

WAR PRIMER 3

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War Primer and The Politics of Appropriation 85

Lewis Bush, 2013

Extracts from ‘Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties’ 93

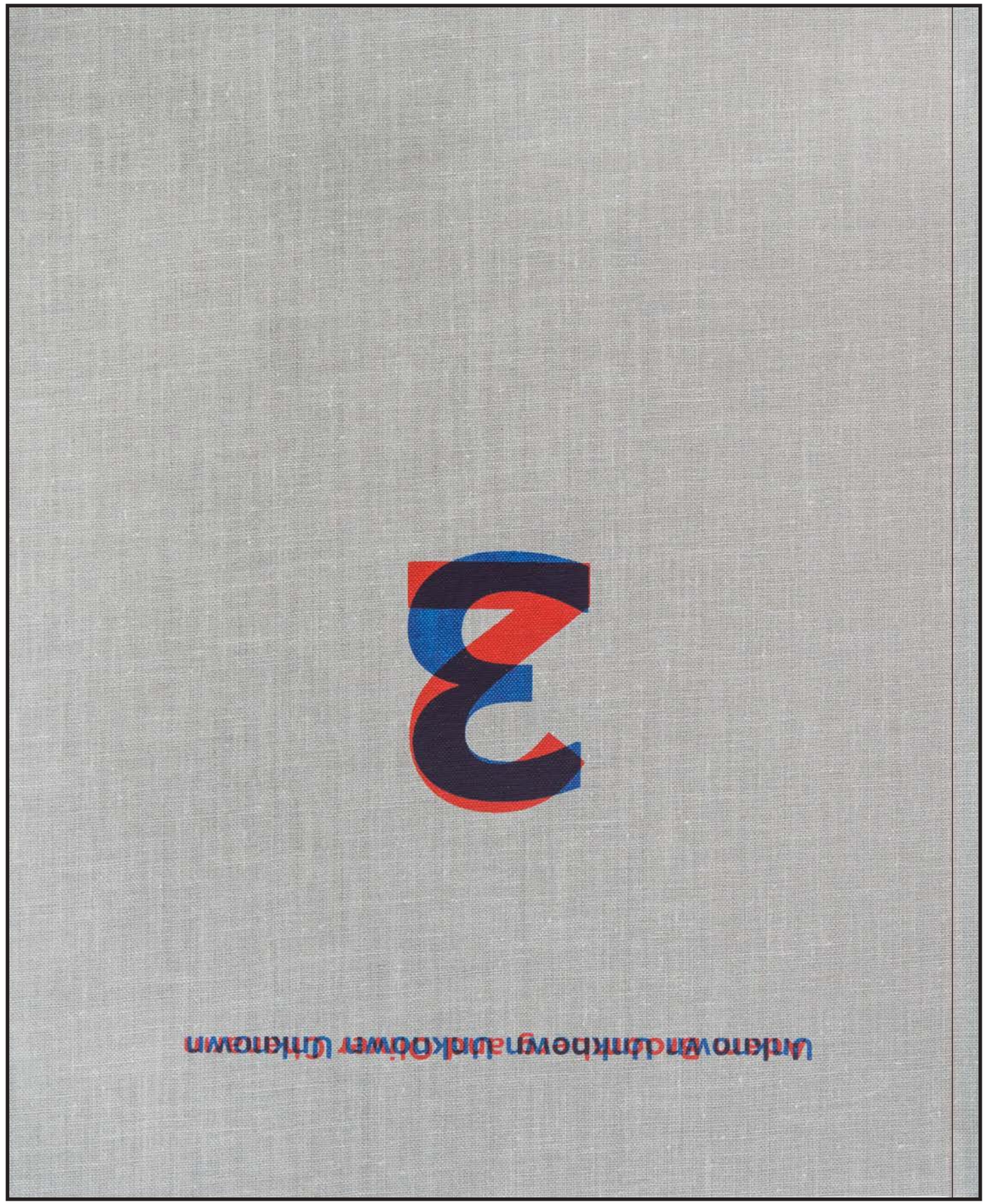
Bertolt Brecht, 1935

Returning to the War Primer 99

Lewis Bush, 2015



WAR PRIMER 3


Untitled Brandmark by Jack Dower Untitled

Adam Brouwenberg Unknown Unknown Unknown

Bertolt Brecht W[illegible]MER

3

A WORK PRIMER

?/100

Thanks to

A. G. W. M. E.

2015

www.lewisbush.com

WAR PRIMER 3

Translated and edited with an Afterword and Notes by John Willett

A WORK PRIMER

First published as *Kriegsfibel* by Eulenspiegel Verlag, Berlin, 1955;
second edition, 1994

This edition published by Libris, 1998
Translation copyright © 1998 by Stefan S. Brecht
Introduction and notes copyright © 1998 by John Willett
Libris
52 Eburne Road
London NW5 1UE

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library
ISBN 1870331621

The publishers are grateful to Eulenspiegel Verlag for supplying
scans of Brecht's original *montages* from his portfolios now in
the Brecht-Archiv in Berlin.
The publishers are grateful to
Original captions, where indistinct or not in English, are transcribed
and translated in the [illegible]

Collaborators: Giulia Astesani,
Natalia Grabowska, Piero Martinello,
Chloe Rafferty and Sam Skinner.
Thank you Dr. Wizisla.

Designed and produced by Kitzinger, London
Printed by BAS Printers Ltd, Over Wallop

To displease the possessors means to become one of the dispossessed. To renounce payment for work may be the equivalent of giving up the work, and to decline fame when it is offered by the mighty may mean to decline it forever. This takes courage. - BB To displease the possessors means to become one of the dispossessed. To renounce payment for work may be the equivalent of giving up the work, and to decline fame when it is offered by the mighty may mean to decline it forever. This takes courage. - BB To displease the possessors means to become one of the dispossessed. To renounce payment for work may be the equivalent of giving up the work, and to decline fame when it is offered by the mighty may mean to decline it forever. This takes courage. - BB

First published as
WAR PRIMER 2
by MACK 2011
Unit 21, Unit 6 2 Wood Vale
London SE23 3ED
United Kingdom

ISBN 978-1-907946-15-8



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Concordance xx

Don't start from the good old things,
but the bad new ones - BB

To displease the possessors means to become one of the dispossessed. To renounce payment for work may be the equivalent of giving up the work, and to decline fame when it is offered by the mighty may mean to decline it forever. This takes courage. - BB

1

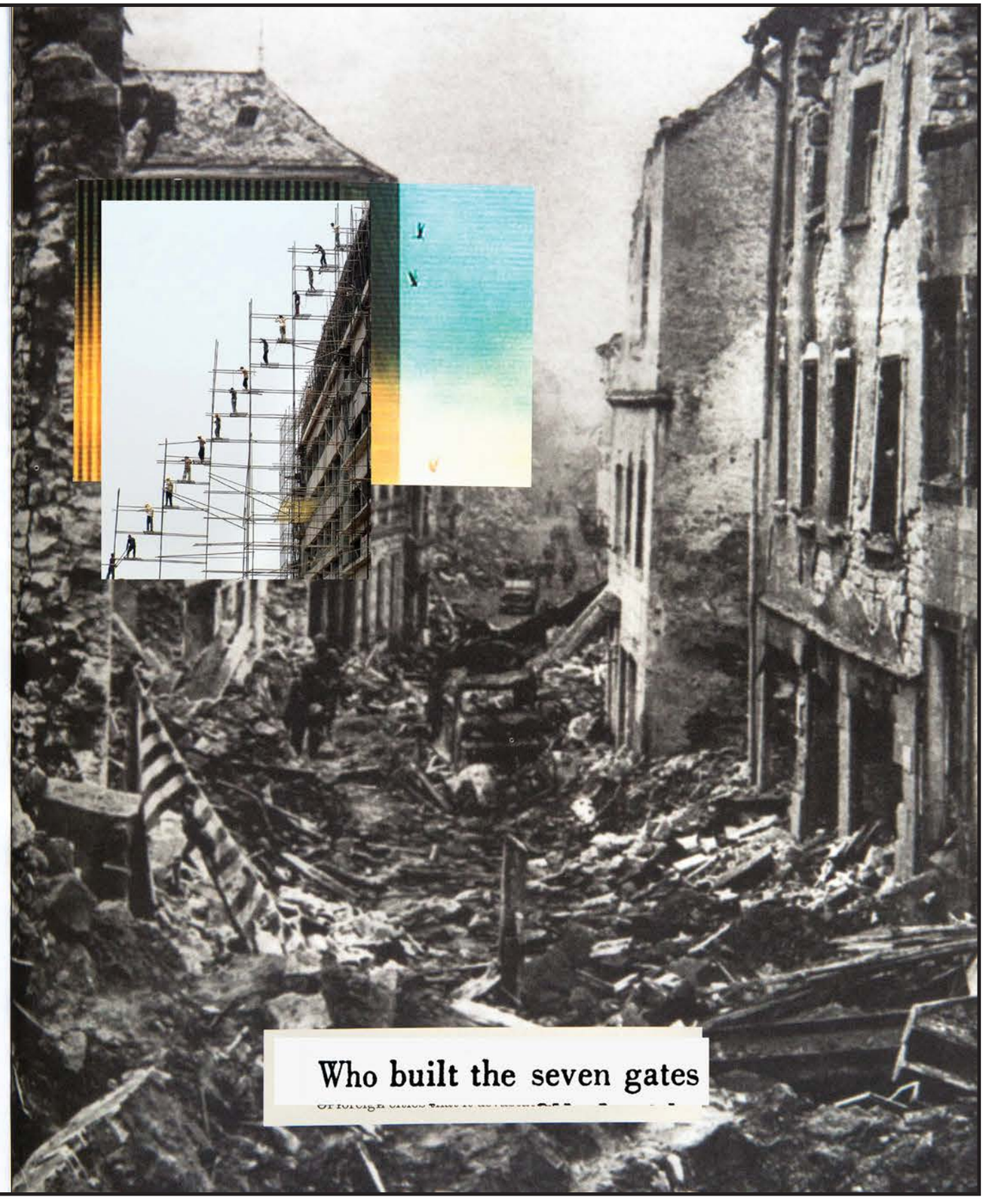


A WORKER



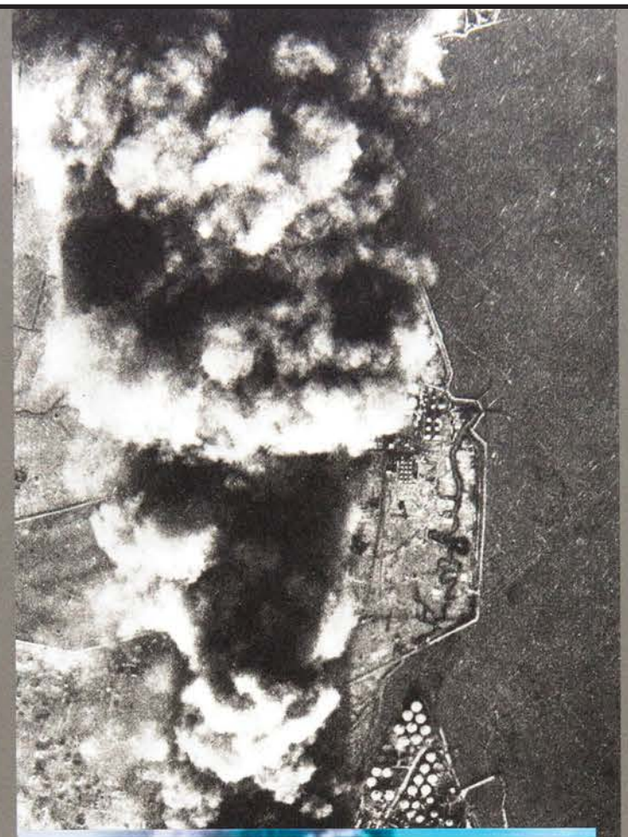
A German Landser— Associated Press —And his Russian counterpart The New York Times

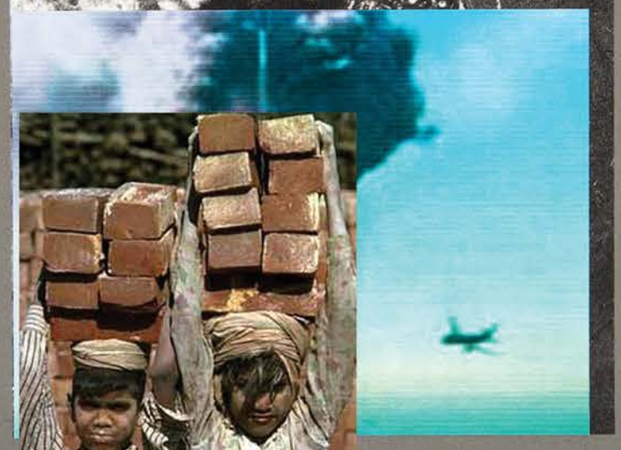
READS HISTORY



Who built the seven gates

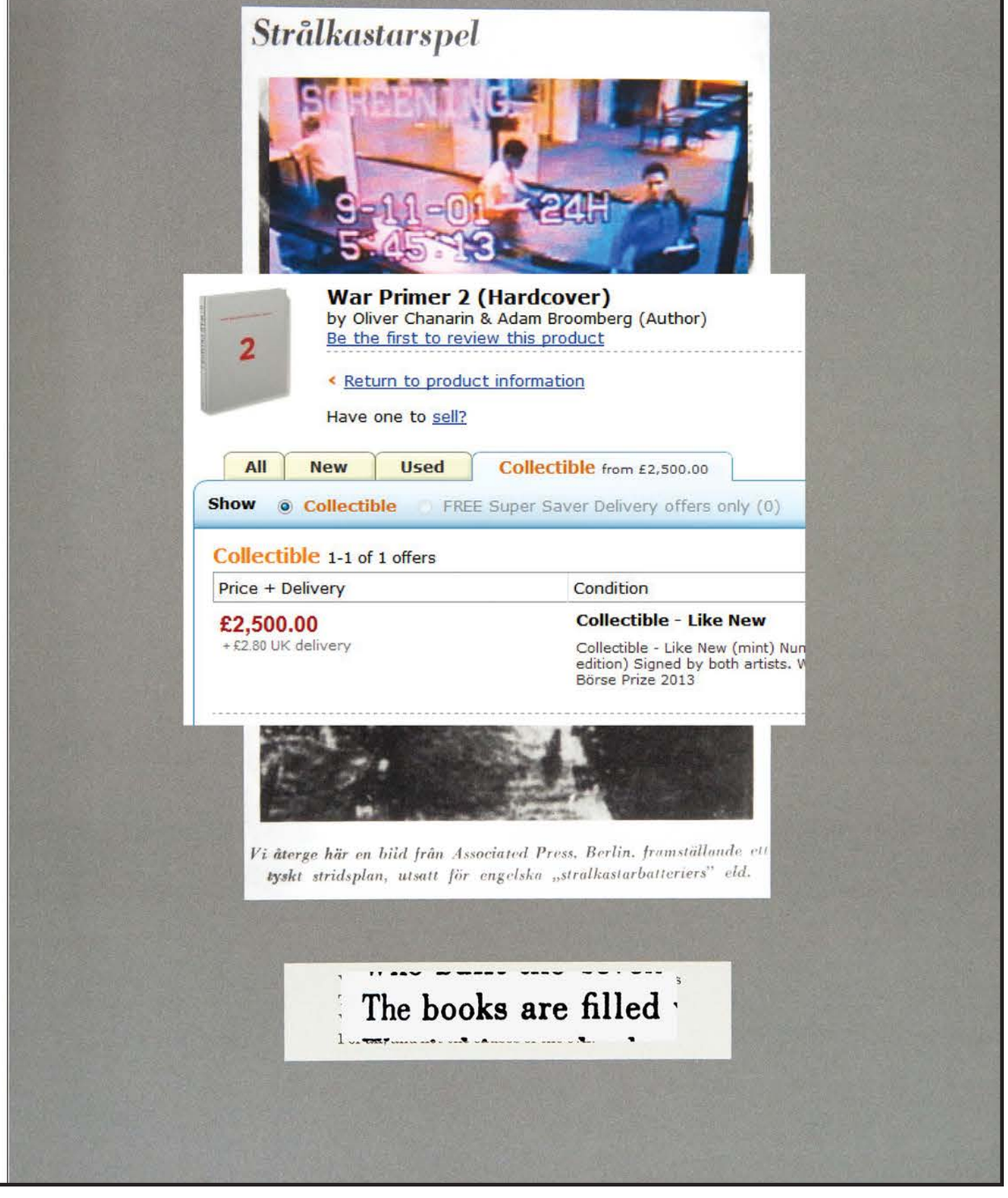
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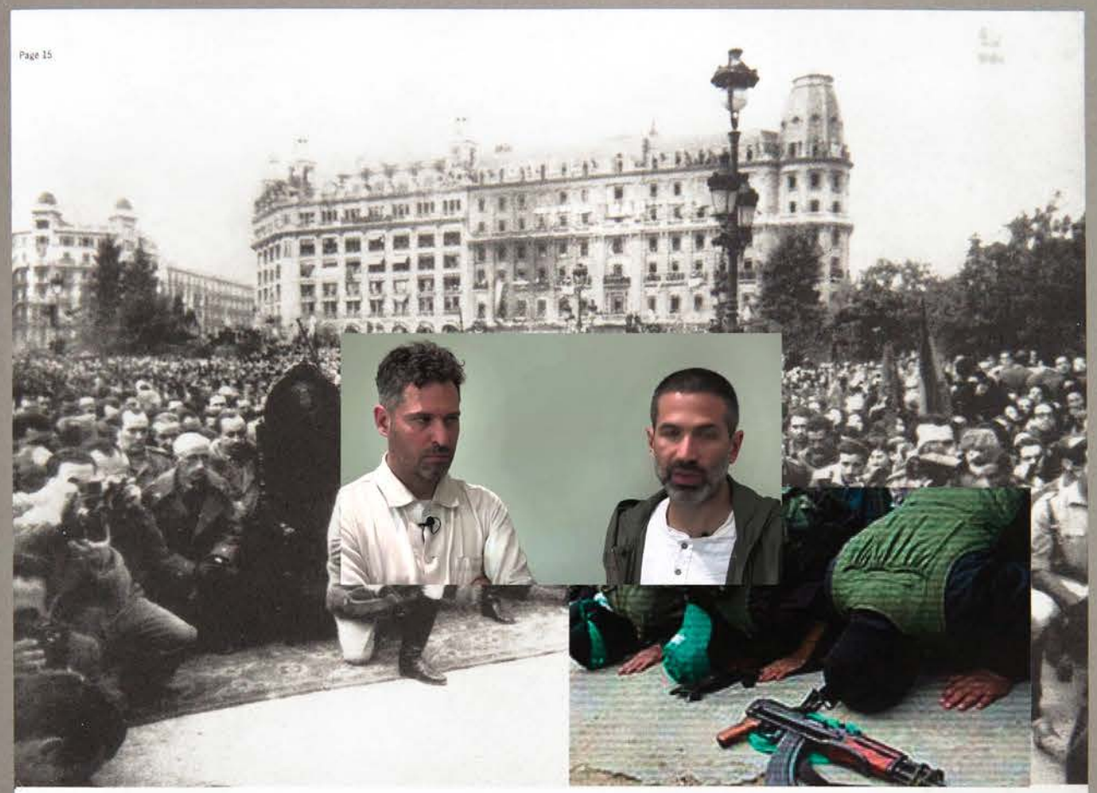
of Thebes?

Searchlight display We reproduce a picture from Associated Press, Berlin, showing a German fighter-plane caught in English searchlights.



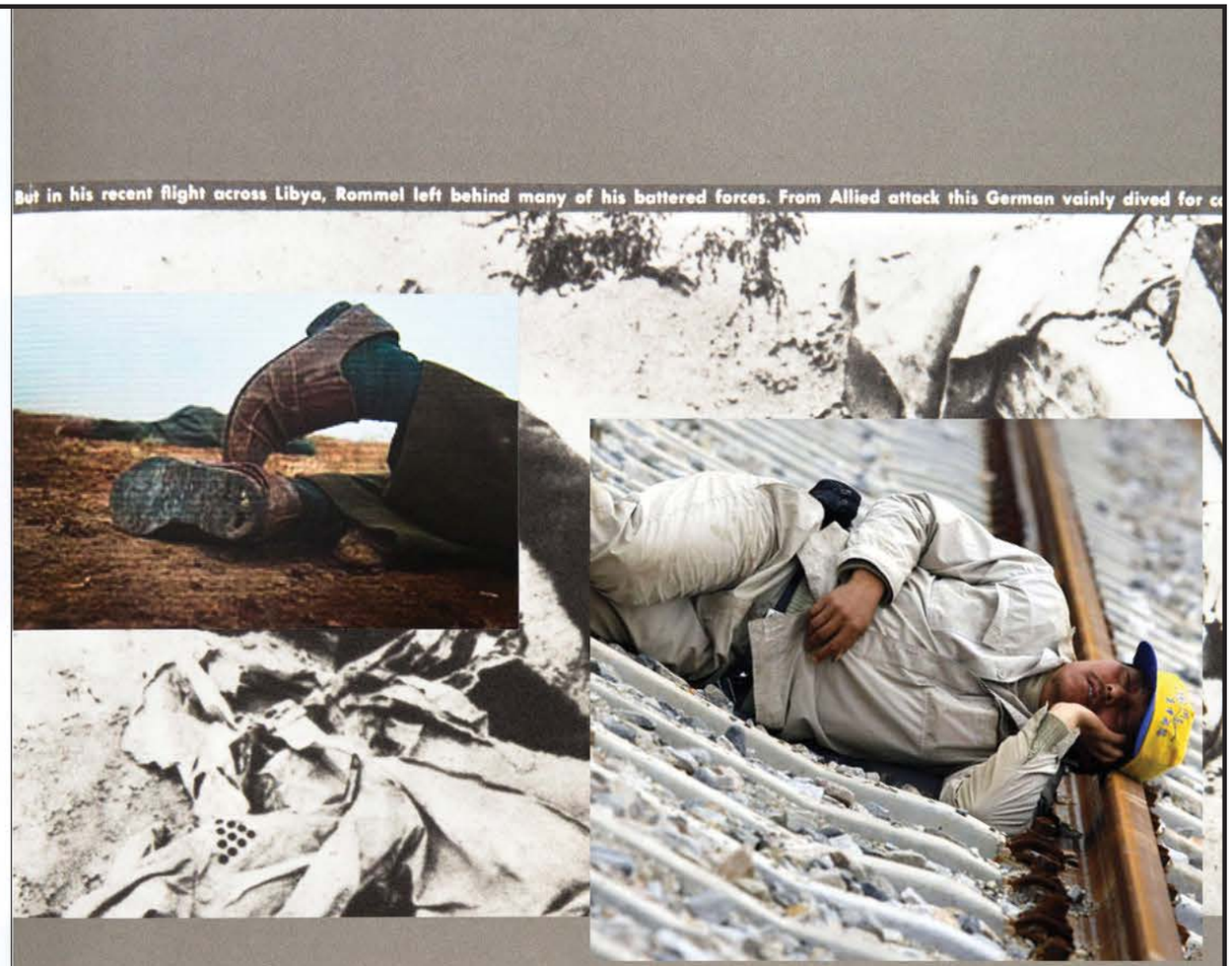
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4

Page 15

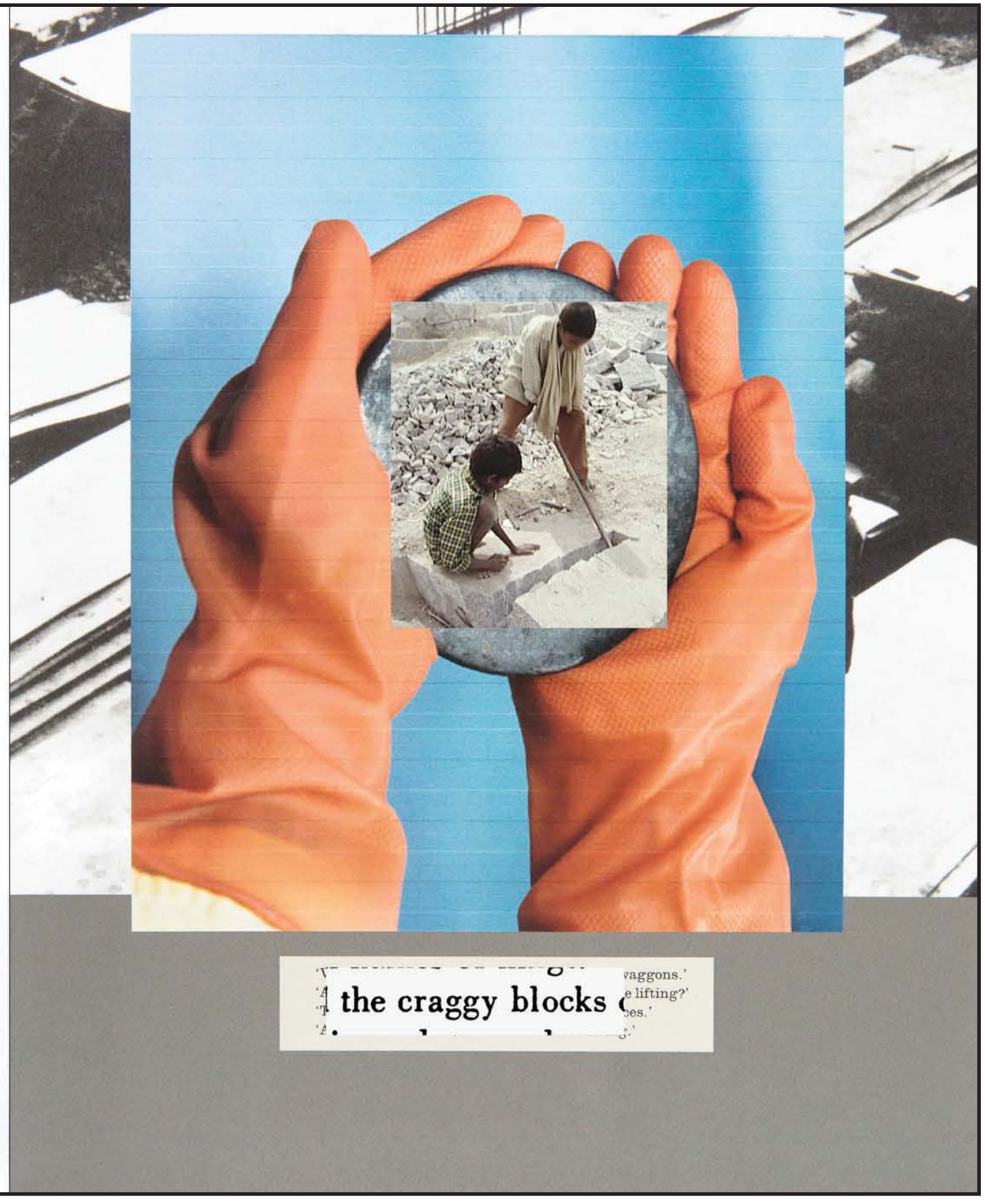


The conqueror, General Juan Yagüe, kneels before his throne-chair at an open-air mass in Barcelona's Plaza de Catalunya. In background is the Hotel Colon, whose tower is seen again in the picture below, at lower right. Behind Yagüe are Generals Martin Alonso, Barrón, Vega. Yagüe and Solchaga moved off to chase Loyalists to the border.

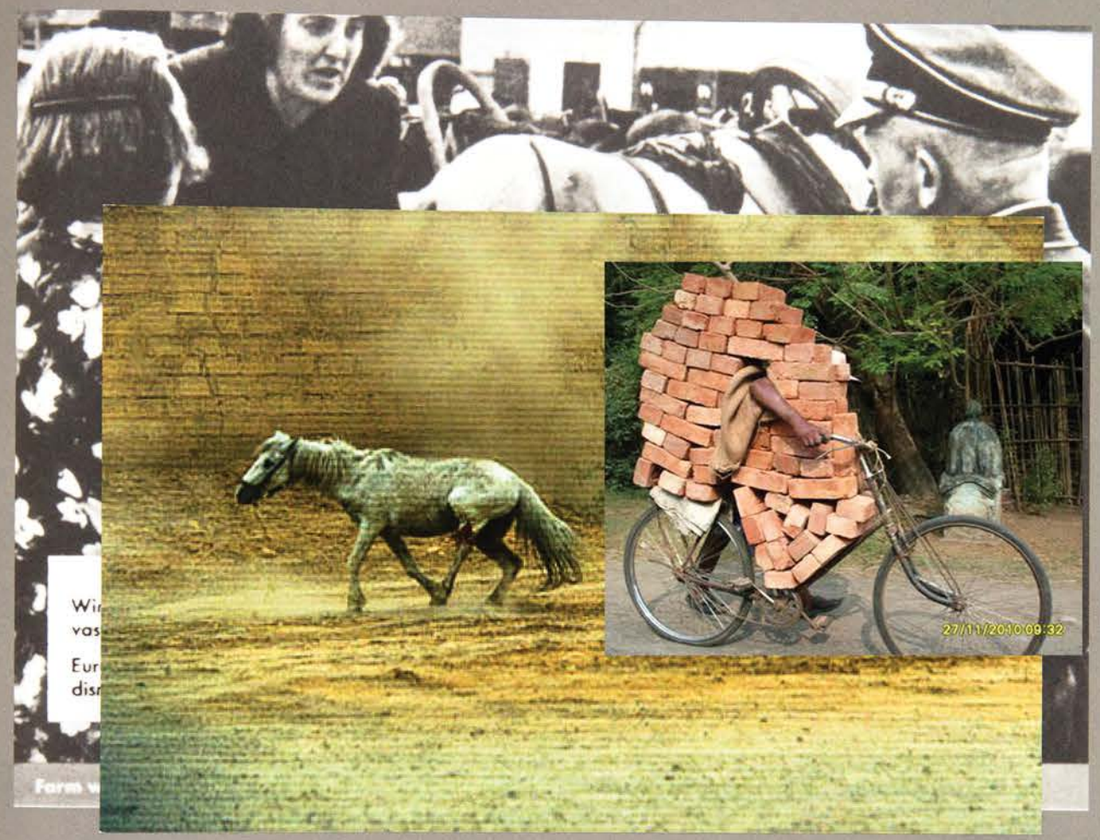
with names of kings.



Was it kings who hauled



vaggons.'
e lifting?'
es.'
the craggy blocks



of stone?

Spring has come to Paris. Here we see one of its most typical signs – fishing along the quays of the Seine has begun in earnest. This year there are more fishermen than ever – a direct sign of the food shortage.



And Babylon, lish –

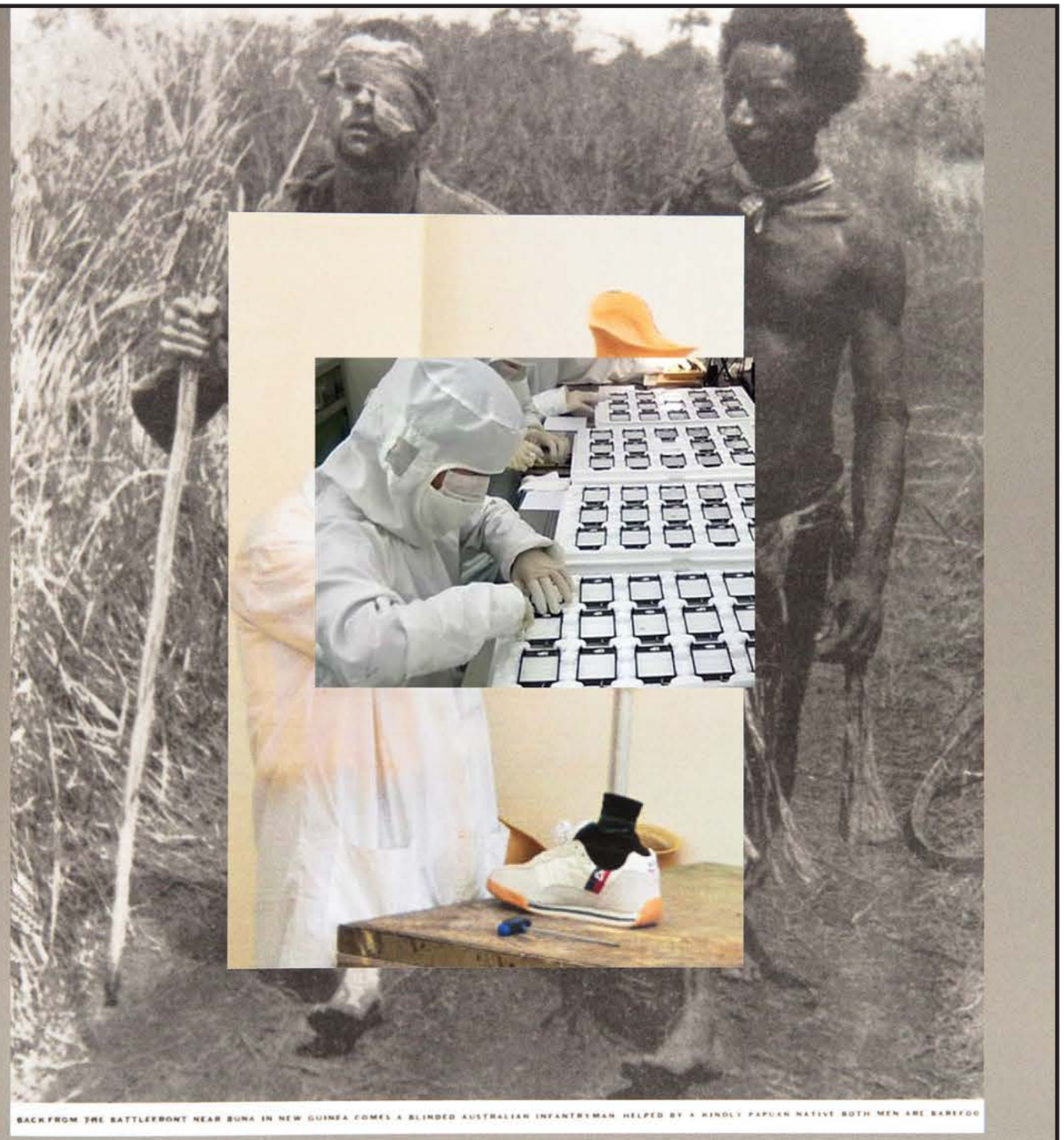
victims of Hitler and/or our own leaders.



so many times destroyed,

12 32

Back from the battlefront near Buna in New Guinea comes a blinded Australian infantryman helped by a kindly Papuan native. Both men are barefoot.



BACK FROM THE BATTLEFRONT NEAR BUNA IN NEW GUINEA COMES A BLINDED AUSTRALIAN INFANTRYMAN HELPED BY A KINDLY PAPUAN NATIVE BOTH MEN ARE BAREFOO

Who built the city

13
62



...n fire, sleep unprotected on the ground. White tapes seen in ...passages through mine fields cleared by engineers in the night.

T
A
T
Y

...up each time? ...ead

The City Today During the blitz the City of London was reduced to a ruin. This view was taken from St Paul's.

City av i dag



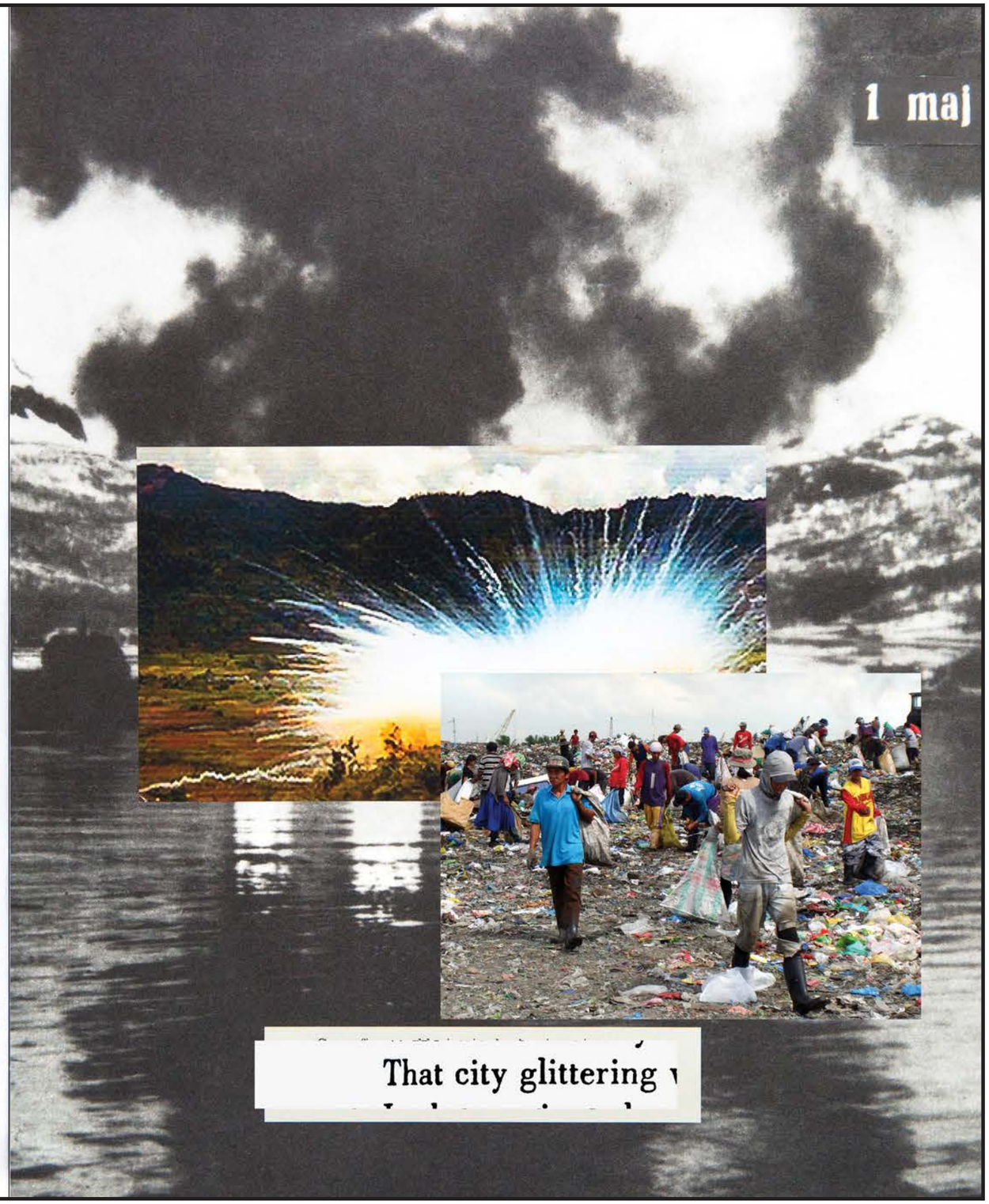


In response to suicides, Foxconn installed prevention nets at some of its dormitories. Getty Images



In which of Lima's houses,

15
6



10
maj





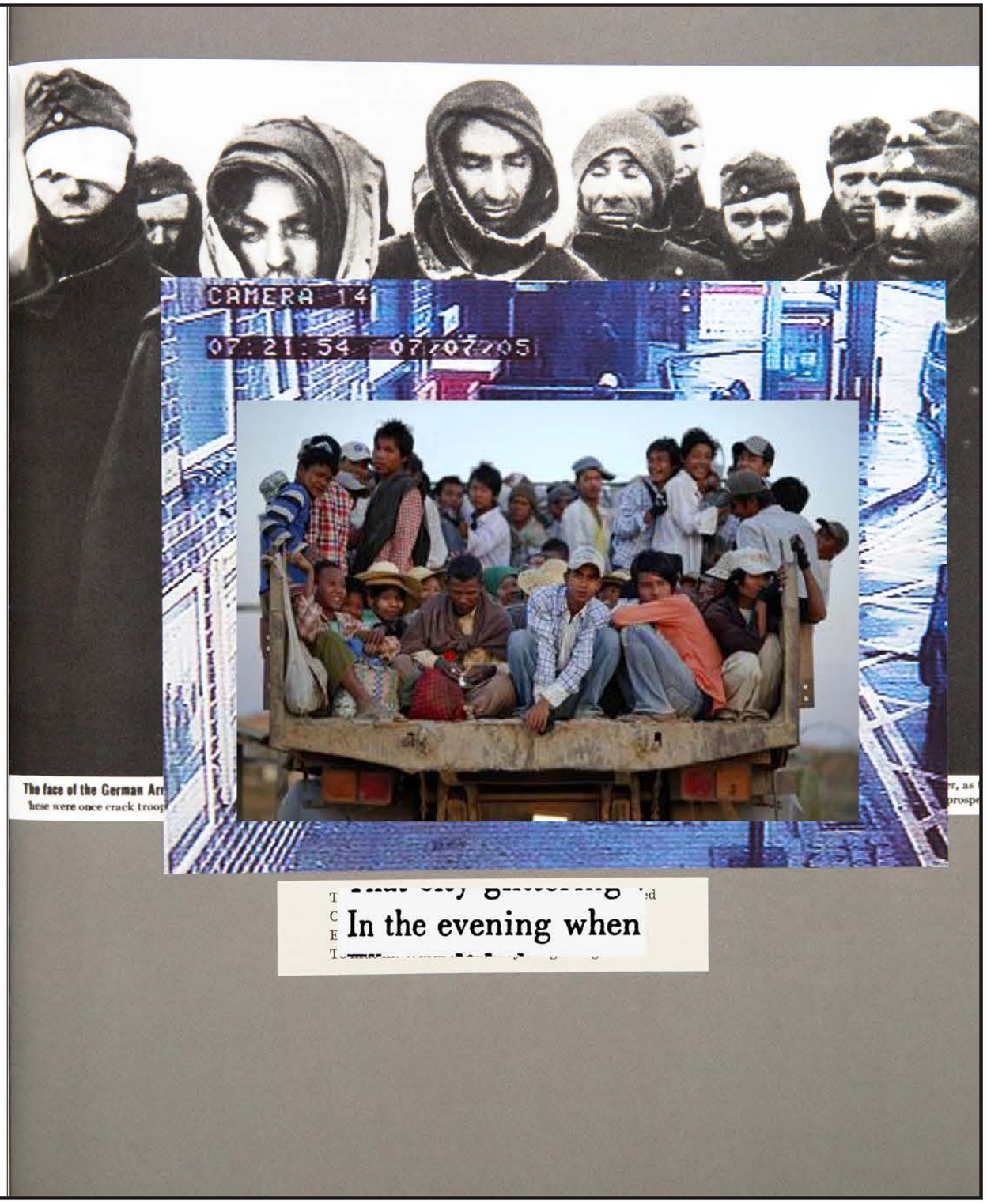
Gang stand.
With ttions.
I've l hand.
I am

g with gold, l

17
60



lived those who built it?


CAMERA 14
07:21:54 07/07/05
The face of the German Arr
hese were once crack troop
In the evening when

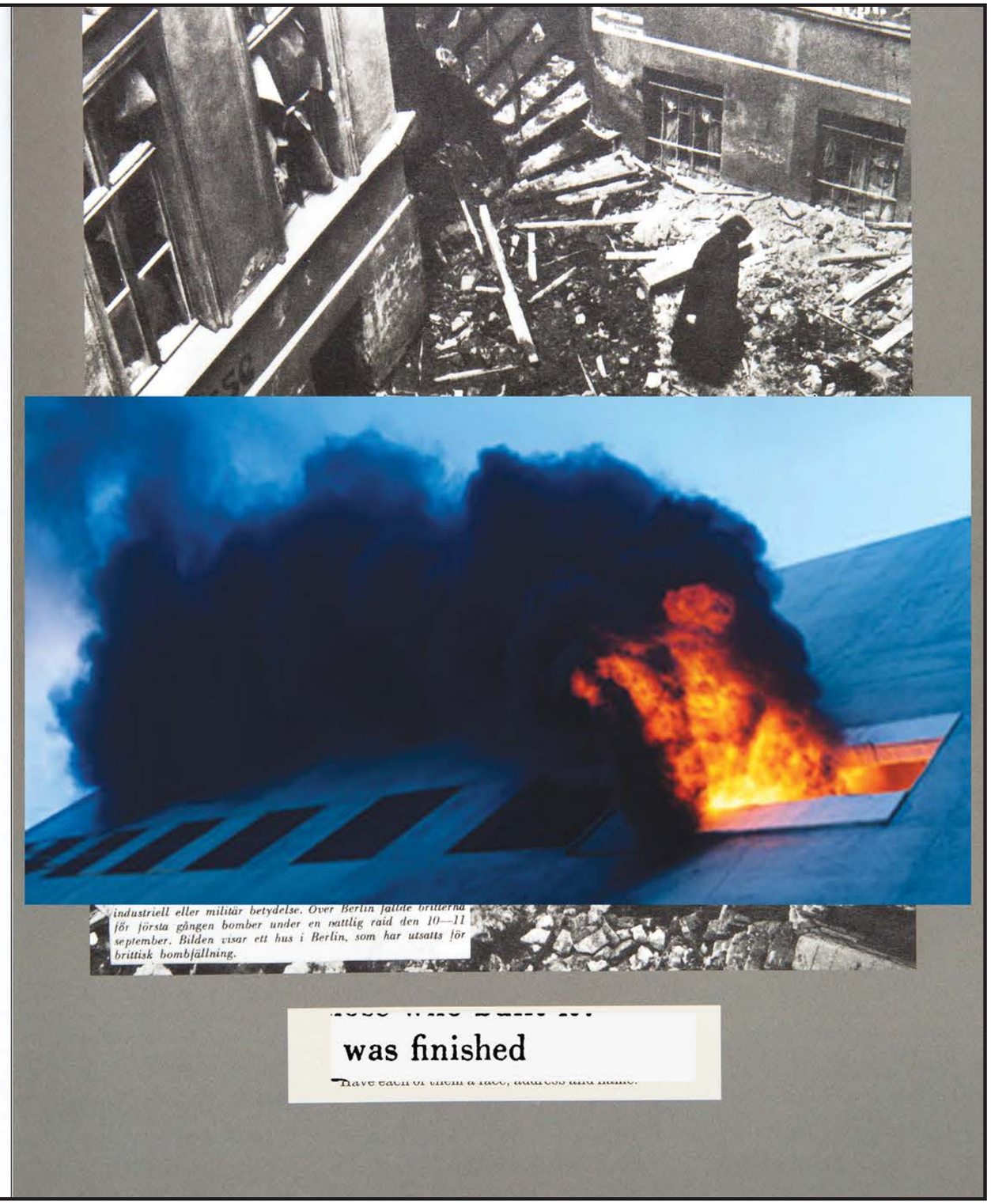
19
88



'W mmand.'
'Do .'
'W ends.'
'Ar

n the Chinese wall v

British Bombers over Berlin In late summer 1940 the RAF mounted several raids on Hamburg, Bremen and other major German towns of industrial and military importance. The British bombed Berlin for the first time on 10/11 September. The picture shows a house in Berlin after a British raid.



industriell eller militär betydelse. Över Berlin fällde britterna för första gången bomber under en nattlig raid den 10—11 september. Bilden visar ett hus i Berlin, som har utsatts för brittisk bombfällning.

was finished

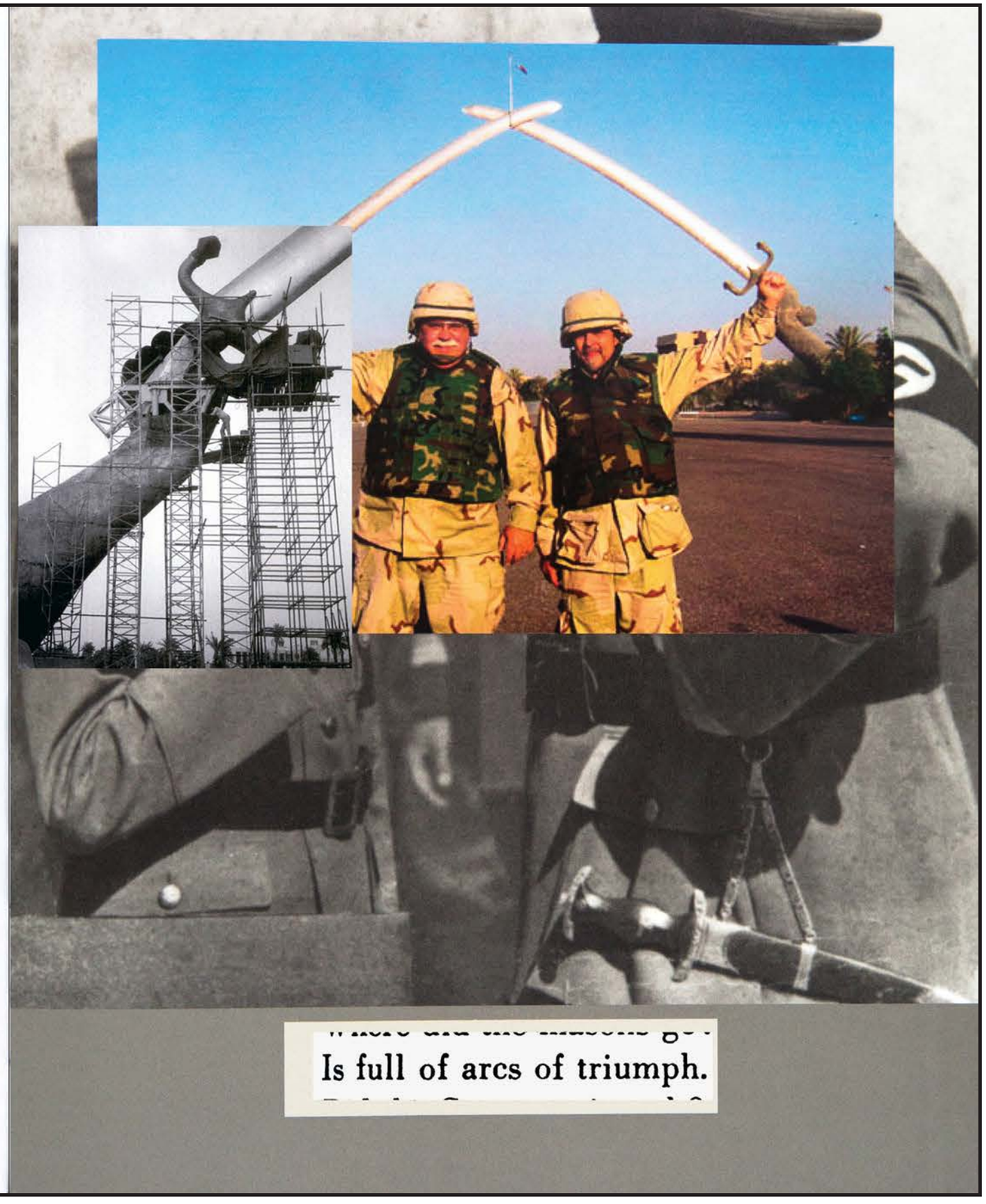


Where did the masons go?



? Imperial Rome

23
32

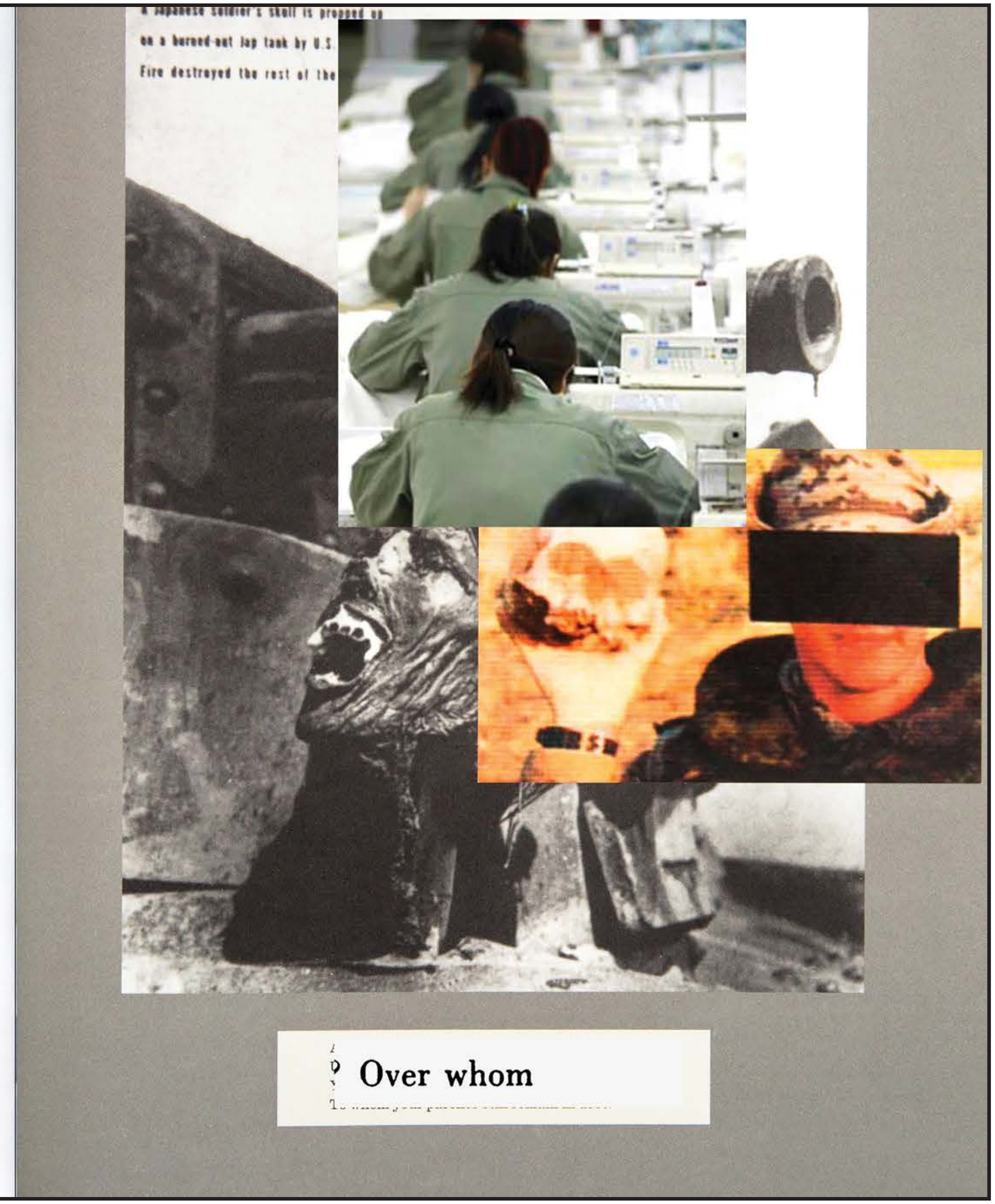


Is full of arcs of triumph.



The people hate them more than a foreign foe

. Who reared them up? O

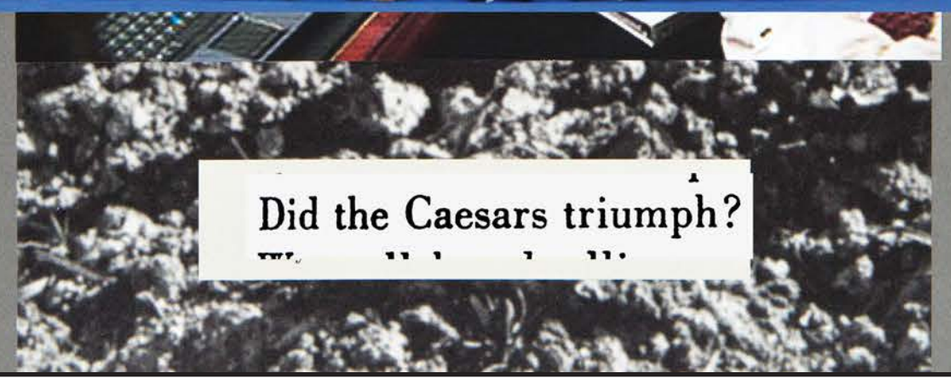


Over whom



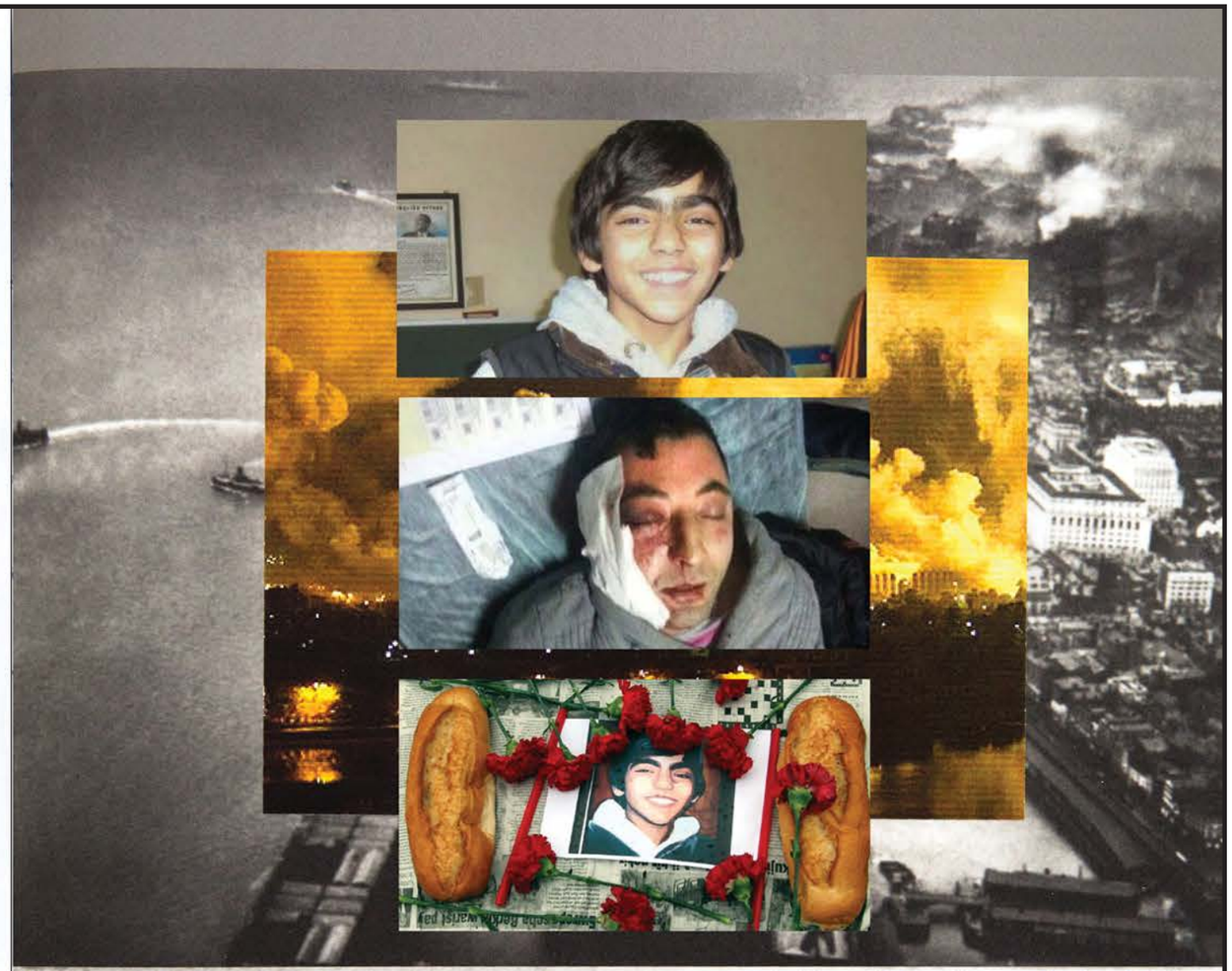



G2012
LOS CABOS
MÉXICO


Did the Caesars triumph?

27
18

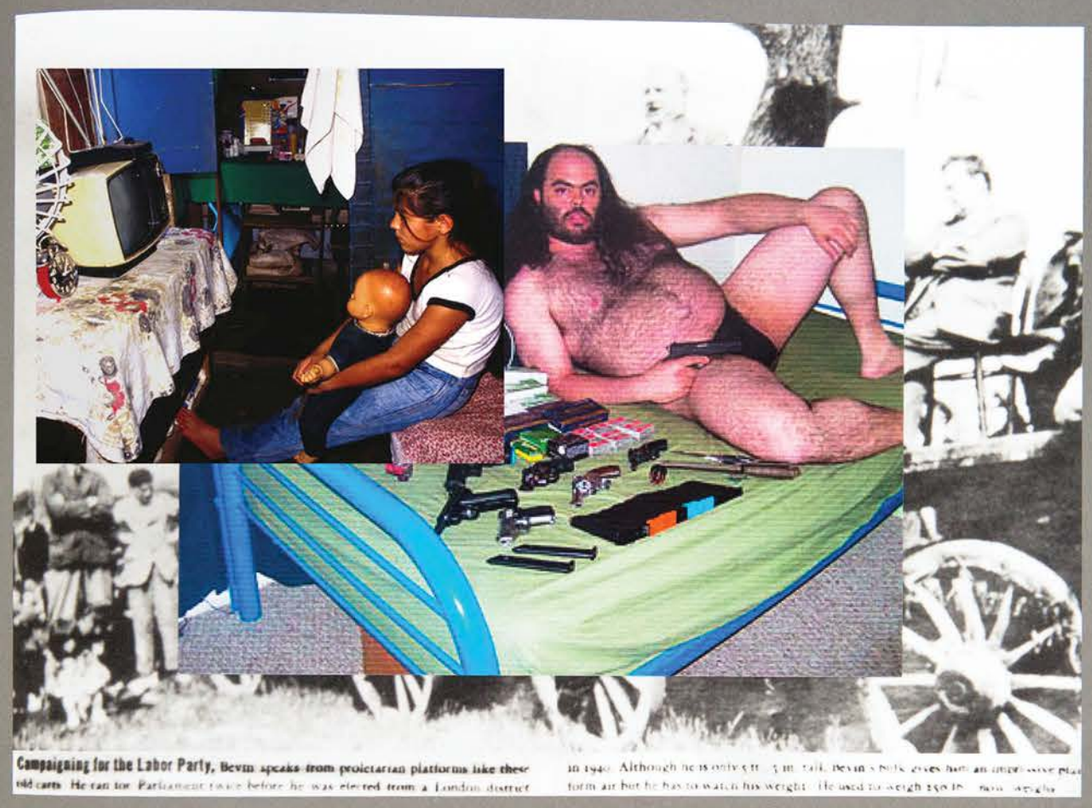
Liverpool harbour, England's second biggest, is well known to be the target of many German aerial bombardments and took many direct hits. This photograph gives a clear picture of the harbour — the smoke at the top shows that it has just been visited by German bombers.



Hamnen i Liverpool, Englands näststörsta, har som bekant varit föremål för flera tyska bombräder o
härvid blivit utsatt för många träffar. Här se vi en vacker bild från hamnen och eldsvådorna i bakgr
den utvisa, att hamnanläggningarna nyligen haft känning av de tyska bomberna.

Byzantium lives in song,

Campaigning for the Labor Party. Bevin speaks from the proletarian platforms like these old carts. He ran for Parliament twice before he was elected from a London district in 1940. Although he is only 5 ft., 5 in. tall, Bevin gives an impressive platform air but he has to watch his weight. He used to weigh 250 lb., now weighs 200.



Campaigning for the Labor Party, Bevin speaks from proletarian platforms like these old carts. He ran for Parliament twice before he was elected from a London district in 1940. Although he is only 5 ft., 5 in. tall, Bevin gives an impressive platform air but he has to watch his weight. He used to weigh 250 lb., now weighs

Were all her dwellings

A LINE OF CRUDE CROSSES MARKS AMERICAN GRAVES NEAR BUNA. A GRAVE REGISTRAR'S GLOVE ACCIDENTALLY POINTS TOWARD THE SKY





In [illegible] ger who
W[illegible] on earth.
W[illegible]s palaces? [illegible]eath. Now you
M[illegible] sent us forth.

German Churches on Wheels. The Catholic Church has 38 Berlin, Wednesday. According to reports from Catholic circles, the Catholic Church now has 38 churches on wheels. These consist of little altars mounted on motor vehicles so that mass can be offered to isolated and inaccessible villages. A further dozen of these mobile churches are on order, to reach – among others – remote army barracks. In general, the padré himself drives his own mobile church.





...there be lived in the world,

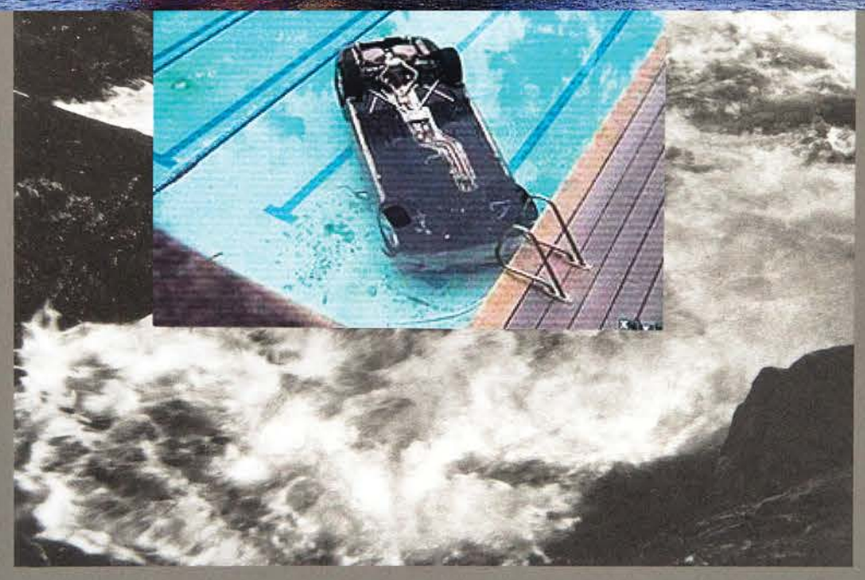
? And even in Atlantis (



of the legend

32
7

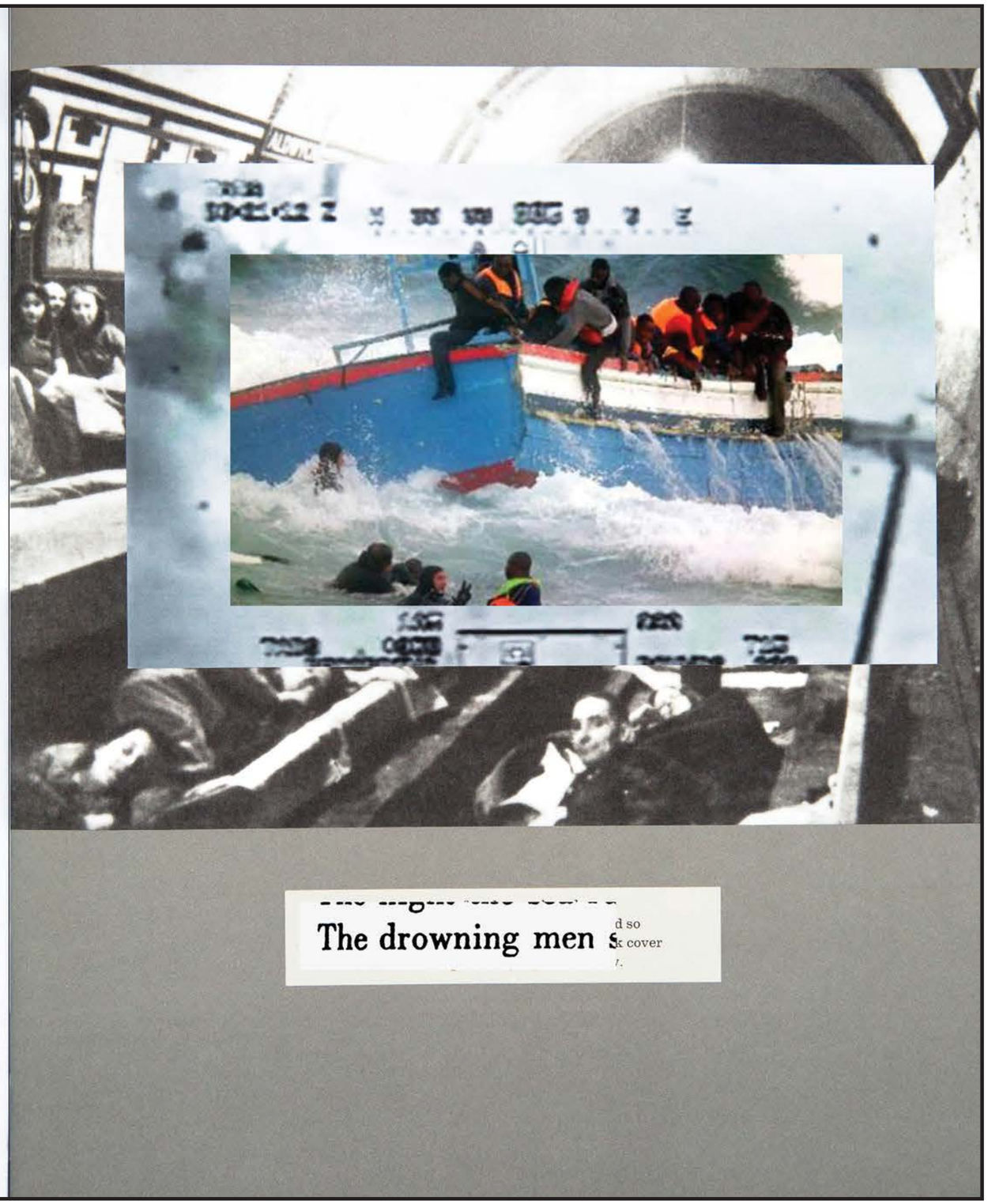




The night the sea rushed in,

—Remember us, and let just one swim free.

33
21



Field Marshal Fedor von Beck, 61 and a Prussian, helped conquer Poland, Paris and the North Caucasus.

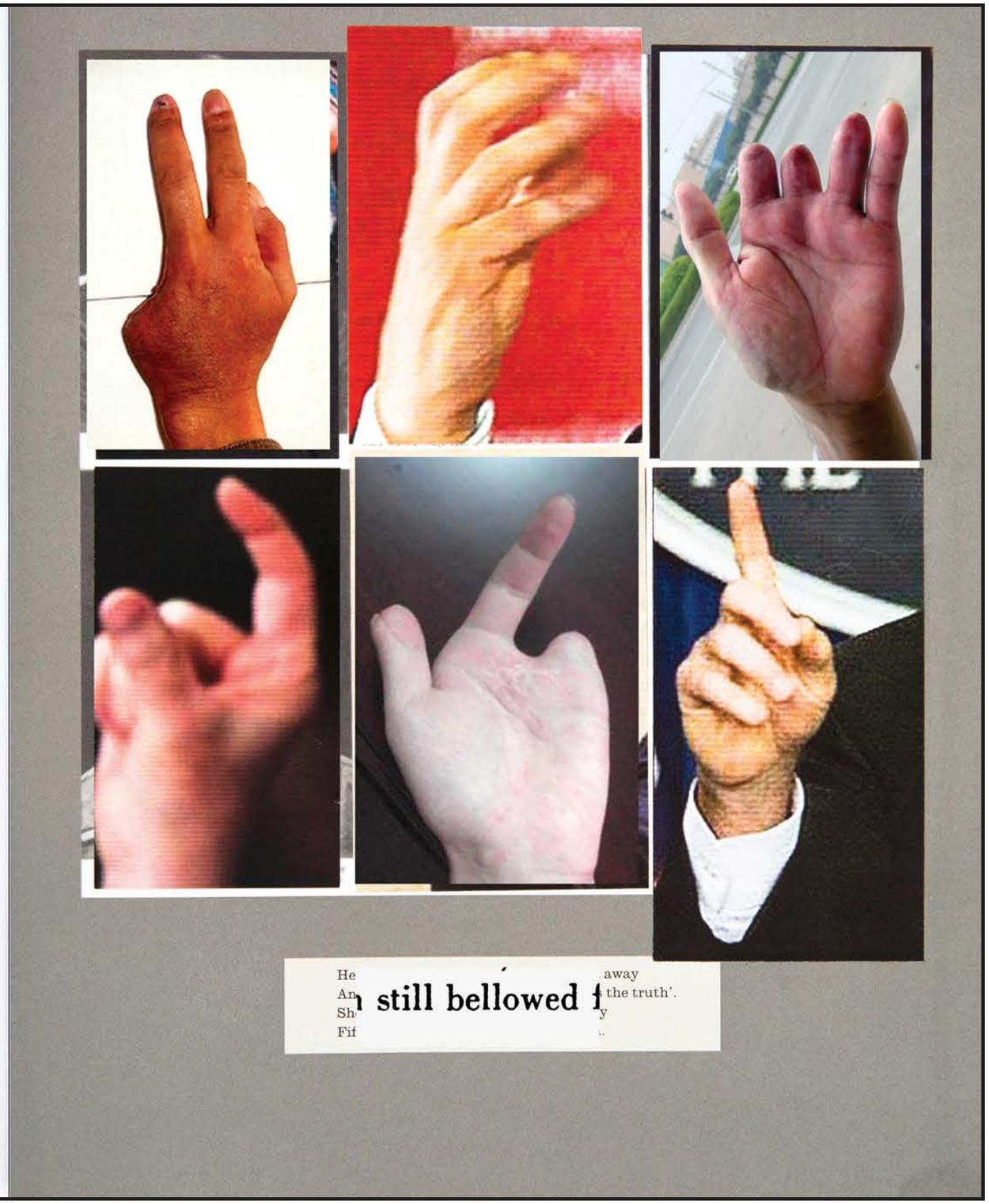
Field Marshal Hugo Sperrle, 57, Bavarian brewer's son, commanded air corps in Spain, Poland, Lowlands, France, Battle of Britain.

Field Marshal Karl von Rundstedt, 66, planned and carried through famous break at Sedan, now has headquarters there.

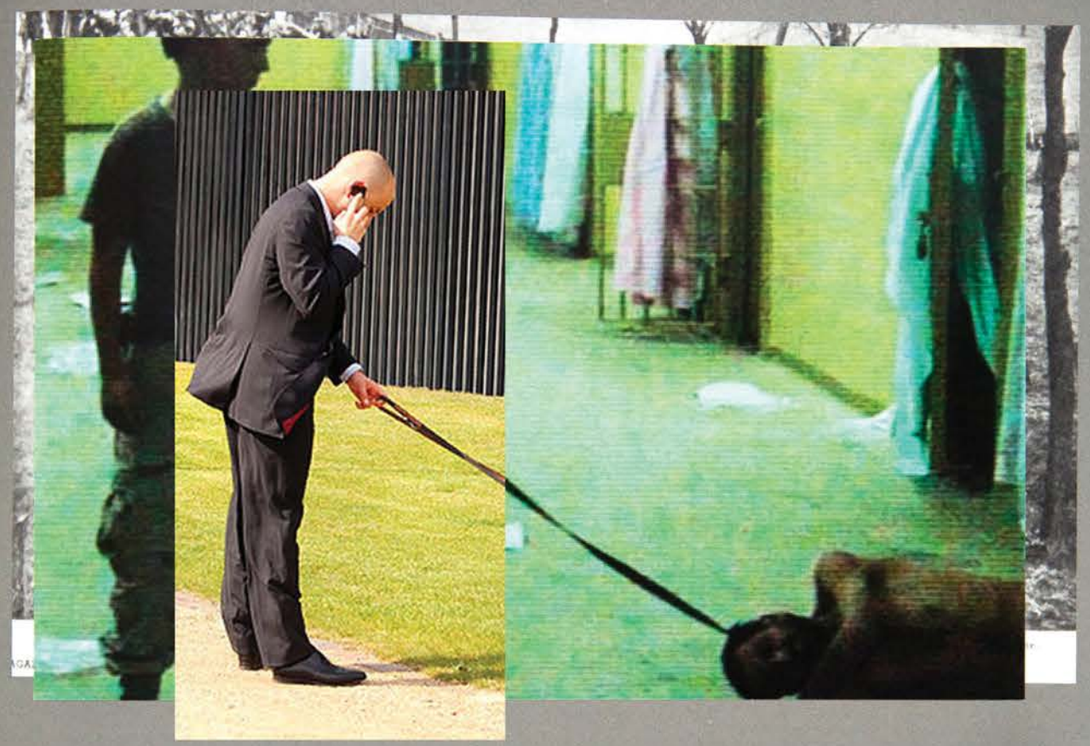
Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, 50, is slashing, hard-hitting commander of the German Afrika Corps in Battle of Egypt.

General Heinz Guderian, 56, a Prussian, had brilliant tank successes in Poland and France, commanded Panzer division from a plane.

Field Marshal Siegmund List, 62, steely Bavarian master of mobility, knifed through Poland and France.

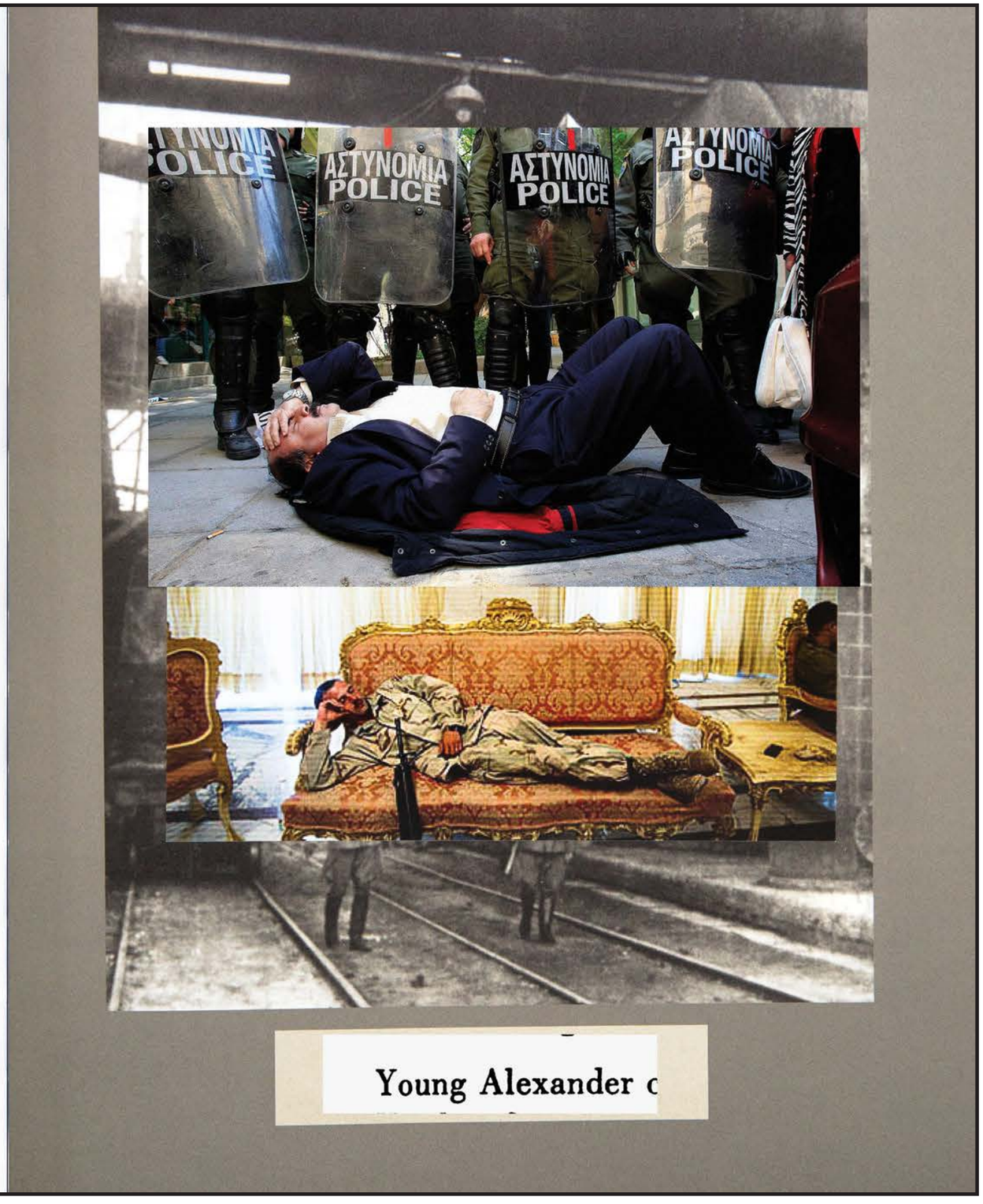


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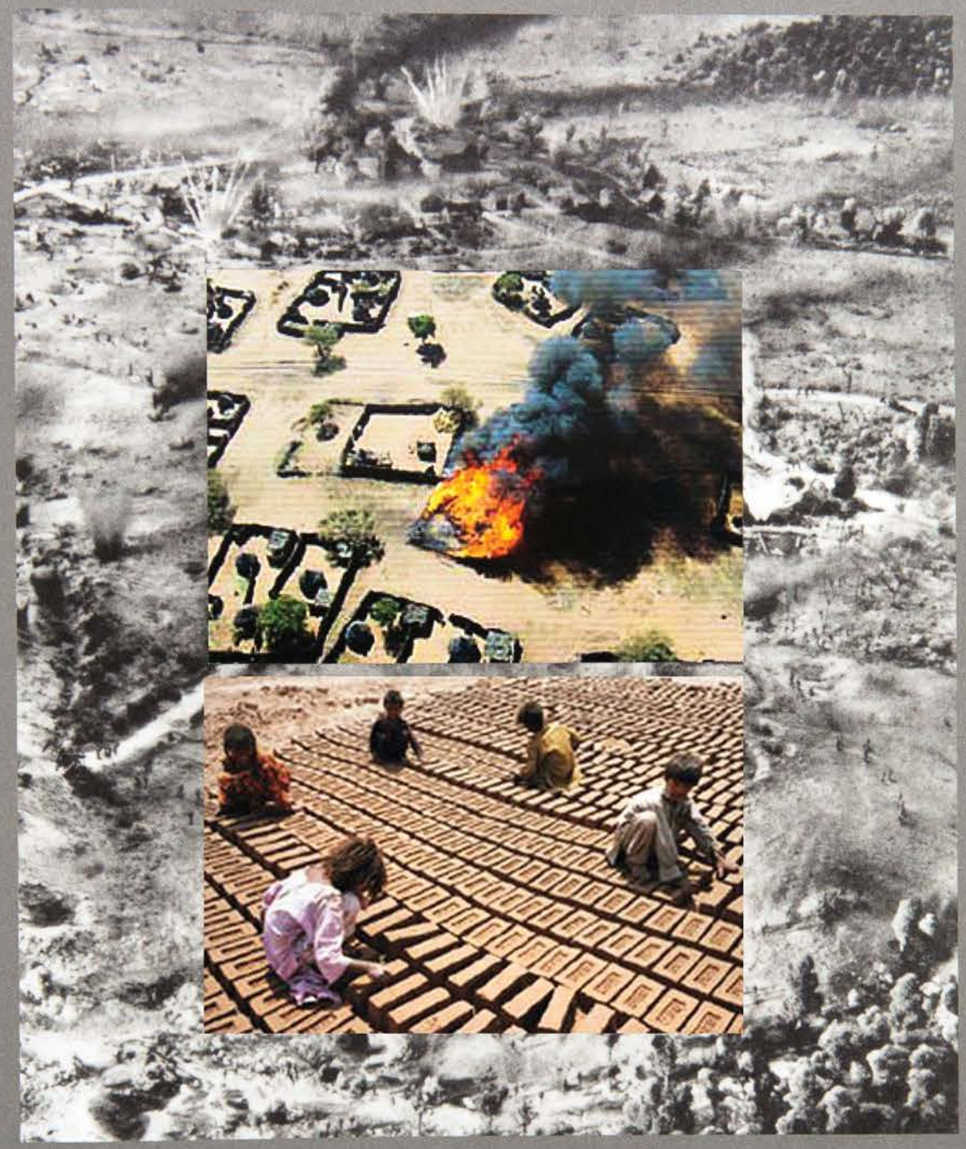


l for their slaves. e yoke
A e.

Returning to a changed world — French soldiers, released after five years of captivity, march down a road in Germany on the first leg of their journey home.



Young Alexander c



r conquered India.

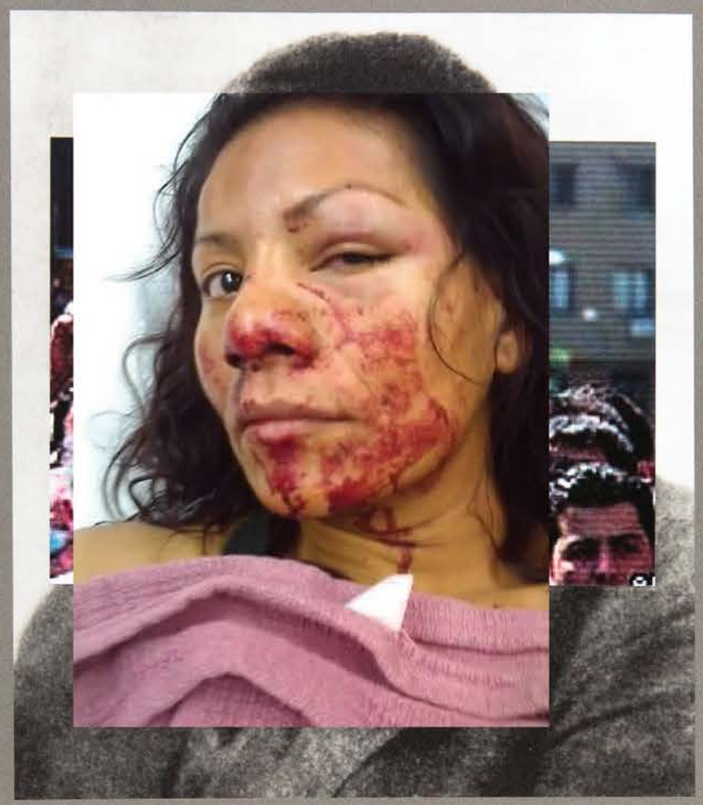


...en the "Fox of the Desert," German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel (left) drank this premature toast, his *Afrika Korps* was still "unbeatable

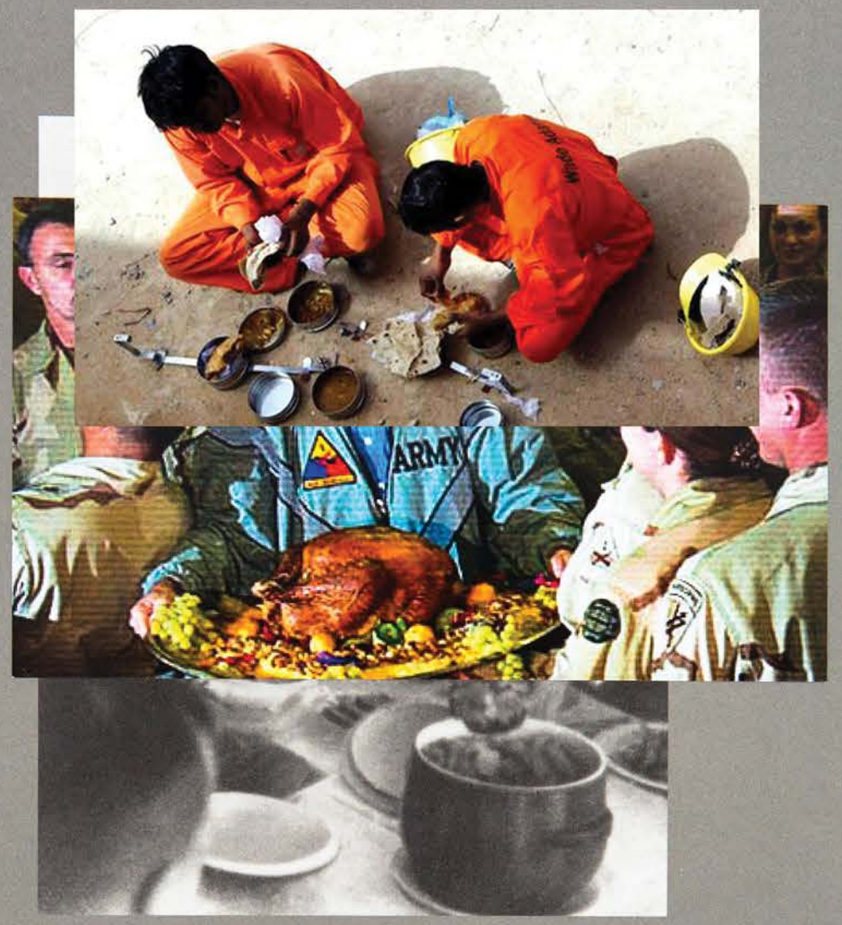
H...
T...
T...
T... ...nds!

He alone?

39
29



Caesar beat the Gauls.



Was there not even a cook

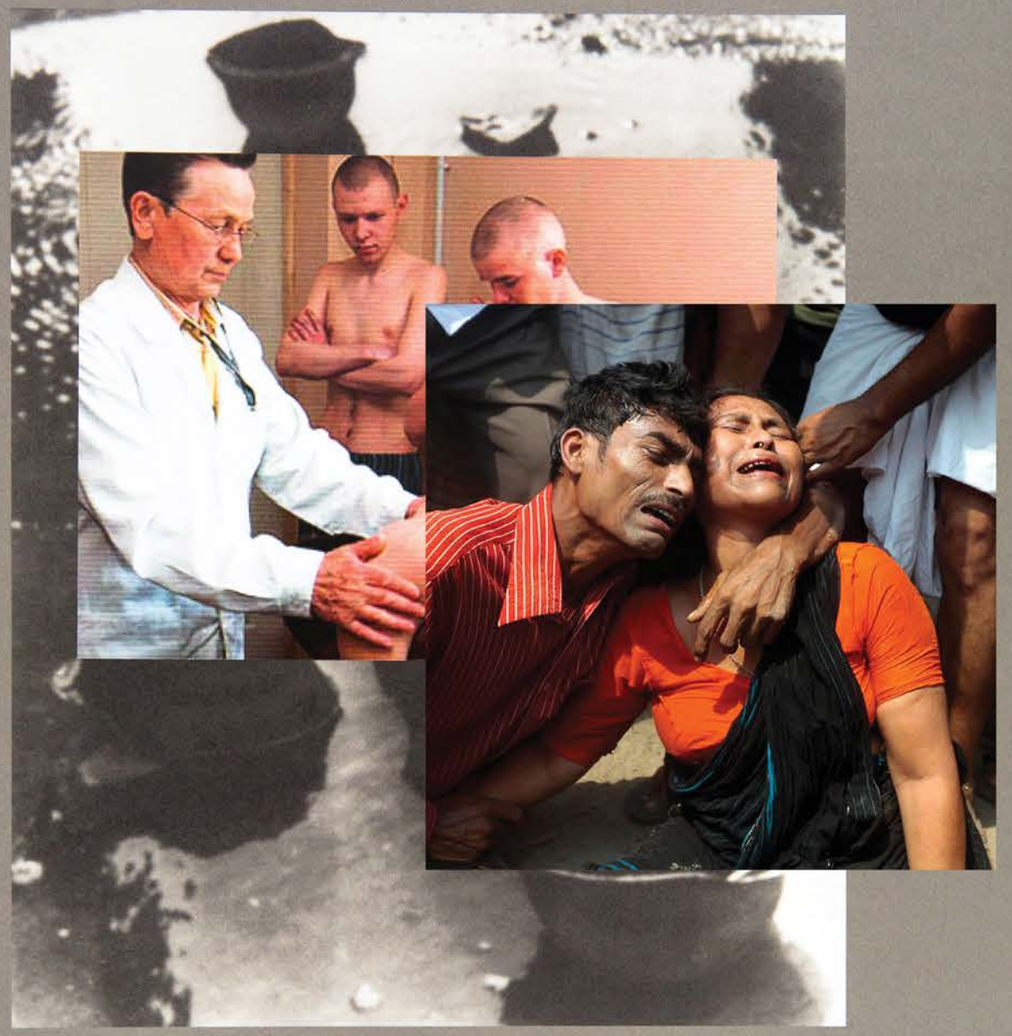


scow

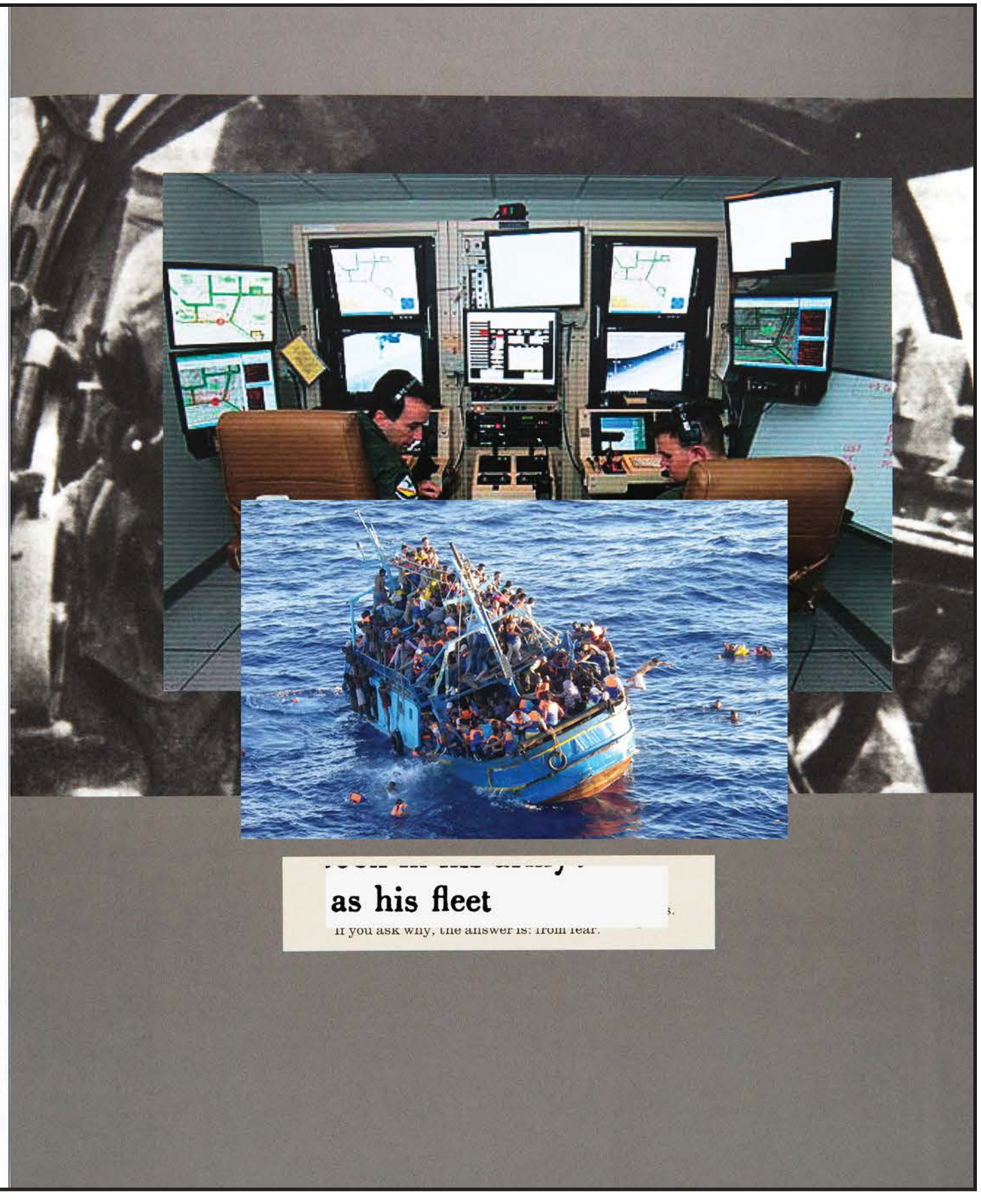
t in his army?

people

42



Philip of Spain wept



as his fleet

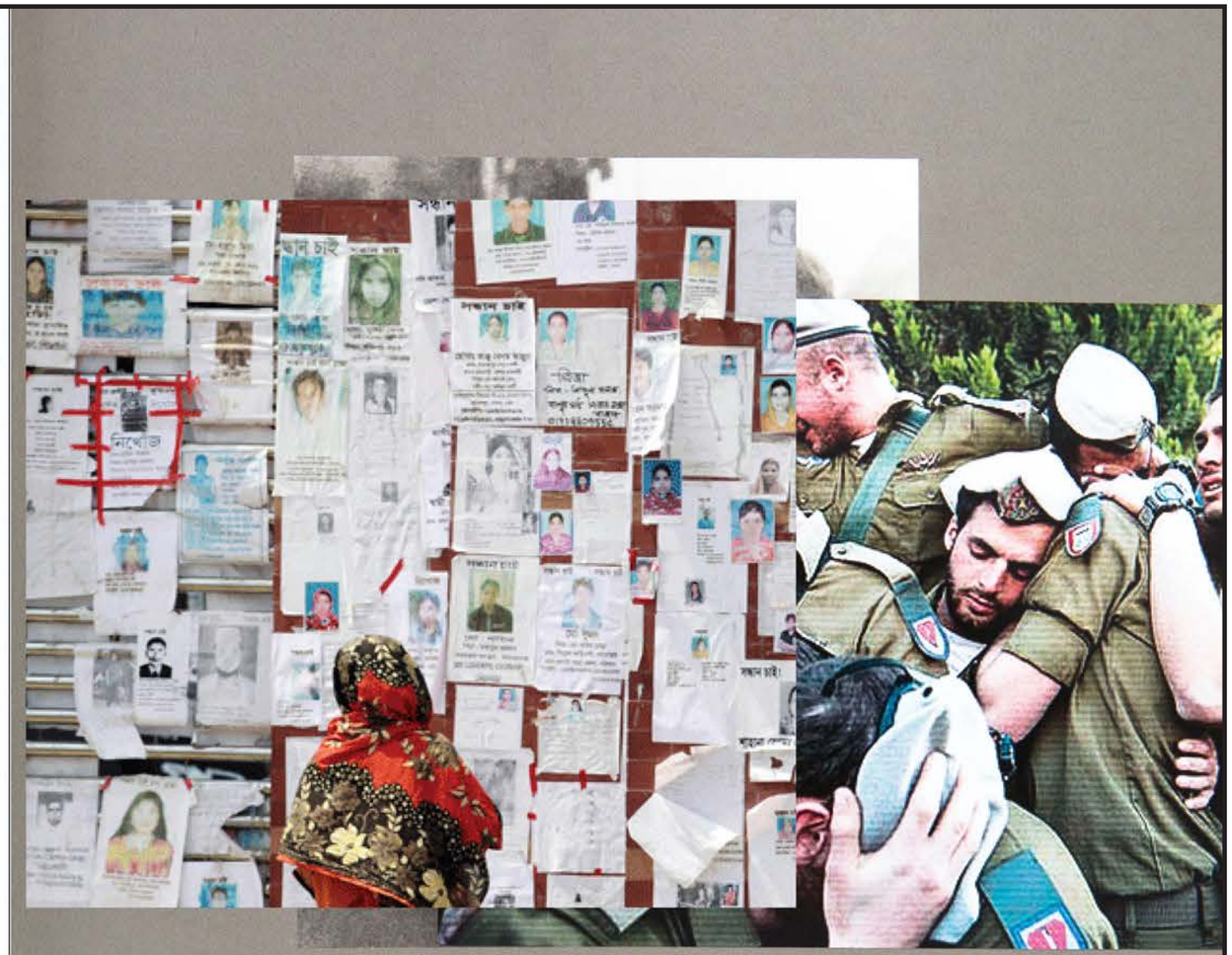
If you ask why, the answer is: from fear.







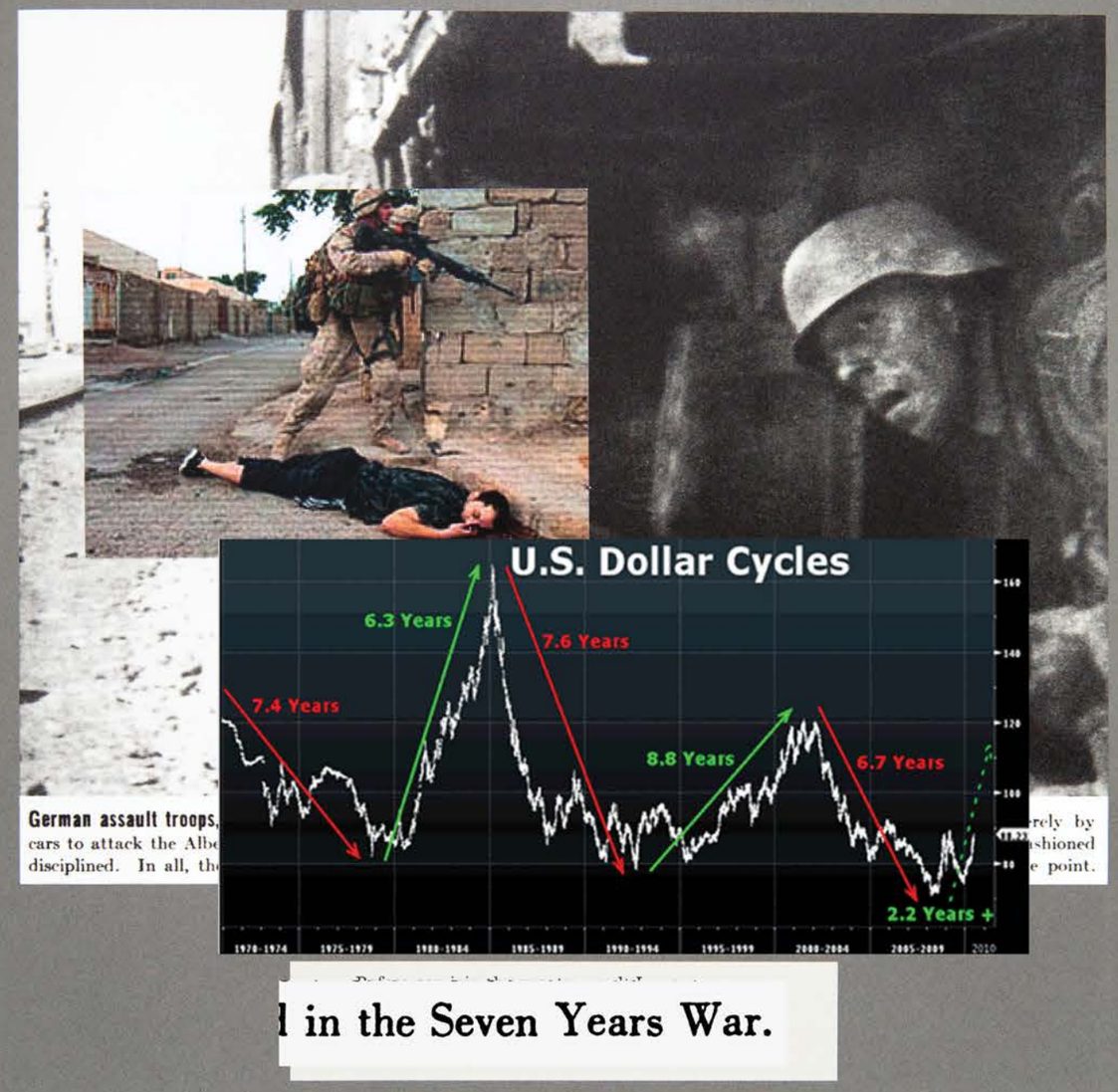
Philip of Spain wept as
Was sunk and destroyed.
The only traces left of sunken ships.



Were there no other tears?



Frederick the Great triumphed



German assault troops,
cars to attack the Alb
disciplined. In all, th

rely by
shioned
e point.

l in the Seven Years War.

New Source of Income Thanks to the bombing, London's poor have found a new source of income. Children gather round the exits of underground stations which serve as air-raid shelters. They have reserved places in the shelters and hire them out, with bedding, when there is an alert. Our picture shows a group of youngsters with mattresses and blankets carried in prams.

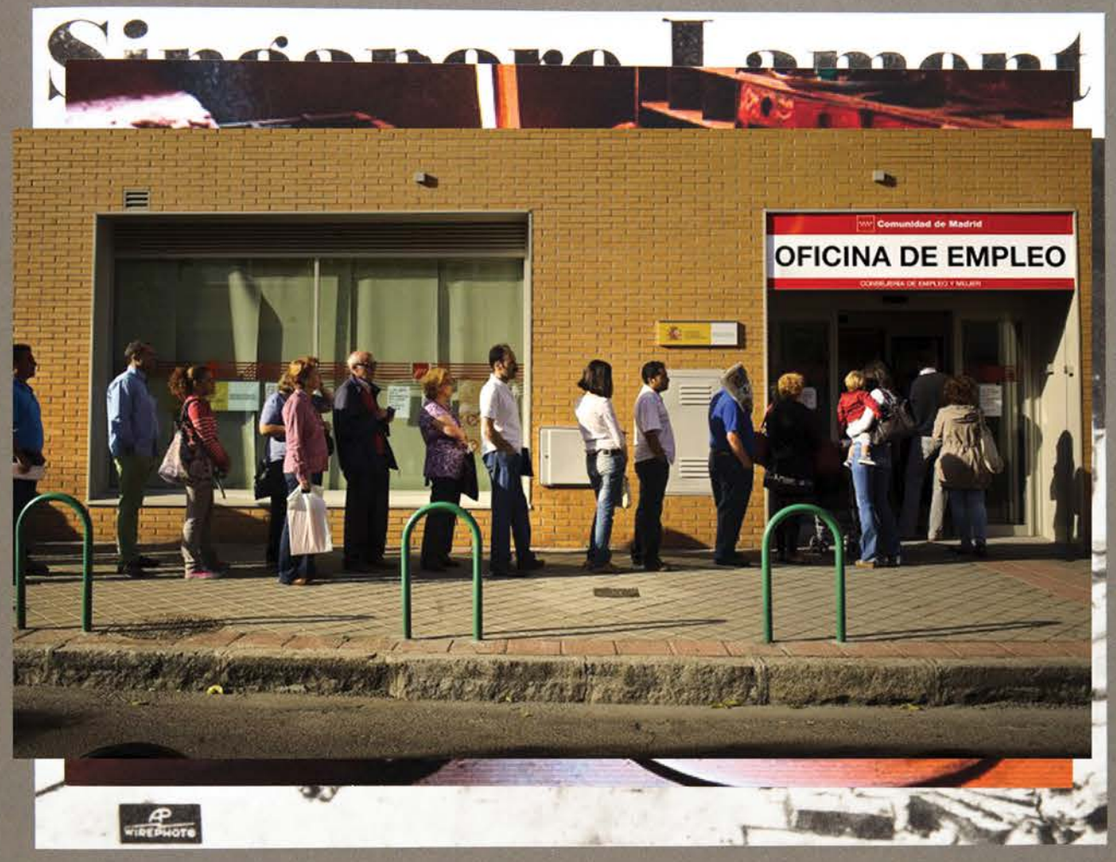


Nya födkrok

och ställa de "hamstrade" skyddsrumsplatserna till förfogande då alarmet går. Här ses en samling ung-domar med täcken och dynor i barnvagnar vilka anlitas som transportmedel.

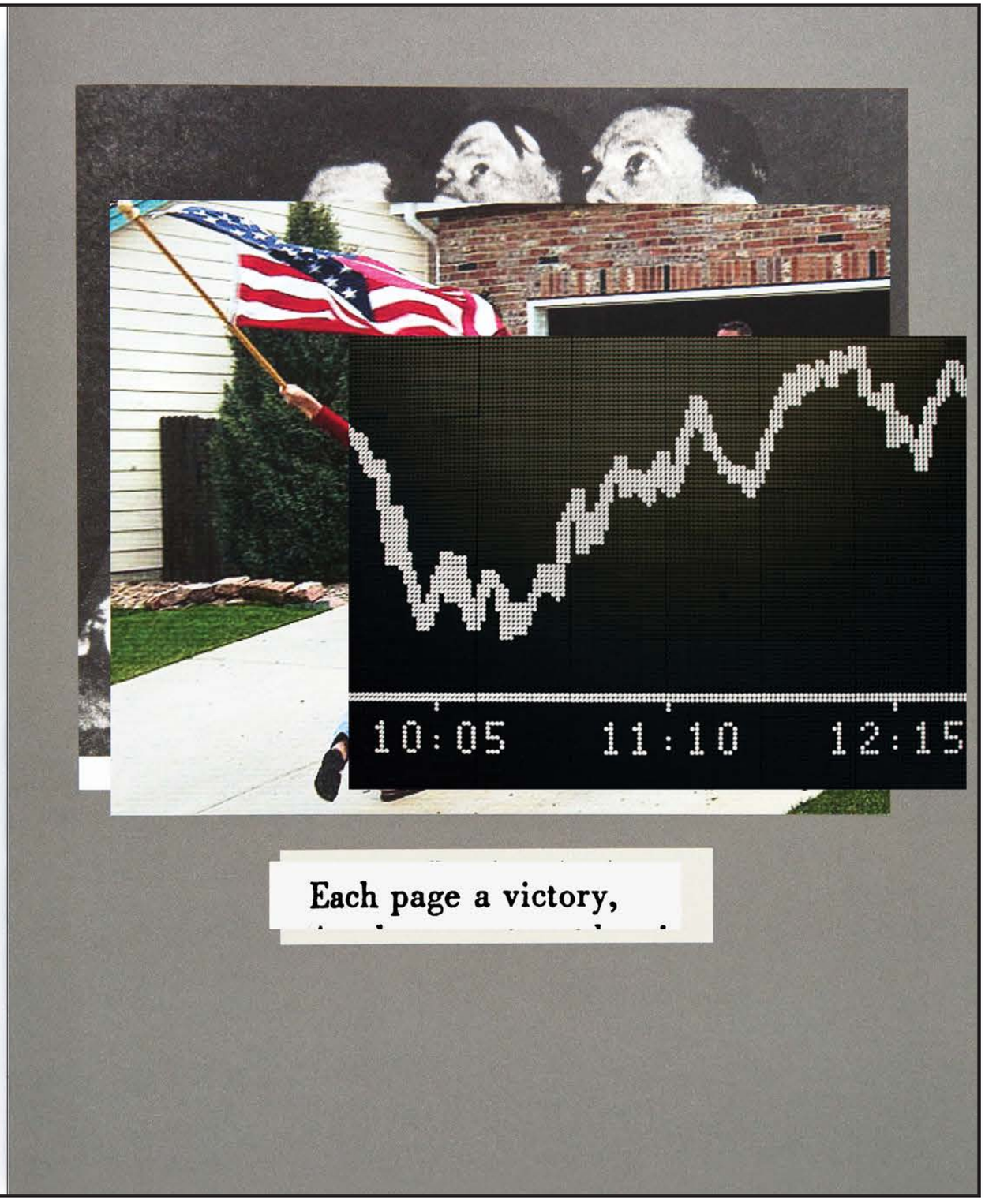
. Who

unger
o survive
/isions
:s.



Triumphed with him?

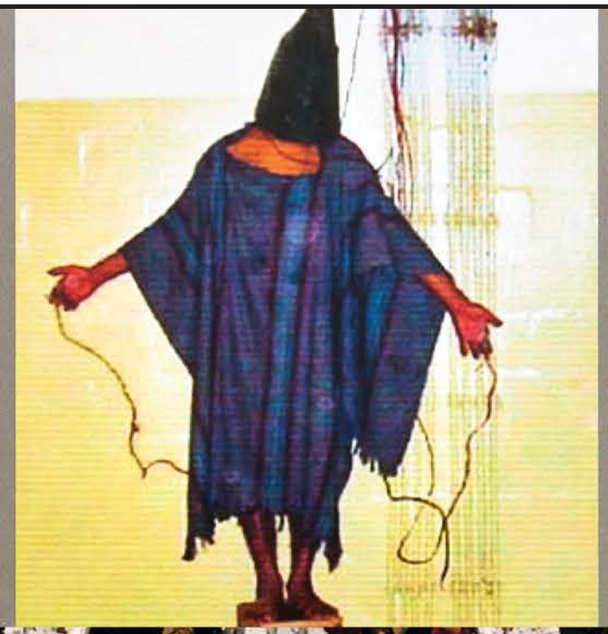
50
33



Each page a victory,


POLICE
Z
POLICE
Z
POLICE
Z
he
At whose expense t

52
50





for

the victory ball?

action!

Greek boy swollen with hunger is a grim reminder that one third of Athens' children died of starvation, nine out of ten newborn were dying. Conditions were so terrible that the United Nations allow Greek relief to pass through the blockade.

Russian children are among those who have suffered most at the hands of the Nazis. Besides witnessing the rape of their home towns, many have been wounded in battles which rage like prairie fires across the devastated Russian plains.

A Sicilian lad who saw his parents killed by Germans finds, like other bewildered young Italians, that war has blotted out his sun. He will learn that Allied Control ends such injustices as children toiling like moles in the sulphur mines.

French children – listless little ones standing silently in school yards at recess time, roving the street in search of bread – are too tired and hungry to play normally or remember their lessons. Tuberculosis is steadily on the increase.









iors

Every ten years a

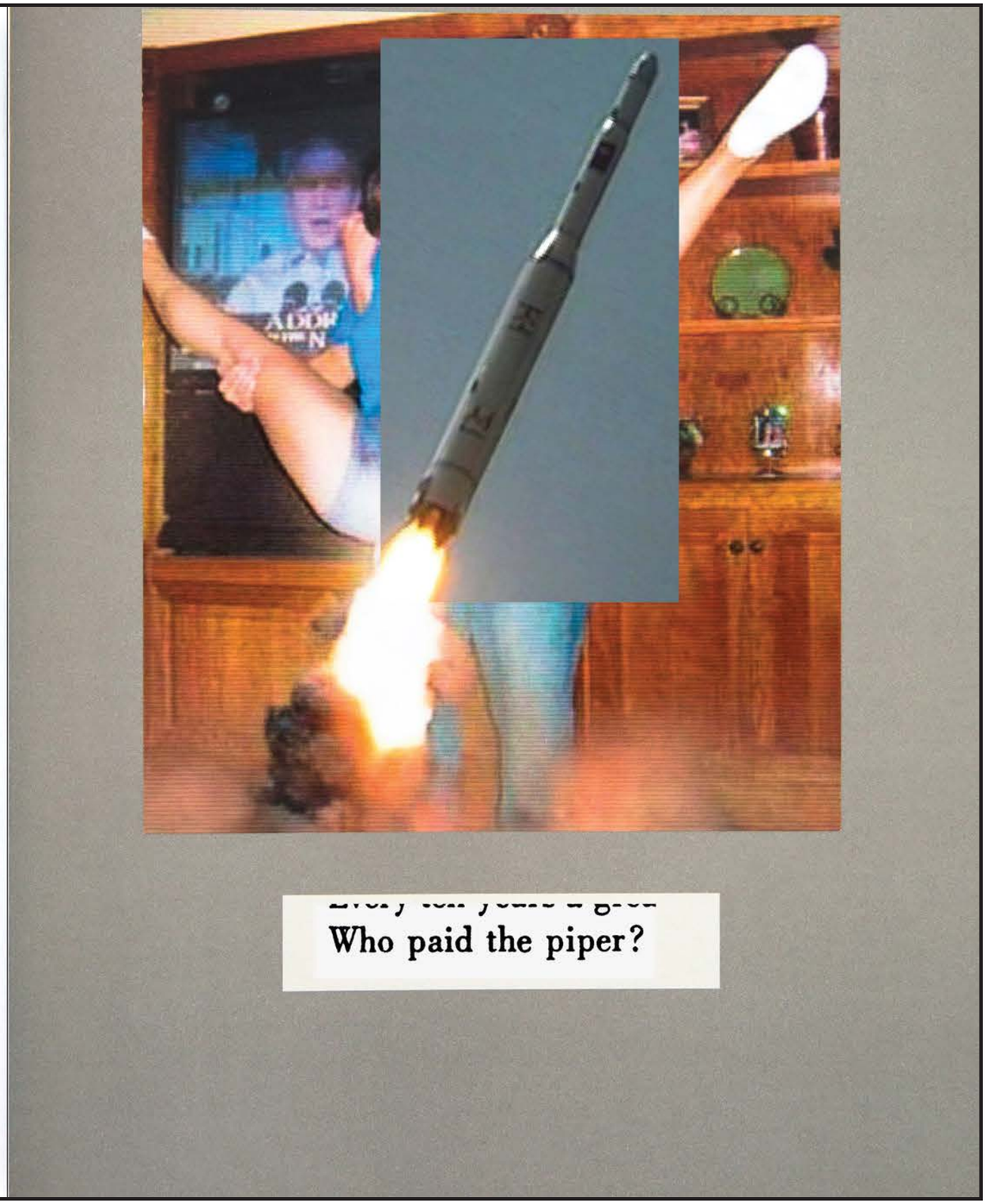
es!

54
64



s a great man,

55
47



Jane Wyman shows her medals, adorning an 'R.A.F. blue' dress designed by a Hollywood patriot who says girls 'should go military in a feminine way.' These are reproductions of old war medals and were not pinned on Jane for anything she did.

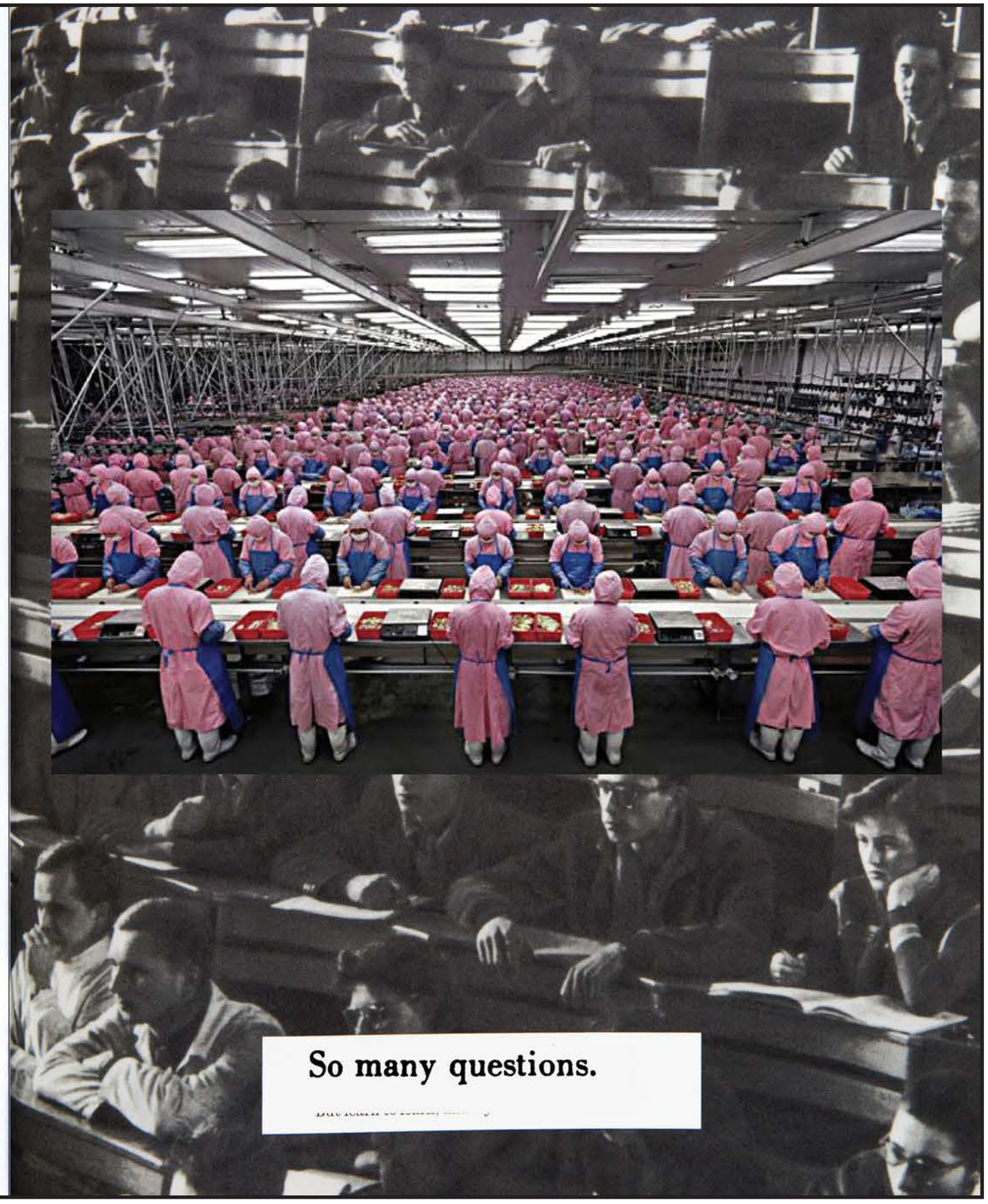
56
83



unique method of selling Defense Stamps to passengers on train out of New York.

So many particulars.

57



Notes

1. A worker Rumsfeld riding a unicycle! http://www.unicyclist.org/cont/pics.cfm
2. A sliver of highly enriched uranium recovered from scrap processed at the Y-12 Facility in Oak Ridge, TN, USA. http://chemistry.about.com/od/chemistryglossary/g/Enriched-Uranium-Definition.htm
3. A sunbathing tourist comes to the aid of one of 46 would-be immigrants on La Tejita Beach in the Spanish island of Tenerife, Thursday Aug. 3, 2006 after the boat they were in ran a ground (photo Arturo Rodriguez)
4. Child labourers carrying bricks http://fightslaverynow.wordpress.com/why-fight-there-are-27-million-reasons/labortrafficking/products-of-slave-labor/manufactured-goods/
5. Signed copy of Adamn Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin's War Primer 2 for sale on Amazon.com for £2500. At the time the Libris edition of War Primer on which it is based cost around £30 http://www.amazon.co.uk/

NOTES

1. A worker in the steel town of Magnitogorsk, a community dependent on a single industry.
2. Max Sher http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sponsored/rbth/business/7326357/Russian-car-business-AvtoVAZ-employees-and-families-offered-a-fresh-start.html
2. Big payday awaits Carlos Slim in Sanborns IPO http://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/2013/01/11/big-payday-awaits-carlos-slim-from-sanborns-ipo/
3. Labourers work at the construction site of a commercial complex in the eastern Indian city of Bhubaneswar, May 19, 2011. The infrastructure sector accounts for just over a quarter of India's industrial output. REUTERS/Stringer http://news.nationalpost.com/photo-gallery/photos-of-the-day-may-19-2011/
4. http://www.asianews.it/index.php?l=en&art=15068
5. This is one of over 200 photos released by the Pentagon under a Freedom of Information Act request filed by University of Delaware professor Ralph Begleiter. (photo Bob Karp)
6. http://afeatheradrift.wordpress.com/category/warmilitary/afghanistan/
7. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bpuKw6jZyQ4&feature=related

7. BMW in the pool. Canarin, Adam Broomberg/ http://acid-kow.ntk3.pics/3477-oops_or_shit_happens_bmw-in-the-pool
7. Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin win Deutsche Borse Photography Prizenter 2013. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kxsthc59jtk
8. U.S. troops on the outskirts of Fallujah, overwhelming small bands of guerrillas with massive force and using loudspeakers to lure Iraqi civilians onto the streets. (Photo Marco Di Lauro)
8. The Sleeping beauties of China blog http://myjunglblog.com/chinese-business-etiquette-101-sleeping
9. Child Slave Labourers Working in Indian Stone Quarries. http://www.lavafilm.com/en/slave-labourers-in-indian-stone-quarries/
9. An Israeli Merkava tank patrols the West Bank town of Jenin, April 9, 2002 during its Defensive Shield operation. http://www.fresh.co.il/vBulletin/showthread.php?t=11726
10. A rescuer looks out from an access hole cut into the rubble of a collapsed garment factory in Bangladesh. Kevin Frayer/AP
10. President Barack Obama and Vice President Joe Biden, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton along with members of the national security team, as they receive an update on the mission against Osama bin Laden in the Situation Room of the White House, May 1, 2011
11. Bangladesh garment factory collapse kills hundreds. http://gmiah.hubpages.com/hub/Savar-Tragedy-in-Bangladesh-Pictures
12. A worker assembles Apple iphones http://www.neogaf.com/forum/showthread.php?t=446545&page=35
13. Image claiming to show a Foxconn worker preparing to jump from the roof of a dormitory building. Released by Chengdu police http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/

While fly fishing in Baghdad, Joel Stewart saw a need and filled it, big time. Thanks to his efforts and those of others over several years, U.S. soldiers at Baghdad's Camp Victory have enjoyed fishing in lakes surrounding

article-2159457/Apple-faces-fresh-questions-apparent-suicide-worker-Chinese-iPad-iPhone-supplier-Foxconn.html Foxconn employee jumps to death in southwest China - iFeng.com http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/foxconn-employee-jumps-death-southwest-china-article-1.1095686
14. Anti-suicide nets outside a Foxconn dormitory. Getty images. http://www.sott.net/article/228090-You-are-NOT-allowed-to-commit-suicide-Workers-in-Chinese-iPad-factories-forced-to-sign-pledges
15. Garbage pickers in Manilla, Photo: APHEDA http://fairforall-org/2011/01/21/aid-for-garbage-pickers-in-manila/
16. Bloomberg Terminal Screenshot 12705, a collection of wallpaper on your desktop for every taste, Width: 1919 pixels, Height: 1079 pixels. http://www.movdata.net/bloomberg-terminal-screenshot.html
17. View of an informal settlement (or shanty town) in Lima, Peru. http://flamblogger.blogspot.co.uk/2010/12/by-special-request.html
18. Workers are transported atop a truck after finishing work at a construction site in the Burmese capital Naypyitaw January

Poem dated 6.11.40. Photo of unknown origin.

Photo from an unidentified Swedish paper showing a news item entitled 'Memorial Tablets for Those Fallen in Hitler's War Against France', written

Poem dated 3.5.40. Photo from a Swedish magazine, June 1940. The German

Photo from *Life*, 30.12.40. The German army reached the Albert Canal

Photo by 'Weltbild', Berlin, showing the Seine in Paris. Caption in Swedish.

Photo from an unidentified American paper. Poem attributed to 1944.

Photo of unknown origin, showing Pétain and Laval, leaders of the right-wing

Poem dated 2.12.40. Photo of unknown origin.

Photo from an unidentified Swedish paper showing a news item entitled

Poem dated 3.12.40. Photo from an unidentified Swedish paper

Photo from *Life*, 16 August 1943, showing a sand-table model of the battlefield

Poem dated 15.10.40. This and no. 27 face each other in the *Tomrum* journal.

Poem dated 15.10.40.

Photo by Scherl, Berlin, showing Churchill and Roosevelt at the Atlantic

Poem dated 15.10.40. Photo of an unidentified Swedish magazine of

Poem attributed to 1944.

24. 2012 REUTERS/Damir Sagolj http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/24/us-bosnia-anniversary-idUSTRE80N0ZM20120124?feedType=RSS&feedName=topNews&utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+reuters%2FtopNews+%28Reuters+News%29&utm_content=Google+Feedfetcher

19. http://www.flickr.com/photos/usnationalarchives/6999981241/in/photostream/ From a company signed by Eisenhower, the aircraft are flown by Soviet pilots.

16. http://blogs.reuters.com/great-debate/2012/02/22/the-book-of-steve-jobs-epilogue/ Debate: Can the book of Steve Jobs' epilogue be the NO. 9 Reaper

20. Following explosion on tea conversation on corporate responsibility http://www.ednn.com/electronics-blogs/dilbert-blog/368150/Dilbert-and-the-explosion-plots-of-conversation-on-corporate-responsibility a amount of stress.

21. http://arenaswgroup.com/2011/03/02/2-workers-killed-in-explosion-at-china-factory-in-xinsheng-township/ 2 workers killed in explosion at China factory in Xinsheng township, China. Photos by Ryan Pyle/Associated Press. New York Times News Service http://www.bendbulletin.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20120129/NEWS01/201290384/how-25-tons-of-bombs-made-a-german-town-disappear

22. The Mercury dime is a ten-cent coin struck by the United States Mint from 1916 to 1945. A fasces mixed with an olive branch shows both that United States are prepared for the war and their desire for peace. The fasces has its origins in ancient Rome where it symbolised the will of the people behind authority. It was later used in Fascist Italy http://en.numista.com/catalogue/pieces51.html

18. Smoke covers the presidential palace compound in Baghdad 21 March 2003 during a massive US-led air raid on the Iraqi capital. Smoke billowed from a number of targeted sites, including one of President Saddam Hussein's palaces. (photo Ramzi Haidar) http://spookyweather.blogspot.com/2011/01/iraq-war-lies.html

19. http://extraordinary-thing.blogspot.com/2011/08/dolphin-arm-tattoo-and-shark-

23. Baghdad's Arc of Triumph (also called the Swords of Qādisiyah) under construction

20. Around 1986 http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/victory%20arch

24. Think the school run is bad? Children face Indiana Jones style river crossing EVERY day after floods cut off their community http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2088998/Think-school-run-bad-Children-face-Indiana-Jones-style-river-crossing-EVERY-day-floods-cut-community.html

25. Sweatshop workers http://ethicalfootprint.wordpress.com/category/individual/

26. Delegates at the 2012 G20 conference of leading economic powers pose for a group photo in Los Cabos, Mexico http://www.news.com.au/national-news/queensland/brisbane-set-to-host-g20-conference-in-2014/story-fndo4eki-1226422826373

27. Berkin Elvan (January 5, 1999 – March 11, 2014) was a 15-year-old Kurdish boy who was killed by a police officer in Istanbul while out to buy bread for his family during the June 2013 anti-government protests in Turkey. He died on March 11, 2014

23. Aircraft, at right, is seen as it is about to fly into the World Trade Center in New York on Tuesday. The aircraft was the second to fly into the tower Tuesday morning.

Swords of Qādisiyah) under construction

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22. Humiliation: A young man is forced to strip to his underpants in the street, having apparently already handed his clothes to the trainers to avoid being made to strip in front of his colleagues.

27. Berkin Elvan (January 5, 1999 – March 11, 2014) was a 15-year-old Kurdish boy who was killed by a police officer in Istanbul while out to buy bread for his family during the June 2013 anti-government protests in Turkey. He died on March 11, 2014

23. Aircraft, at right, is seen as it is about to fly into the World Trade Center in New York on Tuesday. The aircraft was the second to fly into the tower Tuesday morning.

Tagged: Dressed in uniform smiling beside
Posted photos on
Bound and tortured Palestinian prisoners.
Journey-to-Jerusalem/
5th Apr 2010 10:44 EST WikiLeaks has released 2088998/Think-school-run-bad-Children-face-Indiana-Jones-style-river-crossing-EVERY-day-floods-cut-community.html
video
saying of over
a dozen people in the Iraqi suburb of New
Baghdad - including two Reuters news staff.
Reuters has
the video through the
Freedom of Information Act, without success.
two Iraqi children were injured in the rescue
were also seriously wounded.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=is9sxRfU-ik&feature=player_embedded
anti-
Humiliation: A young man is forced to strip to
already handed his clothes to the trainers to
a looter. There were unconfirmed reports
last night of victims being made to strip in
fired by a police officer in Istanbul while
Deptford, South London, and in Birmingham.
http://21stcenturywire.com/category/philosophy/
Aircraft, at right, is seen as it is about to fly
into the World Trade Center in New York on
Berkin Elvan in olumu yetmedi mi?
Okmeydanı'nda bir kişi daha biber

gaz: fiseğiyle yuruldu http://www.nationalturk.com/berkin-elvanin-olumu-yetmedi-pkmeydaninda-bir-kisi-daha-biber-gazi-ile-vuruldu-161170.htm#.VUf61pNSy4

24. In this September 1939 photo released by the Portland Police Department, two men identified by authorities as suspected hijackers Mohammed Atta, right, and Abdulaziz Alomari, center, pass through airport security, in Portland, Maine.

25. December 9th, 2003.

26. George Bush serves a Thanksgiving turkey to US troops stationed in Baghdad in 2003.

27. Israeli soldiers mourn the death of fellow soldier Alex Mashavisky at his funeral in Beersheba on Wednesday, the day after Mr. Mashavisky was killed during Israel's offensive in the Gaza Strip. (photo Eric Gaillard)

28. A young guy watches television inside a Sao Paulo favela. http://www.lonelyplanet.com/brazil/sao-paulo/images/favela-paraisopolis-s-o-paulo$713-14

29. Antilia is the 27 storey Mumbai home of Mukesh Ambani, chairman of Reliance Industries. It is reported to tbe most expensive home in the world, with an estimated worth of US$1 billion in a city where poverty is widespread. http://q8look.com/index.php/page/6

30. Japanese pearl divers. http://www.perthnow.com.au/japans-mermaids-show-their-skills/story-fn6cn0ft-1225999468689

31. Foxconn employees wear shirts suggesting that they love Foxconn as part of an event organised by the company

29. Public executions are still a fact of life in some countries today. Here the onlookers captured the execution on their mobile phones and cameras.

http://www.frenchtoday.com/blog/french-culture/worldtrade-center-9-11-attacks-the-first-reactions-in-france

http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/ailesi_berkin_elvanin_anlatti-1181518

http://husseinandterror.com/

http://www.urukinet.info/?p=9225

http://www.mediawench.com/2003/week47.html (photo Tim Sloan)

http://www.arabnewsblog.net/2010/05/06/syrian-m-600s-are-the-true-threat-hezbollah-poses-to-israel-while-israels-missile-defense-systems-are-far-from-adequate/

http://israelisoccupation.blogspot.com/2010_11_01_archive.html

http://news.theage.com.au/breaking-news-technology/foxconn-says-underage-interns-found-working-20100818-12fav.html

32. The Petrobras 36 oil platform, which sank following a series of explosions which killed ten workers in 2001. Family members of oil workers on the P-36 say they believe pressure by the company for increased production may have led to corners being cut on safety procedures. said Elias, a Fort Benning, Ga., drill sergeant who lost his right hand in a training accident on June 30, 2009. He can tie a bow or his shoelaces.

31. As news spread across the world of Iran's four missiles heading skyward in unison. Unfortunately, it appeared to contain one too many missiles, a point that had not emerged before the photo was used on the front pages of The Los Angeles Times and several other major newspapers.

32. Three hands damaged in work related accidents.

33. A boat packed with around 250 migrants crossing from Libya begins to sink off the coast of Italy. At least two of those on board drowned.

34. Three hands damaged in work related accidents.

35. Business man walking his dog.

36. APRIL 2011 Manolis Lampsidis, ex-president of Thessaloniki's lawyers union, lies in front of police in Thessaloniki, Greece, during a protest supporting two men arrested for allegedly taking part in an arson attack on a controversial gold mine operation in northern Greece. (Nikolas Giakoumidis/Associated Press)

http://www.frenchtoday.com/blog/french-culture/worldtrade-center-9-11-attacks-the-first-reactions-in-france

http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,5790544,00.html

http://loupigaroupi.zip.net/arch2006-05-14_2006-05-20.html

http://www.amilarcia.com/2595/

http://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/duas-mulheres-morrem-em-acidente-com-barco-de-imigrantes-na-costa-da-italia-2796614

http://www.globallabourrights.org/reports?id=0629 and http://www.globallabourrights.org/reports?id=0175

http://News%20Pages/Everyone%20Else/pages-9/Iran-to-produce-nuclear-weapon-within-two-months-Scrape-TV-The-World-on-your-side.html

http://thechive.com/2009/10/15/tricky-perfect-angle-photography/

Jerri Churchill runs with her American flag to greet her neighbor Lieutenant Colonel Pete Blikke, who had just returned to his Parker Kilkhear palmbeachpost.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/0p031.jpg

http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,5790544,00.html

http://loupigaroupi.zip.net/arch2006-05-14_2006-05-20.html

http://www.amilarcia.com/2595/

http://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/duas-mulheres-morrem-em-acidente-com-barco-de-imigrantes-na-costa-da-italia-2796614

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http://thechive.com/2009/10/15/tricky-perfect-angle-photography/

37. Children working in an Indian brick kiln, there are estimated to be fifty million child labourers in India alone. http://www.tentsthings.com/2012/08/10/facts-that-should-change-the-world/

38. Fortress Europe's busiest frontier is awash with illegal immigrants - despite mines, forest and razorwire. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/8181331/Fortress-Europes-busiest-frontier-is-awash-with-illegal-immigrants-despite-mines-forest-and-razorwire.html

39. A victim of domestic violence. From `International day to end violence against sex workers. http://www.womensviewsonnews.org/2010/12/international-day-to-end-violence-against-sex-workers

40. 200 workers fall ill and forty are hospitalised as a result of squalid on site catering at a construction site in Abu Dahbi http://www.arabianbusiness.com/hundreds-sick-in-food-poisoning-outbreak-in-labour-camp-390687.html

41. A group photograph showing an American police unit with an armoured vechile. From: http://www.flickr.com/photos/mnfiraq/5703343411/in/photostream

36. U.S. Army Third Infantry Division Sgt. Roscoe Archer of Fort Stewart, GA catches a nap on a couch in the Republican Presidential Palace. The compound is now guarded and has been secured by the U.S. military. (photo Mario

an American Airmen pilot had been mobilized with the 120th Air Refueling Wing on February 4th 2003. He returned home today, April 30, 2003 to Buckley Air Force Base with 15 other pilots. Churchill's children play frequently with Byrne's two sons. (photo Cyrus McCrimmo)

http://www.investigativeproject.org/3161/the-war-destructive-heart-breaking.html

34. Did you ever wonder what happened to Saddam Hussein's Arabian horses? (photo Christoph Bangert) this included the lines

http://militarylife101.tumblr.com/page/3

35. BASRAH, Iraq – Capt. Harold B. Bender, deputy division chaplain for the 36th Infantry Division, baptizes Spc. James A. Holmes, a trumpet player with the 36th Inf. Div. band. Holmes, a native of Dothan, Ala., is a member of the Alabama Army National Guard's 151st Army Band who volunteered to deploy with the 36th for Operation New Dawn. (photo by Sgt. David A. Bryant, 36th Infantry Division, U.S. Div. South Public Affairs Office)

http://www.flickr.com/photos/mnfiraq/5703343411/in/photostream

36. U.S. Army Third Infantry Division Sgt. Roscoe Archer of Fort Stewart, GA catches a nap on a couch in the Republican Presidential Palace. The compound is now guarded and has been secured by the U.S. military. (photo Mario

Tome/militarization-of-police/

42. Relatives mourn a victim at the site after an eight-storey building housing several garment factories collapsed in Savar, near Dhaka, Bangladesh, Wednesday, April 24, 2013. Dozens were killed and many more are feared trapped in the rubble. A.M. Ahad, AP http://www.calgaryherald.com/mobile/news/top+stories/

43. Some 400 Migrants Killed After Boat Capsizes in Mediterranean http://gcaptain.com/400-migrants-killed-boat-capsizes-mediterranean/

44. Shipbreakers at work with boats in the background http://www.globallabourrights.org/alerts?id=0157#2

45. A Bangladeshi woman looked at a wall filled with portraits of missing people on Friday near Benghazi, Libya, June 2, 2011. Libyan volunteers practice shooting stances during a military training course in the rebel stronghold of Benghazi. According to rebel authorities, after three weeks of intense training, these volunteers will be ready to fight against forces loyal to Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. (photo Rodrigo Abd)

http://www.prisonplanet.com/articles/februar y2006/040206criminaldesperation.htm

41. The dollar, correlating with the 7-11 year business cycle that marks economic growth

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41. The dollar, correlating with the 7-11 year business cycle that marks economic growth

37. The burning of Um Zieta in Darfur, Sudan. December 12, 2004 (photo Steidle)

http://jsprivy.wikispaces.com/Compare+and+contrast+the+Holocaust+and+the+genocide+in+Darfur%3F+SB

38. U.S. Army soldiers with Task Force Thor Route Clearance Patrol from 23rd Engineering Company, Airborne detonate an Improvised Explosive Device (IED) that they discovered during a day-long route clearance mission July, 2010 near Khakriz, Afghanistan. (photo background http://www.globallabourrights.org/alerts?id=0157#2 Justin Sullivan)

http://worthsomewords.blogspot.com/2011/05/photos-from-afghanistan.html

39. Benghazi, Libya, June 2, 2011 Libyan volunteers practice shooting stances during a military training course in the rebel stronghold of Benghazi. According to rebel authorities, after three weeks of intense training, these volunteers will be ready to fight against forces loyal to Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. (photo Rodrigo Abd)

http://www.prisonplanet.com/articles/februar y2006/040206criminaldesperation.htm

41. A photograph showing seven year cycles in the dollar examined recruit at a local

business cycle that marks economic growth

http://www.radicalcontent.com/Activists_Arrested_Before_Bilderberg_Conference_Start

48. The most prominent British tax evaders and fraudsters gallery published by HMRC http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-12695662

49. They gathered to enter a government job center in Madrid, Spain. AP Photo/Daniel Ochoa de Olza http://davos.challenge-accepted.com/45705/davos-challenge-2/

50. A section of the DAX index curve, covering the time spanning the reopening of Cyprus's banks (which displayed an electronic board at the Frankfurt Stock Exchange) http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2013-03-28/cyprus-bank-failures-reverberate-across-europe-s-financial-markets.html

51. A 55-year-old man doused himself with gasoline and then set himself on fire on Friday outside a Piraeus bank http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2010/02/17/world/20100217_GREECE_index.html

52. Cameron: Austerity should last for ever and Britain must get used to being a 'leaner, more efficient state' http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1287819/As-Lord-Mayors-banquet-Cameron-says-austerity-lasting-change.html

53. Child labour in India is enabled by market for stone for patios http://www.dvg.ie/forum/index.php?topic=2695662.0

54. Super funny pictures funniest cool images of 25 Police Fail Photos funniest cool images of Police Fail Dog http://www.2pep.com/extreme-funny-stuff/super-funny-pictures-funniest-cool-images-of-25-police-fail-photos-funniest-cool-images-of-police-fail-dog-2.html

55. A rocket lifts off from its launch pad at the Musudanny North Korea on April 5, 2009. North Korea may have the bomb, but it hasn't processed weaponized uranium onto missiles to strike far-off adversaries like the United States. Anonymous / AP http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/north-korea-planned-rocket-test-matters-article-1.1049610

56. Stacks of Apple iPhones go on sale in a shop http://www.soak.co.uk/blog/technical/the-curse-of-consistency/

57. A rash of Suicides Prompt Foxconn to Raise Worker Wages http://hothardware.com/news/Rash-of-Suicides-Prompt-Foxconn-to-Raise-Worker-Wages

http://www.radicalcontent.com/Activists_Arrested_Before_Bilderberg_Conference_Start
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55. A rocket lifts off from its launch pad at the Musudanny North Korea on April 5, 2009. North Korea may have the bomb, but it hasn't processed weaponized uranium onto missiles to strike far-off adversaries like the United States. Anonymous / AP http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/north-korea-planned-rocket-test-matters-article-1.1049610
56. Stacks of Apple iPhones go on sale in a shop http://www.soak.co.uk/blog/technical/the-curse-of-consistency/
57. A rash of Suicides Prompt Foxconn to Raise Worker Wages http://hothardware.com/news/Rash-of-Suicides-Prompt-Foxconn-to-Raise-Worker-Wages

A Worker Reads History

Bertolt Brecht, 1935

Translated by H.R. Hays

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it the kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?
And Babylon, so many times destroyed,
Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima's houses,
That city glittering with gold, lived those who built it?
In the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go? Imperial Rome
Is full of arcs of triumph. Who reared them up? Over whom
Did the Caesars triumph? Byzantium lives in song.
Were all her dwellings palaces?
And even in Atlantis of the legend
The night the seas rushed in,
The drowning men still bellowed for their slaves.

Young Alexander conquered India.
He alone?
Caesar beat the Gauls.
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Phillip of Spain wept as his fleet
was sunk and destroyed. Were there no other tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the Seven Years War.
Who triumphed with him?

My spoon was lifted when the bomb came down
That left no face, no hand, no spoon to hold.
One hundred thousand died in my hometown.
That came to pass before my soup was cold.

We are lucky to have had her patient and self-effacing collaboration.

For material in the present Afterword and the Notes (pp. i–iv) we are [illegible] to the Austrian poet Günter Kunert, who was largely responsible for the original Eulenspiegel publication a decade after the fall of the Third Reich. Some of his 'late thoughts' about his friend Brecht can be found in the same *Brecht Yearbook*, and we owe to him a first-hand insight into the problems of producing a book that was so hard to reconcile with the Stalinist doctrine of Socialist Realism. Documentary evidence of the ideological dispute as well as of the political risks also has been generously supplied by the Bertolt-Brecht Archiv in Berlin under its director Erdmut Wizisla, who has helped and encouraged us throughout. Thanks are also due to Gunni Brinson, who located the original use of many of the photographs in Scandinavian and US newspapers and magazines. We must now hope that these and other documents of this relatively little-known Brecht work will be happy at the result of its introduction to the English-speaking world. On [illegible] since the events, half a century since the end of our war.

Each page a victory
At whose expense the victory ball?
Every ten years a great man,
Who paid the piper?

So many particulars.
So many questions.

BRECHT'S WAR: A CHRONOLOGY

Prelude

The Brechts had been living as exiles in Denmark since the end of 1933, the year in which Hitler came to power in Germany. In 1935 the Nuremberg Race Laws marked the beginning of official anti-semitism in Hitler's newly-instituted Third Reich. (Brecht was not Jewish, but his wife Helene Weigel was.) The Communist International decided to join forces with the Socialists and any others prepared to resist German and Italian Fascism; the result was Popular Front governments in France and Spain. The Spanish Civil War started in summer 1936 as a revolt against the second of these by the Spanish army under General Franco. As links between Germany, Italy and the Spanish rebels became closer, with Japan as an anti-Communist ally, Stalin in Russia launched a massive purge of his Communist Party, during which a number of German exiles were banished to camps or killed.

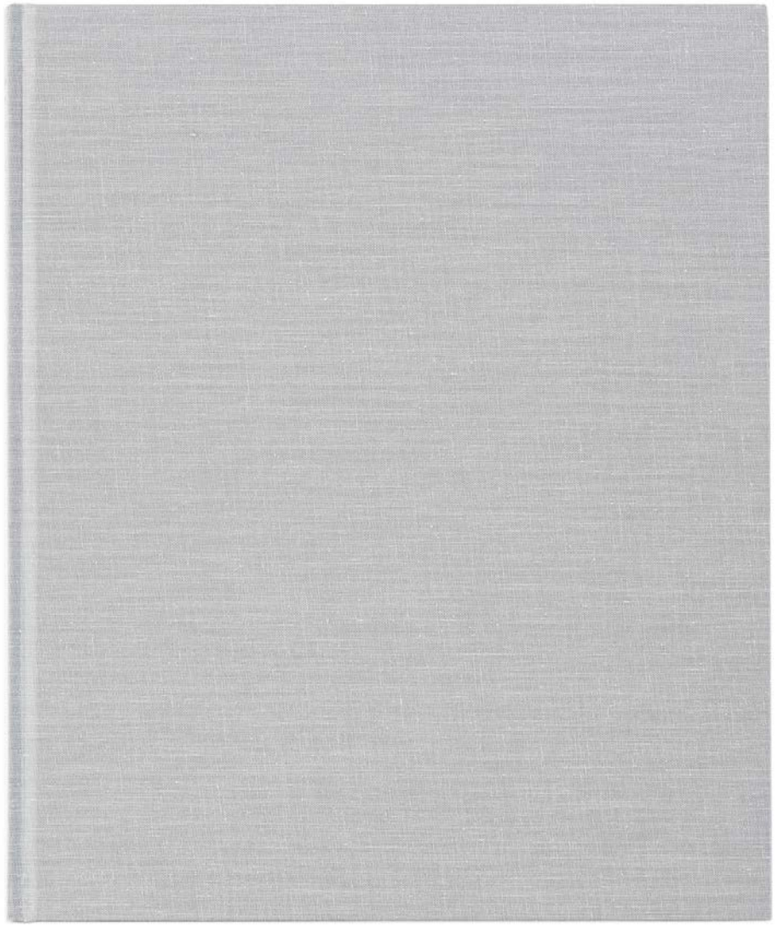
By early 1937 Brecht had written most of his earlier (unrhymed, unillustrated) 'German War Primer' poems, which were included in his book of *Svendborg Poems* the following year, along with the 'German Satires', the literary sonnets and such longer items as 'Spring 1938', the Lao-tse poem and 'To Those Born Later'.

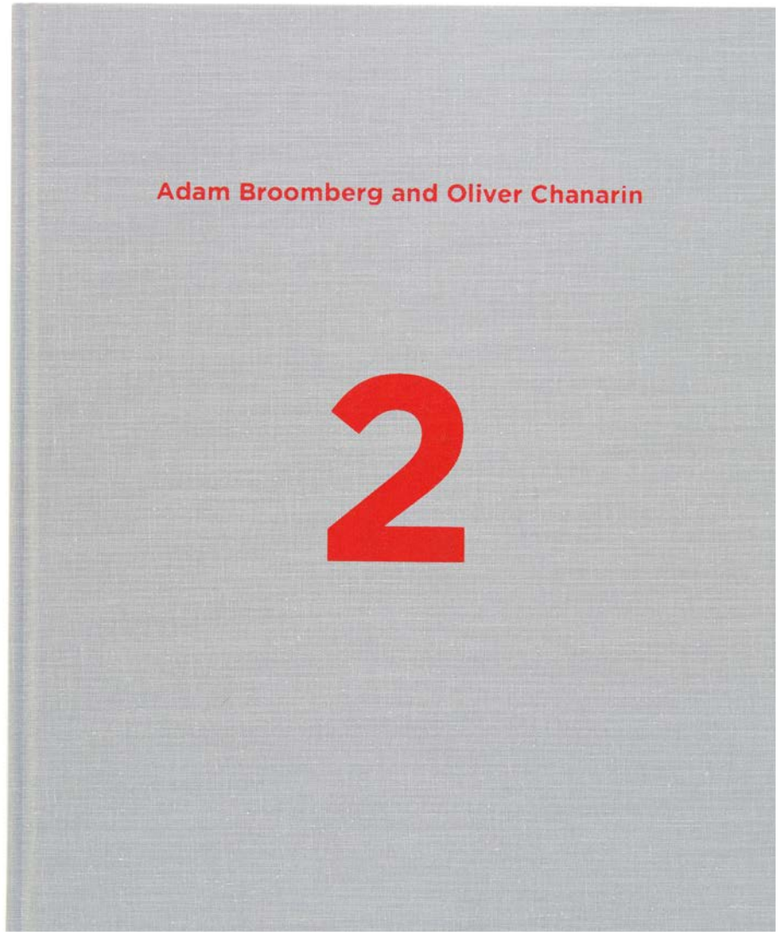
In 1938 Hitler annexed Austria and the German-speaking areas of Czechoslovakia. The rest of that country fell to him in spring 1939. Europe, including Britain, began last-minute preparations for war.

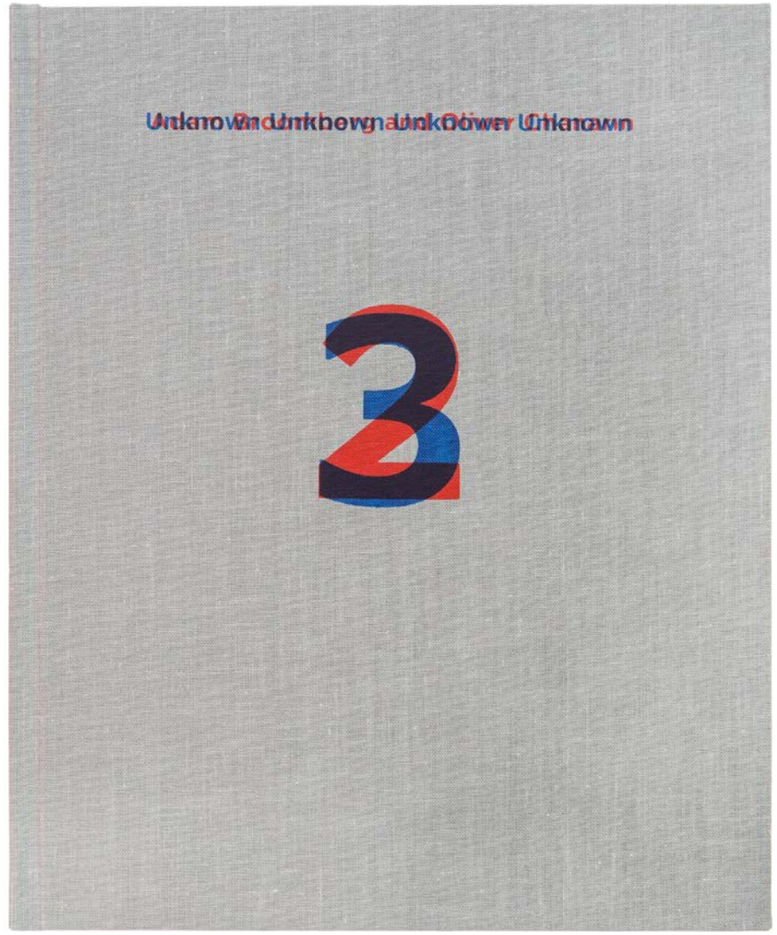




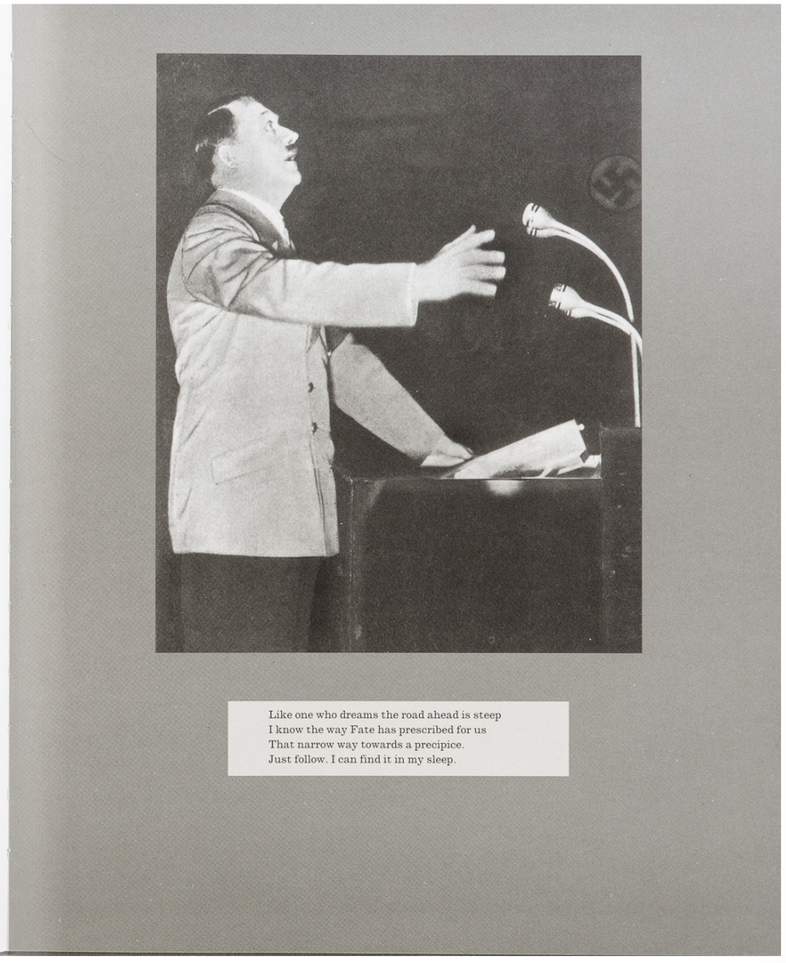
COMPARISONS

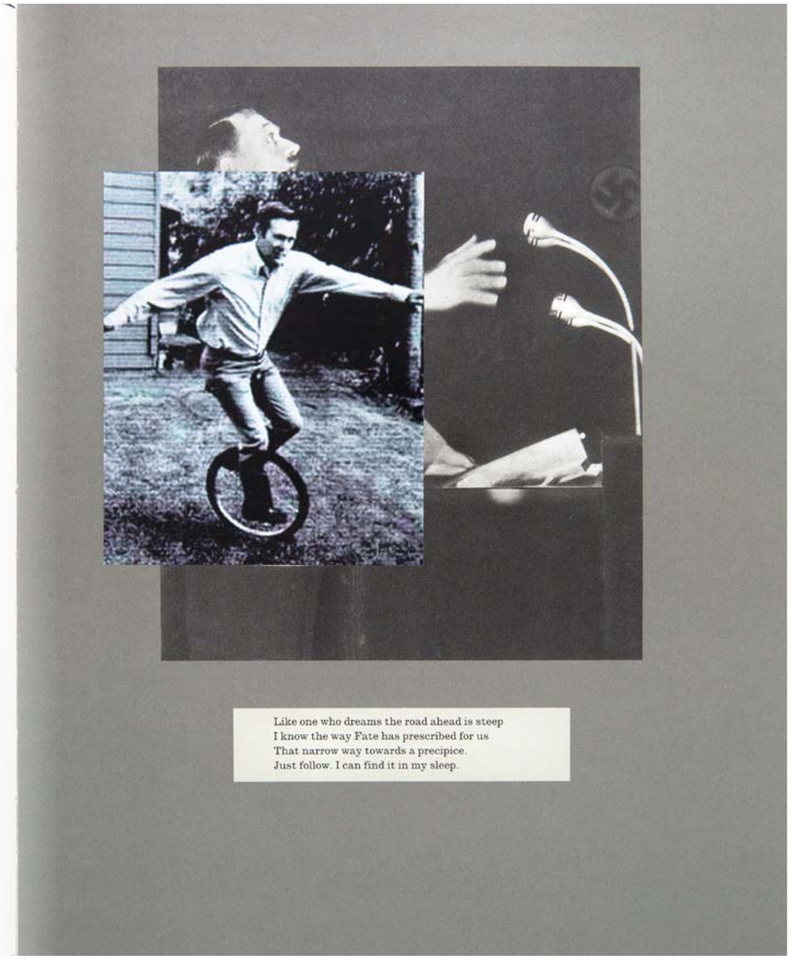


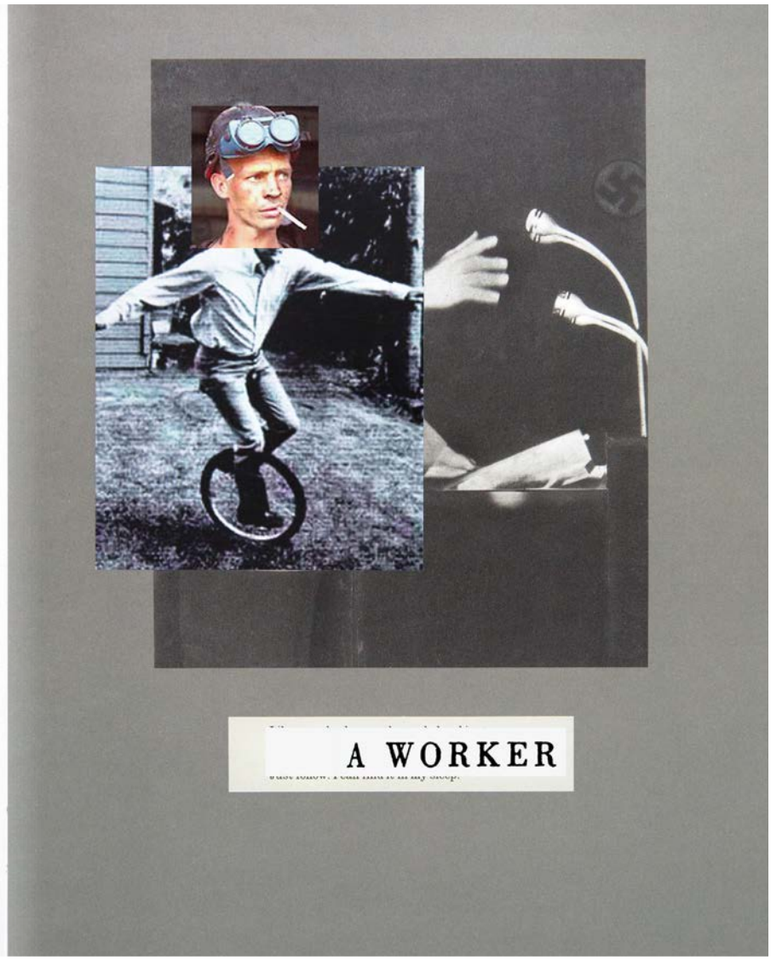




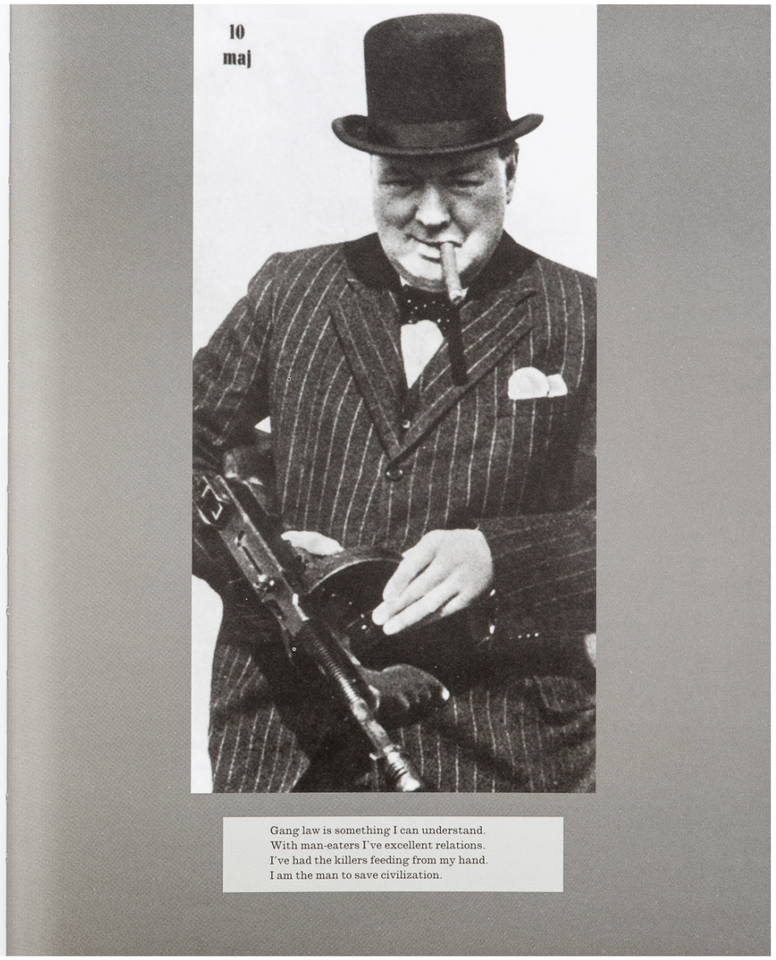
War Primer (1998)
War Primer 2 (2011)
War Primer 3 (2013)

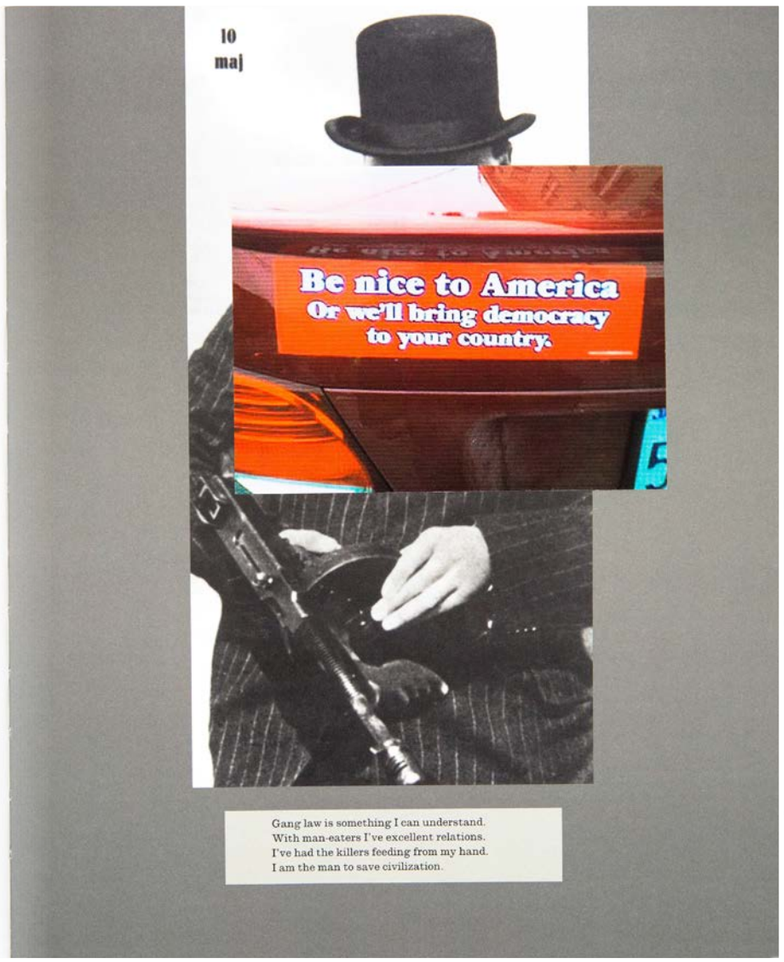


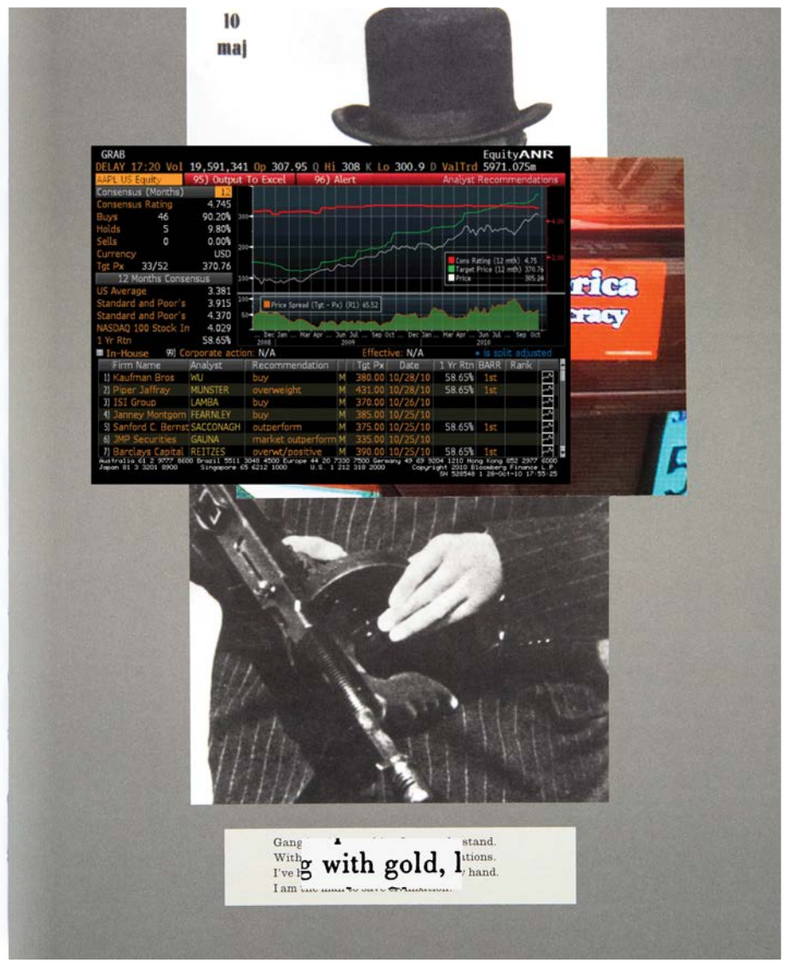




Like one who dreams the road ahead is steep
I know the way Fate has prescribed for us
That narrow way towards a precipice.
Just follow. I can find it in my sleep.



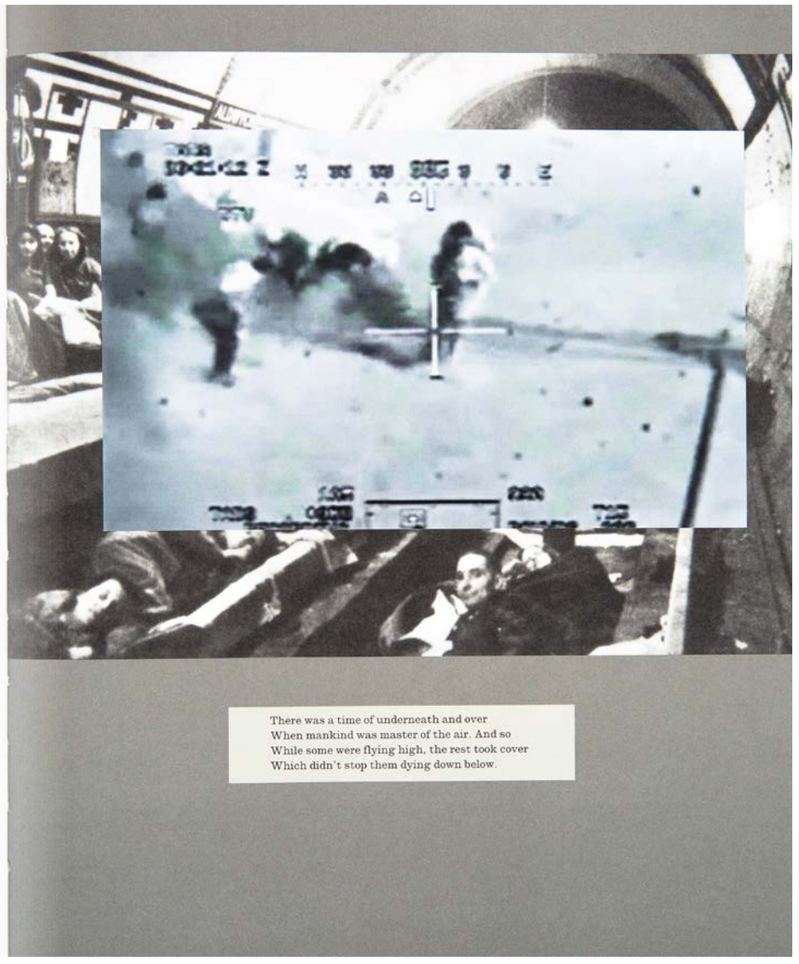




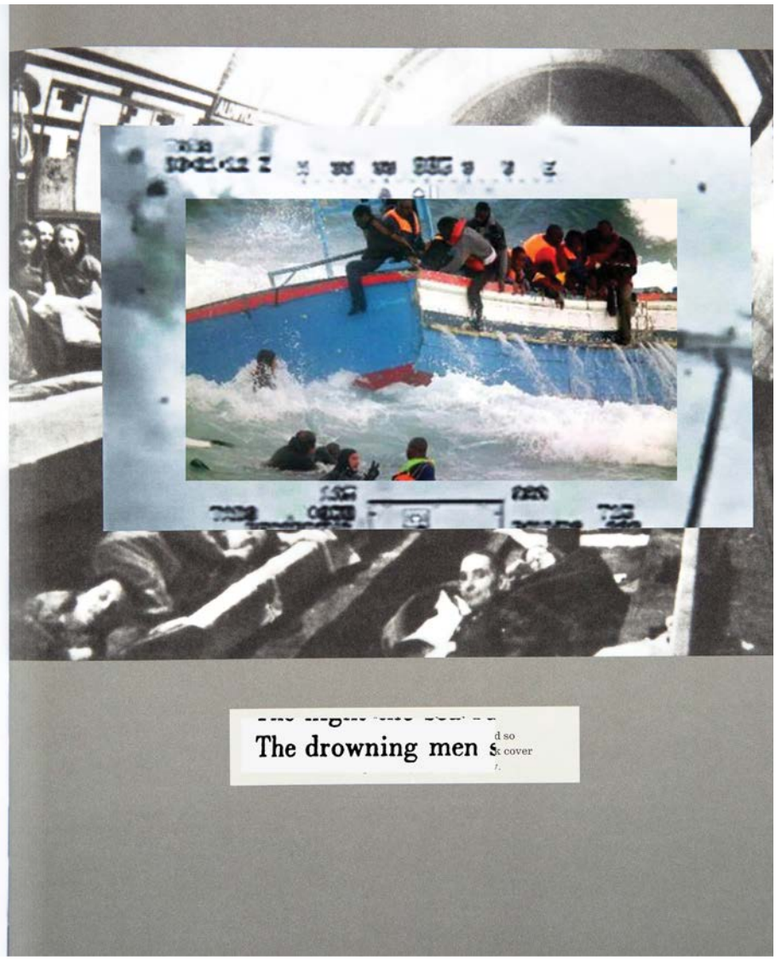
Gang law is something I can understand.
with man-eaters I've excellent relations,
I've had the killers feeding from my hand.
I am the man to save civilization.



There was a time of underneath and over
When mankind was master of the air. And so
While some were flying high, the rest took cover
Which didn't stop them dying down below.

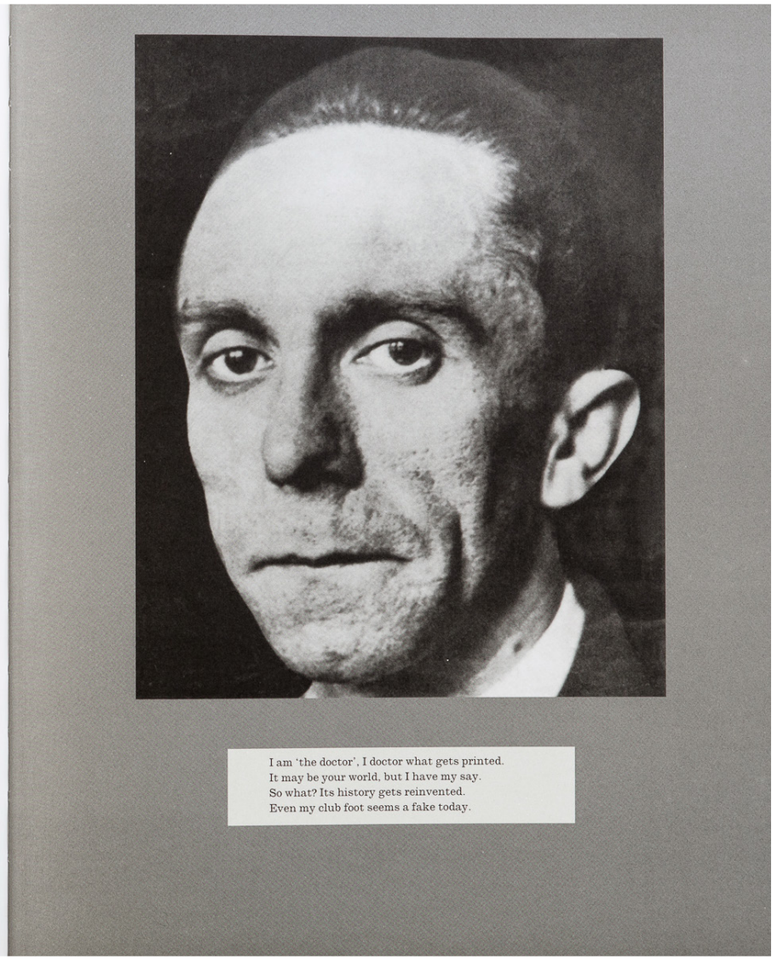


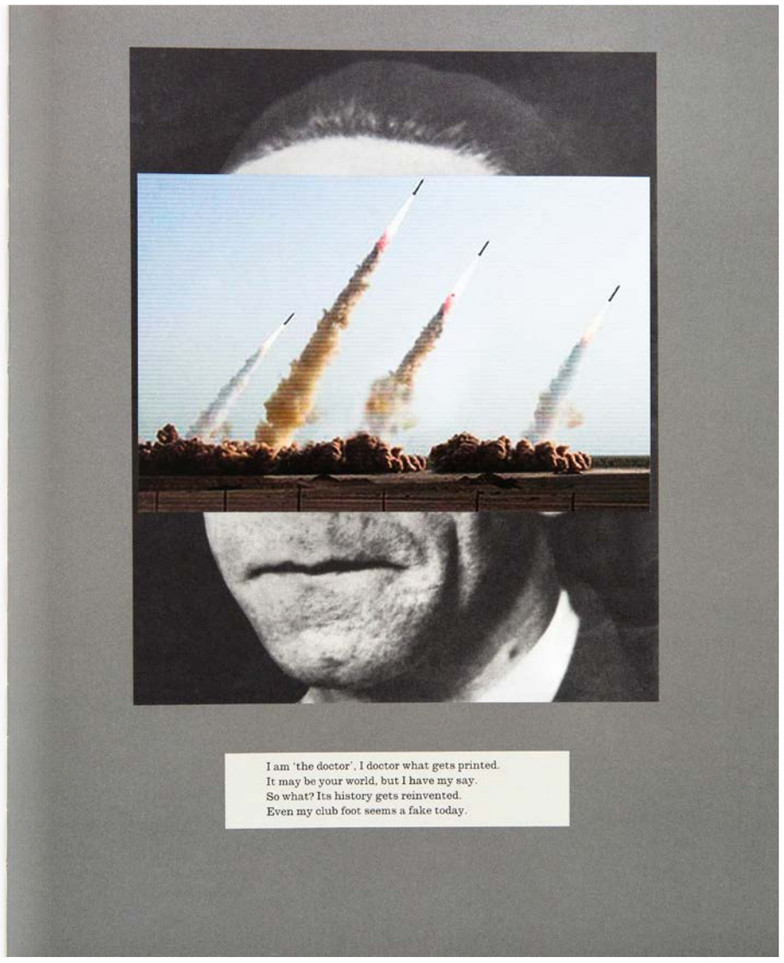
There was a time of underneath and over
When mankind was master of the air. And so
While some were flying high, the rest took cover
Which didn't stop them dying down below.

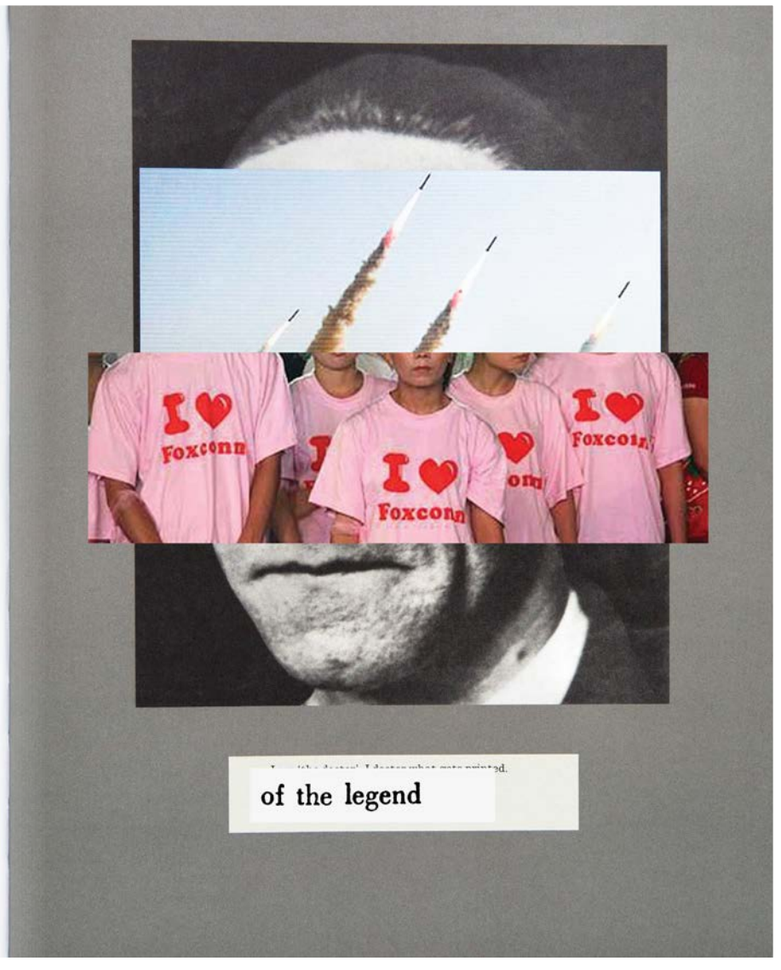


The drowning men s d so
cover

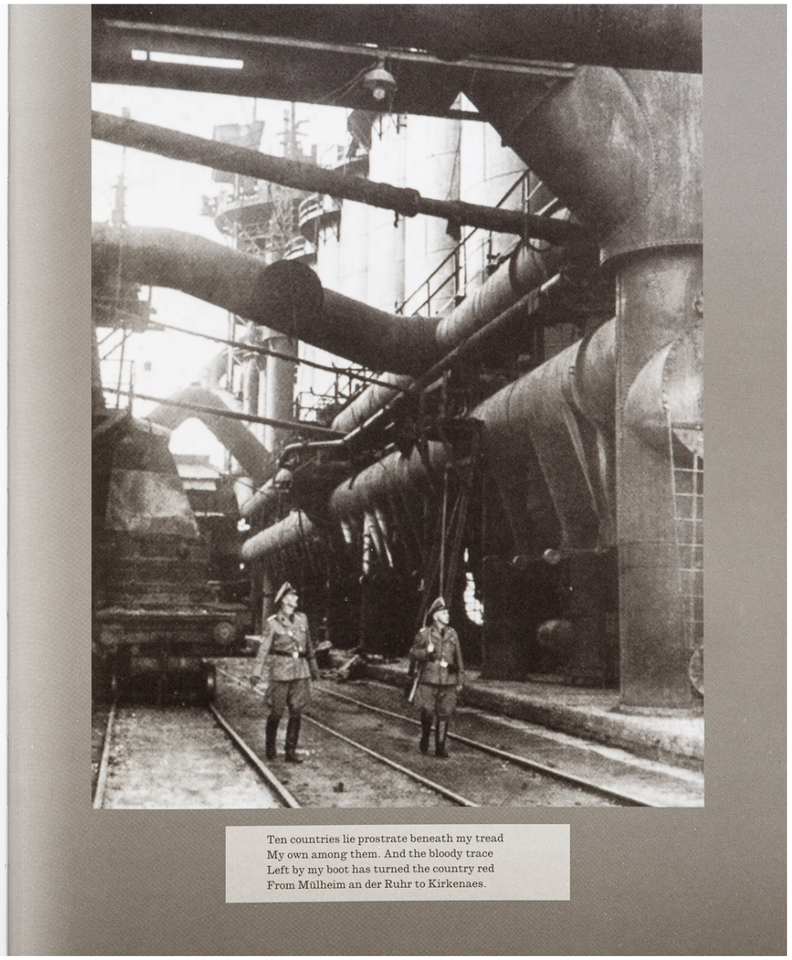
There was a time of underneath and over
When mankind was master of the air. And so
While some were flying high the rest took cover
Which didn't stop them dying down below.







I am 'the doctor'. I doctor what gets printed
It may be your world, but I have my say.
So what? Its history gets reinvented.
Even my club foot seems a fake today



Ten countries lie prostrate beneath my tread
My own among them. And the bloody trace
Left by my boot has turned the country red
From Mülheim an der Ruhr to Kirkenaes.

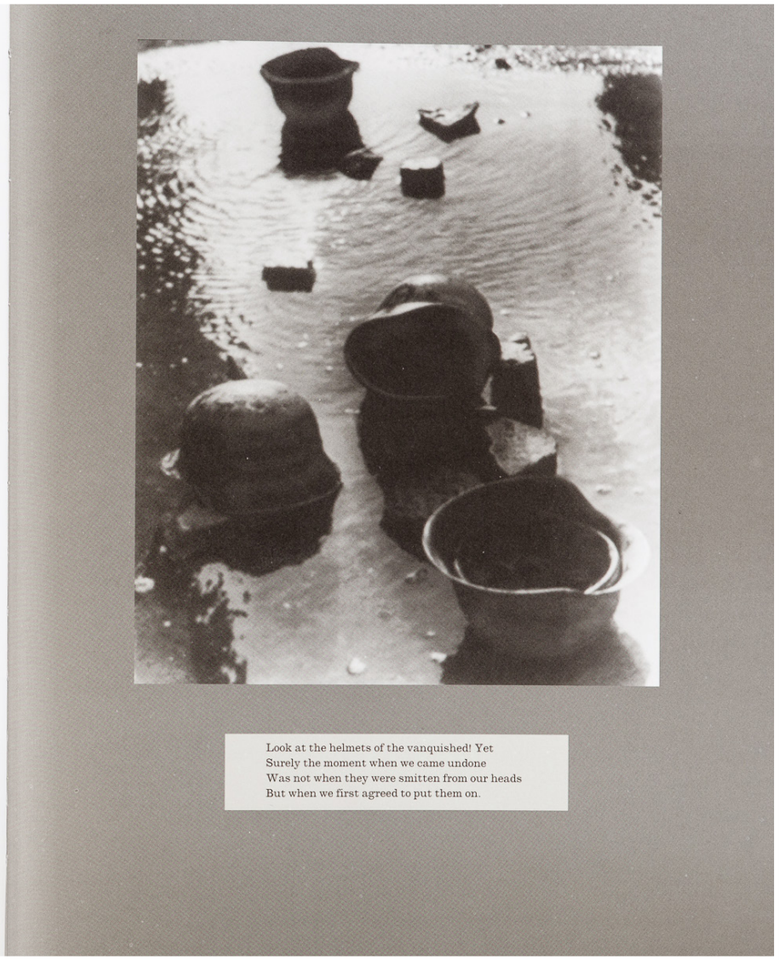


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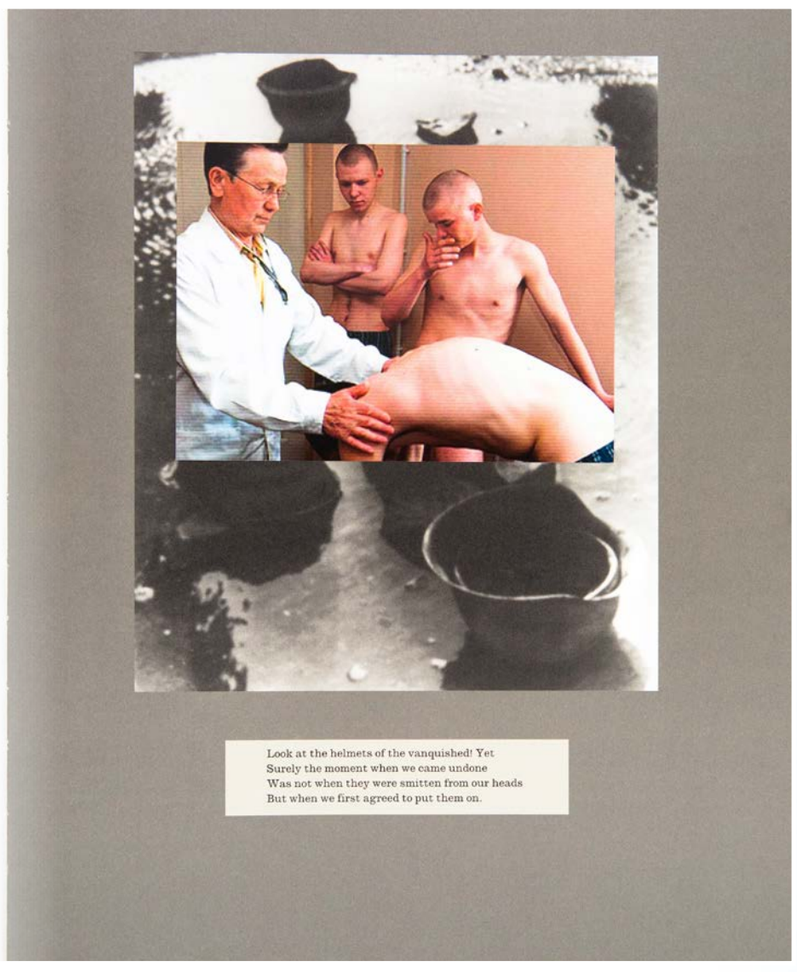


Young Alexander c

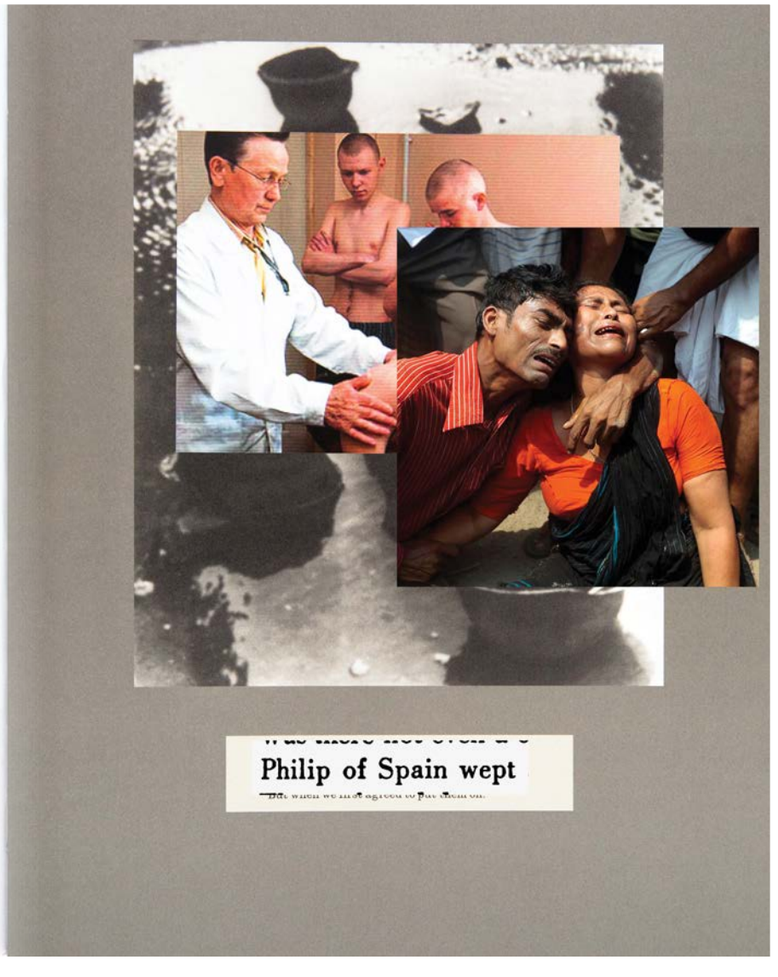
Ten countries lie prostrate beneath my tread
My own among them. And the bloody trace
Left by my boot has turned the country red
From Mülheim an der Ruhr to Kirkenaes



Look at the helmets of the vanquished! Yet
Surely the moment when we came undone
Was not when they were smitten from our heads
But when we first agreed to put them on.

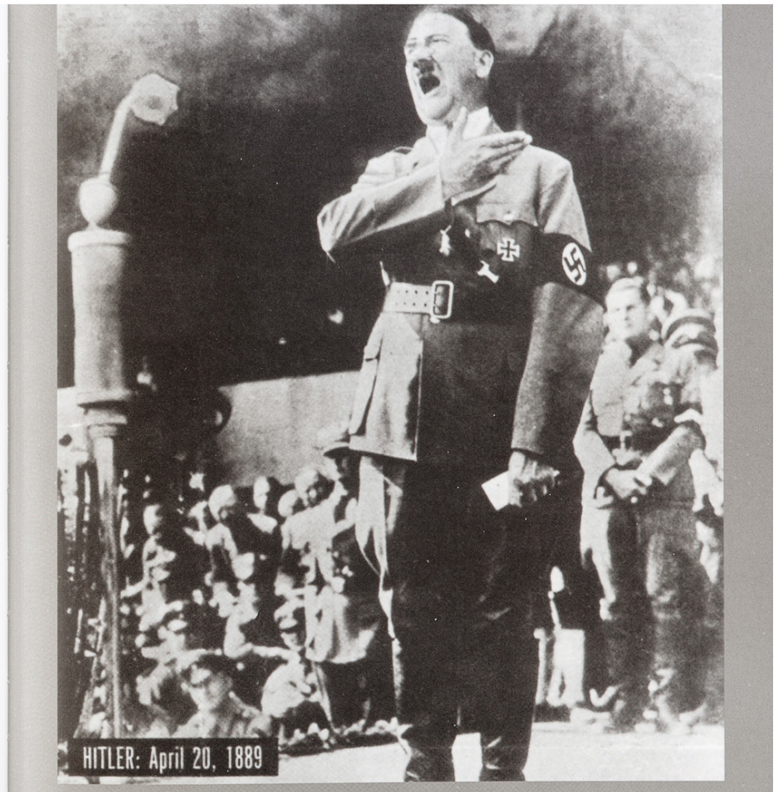


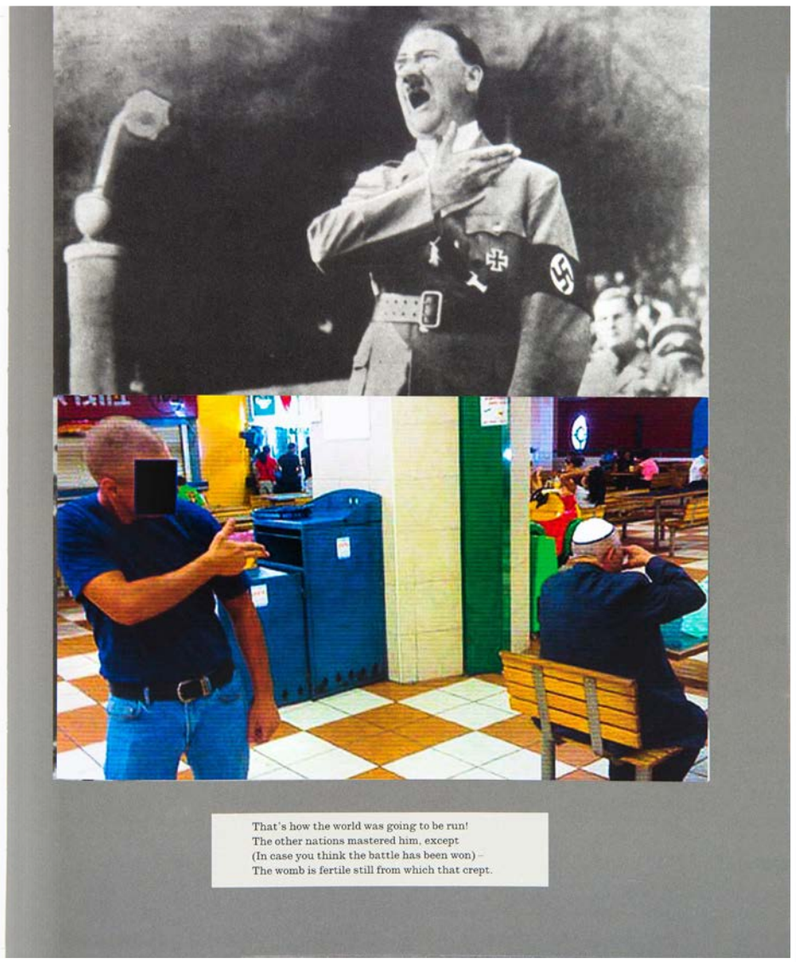
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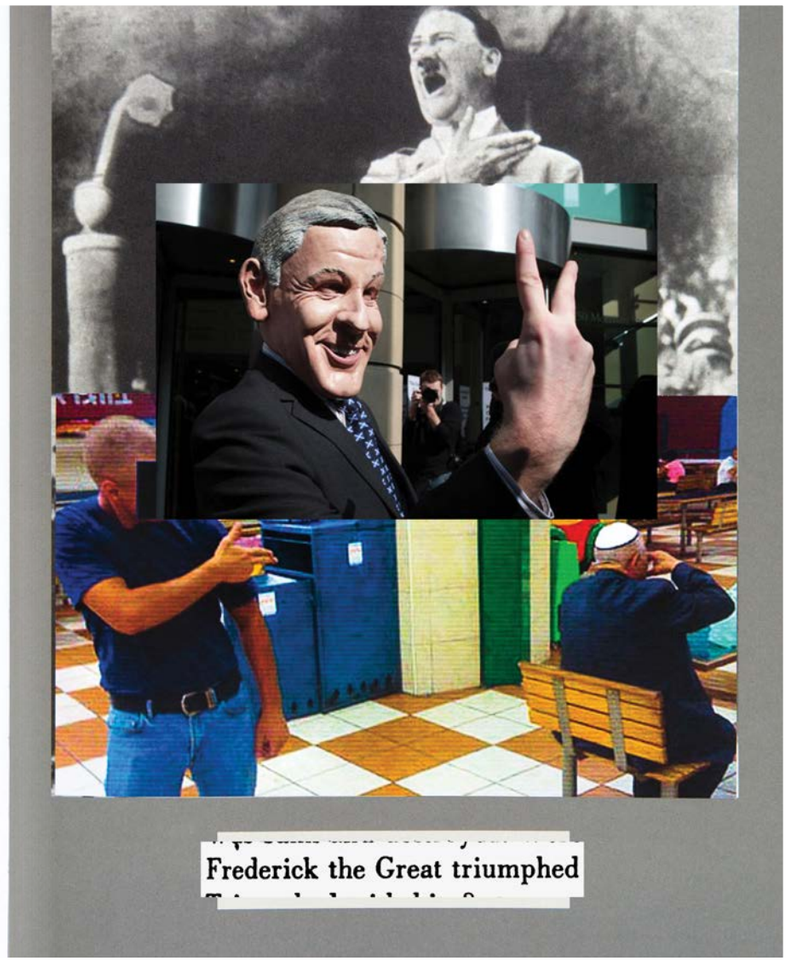


Philip of Spain wept

Look at the helmets of the vanquished! Yet
Surely the moment when we came undone
Was not when they were smitten from our heads
But when we first agreed to put them on.







That's how the world was going to be run!
The nations mastered him, except
(In case you think the battle has been won) -
The womb is fertile still from which that crept.

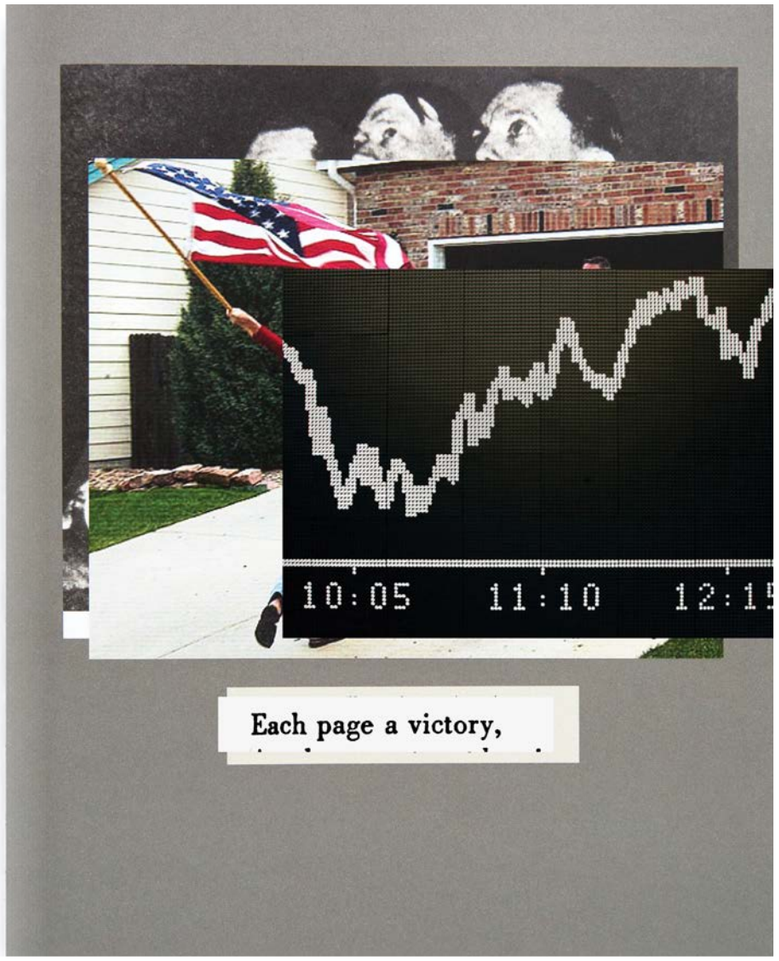


The Nazi Big Three—Their Ending Should Be Wagnerian.

O swan-song! 'Never seek to question me!'
O pilgrims' choir! O fiery-magic trick!
Song of the Rhine gold on an empty belly!
That's what I'd call the Bayreuth Republic.

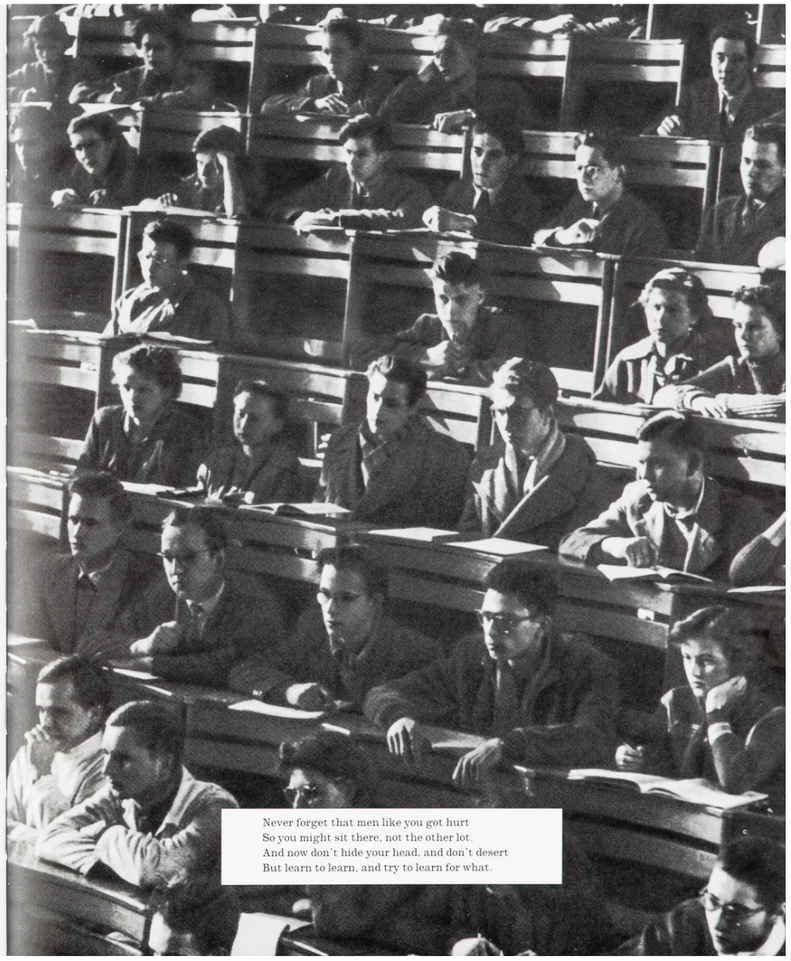


O swan-song! 'Never seek to question me!'
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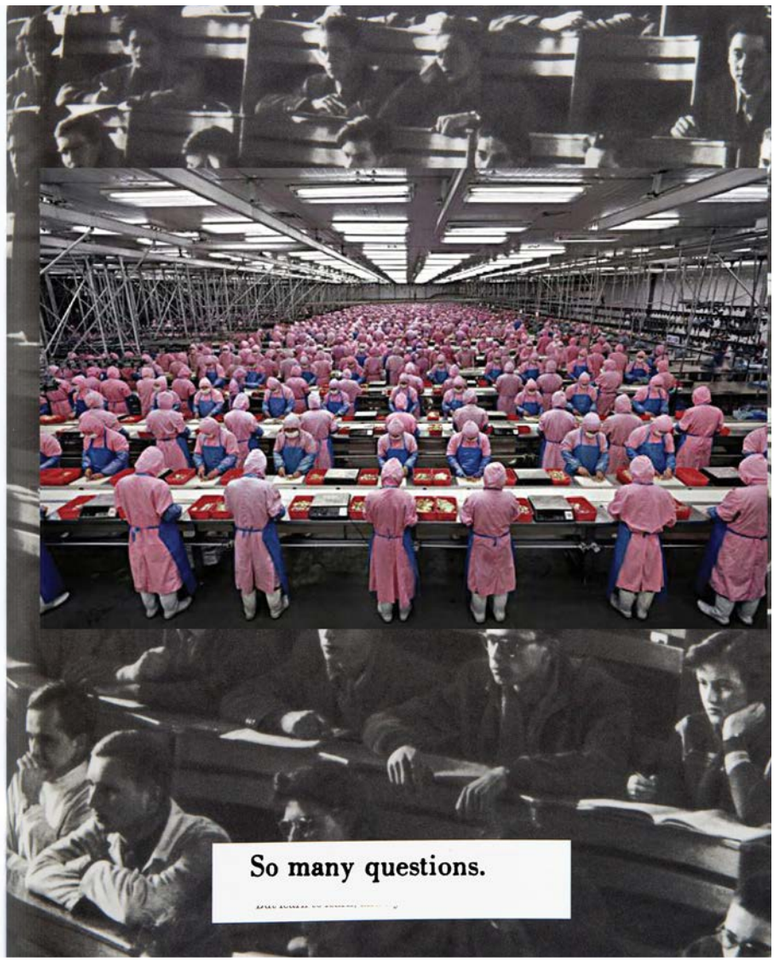


Each page a victory,

O swan-song! 'never seek to question me!'
O pilgrims' choir! O fiery-magic trick!
Song of the Rhine gold on an empty belly!
That's what I'd call the Bayreuth Republic.







Never forget that men like you got hurt
So you might sit there, not the other lot.
And now don't hide your head, and don't desert
But learn to learn, and try to learn for what.



TEXTS

The Politics of Appropriation

Lewis Bush, 2013

In 2013 the Deustche Börse prize for photography was won by Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin, with *War Primer 2*, a reworking of the 1998 English edition of Bertolt Brecht's 1955 book *Kriegsfibel*.

In *Kriegsfiebel*, Brecht – who viewed photography as something which often helped to entrench inequalities as much as expose them – sought to tease out the hidden meanings of Second World War press photographs. To do this he juxtaposed photographs clipped from newspapers against short quatrains echoing the funerary poetry inscribed on the monuments of the ancient world, epigrams which sought to say what could not be seen. His poems variously reveal, confuse, and meditate on the images they are attached to, resulting in a work that explores the production and use of photographs of conflict on many levels, and with a rare sophistication.

In *War Primer 2* Broomberg and Chanarin updated the original book with images from the War on Terror (in a broad sense of that ambiguous phrase). Each new

photograph was selected to resonate with Brecht's original texts, printed and then physically stuck into one hundred copies of the English edition of *Kriegsfibel*.

To each copy Broomberg and Chanarin also added a small amount of screen printed red text over the existing titles and notes. The result was published in a limited edition of one hundred books, each initially selling for around ten times the market value of the unaltered books, which the artists had reportedly procured for nothing from the defunct publishers Libris. Rapidly selling out, signed copies of *War Primer 2* now appear for sale at closer to one hundred times the price of Brecht's original.

For many observers there was a certain sense of dismay at the duo's win. The Deustche Börse prize shortlist, usually typified by conservatism, had for once been so interesting, divided as it was between photographers and artists in radically different camps. There was Christina de Middel, who represented the burgeoning, quirky, do-it-yourself photography book publishing scene. There was Chris Killip, part of the old guard of socially concerned documentary photography, his work given renewed significance by the campaign of austerity that was then taking place in the United Kingdom. There was Miskha Henner, fusing Duchamp-ian appropriation with a critique of the implications of massive automatic image production.

And then there were Broomberg and Chanarin, who more than any of the others perhaps represent the photographic arts establishment, the world of expensive editioned prints in white walled galleries. Their win, many felt, was once again a case of the gallery world choosing its own.

There was a little outrage at the result, as there always is with such prizes. There were rumours that the duo might be sued by the Associated Press for using a photograph in the book without permission. There were similarly vague suggestions of impropriety because of Adam Broomberg's former position as a trustee of The Photographer's Gallery, who organise the competition, and the then current trusteeship of Michael Mack, publisher of *War Primer 2*. But most of all there was just a sense of indifference, apathy at a prize which was widely felt to have had once again chosen the most obvious candidates as winners.

This apathy was a pity, not least because it meant that many observers quickly disengaged. In the days after the prize result was announced those still commenting on the work were split broadly into two camps. Those who were unquestioningly enamored with *War Primer 2* (or for that matter with its makers), and those who on principle despised Broomberg and Chanarin and all that they represented. People who

preferred to condemn a work of theirs, simply because it was theirs, than admit that there was anything of value in it.

I found myself situated somewhere between the two camps, believing that with *War Primer 2* I was encountering a book which was on some levels extremely clever, and on other levels unresolved.

Appropriation in art is an established and more or less accepted technique, its validity asserted by a string of artists from Duchamp to the Chapman brothers. Its position in photography is less comfortable, perhaps because the inherent, infinite reproducibility of the medium means any appropriation is always a potential threat to the original author's ownership of the work. Still in this field also it has been a popular tactic for many years, and *War Primer 2* is the latest in a long line of appropriative 'photographic' works, including of course Brecht's original *Kriegsfiebel* which appropriates photographs directly from newspapers.

However appropriation becomes far more of an issue with Broomberg and Chanarin's reworked version, because where Brecht solely appropriated the physical material of the photographs he used, *War Primer 2* appropriates more totally, borrowing from Brecht on three levels; the physical, the conceptual, and

the ideological. In my view each of these appropriations bring with it it's own set of problems.

Physically, *War Primer 2* builds directly on Brecht's original book, or 'inhabits' it to use Broomberg and Chanarin's chosen terminology, in the sense that the new photographs are physically stuck in to the books and overlay the old ones. The connections between Brecht's images and Broomberg and Chanarin's are hit and miss. Some are starkly brilliant. Plate 23 for example shows a photograph of the burning World Trade Centre seconds before it is hit by a second hijacked airliner. This image is overlaid on to an aerial reconnaissance photograph of a recently bombed oil refinery, the smoke from the former connecting unbroken to that of the latter. The new image likewise matches almost seamlessly with Brecht's eerily prescient quatrain:

A cloud of smoke told us they were here.

They were the sons of fire, not of the light.

They came from where? They came out of the darkness.

Where did they go? Into eternal night.

Other combinations are inevitably weaker and more problem fraught. The visual comparisons of George W. Bush and his deputies with Adolf Hitler, Hermann Goering and Joseph Goebbels for example are lazy, and even slightly dangerous. As indeed is the idea of updating a book

about the Second World War to talk about the War on Terror, with it's underlying assumption that these two conflicts are broadly comparable. Other additions problematically rely heavily on knowledge of the original image beneath, often now entirely obscured by Broomberg and Chanarin's new photographs.

Arguably this physical 'inhabiting' of Brecht's book (some might even call it squatting) is also troublesome in that it is a technique which adds little to the meaning of the work, but inherently limits it's reproducibility. In doing so it forces a book intended to be mass producible and widely accessible into the world of the inaccessible limited art edition. What was meant to be for the masses becomes a collectible object for the chosen few, and in doing so *War Primer 2* flies in the face of Brecht's invocation that the disempowered should 'reach for the book, it is a weapon.'

Conceptually speaking, *War Primer 2* is an almost total appropriation of *Kriegsfibel*. While Broomberg and Chanarin have added new visual material, with results that ranged from the provocative to the banal, the core of the book remains indisputably Brecht's. What, I would suggest, is interesting about *Kriegsfibel* was never the photography. What made and makes the book a masterpiece are the poems, those brilliantly simple but

insightful litanies to the stupid, cruel, arbitrariness of war and the reductive, complacent ways it is often documented. This I believe poses a difficult challenge to the notion that Broomberg and Chanarin met the Deutsche Börse prize's qualification that winner should have made a 'significant contribution to the medium of photography'. The contribution to photography remains entirely Brecht's.

Lastly, ideologically there is again an awkwardness in it all. Broomberg and Chanarin have selectively appropriated elements of Brecht's politics, not least his deeply held pacifism and his (now very fashionable) scepticism about the power of photography. And yet as already observed, *War Primer 2* is not a book one suspects Brecht would have recognised as his own. It is an expensive, exclusive, limited edition art object. Not just that, but also an art object manufactured by unwaged, uncredited interns recruited to stick photographs into those one hundred books. Finally, one has to wonder how Broomberg and Chanarin can reconcile Brecht's politics with winning a prize sponsored by Deutsche Börse, a financial sector company which so represents the type of capitalism Brecht despised and routinely denounced.

With these thoughts in mind, and with Brecht's call not to 'start with the good

old things but the bad new ones' ringing in my ears I decided to respond. I appropriated Broomberg and Chanarin's appropriation, and began to digitally add new material. I replaced Brecht's original epigrams with small snippets of the text of his poem *A Worker Reads History*, a meditation on the countless forgotten of the past, they who built monuments and conquered continents in the names of kings and emperors. While doing this I reordered the pages of the book so that the existing images would more adequately match the flow of Brecht's poem. Working from this new structure, I added new images over the top of those selected by Broomberg and Chanarin and Brecht, choosing ones that as far as possible resonated with the text of the poetry and visually connected to the photographs that lay beneath. Finally I overlaid Broomberg and Chanarin's screen printed text with a new layer of text of my own, printed in blue.

The resulting book, *War Primer 3: Work Primer,* is intended to be a photo-poetic primer on dangerous economics and inequitable labour relations, of the past and present, at home and abroad. It is a small tribute to the forgotten, the unacknowledged and unpaid who keep the engines of the world, indeed even the fine art world, turning.

Extracts from *Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties*

Bertolt Brecht, 1935

In 1935 Bertolt Brecht was living in Svendborg, Denmark having left Germany two years previously following the Nazi party's rise to political power.

Despite his status as an exile this proved a productive year. Alongside other activities Brecht traveled to the United States for the first time to see the production of his play *The Mother* at New York's Theatre Union, a trip which would pave the way for his later period of exile in America, as the German army rampaged across Europe.

As well as traveling Brecht found time to write two texts of significance to the making of War Primer 3. The first was his poem *A Worker Reads History* which forms the narrative backbone of this book. In the poem an imagined worker reading about the deeds of the past questions the lack of ordinary people in the historical record. The soldiers, workers and slaves who built pyramids and fought wars are conspicuous by their absence in history books that deal only with the names of great emperors and victorious kings.

The second text that Brecht finished in 1935 was the final version of *Writing the Truth: Five Difficulties* (the first version had been published in a shorter form the previous year). In this passionate essay Brecht ruminates on the difficulties faced by a writer seeking to speak truth to power. From the courage needed to recognise what truths are important, to the calculated cunning needed to conceal these ideas from censorship and put them in the hands of these most able to make use of them, Brecht makes a powerful and amusing case for writing as activism.

Despite being the product of a very particular time and place, and being very reflective of some of Brecht's more dated ideological convictions, Writing the Truth remains a powerful rallying cry for politically conscious artists and writers who find themselves working under very different conditions today.

‘Writing the Truth Five Difficulties’

‘Nowadays, anyone who wishes to combat lies and ignorance and to write the truth must overcome at least five difficulties. He must have the courage to write the truth when truth is everywhere opposed; the keenness to recognize it, although it is everywhere concealed; the skill to manipulate it as a weapon; the judgment to select those in whose hands it will be effective; and the cunning to spread the truth among such persons. These are formidable problems for writers living under Fascism, but they exist also for those writers who have fled or been exiled; they exist even for writers working in countries where civil liberty prevails.’

‘1. The Courage to Write the Truth’

‘It seems obvious that whoever writes should write the truth in the sense that he ought not to suppress or conceal truth or write something deliberately untrue. He ought not to cringe before the powerful, nor betray the weak. It is, of course, very hard not to cringe before the powerful, and it is highly advantageous to betray the weak. To displease the possessors means to become one of the dispossessed. To renounce payment for work may be the equivalent of giving up the work, and to decline fame when it is offered by the mighty may mean to decline it forever. This takes courage.’

‘2. The Keenness to Recognize the Truth’

‘…it is not untrue that chairs have seats and that rain falls downward. Many poets write truths of this sort. They are like a painter adorning the walls of a sinking ship with a still life. Our first difficulty does not trouble them and their consciences are clear. Those in power cannot corrupt them, but neither are they disturbed by the cries of the oppressed; they go on painting. The senselessness of their behavior engenders in them a “profound” pessimism which they sell at good prices; yet such pessimism would be more fitting in one who observes these masters and their sales ... They do not discover the truths that are worth writing about.’

‘3. The Skill to Manipulate the Truth as a Weapon’

‘Those who are against Fascism without being against capitalism, who lament over the barbarism that comes out of barbarism, are like people who wish to eat their veal without slaughtering the calf. They are willing to eat the calf, but they dislike the sight of blood. They are easily satisfied if the butcher washes his hands before weighing the meat. They are not against the property relations which engender barbarism; they are only against barbarism itself. They raise their voices against barbarism, and they do so in countries where precisely the same property relations prevail, but where the butchers wash their hands before weighing the meat.’

‘4. The Judgment to Select Those in Whose Hands the Truth Will Be Effective’

‘The century-old custom of trade in critical and descriptive writing and the fact that the writer has been relieved of concern for the destination of what he has written have caused him to labour under a false impression. He believes that his customer or employer, the middleman, passes on what he has written to everyone. The writer thinks: I have spoken and those who wish to hear will hear me. In reality he has spoken and those who are able to pay hear him ... But the truth cannot merely be written; it must be written for someone, someone who can do something with it.’

‘5. The Cunning to Spread the Truth Among the Many’

‘Many people, proud that they posses the courage necessary for the truth, happy that they have succeeded in finding it, perhaps fatigued by the labor necessary to put it into workable form and impatient that it should be grasped by those whose interests they are espousing, consider it superfluous to apply any special cunning in spreading the truth. For this reason they often sacrifice the whole effectiveness of their work. At all times cunning has been employed to spread the truth, whenever truth was suppressed or concealed’

...

'The great truth of our time is that our continent is giving way to barbarism because private ownership of the means of production is being maintained by violence. Merely to recognize this truth is not sufficient, but should it not be recognized, no other truth of importance can be discovered. Of what use is it to write something courageous which shows that the condition into which we are falling is barbarous (which is true) if it is not clear why we are falling into this condition?

...

All these five difficulties must be overcome at one and the same time, for we cannot discover the truth about barbarous conditions without thinking of those who suffer from them; cannot proceed unless we shake off every trace of cowardice; and when we seek to discern the true state of affairs in regard to those who are ready to use the knowledge we give them, we must also consider the necessity of offering them the truth in such a manner that it will be a weapon in their hands, and at the same time we must do it so cunningly that the enemy will not discover and hinder our offer of the truth.

That is what is required of a writer when he is asked to write the truth.'

Returning to the War Primer

Lewis Bush, 2015

In June 2013 I wrote *The Politics of Appropriation*, an essay which offered a solitary critique of Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin's widely lauded book *War Primer 2*.

In my essay I sought to question the duo's appropriation of Bertolt Brecht's theory, practice, and politics and their reuse of these things in a way which I felt was inconsistent with Brecht's work and ideas. Rather than being an inheritance of Brecht's legacy I suggested that *War Primer 2* was instead intended to make a fashionable, saleable but ultimately toothless artistic statement.

My work as a 'critic' or writer has always been bound up with my work as a photographer, one informing the other in ways which are sometimes self-evident, and which at other times are complex and hard to fathom, even for me. Over time these two methods of engaging with a subject have become as inseparable as the two sides of a coin, and now I rarely approach a topic through one of them alone. For that reason, to emulate in

practice what I had already written about in theory (or put more simply, to practice what I preached) was a logical next step, and so I made *War Primer 3*.

Two years on from the initial publication of *War Primer 3* I have returned to rework and republish it, and a few people have rightly asked me why. It is a valid question. I know as well as any that an important part of working on creative projects is recognising when to move on from each one, when to judge that a work has reached completion or else has stalled, and to migrate on to new creative territory. It is important to resist the allure of returning to old projects, however great the temptation to relive past victories and defeats. Interesting art is about movement, and nothing is decided in a state of rest. There were however four main reasons which seemed to me to justify a brief return, all tied to the larger goal of ensuring that *War Primer 3* had greater longevity.

Firstly and most practically this revision has been about improving the visual quality of the book and leaving it in a state better suited to future publication and display.

The original version of *War Primer 3* was made from low resolution photographs of *War Primer 2*. This was fine for my original purposes but limited the forms the work

could take. When finishing a project I often feel it is a good idea to leave it in a state that is as open ended as possible so that whoever finds it next might pick it up and be able to twist or turn it to many new purposes. *War Primer 3* was undermined in this respect by technical limitations that I wanted to resolve but could do nothing about at the time that I first made the book. Recently however I finally found myself in a position to borrow and re-photograph an original copy of *War Primer 2*, making it at last possible to start the process of recreating *War Primer 3* at a much higher quality.

Secondly and more importantly this revision has meant an opportunity to clarify the book's message and the choice and employment of the imagery used to deliver it.

War Primer 3 was originally made in a very reactive fashion, with images researched and collected and the book designed and distributed in less than a fortnight. This speed was quite critical at the time because the book was meant in part to be a timely response to the triumph of *War Primer 2* in the 2012 Deustche Börse prize, and each passing day after the announcement of the prize results weakened the commentary the work had to offer. The speed of production was about more than newsworthiness however. It was also intended to be

demonstrative, to make the point that what Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin had done with *War Primer 2* was not artistically at all that profound, and could be replicated by anyone with some free time and an eye for a visual and textual contrast.

While speed seemed vital at the time it had obvious disadvantages, not least in that some of my original image choices were rushed and didn't echo the underlying spreads or adjoining text with the precision that I later wanted. As time has passed my awareness of these missed opportunities has grown more acute, and so part of the update has been to correct these. In some cases this has meant the total replacement of an image, in others it has simply been a case of augmenting their positioning. As part of this revision of imagery I also decided to remove almost all of the historic photographs used in the first version of *War Primer 3*. The rationale behind this change was that the book was always meant to be primarily about current labour and economic relations and this intention was diluted by my use of images from the last century alongside those from the present.

The use of so many historic images was in part a throwback to an early draft of the book that made use only of photographs in the public domain. This proved impractical

in the final version. It remains for me the only great unresolved issue of *War Primer 3* that it appropriates so many photographs which are not in the public domain. Two wrongs do not make a right, and I recognise that this is something of a glaring contradiction in a work intended to critique the claiming of someone else's labour as your own.

Beyond these visible image changes I have made others that few people will notice but which still seemed to me to add more dimension to the work. In particular I have sought with this revision to connect images much more with the text of Brecht's original epigrams. While these epigrams are of course obscured by new text in *War Primer 3*, I felt it was important to establish some sort of conversation with Brecht's original texts even if that dialogue remained largely invisible. I was also intrigued by the idea that a viewer's experience of *War Primer 3* would be quite different depending on their knowledge of the previous incarnations of the book.

For a reader approaching the *War Primer* series for the first time, spread forty-six of *War Primer 3* simply shows a man making a rude gesture towards an unseen audience while wearing a mask of the former Royal Bank of Scotland boss Fred Goodwin. Below is the inserted text 'Frederick the Great triumphed...'.

Knowing the text of Brecht's original four line epigram (which accompanies a photograph of Adolf Hitler mid-speech) however changes the reading of this image quite dramatically, into one not so much of triumph but of defeat tinged with warning, a warning which I felt was pertinent to the 2008 financial crisis that Goodwin (popularly known as 'Fred the Shred') became one of the prime symbols of. Brecht's original text reads:

That's how the world was going to be run!

The other nations mastered him, except

(in case you think the battle has been won)

The womb is fertile still from which that crept.

The third reason for a revision was that I wanted to more clearly re-establish an idea that was present at moments in Brecht's original *War Primer*. This is the idea that economic inequality and violent conflict are deeply entwined. Not only in the sense that one engenders the other through contests for essential resources and economic survival, but also in the sense that conflict is an intrinsic part of the way capitalism operates, not some aberration or by-product that emerges from it by chance.

In the original *War Primer* the idea that capitalism and conflict perpetuate each other is a clear motif almost from the start of the book. One of the earliest images depicts a group of workers moving vast

sheets of metal in one of the enormous Krupp steel plants that fed the German army throughout the Second World War. The epigram beneath reads:

'Whats that you're making brothers?' 'Iron wagons'

'And what about those great steel plates you're lifting?'

'they're for the guns that blast the iron to pieces'

'And what's it all for brothers?' 'It's our living'.

Such was the role of the Krupp firm in the preparations for, and continuation of the Second World War that it's directors were amongst those put on trial at Nuremberg in 1945. The main defendant Alfred Krupp argued that he had only been interested in a favourable business environment and that 'we Krupps never cared much about ideas'. Traces of the idea that conflict and profit making are linked activities remain in *War Primer 2* for those willing to look for them, whether by accident or design but the idea is notably diluted, and it seemed to me to be an important one to try and reintroduce.

The fourth and final reason for returning to *War Primer 3* was to eliminate most of the references to Adam Broomberg and Oliver Chanarin.

Despite the limited time I gave to making it and the essentially uncreative nature of the book's concept, *War Primer 3* remains for me one of the more important

pieces of work I have made to date. As part of the revision I wanted to do all I could to ensure this would be a book and a political statement that still had some currency as Brecht's original does, when viewed sixty years or more after publication. Massive ideological conflicts like the Second World War might seem like ancient history, and even the sort of global asymmetric campaign of the War on Terror seems in some ways to belong to another era. However it seems likely we will see a growing number of smaller conflicts fueled by competition for resources rather than ideology as capitalism drains the world's resources dry and environmental degradation puts growing pressure on those that remain.

While feeling that this core idea of economic inequality and conflict would remain relevant I also felt that the book could never have the longevity I wanted it to have as long as it remained in large part a critique of two artists. Attacking the cul-de-sac that is the art world (and particularly the art photography world) is a fine way to gain easy plaudits from one's peers, but it is also a task akin to baiting a chained bear. It is riskless, pointless, and the act and tools by which it was achieved are quickly forgotten.

Similarly I have always felt that the act of criticism is a form of veiled compliment. Two years on from the original release of *War Primer 3* I feel that compliment

has been paid enough to Broomberg and Chanarin. For all of these reason I have removed all but two visual references to the artists from *War Primer 3*, and redirected much of the imagery and commentary back to the important issue of inequitable economics in the wider world. This book is the result. Whether the changes made to it are an improvement or a degradation will be for others to judge. Whether it proves to have the longevity I hope for it, only time will tell. But I can now feel that this project is complete, and I can set aside the *War Primer*.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to A. G. W. M. E.

To those who encouraged me in this project.

To those who sought to dissuade me from it.

And to my family.

Interns of the world, unite.

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2015