

militia and the armed forces.

Stanislaw Kania's 'unanimous' election to the top job by the central committee was reputedly greeted with enthusiasm by Moscow. Having experienced the wonderful stability that can be maintained in a state by the greatest apparatchik of all time - Josef Stalin - Brezhnev and his boys must have heaved a sigh of relief when a similar climber crept into the saddle in Poland.

The former head of security whose men have made his life, and the lives of his colleagues, a persecuted misery for years. But he could well be arguing today that Mr Kania is the best party boss Poland has. Mr Kania has the confidence of Moscow and therefore a little flexibility. He will use that authority ruthlessly to rebuild and (he says) to cleanse the Communist Party and to minimise and subvert the agreements of recent weeks. Mr Walesa will use his new authority to defend and build upon those agreements. The only alternative to eventual bloodshed in the streets, which neither man wants, is an understanding, however implicit, of the new rules which govern Poland's limited national independence, and partial internal freedom.

The Guardian
September 9 1980

And what is the real party task facing Kania now. It was summed up in an anonymous quote from a 'party journalist' in Warsaw, the day Gierak collapsed. He said, "First of all, we resisted the grass-roots movement for change. Then we accepted it. But now we have to take the third step and lead it, and that is the real difficulty" (our emphasis).

That is what Kania's job is now: to lead the workers back into the

Italian Releases

ALL except one of the 19 people (mainly anarchists) arrested in connection with the Bolognese investigation into the guerrilla group Azione Rivoluzionaria have been released from prison. Among the first to have been arrested - on 20 March this year - were Alfredo Bonanno of the Sicilian-based magazine *Anarchismo* and Jane Weir. They were accused, together with other comrades, of six robberies (see FREEDOM vol. 41 no. 10), but after several months in prison have been released, presumably on grounds of lack of evidence. Others released include the Bolognese printer Alessandro Vandinni and Giuseppe Marletta.

party's own backyard. To contain their demands within bounds the party can manage. It is the oldest trick in the book - to yield in the heat of battle and then gradually to take it all back in the fullness of time.

It is said that Kania was opposed to the use of force against the strikers when a faction in the Politburo was arguing for it at the time (29 August) that Gierak was settling with the workers in Gdansk. At that point Kania was responsible for 'security' (secret police?) and he was backed up by General Jaruzelski, commander of the Polish armed forces, while Admiral Janczyszyn told the local party in Gdansk that he was not prepared to put his men in direct confrontation with the strikers.

In other words, as we suspected all along, the party had no confidence that the armed forces would back them in a fight against the people - just as, quite obviously, the Russians also felt that they could not rely upon the Polish army's support should the Soviets invade. In fact, quite the opposite, they might well have had a fight with the Polish forces on their hands.

So it was a case of softly, softly, catchee monkey. On paper the party has graciously yielded to the undeniably just demands of the Gdansk strikers - subject of course to the necessity to recognise what they call the 'raison d'Etat' - the objects of the state. And it is interesting to notice how this phrase has replaced the better known 'raison d'etre' - a rather more objective object - the object of being.

Another state that we should not forget, of course, in all this, is that tiny state in the middle of Rome - the Vatican. It might be complete coincidence that this upheaval in Poland happened so soon after the Pope's visit, but the fact is that the other great totalitarian power fighting for the soul of Poland is the Roman Catholic Church - with more than 1000 years of experience in wheeling and dealing to draw upon.

One of the more disturbing factors in the Polish struggle has been the

role of Lech Walesa - the most publicised of the strikers' leaders - who was calling for 'caution' at about the same time as the Polish Pope was saying the same thing in the course of leading masses of Italian Catholics in prayers for what he called "My Poland".

Professor Jan Szczepanski, a famous sociologist, asked for greater powers for Parliament and complained of the State's incompetence: 'The strike committees gave an example of good, clean organisation methods which the Government should follow!' He appealed: 'The party must regain its full ability to run the country. Get rid of people who are not fit for their posts. Let there be no party palace intrigues. Bring forward the working class which has shown itself so politically educated and revealed how seriously it takes its role as a ruling class.'

'WE DON'T WANT TO REPLACE THE OLD RUBBISH WITH NEW RUBBISH!'
- STRIKER AT GDANSK.

Walesa has been recognised by the Communist Party as the workers' leader entrusted with the task of setting up the organisation for the new 'independent' unions. Having appointed Jacek Kuron (the dissident 'intellectual' who produced the influential underground paper *Robotnik*) as head of his advisory staff, Walesa went off to say mass with Cardinal Wyszyński, following a private audience.

'Stability' is in the interests of both the state and the church. Both authoritarian, for each power-hungry outfit stability means the suppression of the people to their separate dogma. Discipline and obedience are key words in both of these religions - Catholicism and Communism. If the Polish people have been fighting for freedom this summer, they are well warned to beware of both these organisations - even to look, if they will, to what is happening in Iran, where the situation is not dissimilar.

The Marxists may have forgotten their most essential text of all - but we do well constantly to remind the working class that - the task of emancipation is the task of the working class alone. And by Christ, as the Pope may say, are they alone!

S. LONDON

A new anarchist bookshop/meeting place is opening soon in South London. Any excited anarchists with queries, offers of money or renovation skills etc. please contact South London Anarchists, c/o Box 33, Rising Free, 182 Upper St, London N1.



SPECTACLE

Dateline : London Friday 5th September.

'Event' : Film showing of Society of the Spectacle by Guy Debord.

ADVERTISED in *Time Out* the previous week, we wrote to the box number given for the venue to be revealed to us. On the morning of the 5th a letter pops through the letter box giving an address in Finsbury Park. Someone else we know gets the same letter with an address in Earl's Court. Strange!

We dutifully turn up. The address was an ordinary terraced house in an ordinary street with a For Sale notice outside. Inside it was empty except for one room on the door of which was written No Admittance. Some people already there had already entered the room. And inside? The place was lit up by the cosy glow of candles provided for the purpose, (there was no electricity). In the centre of the floor stood a small pile of cans of beer and on the fireplace a synthetic cream cake. Around the walls there were several posters, notes and sheets and about the floor several envelopes containing notes, sheets etc. They said various things like 'don't talk to strangers', 'don't drink this'(with reference to the beer), 'don't eat this'(the cake) and various quotes from Situationist texts. In the envelopes were games consisting of comics with blank captions. Some people were bemused. 'Where's the film?' they said. Ha Ha no film!

Either in obligation to the assertion of their own 'individuality' or through sheer perversity those there began doing exactly the opposite to the 'Don't' notices i.e. drinking beer, eating cake and talking to strangers but perhaps they adopted this approach more because of the event than because of their choice? The event was an attempt to con-

front us with our own alienation from the 'society of the spectacle' by creating an unmediated event. It was just another contrived spectacle and therefore as an attack on the spectacle it failed dismally. It failed in that all that the people were confronted with was yet another spectacle, another way of mediating the relationships, of manipulating the event. People were still alienated. 'I've never been in a 3D film before.'

Just about the time the 'film' was dying the death two of the most spectacular events occurred.

The first we might call an 'intervention' when perhaps half a dozen autonomists arrived on the scene brandishing a stick and asking to see a certain London Situationist. This injected some gut into the event. They toured the house, looking threatening, and when they discovered that the guy wasn't present they set themselves the task of discovering his address by threatening to beat up two other men who they thought were two of his stooges. There was much jostling, pushing, threatening and breaking windows, and although no blows were struck the atmosphere was really heavy.

It was curious that the whole preceding action appeared to many who were there to be part of the event itself, that is, it had been planned. This perhaps gives some idea of the complete unreality of the situation, that people could accept this degree of actual violence as somehow artificial. It was also curious that the autonomists and friends did seem to adopt a particular role, seen in this light, of authoritarian aggression; the new police as someone suggested. This method is ugly, alienating and counter-productive: they didn't even get his address.

Finally the pigs arrived and threw us all out, threatening to kick back-sides if we didn't leave quickly and to nick us for criminal damage. We'd moved from one authoritarian

group to another, and out of the house.

An event of this kind is redundant. What it seeks to create is denied by the fact that it is in itself a spectacle. Genuine confrontations with the aggression of the police and others were more productive in exposing our alienation from their apparent role in the spectacle.

D. E.

Literature wanted in the Algarve

Some local anarchists used to publish a monthly paper in Faro - (in the Algarve in Portugal) called 'OMeridional' - but since April 1979 this paper has closed down. There is still in existence in Faro a libertarian bookshop with the name of Livraria Sotavento.

People still visiting the Algarve this summer or in the next few years should contact our Portuguese comrades at the following address:

Livraria Sotavento,
Praça Alexandre Herculano 24
8000
Faro
Portugal.

Our comrades there desperately need to enter into contact with comrades from overseas in order to keep in touch with the rest of our movement all over the world.

Those comrades unable to visit personally should, if at all economically possible, send copies of their anarchist-libertarian-pacifist-ecological publications to Livraria Sotavento so that this bookshop will be able to sell to foreign tourists anarchist literature from their own countries to read while on holiday in the Algarve.

CLAUD

WILDCAT



GDANSK:

THIS article is an attempt to discuss what we saw in several days at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk.

Regular newspapers can provide the 'factual' account of what happened, but certain important elements are just not discussed in them. Therefore we don't want to go through a day by day history of the strike, but rather we want to write about what we, coming from a libertarian perspective, discovered from general observations and discussions with the workers.

According to workers' accounts, the main (13 August) strike in the Lenin Shipyards started quite spontaneously. Price rises had touched off numerous strikes in other areas of the country, several of which had been settled quickly, including previous strikes at the Lenin Shipyards. As one worker put it, 'I got up to work one morning and discovered that the trams and buses were not working. (I later found out that this was due to a strike). When I arrived at the shipyards, people were standing around in small groups, talking about the latest price rises. As time went on, the groups got larger and larger. Finally we all went to the head of the shipyard and delegated one man to talk to the boss. The boss asked him who he was to be talking to him. He replied 'I represent the free workers' union'. When the boss said he could do nothing, we decided to occupy the factory, and began formulating our list of demands".

In making the list of demands, the strikers were painfully aware of their history, one of their first demands being a memorial to those killed in the riots following the strikes of 1970-71. They did not want 1980 to be a repeat of 1970, when the government told the rest of Poland that the Gdansk workers were 'hooligans, anarchists and atheists'. They avoided any actions of violence or sabotage that might give the state ammunition against them. The entire strike was incredibly peaceful, and the only aggressive actions the strikers used were simply withholding their labour and occupying factories.

As over 80 per cent of Poland is Catholic, another early demand was for freedom of religion. "In the beginning we didn't know who would support us", one work-

er told us. "We wanted the people of Poland to know that we were as moral as they were, that we cared about our country and believed in God as much as they". Whether it was for moral or political reasons, the people of Poland certainly did not regard the Gdansk strikers as hooligans, but rather as heroes. In the Gdansk region, virtually everyone, even Party members, supported the strike wholeheartedly. And support for the strike seemed to be very strong throughout the rest of Poland as well. As much as we have a personal disdain for religion (particularly Catholicism) we believe that this religious feeling did play a major unifying role in the strikes. From our point of view, the sight of thousands of strikers saying mass together every day was not particularly appealing, but it obviously was a major force, keeping the strikers together and maintaining the support of the general populace.

Among other demands voiced by the strikers were those for freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The fact that the strikers were demanding not only changes in working conditions, but social and political changes that affect the rest of the population was very important. As a Warsaw journalist and Party member put it, "This is the first strike in Poland, maybe in any Socialist country, where the workers are demanding large-scale freedoms for others, not just themselves".

But by far the most important demand voiced by the strikers was for 'free unions'. Virtually every striker we talked to told us that though they might be willing to compromise on a number of other demands, the demand for free unions was absolutely the most important, and uncompromisable. When the government negotiator proposed free elections within

the existing Party-controlled unions he was nearly booed out of the shipyards. The workers were adamant - they would accept nothing less than free unions. But as to what exactly a 'free union' would be - well, there were varying opinions. Many workers said that it remained to be seen. Some thought that what the western countries had were 'free unions', while others felt they wanted something totally new. Most were united in the view that they would work out exactly what a free union would be when the time came. And they know they have the power to strike if something goes wrong.

We have a lot of faith in how they will organise these unions. The way they have already organised themselves (at least in theory) into the strike committee is (we feel) very close to an ideal model upon which to build 'free unions'. The strike committee (set up spontaneously and relying on no previous organisation) was composed of representatives from over 400 enterprises on strike in the greater Gdansk region. Many of these enterprises rotated their delegates every few days. And the delegates were supposed to be in constant contact with the workers. Attempts were made to keep as many people as possible informed as to what was going on in the strike committee. Radio broadcasts were not possible as the radio stations were under government control for most of the strike. But the workers did rig up a loudspeaker system which brought the strike committee deliberations to a good deal of the 16,000 workers occupying the Lenin Shipyards. At the same time, this system served to unify the strikers with the rest of the people, because there was no other way to find out what was happening except to go to the shipyards and listen to the loudspeaker. Thousands came every



Smile of victory: Women shipyard workers step blithely back to work in Gdansk.

an eye-witness account

day (and many at night) both to show their support and to obtain information. Strike bulletins were printed every few days. When these were thrown over the fence of the occupied shipyard, the people waiting outside grabbed madly for them. And when someone got one, they would read it aloud to those around them. Later, they would be posted in numerous places along the fence and people could be seen copying down all the major points to take back to their factories and towns. Though the government had cut off all telephone, telegraph, mail and radio communication with the Gdansk region, people spontaneously found new non-hierarchical ways of communication.

Other new relationships were also built. There was no money exchanged within the shipyard. Farmers brought their produce to the strikers instead of selling it to the state stores. In fact, despite government claims of food shortages in the Gdansk region, we found food more plentiful there than in other regions of Poland. The food lines that were commonplace in Warsaw were non-existent in the Gdansk area.

However strong the revolutionary fervour of the Polish people, one important practical consideration was in the back of their heads - the knowledge that if their demands went beyond a certain limit, they would find the Russian tanks on their doorstep. And being surrounded by Soviet bloc countries, they would be totally cut off from the rest of the world. The intense hatred for the Soviet Union amongst the Poles is almost unimaginable, and the very last thing they want is to be directly (physically) dominated by the USSR. They did seem very confident that their demands did not go too far as to cause Soviet intervention. All the strike committee members we talked to were careful to point out to us that their movement was not 'political'. "We only want control over the things that affect our day-to-day lives. Politics is the business of the Party", they told us. They knew that if the Party didn't maintain some kind of control (possibly predominantly in foreign relations) the Russians would move in to ass-

ert control. Most people's vision of the immediate future seemed to be that the free unions might control most of the Polish economy while the Party would be recognised to have some kind of nominal power. Though everyone seemed to hate the Party almost as much as the Russians, most seemed to feel that it would be another decade before they could do away with the party itself.

And just as the people hate and fear the Russians, they seem to look hopefully towards the West, particularly the USA, for support. There are two basic reasons for this: firstly, Poles listening to Eastern Europe Radio know that they're hearing lies about their own country. When they listen to Radio Free Europe, Voice of America or the BBC, they know that the criticisms they hear of the Russian or Polish leaders are well-founded, so, by extension, many begin to believe the positive things they hear about western countries. Secondly, they know that they are not strong enough to withstand a Soviet intervention, so they look towards the western powers to help make the Soviets weak enough not to invade them.

Although the situation at the shipyards looked very good to us, we did see some things that we are quite critical of. Because the spirit of the Poles was so unified against the Party, many people were having difficulties seeing other causes of oppression. For instance, the historical devotion to the Catholic Church and the Pope made the people unaware of how, in a personal way, the Church oppresses them in their daily lives. At one point, we did see the people begin to question at least some of the devotion. One morning the Party newspaper printed a call from the head of the Polish Catholic Church for the strikers to return to work. The strikers were unanimous in their opposition to the statement and actually began questioning his religious authority. The opposition was so strong, in fact, that the priest officiating at the shipyards found it necessary to announce to the strikers that evening that the church official had been quoted out of context, and that the church really did support the strikers. At that point, the strikers stopped

questioning the role of the church.

We also saw the creation of a personality cult around the leader - Lech Walesa. He was considered a hero - people clustered around him for his autograph and listened attentively to all he said. They were so united in the struggle that they could not even comprehend that their fellow worker turned leader could potentially cause a problem for them as much as the Party had done.

Though in theory the structure of the strike committee was very democratic, in day to day practice much of this broke down for varying reasons. Some factories were almost a day's trip away, so most of these found it practical not to rotate their delegates. The fact that the workers had forced the government to talk to them as a collective group of over 400 delegates (and broadcast live over their loudspeaker) in the shipyards was a major breakthrough. However, a decision was made to change to a negotiating group of several people on each side. And speaking for the workers were experts in economics who were 'sympathetic' to the strikes. Because of the development of a kind of hierarchy it sometimes took several days for information to filter down to the workers in the shipyard and in the instance concerning the free unions, we knew about the decision three days before it was officially announced to everyone else.

Though there were several vociferous women in the strike committee, the support roles - making sandwiches, cleaning up, and typing - were mainly filled by women.

We feel the strike was a very important experience in self-management for the Polish workers. At this point we don't want to attempt an analysis of what is happening in Poland as the people are rapidly changing their opinions and goals. There is much that we in the West can learn from the experiences that the Poles are going through. We are planning to write a more detailed analysis of the Polish situation several months hence.

HOWARD BESSER & TERRY
DOWNS

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTI

CND

LAURENS OTTER rightly tries to correct some of the historical errors in your editorial about the nuclear disarmament movement (Volume 41, Number 15), but he characteristically makes matters worse rather than better by adding further errors in his own contribution (Volume 41, Number 16). It is important to disentangle some facts from fiction.

It is pure fiction to say that there were "Aldermarches" in 1952 and 1953 with "twenty and thirty people on the march respectively". The fact is that there was one early demonstration at Aldermaston, in April 1952. It was attended by between twenty and thirty people, who travelled to Aldermaston by coach and walked only the last few miles from the village to the site (though half-a-dozen did walk further), and it had virtually no impact on anyone. There was no demonstration at Aldermaston in 1953, though there were similar ones that year at Porton and Harwell, with similar numbers and results.

It is pure fiction to suggest that there were more than a thousand people present at virtually every stage of the first Aldermaston march in April 1958. The fact is that the hard-core who walked the whole way (in terrible weather) was between 500 and 600. But what was significant was that they showed the way and that ten times as many people were present at the beginning in Trafalgar Square and again at the end in Aldermaston - for the first time there were large numbers at a nuclear disarmament demonstration.

It is pure fiction to suggest that the 1958 march was spoiled by the support of the newly formed New Left and the even more newly formed Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The fact is that, without such support, the march might have retained the pure policy of the Direct Action Committee which organised it, but it would have remained as small as such demonstrations had been for six years. The radical pacifist campaign of direct action for nuclear disarmament was honourable and admirable but it never managed to raise more than about a hundred people at a time. It laid two of the corner-stones of the

big campaign of the 1960s - personal commitment and non-violence - but it was the New Left and CND which laid the other two - mass involvement and media impact.

This leads to a consideration of the attempts by the Direct Action Committee between 1958 and 1961 to persuade local residents, trade unionists and voters to boycott preparations for and proponents of nuclear policy. The fact is that however essential and excellent this work was, it never had any serious effect at all. A few people were said to have left jobs at Aldermaston, some trade union branches passed favourable resolutions, a factory lunch-hour was prolonged at Bristol and a short token strike called at Stevenage; but there was never any genuine threat of local or industrial action, the "Voters' Veto" of 1958-1959 was worse than useless, and on the one occasion when direct action demonstrators came into close contact with the actual workers - at North Pickenham in December 1958 - they were physically attacked.

It is pure fiction to say that "the Unilateralists only got 200,000 votes" at the Labour Party annual conference in 1957. The fact is that they got 781,000 - against nearly six million multilateralists. Bevan's phrases in his speech on 3 October were that unilateralism was an "emotional spasm" and would send a British Foreign Secretary "naked into the international conference chamber".

It is pure fiction to say that "the Labour Leftists only joined the unilateralist movement late". Bob Edwards had campaigned against the Bomb before it was even made, let alone used, as early as 1943, and leading Labour Leftists were publicly involved at every stage of the development of the nuclear disarmament movement especially after the fall of the Labour Government in 1951. They were found not only in the multilateralist Hydrogen Bomb National Campaign of 1954 and National Committee for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests in 1957, but also in the unilateralist Emergency Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War, H-Bomb Campaign Committee and Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War in 1957 - all before the formation of CND in 1958. Honour where honour is due, however confused they may be, and still are.

Finally it is pure fiction to suggest that the editor of FREEDOM or anyone else associated with the Freedom Press shared the naive ideas of the founders of the Committee of 100. I criticised them at its inaugural meeting in 1960; the editor wrote for every demonstration during the next few years, "Sit down - without illusions"; and this is what we all did, and will do again. But, whatever we do in the future, let us stick to the facts about the past.

N.W.

Anarchy

Dear FREEDOM

I see that (yet another) magazine - re. anarchist ideas etc. has been proposed (John Rety's letter FREEDOM vol. 41 no. 16).

In the same issue Philip Sansom mentioned Anarchy, that journal once published as the nearest thing to the 'proceedings of the Anarchist Movement'.

What I find difficult to understand is why such an interesting (and very valuable in its content and coverage) publication ceased in the very year that libertarian ideas and revivals appeared to get off the ground.

I know Colin Ward considered that 10 years as editor was sufficient; he told me so. Yet it does not seem to me that a journal should cease publication for that reason - so why did it?

Anarchy is often referenced and copies are sought after for research to this day. Bound copies are on university library shelves and appear to be used.

I would like to ask if this journal, reflecting as it would the more philosophical aspects of libertarian thought, and covering all the aspects that John Rety mentions, could be revived. Volumes could recommence where they left off.

I have had discussions with students and others at the University of Kent with a view to establishing just such a journal but the temporary nature of university life rather precludes such a move. In the event the 'ARG-Kent' group produces an interesting newsletter on libertarian topics and is useful in its own way. But a gap still exists for something like Anarchy.

I am quite sure many libertarians/anarchist thinkers and sympathisers

ERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

would welcome views on why the journal ceased what Freedom Press thinks and perhaps people might like to meet and discuss the pros and cons of this proposal?

Very best wishes
Yours in solidarity

KEN SMITH
Canterbury Kent

Anti Nuke Census

Dear Freedom,

We are writing to you to see if you will be interested in an idea we have had and if you are interested that we will take it further.

We have been angered for a long time by the attitude of the Government that the 'people' want nuclear weapons and power. Since they never bother to consult the 'people' it must be assumed that silence is consent. However we have an idea that can give us a chance to say NO.

In 1981 there is to be a census. Our idea is that we turn this census into a form of referendum. We want people to register their objections on the census form itself. The result of this campaign will be that the government will have to publish the result as to keep silent will appear that the result frightens them badly.

The scheme itself is basically very simple. The Government will bear the cost of the distributing and collecting of the forms and will then have to count them. We will have to produce a sticker (people can write in their objection but a sticker whose design could be worked out later would be far simpler) and arrange the distribution and information about the campaign.

Since nothing like this seems to have been tried before it will obviously get a lot of publicity and therefore public attention. It will be a campaign with a definite end and will raise the whole question of the nuclear argument in a way that has not been possible before.

We will need to organise this very quickly but that should be no problem if we know that people are interested in the idea. MACANDAM is taking the initiative to get things

started and judging on the response to this letter, which is being sent to all the groups and organisations we think will be interested, we will take things further.

If you think the idea has possibilities then can you please contact us at the above address and we will let you know what response we have had and organise an initial planning meeting. The campaign of course will depend on local groups taking responsibility for their own area to advertise and distribute all the material so we would appeal to national groupings to inform their local groups of this idea for their decision on it.

We believe that this census/referendum is an opportunity that will have to be taken as in the present situation it is the best way to express the deep feelings of large numbers of people on the nuclear question. So if you agree that this is a good idea would you please contact us as soon as possible.

Mansfield and Ashfield Campaign
Against Nuclear Development
and Missiles, 28 Lucknow Drive,
Sutton-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire

Resistance

Dear comrades

The hysteria about Cienfuegos Press's Towards a Citizens' Militia seems to have spread to some of the readers of FREEDOM and the anarchist press generally.

There are, of course, serious criticisms to be made of the pamphlet, particularly in the way it accepts orthodox military views in regard to the need for authoritarian command structures and the division between the 'professional' and the 'civilian'. Obviously an anarchist resistance movement should base itself on a cell structure of autonomous affinity groups with roots within the community, supported and understood by the community, and able to melt back into the community after an action.

However, some critics within the movement seem to object to Cienfuegos raising the topic in any terms. What is so shocking about suggesting that we should be prepared to defend ourselves instead of waiting for 'our' army to do it for us? What is the anarchist alternative to NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

Much more information and discussion is necessary to clarify our ideas on a topic which we ignore at our peril. Equally importantly we need to assert and defend the right to carry on that discussion. Towards a Citizens Militia will have served a useful purpose if it is not the end of the discussion but its beginning.

T. P.

Desires

Dear comrades

I am writing about people's attempts to make their personal lives conform to political principles and rational blueprints and would like to hear of the experiences of anyone who has tried to do this - especially in collective living and multiple relationships. Any information received will of course be treated in the strictest confidence.

Yours sincerely

MARSHALL COLMAN

15 Matcham Road
London E11 3LE
(01-555 5248)

ANARCHY
K. Q.'S
RULES
O.K.



Life is a
sexually trans-
mitted terminal
disease

FREEDOM CONTACTS

FREEDOM PRESS

in Angel Alley
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

This list shows all groups who have given us an address. If you want to be on it - drop us a line.

INLAND

ABERDEEN Libertarian Group c/o 163 King St., Aberdeen.
ABERYSTWYTH. David Fletcher, 59 Cambrian St. Aberystwyth.
BARRY. Terry Phillips, 16 Robert St., Barry, South Glamorgan.
BELFAST Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Winetavern St., Belfast 1.
BIRMINGHAM anarchists/anarcha-feminists meet Sundays. Contact Alison at Peace Centre, 18 Moore St. Ringway, B'ham 4 (tel. 021 643 0996).
BRIGHTON Libertarian Socialist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.
BRISTOL. City: 4 British Rd., Bristol BS3 3BW.
Students: Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol.
CAMBRIDGE anarchists, Box A, 41 Fitzroy St., Cambridge.
CANTERBURY Alternative Research group, Wally Bernes, Eliot College, University of Kent, Canterbury.
CARDIFF. Write c/o One-O-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road.
COVENTRY. John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.
DERBY. New address awaited.
DUBLIN. A. B. C. Collective, 7 Ballsbridge Ave., Dublin,
DUBLIN Love V. Power, Whelan's Dance Studio, 51 South King Street, Dublin 2.
EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.
EXETER anarchist collective, c/o Community Assn., Devonshire House, Stocker Rd., Exeter.
GLASGOW anarchist group, John Cooper, 34 Raithburn Avenue, Castlemilk, Glasgow G45.
Hastings Anarchists, 18a Markwick Terrace, Saint Leonard's-on-Sea, East Sussex (0424) 420 620.
HULL Libertarian Collective, 16 Park Grove, Hull, N. Humberside.
KEELE anarchist group c/o Students Union, The University, Keele.
Keighley Anarchists, 37 Parkwood Street, Keighley, BD21 4QH.
LAMPETER anarchist group, c/o Adian James, S.D.U.C. Lampeter, Dyfed SA48 7ED, Wales.
Liverpool Anarchist Group, c/o Hywel Ellis, Students' Union, Liverpool University, Liverpool.
LEAMINGTON & Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St., Leamington Spa.
LEEDS Dave Brown, 30 Park Row, Knarésborough (nr. Harrogate) N. Yorkshire.

LEICESTER. Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross St. (tel. Leic. 21896) and Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd. (tel. Leic. 552085).
L O N D O N :

Anarchist Feminists, Basement Office, Rising Free, 182 Upper St. N.1 (01-359 3785), staffed Mons. & Weds. 10 am-6 pm for visits. Or write c/o Box 33, Rising Free.
Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Ave., N.5 (01-359 4794 before 7 pm). Meets each Thurs. from 7 pm at Little A Press, 1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, E.1 (22a bus or Wapping tube).
Freedom Collective, 84B Whitechapel High St (Angel Alley) E1 (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, nr. Whitechapel Art Gallery.)
Hackney anarchists, contact Dave on 01-249 7042.
Kingston anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames (01 549 2564).
London Workers' Group, Box W, 182 Upper St., N.1. (01-249 7042) meets Tuesdays 8pm at Metropolitan pub, 75 Farringdon Road.
WEST LONDON ANARCHISTS:
Box WLA. FREEDOM.
XTRA! Structureless Tyranny, 182 Upper St., Islington, N.1.

MALVERN & Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrage, Malvern, Worcs.
NORWICH anarchists c/o Free-wheel Community Books, 56 St. Benedicts St., Norwich, Norfolk.
NOTTINGHAM, c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St. (tel. 582506) or 15 Scotholme Ave., Hyson Green (tel. 708302).
OLDHAM. Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd., Failsworth, Manchester.

OXFORD anarchist group, Anarchist Workers group, Anarcho-Feminists, and Solidarity, all groups c/o 34 Cowely Road Oxford.

PAISLEY (College) anarchist group c/o Students Union, Hunter St. Paisley, Renfrews.
READING anarchists c/o Ms. Shevek, Clubs Office, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading.
RHONDDA & Midglamorgan, Henning Andersen, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, Midglam.
SHEFFIELD anarchists c/o 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield S10 2FQ.

Libertarian Society: PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.
SWANSEA Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.
SWINDON area. Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.
TORBAY anarchist federation, 24 Beverley Rise, Brixham, Devon.

NATIONAL

MIDLANDS Federation. Secretariat c/o Coventry group.
NORTH EAST Anarchist Federation - as for Hull.
THAMES VALLEY Anarchist Federation - contact Oxford or Reading group.
ANARCHIST Communist Association of class struggle anarchists (publ. 'Bread & Roses') Box 2, 136 Kingsland High St. London E8.
DIRECT ACTION Movement, Sec. c/o Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M14 3BN.
LIBERTARIAN Communist Group (publ. 'Libertarian Communist' grtly), LCG c/o 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1.
POSTAL Workers Network, write Box PW, 182 Upper St., Islington, London N.1.
SOLIDARITY libertarian communist organisation (publ. 'Solidarity for Social Revolution') c/o 123 Lathom Rd., London E6. Groups & mems. in many towns.

MEETINGS

ANARCHA UNITED MYSTICS meet each Thursday from 8 pm at the Half-Way House pub, opposite Camden Town Tube Station, London.

Subscribe to FREEDOM

INLAND	£7
OVERSEAS	
- Surface mail	
Canada	C\$18
USA	\$15
- Airmail	
Australasia	£9.50
Canada	C\$22.50
Europe	£8
USA	\$20.

FREEDOM
Volume 41 Number 18
13th September 1980

Learning from Zimbabwe



Illustrations by Jan Flavell from Zimbabwe is Free

AS the western media have annointed Zimbabwe with 'Victory and Peace', allowing the crisis to slip from the front pages, we should remember that the process of change in that area now is, more than ever, inter-linked with our struggle in Britain.

Zimbabwe was conquered for international capital at the end of the last century. The monopolisation of land and minerals with its accompanying feudalisation of the Shona and Matabele peoples created a vast pool of surplus capital. This wealth was exported to and managed from London. It became a component in the material base which maintains to this day Britain's complicated patrician state.

Without Zimbabwe there would have been fewer jobs in "The City" (and provincial colonial administrative centres) for petit bourgeois clerks, trading agents etcetera (the shock force of the Empire, conservatism and, latterly, the National Front). There would have been fewer opportunities to escape grinding poverty or a middle class horizon without prospect of pro-

tion. Without the aggressive attitudes of white settlers and their armed supporters in the British South Africa Company the 'natives' would not have been dispersed, settlement would not have occurred, export of people from Britain would have been that much less and consequently tensions leading towards change in the original industrial ghettos would have been subsumed within liberal and social democratic power structures with a little less ease.

Without Zimbabwe the opportunity to experiment with the manipulation of property and tax laws for the purpose of 'streaming' people into economic subservience would have been that much less.

Without Zimbabwe the latter-day introduction of various 'pass' systems and modern police stratagems could not have been refined so thoroughly before application in Northern Ireland and on non-white residents in Britain.

For Anarchists the national liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is important not only because that nation is critically inter-

twined with the very roots of British capital. It is important because ZANU, the party of liberation, has attempted to remain independent of all **outside** ideologies while at the same time incorporating principles which function as appropriate tools for understanding and planning social change in the particular conditions of Zimbabwe. This has led to a strong libertarian strain within the party which will come under pressure now that the period of national democratic coalition is at an end.

Because of its analytical catholicity ZANU has a general two stage approach to liberation:

1. National Liberation via a coalition of all democratic forces.
2. Establishment of socialism with 'grass roots' control.

The present victories and the Lancaster House agreement (itself a powerful block against the socialisation of the economy) came about because ZANU put emphasis on a united front to achieve stage one. Achieving the second stage will in many ways be more difficult, with the early victim possibly being, as in so many revolutionary situations this century, the accent towards libertarian organisation at the base.

This is the more unfortunate because, in some ways, it may be said that the ZANU 'ideal', forged as it has been by a basic struggle for human rights as opposed to 'liberal democratic' political rights, is based on an appreciation of human nature which places the community and the whole number of people in it first.

Here the theory contains within it precepts which, in practice, would make the social management structure libertarian. It is the same 'social humanism' which, after 1965, led western anarchists towards 'activation at the base' with co-operatives (industrial, Workers', housing, amenity, etcetera), community development politics, alternative communities, appropriate technology, and agitation for the integration of daily life and work (as opposed to the marxist emphasis on organisation through unions focussed in 'the workplace' - thus perpetuating authoritarian and counter-productive relations in home and community). Integrating African concepts of community with western industrial based socialism ZANU looks forward to a situation where peasants and workers will control social development through communal organisations.

But, as we shall see, the struggle towards this goal is only beginning. Already powerful forces are conspiring to corrupt the process of change as they have done in so many countries from Ghana to Jamaica.

Ranged before ZANU will be the white settler rump, their military leaders supported by South Africa, western international capital and their agents in the country (accounting for 90% of the country's productive capacity), the Zimbabwean national bourgeoisie (being quickly fed top positions and top salaries by international capital) and the national bourgeois elements (populist and Marxist/Leninist) within ZANU itself which will argue over procedure but unite to call for stricter state powers with a formalised leadership ('to re-educate our poor peasants and workers') with high rewards for position.

The very fact that western media (after misrepresenting the whole war of independence and the election) is now breathing easy, should alert us to the possibility that the present independence has not seriously threatened the ruling power structure. Before very long, if things continue as they are, the libertarian aspects of ZANU's platform (and therefore its resolve in the face of internal and external pressures) will crumble and ordinary people will realise that independence has turned out to be nothing but a formula which allows a ruling elite to conspire with outside forces to decide how daily life and work will be manipulated.

Then the forces militating towards change at the base will confront those seeking **domination** and defence of 'place'. The second stage of national liberation, with the self-interest of the national bourgeoisie lying naked before the people, would then be articulated in the same way as our struggle inside the west today: The confrontation of the manipulation of our lives - our means to survival - by economic monoliths incapable of accepting popular democratic participation and supportive of consumer ideologies which influence social perceptions towards the accumulation of materials so wasteful of natural resources that only small elites may ever possess them.



Because of all these factors, and so that we may see best how to align ourselves with the coming struggle of the Zimbabwean people, it is a proper moment to learn from the experience which has led to the first stage of liberation and to see which areas will become the battleground for the march towards the second stage. In this year of independence publishing in Zimbabwe has reached a crescendo which has been echoed through the pages of numerous periodicals. It seems the right moment to launch our investigation.

Historical Context

It is a hot December morning (1979) in a forest on the Mozambique side of the border. At 4:30am 3000 youngsters aged 10 to 15 rise and march about singing revolutionary songs set to traditional tunes. By 7am they are joined by 200 teachers. Together they begin to establish the historical context which has formed this liberation struggle. From this place they will go to spread their knowledge through the liberated areas of Zimbabwe and, after independence, to all the schools in the country.

They study everything from hygiene and basic agriculture to bookkeeping and building. They study in English. Each afternoon is spent constructing desks and tending gardens.

Up until the election ZANU had eight such schools in Mozambique training 23,000 students from Standard 1 through High School. They had left the land which their parents fought over because it had finally refused to offer them a future. After three generations of being enclosed on unresponsive land by hostile forces or forced into urban ghettos, the meagre survival one got from the process no longer became worth the subservience.

Now in the classes they talk of the 12th of September 1890 when the first British South Africa Company 'pioneer column' arrived in the north-east to stake its claim to the prospective gold mines in front of the Portuguese. The Column planted its flag at Harare and called it Salisbury. Now Salisbury will become Harare again. But then the occupation had begun.

The BSACo. led by Cecil Rhodes duped King Bengula into a treaty for land rights. When the King realised what the settlers meant to do he launched a fierce rear-guard action but, in the end, was forced to disappear so that the white people would never claim his body. One final stand was the ambush of settlers on 17th March 1897. This day is observed by Zimbabweans to commemorate the nationalists of this period.

For the next eighty years the settler administration appropriated to itself as much land as it could in the most aggressive possible ways. 'The segregation of land was legally enforced by the 1930 Land Apportionment Act. This act was revised in 1949 and 49 million acres of good fertile land was allocated to 200,000 whites, and 28 million acres of poor or barren land was allocated to the 4 million Africans. In 1947 thousands of

Africans were forcibly evicted from land designated as European. The Land Apportionment Act was eventually replaced in 1969 by the Land Tenure Act which consolidated the position still further by abolishing unreserved land, which until then was open to all races." All these acts, and the oppression which was required to enforce them occurred (except for the 1969 operation) under British rule.

By 1976 332,000 landless Africans laboured for 6,682 white farmers. Meanwhile 4.4 million people lived in the African rural areas and only 1.1 million in the European areas; hence the African rural areas contained 80% of the total rural population while the Europeans living on 100 times more land of better quality represent only 20% of the rural population.

However the bare facts of the matter do not explain how this domination came about - racism. Only by poisoning three generations of white settler children with racist ideology could this domination be carried through. Only by forcing African children to be subservient in the most simple and subtle of personal ways could the prolongation of this state of affairs occur. Early organised response from Zimbabweans came with the formation of the Bantu Congress of 1934. But it was not until after the second world war when a generation of young Zimbabweans, who had passed through mission schools to liberal backed universities in South Africa and central Africa, returned that real political articulation got underway. Here it is interesting to note that a large number of men who were educated at Fort Hare University in Natal in the late 1930s and early 1940s now form the intellectual (and in some cases conservative) backbone of national liberation movements and governments throughout the whole of central and southern Africa.

But for the young people of the 1950s and 60s the degradation brought upon them and their families, particularly by the mass evictions of the 1950s was education enough. Today the areas 'reserved' for Zimbabweans cannot support even those who were left after the evictions. Facing ecological disaster from over-grazing of cattle (cattle is the form of wealth and exchange in Zimbabwean society), the land has been given over to arable farming.

Sadly the land is not up to it. While thousands of acres of fine land reserved for whites goes fallow people have been suffering from dietary deficiencies and even starvation on the Tribal Trust Lands. Estimates put the survival level for an individual at 385lbs of maize (corn meal) a year but the TTLs have only been producing 352lbs of maize per person (1962) and latterly 23lbs per person (1977).

The upshot of this process has been to make life unworkable for the young on the land. Since the mid 1970s, with Smith's UDI army making every black in the countryside a potential guerrilla the alternatives have been unemployment in an urban ghetto or a move to one of the liberated sectors where at least there has been a balanced diet, education, and hope.

This is the legacy of the school children in Mozambique. Their story, which will become the backbone of the curriculum in the new schools of the country, has been neatly summarised for us by Kimpton Ndlovu in the booklet 'Zimbabwe is Free'. In twenty short pages he describes the conquest, the disenfranchisement, the oppression and the political reaction.

At the back of the booklet Ndlovu gives a comparative chronological table of events since 1967. Here, for example, we learn that the first 'pioneer column' occupied the northern part of Zimbabwe in the same year, 1890, as the first May Day celebration in Europe. Later, in 1923, the white settlers were granted self-government by Britain (and responsibility for policing their monopolisation of the land through race-separation policies) at the same time as the first Labour government came to power. Still later the Labour Party formed the government in the UK during the year, 1964, when Ian Smith came to power (one year before UDI was declared by Smith and tacitly accepted by the national bourgeoisie in Britain when they refused to send in troops).

The little book is written specifically for students and use by teachers. Ndlovu brings to his exposition a teacher's experience, presenting facts in a pertinent and motivating way to people seeking information in a confusingly oppressive situation. He has a teacher's certificate from Hope Fountain Mission and has taught for nine years at Que Que. From 1961 Ndlovu was a member of the African Town Council of Que Que

and worked underground with nationalist forces throughout the war until he came to Britain to study in the mid 1970s.

As a primer close to the historical context in which Zimbabwe's youth will move forward Ndlovu's booklet is required reading. As an exposition of the roots of commitment to struggle it is useful as an introduction but must be read beside more personal memoirs.



Personal Struggle

In an autobiography "from the Zimbabwe struggle" titled 'With the People', Maurice Nyagumbo provides some of the insights which we need to see what drives a person beyond simple survival to support armed struggle for national liberation.

Nyagumbo details his slow politicisation from early years as an illegal worker in South Africa through his disenfranchisement due to the Land Apportionment Act of 1947, to a long period of almost two decades in prison because of his staunch support for nationalism.

It is a useful book because Nyagumbo shows that he was initially a most apolitical person. His years in South Africa (the 1940s) were spent working in hotels and 'buying suits'. He had few brushes with nationalists. Those that he did meet were caught up in the South African Communist Party. He says that he originally joined the party because of their social events - he seemed to be much more into ballroom dancing at the time.

But eventually his Communist contacts caught up with him and he was deported back to Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia at the time) in 1955.

He arrived back in his home district of Makoni to experience the one thing which seems to have galvanised his will to fight - his defacto separation from the land by the 1947 Land Apportionment Act. The act had been passed in 1947, but it was slow to reach many parts because it meant throwing many people off the land and out of their villages - not a palatable process.

The act itself was seen by a number of whites as a liberal and socially revolutionary attempt to solve the continuing impoverishment of Zimbabweans while leaving much of the land in white hands. This was to be achieved by forcing Africans to enter the 'modern' economy by choosing between life in city industries or agriculture (theoretically this could end migrant labour because men would no longer go alone to the cities but would take their families - leaving behind the small plots which provided the food supplement to their less than survival wages.)

In the countryside the number of people farming the land would decrease, and the de-communalised peasant would accept western-style intensive farming methods. The whole operation was conceived because the Tribal Trust Lands were alleged by colonial administrators to be facing ruin due to population pressure and overstocking of cattle. This definition of course, depended upon the maintenance of the white settlers' 'right' to control most of the arable land in the country.

One should remember that although it was a settler government which was making these sorts of decisions the rural planners and agricultural engineers who masterminded and introduced the plan were in the colonial service. They were trained at British universities and were implementing ideas about agricultural economics which still underpin the courses at UK agricultural colleges and, indeed, the plans set out by rural development agencies like the Highlands and Islands Development Board.

White politicians may have paid lip service to these plans but they were certainly not willing to put up the money for them. The separation could have only worked if wages had been raised so that workers would not have to depend upon family plots and pensions made available to African workers who would no longer have land to retire to.

What happened then, was a 're-allocation' of land which immediately created a poverty stricken landless 'lumpen' proletariat which quickly became the best advertisement for and supporters of any nationalist cause.

Maurice Nyagumbo was among this huge group. His misfortune was to arrive back from South Africa shortly after the Land Act administrators had passed through his region - he found himself without access to land. He opened up a small shop and threw himself into the nationalist movement which was, in the mid-fifties beginning to gather force.

The second part of his book is taken up with a behind the scenes description of the various nationalist formulations. His view is narrowed because he spent so much of the period in prison. But his straightforward and undogmatic style gives an interesting view of the personalities now emerging at the head of ZANU.

Nyagumbo, far from being an intellectual, seems to have a rudimentary grasp of the structures of oppression. He has been motivated by the restrictions to African trade, production and education enforced by settler policies. A pragmatist, he plunges for a Zimbabwe where everyone will be equal under the law and personal relations will be democratic.

This is the kernel of Zimbabwean nationalism. There are few who would go beyond this definition of their ambition. Confirmation of this, and first signs that the libertarian socialist aspects of national liberation may wither on the vine, comes in a little book published to coincide with the independence celebrations.

Diana Mitchell interviewed all the Mugabe appointed cabinet ministers and produced 'African Nationalist Leaders in Zimbabwe - Who's Who 1980'.

According to this document the average age of the cabinet is 47. Eight were born in the 1920s (Joshua Nkomo in 1910), ten in the 1930s, five in the 1940s and one (the woman sports minister) in 1955. The little book makes fascinating reading and, in itself, gives a unique insight into the major events which formed the resolve amongst many Zimbabweans. Here are some examples:

*B. Chidzero, Minister of Economics and planning. Father a farm worker and employee of a Native Commissioner. The official took interest in the boy and sponsored his schooling. Studied at the Catholic Roma University in Lesotho and got a B. A. (1953) from the University of South Africa. MA Ottawa University, PhD McGill University (Montreal). Barred from employment at University of Rhodesia after marriage to a Canadian woman. Became International civil servant with UN.

*Herbert Ushewokunze, Minister of Health. Mother and father peasants. Father died when lad still a child. Mother, a devout Methodist, brought up family in tribal trust lands. After many primary schools he got scholarship to University of Natal where he studied medicine. First African GP in Matabeleland. Joined ZANU underground working under Maurice Nyagumbo. 1977 joined Freedom Fighters forming medical cadres.

*S. T. Sekeramayi, Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development. Born last of eight children to peasant parents. Joined ZANU predecessor party the NDP in 1961. Travelled to Tanzania and received scholarship to study in Czechoslovakia where he continued his secondary education. Went to Sweden in 1964, where he studied medicine. Returned to Mozambique 1977 for military training and became a part of medical cadres.

What becomes clear from these and other profiles is that the majority of the ZANU leadership are highly educated nationalists who have risen from peasant backgrounds to form what could become a highly structured national bourgeoisie. Only an ideological commitment based on the 'wisdom of the peasantry' will be able to carry them farther than the first stage of the revolution.

Reconstruction

The war is now over, but it was a vicious civil war which completely destroyed the fabric of society. It was engaged by the nationalist movement as early as 1966, after the Smith regime declared UDI, but became a clear military confrontation after 1972. By last year it had reached its peak and was costing the Salisbury government £700,000 a day, accounting for 45 per cent of public spending. As a report of the day continues, "Over 800 people are killed each month. The government has set up 'protected villages' - large concentration camps where people are herded behind barbed wire and guarded, unable to move out. Most of the country is under martial law. Curfews are enforced, some from dusk until 12 noon - the penalty for breaking the curfew is to be shot on sight. There is strict conscription of white men into the Rhodesian armed forces, and the 1976 National Services Act provided for conscription of certain categories of Africans. The Smith Regime turned to South Africa and Western Europe for arms and other war materials including computer technology, but also for soldiers - mercenaries. The mercenaries are used to perform the dirtiest operations, including air raids to bomb neighbouring countries. The victims of the bomb attacks are mostly refugees".

At the war's end 27,500 civilians are (officially) dead, 850,000 are homeless and there are 220,000 refugees in Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. Famine conditions are already reported in some areas.

Our examining the history and personal experiences of a few Zimbabweans infers that there was no alternative but to take up the armed struggle after UDI. But the cost of that struggle has been terrible and it is difficult to see, considering the massive construction which must occur immediately on purely humanitarian grounds, how the steps towards the second stage of the revolution may be confidently embarked upon.

And as if it were not enough that the nation faces social ruin, the fact that the economy is so bound up with Britain and the west through South Africa makes it even more difficult to plan for a changeover to socialism in the rural areas or in the industrial sector.

Shortly after the election the government's annual economic survey forecasted 'real growth' at about 4 per cent for 1980. But other figures published at the same time showed that real gross domestic product fell 15 per cent between 1974 and 1979. The country's 'terms of trade' declined 32 per cent in the past 5 years, mainly because of higher petroleum prices.

Reflecting ZANU policy priorities the official report said that the most important task will be to harness whatever external aid is available to the needs of peasant agriculture including settlement, finance, agricultural extension services and the rebuilding of infrastructure.

ZANU minister of Labour and Social Welfare, K. M. Kangai, echoed this when he said, in March, that the bulk of the party's resources and cadres should be directed to the countryside. "We bear in mind that the peasants, the villagers, are really the ones who bore the brunt of the war - they are the ones who supported the struggle through thick and thin".



A large task, and easier said than done. The white domination of the best arable lands and the use of that land to produce single export crops on a plantation system will be difficult to break up while the nation depends on the sale of the crops to generate needed foreign currency. Despite that fact that many thousands of acres of 'white' reserved lands lie fallow at this moment the effort to get refugees and displaced persons onto those lands in time to make a contribution to short term food problems will require much more than the paltry £400,000 allocated at the moment to rebuild cattle dips, schools, roads etc. in the 54 rural administrative districts. In fact ZANU has estimated the initial cost of reconstruction at £150 million.

Some correspondents feel that the change could be swift, efficient and profitable. The government report optimistically predicts that in 1980/81 the volume of peasant farming output could rise by as much as 60 per cent. But these projections not only belittle the huge refugee resettlement problems but ignore completely the inevitable economic destabilisation which will inevitably originate from South Africa from where Zimbabwe will, at this critical time, be forced to import much of its seed, tools, machinery and technical contractors.

Cotton, groundnuts and tobacco are sighted as suitable export crops. The tragedy is that no matter how firm the pledge to move towards self-sufficiency and community control of production Zimbabwe is being forced, because of its short-term cash and reconstruction crises, to plan its rural development to fit in with the needs of international commodity markets dominated by western political economies which will be seeking to manipulate the situation to protect its investments in the Zimbabwean industrial sector.

Graphic illustration of this manipulation came in June when white tobacco growers were 'shattered' by ten weeks of low prices at the Salisbury auctions (the first open ones since independence). At a time when the government is projecting tobacco as a staple crop for peasant farmers white growers are talking about reducing their output next year!

In sharp contrast to the agricultural sector, where most Zimbabweans must stake their future along with ZANU, the private commercial/industrial sector (overwhelmingly dominated by western companies and their local agents) stepped confidently away from the sanctions era. The Zimbabwe International Trade Fair held in May at Bulawayo recorded its best ever turnover of £113 million. The main beneficiaries were British and South African based companies.

Total British exports to Zimbabwe for the first four months of 1980 were in excess of £1.3 million while imports from Zimbabwe stood at £5.5 million worth of raw materials (e.g. gold and agricultural commodities) iron and steel.

In fact sanctions have allowed the commercial economy to become self-sufficient in many areas. With low wages and a small white consumer class to service, UDI Rhodesia used covert supplies of petrol and other essentials from Britain to build up a manufacturing base which maintained a high export performance (in defiance of the UN) while filling the gap locally.

How this booming commercial/industrial sector may be harnessed to the priorities of ZANU (or at least the priorities of the libertarian socialist elements within ZANU) remains a major stumbling block. The problem is highlighted by D.G. Clarke in a timely book from the Catholic Institute for International Relations titled Foreign Companies and International Investment in Zimbabwe.

The author appends his analysis with a breakdown of some 250 principle foreign companies in Zimbabwe; the degree of specialisation in modern sectors of the economy; and ownership, control and shareholdings of quoted industrial and mining companies.

More than three quarters of these companies operating in absolutely every sector of economic life are based in Britain. No more clearly drawn picture of the complete integration of Zimbabwe's economy with that of Britain could have been drawn.

Clarke concludes that "given the nature, breadth and involvement of foreign investment in the economy the changes needed in order to deal with these basic structural problems of the economy will have to be far-reaching". He goes on to set out three 'Hypothetical Regimes' and the possible economic effects they could have.

The general conclusion is both worrying and supportive of Mugabe's emerging position - "Trans-national Corporations already have a substantial presence and, some argue, a disproportionate influence over output, employment, wages, taxes and foreign exchange generation. It is difficult to see how this could be immediately replaced even with an all-efficient bureaucracy".

He also says that the state apparatus has been so interwoven with TNC's that 'de-linking' would be a daunting task in itself not including the effects it would have on the general economic situation.

The clear inference is that the ZANU government will be forced to 'sleep' with the present commercial/industrial superstructure for a rather long time to come if it is to protect its agricultural policy. The 'catch-22' is that the very existence of that sector in its continuing form militates against the kinds of changes ZANU proposes in any sector. Given the fact that the youth, who carry on the historical experience, should be the first to see that a fatal compromise is being followed 'at the top' the stage seems set for a further period of struggle.

Ideological Struggle

It all comes down, then, to the fact that national liberation is one battle on a long road towards independence - an independence which may cost the lives of many more.

Minister K.N. Kangai has summarised that "this is a national democratic phase, but it is also a transition to socialism ... of course things can't be done overnight - we have to re-educate some Zimbabweans as we move along. But the means of production will have to be controlled by the peasants and the workers themselves, and we are moving toward that goal".

Marxist-Leninist critics inside and outside ZANU and Zimbabwe are already casting doubts upon the possible success of plans like those articulated by minister Kangai. They contend that his policies will remain dreams until the considerable urban work force is organised to follow through the second stage of the revolution (ZANU laid emphasis on organisation in the countryside during the war).

Even though the community structure of Zimbabwe means that most families and individuals came into contact with the liberation struggle, no matter where they were, the Marxist-Leninists hammer on that only organisation of workers based on their places of work will satisfy the needs of 'stage two'.

Typical of these broadsides is a recent essay by Bob Fine in the British journal Capital and Class. The report concludes its assessment of the liberation struggle so far by complaining that "the weakness of ZANU's populist guerrillaism lay in its failure from the beginning to combine, with the rural armed struggle, demands for improved wages, conditions of labour and trade union rights and for organisation in the cities and workplaces to fight for them".

Fine does grudgingly admit that ZANU tried this tactic and were forced to withdraw because of terrible lack of personnel. In fact as early as the mid 1950s nationalists were organising working class communities around bus strikes where thousands would walk to work rather than take the high priced white run transport. This tactic is, ultimately, more effective than industry by industry organisation because it unites whole comm-



unities around positive action to take control of the way they work and live. Yet the situation was made untenable because of the British backed technical sophistication of the police operation in the urban areas.

Now ZANU has come to power with the peasant masses. They have elaborated, in the process, a community approach to change which does not depend upon the isolation of men from their families, of families from their local and national communities in hierarchical structures. Important as the education and mobilisation of workers in Zimbabwe is, as evidenced by the recent wave of strikes, over emphasis in this area would lead, as it has done in so many places, to yet another authoritarian power structure mirroring the 'chain of command' industrial system which forms concepts of decision-making in the capitalist/state socialist workplace.

No, we must return to the Kanga! statement and lay emphasis on the equalisation of peasants and workers in a context where social decision making is lodged within each community. Anarchists must voice their support here since, as we have seen, this straightforward ideological formation will face powerful forces aimed at its corruption in practice and discreditation in theory.

Besides the new national bourgeoisie, which will be made up of the populists and the Marxist-Leninists warring over control of the worker-peasant 'command structure', the fragile independence will receive short-term assaults from the white rump.

Inter-party rivalry will be encouraged by many outside forces in the West and exacerbated by covert action initiated from within South Africa.

In the long term international commodity price manipulation and balance of payments 'targets' (for foreign exchange) will limit the speed and efficiency of peasant resettlement and thus retard their march towards community control. The mines and industrial base will remain in the hands of the local white clique and their western head offices for the foreseeable future.

We should not be surprised, therefore, if the transition from the first stage (national liberation) to the second (libertarian socialism) is long and arduous. In fact, as most Third World countries have now realised, this transition will not occur without the education of and active assistance from progressive elements within the western world - and our allies will more than likely be the youths from the forest schools of Mozambique who will be rekindling the historical context throughout the Zimbabwean countryside.

BRIAN MURPHY

Notes

BOOKS AND PAPERS REVIEWED

Zimbabwe is Free (A Short History of the Struggle for National Liberation in Southern Rhodesia) by Kimpton Ndlovu (Illustrations by Jan Flavell) Liberation 313/315 Caledonian Road, London N1. May 1980. 20pp.

With the People (An Autobiography from the Zimbabwe Struggle) by Maurice Nyagumbo. Allison and Busby, 6a Noel Street, London W1. 1980.

African Nationalist Leaders in Zimbabwe - Who's Who 1980 (Independence Souvenir Edition) by Diana Mitchell. Published by the author, PO Box 8228, Causeway Salisbury (Harare) Zimbabwe. (Available in London at Dillons Bookshop.)

Foreign Companies and International Investment in Zimbabwe by D G Clarke, Catholic Institute of International Relations, 1 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1 and Manbo Press, Box 779, Gwelo, Zimbabwe. March 1980.

Behind the News: Nationalism and Class Struggle in Zimbabwe in Capital and Class, Number 11, Summer 1980. Bob Fine.

USEFUL BOOKS, PERIODICALS AND ACTION

From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: Behind and Beyond Lancaster House. Edited by W.H. Morris-Jones. Frank Cass £12 This useful book takes the reader through all the historical and present-day problems which afflict Zimbabwe. The book itself is based on a series of lectures given by D.G. Clarke, Colin Stoneman and Roger Riddell shortly before the Election which brought ZANU to power. The talks were held before the Election but each author predicts a victory for the Patriotic Front.

Roger Riddell writes on the land problem, Colin Stoneman on industrial prospects and Duncan Clarke on sanctions and their removal.

However, good as these essays are, the price of the book is quite out of the question. Don't fear though because the Catholic Institute of International Relations has been producing over the past few years, a series of pamphlets with the general title (surprise surprise) "From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe".

In this series Duncan Clarke writes on "The Unemployment Crisis"; Michael Batton writes on the topic which should be of great interest to Anarchists seeking to relate their work to the problems which must be solved in Zimbabwe - "Beyond Community Development"; Rob Davies writes on the "The informal sector: a solution to Unemployment"; Colin Stoneman treats the subject, "Skilled Labour and Future Needs"; Roger Riddell looks at "The Land Question" and "The Alternatives to Poverty". At 50p the pamphlets add up to £3.00, a good deal less than £12. They are available at most bookshops or from Third World Publications, 151 Stratford Road, Birkingham B11 1RD.

Zimbabwe Information Group. Produces an irregular bulletin about developments towards socialism in Zimbabwe. The group is committed to supporting action in both Zimbabwe and Britain. Their Bulletin of Summer 1980 states that National Liberation is not a 'victory' because of the severe limitations of the Lancaster House agreements and the economic influence of the western nations with industries in Zimbabwe. They go on "Accordingly, ZIG sees a need not only to support popular struggles against class oppression that will contribute towards a transformation to a socialist society in Zimbabwe, but also for a continuous evaluation of, and mobilisation against, the machinations of British based companies and other imperialist influences in the country".

*Worth reading and supporting through your present life and work. ZIG 1 Cambridge Terrace, London NW1.

Subscriptions: UK Individuals	£1.50	Institutions	£2.50
Airmail overseas	£4.50		£5.50
Surface	£2.00		£4.00

The ANC and the ANCSA

A COUPLE of months ago the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Edinburgh sponsored a day of films and talks which, if the results are carried through on a national level, could mean that a major coalition of progressive forces within Britain over Southern Africa had been set in motion.

The event brought together the African National Congress of South Africa, the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and representatives from the Anti-Nuclear Campaign including SCRAM (Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace) and the CND. Speakers from all sides discussed the spread of nuclear weapons and energy and related this to the fact that South Africa and Namibia (which it occupies in defiance of the UN) produce much of the world's uranium while the racist regime is quietly building up a nuclear weapons arsenal.

After a documentary which established firmly the complicity of British and French state energy corporations in the illegal importation of Namibian uranium a sub-committee was formed of representatives from the participating organisations to take action within Britain. Their remit will be to draw to the attention of their members and to the general public the fact that only with national liberation in South Africa and Namibia will there be an opportunity to close down the trade in uranium and provide alternative modes of employment for the workers in those countries.

The International Defence and Aid Fund and the International Labour Office have already documented the terrible conditions under which uranium is mined in Namibia. Their publications, listed below, are required reading for anyone serious about the threat of nuclear power in their neighbourhood.

The fact, though, that the ANCSA has become the organisation to which ordinary members of the anti-nuclear campaign will be asked to give their support is another sign that the ANC is emerging from a period of internal and external bickering about tactics to become the body around which international support is mustering. This unification comes after a prolonged analysis and debate over the events occurring since the 1976 revolt in Soweto.

When the students revolted they did so without the involvement of the ANC which had, for some time, been operating outside South Africa. Their point was that the 'old' organisations had become bogged down in debates about tactics which no longer bore any relation to people living inside the apartheid regime. A number of books and documents have appeared recently to show that the students were acting independently of these outside groups. This was a disadvantage at the time because it isolated them from the organised workers who, at least to some varying degrees, have been in touch with the ANCSA.

The best of these books (*South Africa - The Method in the Madness*, John Kane-Berman, Pluto Press) shows that the students were, in the first instance, revolting against the decision of the Nationalist government to make Africans the language of instruction in half of all courses offered in the school system. After police reacted to peaceful protests with violence the students broadened their campaign to attack the local agents of apartheid and the attitudes of their parents and community organisations. They attacked the police because they are 'the cutting edge' of apartheid administration; the buses and shops operating within the townships because these are administered by the Nantu Affairs Administration Boards; bottle (liquor) stores and houses where drink is served because "All that our parents do is drink and try to forget the problems facing blacks"; commercial operations because of their complicity in the high inflation which makes life so difficult; and, of course, schools - 350 were burned or otherwise damaged in the initial uprising.

The students, without having an articulated platform of class struggle, confronted workers and demanded that they stay away from their places of work to join the protest. This worked in the Townships where many workers understood from their family experiences what the students were on about, but it failed in the case of migrant workers because these people live isolated from their homes in the rural bantustans and are looked down upon by the young urban South Africans. The migrants, therefore, were easily mobilised by agents of the South African police to attack the students and rampage through the townships.

Here is where elements within the ANCSA have taken up the movement for its failures. Although the revolts are seen as a positive stage in the process of consciousness-raising they deplore the students' lack of social analysis and worry over the fact that the students put all the nationalist movements "in the same boat" - uselessly saying the same thing.

In the years following the first Soweto revolt many hundreds of young people have arrived outside South Africa and have been taken in by the ANCSA. Now they are learning the process of armed struggle and there are hopes that their energy will be combined with the policies of the militants within the ANCSA to force, as one observer has put it, "a significant shift to the left which would probably minimise any divergence between the so-called national democratic demands and a socialist programme" (Archie Mafeje, *Soweto and its Aftermath*, in *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 11, Jan-April '78).

This important coalition seems, now, to be taking hold. It is important not only to add a youthful sense of grass roots decision-making to the liberation struggle but also because students can only succeed if they are organised in tandem with the development of workers' action.

South Africa, unlike most other African nations, has been heavily industrialised and now has a large urban working class around whom both student action and armed intervention will have to be planned.

Latest in a long line of publications to establish the central importance of the urban working class is a book titled *Labour, Townships and Protest*. The book is a selection from 35 papers presented to a history workshop held at Witwatersrand University in February 1978. In three parts it deals with *Township Life and Patterns of Protest*, *Cultural Alternatives to Hegemony*, and *Worker Experience and Action*.

The overall impression about tactics which may be gained from this and other books is that any struggle must not only be over tangible issues of wages, prices, rents etc. but must be organised around whole communities where students, workers and underground units combine to present mass action as a grass roots expression without 'leaders' who may be killed or imprisoned.

How this approach can succeed may be seen in the recent strikes in the Port Elizabeth area where unions have effectively moved against multinational employers. Workers' committees centred their demands around housing and educational facilities in their communities. All of their demands were met by the car companies Ford and Volkswagen.

The unification of forces inside and outside South Africa offers a clear ally for expanding the anti-nuclear campaign in Britain. It should lead the British ANC to move into the industrial arena by uniting with workers touched by the movement of uranium and the construction of nuclear facilities. It should also lead British ANC supporters to campaign against the British based multinational companies which operate in support of the apartheid structure in South Africa and Namibia.

BRIAN MURPHY

Take Action

If you are involved in your local anti-nuclear campaign you should move that closer links with the Anti Apartheid Movement be developed. Recommend your members to publications on the conditions of workers in Namibia and South Africa and suggest that local union branches be drawn into discussions about the international aspects of the anti-nuclear struggle.

AAM: 89 Charlotte Street, London W1P 2DQ

Books Mentioned: South Africa, The Method in the Madness, by John-Kane Berman, Pluto Press, 1979, £2.95; Labour, Townships and Protest - Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand, edited by Belinda Bozzoli, Raven Press, Johannesburg, 1979, £6.50.

Both books from your local progressive bookshop or from: Third World Publishers, 151 Stratford Road, Birmingham B11 1RD

Essential Reading on Namibia: Namibia Dossier. Gives the political state of play. From: International University Exchange Fund, Parnell House, 25 Wilton Rd, London SW1V 1JS, or Third World Publishers (as above); The Workers of Namibia, by Gillian and Susan Cronje, International Defence and Aid Fund, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP (£1.50); Labour and Discrimination in Namibia, International Labour Office (£3.75). From: International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland.

BOOKSHOP NOTES

The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review. No. 5 (120pp. large format. ppr.) £2.00 (36p)
 Joseph Lane: An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto. (52pp. ppr.) £0.75 (10p)
 The Friends of Durruti Group (Barcelona 1938): Towards a Fresh Revolution (48pp. ppr.) £0.75 (10p)
 *Ammon Hennacy: The Book of Ammon (Autobiography) (490pp. ppr.) £3.50 (93p)
 Kennedy Lindsay: Ambush at Tully-West: The British Intelligence Services in Action (263pp. ppr.) £4.95 (50p)
 Vladimir Fisera (Ed.): Writing on the Wall: France, May 1968: A Documentary Anthology (327pp. ppr.) £4.50 (75p)
 Dario Fo (adapted by Gavin Richards): Accidental Death of an Anarchist. (45pp. ppr.) £1.50 (17p)
 Vernon Richards: The Impossibilities of Social Democracy. (142pp. ppr.) £1.00 (26p)
 WE CAN GIVE FULL TRADE TERMS ON THIS TITLE.
 B. Traven: The Treasures of B. Traven (The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, The Death Ship, and The Bridge in the Jungle.) (627pp. cloth.) £7.50 (93p)

Are You a Teacher?

A recent publication issued by the Faculty of Education of Witwatersrand University provides an excellent starting point for discussing South Africa with students at 'O' Level. The booklet provides 31 'Documents' which introduce aspects of South African history which have led to the present liberation struggle. Each 'document' is followed by a series of questions designed to lead students and teachers to broaden their analysis and integrate it with historical developments in other countries.

In four sections the 'documents' cover Migrant Labour, Industrialisation, Politics and Apartheid. Highly Recommended.

20th Century South Africa - Documentary Material for Teaching South African History, by Jose Druker. Available from Third World Publications (as above). Price: £1.25.

Kropotkins Lighthouse Posters available from Freedom Bookshop :-

Percy Bysshe Shelley: Song - to the Men of England (illustr. by Walter Crane) £0.10 (plus 10p postage)
 Anon: Tom O'Bedlam. Poster Poem. 16th Century. £0.20 (plus 10p postage).

Will Wyatt: The Man who was B. Traven. (332pp. cloth) £8.50 (75p)

The most convincing and detailed examination yet undertaken as to the real identity of 'B. Traven'. Gregory P. Maximoff: The Guillotine at Work, Vol. 1. The Leninist Counter-Revolution. (337pp. ppr.) £5.95 (75p)

*Murray Bookchin: The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years. 1868 - 1936 (344pp. ppr.) £2.75 (50p)

*Paul Goodman: The Facts of Life. Volume III of the Collected Stories edited by Taylor Stoehr. This volume covers the years 1940 - 1949. (329pp. ppr.) £4.25 (75p)

Bound Volumes of Anarchy (1st Series) 1961 - 1970

Individual Bound volumes of "Anarchy" Magazine are available for each of the following years. 1967 (nos. 71-82 incl.). 1968 (nos. 83 - 94 incl.). 1969 (nos. 95 - 106 incl.) and 1970 (nos. 107 - 118 incl.) 384pp. each Cloth £7.00 (75p) per vol. (Not available to the trade).

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

Please add postage as in brackets. Items marked * are published in the U.S. North American customers please convert as follows:- U.S. £1 = \$2.40; Canada, £1 = \$2.80.

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

IN ANGEL ALLEY: 84b
 WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
 LONDON: E1: 01-247 9249