activities.)

It is likely that it was his confusion of mind between "Leninist, Castroist, and other misunderstandings (and his belief) that the widespread use of drugs presages new development in the life of the revolution" (to quote one of his colleagues) which precluded Rosemont from acceptance by any serious political group in the USA, and led to his taking up surrealism to satisfy his taste for adolescent gangsterism. This book, more than anything else, is an exercise in moral self-certification. Throwing in all the OK words he can abstract from Breton's writing, he proceeds, via total incomprehension, to domineering proclamation of the virtues of himself and the surrealist Elect—that is, those few sufficiently

unacquainted with English to be impressed, and those of unassailable longevity in the movement who have nothing to do with him. For the rest—damnation. This is very far from the surrealist urge to find strata of like-mindedness in such disparate figures as Swift and Sade. Nor is it reminiscent of Breton, or Marx, but of one commanding figure in the history of the WASP—John Calvin. You will not find that name in the surrealist gallery of heroes.

Bad faith is the hallmark of his survey of surrealism outside America. He absurdly writes of Conroy Maddox "as the only consistent defender (!) of surrealism in the British Isles", knowing that this gallery-haunting lackey of Official Culture and the Arts Council bureaucracy, thrice thrown out of surrealist groups, has devoted his attention all these years not to signing manifestos, but to collaborating with governments and gallery-owners to make surrealism 'respectable' so he could sell his paintings. Rosemont's attitude may smack of classic American Imperialism—cry Liberty! at home while supporting every official corruption abroad—but it is more likely to be due to the fact that the English surrealists saw through Rosemont's hypocritical pretensions years ago, and only Maddox was available to support him. They have a common interest in pre-empting surrealism in England: the sale of their wares.

A phrase Rosemont drops into his text (without elaboration, naturally) is "spontaneous and free association". He does not know that this is the basis of anarchism, not of political dogmatism; nor that the release in oneself of the ability to practise it is the basis of surrealism.

It only remains to quote Rosemont on the relative significance of Marxism and Surrealism to make apparent that this is a work of political propaganda containing a deep reductive urge towards surrealism, and a fear of where it might lead if not cut down to size: "One could say that surrealism achieves for Hegel's 'Aesthetics' what Marx and Engels achieves for his 'Logic'; or that it is to leisure what communism is to labour." The purpose of this spare-time activity, believe it or not, is to ensure that "the practice of poetry . . . reinforces and extends the marxist critique of society". I wonder if this objective was known to Arp, Artaud, Baron, Brunius, Cabanel, Chazal, Dhainaut, Duprey, Mesens, Paz, Picabia, Prassinis, Schegade, Soupault, to name a few?

Don't be fooled: this book not only does not represent the surrealist view, but it constitutes a deliberate attempt to reduce surrealism to a handful of dust Rosemont can keep in his pocket to throw in the eyes of anyone who might see through him.

What Is Surrealism? is mis-named, but fills a gap. Very little of Breton's prose has been available in English. This collection, unfortunately, does less to improve matters than it might have done. There are some translations by Beckett admirable enough, one hopes, to alert the reader to the fact that nearly all the rest are a grievous misrepresentation of Breton's voice—admittedly very difficult to transmit. French rhetoric is based on the classic Greek; English upon biblical Hebrew. Either, when translated literally into the language of the other, tends to seem preposterous, pretentious and pontifical. It is vital that the translator be entirely sensitive to the import of the text and in tune with the author's mind, and the tone of his writing within his own culture. This, not the mere words, must be carried over. Reviewers of this book have already delighted in quoting especially incomprehensible passages (all direct enough in French), and dismissing Breton as a verbose bore on the strength of them; when the fault lies entirely with the American translators imperviousness to language. Nonetheless, for want of better, it is

worth squaring your shoulders and digging into the slurry to find Breton's ideas and the keys he offers to doors which open onto limitless perspectives. The miserable banalities of these translations, remember, cannot possibly represent a man who has exerted a paramount and acknowledged influence on the greatest poets and painters of the century. People with the intelligence of Paz, the freedom of Arp, the passion of Mansour, the genius of Bunuel, loved Breton for his capacity to reveal the marvellous in the mundane. It is Rosemont who must bear the responsibility for turning the marvellous into the stultifying. Surrealism is elsewhere.

☐ John Lyle

SEX AND THE STATE (or Let's kill Ozzie and Harriet)
by Shim and Cedar. (The Whole Thing Collective)

This pamphlet was originally a speech given by the New American Movement entitled *Gay Liberation and Socialism*. It is an analysis and critique of the ideal American dream family (Ozzie and Harriet) and its oppression of women, men and children; and a discussion of the role of sexual repression in maintaining the status quo. It is written by two lesbian feminists—Shim and Cedar.

They argue that "sexuality is our first and primary release of ourselves" which in our society is only allowed release in the heterosexual, monogamous relationships between adults for the purpose of reproduction of the labour power. Thus our sexuality has been 'shaped' to fit the system and its repression has links with our passivity, submission and obedience to authority. This nuclear family system with its sexual repression is fundamental to both capitalism and male supremacy as it keeps us locked into the status quo, both economically and psychologically. From birth we are socialised into accepting this model.

However, many people are not able, for whatever reasons, to fit into this socially-sanctioned unit and are then told that they have failed or are sick. Lesbianism, they argue, because of its threat to the family and its working towards a liberation and reunion of 'sensuality, sexuality and humanity' represents a potentially revolutionary force. They are not arguing that sexual factors should be substituted for economic factors; but that there is an interdependent relationship between the personal/sexual revolution and the economic/social revolution.

The pamphlet concludes with a desire to make changes in our lives now—to build and work out alternative living situations in order that we may bring up our children without hierarchical, alienated role models to emulate; and to create spaces where both women and men can develop real strength and not just strength that is useful to capitalism.

This pamphlet is available from: The Whole Thing, PO Box 11308, San Francisco, Ca 94101. (send 35p)

☐ Sharon

ROUGH TH ATRE PLAYS
by John Miles, Tony Allen and Farrel Cleary. (Open Head Press. 95p)

In print at last, four plays by Rough Theatre: *Free Milk and Orange Juice*, *Dwelling Unit Sweet Dwelling Unit*, *Squat Now* and *Heart Of A Patriot*. Even if you've not already had the pleasure of a performance by Rough Theatre, this book will provide many

happy hours of sniggering in the comfort of your own sweet dwelling unit. Whether you're a vegetarian, hippy, politico, squatter or any other oppressed member of the subculture, Tony Allen and John Miles leave no *ism* unmocked. (Not to mention *anarchism* . . . see page 81 . . .)

Their plays are a healthy antidote to the rampant moralism of so much left-wing theatre, and only those who have lost all sense of humour could fail to find them painfully funny. There are some good songs at the back, and the plays are actor-proof. Why not try them out on your local Amateur Dramatic Society. Here's a sample:

Sleazby: Hey 'er Bunny—all this growing things.
Bunny: Yes wonderful—pure Kropotkin.
Sleazby: Yeah, all that, but can't we just go down to the shops?
Bunny: What?
Sleazby: Yeah you know. (mimes) Quick pair of hands and a bag under yer overcoat. Beat inflation—steal.
Bunny: No—we can be self sufficient, growing everything—I read it in a book.
Sleazby: Yeah—but I mean. You can't grow a bacon sandwich, can yer?
Bunny: Bacon sandwiches? There'll be no bacon sandwiches after the revolution.

☐ Erin Steele

AUTHORITY NoI(formerly Capitalist Worker).

Authority is yet another example of the great anarchist 'in-joke'. If you're an anarchist or involved in the anarchist movement you will have the privilege of finding it very funny. As a fully paid up member of the Dave Morris fan club I was delighted by its revolutionary anti-intellectual stand. It's all good clean fun, unless of course you're sensitive about having your politics dragged in the mud a la 'pseud's corner'.

Reading it I found myself in a quandary (much more comfortable than reading in the bog), I thought the satires on all the other anarchist papers were really funny but was horrified by the attack on feminism (in the guise of satirising Zero). I don't feel like playing into their hands by launching an attack on *Authority* for being anti-gay and sexist and just to feed them with funny lines. So in the end I have decided just to say that *Authority* is one of the most original new papers to appear on the anarchist scene since the sad demise of 'Capitalist Worker'. Well, as my mother told me when I found her sticking egg-shells together, if you can't beat them join 'em ☐ Tom Woodhouse

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AGITPROP

EVENTS

★**WINDSCALE DEMO** "to oppose the proposed expansion of nuclear fuel reprocessing at Windscale" Sat 29 April, assemble Speakers Corner noon, rally Trafalgar Square 3pm. Org. Friends of the Earth (01-434 1684). Let's have a large anarchist turnout on this one!

★**ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE CARNIVAL** Sun 30 April. Rally 11am Traf Sq, march to Victoria Park, hear Tom Robinson, Steel Pulse, X Ray Spex and the Clash.

★**MAYDAY ANARCHIST PICNIC** this year will be held on Pinsbury Park, start around noon.

Attractions include: a Punch & Judy show, a mass football match and things. Bring food, drink, music instruments, kites, balls etc. Everyone is asked to keep an eye on the children and see they have a good time. There is a boating lake and a cafe which can be used for shelter. A party in the evening and crash pads for comrades from outside London. Dedicated to the world's prisoners.

★**TORNESS ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMO** 6&7 May. Assemble in Dunbar, 6 May, noon. Contact SCRAM (031-225 7752). The London Greenpeace Group are organising transport to the site from London. Contact them immediately at 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 (01-387 5370). They also hold meetings at above address every second Thurs of the month.

★**THIRD LONDON TO BRIGHTON BIKE RALLY:** start 7.30am Sat 6 May Speakers Corner. '...a chance for the ordinary cyclist to realise that s/he can cover 60 miles in a day on a bike, without too much effort.' For further details ring Blunsdon 717, donations to Mike, Groundwell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts. There will be theatre events, a party in Brighton and overnight sleeping space.

★**LANCASTER UNIV. ANARCHY GROUP** are organising a conference/meeting on the weekend of June 16 at Clapdale Farm, Clapham, N. Yorks. Agenda to be determined by contacting Lancaster Group, 41 Main Road, Galgate, nr. Lancaster, Lancs. Topics of interest: Sexism (esp. Patriarchy in and outside the movement) and action for the forthcoming General Election.

★**ANARCHIST MEETINGS IN MANCHESTER** at the Lass o' Gowrie pub, Charles Street (between Oxford Rd and Sackville St) don't mention 'anarchist', at 8pm Weds: 26 April: Democracy: Elections or Direct Action? 24 May: Anarchism in Spain, the revival of the CNT. 28 June: An anarchist approach to housing. Contact MAO (061-224 3028)

★**SOLIDARITY SEMINARS** at the Drill Hall, 16 Chenies Street, London WC1 at 2pm, Sat: 29 April: JK—The British economy today 20 May: FB—"The right to be lazy"

All libertarian revolutionaries cordially invited.

★**MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION CONFERENCE**, Sheffield May 13/14 and picnic details from MAF secretary (Steve), 1 The Close, Chilwell, Beeston, Notts.

★**68 CLUB** at the new West Indian Sports and Social Club, Westwood Street, Moss Side, Manchester 14. Sundays at 8pm. 23 April: Bury Union of Musicians 30 April: Manchester Film and Video Workshop, incl *Moss Side, The Nose Bleeds, Women and Health*.

7 May: The 68 Club Film Soc presents *Pano Won't Happen* (Ody Roos and Danielle Jaeggi 1969)

14 May: Social Evening. 21st May: Counter Planning. John Quail on planning positive alternatives.

28 May: Karen Margolis, co-author of *The Technology of Political Control*, to speak on same.

★**ZERO BENEFITS.** With Soul Yard Fri 19 May, 8pm at Seven Dials Club, Shelton Street, London WC2. £1 (claimants 75p). With July 14 (Bastille Day and Zero's first birthday) at Caxton House, St John's Way, N19. Be there.

SEX/POL

★**LONDON ANARCHO-FEMINIST CONFERENCE** 3/4 June ♀ only. Camden Women's Centre, Rosilyn Lodge, Lyndhurst Road, London NW3. Suggested workshops include Children as property, Death and Age, We're not mad, we're angry, Imaginative/effective direct action, Anarchosensuality, Language, Psychic Power, How you live your politics, Living together in ♀'s communities, Voice workshop, Social, Tea & cakes with the children. We're hoping to have 24hr childcare, but there will definitely be a creche with activities for children. If you want to suggest topic workshops please write a bit about it, even if it's only questions or an outline of possible areas of discussion. Details and registration forms (send sae) from Kate Hall, 27 Bridge Avenue, London W6.

★**ANARCHIST FEMINIST NEWSLETTER.** No 5 now out. Subscription £2 from Sophie Laws, 43 Grosvenor Terrace, Bootham, York.

★**TAKE IT LIKE A MAN, MA'AM!**—a film made for women by women, distributed by The Other Cinema, showing at the ICA, Nash House, The Mall, London SW1. Nightly at 9.00 (except Mondays) until 30 April.

★**ANARCHIST GAY LIBERATION** Conference to be held in Leicester, Fri 28 April to Mon 1 May. Contact Box "G", 74 Highcross Street, Leicester with suggestions.

★**CONFERENCE** on "How we can relate Anarcha-Feminism to changing our everyday lives" on 13/14 May (10am) at The Squat, Devas Street, off Oxford Road, near the Univ. Union, Manchester. Cost £2 or £1.50 in advance incl. lunch both days. Sat night social, creche & crash provided (please advise). Fri night meet Grapevine Cafe, 178 Waterloo Place, on Oxford Road, near Univ. Contact Mary at 28 Brundretts Road, Chorlton cum Hardy, Manchester 21. (061-881 0477) or Denise (061-224 1614).

★**INTERNATIONAL ANARCHA-FEMINIST CELEBRATION/CONFERENCE** to be held at The Gayuga Center, Route 89, Ithaca, New York, USA. 9/11 June. Organised by Tiamat anarcha-feminist study/support/action group and friends. Details from Tiamat c/o Coleman, 304 Dey Street, Ithaca, NY 14850.

★**ANARCHIST GAY LIB GROUP** now meets fortnightly. Anyone interested write to Gay Anarchist Group, c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

GROUPS

★**LONDON WORKERS GROUP.** Working anarchists, council communists and other independent militants meet fortnightly on Mondays 7.30pm (next meeting 15th May) at Earl Russell, Pancras Road, Kings Cross. Communications for bulletin to: Box W, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

★**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST ORGANISATION:** c/o Jill or Jack, 21 Holmfirth Street, Longsight, Manchester 13. (061-224 3028)

★**SWINDON ANARCHISTS,** contact Mike, Groundwell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts.

★**SWANSEA ANARCHISTS,** 30 Page Street, Glamorgan.

★**NOTTINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP** contact through Mushroom, 10 Heathcote Street, Nottingham. Tel: 0602-582506 (53587 if urgent).

LIBERTARIAN PRESS

★**THE LEVELLER,** 155a Drummond Street, London NW1. (01-387 0176) Monthly radical examiner, topical and well-informed, 35p. Read it now before Callaghan closes it down.

★**MUKTI** (Liberation). Paper for Asian militants. No2 out now with articles on Asian women, arranged marriages, the state and racism and the Asian sub-continent. 20p+large sae from 40 Hortus Road, Southall, Middlesex.

★**INTERNATIONAL TIMES,** 20p from 97a Talbot Road, London W11. £2 for 6 issues, Britain's only newspaper.

MUSIC

★**MUSIC FOR SOCIALISM:** Box Z, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1. Open session for music and discussion Weds 26 April at 7.30pm, Earl Russell pub, Pancras Road, London NW1. (01-607 8117 for details)

★**JAM TODAY** (Feminist women's band) is together again with new women and new music and will be available to play from the end of June. For more details please write to 40 Croftdown Road, NW5, or phone 01-485 2799 (ask for Alison or Terry) or 794 3012 (ask for Vicky).

★**MUSICS,** 42 Gloucester Ave., London NW1. No17 out now. 35p+10p post. Sub £2.80 for 6 issues.

★**WOMENS LIBERATION MUSIC PROJECT,** c/o Womens Free Arts Alliance, 10 Cambridge Terrace Mews, Albany Street, London NW1. 01-935 1841.

★**LONDON MUSICIANS COLLECTIVE,** 42 Gloucester Avenue, London NW1. Performances most Fridays and Saturdays. 01-794 5197.

CONTACTS



★**THIS BADGE IS SUBVERSIVE!** Intasteful cream, dark brown and royal blue. 20p +7p postage for one, or 17p each for ten or more. From: Movement Against A Monarchy (MAAM), Box M, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

★**BANNERS,** cheap, all-cloth, made by applique technique to your own design for political groups, trades unions etc. 21 Holmfirth Street, Manchester 13 (061-224 3028).

★**CENTRO IBERICO** meets at 421 Harrow Road, London W9 on Saturdays and Sundays 3-11.

★**FREE YANG CHI-KWANG & LI-I-CHI.** The 70's Libertarian Front in Hong Kong need money and distribution for postcards they are printing as part of international solidarity campaign. Other suggestions of actions welcome. Contact through Zero or 70's Front direct.

★**EVERCHANGING COMMUNE** has lost some people and would like to replace them. Egalitarian, antisexist, wholefood faddist, income-sharing, non couple oriented, self-sufficient etc. Write with SAE for details: Crabapple Community, c/o 16 St Mary's Street, Shrewsbury, Salop.

ZERO

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