

ANARCHIST REVIEW

NUMBER 6



THE GOLDEN ROAD TO SAMARKAND-

A speculative look at the SAS as contemporary Knights Kadosh - the State's 30⁰ hit-men

THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS

CPAR



SUMMER 1982

Cienfuegos Press
Anarchist Review
Vol. 1, No. 6
ISSN 0309 7285

Design and Layout
Phil Ruff

Subscription Rates
(for all publications)
£18 /\$40

Cienfuegos Press,
Over the Water,
Sanday,
Orkney,
KW17 2BL,
U.K.

Trade Distribution
A Distribution,
c/o Freedom Press
84b Whitechapel High St.,
London E1 7QX.

U.S. Distribution
Cienfuegos Press (US),
3512
12 Avenue South,
Minneapolis,
Minnesota 55407,
USA.



Price UK £1.00
USA \$2.00
(plus postage)

CONTENTS

The Golden Road to Samarkand	1
The Practical Marx - John Zerzen	17
The Anarchist Movement in Mexico - Octavio Alberola	22
Isaac Puente	26
Libertarian Communism	27
The Engineered Decline of Urban Electric Transport - Nigel Pennick	36
Organise and Survive - Stuart Christie	39
Book Reviews	41

EDITORIAL

At last we are proud to present the long-awaited but unfortunately, probably the last issue of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review. We thought we had managed to ride out the recession successfully, but the past six months have been spectacularly disastrous for us. Not only has the Press suffered a drop in trade sales of almost 80% but, more painfully, our subscribers have plummeted from almost 700 to just over 250 - a drop of 64% on last year leaving us with a shortfall of £8,000. This, together with the editor's personal overdraft of £18,000 which has gone into keeping the project going, the company overdraft of £3,000, plus our creditors, makes it obvious we can no longer continue trading as Cienfuegos Press Ltd.

We are, however, committed to completing our publications programme for this year and have two books in the pipeline nearing completion - PEOPLES WITHOUT GOVERNMENT by Professor Harold Barclay, and THE END OF ANARCHISM? by Luigi Galleani, both of which should

be with subscribers by the end of the summer.

We are doing what we can to wind up the affairs of Cienfuegos Press Ltd., as quickly and efficiently as possible, and once all our creditors have been paid in full we intend to continue publishing under another name. The new project will be structured differently to the present CP one with a new style Review being completely independent of the book and pamphlet group. This New Anarchist Review will have all the features of present CPAR, but with a new emphasis on investigative and analytical features. This aspect of the Review will be backed up by an international, national and local counter information Network which we hope will be supported by you, our readers, by sending us information on what is happening in your local area, your work and areas of general interest. To facilitate the maximum amount of reader participation in this project we shall be publishing Towards a Citizen's Intelligence Agency - A Radical Investigator's Hand-

book, a book which we hope will clear away any mistique that may exist concerning the methodology of research, be it individuals, organisations, companies, state structures - or whatever - and the techniques of field research. We hope that your support will help us bridge the gap between the old and the new projects. So please bear with us. In the meantime, we welcome all comments and suggestions as to how best the new project should be structured with the maximum amount of supporter participation - and how best it can be financed! All CP subscribers will be provided with full details of the project once they have been formulated properly and will be submitted to them for their comments and suggestions so please keep in touch. All donations and contributions towards helping over the transitional period will be greatly appreciated!

NB We need: the use of a Transit van or lorry; storage space for CP stock and office space - any offers?

THE GOLDEN ROAD TO SAMARKAND

(A speculative look at the culture, history and political role of the Special Air Service Regiment as a warrior elite and potential "parallel enforcement body" within the British sphere of influence)



Not many people will argue with the premise that the fragmented and polarised nature of western capitalist society makes it necessary to countenance the existence of highly trained, disciplined and dedicated groups of people who are prepared to risk their lives and save and defend endangered sections of the community. The Fire Brigade and Lifeboat Service are two cases in point, particularly in view of the recent Penlee Lifeboat disaster in Cornwall. The police, security and armed services also have, arguably, socially useful functions. However, as part of the coercive apparatus of the state I would argue that these functions serve as a mask for the true role of the forces of law and order – to defend and uphold the power, privilege and interests of the ruling class.

Among the agencies of state whose ostensible role is to defend this country of ours, two groups spring to mind as renowned for their swashbucklingly dangerous and heroic exploits - and their total lack of accountability: the Security/Intelligence Services and the Special Air Service Regiment. A lot of attention has been focused on the various branches of

the former group over recent years with the result we now have a slightly better idea as to how HMG's Secret Service operates than before, but so far few - other than a handful of left-wing investigative journalists - have managed to penetrate very deeply through the veil of secrecy surrounding the SAS and its

sinister "parallel" and unofficial commercial regiments which are co-ordinated through the SAS Regimental Association. Does the autonomous structure and security blanket which cloaks this legendary regiment provide a breeding ground for extreme right wing adventurers? To what extent does its rise to prominence reflect the relatively new development in British military history of political involvement by its officer class? Lastly, is the increasing politicisation of the officer class likely to have any constitutional effect on the government of Britain?

On the monument to the SAS dead at their Bradbury Lines barracks near Hereford is inscribed this poem which reflects the ethos of these 20th Century samurai: *"We are the pilgrims, Master, we shall go Always a little further. It may be Beyond that last blue mountain buried*

with snow,

Across that angry or glimmering sea...."

The rationale which motivates this tightly knit, exclusively elitist and secretive regiment is that society or, rather, their world view of society has to be protected against the religious and political psychopaths who are also prepared to "always go a little further" to achieve their ends, even when it involves the murder and maiming of innocent bystanders. As a reason for the existence of the SAS or an any other peacekeeping force this would sound fairly plausible if the argument stopped there, but it doesn't. Elite troops have always been used to maintain the power and authority of the state and we should be in little doubt they will be used again when it feels sufficiently endangered by large enough sections of the organised labour movement. The politicisation of substantial sections of the population in the sixties and seventies jolted the Western elites and forced a rapid reassessment of the security danger from the external to the internal threat. In 1975 the *Trilateral Commission*, the global policy making body of the industrial democracies, published a work called *The Crisis of Democracy* which interpreted the growing popular demand for greater participation in the decision-making process as a threat to democracy, and one that had to be contained if their concept of "democracy" was to survive in a workable fashion.¹

No matter how well-trained or idealistic the members of a secret society may be, there inevitably comes a time when conflict develops between obligations to one's comrades and the society of the outside world. Equally inevitable is the abandonment or suspension of ordinary moral and social considerations. This applies to *all* clandestine groups, not just the sub-state ones, and is well illustrated in the personal accounts of underground life by Bommi Baumann and Hans Joachim Klein.²

The tensions and way of life imposed by clandestinity created an unbridgeable gap between their world view of reality and that of people outside their immediate circle and ideology. I cite the *June 2nd Group* simply as an example of what was originally a *highly idealistic* group as opposed to the arbitrary, random and deliberate brutality of neo-nazi and statist terrorism.

Count Windischgratz, a reactionary but astute observer of human nature, noted in 1788 that the directors of secret societies could never be certain the men they recruited would always have sufficient strength of character not to abuse the techniques of control made available to them. He went on to warn the aspiring arbiters of the public good: "A man who sets himself up to govern the minds of others is hardly ever one whose ideas are sensible and almost always one whose mind is mediocre.... Start by recognising that you have no right to act in this way; you are not the emissaries of the Almighty; you cannot ever give way to

these impulses without forgetting your duties."³

By and large, the warrior elite ethos is foreign to England which has a long tradition of parliamentary government. It is also a maritime nation which up until recently was given to fighting most of its decisive battles at sea. Militarism was never a strong force in English politics and until a hundred years ago following the debacle in the Crimea the raising of overseas expeditionary forces was mainly in the hands of the aristocracy.

On the other hand, the Scottish Highland clan system which existed more or less intact until the mid-eighteenth century, supported a fiercely militarist outlook with a cohesiveness and loyalty to commanders that made the Highland regiments admired the world over as the most effective fighting units in the British Army. In return for military service the Army became the traditional means by which the Highland laird class gained access to polite English "society".

After the defeat of 1745 and the final collapse of the feudal power of the Scottish clan chieftans, many of these Jacobite landowners turned to Freemasonry as a sort of political lifebelt in order to maintain their privileges and act as an outlet their flights of fancy regarding the restoration of the Stuarts to the British throne. Among the many new degrees of Freemasonry which flourished in Jacobite Scotland at this time was that of Knight Kadosh (30th Degree) which commemorated Solomons' "chosen masters" charged with bringing back "dead or

alive" the murderers of Hiram Abiff, the architect of the Temple.⁴ This grade claimed to have direct links with the last surviving Knights Templar who were alleged to have established a Lodge in Edinburgh dedicated to avenging the murder in Paris in 1312 of Jaques du Molay, the last Grand Master of the Order. One of the gruesome symbols illustrating the grade and Lodge function of these would be Jacobite hitmen has survived down the years in the form of the Winged Dagger - the emblem of the *Special Air Service Regiment*. Freemasonry also has something else in common with warrior elites - it is usually anti-woman, or at least excludes women. Perhaps the devout Catholicism of the Highland Lairds was a sublimation of the sexual urges that usually accompany mysogyny. As exemplified by the behaviour of the Jacobite Simon Fraser, the twelfth Lord Lovat (1667-1747) - a family who play a key role in the SAS story - who committed such unheard of barbarities against his second wife, Primrose Campbell, that she was granted the unusual (for the time) legal privilege of a second maintenance from him.⁵ Be that as it may, in the 17th and 18th Centuries Roman Catholic, Jacobite Freemasonry was such a powerful and cohesive political force opposing integration with the Protestant dominated Union and committed to forwarding the interests of the Roman Catholic landowning class and aristocracy, that it led to the foundation of the Protestant Grand Lodge in 1717.



Wartime Commando leader, Lord Lovat, in 1942.

Almost 200 years later, in 1940, another Highland laird, also closely linked with the Frasers of Lovat, David Archibald Stirling, a subaltern in the Scots Guards, was recovering from a parachuting accident in a Cairo hospital when he had a brainwave - an idea for a revolutionary type of fighting unit. What sparked the idea we will probably never know, but the influence of the irregular guerrilla and affinity groups of the Spanish Civil war might have played a part. Also, Stirling was in the immediate vicinity of Wingate's Palestinian adventures and not too far from T.E. Lawrence's famous exploits with Bedouin irregulars (now known to be almost entirely mythical). Lawrence was also a notorious elitist in every aspect of his life, a militarist, semi-fascist and woman hater, and his ghost must have haunted the Middle East at the time. One wonders too whether the ghost of the Mamelukes did not do likewise. They were a Turkish warrior caste who were so "exclusive" - ie. anti-woman - that they depended for the replacement of their numbers on the kidnapping of boy children. They were originally a kind of palace guard but became the more or less autonomous rulers of Egypt, while paying a formal homage to the Sultan. What better place or time to dream of a warrior elite? The post World War 1 period saw a growing interest in all aspects of unconventional approaches to warfare and the advent of the parachute seems to have helped focus David Stirling's mind on the extreme effectiveness of a small, highly trained groups of assassins

and saboteurs. It was against this background that Stirling's idea was conceived and slowly took form - the Special Air Service Regiment, one of the most selective, tightly knit and effective fighting fraternities in history.

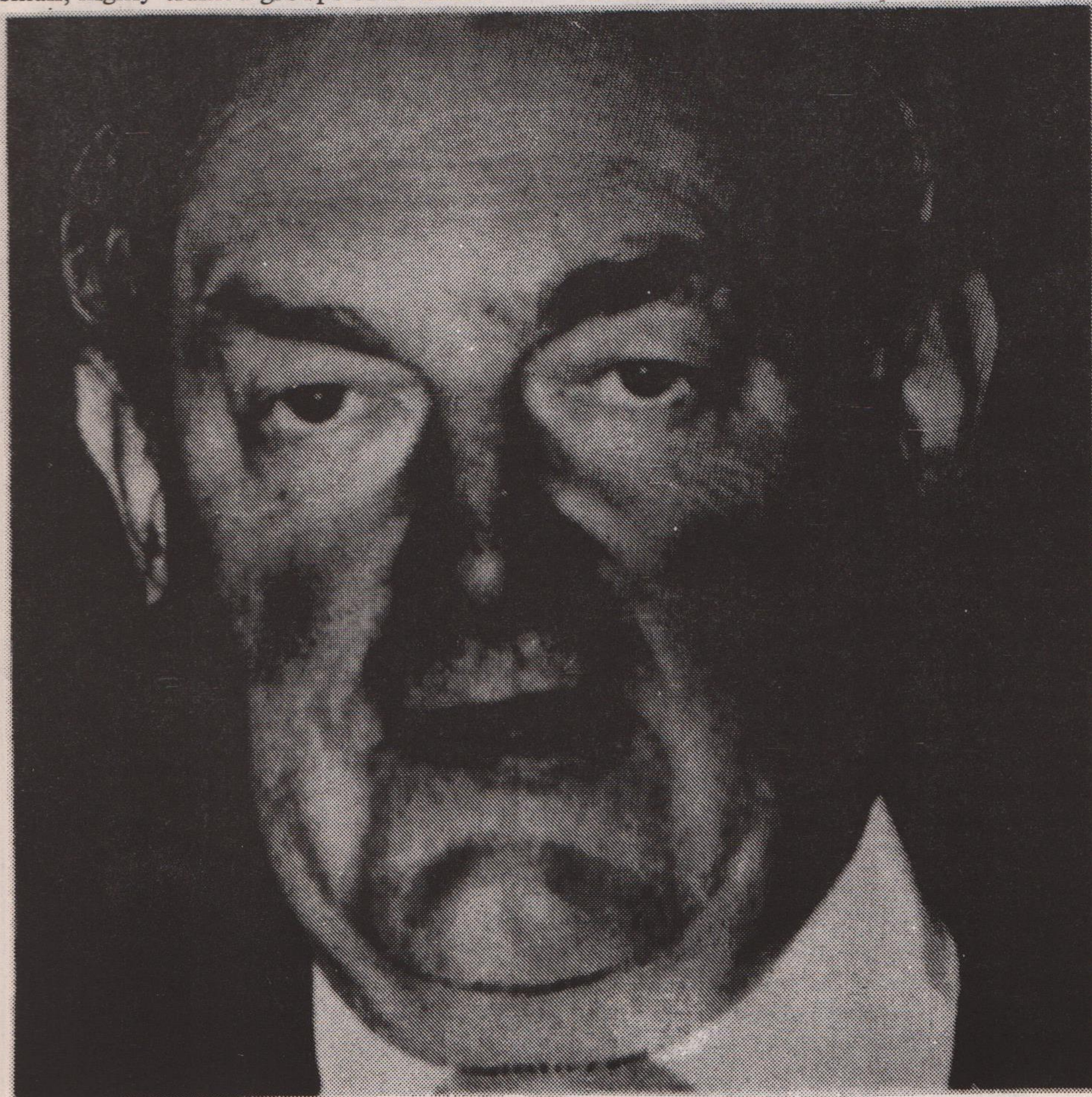
The early history of the SAS Regiment could be described perhaps as heroically incompetent. The Regiment's official birthday is given as 16 November, 1941, when sixty men were dropped behind enemy lines in North Africa with the mission of locating and destroying a Libyan airfield. Of these sixty just over twenty made it back to base - without having found their target, let alone destroying it. The first real action was even more disastrous. Then, in February 1941, thirty-six men of the 11th SAS were dropped in Northern Italy and within a short time all of them had been captured or had surrendered - some to unarmed peasants. David Stirling was himself captured in 1943 by a German dentist and spent the rest of the war in a POW camp. The SAS Regiment did, however, fight bravely behind enemy lines working with the various Resistance networks and Special Operations Executive in Occupied Europe knowing full well Hitler had personally ordered that no SAS soldier was to be taken alive. However, the last campaign in Greece - 1944/45 - was one of the most tragic and ignoble actions by any British field regiment in World War 11 - and a hint of things to come.

Once the German army had been defeated in Greece, not only did the SAS not disarm the fascist security they re-

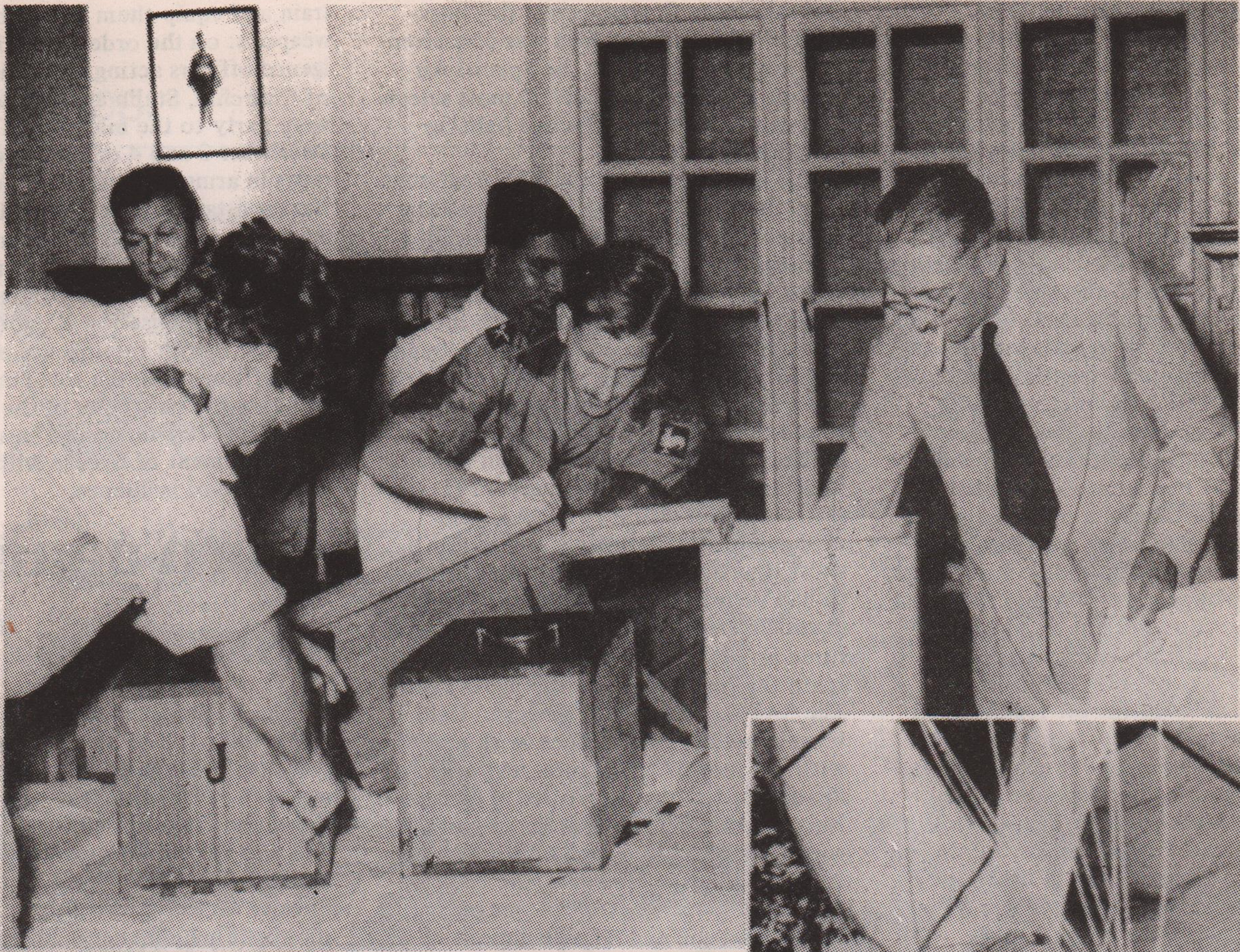
train and equip them with modern allied weapons: on the orders of British Intelligence officers acting on the instructions of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, they were party to the massacre in Athens on December 3 and 4 of their previous comrades in arms, the left wing Greek anti-Nazi resistance movement, ELAS. These massacres, ambushes of liberation celebrations and a protest demonstration, were perpetrated by George Grivas' fascist terrorist 'Organisation X', and orchestrated by British Intelligence and senior SAS officers with the sole purpose of breaking the backbone of the left wing dominated resistance and ensuring the establishment of Greece within the western sphere of influence.

Born again assassins

The Regiment as we know it today was resurrected by the Labour Government of Clement Atlee in late 1950 as the only effective way of containing the threat from the national liberation and anti-colonialist movements which marked the end of World War II. The Special Air Service Regiment had proved its worth behind enemy lines in the Second World War and its structure was ideally suited for the type of warfare which was to be the hallmark of all liberation struggles. It was a go-anywhere unit which specialised in counter-insurgency campaigns and was specially trained in psychological warfare to secure the popularity of the colonialist powers. The "born again" SAS emerged in Malaya under the command of an extreme right-wing staff officer, J.M. "Mad Mike" Calvert⁶ as an Intelligence gathering, political-military enforcement agency with a public philosophy of winning the "hearts and minds" of the population to the cause of western "democracy" and a hidden face which dealt in deception, murder and mayhem. Since then it has been the Regiment the British Government and the city of London has ultimately turned to in its desperate attempts to safeguard its economic sphere of influence from the radical nationalist and revolutionary movements of the post war era. After its nine year bleeding in Malaya, the Regiment moved on to Oman, Borneo, Aden, Vietnam, Northern Ireland, and now, as the system starts to fail at home, the streets of London, Birmingham, Glasgow and Manchester. In fact, so highly thought of is this warrior elite today, and so specialised their skills, that their services are contracted out by Her Majesty's Government to any friendly government who can convince the Foreign Office that those services are necessary to quell internal opposition irrespective of the brutality and savagery of those regimes. Thus is maintained the delicate network and balance of HMGs' diplomatic alliances.



Colonel David Stirling, DSO, OBE.

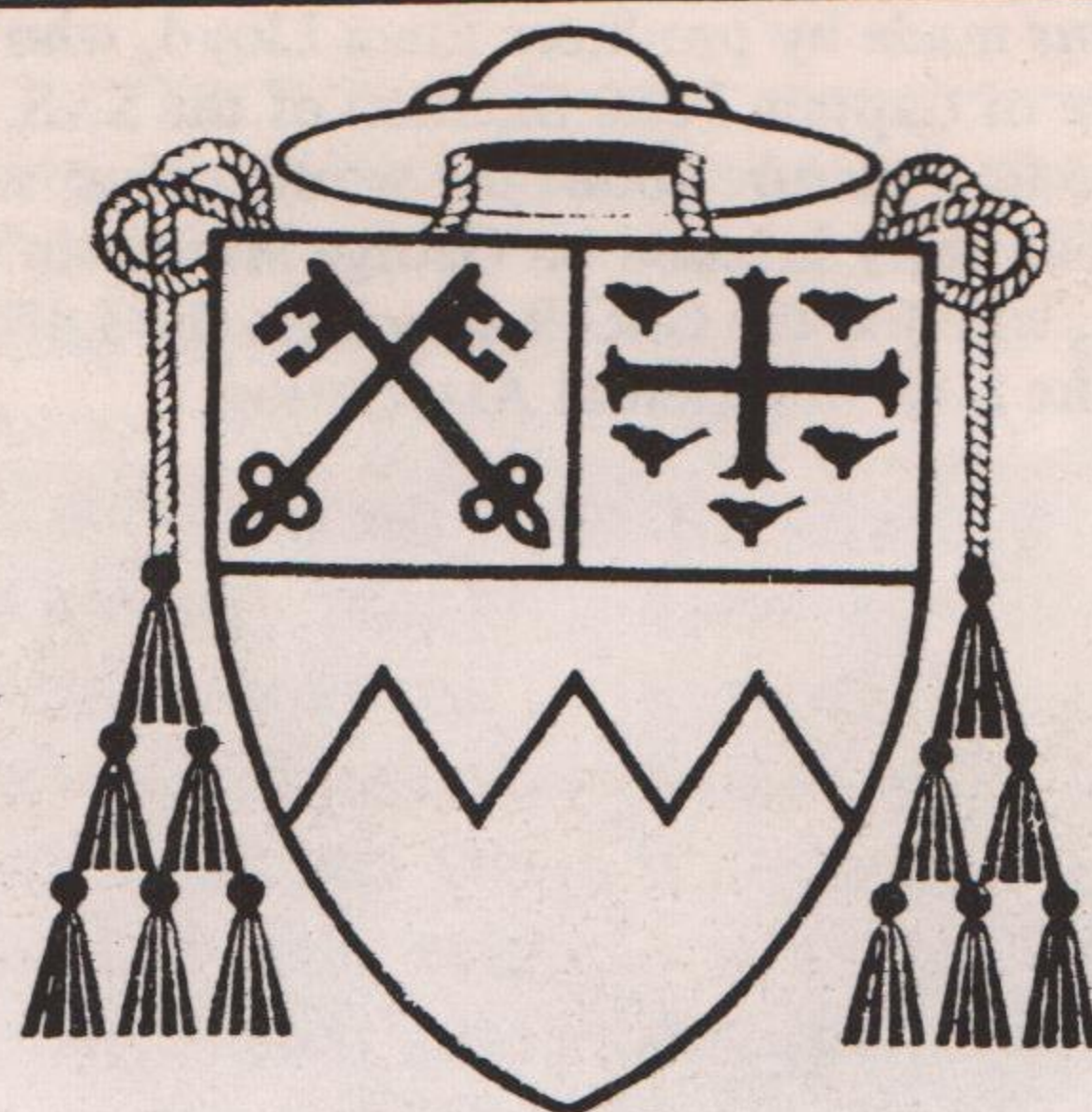


The SAS (Malayan Scouts) was re-formed in 1950 by 'Mad' Mike Calvert (above left) to combat the anti-colonialist guerrilla war which erupted in Malaya in 1948. Recruits came from the ex-wartime SAS, SOE, Force 136 ('Dare' Newell), Ferret Force, and 21 SAS (reservists and Territorials who had served under Stirling). By 1952 the SAS had four squadrons in Malaya – A, B, C, and D,* plus a headquarters staff, and in February 1952 were dropped deep in the jungle in an operation designed to cut off supplies to the Min Yuen. In June 1952, General Templer, the Malayan High Commissioner, was asked whether he had sufficient troops. He replied: 'The answer lies not in pouring more soldiers into the jungle, but rests in the hearts and minds of the Malayan people'. This was to be the essence of SAS philosophy and strategy and marked the beginning of the SAS as a clandestine intelligence gathering and perception shaping military task force. During the period of the Malayan emergency there was unofficial competition among British troops for the highest Regimental 'body count'. The biggest score was that of the 1/10th Gurkhas with 300. The 'official' score for the SAS during their nine-year tour of duty was 108 kills. The photograph (top of the page) shows General Sir Gerald Templer, architect of the 'hearts and minds' strategy, emptying lockers containing completed intelligence questionnaires distributed and collected by the SAS from Malayan villages in an attempt to break the organisational infrastructure of the Min Yuen. The parachutist (above right) is Sergeant Hanna.

*According to an editorial in the SAS Regimental magazine (*Mars and Minerva*, November '78), these squadrons were described thus: "A" was the 'SOP' outfit, straight laced, formal, ultimately professional and probably the proud producer of more senior ranks in 22 SAS than any other - P de B, PFW, Lawrence, Tanky and Frank all spring readily to mind. 'B' were the tearaways, the humourists, the 'livers of life' to the full, the unorthodox – even to the point of being disbanded. . . 'D' was the old man's squadron, nasty, evil, tribalistic – even the Troops did not talk with each other, a mixture of 'A's professionalism coupled with 'B's humour, but with an evil touch. . .

Although the SAS has an important role in conventional defence planning with established precedence in the Order of Battle, the secrecy and detachment it encourages from the rest of society, even within the British Army itself, its specialist role in counter-revolutionary warfare raises many questions — to me anyway! — as to its deployment. The laird and gentry outlook of the SAS officer class, coupled with the self-destructive elitism of the soldiers themselves make the Regiment an unlikely breeding ground for liberal-minded freethinkers. After all, what the laird sees as subversion and terrorism may be something quite different to an unemployed shipyard worker or a half-starving worker on a tea-plantation.

Like most ruling class children the world over, the sons of the gentry are educated away from home and in an atmosphere of greater sexual confinement and restriction than the children of those whom they are destined to rule over. So far as the SAS officer class is concerned a substantial number of them appear to have been educated at Ampleforth College, which is attached to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Laurence⁷, in North Yorkshire. It is in such places that the 'old boy' network is cemented — not least by widespread and often sadistic sodomy — and where a difference of sexual mores from those of the lower orders is inculcated that will at least inhibit intermarriage and the collapse of



AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE

Under the Patronage of Saint Laurence and Saint Edward the Confessor

Westminster Abbey

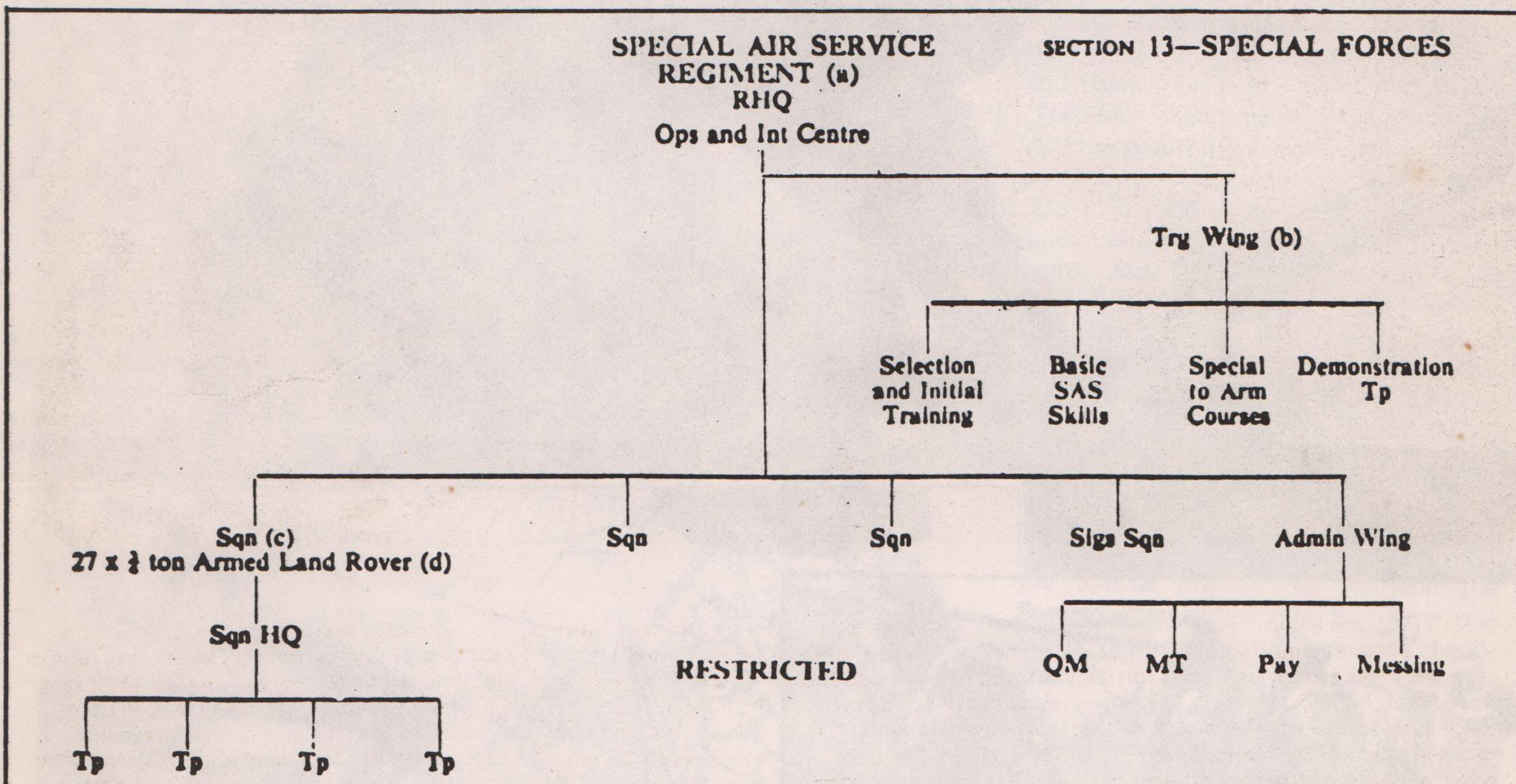
Dieulouard, 1608

Ampleforth, 1802

the class system it would bring about. Childhood friendships and adolescent heterosexual dalliances that would have a similar effect are also discouraged by the same means. Sending the young men away into the army encourages them to seek brides from another, acceptably remote social grouping.

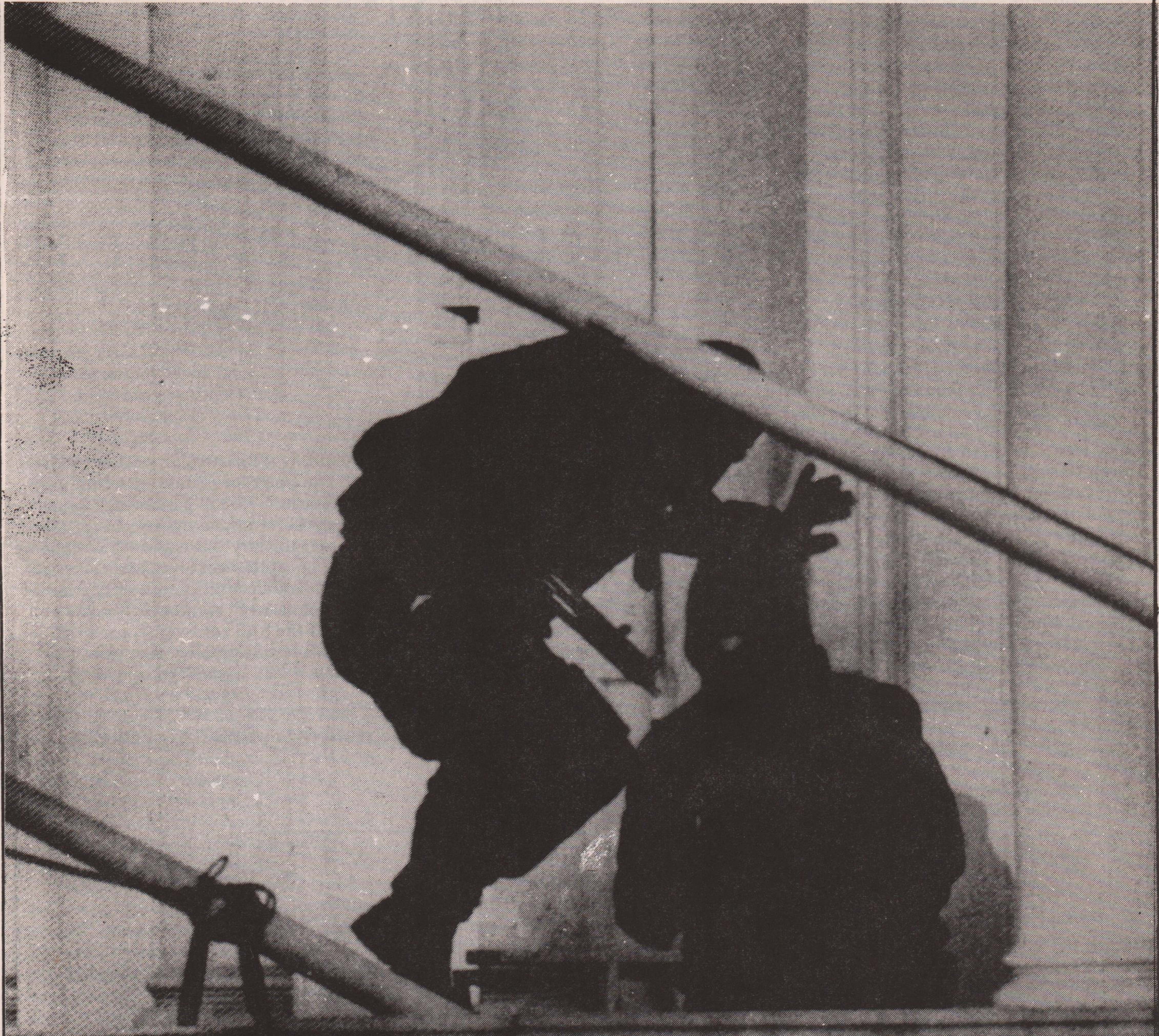
The 1969 edition of the British Army handbook, *Land Operations Manual*, defines the role of the SAS thus: "SAS

squadrons are particularly suited, trained and equipped for counter-revolutionary operations. . . Small parties may be infiltrated or dropped by parachute. . . in order to carry out any of the following tasks. . . infiltration of sabotage, assassination and demolition teams into insurgent held areas." A more up-to-date view of the SAS role was seen on the nation's television screens one evening in May, 1980, when 20 men of Pagoda



The above diagram gives an insight into how the SAS have changed their internal organisation to deal with Northern Ireland. At the top of the diagram is the Regimental Headquarters which is responsible through the Commanding Officer to the Director of the SAS. Below HQ comes the Operations and Intelligence Centre, which is in turn responsible for the Squadrons and the Training Wing. It is here that the recent heavier commitment to Northern Ireland is more noticeable. Henry Stanhope, The Times Defence Correspondent, reported that in addition to the operational squadrons—which he specifies as containing 72 men and six officers “there is a number of special sections including a research cell, an intelligence centre, a parachuting centre and a training wing. The training wing is in turn split into a counter-revolutionary warfare cell, an initial training cell and a Northern Ireland cell—the most recent addition to the regiment.” The make up of the squadrons is an administrative convenience rather than a rigid division and increasing numbers of men are currently being drafted back through Training Wing for Northern Ireland duties. It is this process which is being accelerated both for full time members of the regiment and for officers.

SAS FACT AND FICTION: Two members of the SAS Pagoda team about to enter the Iranian Embassy. Inset: Scenes from the forthcoming SAS film hagiography, *Who Dares Wins* made by producer Euan Lloyd, who also made the pro-mercenary film *Wild Geese*. Right, Lewis Collins of *The Professionals*, in the starring role of Captain Peter Skellern of the SAS, who claims that 'The SAS are my heroes and I want to do justice to them'. *Who Dares Wins* is being billed as 'the first picture about the world's most secretive soldiers which will reveal the role they never talk about - their undercover work against terrorism'. The story is based on George Markstein's book *The Tiptoe Boys* and most of the minor actors and participants (including Major Alistair Morrison, who led the GSG-9 attack on the Lufthansa airliner at Mogadishu, which led to the murders of Andreas Baader and his comrades) are members of the SAS Regimental Association.





Basic four-man SAS patrol – leader, scout, medic, and signaller. The weapons are non-standard Armalite rifles and a pump-action shotgun.

One unit⁸ of the SAS Special Operations Group under (surprise, surprise!) another member of the Lovat family, Major Jeremy Phipps, the stepson of Sir Fitzroy Maclean and one of the original founders of the wartime SAS⁹, stormed the Iranian Embassy in London and brought the armed occupation of it by Arab separatists to a spectacular close. So spectacular, in fact, that any casual viewer could well be forgiven for thinking they had tuned in to a commercial for Cadbury's *Milk Tray*. Within minutes of the hooded men going into action five of the occupying gunmen were dead, the hostages freed, and the Regiment, apparently without a single casualty, was the toast of the media and all right thinking people the world over.

However, a few disquieting features of the ending of the siege came to light when the facts slowly emerged from hostage statements during the inquest on the five dead terrorists. There were two conflicting versions as to how the five men had died in the Embassy. A number of the hostages claimed that at least two of the terrorists threw away their weapons, surrendered and were then shot dead in cold blood. The coroner, Dr. Paul Knapman, instructed the jury that "not too much must be made of the actual minute details such as whether or not the victims had been shot at point blank range".¹⁰ Nor was there any mention of the incident in the Embassy garden when a scuffle developed between the SAS Pagoda unit and a police dog handler who had arrested the only surviving terrorist, Fowzi Nejad, who had, in

the confusion, managed to get out of the building by passing himself off as a hostage. Having arrested his man, the bobby refused to release the prisoner from police custody or let him be taken back inside the Embassy as requested by the SAS – for what purposes we can only guess.

The SAS men are not "cowboys" like their more brutish counterparts in the Parachute Regiment. They are well trained, intelligent, and highly disciplined men who, in this particular incident, were briefed direct from the Cabinet before going into action, which indicates that official government policy was to be one of "no prisoners". This would have the effect of killing two (five!) birds with one stone. On the one hand it would provide the Thatcher Government with a magnificent propaganda coup, and on the other it would avoid a politically embarrassing and diplomatically sensitive trial as well as discouraging any further round of terrorism and hostage taking on British soil.

This somewhat new British response to crime and terrorism appears to have been agreed Western policy since 1977 when three members of the Red Army Faction were alleged to have committed suicide in Stammheim Prison the same day as the successful attack by a combined force of SAS and German GSC-9 assault guards on the guerrilla held Lufthansa airliner at Mogadischu. The inquest on the dead German prisoners raised a few questions that were left unanswered, for example the never explained forensic

evidence that at least one of the "suicides", Andreas Baader, had been taken from his German prison cell to Mogadischu to trick the hijackers¹¹. It is possible that once the airliner had been taken successfully the prisoners were then killed in order to rid the New Model Germany once and for all of their eternally turbulent priests?

Although unsatisfying and ineffective, the inquest on the men who died in the Iranian Embassy siege did at least help to expose the role of the modern day SAS, but when we move into the altogether more shadowy and sinister world of the "parallel" regiments of "ex", "Reserve" and "TAVR SAS", public scrutiny and accountability vanish altogether.

Again, it was the ubiquitous and enterprising Scots laird and entrepreneurial businessman, David Archibald Stirling, who first saw the commercial and political prospects in this unique fighting unit and the rapidly changing political climate which often forced the British government to maintain two distinct and, often, opposite policies – one official, the other "unofficial". As with American foreign policy, as interpreted by the CIA and other foreign intelligence agencies, particularly in Latin America, the dirtiest operations required by "unofficial" policy are most effective and less embarrassing if carried out by "former" agents or trusted soldiers of elite units in the employ of apparently commercial security consultancy firms.

The overthrow of the corrupt pro-British ruler of Yemen in 1962 provided



Lt. Col. Ian Lapraik with men of the early 21st SAS Regt. (Artists) (v)

22nd SAS HQ is located at Bradbury Lines Barracks, Hereford, where 'R' Squadron (TAVR) also have their base. SAS communications are provided by 322 Royal Signal Squadron and 264 (v) Signal Squadron. 'G' Squadron personnel, recruited from the now disbanded 'Guards Independent Parachute Company' are distinguished from other SAS personnel by having their wings on a dark red background, and by having the unique rank of lance-sergeants. 'R' Squadron, the immediate operational TAVR reserve of 22 SAS serve operationally for short periods within 22 SAS as opposed to the yearly training camps of most other TAVR units. The unique role of the SAS was formally recognised in 1966 in a rather surprising citation to the then Major de la Cour de la Billiere, published in *The London Gazette*: "A Squadron Commander of the SAS, unlike in other armies, has to deal with a wide spectrum of affairs, both matters political and military and to negotiate with senior officers far superior to him". Two SAS anti-terrorist 'Pagoda Units' of 12 men with Range Rovers, based at Hereford and London, with access to RAF Special Forces planes, are on a 24 hour a day, three minute alert.

There are two SAS TAVR Regiments, the 21st SAS (Artists V) and the 23rd SAS (v). The 21st, apart from being the senior regiment of the Group, are regarded as the elite within the SAS—although the Guards 'G' Squadron would probably dispute that statement. 'The Artists Rifles', originally known as the 38th Middlesex (artist) Rifle Volunteers, were typical of that middle class Victorian and Highland tribal phenomena—the privately raised 'gentleman's volunteer army! In the case of the '38th' primarily from those connected with the Arts. On its formation in 1947, 21 SAS incorporated the 'Artists Rifles' into their regimental title. Thus they provided the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition Guard of Honour—the RA was originally the Artists HQ—and a guard for the Lord Mayor of London's Manor House Banquet. The 21st SAS (Artists V) have close connections with the City of London, particularly through the 'Glovers Company' where their interests are watched over by ex-SAS Colonel Lapraik. The 21st SAS express their difference from the rest of the SAS by wearing their rank badges on a black background instead of silver or white, and by their pompadour blue uniform trimmings. As well as their uniform differences the regimental toast of the 21st SAS (Artists V)—"Gentlemen of the Artists and men of the other Corps"—illustrates their elitist attitudes. 21st SAS (Artists V) has its HQ 'A' and 'B' Squadrons at the Duke of York's HQ in London. 'C' Squadron is located at Bedford Rd., Hitchin, 'D' Squadron at Tudor Crescent, Cosham, Portsmouth.

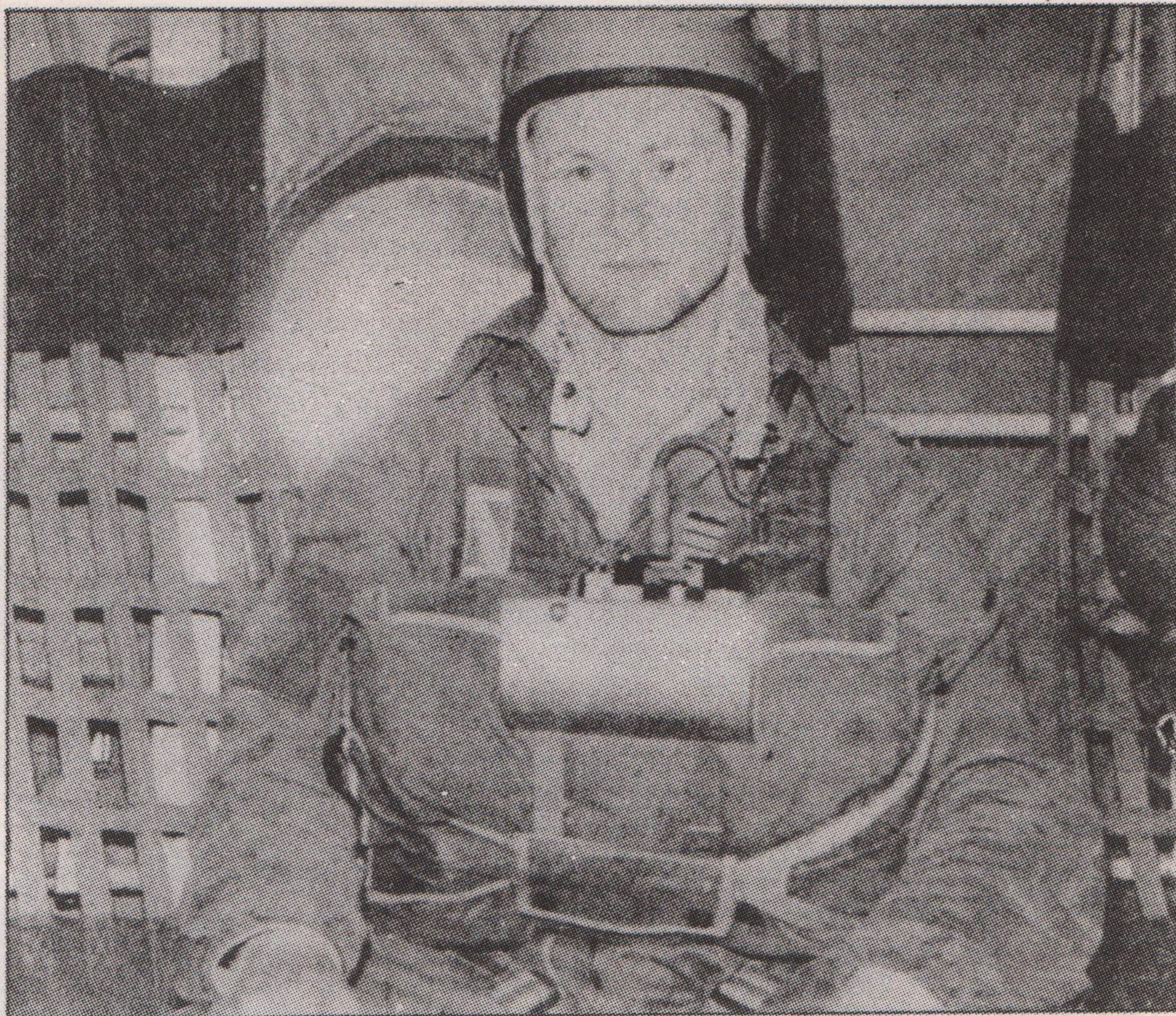
The more proletarian 23rd SAS (V) covers the territory north of the Midlands with squadrons located in all the more important industrial centres and provide an important monitoring facility for social unrest. The HQ and 'A' Squadron are based at Kingstanding Rd., Birmingham, 'B' Squadron at Old Carlton Barracks, Leeds, and 'C' Squadron has its HQ at Sanford Rd Barracks, Doncaster. 'D' Squadron covers the industrial belt of Scotland. Officers of 23 SAS (V) have a club called the '923' club which indicates the regiment's lineage. 23 SAS (V) was formed in London in 1959, but then transferred to Birmingham. It was formed from an existing unit "The Joint Reserve Reconnaissance Unit (TA)" which, in turn, had originally been known as "The Joint Reserve Prisoner of War Intelligence Organisation (TA)", and before that as "Intelligence School 9 (TA)" which was the post war continuation of IS9 (d), the WWII operational section of MI9, the British escape network commanded by Airey Neave and Lt. Colonel James Langley.

the opportunity for the father of the SAS, David Stirling to "come in from the cold" from his Secret Intelligence Service work in Africa. Since "retiring" from the Army, Stirling had been working for the SIS (MI6) in Africa under the cover of the *Capricorn Africa Society* of which he was President from 1947 to 1959.

Operating out of Salisbury and Nairobi his mission in *Capricorn* was to build up multi-racial political parties of white settlers and the "right kind" of blacks who could be trusted and moulded into a pro-British middle class. Given his assignment to restore and secure the status-quo in Oman, Stirling recruited his modern day "magnificent seven" from the ranks of his old "Regimental Association" and with the unofficial blessing of the British Government off they went to restore order within the British sphere of influence. The rapid growth and proliferation of national liberation movements, coupled with the unwillingness of the British Government to commit troops too widely with the tide of history turned against it, provided an excellent and lucrative business opportunity for David Stirling and his colleagues.

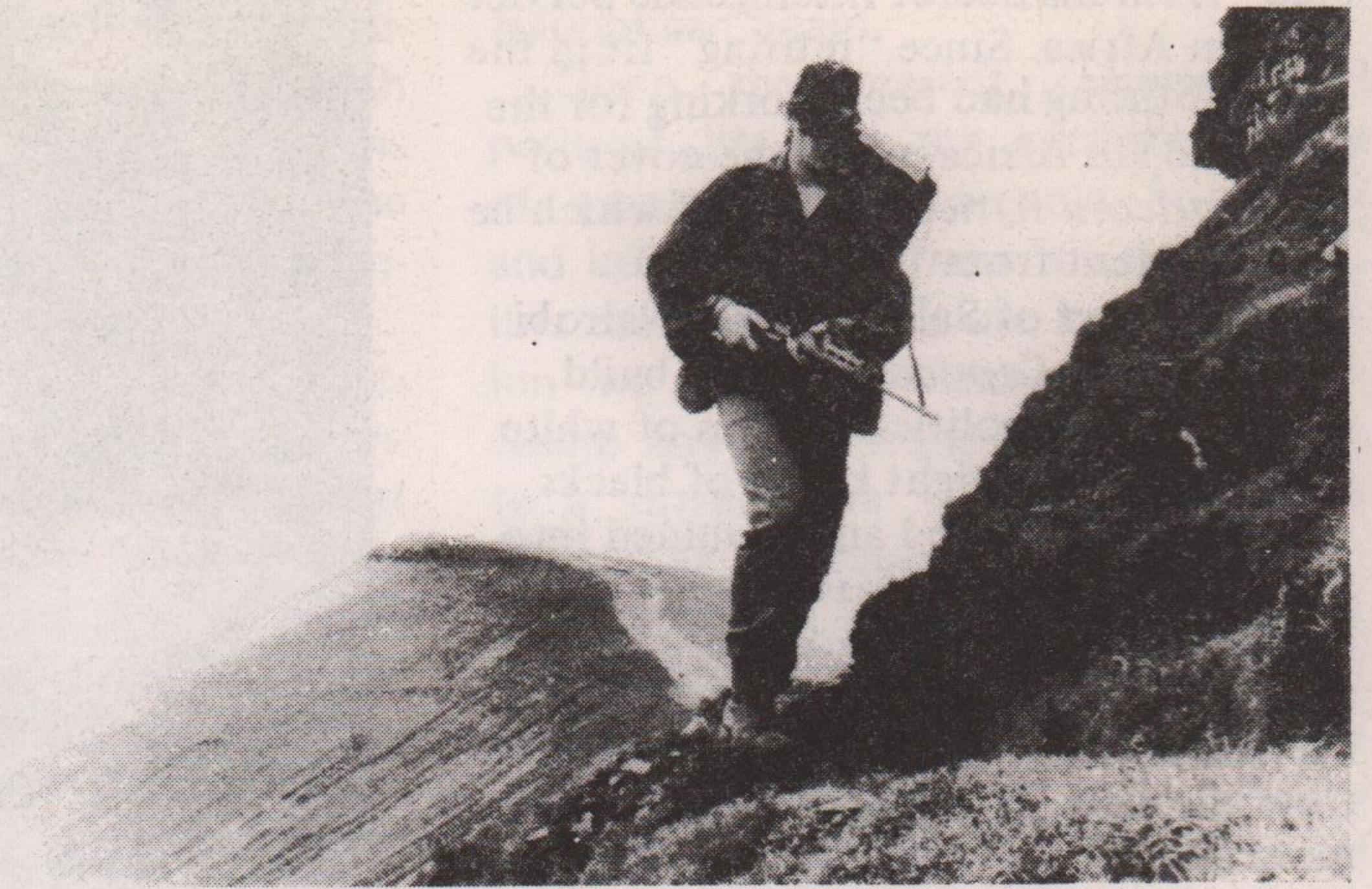
In 1967 Stirling set up his Guernsey-based "Watchguard" organisation to provide bodyguards, security training, and other "specialist" services such as planning the invasion of Libya in 1970 to oust the unsympathetic Colonel Ghaddafi, who had staged his revolutionary coup against the pro-British regime the year before. Since then the number of commercial paramilitary "security" consultancies has increased considerably and it is now reckoned the security industry employs between 200,000 and a quarter of a million people offering services from supermarket security to "silent killing", "advanced sabotage", "advanced lock neutralisation", "in depth instruction in the use and manufacture of home-made explosives", "modern interrogation methods", etc. Incidentally, "Watchguard" is no more and David Stirling has now publicly distanced himself from the private army scandals which threatened to polarise British society in the early seventies, but his mantle has been taken up with gusto by brother SAS officers who welcomed the opportunity to continue to earn a living from terror and mayhem under the euphemistic cover of "security consultants". If the British government itself turns to the SAS Regiment to defend its sphere of influence in times of crises, the City of London turns to the SAS Regimental Association and the commercial security consultancies which come under its aegis.

The most important of these security consultancies today is *Saladin Security Ltd* based at 141 Sloan Street, London SW1, next door to the Regimental HQ of "22 SAS". All the directors of Saladin – the name again recalls the Crusades – were senior officers in the Regiment and two of them are former Commanding



The post-war SAS were amongst the earliest experimenters in the military application of free-fall parachuting. Above, Major Mark Milburn (reserve SAS), who took part in the first Army free-fall course in England in 1960, seen here in 1961. A noted Francophile, Milburn is wearing a French Captain's insignia on the left lapel of his Denison smock. Below, a present-day SAS free-fall trooper wearing High Altitude Low Opening (HALO) parachuting kit.





Selection for the SAS TAVR regiments is almost as strict as for the 22 SAS. Virtually the only difference between the Regular and the TAVR selection procedures is that the latter is spread over a longer period. After being thoroughly vetted by SAS Group Intelligence, a four month selection course at Sennybridge in the Welsh Brecon mountains. Devised by SAS instructor Paddy Nugent, the course consists of six weekends marching in the mountains, a week to learn map-reading and basic weapon handling with an additional day to judge parachuting aptitude. The parachuting course is completed three months later during a two week camp which starts with three testing marches on consecutive days followed by ten days of individual training and testing. Of the original 273 men on this course only 11 passed the parachuting course. Apart from Brecon, the SAS also uses MoD property and the estates of sympathetic Highland Lairds and English landed gentry at Torridon, Kirkmichael, Blair Atholl, Cape Wrath, Mallaig, etc., for training purposes. The third phase is a course in combat survival where the men are tested psychologically as well as physically. This instructional phase also involves undergoing sensory deprivation and psychological torture techniques. Usually less than one fifth of the men who make it this far are able to compete this phase. The next stage of training is known as special intensive instruction where the candidate selects one of four active service squadrons, each with their own specialities: high altitude free fall parachuting (HALO); amphibious operations; mountain/artic warfare; long range overland missions. In addition to the skills required within each squadron, each soldier is required to specialise in one of the other squadron's skills or specialise in communications. Phase five involves developing language skills, close quarter battle training, assassination, explosives, and other terrorist 'skills'. However, in spite of the media and SAS PR emphasis on the superman/macho aspect of the SAS myth which emphasises the physical qualities required to pass the SAS selection board, the SAS does not only recruit from units which require a high standard of physical fitness. The Intelligence gathering and assessment function of the Group calls for brains as well as stamina. An analysis of 119 awards/decorations to post 1950 SAS personnel shows that 78 had been recruited from the infantry, the remainder from specialised Corps—signals, artillery, engineers, etc. A 1973 survey of an SAS patrol showed its parent membership was composed of five engineers, four infantry, three Royal Signals and two Armoured Corps—the majority from units which require a reasonably high degree of intelligence. SAS awareness of the fact that many potential SAS recruits never joined the army led them to attempt to recruit directly from civilian life, but this plan was vetoed by the MoD. However, with the re-organisation of the Territorial Army in 1967 they were able to do this and, with the formation of 'R' Squadron (TAVR), they had an immediate operational reserve on attachment.

Officers. Saladin Ltd is known as "24 SAS" as it recruits exclusively from the Regiment and it is the epicentre of a national and international network of "security" organisation each with their own specialities and bond of affinity cemented by the Regimental Association.

This Jekyll-and-Hyde relationship between the "cream" of HM Forces and private enterprise has a number of disquieting features. For example, in 1967, an SAS officer, Major Pirie, claimed in an interview with a Sunday newspaper that the Adjutant's office at the Duke of York's HQ, a large military staff establishment in London SW1, was being used as a clearing ground for the recruitment of mercenaries. When this scandal broke, Pirie was ordered to write a report for his commanding officer, which he did, but no more was heard of the affair. Major Pirie was killed during an SAS "escape and evasion" exercise in France in 1972 so the matter could not be followed up. A few years later, a rather less "professional" mercenary freebooter, John Banks, gave a sworn statement to a London solicitor (investigating an IRA arms procurement case in which Banks had been working as an *agent provocateur* for the British Security Services) outlining his relationship with MI5 and the security services. Banks claimed he worked in "close harmony" with Major Andrew Nightingale of SAS Group Intelligence¹² and Detective Inspector Ray Tucker, an Arab affairs specialist of Scotland Yard Special Branch. It was DI Tucker, apparently who made all the arrangements for the hapless mercenaries, many of them recruited from the paramilitary organisations of the British neo-nazi movements to clear immigration without passports on their way to the ill-fated Angolan fiasco. Some of these individuals were on police stop and arrest lists while others had no identification documents.

Another interesting point made by Banks was a reference to an SAS Intelligence Unit known as "The Kremlin". The SAS Intelligence Unit is totally independent of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) and the Security Service (MI5) The Director of the SAS, Brigadier Peter Edgar de la Billier¹³ has direct access to the Prime Minister and, because of the growing importance of the SAS in anti-terrorist activities and policy making, a seat alongside other Intelligence and Security Service Directors on the Joint Intelligence Committee¹⁴. "The Kremlin" itself is run under the cover of the "old boy" network of the SAS Regimental Association from the



THE SPECIAL AIR SERVICE REGIMENT



MARS & MINERVA

INCORPORATING THE JOURNALS OF

- THE SPECIAL AIR SERVICE REGIMENT
- THE ARTISTS RIFLES ASSOCIATION
- THE SPECIAL AIR SERVICE REGIMENTAL ASSOCIATION

Vol. 3 No. 17 November 1978

Centre Block at the Duke of York's HQ by "retired" Major Clarence "Dare" Newell, the editor of *Mars and Minerva*, the Regimental Association's magazine. According to Banks, this organisation "employs, controls and runs intelligence gathering in alien paramilitary organisations in the UK. It runs assassinations teams, snatch teams and infiltration teams." As the only paramilitary organisations that can possibly be referred to here are the neo-nazi ones such as "Column 88", "Edelweiss", "SS Wotan 18" and a couple of other clandestine paramilitary and intelligence networks of the neo-hitlerite movement in this

country presumably these are the organisations Banks claimed were being infiltrated by "The Kremlin". Certainly, according to the research done by Searchlight magazine, the aforementioned organisations are known to have close links with the intelligence and "parallel" police organisations of Italy, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Spain etc and have at least one ex-British Special Branch and one senior ex-MI6 officer in their ranks, not counting their sympathisers. One of the principal organisers and co-ordinators of "Edelweiss", one of the international SS-style networks, is Major Ian Souter Clarence, who



SPECIAL AIR SERVICE REGIMENTAL ASSOCIATION

CENTRE BLOCK, DUKE OF YORK'S HEADQUARTERS, CHELSEA, LONDON, S.W.3 Tel: 01-930 4466 Extension 317

President: COLONEL DAVID STIRLING, DSO, OBE

Chairman: LIEUTENANT COLONEL J. M. WOODHOUSE, MBE, MC

Secretary: MAJOR DARE NEWELL, OBE



In 1967 Ian Souter-Clarence, a teacher in a Poole private school, founded a fascist youth movement – the 'Viking Cadet Force' – and through the SAS 'old boy' network, of which he was a founder-member, he was able to borrow transport and rifles from the Royal Marines for the purpose of holding combat exercises. Two other neo-fascists, Tim Boardson and John Ormowe, were also involved in recruiting right-wing SAS men into neo-fascist organisations.

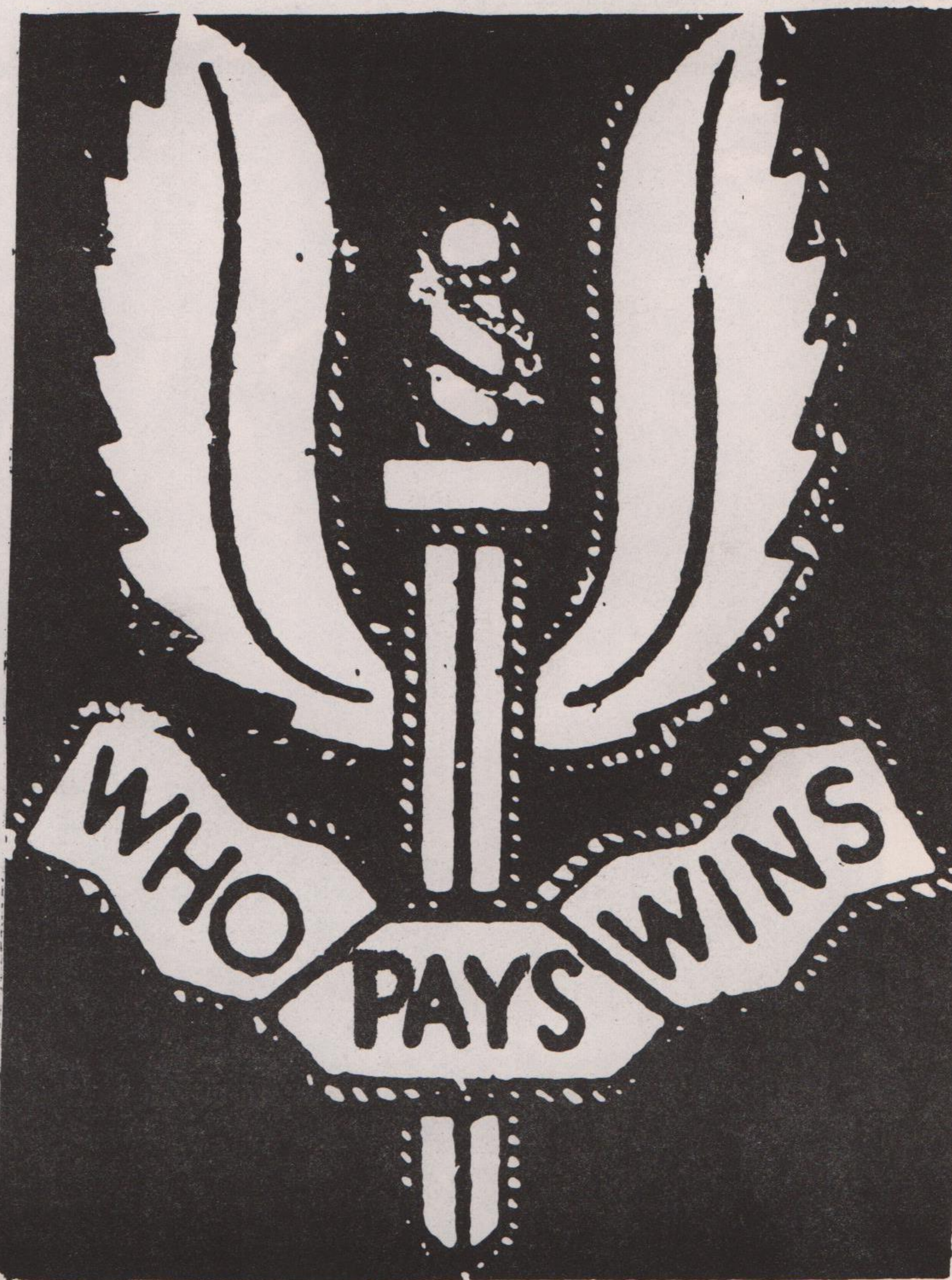
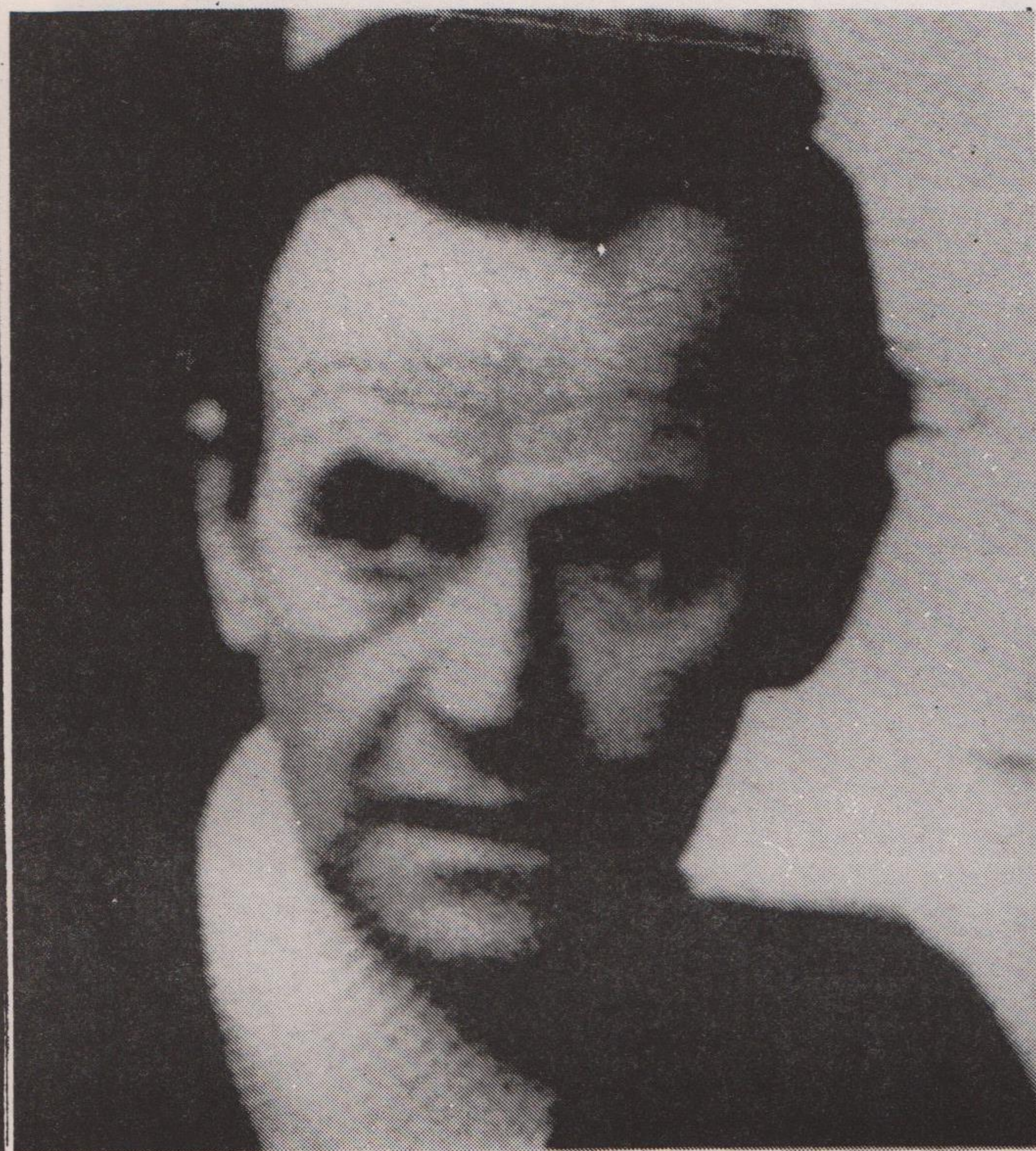
also happens to be a wartime SAS officer. The other paramilitary organisations claim to have a number of serving and ex-SAS men among their ranks, and certainly, much of the military training of these nazi shock troops and terrorists is provided by sympathisers in the Territorial and Reserve SAS. On occasion they have even organised official joint military manoeuvres and the Army Investigation Branch are currently following up reports that a number of TA units have been taken over completely by local fans of the late Heinrich Himmler.¹⁵

Following the tragic debacle of the Angolan War, with the involvement of British mercenaries hired by John Banks (ex Parachute Regiment) and with the "unofficial" support from the Home and Foreign Offices, SAS Group HQ was reputed to have posted a memo listing those mercenary firms proscribed to Territorial and Reserve SAS men. Despite the public scandal, however, no anti-mercenary legislation was passed, but the considerable political embarrassment which followed did lead to a good deal of tightening up behind the scenes. So far as the SAS Regiment and the Ministry of Defence were concerned, the profession of freelance soldiery was considered too delicate a matter to be left to the vagaries of the "free" market. Most of the "cowboy" firms i.e. non-SAS aligned – soon found themselves without any prospects in this country other than providing bodyguards for VIPs and Rock Stars and have since been forced to move abroad. John Banks managed to escape from prison and, once again, walk through immigration and passport control unquestioned and unhindered and disappear from public eye. Banks is now rumoured to be working as a "security adviser" to Colonel Ghadafi in Libya along with "ex" CIA operatives Frank Terpil and Ed Wilson. Today, only those firms which have official sanction from the Foreign and Home Officer are permitted to take up both "official" and "unofficial" contracts both at home and abroad.¹⁶

The question remains. Are we nurturing a potential secret "parallel" police and military organisation such as the French *Service d'Action Civique*¹⁷, the Spanish/German *Paladin Group* which operates internationally under many names, and the various other paramilitary terrorist organisations linked with the fascist international, sections of the Intelligence and Security agencies, and organised crime? To what extent does the public image of the SAS as men dedicated to preserving the democratic way of life provide a credible cover for modern day *ninjas* dedicated to living out the archaic military and political fantasies of a clique of Roman Catholic Highland lairds and High Church county Squires? The poem on the monument to the SAS dead at Stirling Lines barracks



Wryly known as '24 SAS' within the SAS Regiment was KMS Ltd, now operating as Saladin Security Ltd. The initials KMS stand for 'Keeni-Meeni Services', Keeni-Meeni being South Arabian slang for 'under-the-counter'. The phrase has also been used as a codeword for SAS operations in South Arabia. KMS shut up shop hurriedly in July 1978 after *Time Out* exposed their Kensington-based mercenary recruiting activities. KMS was closely connected with the 'Special Forces' ex-SAS mercenaries who greatly assisted Sultan Quaboos of Oman in repressing the Marxist liberation movement in Oman's northern province of Dhofar. KMS also handled recruitment for much other work in Kuwait, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and South American states such as Argentina. Key figures within KMS were Brigadier Mike Wingate Gray, Colonel Jim Johnson, Major David J Walker, and Major Andrew M Nightingale – all former SAS officers. In Yemen, the mercenaries employed by KMS's Jim Johnson coined the apt replacement for the SAS motto 'Who Dares Wins': 'Who Pays Wins'. The photos show (top left) Colonel Henry James Johnson, OBE, TD – insurance broker turned private army organiser and ex-CO of 21 SAS (1960-62); (top right) the Hon Fiona Fraser, daughter of the 17th Baron Lovat, and Johnson's principal assistant for 20 years; and (below left) Major Russell West, ex-SAS Squadron commander, one-time managing director of Thor Security Systems Ltd, and mercenary recruiter for KMS Ltd.



in Hereford goes on;

*"... White on a throne or guarded in
a cave
There lives a prophet who can
understand
Why men were born: but surely we
are brave
Who take the golden Road to
Samarkand. . ."*¹⁸

The recent revelations that criminals such as Kenneth Littlejohn were employed by MI6 officers to discredit the IRA and briefed to assassinate leading members of the Provisionals can only add fuel to our suspicions regarding the new trend in "unofficial" government policy towards those it regards as enemies. More worrying still is the fact that MI6 provided Littlejohn with a "safe house" belonging to a member of a neo-nazi paramilitary organisation in Birmingham following his engineered escape from Mountjoy jail in Dublin. Perhaps the most sinister development of all is the fact that senior SAS officers are now being recruited by MI5 and MI6, signifying a distinct change in government policy from the defensive to the offensive.

It is very difficult for outsiders to disentangle fact from fiction when dealing with secretive and tightly knit cabals. In the case of the various secret state organisations we have the Official Secrets Act and the class nature of its structure obscuring and obstructing all independent attempts to get at the facts. We can only judge on the actions, the information made available to us by selected hagiographers, that uncovered by investigative journalists, and our own interpretation of the social and political

nature of the organisation in question.

The history of our civilisation has shown that any state which builds up a secretive elite group of law enforcers, apparently above the law and answerable to no-one but their own kind, with a highly dramatised and coloured world view of history and politics, has little chance of maintaining intact its status as a "democracy". The irrational is a powerful element in history and if those who wield political, economic and military power believe the fundamental institutions of their society - wealth, property, privilege, religion, etc - are threatened then they are likely to look upon that threat as the start of a desperate struggle for survival and try to keep open that "golden road to Samarkand" with all the resources and myths they have at their disposal.¹⁹

Although the SAS would be ineffective militarily against any generalised insurrection accompanied by widespread industrial action: however their skills and history are such that it would probably be used in a period of serious industrial and social unrest in counter-revolutionary sabotage, terrorism and assassination. Meanwhile, so long as the British Government feels threatened by armed confrontation and an increasingly alienated working class the SAS and related organisation will have a justifiable role and continue to flourish

as the "guardians of democracy" However, the sinister record of alliances forged by the officer class of these organisations with anti-democratic elements in industry, banking and political life, make it a potentially dangerous time bomb ticking away in the heart of any democratic society. As US historian, Carl Oglesby said of the CIA: "How can a naive, trusting, democratic republic give its secrets to crime and its innermost ear to the spirit of European fascism and expect not to see its Constitution polluted, its traditions abused, and its consciousness of the surrounding world manipulated ultimately out of all realistic shape".²⁰

Even granting the popular argument that these are brave men with lofty motives who are prepared to risk their lives to protect our freedom - as opposed to power and privilege - the type of clandestine existence they lead and the terrorism they practise must put all but the more obsessive among them under terrible stress. Their closed society and self-appointed elitism inevitably creates a distorted outlook which in turn distances and alienates them from their former idealistic motives. All power corrupts and distorts - the secrecy, elitism and violence are its most important ingredients.

Stuart Christie

Remembrance Day parade at Bradbury Lines, with wreaths laid on the monument to the SAS dead.



THE GOLDEN ROAD TO SAMARKAND

FOOTNOTES

1. This mandarin interpretation of the 'threat' to democracy has since percolated down to middle-management level of our society. In a fascinating article in the January/March 1982 issue of the *Police Journal*, I.A. Watt, Dean of Academic Studies at the Police Staff College, Bramshill, the training college for all senior and intermediate police officers in the U.K. writes: "Another feature of society likely to continue is the persistent scepticism towards authority, and mounting demands for "accountability" and "open government". Yet at the same time most people have as their chief goal the pursuit of their private lives and material well being...this proliferation of pressure groups, which has been very much a feature of recent years in this country, seems likely to continue to the point of endangering the basic unity of the country.
2. *How it All Began. The Personal Account of a West German Urban Guerilla*, Bommie Baumann, Pulp Press, 1977 (Vancouver); *The West German Guerrilla: Terror, Reaction and Resistance. Interviews with Hans Joachim Klein and other members of the June 2nd Group*, J.M. Bouguereau and anon, Cienfuegos Press, 1982 (Orkney).
3. *Objections aux societes secretes*, Windischgratz, 1788 (London). Quoted in J.M. Roberts *The Mythology of Secret Societies*, Granada, 1974 (London).
4. *Macons ecossais au XVIII^e siecle*, C.H. Chevalier, AHRF, 1969 (quoted in Roberts). The "30th Degree", that of 'Chevalier Kadosch', made its appearance in the 1750's (in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion).
5. " (Simon Fraser)...A person too remarkable in history to be overlooked, though his want of public or private virtue might otherwise have dictated his exclusion". Fraser obtained a commission in 1694 in the Regiment of Lord Murray through the services of his kinsman, Hugh Lord Lovat, who wanted to bring him forward "most advantageously in the world". Although the regiment was in the pay and service of King William it was in fact intended for King James, and with this assurance Simon Fraser led into the regiment a complete company of his clansmen. The remainder of Simon Fraser's treacherous life until his execution by beheading for high treason in 1747 followed much the same course. The Frasers of Lovat were by no means unique among the Highland lairds and Clan Chieftains in their self-seeking treachery as Scottish history shows, and the obituary of Simon Lord Lovat applies to most of his class - then and now: "He was totally destitute of what alone constitutes true dignity and character - moral worth. His private character ... was vicious, his appetite coarse, and his pleasures low and unscrupulous ... A protracted course of wickedness seems at last to have impaired his natural shrewdness". *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen* Vol. III, ed. Robert Chalmers, Blackie & Son, 1872 (Glasgow).
6. Brigadier J.M. Calvert, now retired and living in Haywards Heath, is now closely associated with the extreme right wing Focus Policy Group run by the revisionist historian (nazi apologist) David Irving. He is one of the contributors to a new Tory Action pamphlet entitled *Neither Up Nor Down* along with Sam Swerling (Chairman of the Monday Club) and with George Kennedy

UDA man gaoled for killing politician claims SAS gave him weapons

One of three UDA men who were gaoled for life yesterday for murdering an Ulster politician claimed after his conviction that he had been working for the SAS.

In a statement made from the dock at Belfast Crown Court Robert McConnell, aged 27, said that he agreed to work for the Army's secret undercover men two months before he killed Mr John Turnly, a leading member of the Republican Irish Independence Party.

McConnell said the SAS men had given him weapons and intelligence-gathering equipment, including a listening device which he once used to eavesdrop on the vice-president of Provisional Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams.

Mr Turnly, a former SDLP member was shot nine times in front of his Japanese wife, Myoko, and their two children, as he arrived to address a meeting in the village of Carnlough in County Antrim in June 1980.

In his statement from the dock at the end of the five-week trial after being convicted of the two murders, McConnell, a fish salesman, named the two alleged SAS

soldiers he teamed up with a Sergeant Tom Aiken, a Scot and a Corporal McGow.

He said that they discussed Republican leaders, including Mr Turnly, Mrs Miriam Daly and Mrs Bernadette McAliskey.

Mrs Daly was later shot dead at her Belfast home. Mrs McAliskey was critically wounded by Loyalist gunmen at her home in County Tyrone.

McConnell said in court: "They said they had information that over a two-year period the Republicans had a plan to escalate tension in the province by civil disorder, large-scale importation of arms and explosives, and by certain actions which would arouse the sympathy of Republican people with the ultimate object of starting a civil war. We realise now that this involved the hunger strikes."

McConnell, who said he refused to accept money, alleged he was provided with weapons, uniforms and information on how to obtain intelligence-gathering equipment.

An Army spokesman said last night: "Initial investigations into McConnell's statement from the dock have revealed nothing to support his allegations."

Guardian 11/3/1982

Young (ex Deputy Chief of M16) which is being distributed by *Focalpoint*, the journal of the FPG.

7. Ampleforth College, an independent Roman Catholic boys school run by Benedictine monks and lay masters, comprises a Preparatory school at Gilling Castle and the Upper School, the college itself in North Yorkshire. The purpose of the school is "to educate Catholics in their faith and in all branches of learning so that they may be prepared to take as full a part as their ability may justify in the life of the country". The school traces its roots back to the Benedictine foundation of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster which escaped from England during the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1534-39). These English Benedictines eventually settled in Dieulouard, Lorraine, in 1608 where they remained until Revolutionary France expelled them towards the end of the 18th century. The Benedictines returned again to England and eventually settled in Ampleforth in 1802. The school has a strong military tradition and has a Territorial Army Cadet Force with a staff of five officers. SAS officers educated there include David Stirling, the present Lord Lovat (all the male members of the Lovat family in fact) and the Rt. Hon. Sir Hugh Fraser. A list of Ampleforth "old boys" would make interesting reading.

8. *Pagoda Units* of the SAS deal specifically with anti-terrorist operations. Other units deal with Long Range Land Operations in enemy held territory.

9. SAS officers and men are listed under their regiments and corps (with the exception of the Commanding Officer and Quarter Masters). Major Jeremy J. Phipps, *Queens Own Hussars* (commissioned 31/12/74). Son of Mrs Alan Phipps, daughter of the 16th Baron Lovat, and stepson of Sir Fitzroy Hew Maclean of Dunconnel of Strachur House, Argyll.

10. *State Research Bulletin*, Vol. 4 No. 22 - February/March 1981, pp 73/74.

11. *The Stammheim Deaths*, Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review, Vol. 1 No. 4, 1978. pp 118/125.

12. Major T.A. Nightingale, the Royal Anglian Regiment (commissioned 14/10/71), worked for Lawn West, a 'risk management' consultancy firm under the Saladin umbrella. He later died in a car crash in Oman on contract to Sultan Quaboos.

13. Brigadier Peter Edgar de la Billiere, DSO, MC, *The Light Infantry* (promoted to Brigadier 31/12/79).

14. Joint Intelligence Committee - a sub committee of the Defence Intelligence Staff which

collates reports from the DIS, M15 and M16. The Chairman of the JIC is always a senior Foreign Office Official civil servant of Deputy Under Secretary rank who is responsible for intelligence and strategic affairs. The JIC is now known as the Defence Intelligence Committee and its function today is to supply responsible Ministers and officials with intelligence on critical matters, assessments of possible troublesome developments of significance, and long term forecasts on the effects of political, military and economic policy.

15. *News of the World*, 13/9/81 - 131 Independent Commando Unit, Stanmore, Middlesex.

16. In an interesting report to President Reagan on intelligence matters the extreme right wing think tank, The Heritage Foundation, made the following recommendations which may well have been taken up by the Thatcher administration: "For administrative and constitutional reasons, the U.S. government is ill-prepared to deal with this threat (terrorism/subversion). Our over-riding need is for accurate information available immediately. When a terrorist group strikes, The Departments of State, Defense, Justice, etc., need to know the profile and modus operandi of the group at once in order to respond appropriately. Our present capacity is very limited and should be augmented. One solution would be to contract with one or several of the many private corporations that have specialised in providing such information, that can collect and disseminate relevant information without legal complications, and that can respond to a crisis without transgression of administrative jurisdictions".

17. *Service d'Action Civique* (SAC), Parallel police created by De Gaulle's RPF (also known

as *Barbouzes*) during the Algerian War to eliminate members of the right wing *Organisation de l'Armée Secret* (OAS) then, after May 1968 against the left wing opponents of Gaullism. In 1973 Georges Pompidou purged SAC of over 7000 of its most overtly undesirable elements, many of whom fled to Spain to work with SS Colonel Otto Skorzeny's *Paladin Group* as had many of their former enemies, the OAS, in the early sixties. In Spain the Paladin Group operates under the name 'Spanish Basque Battalions' which, since 1974, has made over 500 attacks in Spain, wounding 128 people and killing 30. SAC has since been re-organised as a paramilitary death squad in France and is thought to be responsible for the murder of a number of known left wingers (including Henri Curiel) and the bombing of left wing bookshops and presses. Finance for the group is reported to come from a West German employers organisation close to the Bavarian Christian Party and links have been traced to the ultra right wing Roman Catholic organisation *Cite Catholique* which, in 1958, had over 200 cells within the army in Algeria and from whose ranks many of the OAS activists were drawn. Retired Rear Admiral Antoine Sanguinetti believes that the SAC is currently working with the remnants of the OAS within the Paladin Group to stage a coup against Francois Mitterand within the next 18 months to two years. (General Gardy is a counter insurgency consultant to the Argentinian Government and the notorious Colonel Trinquier lectures at military academies in the Argentine as well). Apparently the Gaullist RPF held an assembly a few months ago where discussions took place on the "replacement" of the Mitterand Government and dwelt on the fact that all the generals in office were appointed

by and loyal to D'Estaing. (When Giscard D'Estaing came to power in 1974 he completely reshaped the army, staffing it with staunch gaullists and anti-socialist loyalists. The reserve army, with 14 Divisions, selected by computer by family background and political loyalties, was boosted and the regular army re-organised so that the maximum number could be deployed inside France. It is an army attuned to the internal rather than the external threat. The more traditionally republican minded air force has had its flying hours severely restricted.)

18. *Hassan*, James Elroy Flecker, 1884-1915. Rather ironically, it comes from Act V. in which Hassan and Ishak leave the horrific cruelties of the Caliph's regime behind them to seek a more meaningful existence, becoming pilgrims in search of the ideal city of Samarkand.

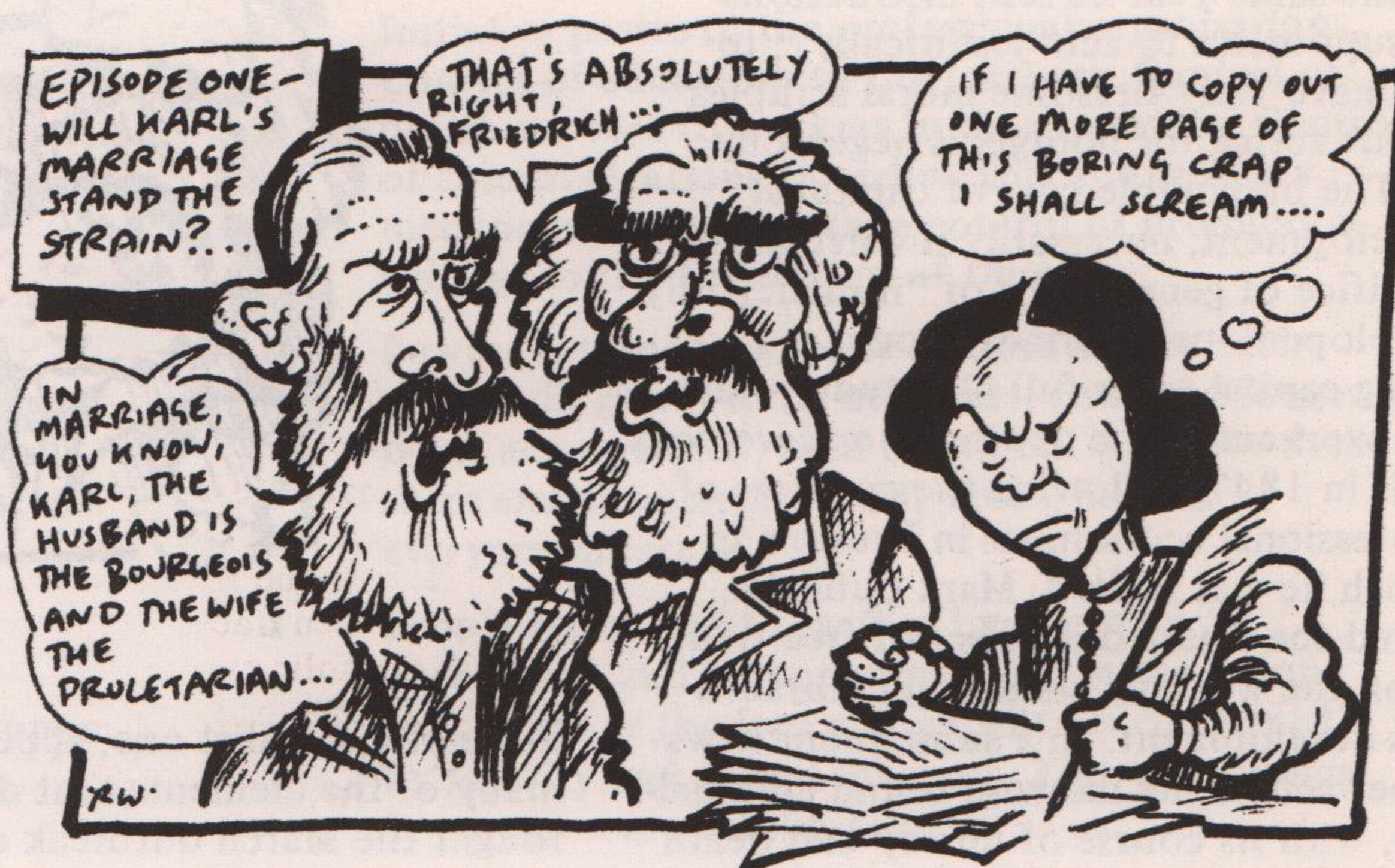
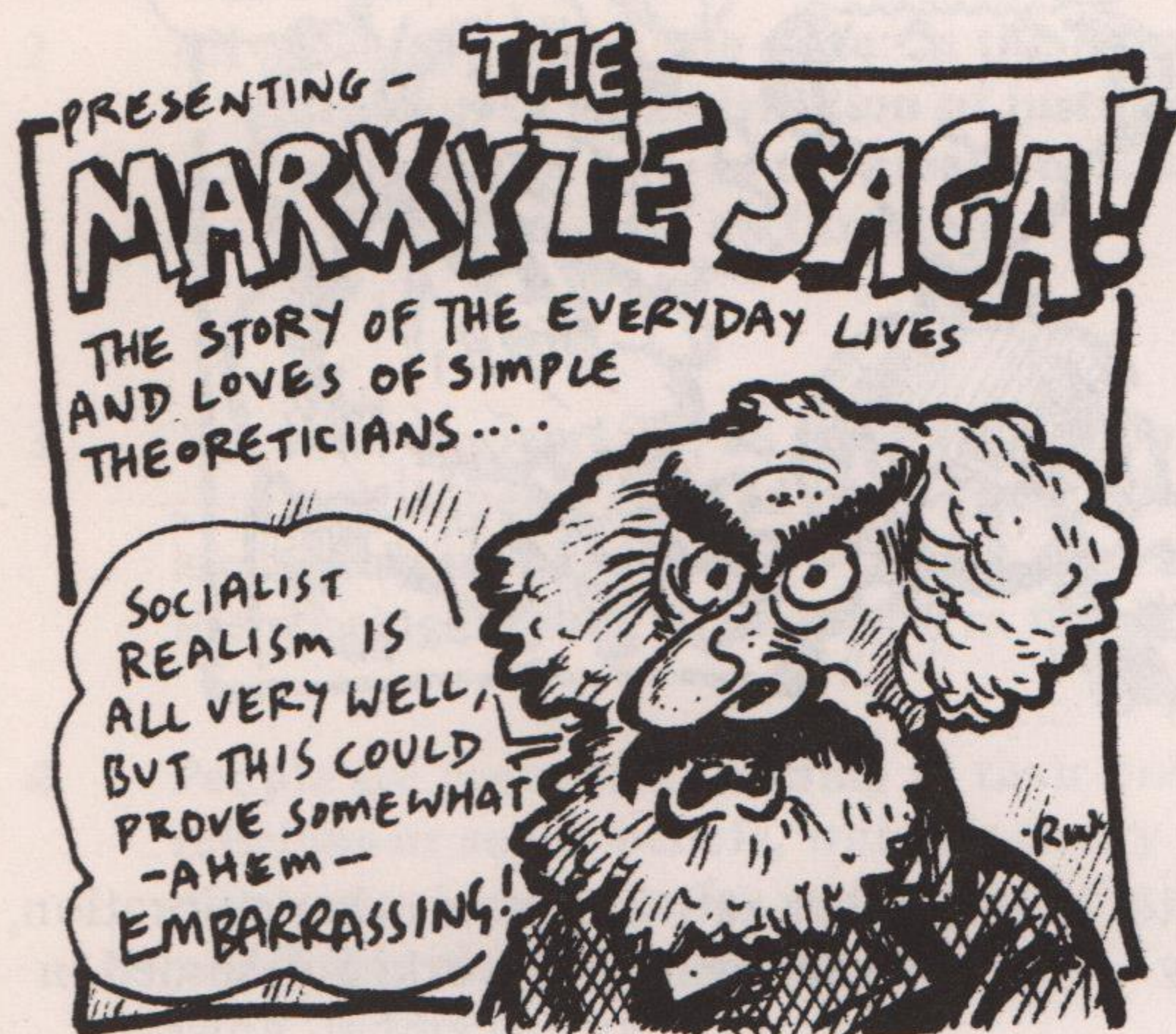
19. In his prefatory endorsement of General Frank Kitson's *Low Intensity Operations* Field Marshal Lord Carver wrote: "If a genuine grievance arose, such as might result from a significant drop in the standard of living, all those who dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which was beyond the powers of the police to handle. Should this happen the army would be required to restore the position rapidly. Fumbling at this juncture might have grave consequences, even to the extent of undermining confidence in the whole system of government".

20. *The Yankee War and the Cowboy*, Carl Oglesby, Andrews and McMeel 1976.



The practical Marx

by John Zerzan



Karl Marx is always approached as so many thoughts, so many words. But in this case, as for every other, there is a lurking question: What of real life? What connection is there between lived choices — one's willful lifetime — and the presentation of one's ideals?

Marx is his dealings with family and associates, his immediate relations to contemporary politics and to survival, the practical pattern and decisions of a life: this is perhaps worth a look. Despite my rejection of basic conceptions he formulated, I aim not at character assassination in lieu of tackling those ideas, but as a reminder to myself and others that our many compromises and accommodations with a grisly world are the real field of our effort to break free, more so than stating our idea. It is in disregarding abstractions for a moment that we see our actual equality, in the prosaic courses of our common nightmare. A brief sketch of the 'everyday' Marx, introducing the relationship between his private and public lives as a point of entry, may serve to underline this.

By 1843 Marx had become a husband and father, roles predating that of Great Thinker. In this capacity, he was to see three of his six children die, essentially of privation. Guido in 1850, Francesca in 1852, and Edgar in 1855 perished not because of poverty itself, so much as from his desire to maintain bourgeois appearances. David McLellan's *Marx: His Life and Thought*, generally accepted as the definite biography, makes this point repeatedly.

Despite the fairly constant domestic deficiencies, Marx employed Helene Demuth as maid, from 1845 until his death in 1881, and a second servant was added as of 1857. Beyond any question of credibility, it was Demuth who bore

Marx's illegitimate son Frederick in 1851. To save Marx from scandal, and "a difficult domestic conflict" according to Louis Freyberger, Engels accepted paternity of the child.

From the end of the 1840's onward, the Marx household lived in London and endured a long cycle of hardship which quickly dissipated the physical and emotional resources of Jenny Marx. The weight of the conflicting pressures involved in being Mrs. Marx was a direct cause of her steadily failing health, as were the deaths of the three children in the 50's. By July, 1858 Marx was accurate in conceding to Engels that "My wife's nerves are quite ruined..."

In fact, her spirit had been destroyed by 1856 when she gave birth to a still-born infant, her seventh pregnancy. Toward the end of that year she spoke of the 'misery' of financial disasters, of having no money for Christmas festivities, as she completed copying out work toward *The Critique of Political Economy*. Despite several inheritances, the begging letters to Engels remained virtually non-stop; by 1860 at the latest, Jenny's once very handsome make-up had been turned to grey hair, bad teeth and obesity. It was in that year that smallpox, contracted after transcribing the very lengthy and trivial *Herr Vogt* diatribe left her deaf and pockmarked.

As secretary to Marx and under the steady strain of creditors, caused pre-eminently by the priority of maintaining appearances, Jenny's life was extremely difficult. Marx to Engels, 1862: "In order to preserve a certain facade, my wife had to take to the pawnbrokers everything that was not actually nailed down." The mid-'60's saw money spent on private lessons for the eldest of the three daughters and tuition at a "ladies seminary" or finish-

ing school, as Marx escaped the bill-collectors by spending his days at the British Museum. He admitted, in 1866, in a letter to his future son-in-law Paul Lafargue, that his wife's "life had been wrecked."

Dealing with nervous breakdowns and chronic chest ailments, Jenny was harried by every-present household debt. One partial solution was to withhold a small part of her weekly allowance in order to deal with their arrears, the extent of which she tended to hide from Marx. In July, 1869 the Great Man exploded upon learning of this frugal effort; to Engels he wrote, "When I asked why, she replied that she was frightened to come out with the vast total [owed]. Women plainly always need to be controlled!"

Speaking of Engels, we may turn from Marx the 'family man' to a fairly chronological treatment of Marx in his immediate connections with contemporary politics. It may be noted here that Engels, his closest friend, colleague and provider, was not only a quite notorious "womanizer", but from 1838 on, a representative of the firm of Engels and Ermen; in fact, throughout the 1850's and '60's he was a fulltime capitalist in Manchester. Thus his *Condition of the Working Class in England* was the fruit of a practical businessman, a man of precisely that class responsible for the terrible misery he so clearly chronicled.

By 1846 Marx and Engels had written *The German Ideology*, which made a definite break with the Young Hegelians and contains the full and mature ideas of the materialist concept of the progress of history. Along with this tome were the practical activities in politics, also by now receiving their characteristic stamp. In terms of his Communist Correspondence Committee and its

propaganda work, Marx (also in 1846) stated: "There can be no talk at present of achieving communism; the bourgeoisie must first come to the helm." In June of the same year he sent instructions to supporters to act "jesuitically", to not have "any tiresome moral scruples" about acting for bourgeois hegemony.

The inexorable laws of capitalist development, necessarily involving the sacrifice of generations of "insufficiently developed" proletarians, would bring capital to its full plenitude — and the workers to the depths of enslavement. This in 1847, following the congress of professional economists in Brussels to which he was invited, Marx publicly noted the disastrous effect of free trade upon the working class, and embraced this development. In a subsequent newspaper article, he likewise found colonialism, with its course of misery and death to be, on the whole, a good thing: like the development of capitalism itself, inevitable and progressive, working toward eventual revolution.

In 1847 the Communist League was formed in London, and at its second Congress later in the year Marx and Engels were given the task of drafting its manifesto. Despite a few ringing anti-capitalist phrases in its general, opening sections, the concrete demands by way of conclusion are gradualist, collaborationist, and highly statist (e.g. for an inheritance tax, graduated income tax, centralization of credit and communications). Ignoring the incessant fight waged since the mid-18th century and culminating with the Luddites, and unprepared for the revolutionary upheavals that were to shake Europe in less than a year, the Communist Manifesto sees again, only an "insufficiently developed" proletariat.

From this policy document arises one of the essential *tactical* mysteries of Marx, that of the concomitant rise of both capitalism and the proletariat. The development of capital is clearly portrayed as the accumulation of human misery, degradation and brutality, but along with it grows, by this process itself, a working class steadily more "centralized, united disciplined, and organized." How is it that from the extreme depths of physical and cultural oppression issues anything but a steadily more robotised, powerless, de-individualised proletariat? In fact, the history of revolts and militance of the 19th and 20th centuries shows that the majority do not come from those most herd-like and deprived but from those least disciplined and with something to lose.

In April of 1848, Marx went to Germany with the Manifesto plus the utterly reformist "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany." The "Demands", also by Marx and Engels, were constituent of a bourgeois revol-



ion, not a socialist one, appealing to many of the elements that directly fought the March outbreak of the revolution. Considering Marx' position as vice-president of the non-radical Democratic Association in Brussels during the previous year, and, naturally, his support for a prerequisite bourgeois ascendancy, he quickly came into conflict with the revolutionary events of 1848 and with much of the Communist League. Marx helped fund a Democratic Society in Cologne, which ran candidates for the Frankfurt Parliament, and he vigorously opposed any League support for armed intervention in support of the revolutionaries. Using the opportunist rationale of not wanting to see the workers become "isolated", he went so far as to use his "discretionary powers", as a League official, to dissolve it in May as too radical, an embarrassment to his support of bourgeois elements.

With the League out of the way, Marx concentrated his 1848 activities in Germany on support for the Democratic Society and his dictatorial editorship of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. In both capacities he pursued a "united front" policy, in which working people would be aligned with all other "democratic forces" against the remnants of feudalism. Of course, this arrangement would afford the workers no autonomy, no freedom of movement; it chose to see no revolutionary possibilities residing with them. As editor of the *NRZ*, Marx gave advice to Camphausen, businessman head of the provisional government following the defeat of the proletarian upsurge. And further, as tounding as it sounds, he supported the Democratic Society's newspaper despite the fact that it condemned the June, 1848 insurrection of the Paris proletariat. As politician and newspaper editor, Marx was increasingly criticised for his consistent refusal to deal with the specific situation or interests of the working class.

By the fall of 1848, the public activities of Marx began to take on a somewhat

more activist, pro-worker coloration, as the risings of workers resumed in Germany. By December, however, disturbances were on the wane, and the volatile year in Germany appeared to be ending with no decisive revolutionary consequences. Now it was, and only now, that Marx in his paper declared that the working class would have to depend on itself, and not upon the bourgeoisie for a revolution. But because it was rather clearly too late for this, the source of revolution would have to come, he divined, from a foreign external shock: namely, war between France and England, preceded by a renewed French proletarian uprising. Thus at the beginning of 1849, Marx saw in a Franco-British war the social revolution, just as in early 1848 he had located it in war between Prussia and Russia. This was not to be the last time, by the way, that Marx saw in the slaughter of national wars the spark of revolution; the workers-as-subject again fails to occur to Marx, that they could act — and did act — on their own initiatives without first having to be sacrificed, by the generation, as factory slaves or cannon fodder. There were radicals who had seen the openings to revolution in 1848, and who were shocked by the deterministic conservatism of Marx. Louis Gottschalk, for example, attacked him for positing the choice for the working class as between bourgeois or feudal rule: "what of revolution?" he demanded. And so although Marx supported bourgeois candidates in the February (1849) elections, by April the Communist League (which he had abolished) had been refounded without him, effectively forcing him to leave the moderate Democratic Association. By May, with its week of street fighting in Dresden, revolts in the Ruhr, and extensive insurgency in Baden, events — as well as the reactions of the German radical community — continued to leave Marx far behind. This in that month, he closed down the *NRZ* with a defiant — and manifestly absurd — editorial claim-

ing that the paper had been revolutionary and openly so throughout 1848-49.

By 1850 Marx had joined other German refugees in London, upon the close of the insurrectionary upheavals on the continent of the previous two years. Under pressure from the left, as noted above, he now came out in favour of an independently organised German proletariat and a highly centralised state for the (increasingly centralised) working class to seize and make its own. Despite the ill-will caused by his anything-but-radical activities in Germany, Marx was allowed to rejoin the Communist League and eventually resumed his dominance therein. In London, he found support among the Chartists and other elements devoted to electoral reform and trade unionism, shunning the many radical German refugees whom he often branded as "agitators" and "assassins." This behaviour gained him a majority of those present in London and enabled him to triumph over those in the League who called him a "reactionary" for the minimalism of the Manifesto and for his disdain of a revolutionary practice in Germany.

But from the early '50s Marx had begun to spend most of his time in studies at the British Museum, where he could ponder the course of world revolution away from the noisy hubub of his precarious household. From this time, he quickly jettisoned the relative radicality of his new-found militance and foresaw a general prosperity ahead, hence no prospects for revolution. The coincidence of economic crisis with proletarian revolution is, of course, mocked by the real history of our world. From the Luddites to the Commune, France in 1968 to the multitude of struggles opening on the last quarter of the 20th century, insurrection has been its own master; the great fluctuations of unemployment or inflation have often served, on the contrary, to deflect class struggles to the lower, survivalist plane rather than to fuel social revolution. The Great Depression of the 1930's brought a diminished vision, for example,

perhaps characterised by Germany National Socialism and its cousin, the American New Deal, nothing approaching the destruction of capitalism. (The Spanish Revolution, bright light of the '30s, had nothing to do with the Depression gripping the industrialised nations.) Marx' overriding concern with externalities — principally economic crises, of course — was a trademark of his practical as well as theoretical approach; it obviously reflects his slight regard for the subjectivity of the majority of people, for their potential autonomy, imagination, and power.

The distinction from actual social struggles of his day is seemingly closely linked with the correct bourgeois life he led. In terms of his livelihood, one is surprised by the gap between his concrete activities and his reputation as revolutionary theorist. From 1852 into the 1860s, he was "one of the most highly valued" and "best paid" columnists of the *New York Daily Tribune*, according to its editor. In fact, one hundred and sixty-five of his articles were used as editorials by this not-quite-revolutionary metropolitan daily, which could account for the fact that Marx requested in 1855 that his subsequent pieces be printed anonymously. But if he wanted not to appear as the voice of a huge bourgeois paper, he wanted still more — as we have seen in his family role — to appear a gentleman. It was "to avoid a scandal" that he felt compelled to pay the printer's bill in 1859 for the reformist *Das Volk* newspaper in London. In 1862 he told Engels of his wish to engage in some kind of business: "Grey, dear friend, is all theory and only business is green. Unfortunately, I have come too late to this insight." Though he declined the offers, Marx received, in 1865 and 1867, two invitations which are noteworthy for the mere fact that they would have been extended to him at all: the first, via a messenger from Bismarck, to "put his great talents to the service of the German people", the second, to write financial articles for the Prussian Government's official

journal. In 1866 he claimed to have made four hundred pounds by speculating in American funds, and his good advice to Engels on how to play the Stock Market is well 'authenticated' 1874 saw Marx and two partners wrangle in court over ownership of a patent to a new engraving device, intending to exploit the rights and reap large profits.

To these striking suggestions of ruling-class mentality must be added the behaviour of Marx toward his children, the three daughters who grew to maturity under his thoroughly Victorian authority. In 1866 he insisted on economic guarantees for Paul LaFargue's future, criticising his lack of "diligence", and lecturing him in the most prudish terms regarding his intention toward Laura, who was almost twenty-one. Reminding LaFargue that he and Laura were not yet engaged, and, if they were to become so, that it would constitute a "long-term affair", he went on the express very puritanical strictures: "To my mind, true love expresses itself in the lover's restraint, modest bearing, even diffidence toward the adored one, and certainly not in unconstrained passion and manifestations of pre-mature familiarity." In 1868 he opposed the taking of a job by Jenny, who was then twenty-two; later he forbade Eleanor from seeing Lissagaray, a Communard who happened to have defended single-handedly the last barricade in Paris.

Turning back to politics, the economic crisis Marx avidly awaited in the '50's had come and gone in 1857 awakening no revolutionary activity. But by 1863 and the Polish insurrection of that year, unrest was in the air providing the background for the formation of the International Workingman's Association. Marx put aside his work on *Capital* and was most active in the affairs of the International from its London inception in September, 1864. Odger, President of the Council of all London Trades Unions, and Cremer, Secretary of the Mason's Union, called the inaugural meeting, and Wheeler and Dell, two other British



union officials, formally proposed an international organisation. Marx was elected to the executive committee (soon to be called the General Council), and at its first business meeting was instrumental in establishing Odger and Cremer as President and Secretary of the International. Thus from the start, Marx' allies were union bureaucrats, and his policy approach was a completely reformist one with "plain speaking" as to radical aims disallowed. One of the first acts of the General Council was the sending of Marx' spirited, fraternal greetings to Abraham Lincoln, that "single-minded son of the working class." Other early activities by Marx included the formation, as part of the International, of the Reform League dedicated to manhood suffrage. He boasted to Engels that this achievement "is our doing", and was equally enthusiastic when the National Reform League, sole surviving Chartist organisation, applied for membership. This latter proved too much even for the faithfully Engels, who for some time after refused to even serve as correspondent to the International for Manchester, where he was still a full-time capitalist. During this practice of embracing every shade of English gradualism, principally by promoting the membership of London trade unions, he penned his famous "the proletariat is revolutionary or it is nothing" line, in a letter to the German socialist Ferdinand Lassalle.

Lassalle and his General Union of German Workers (ADAV) harboured transparently serious illusions about the state; namely that Bismarck was capable of genuinely socialist policies as Chancellor of Prussia. Yet Marx in 1866 agreed to run for the presidency of the ADAV in the hopes of incorporating it into the International. At the same time, he wrote (to a cousin of Engels): "the adherence of the ADAV will only be of use at the beginning, against our opponents here. Later the whole institution of this Union, which rests on a false basis, must be destroyed."

Volumes could be written, and possibly have, on the manipulations of Marx within the International, the manoeuvring of places, dates, and lengths of meetings, for example, in the service of securing and centralising his authority. To the case of the ADAV could be added, among a multitude of others, his cultivation of the wealthy bourgeois Lefort, so as to keep his wholly non-radical faction within the organisation. By 1867 his dedicated machinations were felt to have reaped their reward; to Engels he wrote, "we (i.e. you and I) have this powerful machine in our hands."

Also in 1867 he availed himself publicly once more of one of his favourite notions, that a war between Prussia and Russia would prove both

progressive and inevitable. Such a war would involve the German proletariat versus despotic Eastern barbarism and would thus be salutary for the prospects of European revolution. This perennial "war games" type of mentality somehow manages to equate *victims*, set in motion precisely as chattels of the state, with proletarian subjects acting for themselves; it would seem to parallel the substitution of trade union officials for workers, the hallmark of his preferred strategy as bureaucrat of the International. Marx naturally ridiculed anyone — such as his future son-in-law, LaFargue — for suggesting that the proper role of revolutionaries did not lie in such a crass game of weighing competing nationalisms. And in 1868 when the Belgian delegation to the International's Brussels Congress proposed the response of a general strike to war, Marx dismissed the idea as a "stupidity", owing to the "underdeveloped" status of the working class.

The weaknesses and contradictions of the Proudhon and Bakunin debate are irrelevant here, but we may observe 1896 as the high-water mark of the influence of Marx, due to the approaching decline of the Proudhonists and the infancy of Bakunin's impact in this year. With mid-1870 and the Napoleon III-engineered Franco-Prussian War, we see once more the pre-occupation with "progressive" v. "non-progressive" military exploits of governments. Marx to Engels: "The French need a drubbing. If the Prussians are victorious then the centralisation of the working-class...the superiority of the Germans over the French in the world arena would mean at the same time the superiority of *our* theory over Proudhon's and so on."

By July, 1870, in an Address endorsed by the International's General Council, Marx added to this outlook a warning: "If the German working class allow the present war to lose its strictly defensive character and degenerate into a war against the French people, victory or defeat will prove alike disastrous." Thus the butchery of French workers is fine and good — but only up to a point. This height of cynical calculation appears almost too incredible — and after the Belgians and others were loudly denounced for imagining that the proletariat could be a factor for themselves, in any case. How now could the "German working class" (Prussian army) decide how far to carry out the orders of the Prussian ruling class — and if they could, why not "instruct" them to simply ignore any and all of these class orders?

This kind of public statement by Marx, so devoid of revolutionary content, was naturally received with popularity by the bourgeois press. In fact, none other than the patron saint of British private property, John Stuart Mill, sent a message of

congratulations to the International for its wise and moderate Address.

When the war Napoleon III had begun turned out as a Prussian victory, by the end of summer 1870, Marx protested, predictably, that Germany had dropped its approved "defensive" posture and was now an aggressor demanding annexation of the Alsace-Lorraine provinces. The defeat of France brought the fall of Louis Napoleon and his Second Empire, and a provisional Republican government was formed. Marx decided that the aims of the International were now two-fold: to secure the recognition of the new Republican regime by England, and to prevent any revolutionary outbreak by the French workers.

His policy advised that "any attempt to upset the new government in the present crisis, when the (Prussian) army is almost knocking at the doors of Paris, would be a desperate folly." This shabby, anti-revolutionary strategy was publicly promoted quite vigorously — until the Commune itself made a most rude and "unscientific" mockery of it in short order.

Well-known, of course, is Marx' negative reception to the rising of the Parisians; it is over-generous to say that he was merely pessimistic about the future of the Commune. Days after the successful insurrection began he failed to applaud its audacity, and satisfied himself with grumbling that "it had no chance of success." Though he finally recognised the fact of the Commune (and was thereby forced to revise his reformist ideas regarding proletarian use of existing state machinery), his lack of sympathy is amply reflected by the fact that throughout the Commune's two-month existence, the General Council of the International spoke not a word about it.

It often escapes notice when an analysis or tribute is delivered well after the living struggle is, safely, living no longer. The masterful polemicising about the triumphs of the Commune in his *Civil War in France* constitute an *obituary*, in just the same way that *Class Struggles in France* did so at a similarly safe distance from the events he failed to support at the time of the revolutionary Paris, 1848.

After a very brief period — again like his public attitude just *after* the 1848-49 outbreaks in Europe — of stated optimism as to proletarian successes in general, Marx returned to his more usual colours. He denied the support of the International to the scattered summer 1871 uprisings in Italy, Russia, and Spain — countries mainly susceptible to the doctrines of anarchy, by the way. September witnessed the last meeting of the International before the Marx faction effectively disbanded it, rather than accept its domination by

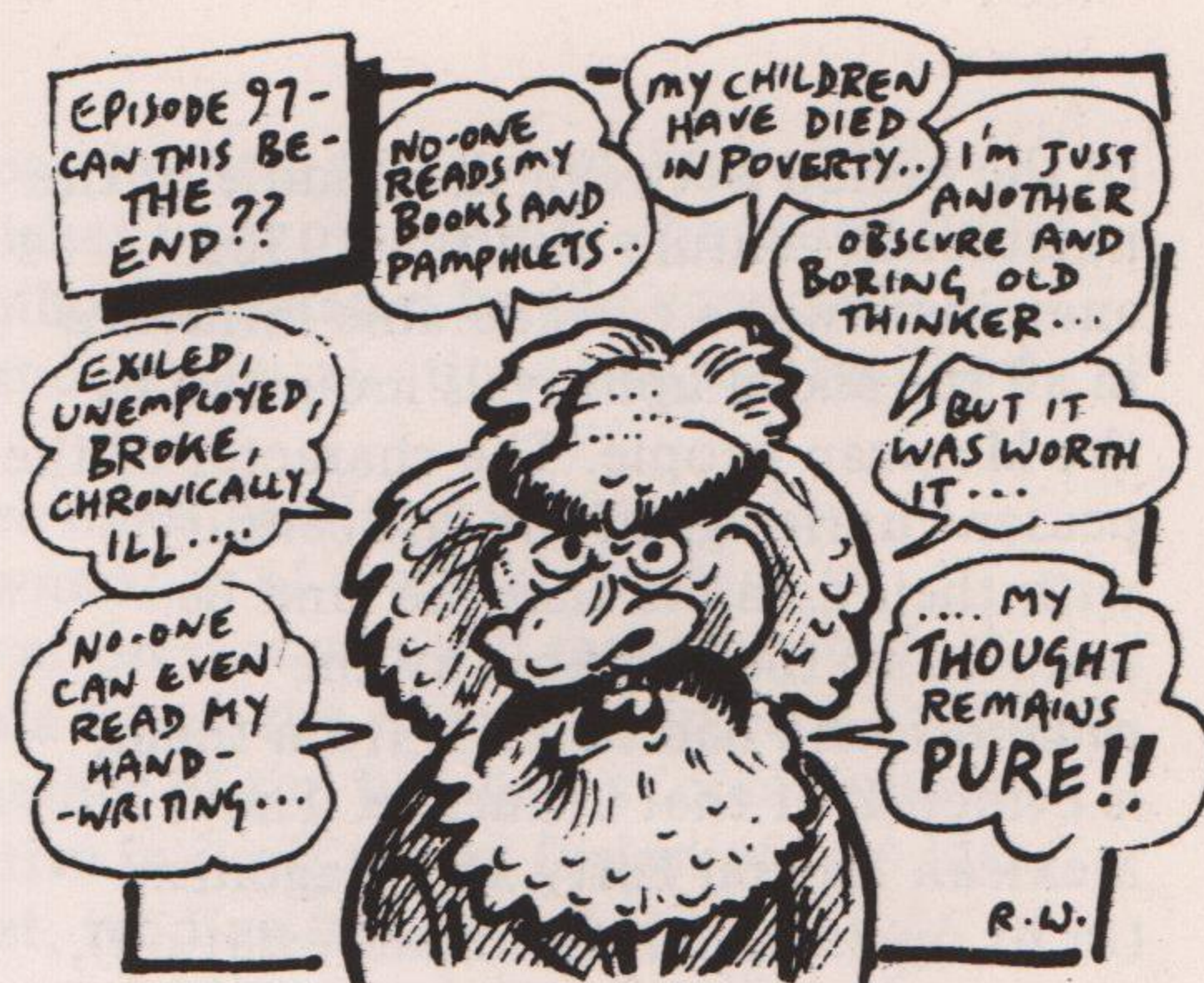
more radical elements such as the Bakuninists, in the following year. The bourgeois gradualism of Marx was much in evidence at the 1871 London Conference, then, as exemplified by such remarks as: "To get workers into parliament is equivalent to a victory over the governments, but one must choose the right man."

Between the demise of the International and his own death in 1881, Marx lived in a style that varied little from that of previous decades. Shunning the Communard refugees, by and large — as he had shunned the radical Germans in the '50's after their exile following 1848-49 — Marx kept company with men like Maxim Kovalevsky, a non-socialist Russian aristocrat, the well-to-do Dr. Kugelmann, the businessman Max Oppenheim, H. M. Hyndman, a very wealthy social democrat, and, of course, the now-retired capitalist Engels.

With such a circle as his choice of friends, it is not surprising that he

continued to see little radical capacity in the workers, just as he had always failed to see it. In 1874, he wrote, "The general situation of Europe is such that it moves to a general European war. We must go through this war before we can think of any decisive external effectiveness of the European working class." Looking, as ever, to externalities — and of course to the "immutable laws of history" — he contributes to the legacy of the millions of World War I dead, sacrificed by the capitulation of the Marxist parties to the support of war in 1914.

Refusing throughout his lifetime to see the possibilities of real class struggle, to understand the reality of the living negation of capitalism, Marx actively and concretely worked for the progress and fullness of capitalist development, which prescribed that generations would have to be sacrificed to it. I think that the above observations of *his* real life are important and typical ones, and suggest a consistency between that life and his body of ideas. The task of moving the



exploration along to encompass the 'distinctly theoretical' part of Marx, is expressly beyond the scope of this effort; possibly, however, the preceding will throw at least indirect light on the more 'dis-embodied' Marx.

Cienfuegos

PROUHDONIST MATERIALISM & REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE by Stephen Condit (£1.50)

THE WEST GERMAN GUERRILLA: TERROR, REACTION AND RESISTANCE Interviews with Hans Joachim Klein and members of the June 2nd Movement. J M Bouguereau and anon. (£2)

MILLY WITKOP-ROCKER by Rudolph Rocker (50p)
Coming soon:

PEOPLE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT: An anthropology of anarchy by Harold Barclay (with an Introduction by Alex Comfort)

TOWARDS A CITIZEN'S INTELLIGENCE AGENCY: A Radical Investigator's Handbook

BLACK PAPERS: An A-Z of Resources and Background Papers for the Radical Investigator

THE END OF ANARCHY by Luigi Galleani



Two new badges from Cienfuegos Press. 30p each + 14p p+p. 33% discount on all orders of three dozen or more.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL, U.K.

The anarchist movement in Mexico

In the period between the middle of the nineteenth century and the 1930s, anarchism was a considerable influence in all the social upheavals mounted by the Mexican people. The character of the peasant uprisings of the last century, with their demand that the land be restored to the peasants by the *caciques* who had taken it from them, is evidence of that influence. The Mexican Liberal Party and Magonism (in its openly anarchist manifestation), by throwing their weight behind strikes, land takeovers, militia movements etc., made a crucial contribution towards the revolutionary explosion of 1910. Libertarian influences may be seen in the Zapatista movement, a movement with 'Land and Liberty' as its war-cry and which, armed, gave rise to the most radical communalist experiences of the Mexican Revolution. There is a notable anarchist influence, too, in the labour organisations set up in Mexico after 1911-1921. The *Casa del Obrero Mundial* and, later on, the *Confederacion General de Trabajadores* engaged in many a struggle, most of which were crushed by the Mexican State. Particularly outstanding amongst these struggles were the 1916 general strike, the Veracruz commune of 1920-1922, and the tram workers' strikes and so forth.

As a result of constant repression, tactical errors, the consolidation of the State's apparatus and the waning of the popular movement, anarchism lost almost all of its thrust about 1932. In 1941 came the setting up of the Anarchist Federation of Mexico (FAM), which brought together various surviving groups from the CGT and the *Federacion Anarquista del Centro*. In spite of its activities the FAM had little relevance and its influence was to be minimal, with the notable exception of the 50s and 60s among the peasant communities of Nayarit state and Mexico state.

In 1968 the country was convulsed. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans, outside any political organisations, seized control of the streets, the barrios and the market places and introduced forms of organisation which did away with the distinction between leaders and led. Utterly overwhelmed, the Mexican State resorted to generalised violence: it broke up demonstrations, imprisoned thousands, occupied barrios and universities and, finally, massacred a great crowd gathered in the Plaza de las tres Culturas de Matelolco on 2 October 1968. Although the upheaval displayed all the features of a libertarian analysis of

the Mexican state, the few existing anarchist organisations had but little influence.

By 1970 the Anarchist Federation of Mexico was able to produce a regular publication, *Regeneracion* and, scattered across the country, there were a number of autonomous groups. But the dynamic of the FAM had led to its isolation; what groups there were consisted of old comrades. Between 1970 and 1971 they were joined by a group of young comrades who took over the publication of *Regeneracion*. With the arrival of this group the paper entered a period of revitalisation. On 10 June 1971 the 'Regeneracion' group suffered its first loss when comrade Jose Moreno Rendon was murdered.

Within a two year period sales of the paper had tripled and work amongst workers and peasants had begun again. In 1972, whilst distributing the paper, several comrades were kidnapped, held and violently abused by the police. In the same year a comrade from the 'Ricardo Flores Magon' group was murdered in the northern city of Durango. In 1973 the 'Regeneracion' group immersed itself in various popular movements, promoting, publicising and issuing propaganda. Between 1973 and 1977 the FAM participated in several labour struggles, with the metal workers, the construction industry, with the garment workers of Irapuato and with the industrial workers of Queretaro, the Federal district, and the states of Morelas and Mexico. A link was also established with the peasant struggles and contact made with numerous popular organisations throughout the country.

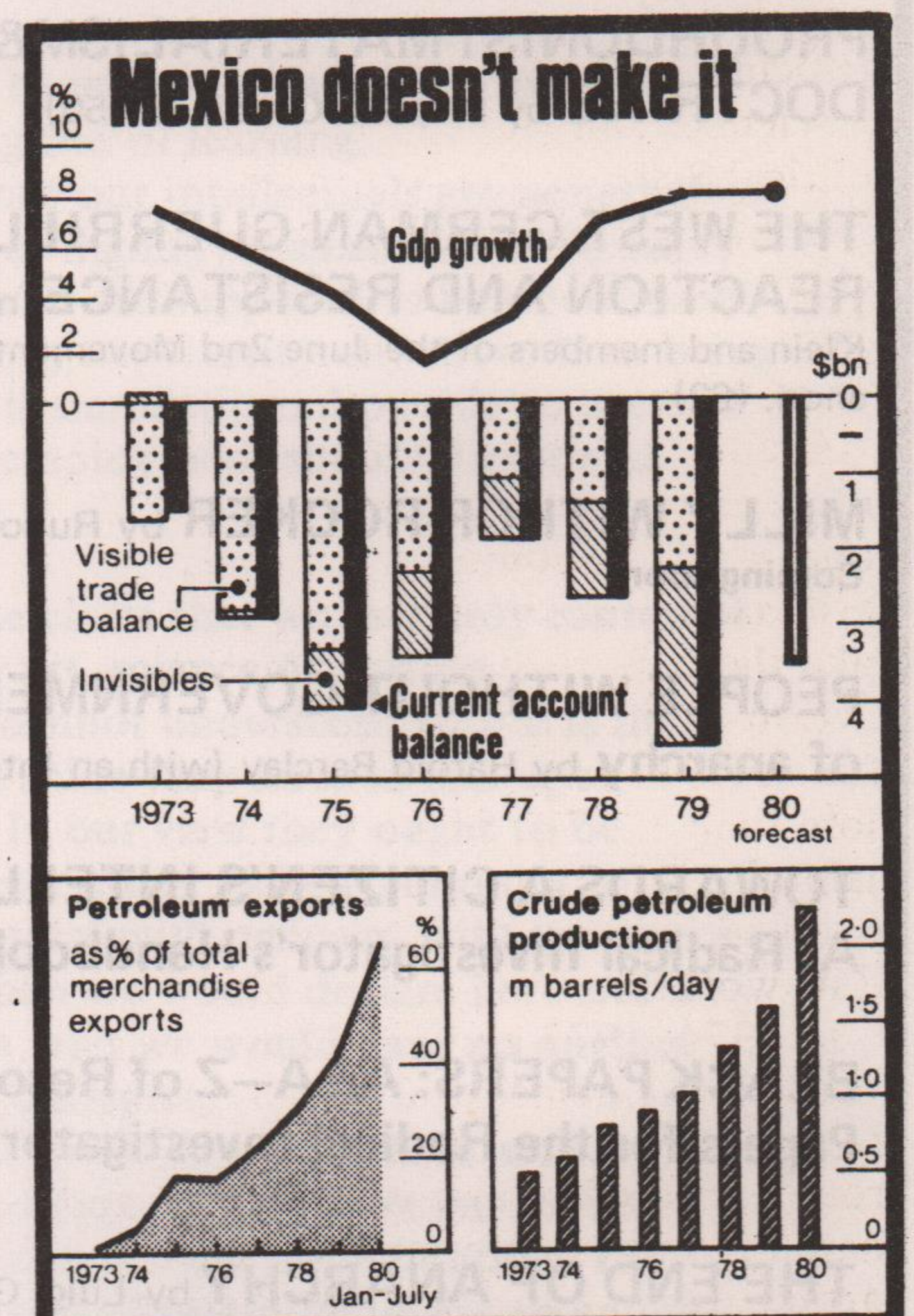
At this time the FAM's most important activity was its support and encouragement of the garment workers' strikes which involved factory occupations such as at the Titan company. Urban lots were occupied and the 'Colonia Libertad' established. In was later broken up by the police. Then there was the attempt to occupy a prison holding peasants arrested for illegally occupying the land. All of these actions took place in and around the country's central region.

In Queretaro important work was done in support of comrades from the independent paper *Voz Critica* who were suffering heavy repression. Inside a short time the FAM earned a certain influence among the workers and peasants of Queretaro. 1976 saw the creation of the 'Rosa Negra' group which produces *El Rebelde*. By now the repression had annihilated *Voz*

Critica. 1976 also saw the formation of the Peasants' Union of Queretaro State, a small but belligerent peasant association along libertarian lines. In February 1977 several dozen peasants occupied various plots of land in San Martin. They were driven off by the police; more than a hundred were arrested. The harsh repression in Queretaro led to the disappearance of the workers' paper *El Rebelde*, whilst the *Rosa Negra* group was scattered and the Peasants' Union of Queretaro went into a decline.

In 1976 a solidarity campaign was mounted on behalf of the 'Campamento Tierra y Libertad' in the San Luis Potosi region. This peasant organisation is exceptionally important, in that it is an umbrella for over a hundred peasant communities organised on federalist lines. Its internal organisation is run by the community assembly. It is constantly devising illegal occupations of *latifundia*. In spite of the savage repression with which the State has greeted this independent association, it continues to develop and to function with the same features as before.

The bulk of the unionised Mexican working class is controlled by the corporate style union set-ups imposed by the Mexican government; nonetheless since 1971, the State's union — the *Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos*, CTM — has been breaking up, giving rise to a situation where a goodly number of Mexican workers have begun struggles in which they level economic demands and call for



union autonomy. In so far as its meagre resources allow, the FAM has immersed itself in this process, joining several workers' movements, propagandizing the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism and managing, for a time, to wield a certain degree of influence both in the aforementioned unions as well as in others, such as the SINTCB and STINFONAVIT.

In spite of the activity in which it has engaged the FAM has failed to bring together all the libertarian groups which have been popping up. In other words, in the context of class struggle in Mexico its influence has been minimal.

Significantly, numerous groups have recently appeared over the last three years which, although not anarchist, are clearly of an anti-authoritarian turn of mind. Some of them have managed to invest their activities with a social relevance.

Of late, various interesting processes fuelled (to a large degree) by the libertarian collectives, have appeared in the student world. For several years, The National University's School of Architecture has been living out an experiment in self-management — one which has survived in spite of its hostile surroundings. In 1976 the School of Engineering mounted a violent strike which completely overflowed legal structures. The College of Sciences and Humanities of the South and East have also witnessed self-management experiments. At the moment, there are numerous libertarian collectives in the Schools of Architecture, Veterinary Medicine, Law, Anthropology, Colleges of Sciences and Humanities, Economics, Political Science, the Autonomous Metropolitan University and the Schools of Engineering and Philosophy. These somewhat scattered groups carry out constant propaganda.

Against a backdrop of constant independent union activity several important autonomous mobilizations have taken place in the last few years. Take the case of the Mining-Metallurgical Section of the *Altos Hornos de Monclova*, an organisation embracing more than 12,000 workers which maintains an autonomous organisation governed by departmental assemblies of all its workers.

In 1974, 1975 and 1976 there was a group by the name of 'Cine Co-operativa Marginal'. An important section of this group espoused clear-cut councillorist and anarcho-syndicalist principles. Their participation in dozens of workers' struggles takes a rather peculiar form, for if they help out in any way they

contribute towards increased combativeness and autonomy. Take as an example the case of the 'Spicer' automobile firm, where 650 workers put direct action and departmental democracy into effect. The 'Spicer' movement of 1976 successfully mobilised thousands of workers, although it was eventually crushed by the employers and the State.

Other examples of workers' movements of importance are the occupations of the 'La Isabel', 'Titan' and 'Kelvinator' plants. There have also been important strikes, a few of them wildcat, such as at General Electric, IACSA, Cervecaria Moctezuma and Auto-transportes. These movements have ignored the legal channels and the workers have imposed their own organisations and relied upon direct action.

Today, after several years of struggling for its autonomy the labour movement is in decline, a process marked by the assimilation of the bulk of the independent unions. In spite of this, there are still some unions which have retained their original characteristics, and small groups of workers who constantly pressurise the union bureaucracies.

Having alluded to the popular upheavals, it is important that one should point out that, up to a point, those groups adhering to an anti-authoritarian position have spawned others at an accelerating rate. Such collectives have become important to problems which the libertarian movement proper has ignored or neglected, such as the position of women in a patriarchal society, sexuality, ecology, educational alternatives, anti-psychiatry and the counter-culture. These collectives, dispersed throughout the country, have been generally short-lived and are quite unconnected with one another.

The chief problem with which Mexican libertarians have to contend with at the moment is the absence of even a minimal co-ordination. As a result of this no response is forthcoming at times of repression. For instance, between 1977 and the early months of 1978 the University Democratic Movement in Oaxaca developed into an important autonomous movement strongly connected to the peasants in their region. The State unleashed its repression on the Oaxaca comrades and their movement, with its strong libertarian tendencies, has been crushed. If effective libertarian solidarity had been mobilised on that occasion the outcome may perhaps have been different. One might also cite the cases of



comrades Efrain Lara from the Frente Sindical Independentiente of Yucatan, or Rodolfo Aguilar from the popular barrio of Chihuahua, murdered, both of them, in 1974 and 1977 respectively, with no response forthcoming from the Mexican libertarians.

In December of 1978 a meeting was held. It aimed to allow a group of libertarian collectives from the Valle de Mexico area to get to know each other. After the meeting a coordination committee was set up. It issued one bulletin, but the initiative soon came to nothing on account of the lack of any real basis for understanding.

At the present time a fresh effort at coordination is being made, on a more hard and fast basis.

To sum up in recent years the libertarian movement in Mexico has grown considerably, with new groups and new papers and new activities. This new Mexican libertarian movement hangs in the balance. If it should manage to overcome the effects of dispersion and make an impact on society it could achieve an undreamed of potential, a potential which will enable the libertarian movement to occupy the position it ought.

Octavio Alberola

For contacts in Mexico:

Federacion Anarquista de Mexico, Apartado Postal, 9090, Mexico 1, D.F.

Edicions Antorcha, Apartado Postal 12-818, Mexico 12, D.F.

Libreria El Nahual, Quintana Room 1 'A', Col. Roma, Mexico 7, D.F.

Libertarian Coordination, c/o Ricardo Morelos 45, Desp. 206, Mexico 1, D.F.

Tierra y Libertad Group, Apartado Postal M-10596, Mexico 1, D.F.

RTZ's 1982 results indigenous peoples follow our advice

Results and outlook — The net attributable profit of £150.3 million is an all time record in money terms, and the dividend is higher in real terms than ever before. The first quarter's results of 1981 have improved over 1979, largely due to our cartel's ability to control the market and keep the price of uranium at around 40 dollars per pound and our friendly agreements with government agencies charged with the management of land resources and indigenous peoples for the careful exploitation of the earth's valuable and slender resources. Most of these scarce and expensive resources are to be found on the land of primitive indigenous peoples, many of whom still live in stone age conditions and have little regard for the requirements of Western industrial civilisation. Fortunately, good relations between the Australian Mission authorities and ourselves ensured that common sense prevailed, allowing us to acquire the Weipa bauxite deposits on 2,270 square miles of Aboriginal reserve land in Queensland for a knock-down price of £15 per square mile compared with the going rate of £400. This little business coup helped us increase our shares by over 1,000 per cent overnight! Today, the Weipa people are living happily in a much more sensibly sized 308 acre reservation with schools, bars, the opportunity for work — if they would only take it they would improve their standard of living still more! The wasteful use of the Aboriginal land as hunting grounds has now been rectified and our bulldozers are busy fulfilling the requirements of industrial development.

Developments and acquisitions — Capital expenditures of £300 million were spread over nearly all our worldwide operations. The acquisition of a large bauxite strip mine prospect south of Belem in the Amazon contains an estimated 750 million tons of reserves. We will not proceed with the initial deforestation project and the re-settlement of the Paragomina Indians in the region until there is an upturn in the bauxite market, but it is a plum in the conglomerate cake for the mid-'80s.

Exploration — The most important aspect was the work above Stonemass in Orkney which resulted in an upward revision of the known uranium mineralisation. This will allow us to fulfill our agreement to supply 15,000 tonnes of uranium ore to the UK Atomic Energy Commission by 1995. We had feared this would be difficult, owing to the problems with our Namibian reserves — sabotage by SWAPO guerrillas in the pay of Moscow, hindrances from the Jewish cabal at the United Nations who claim to be acting in the interests of Namibia's natural resources, and, not least, the pure selfishness and bloody-mindedness of the local work force, who have been got at by anarchist trouble-makers.

Orcadianisation — Early next year RTZ and Occidental hope to reach a private agreement with certain leading members of the Orkney Islands Council and landowners to ensure local acceptance of consolidation of our business interests in the islands. As a sign of our good intent, both companies will renounce all grazing, farming, water and fishing rights on their local properties not affected by strip mining, ore processing and oil displacement. We shall also make a generous re-settlement offer to all agricultural workers, fishermen and townspeople made redundant as a result of the collapse of the beef, fish and tourism industries. We shall also make a grant of £15,000 to the local hospital for research into Radon poisoning, and another towards the building of a hospice.

Anti-trust/Anti-kidnapping — Last year I re-affirmed RTZ's commitment to the principle of free trade and competitive behaviour, but at the same time pointed to the incalculable damage that can be caused by a free-for-all in the world of ore extraction. Taking wealth out of the soil is an emotional business — even if it is highly profitable — and it's all too easy for political prejudices to run high, but over-zealous imposition of anti-trust regulations is not the way to go about things, nor are the threats of knee-capping and kidnapping of members of the board and prominent shareholders which we've started to receive. RTZ's position regarding the anti-monopoly pro-

RTZ The Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation Limited

ceedi
recog
cerne
Besid
mem
ing co
latera
bothe
lieve
and k
board
are ag
being
with
effici
Conc
consi
intere
econo
ness
benef
ness
highly
hope
new
time,
The s
we m
profit
— it r

RT
6 St

Dire
Bye
The
child
Ham

ults higher if oples would

ce

ings against us in the US is that we refuse to recognise their jurisdiction. So far as we are concerned, if we don't supply the uranium no-one will! (since our Vice-chairman, various other members of the board and myself, are all on the steering committees of the Bildeburg Group and Tri-Commission), if the US courts don't stop harassing us, then we may have to take steps to re-assign judges of their positions. Kidnapping and kidnapping of members of the

is another matter altogether and although we are against it in theory (the lives properties and well-being of our directors are paramount), we would deal with each threat on its merit, depending on how serious and well-organised they are.

Conclusion — Third World objectives should not be considered solely in the context of sectional projects such as small tribal groups and local economic and social expediency. We are in the business of seeking minerals and mining them for the benefit of our shareholders; if it benefits other business sectors so much the better. By establishing profitable labour-intensive industries we had hoped to raise living standards and establish a whole market for consumer goods while there was still time but the Third World isn't listening any more. Resources may start to run out for us at any time, so we must all pull together to make this coming year as profitable as possible, quickly and with determination. This may well be our last.

The Chairman
Mark Turner

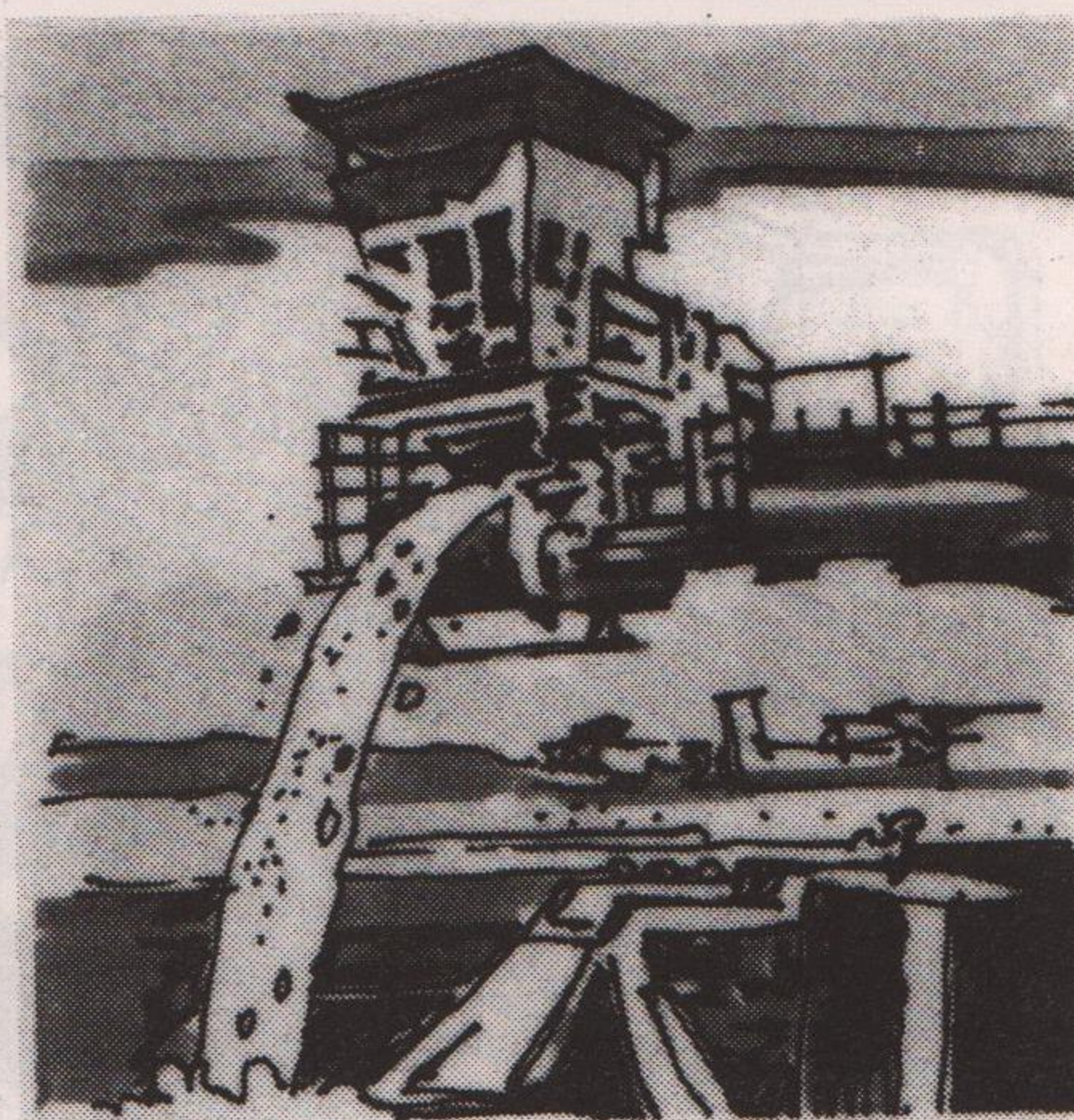
Z The Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation Limited
James Square, London SW1

Directors: Lord Carrington; Lord Shackleton; Lord ...
Barclays Bank; National Westminster Bank;
Midland Bank; The Oppenheimer Trust; Roths-
child Holdings; H M The Queen; Kleinwort Benson;
Warburgs; S G Warburg; Antony Eden.

ed



The local authorities, in many of our Third World locations, have been of invaluable assistance to our programme of technological advance.



Pollution, and sometimes total destruction, of local environments is an unpleasant but, unfortunately, necessary side effect of our development programme in Third World countries.



Relations between management and workers is generally good, providing the workforce doesn't waste time complaining about trivial matters such as pay, conditions, safety and so on.

Isaac Puente

Isaac Puente was one of the very few members of the non-labouring classes to wield any influence within the pre-war CNT of Spain. According to Jose Peirats, in *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution*, he was a 'Basque doctor and socialist, propagandist for libertarian communism. He collaborated on the syndicalist and anarchist press.....' However, there is nothing in this pamphlet, the first edition of which appeared in 1932, to suggest he was committed to anything but anarchism.

Libertarian communism is not a blueprint for a future society. It is, rather, a set of principles to be applied by the working class, and all others who are prepared to work alongside them, for taking over and running the economic base of society so as to refashion it in accordance with social justice. While it is collective in spirit and method, libertarian communism gives the fullest possible scope to individual needs and aspirations. It is no utopian scheme, though it is the means by which to reach the utopia of anarchy.

In December 1933, Puente, Cipriano Mera and Durruti constituted the committee that organised the uprising in Aragon. A comrade who took part, Miguel Foz, has described events succinctly:

'Comrades carried out their task of burning the property archives, the church and municipal records, etc. A public announcement abolished thenceforth the circulation of money.... We lived for five days under libertarian communism, relying on the loyalty of the village and the apprehensiveness of the enemy. Some of our opponents came before the unions to ask, in full assembly, for explanations of the meaning of libertarian communism, and some of them came over spontaneously.'

The Aragon rising was put down with considerable ferocity by the authorities. Puente was among those arrested and tortured by the police. After five months he and the other main organisers were finally released thanks to enormous popular pressure; the legal case against the mass of the insurgents had collapsed following a daring raid on the prosecution offices carried out from within the prison.

Puente's pamphlet was widely read. It inspired the historic platform formulated by the CNT at its May 1936 congress at Saragossa, which city had been the centre of the December 1933 rising. It was on the basis of this platform that the libertarian workers of Spain, in their struggle against fascism that began only weeks later, pushed social liberation to

unprecedented heights. Unfortunately, Puente was one of the first victims of the fascists, being caught behind their lines and shot in July 1936.

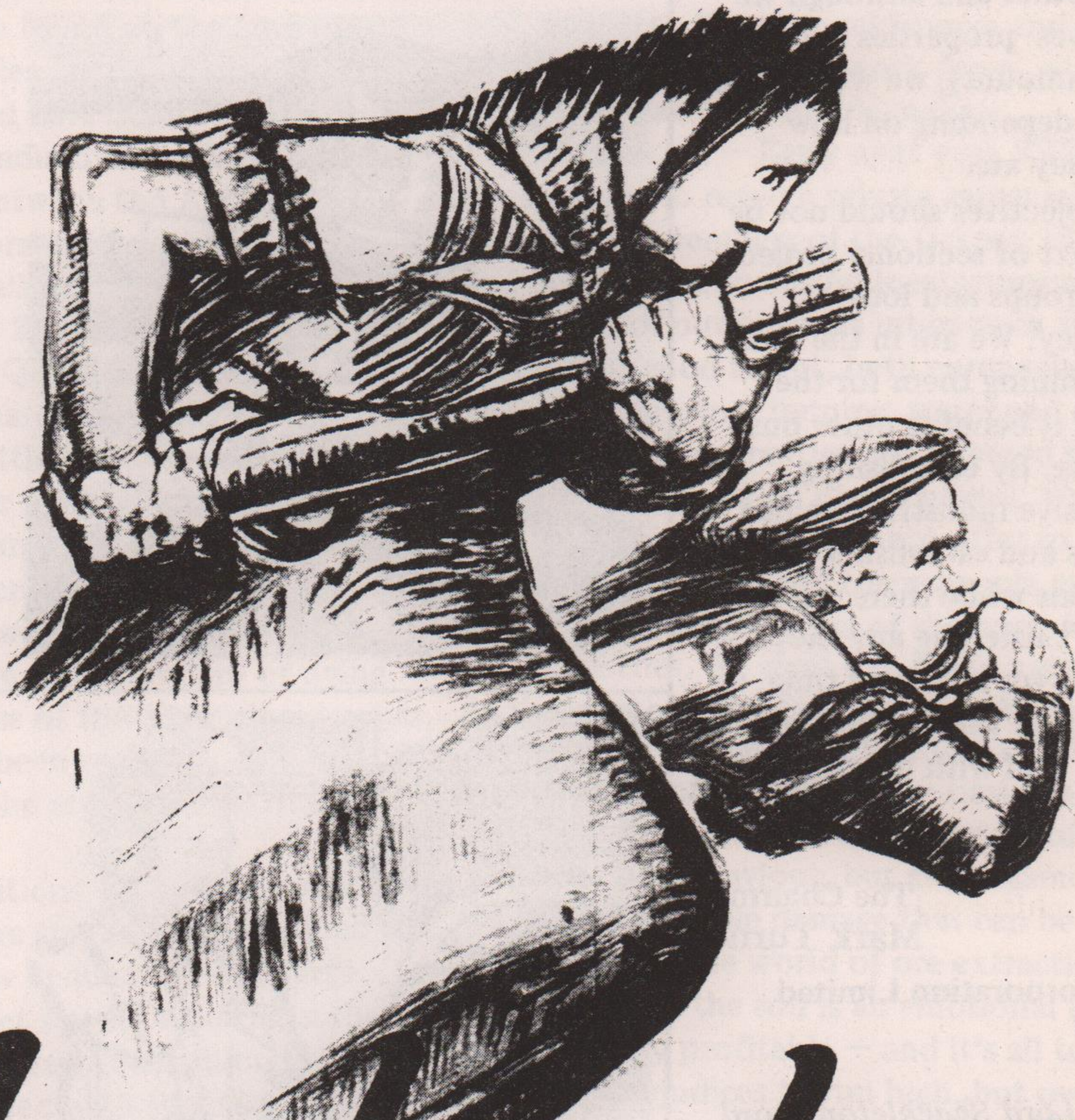
Between the reformist labour movements of most of the world today, with their reactionary leaders (and their authoritarian middle-class would-be leaders), and the kind of revolutionary unions described by Puente the differences are many and vast. Yet if all the fulltime officials, all the union contracts, all the glittering pension funds and all the rest of the apparatus of mirage and blackmail with which the wage slave of today is kept chained physically and mentally to the treadmill — if all this were to vanish overnight, the workers

would not wake up the next morning suddenly defenceless before the merciless greed of the employers. On the contrary, they would be organised still in their places of work, but with the difference now that they would be able to unite as never before, conscious at last of their real interests.

As their struggle became more and more confident and coordinated, turning inevitably towards the abolition of their own slavery, i.e. of capitalism and the state, the organisational principles adopted would inevitably be those described here by the humanitarian healer and libertarian militant Isaac Puente.

M.H.

CNT ADELANTADO



Luchadores de la LIBERTAD!

Libertarian communism

The National Confederation of Labour (CNT) is, so to speak, the channel for all the revolutionary strivings that the working class makes towards the realisation of one specific goal: the installation of Libertarian Communism. This is a system of human co-existence that attempts to find a way to solve the economic problem without using the state or politics, in accordance with the well-known formula: *From each according to his/her abilities, to each according to her/his needs.*

The freedom movement of the working class progresses through suffering the bitter lessons of experience. From each setback it emerges rejuvenated and with fresh vigour. It is a force in the making, the moulder of the future. It bears within itself a seed of social perfectability, and it bespeaks the presence of a striving that comes from deep within the human being, a striving because of which it cannot perish even were it to lose its way another hundred times.

The workers' movement has come through barbaric repressions. For a long time it allowed itself to be seduced by the false voices of reformism and by the siren songs of politics, which lead only to the emancipation of leaders and redeemers, who from being brothers turn abruptly into enemies.

The workers have been the target of too much preaching. Some have told them they need calm, others that they need culture, others training. According to the notions of those who would be their shepherds, the workers have never been mature enough to liberate themselves. If the situation is to continue, preparations will go on for all eternity: the only way the workers can shrug off the ignorance and cultural deprivation that the capitalist regime and the state assign them to is by means of revolution. Every partial freedom must cost just as much effort as total emancipation, if it is to be won collectively and not just by individuals.

If we look for ways of doing this without attacking the system, no resolution of the social problem is possible. It is like Columbus's egg. If we keep on and on trying to balance the egg on one end, we will only waste a lot of time. We must resolve to flatten one of the ends by knocking it on the table, and so attack the actual shape of the egg itself.

The National Confederation of Labour acts as interpreter to the workers' freedom movement, warning of reformist flannel and giving the blind alley of politics a wide birth. It has found a straight road, that of direct action, which leads directly to the installation of libertarian communism, the only path to freedom. There is no point in building up a powerful movement that will win the admiration both of its members and of outsiders, unless it achieves its goal of liberation. This is no vague ideal to cherish: it is a battlefield. The ideal is in the form of anarchism, which supplies the guidance and the motivating force.

Libertarian Communism is a society organised without the state and without private ownership. And there is no need to invent anything or conjure up some new organisation for the purpose. The centres about which life in the future will be organised are already with us in the society of today: the free union and the free municipality.

The union: in it combine spontaneously the workers from factories and all places of collective exploitation.

And the free municipality: an assembly with roots stretching back into the past where, again in spontaneity, inhabitants of village and hamlet combine together, and which points the way to the solution of problems in social life in the countryside. (By "village" the author means a rural settlement of up to several thousand inhabitants. — Ed.)

Both kinds of organisation, run on federal and democratic

principles, will be sovereign in their decision-making, without being beholden to any higher body, their only obligation being to federate one with another as dictated by the economic requirement for liaison and communications bodies organised in industrial federations.

The union and the free municipality will assume the collective or common ownership of everything which is under private ownership at present and will regulate production and consumption (in a word, the economy) in each locality.

The very bringing together of the two terms (communism and libertarian) is indicative in itself of the fusion of two ideas: one of them is collectivist, tending to bring about harmony in the whole through the contributions and co-operation of individuals, without undermining their independence in any way; while the other is individualist, seeking to reassure the individual that his independence will be respected.

Since by himself he can achieve nothing, the factory worker, railway worker or labourer needs to join forces with his colleagues, both to carry out his work and to protect his interests as an individual. In contrast, the artisan and the farm worker can live independently and can even be self-sufficient, as a result of which the spirit of individualism is deeply ingrained in them. Thus, the *union* meets the need for a collectivist organisation, while the *free municipality* is better suited to the individualistic feelings of the peasant.

Poverty is the symptom and slavery the disease. If we went only by appearances, we would all agree that poverty ought to be singled out as the worst feature of present-day society. The worst affliction, however, is slavery, which obliges man to lie down under poverty and prevents him from rebelling against it. The greatest of evils is not capital, which exploits the worker, enriching itself at his expense, but rather the state which keeps the worker naked and undefended, maintaining him in subjection by armed force and by imprisonment.

Every ill that we deplore in society today (and it would be out of place to list them all here) is rooted in the institution of power, that is, in the state and the institution of private ownership, accumulation of which produces capital. Man is at the mercy of these two social afflictions which escape his control: they make him petty, stingy and lacking solidarity when he is rich and cruelly insensitive to human suffering when he wields power. Poverty degrades, but wealth perverts. Obedience consigns man to a state of prostration, while the authority deforms his sensibilities. Nothing has ever been the cause of greater tears or bloodshed than capital, with its fathomless appetite for profit. The whole of history is crammed with the crimes and tortures carried out by authority.

Accumulation of wealth, like accumulation of power by the few, can only be achieved at the cost of depriving others. To destroy poverty, and likewise to end slavery, the accumulation of property and of power must be resisted, so that no one takes more than s/he needs and no one is allowed to boss all the others.

Two fundamental drives. By our very nature and because of the way we live, people have two strivings that cannot be suppressed: to *bread*, which is everything we need to meet our economic needs (such as food, clothing, housing, education, medical assistance and means of communication), and to *freedom*, or control over our own actions. External pressures of themselves do not hold any repugnance for us, since we bow to those exerted by nature herself. What does repel and revolt us is that such pressure should be arbitrary pressure, a whim of others. We do not mind a restriction if we believe it to be just, and provided that it is left up to us to be the judge of that. We do reject it, however, with all the

force we can muster, if it is something imposed upon us without our having a say in the matter.

So lively and intense is this feeling for freedom (this ambition to be our own masters) that there is an old folk tale in which a nobleman forsakes the board, lodging and warmth of an inn and takes to the open road; he does this so as to conserve his freedom, for the price of his keep and comfort in the inn was to conform to its barrack-like discipline.

Libertarian communism must make it possible to satisfy economic need as well as respecting this wish to be free. Out of love for freedom, we reject any monastic or barrack-style communism, the communism of ant-heap and beehive, and the shepherd-and-flock type communism of Russia.

Prejudices: To anyone reading this in a prejudiced way, with their hackles up, all this must seem nonsensical. Let us examine the prejudices involved so that we help those who suffer from them to overcome them.

Prejudice number one The belief that the crisis is merely temporary.

Capital and state are two age-old institutions; they are in a worldwide crisis that is progressive and incurable. These are two organisms which, like everything in the natural world, bear within their own decomposing selves the seeds of those organisms which are to take their place. In the world of nature there is no creation and no destruction — only transformation in everything. Capital is drowning in its own filth. Unemployment is constantly on the increase because consumption cannot match the rate at which production is expanded by machinery. The unemployed are the troops of revolution. Hunger makes a coward of the isolated individual but when that hunger is generally felt it becomes a source of rage and audacity. Subversive ideas are growing up among the working class and they are making headway. The state, too, is suffocating amid its own machinations of strength. It finds itself compelled to set up ever more repressive forces and greater bureaucracy, heaping the deadweight of parasitism on to the taxes stolen from the taxpayers. One buttresses a building because it is threatening to collapse. The individual consciousness which grows more acute with each passing moment is openly at odds with the limits set by the state. The imminence of collapse has induced the state to reverse its historical evolution towards more democratic forms, in order to don the cloak of fascism in Italy and dictatorship elsewhere, including dictatorship of the working class in Russia. What has set the growing demands of the working class against the old institution of capital are make-or-break crises; the state, that old, old institution, now confronts the libertarian aspirations of the people. They will overwhelm it.

It is futile to cling to the old systems and to try to find palliatives or reforms, or to paper over the cracks, even should the palliatives be as seductive as Henry George's "single tax", for they come too late to breathe new life into a decrepit organism. Instead, the thought must be of what it is that is striving to be born, that seeks to replace what has to disappear, of those seminal forces trying to find a place in the life of society.

Prejudice number two The supposition that libertarian communism is a product of ignorance.

Because libertarian communism is championed by folk who are reputed to be uneducated and uncultivated, people who have no university diplomas, it is supposed that it is a simplistic solution that fails to take account of the complexities of life and the problems inherent in change on so vast a scale.

Collectively, the workers know more about sociology than the intellectuals; they are much more farsighted when it comes to solutions. Thus when we take the problem of the excessive numbers of professional people about, the only

solution which occurs or suggests itself to, say, doctors or lawyers, is to restrict entry to the faculties, which is to say, 'The vacancies have been filled. There is no room for anyone else.' In so saying they consign the emergent generations who are making for the lecture halls in increasing numbers to other careers or else to stormy protests. And that solution is an absurd, a simplistic, a harmful one — hardly fitting for people who pride themselves on their superiority over others.

The workers, on the other hand, in accordance with their (buffetting in) the sociology books, dare to put forward a solution which is not confined to a single class, nor to a single generation of one class, but one that applies to all classes in society. A solution that qualified sociologists have already broached at scientific and philosophical level and one that today can hold its own against any theoretical solution to the social question, on the basis of ensuring bread and culture for all people.

If it is the 'ignorant' who enunciate that solution, it is precisely because for all their reputed learning, the intellectuals know nothing about it. And if the workers adopt it as their banner, the reason is that *collectively* the working class has a much more precise vision of the future and a greater breadth of spirit than all the intellectual classes put together.

Prejudice number three The intellectual aristocracy.

This is the attitude that the people are not equipped to live a life of freedom and consequently are in need of supervision. Intellectuals seek to enjoy the same aristocratic privilege over the people as the nobility has had until now. They aspire to be the leaders and instructors of the people.

All that glitters is not gold. Nor is the intellectual standing of all whose fate it is to be deprived of education to be disdained. Many intellectuals fail to rise above the common herd, even on the wings afforded them by their diplomas. And, conversely, lots of working class people are the equals of the intellectuals in terms of talent.

University training for a profession in no way implies superiority, since such training is not won through open competition but rather under the protection of economic privilege.

What we call common sense, a quick grasp of things, intuitive ability, initiative and originality are not things that can be bought or sold in the universities. They may be found in illiterates and in intellectuals in equal measure.

For all its ferocious ignorance, an uncultivated mentality is preferable to minds that have been poisoned by privilege and eroded by the routine grind of learning.

Cultured they may be, but our intellectuals are nonetheless uncultivated in their sense of dignity, a sense that sometimes shines far brighter in folk who are supposed to be uncultured.

A clean job does not imply superiority any more than being in a profession does and it is simplistic and puerile to pretend that people in that sort of employment should direct and instruct those who are not.

Prejudice number four The claim that we feel only contempt for art, science or culture.

Our position is that we cannot understand why it is that for these three activities to shine they have to rest upon poverty or human slavery. In our view they ought to be incompatible with such unnecessary evils. If, in order to shine, they needed the contrast with ugliness, with ignorance and with lack of culture, then we would declare here and now that we want none of them, and we would have no qualms about uttering a heresy by saying so.

Art, science or culture cannot be bought with money or taken by power. On the contrary, if they have any value, they repudiate all subjection and defy subordination. They are born of artistic dedication, of talent, the drive to enquire and a taste for perfection as such. They are not conjured up by any Maecenas or Caesars. They flourish anywhere in

spontaneous fashion and what they require is that no obstacle stands in their path. They are the fruits of what is human and it is naive to believe that anything is added to them by setting up, governmentally, any patents office or prizes for culture.

When the worker asks for bread and presses for justice and tries to emancipate herself, only to be met with the charge that she is going to destroy art, science or culture, it is only natural that she should be an iconoclast and cast down with one swipe that untouchable idol that is used to fix her in her slavery and in her poverty. And who said that art, science or culture would be in any way diminished by the advent of well-being and the enjoyment of freedom?

Prejudice number five That we are not equipped to build a new life.

The new economic order needs technical assistance, such as exists between the specialist and the unskilled labourer. Just as today even the revolutionary forces co-operate in production, so tomorrow everyone will have to. That is, the new life is not to be judged by the abilities that exist now in society as a whole. It is not love of the bourgeoisie that induces the technician to work, but economic necessity. Tomorrow, what will induce everyone to co-operate in production will also be economic necessity, but an economic necessity that will be felt by all who are able-bodied citizens. We do not trust only in those who work out of devotion or virtue.

So we need not dazzle the world with our talents, nor our extraordinary gifts, which would be every whit as phoney as the gifts of politicians. We do not offer to redeem anyone. We do advocate a regime where it will not be necessary for people to be slaves in order to get them to produce nor will there be any call for poverty to make them succumb to the greed of capital. Where it will not be caprice or private and individual expediency that govern or direct, but where all of us will contribute to the harmony of the whole, each with their labour, in proportion to their strengths and their talents.

Prejudice number six The belief in the need for a social architect.

This belief, that society needs a power to maintain order, or that a mass will dissolve in chaos unless there is a police force to prevent it, is a prejudice, that has been fostered by politics. What holds human societies together is not compulsion by the powers that be, nor the intelligent foresight of those in government, who always falsely imagine themselves to be possessed of this quality. What holds societies together is the instinct of sociability and the need for mutual aid. Furthermore, societies tend to assume ever more perfect forms not because their leaders so choose, but because there is a spontaneous tendency towards improvement among those who compose them, an inborn aspiration of this kind in any group of human beings.

By the same wrongheaded idea we credit the growth and development of a child to the care of the parent as if growth and maturity were due to some external cause. But growth and development are ever present in any child without anyone needing to induce them. The important thing is that no one should impede or obstruct them.

The child is taught and educated in the same fashion: by natural inclination. The teacher may take the credit for the child's gift of being able to assimilate and be formed, but the fact of the matter is that the child learns and is educated



Science Technology and the Labour Process:

Marxist Studies Volume 1

Hb 0 906336 20 1 £12.00
Pb 0 906336 21 X £ 4.95

CSE
BOOKS

edited by Les Levidow and Bob Young

even without anyone to direct him, or her, provided that no obstacles are placed in his or her way. And in rational pedagogics (*That is, "child centred education". - Ed.*), the primary role of teachers is to immerse themselves in the biologically humble task of clearing the path and removing the obstacles that stand in the way of the child's inclination to assimilate information and to form itself. Self-educated people provides ample evidence that the teacher is not an indispensable partner in the process of learning.

We might say the same about medicine. The doctor can claim the credit for curing a patient and the public at large may believe them. But what is really responsible for the cure is the spontaneous tendency of the body to restore its own balance, and the body's own defence mechanisms. The doctor best does the job when, again with biological humility, they merely remove the obstacles and impediments that stand in the way of the restorative defences. And on not a few occasions the patient has recovered in spite of the doctor.

For human societies to organise, and to perfect that organisation, there is no need for anyone to instigate. It is enough that no one obstructs or hinders. Again, it is naive to want to improve on the human and to seek to replace natural human tendencies with the contrivances of power or the waving of the conductor's baton. With biological humility we anarchists ask that these organising tendencies and instincts be given free rein.

Prejudice number seven: Placing knowledge before experience.

This is like wanting dexterity to precede training: skill to precede apprenticeship: practical experience to precede attempts or calluses to come before hard work.

We are asked from the outset to come up with a flawless

system, to guarantee that things will work this way and not that, without mishap or error. If learning to live had to be done this way, then our apprenticeship would never end. Nor would the child ever learn to walk, nor the youngster to ride a bicycle. On the contrary, in real life things happen the other way around. Once begins by making a decision to work and through that work one learns. The doctor begins to practise while not yet master of this art, which is acquired through confrontation, error, and many failures. Without prior training in domestic economy, a housekeeper can keep her/his family's heads above water through good management of an inadequate wage. One becomes a specialist by emerging from dullness little by little.

Living in libertarian communism will be like learning to live. Its weak points and its failings will be shown up when it is introduced. If we were politicians we would paint a paradise brimful of perfections. Being human and being aware what human nature can be like, we trust that people will learn to walk the only way it is possible for them to learn: by walking.

Prejudice number eight: Politicians as intermediaries.

The worst of all prejudices is the belief that an ideal can be brought into being through the intercession of a few, even though those few may not wish to be known as politicians. Politicians content themselves with placing an inscription on the outward face of a regime and penning the new guidelines in the constitutional documents. Thus, it has been possible to pass off the Russian system as communism; and it has been possible to present Spain as a Workers' Republic where the number of workers of *all classes* is eleven million (*Out of a population of 24 millions. - Ed.*) If it were up to the politicians to bring libertarian communism into being we would have to make do with a regime which would in no way qualify as either communist or libertarian.

As against the juggling and swindling of political action, we advocate direct action which is nothing other than the immediate realisation of the idea in mind, the making of it a tangible, real fact and not some abstract written fiction or remote promise. It is the implementation by the whole itself of an agreement made by the whole, without putting itself in the hands of messiahs and without putting any trust in any intermediary.

The more we have recourse to the use of direction action and steer clear of intermediaries, the more likely will be the realisation of libertarian communism.

The economic organisation of society

Libertarian communism is based on the economic organisation of society, economic interest being the only common bond sought between individuals in that it is the only bond on which all are agreed. The social organisation of libertarian communism has no aim other than *to bring into common ownership* everything that goes to make up the wealth of society, namely, the means and tools of production and the products themselves and *also to make it a common obligation* that each contribute to that production according to their energies and their talents and then to see to it that the products are distributed among everyone in accordance with individual needs.

Anything that does not qualify as an economic function or an economic activity falls outside the competence of the organisation and beyond its control. And, consequently, is open to private initiative and individual activity.

The contrast between organisation based on politics, which is a feature common to all regimes based on the state, and organisation based on economics, in a regime which shuns the state, could not be more radical nor more thorough. So as to bring that contrast out fully we have set out the following comparative scheme.

ANNOUNCING

INS & OUTS

INTERNATIONAL

BOOKSTORE

O.Z. ACHTERBURGWAL 169
AMSTERDAM HOLLAND

On the Quiet Fringe of the Red Light District

OPEN 12 NOON TO 9 PM
ALMOST EVERY DAY

small press specialists

BOOKSELLERS
PUBLISHERS
DISTRIBUTORS



FICTION
FACTION
POETRY
POLITICS
SEX
COMIX
UNDERGROUND
MEDIA

PUBLISHERS/DISTRIBUTORS BOOKLISTS WELCOME
ALL MAIL TO: INS & OUTS P.O. BOX 3759 AMSTERDAM

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

- 1 . Treats the people as a juvenile, incapable of organising or governing itself without supervision.
- 2 All powers reside in the state: in the economy, in education, in administration of justice, in the interpretation of law, in the creation of wealth and in the organisation of all functions.
- 3 The state is sovereign, all force (army, police, courts, jails) being centred in its grasp. The people are undefended, unarmed — which does not stop them being dubbed “sovereign” in the democracies.
- 4 People are grouped according to their political, religious or social beliefs, which is to say to a minimum degree insofar as these are the issues upon which people differ and vary most.
- 5 The state, which is a tiny minority, claims to have a greater acumen, ability and wisdom than the various social groupings. “One head knows better than all the rest put together.”
- 6 In laying down a fixed norm for all time (its constitution or code) the state deforms the future and mutilates life, which is many-sided and constantly changing.
- 7 The state abrogates everything to itself. The people have nothing to do, except to pay up, be obedient, produce and kow-tow to the supreme will of the person in control. The state says: “Give me power and I will make you happy.”
- 8 Society is divided into two antagonistic castes: those who issue orders, and those who obey.
- 9 Only fictional, paper rights are granted: freedom, sovereignty, autonomy etc. in order to feed the sacred flame of political illusion.
- 10 The progress and evolution of society leads the state through despotic and absolutist forms towards its collapse. Fascism is a belated solution, as is socialism. The state disguises and conceals its privileges only to end up losing them little by little as individual and class consciousness develops.
- 11 Where organisation is politically based, hierarchy becomes accentuated towards the apex. Above the people one has the town council: above that, the county council: higher still, the governor and even further up, the government.

UNION ORGANISATION

- 1 Regards each professional collectivity as fit to to organise its own affairs. Regards supervision as unnecessary and the state as redundant.
- 2 Initiative passes to the professional organisations. Control of education to the teachers. Control of health services to workers in those services. Control of communications to technicians and workers meeting in assembly, while control of production belongs to the Federation of Unions.
- 3 Power returns to whence it came in that each group will give it to its members; and it no longer being accumulated, each individual will have their share and the assembly will have whatever everyone grants it.
- 4 People are brought together by common occupation and by common needs in the union, and, so far as the free municipality is concerned, by locality and shared interests. This way, things in common are maximised.
- 5 With its own profession, the assembly comprises the maximum acumen, ability and wisdom. Everyone together knows better than a single person, however learned.
- 6 Under union organisation the guidelines to be followed will be reviewed continually in the light of circumstances.
- 7 In the absence of the intermediaries and redeemers each individual has to see to their own affairs and get used to managing without go-betweens, thereby ridding themselves of a habit acquired through a century after century of political education.
- 8 Every citizen refuses to be just a producer and nothing more. Administrative posts will be temporary, with no exemption from productive labour. Such posts would be constantly dependent upon the decisions reached by the Assemblies.
- 9 The basic freedom, which is economic freedom, is put into practice. Democracy, that is, government of the people by the people, will be a reality. Federalism will be real, with recognition given to the utmost autonomy and independence of municipality and every productive entity.
- 10 The evolution of professional collectivities leads them to ever greater perfection and growth. They have moved on from defending the selfish economic interests of the individual to training that will equip them to accept responsibility for their role in society.
- 11 Where organisation has an economic basis, hierarchy works from the bottom upwards. The decisions of a committee may be over-ruled by a plenum; a plenum's decisions by the assembly and the assembly's decisions may be over-ruled by the people.

Wealth and labour

There are two things to be shared out among the population of a nation: the wealth, or produce for the consumption of the entire populace, and the labour required to produce it. That would be a fair, equitable solution. And a rational one, too.

But in capitalist society the wealth goes to one sector, a sector which does not labour, while the work is heaped upon another whose needs, in matters of consumption, are not met. That is, we have a situation precisely the reverse of what one finds in nature, which always supplies more sustenance

and more blood to the member or organ which does the work.

The wealth is estimated to stand at an annual yield of some 25,000 million pesetas annually [1935]. Were it distributed properly it would mean that Spain's entire population, some 24 million inhabitants, would be comfortably off, with a little over 1,000 pesetas each per annum. Thus, a family of five would have an *annual income of 5,000 pesetas* — a situation which would leave everyone in comparative comfort, economically speaking.

But since, under the capitalist system, capital is expected to yield interest at the rate of six per cent per annum, and authority has to be matched by income, so that some individuals have an income of some millions of pesetas a year, there have to be whole families whose income is less than half of the sum due to each individual as their share.

The issue of pesetas and how to share them out would not arise under a libertarian communist set-up. Only products would be dealt with and these would no longer be changeable into pesetas, could not be accumulated, and would be shared out among everyone in proportion to their needs.

The other thing needing to be shared out is the work. And here again one can see the same unfair and rebellion-making inequality today. In order for some to spend their lives lazing around, others have to sweat eight hours of the day, if not ten or fourteen.

Now since some seven million workers are engaged in producing the wealth and this means they have to work an average of eight hours a day, if the fourteen million able-bodied citizens were to work it would mean a mere four hours' work each day by each person.

This is the clear and simple object lesson which can be deduced from a good and fair distribution. This is the utopia that the anarchist wishes to bring about.

The economic potential of our country

As one might expect, the introduction of libertarian communism in our country, alone of the nations of Europe, will bring with it the hostility of the capitalist nations. Using the defence of its subjects' interests as its pretext, bourgeois imperialism will attempt to intervene by force of arms to crush our system at its birth. Armed intervention on the part of one single or several isolated powers would mean the unleashing of a world war. So as to avert the threat of social revolution in their own countries, the capitalist nations would prefer the underhand ploy of financing a mercenary army as they did in Russia, which would reply upon whatever redoubts of reaction may survive.

The memory of similar struggles and kindred situations in our people's history gives us confidence in the battle for our independence, and the topographical conditions supplied by our land. If the people *do* make the most of the resources of our countryside, and thereby arrive at a more comfortable standard of living, then they will be in the staunchest defender of libertarian communism.

Another threat is the danger of a blockade of our coast by the warships of the capitalist nations as a result of which we would be forced to rely on our own resources alone. Given the length of our coastline such a blockade would be easily evaded. But the possibility remains, so we have to pose this question in advance.

Do we produce enough ourselves to be in a position to manage completely without imports.

Let us see. Present figures will not be wholly applicable to the future situation, for they bear not so much on our import needs as on what is profitable to import, not always the same thing. Thus coal, for instance, could be mined from the abundant seams in our own subsoil, yet we import it from England because compared with our own, English coal is competitively priced. And this year Argentinian wheat was imported even though there was no need for this, since there was wheat aplenty in Andalusia.

Statistics show that we are self-sufficient where agricultural produce is concerned: we export large quantities of olive oil, oranges, rice, vegetables, potatoes, almonds, wines and fruits. We are self-sufficient in cereals, regardless of the fact that we import maize. And we have more than enough metal to meet our needs.

But we are dependent upon imports for petroleum and its by products (gasoline, heavy oils, lubricants, etc.), for rubber, cotton and wood-pulp. Given that it is crucial to transportation, the lack of petroleum might prove a serious handicap to the furtherance of our economy. Consequently, in the event of a blockade being imposed, it would be vital that we pour all our energies into sinking new wells in search of petroleum, which have yet to be located, though it is believed to be present. Petroleum may be obtained by distilling soft coal and lignite, both of which we have in abundance in this country. This industry already exists and would have to be intensified so as to meet our needs. We could eke out our gasoline supply by mixing it with 30% to 50% of alcohol, a mixture which gives excellent results in all motors. The alcohol supply would be inexhaustible, for it may be obtained from rice, wheat, potatoes, molasses, grapes, wood, etc.

As for rubber, it would have to be produced synthetically, as its being done in Germany already.

Cotton is already harvested in our country, especially in Andalusia, with huge success and, judging by its steady rise in output it will soon be enough to meet our requirements as a nation. It might be planted instead of vines and olives, two products whose yields are surplus to our needs.

The timber industry could be expanded to meet our needs in that line, with a corresponding intensification of our reforestation programme.

The eucalyptus and the timber pine are the best sources of wood-pulp.

But arise from production as it stands at present there are grounds for optimism when one remembers the potential Spain has for production. It is what one might consider a country yet to be colonised, a country which has not even brought forth a tenth part of its total resources.

We have incalculable supplies of electricity, in which we are second only to Switzerland. And the building of reservoirs and irrigation canals is virtually virgin territory. We do not even cultivate one half of our arable land, estimated at 50 million hectares. Our arable land needs to be improved: our cultivation must be intensified and farm machinery must be introduced throughout. A system whereby everyone works together would allow production to be increased once the farm machinery, that at present is available only to the heirs of the wealthy landowner, is made available to all the holdings in a municipality.

Matching production to consumption is something that has yet to be attempted. We have more than enough land. But apart from land we have more human energy than we need, which means production potential.

Far from being a problem for the libertarian communist system, the surplus of human energy will, instead, be the guarantee of its success. If there is a surplus of workers it follows logically that this means that less work is demanded of us and we have two courses open to us. Either we cut the working day or we increase production.

The surplus labour power means it may be possible for us to reduce the individual's working day, meet the increase in work (construction of reservoirs and canals, reforestation work, increased cultivation, an increase in metal production and exploitation of hydro-electric power and the step up production in a given industry).

Thanks to the organisation of shift work it will be easier to make the best use of staff to increase production from a factory or to double its daily production figures without increasing the amount of machinery. The present employees

already looked upon as skilful will be split into two shifts, one working after the other with each shift taking on so many apprentices.

In this manner even in the most inadequate industries production can be doubled without any need to give a thought to the establishment of new factories and without any need to improve or increase machinery.

Consequently, it can be shown that our country can be self-sufficient and thereby withstand the rigours of several years of blockade. Once we are beset by real necessity, then the solutions which we, no specialists, have been able to improvise in an impromptu way, will be improved upon, as adversity stimulates our creative urges and ingenuity.

One cannot leave everything to improvisation but neither can its help in critical circumstances be dismissed out of hand, for it is precisely at such times that we are at our most resourceful.

Implementation

Libertarian communism is based on organisations that already exist, thanks to which economic life in the cities and villages can be carried on in the light of the particular needs of each locality. Those organisms are the union and the free municipality.

The union brings individuals together, grouping them according to the nature of their work or daily contact through the same. First, it groups the workers of a factory, workshop or firm together, this being the smallest cell enjoying autonomy with regard to whatever concerns it alone. Along with kindred cells, these make up a section within the industrial or departmental union. There is a general trades union to cope with those workers who have not sufficient numbers to constitute a union of their own. The local unions federate with one another, forming the local federation, composed of the committee elected by the unions, of the plenum of all the committees, and of the general assembly that, in the last analysis, holds supreme sovereignty.

The free municipality is the assembly of the workers in a very small locality, village or hamlet, enjoying sovereign powers with regard to all local issues. As an institution with ancient origins it can, despite dilution by political institutions, recover its ancient sovereignty and take charge of the organisation of local life.

The national economy is the result of the coordination of the various localities that go to make up the nation. When each locality has its economy in good order and well administered, the whole has to be a harmonious arrangement and the nation perfectly at peace with itself. The thing is not that perfection should be superimposed from on high, but that it should flourish at grassroots level, so that it is a spontaneous growth and not a forced bloom. Just as agreement between individuals can be reached through contact between them, harmony between the localities will be achieved in similar fashion; through the circumstantial, periodic contacts in plenums and congresses and the lasting, ongoing contact set up by the industrial federations whose special brief this will be.

Let us take a separate look at organisation in the countryside, in the cities, and the organisation of the economy as a whole.

In the countryside

It is in the countryside that the implementation of libertarian communism present fewest complications, for it merely requires the activation of the free municipality.

The free municipality, or *communie*, is all the residents of a village or hamlet meeting in an assembly (council) with full powers to administer and order local affairs, primarily production and distribution.

Today the council is not a free agent, being regarded as a minor entity, and its decisions can be over-ruled by the

corporation, county council or government, three parasitic institutions which love off its back.

In the free municipality the entire territory within its jurisdiction will be under common ownership and not just part of the municipal territory as is the case today; the hills, trees and meadows; arable land; working animals and animals reared for meat, buildings, machinery and farm implements; and the surplus materials, and produce accumulated or placed in storage by the inhabitants.

Consequently the only private property that will exist will be in those things which are necessary to each individual — such as accommodation, clothing, furniture, tools of the trades, the allotment set aside for each inhabitant and minor livestock or farmyard poultry which they may wish to keep for their consumption or as a hobby.

Everything surplus to requirements can be collected at any time by the municipality, with the prior agreement of the assembly, since everything we accumulate without needing it does not belong to us, for otherwise we are depriving everyone else of it. Nature gives us the right of property over what we need, but we cannot lay claim to anything beyond what we need without committing theft, without usurping the property rights of the collective.

All residents will be equal:

- 1 They will produce and contribute equally towards the maintenance of the commune, with no differentiation other than on the basis of aptitude (such as age, trade, training, etc.).
- 2 They will take equal part in administrative decision making in the assemblies, and
- 3 They will have equal rights of consumption in accordance with their needs or, where it is unavoidable, rationing.

Whosoever refuses to work for the community (aside from the children, the sick and the old) will be stripped of their other rights: to deliberate and to consume.

The free municipality will federate with its counterparts in other localities and with the national industrial federations. Each locality will put its surplus produce up for exchange, in return for those things it requires. It will make its own contribution towards works of general interest, such as railroads, highways, reservoirs, waterfalls, reforestation, and so on.

In return for this co-operation in the general interest in the region or the nation, the members of the free municipality will be able to reap the benefit of public services such as posts, telegraphs, telephones railways and transport; electricity supply grid system with its off-shoots; asylums, hospitals, sanitariums and spas; higher and university education; and articles and products not manufactured in their locality.

The human energy surplus will be taken up by new work and new productions such as benefit the locality, and by sharing out the work among everyone, and reducing the number of hours of work and the length of each worker's working day.

The villager should not be too bothered by the free municipality, for their ancestors lived in a very similar style. In every village one can find work in common, and communal property to a greater or lesser degree and shared activities (such as collection of fuel or grazing). Also in rural customs there are procedures, ways and means by which a solution may be found to every possible difficulty, and in these procedures the decision is never made by one individual, even should they be elected for the purpose by the others, but through the agreement of everyone.

In the city

In the city, the part of the free municipality is played by local federation. In large centres of population such great organisations may exist in each district. Ultimate sovereignty in the local federation of industrial unions lies with the general assembly of all local producers.

Their mission is to order the economic life of their locality, but especially production and distribution, in the light of the requirements of their own locality and, likewise, the demands of other localities.

In time of revolution, the unions will take collective possession of factories, workshops and workrooms; of lodgings, buildings and lands; of public services and materials and raw materials and raw materials kept in storage.

The producers' unions will organise distribution, making use of co-operatives or shop and market premises.

A producer's pass-book, issued by the appropriate union, will be indispensable if anyone wishes to enjoy all their rights; in addition to the detailed information concerning consumption such as, for instance, size of family, the number of days and hours worked will also be noted in these pass-books. The only persons exempted from this requirement will be children, the aged and the infirm.

The producer's pass-book confers a right to all these things:

- 1 To consume, in accordance either with rationing or with their needs, all products distributed in that locality.
- 2 To possess, for one's use, a suitable home, necessary furniture, a chicken run on the outskirts, or an allotment, or a garden should the collective so decide.
- 3 To use public services.
- 4 To take part in the voting on the decisions made in one's factory, workshop firm, one's section, union and local federation.

The local federation will attend to the needs of its locality and see to it that the particular industry is developed that it is best suited to, or which the nation has the most urgent need of.

In the General assembly, work will be allocated to the various unions, who will further allocate to their sections, just as the sections will to workplaces with the constant aim of averting unemployment, of increasing the daily output of a shift of workers in an industry, or of cutting by the amount required the length of the working day.

All pursuits that are not purely economic should be left open to the private initiatives of individuals or groups.

Each union should try to engage in activities that bring benefits to all, especially those activities concerned with protecting the health of the producer and making work more agreeable.

The general economic order

Economic pressures compel the individual to co-operate in the economic life of the locality. These same economic pressures ought to be felt by the collectives, obliging them to co-operate in the economic life of the nation. But to accomplish this needs no central council or supreme committee, which carry the seeds of authoritarianism and are the focal points of dictatorship, as well as being nests of bureaucracy. We said that we have no need of an architect or any ordaining authority beyond the mutual agreement between localities. As soon as each and every locality (city, village, or hamlet) has placed its internal life in order, the organisation of the nation will be complete. And there is something else we might add concerning the localities. Once all its individual members are assured that their needs will be met, then the economic life of the municipality or of the federation will

also be perfected.

In biology, for an organism to achieve its proper physiology and normality, each of its cells has to fulfil its function and that requires just one thing: that the blood supply and nervous relationship be assured. We might say the same about a nation. The nation's life is assured and normal when each locality plays its part and the blood supply which brings it what it lacks and carries away what hampers it has been assured (or, to put it another way, transport is assured) and when localities are in contact with each other and communicating their mutual needs and potentials.

And this is where the national industrial federations came into play, being just the bodies for the elaboration of collectivised services that need to be governed by a nation-wide scheme, such as communications (posts, telephones, telegraphs) and transport (railways, ships, highways, and aircraft).

Above the local organisation, there should be no superstructure aside from those local organisations whose special function cannot be performed locally. The sole interpreters of the national will are the congresses and where circumstances demand they shall, temporarily, exercise such sovereignty as may be vested in them by the plebiscite decisions of the assemblies.

Aside from the national federations of transport and communications there may be regional or *county* federations, such as hydrographical, forestry or electricity federations.

The national federations will hold as common property the roads, railroads, buildings, equipment, machinery and workshops. They will freely offer their services to the localities or to the individuals who co-operate with their particular effort in the national economy; offering their products or their surplus output; striving to produce, as far as possible, more than the needs of the national demand; and making their personal contribution to such labours as those services may have need of.

The mission of the national federations of communications and transport is to bring the localities into touch with one another, building up transport services between producing regions and consuming ones; giving priority to perishables which have to be consumed quickly, goods such as fish, milk, fruit and meat.

Upon the right organisation of transport hinge reliable supplies to areas of need and the non-congestion of areas where surplus es are produced.

No single brain nor any bureau of brains can see to this organisation. Individuals reach understanding through meeting one another and localities do the same by keeping in touch with one another. A guide or handbook, showing the produce in which each area specialises, will simplify the procurement of supplies, indicating just what may be requested of a given area and just what it has to offer.

Let necessity force individuals to combine their efforts in contributing to the economic life of their locality. And let necessity likewise force collectives to regulate their activities through nationwide interchange; and let the circulatory system (transport) and the nervous system (communications) play their part in the establishment of liaisons between the localities.

Neither the running of the economy nor the freedom of the individual require further complications.

Conclusion

Libertarian communism is an open channel through which society may organise freely and of its own accord, and through which the evolution of society may follow its course without artificial deviations.

It is the most rational of all solutions to the economic question in that it corresponds to an equitable sharing out of production and labour required to achieve a solution. No one

must shirk this necessity to join in the co-operative effort of production, for it is nature itself which imposes this harsh law of labour upon us in climates where our nourishment does not grow spontaneously.

Economic compulsion is the bond of society. But it is, and must be, the only compulsion which the whole should exercise over the individual. All other activities – cultural, artistic, and scientific – should remain beyond the control of the collective and stay in the hands of those groups keen upon pursuing and encouraging them.

Just as the obligatory working day (*i.e. the working day actually necessary given existing technology – Ed.*) would not exhaust the individual's capacity for work – there will, alongside controlled production, be other, free, spontaneous production – a production inspired by keenness and enthusiasm, a production which will be its own satisfaction, its own reward. In this production will be sown and will

germinate the seeds of another society, the new society exalted and propagated by anarchism, and, so far as it meets the needs of society, the economic supervision of individuals by organisations will have been made redundant.

A thousand objections will be raised, most of them so devoid of sense as not to merit refutation. One objection that is often repeated is laziness. Now laziness is the natural product of a particularly favourable climate, for it is there that nature justifies laziness, making the individual indolent. We recognise the right to be lazy provided that those who seek to exercise that right agree to get along without help from others. We live in a society where the lazy person, the incompetent and the antisocial being are types who prosper and enjoy plenty, power and honours. If such persons agree to renounce all this, there is no obstacle to their remaining, as exhibits in museums or galleries, just as fossilised animals are placed on display today.

Isaac Puente



THE ENGINEERED DECLINE OF URBAN ELECTRIC TRANSPORT



Public transport, especially electric tramways, was developed in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century to an extent that, by the beginning of this century it reached a peak which is unsurpassed today. Vast systems were laid down, first by capitalist interests, later by municipalities who often ran them as a service in the true sense of the word – frequent services, minimal fares etc.

Electric tramways transformed the urban scene. Electricity was clean, as opposed to the filth generated by horse-drawn transport and steam-driven vehicles, and power was available for other things, like lighting.

Almost as soon as the new electric age had dawned, capitalist enterprises found themselves in a position where profits were no longer sufficient for their greed. Construction and leasing of tramways and interurban lines had been profitable enough: now operating costs were rising, and municipal interests taking over the systems and putting them under the control of politicians. Europe and the United States here part company for a while. It is the latter I will deal with first, but the pattern

was later repeated in Europe, but by other means.

Billy Durant, the founder of the giant General Motors Corporation, it is said, tried to raise money in 1908 for his plant, telling an investment banker that his factory in due course would produce half a million cars a year. The banker had him shown the door as a crank. In 1908, the streets of American cities had few automobiles, as photographs of the time amply demonstrate. Trolley cars (trams) are the dominant vehicle in these pictures. The streets had a human scale, even in the largest cities. Land was used economically. There were no 16-lane highways, such capacity of traffic could be carried on a 4-track tramway. But this was not to last.

The crucial statistical facts are the basis for the transformation which overtook the cities of America, and later those of Europe (with a few important exceptions). One bus can do the work of 35 cars. A tram can do the work of 60. One train supplants 1000 cars or 150 lorries. This simple equation is of the highest importance to big business, whose sole

aim is to produce profit for its financiers. Revenues are ten times greater if it seels cars rather than buses, and the inducement to use criminal methods to do so is beyond resisting.

And the history supports the theory. From 1925 onwards, the by then vast business of General Motors set about a policy which had a profound effect upon the urban environment of the U.S. In that year, the company obtained the largest manufacturer of urban and interurban buses in the U.S. In 1926, it helped to set up the Motor Transit Corporation (Greyhound), which agreed to purchase its equipment from GM. GM then set about buying up all possible competitors for the production of buses, so succeeded in destroying the commuter services of the Pennsylvania; New York Central; New York; New Haven and Hartford; Southern Pacific; Great Northern and St. Louis Southwestern railroads to a major extent!

Once they had begun to wipe out interurban railways, which were largely electric, and consequently independent of the oil companies, GM turned attention to city transport. The only way that a new market for buses could be created was for GM to finance the conversion of city electric tramway systems to motor buses. So a holding company, United Cities Motor Transit, was set up in order to accomplish this. Founded in 1932 as a subsidiary of GM's bus division, the company was in business to acquire tramways, convert them to buses and then sell them off to local concerns which were then covenanted to buy nothing but GM equipment in the future. This continued apace until 1935, when the American Transit Association exposed GM's interests in the business, and UCMT was dissolved. Indirect methods were then deemed more politic in the circumstances, so certain executives and employees were encouraged by the company to set up another holding company, National City Lines, in 1936, to which GM, other automotive companies and oil companies contributed capital. The procedure adopted was identical with that of its predecessor, with the addition that the local undertakings to which NCL sold the new bus systems were prohibited from using any new equipment other than that using fuel oil. Thus trolleybuses were scarcely ever used in US cities. In addition to GM, Standard Oil products and Firestone Tyres were specified as compulsory. Between 1936 and 1955, the company was responsible for the destruction of 45 tramway systems in the US: Many of these were of the most modern operation, comprising the latest rolling stock and techniques, reserved track and subway operation. Philadelphia, still one of the largest tramway systems in the US, has a wierd network of routes – NCL bought it up, and proceeded to tear up tracks. Fortunately, the local council, who were powerless to prevent NCL's intentions, insisted that NCL repave every street where tramlines were lifted. This was unprofitable, and NCL sold up, leaving random routes open.

National City Lines was not the only enterprise of the massive campaign to sell cars. In 1938, GM, again with oil company participation, set up Pacific City Lines, a subsidiary of NCL, to acquire and close the electric railways of California, including the world's largest, the 700-route-miles long Pacific Electric Railway.

Another NCL puppet, Metropolitan Coach Lines, finished the massive task in 1960.

Before the motorisation of California by General Motors, Los Angeles, now synonymous with ecological catastrophe, was a beautiful city of lush palm trees, fragrant orange groves and ocean air. Now it is a wasteland. Trees are dying in petrochemical smog, the orange groves, polluted by lead from petrol fumes, were paved over for freeways, 300 miles of them, and the air is little more than a cesspit into which daily is pumped 13000 tons of pollutants from 4 million cars. In central Los Angeles, 85% of the land area is paved over for roads and parking facilities.

Thus, by the standard techniques of big business, GM was able, in 40 years of unbridled expansion, to transform the way of life in scores of cities. After the virtual suppression of all forms of rail transport, the next phase was the subsequent downgrading of rail freight and bus transport in order to increase sales of the more profitable lorries and cars, and, more fundamentally to the resources of the planet, to boost the waste of oil for profit. Regardless of its merit, electric traction was displaced, regardless of the interest of the people, General Motors pursued its conspiracy for its own ends. Today, the vast apparatus of motorisation strides through every city in the so-called Western World - elevated motorways, vast ribbons of road cutting communities apart, with the concomitant waste of human life and resources.

As anarchists, we oppose power in any form. In general this is seen as opposition to governments. However, the power of the vast business concerns, especially those of the USA, is often greater than that of governments, and

must be resisted equally. The power of General Motors is relatively obvious, and its actions through its puppet companies transparent. But has the same thing happened in Britain?

Between 1945 and 1962, all the major electric tramway systems of Britain were closed and replaced with buses. Sometimes trolleybuses, electrically powered, were used, but by 1972, these, too, were obliterated completely.

Those who believe in inevitability of various kinds would have us believe that the tramways' time was past, and it was overdue that they should be scrapped anyway. This mode of thought, generated by the mass media, eased the transition from electric to oil in many places. As early as 1929, the Royal Commission on Transport had stated that tramways were obsolescent, and should be replaced with buses. The Royal Commission's members were not, of course, noted for their working-class origins. To a man, they would have wanted tramways removed because they held up the stately progress of their Rolls-Royces. Tramways were never allowed to penetrate the centre of London for this very reason. Trams were essentially looked upon as workers' vehicles, which would lower the tone of Belgravia or Westminster, so it was natural that the prejudiced, allied to business interests, would eventually become militant.

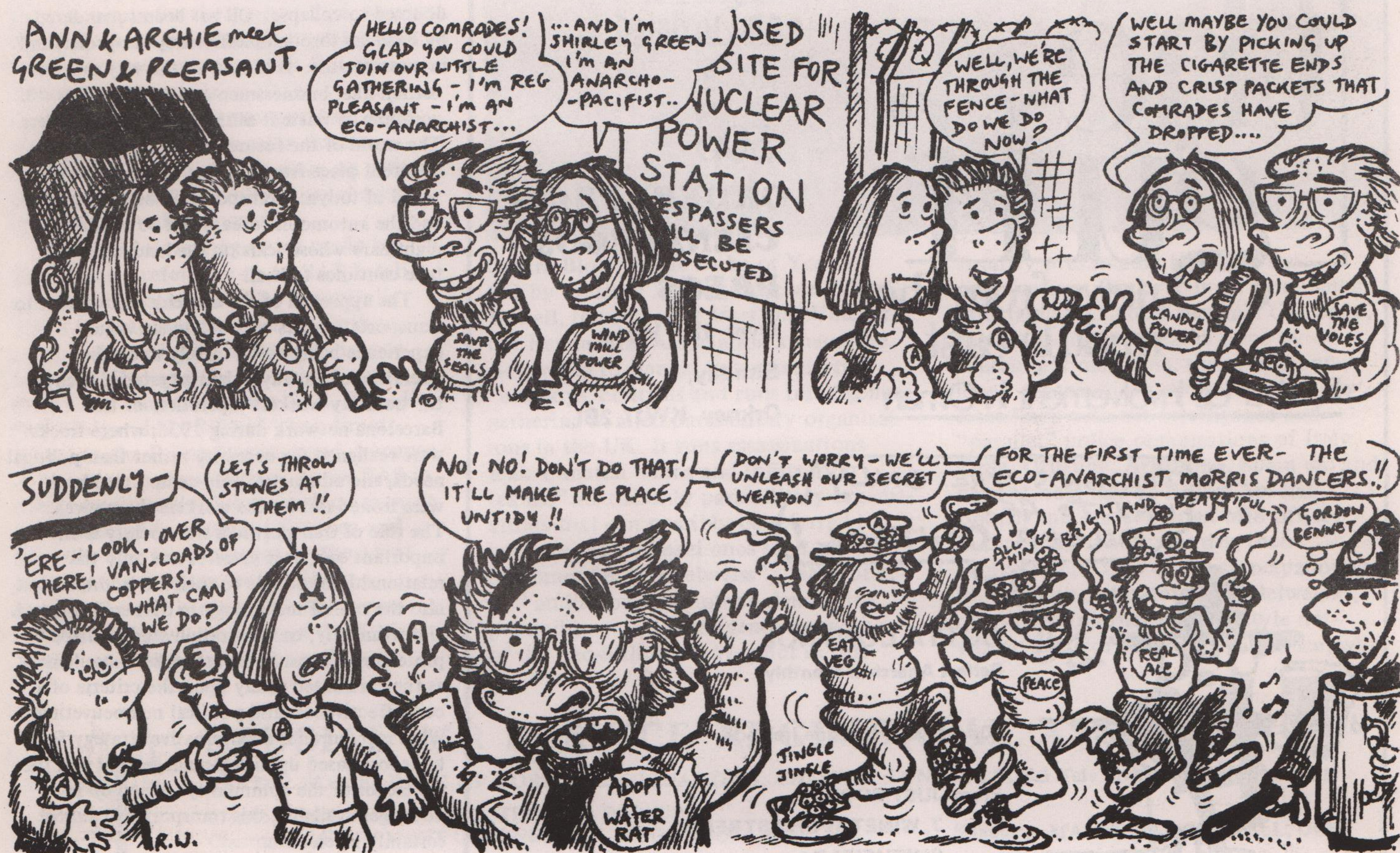
The ploy in Britain was not to buy up the systems. As most were municipally owned, this was impossible. However, motor bus interests came up with something different. The 'demonstrator' vehicle. This was an apparently innocent ploy used most prominently by Leyland Motors. In 1931, a double-deck Leyland 'Titan' bus was demonstrated on a

radical tram route in Manchester, which, owing to a low rail bridge partway along the route, was operated by single-deckers instead of the usual British high-capacity double-deck trams. The bus was a double-decker specially built to go under low bridges, and was successful in that it could carry more passengers than the obsolete single deckers in use. The local press, whose business connections usually tended towards the interests of capital, praised the 'trial' and the route was converted to buses. Once this had been publicised by Leyland Motors, the slogan 'Bury your Tram with a Titan' was coined, and a campaign was launched in major cities with the sole intention of selling buses (and tyres and oil) to tramway operators.

Now it is not my intention to outline in detail the activities of British bus interests in the destruction of electric traction in this country. One more tramway will serve to illustrate the techniques and activities which led to its downfall.

Leeds was the first town in Yorkshire to apply electric traction to tramways, so it was always one of the pioneers, and, after Blackpool (which still operates) was potentially the most innovative. Nearly 20 years have now passed since the last tram ran into Swinegate Depot, but the lesson of political interference is still useful to recount.

Opportunist politicians in city councils have always used publicly-owned facilities as weapons in their internecine wars, and trams have suffered heavily in this battle. In some British towns, the Tories wanted to scrap the trams, and in others the Labour councillors wanted them abandoned, so the public interest certainly was not at heart. In Leeds, there had been in 1944,



plans prepared for a modern rapid-transit system which included subways beneath the city centre, rather like those in use in Brussels today. Seeing that the implementation of such plans would assure the future of electric traction in Leeds, the local paper (fortunately now defunct) the *Yorkshire Evening News* started a campaign against retention and modernisation of the tramways. Now it is interesting to note that this paper, with the usual independence of the 'free press' had a long connection with the Labour Party and was also in a group connected with diesel bus manufacturing interests. When it was apparent that a major campaign was underway, the champion of the tramways, councillor Bertrand Mather, asked the paper's editor if he could write an article giving the pro-tram view. He was told that the anti-tram policy emanated from 'very high up' and he could not be given the facility.

Despite the construction of prototype trams new as late as 1953, all tracks were torn up by 1959. The newest tram is now in a museum. The anti-tram fanaticism of councillor Rafferty and his Labour majority on the council backed up by big business in the guise of the 'free press'

deprived Leeds of one of the most modern transport facilities in the world. And what of the replacement buses? Their inadequacy lost many passengers to cars. Increased congestion led to the construction of vast motorways over and around Leeds, to the detriment of the quality of life. Leeds would boast 'Leeds - Motorway City of the '70s.'

Leeds was one of the last city tramways in

Britain - only Sheffield and Glasgow outlasted it. But before the trams were gone, the oil and bus interests turned on the tramways' successors the trolleybuses. Like the tramways, these were electric and a target for the same interests which eliminated trams. Likewise, 'demonstrators' were sent out, to be compared with trolleybuses. Time and again a 1960 motorbus, gleaming and new, would be seen posed alongside a 1937 trolleybus for the benefit of the local press, who would then make appropriate comments in the pages of their independent journals. The most blatant example of this was at Bournemouth where a new fleet of trolleybuses was delivered up to 1963. Almost the same week that the last new trolleybus arrived, a new Leyland motorbus was 'demonstrated' on trolleybus routes. The council then decided to scrap all the trolleys, and the last one went to the scrapheap not six years later. Despite press opposition, public loyalty to the trolleybuses remained to the last. In cities as far apart as Ipswich, Reading and Newcastle, it was a common phenomenon to see people let a motor bus pass almost empty and wait for a trolley on the same route. During the last week of operation in Reading, the electricity board were seen putting up posters on hoardings proclaiming 'Better Things are Electric.'

The interference in matters such as these by vested interests of all kinds, both capitalistic and political, has always been to the detriment of the people. Regardless of the merits, policies have been pursued which have reduced choice in transport progressively towards the sole remaining vehicle - the motor car. Now while

the motor car enables transport to be readily available in places where public transport could not exist - isolated regions - its use in crowded cities could only be countenanced in an economy where its sale and promotion was a cornerstone of business. The whole edifice of motor manufacturers, oil and tyre companies, servicing, road construction, taxation, police enforcement and licensing is now a major pillar of the state. Measures which governments claim to take against the worst excesses of the motor trade are mere window-dressing as evidenced by the anti-automobile-emission regulations which the government of California pass with no intention of enforcing.

The development of transportation from the economical electric mass transit of the early 1900s to the present system based on waste for profit is a tale of increasing inefficiency and fragmentation. It has isolated rather than liberated the individual. He or she is now enclosed in a separate container from fellow human, in competition for road space, prestige and precedence. Human skills are wasted in steering, changing gear, watching constantly to avoid disaster, which frequently strikes.

In addition to the psychological effects, the physical effects of pollution generated in cities like Madrid, Athens, Tokyo and Los Angeles lead directly to loss of life. In 1971, a report from Los Angeles stated that on the worst days for exhaust pollution, carbon monoxide caused one in 20 of all deaths, making carbon monoxide poisoning - at least in Los Angeles - as big a killer as many forms of cancer, and nearly equal in lethality to car accidents themselves.

What is to be done? To anyone but the most blinkered believer in the present system's infallible immortality, the whole setup is doomed to collapse. Oil has been squandered by business through inefficiency-for-profit, and in massive wars. It is now on the way out, but ostrich-like, businessmen and governments still continue to waste it as though it were limitless. The world of the future will be a certainly different place from the San Diego Freeway world of today. Transport will be public again, and the automobile dream will be seen as a nightmare whose scars on the landscape will take centuries to heal.

The approach of the anarchist movement to transportation has been relatively vague, experience being based mainly upon the operation of already-existing systems, such as the tramway workers' operation of the Barcelona network during 1936, where tracks were realigned for necessity rather than political needs, and administratively-caused problems were ironed out by the workers themselves. The role of transport in a free society is an important one, as it involves not only the relationship of people to their environment but also the role of technology in that environment. Unfortunately, transportation studies made by professional consultants are of little use here, as they are based solely upon the criteria of a cost-effectiveness and political manoeuvring. What is required is an alternative strategy for transport based upon self-management and the real needs of the community. When oil is no longer available, this transport will almost certainly be electric.

Nigel Pennick.

the gulf

news from the middle east

Further US Involvement in Oman

reprinted
and updated

no. 3

50p

**ORDER FROM
CIENFUEGOS
PRESS**

Over the Water,

Sanday,

Orkney KW17 2BL.

THIS ISN'T THE ONLY
WAY TO GET
OUTTA CONTROL!



OUTTA CONTROL

Belfast Anarchist Monthly

20p per issue (outside Ireland)

From: JUST BOOKS

7, WINETAVERN STREET

SMITHFIELD

BELFAST

**'What did you do
during the repression, daddy?'**

Organise and survive



Has our political way of life become increasingly surrealistic, or is it perhaps that increased communication has lighted up what was previously obscure and therefore unbelievable? The British secret services appear to have been run by Moscow for the past 30 odd years, Government Ministers have given serious consideration to the idea of assassinating troublesome Opposition spokesmen, there has been at least two military coups prepared against a British Government when the more paranoid among our ruling class feared bloody revolution on the streets of Britain, stories are circulating that MI5 successfully blackmailed a Prime Minister into resigning office, that Lord Carrington is really the head of the KGB, and that the SDP is the brainchild of the Trilateral Commission.

A little while ago, Cienfuegos published *Towards a Citizens' Militia. Anarchist Alternatives To NATO and the Warsaw Pact* and the immediate hysterical reaction from the authoritarian right, left and centre, even before it was out, highlighted this political paranoia and appears to have delivered a karate chop to a very sensitive constitutional nerve centre. The

motley collection of politicians, police and army types who expressed concern about this title were all agreed on one thing — the book should be banned, our publishing house closed down, and yours truly thrown into the deepest dungeon in the Kingdom and the key thrown out of the Space Shuttle. The very idea of a *popular* volunteer defence force was anathema and should be strangled at birth.

I have an explanation for this extraordinarily virulent reaction. If the State does not control the army and police it becomes redundant, its power and authority crumble, Dracula-like, to dust, and its very reason for being goes up the chimney in a puff of smoke. Anatole France defined it more succinctly: 'To disarm the strong and arm the weak would be to change the social order which it is my job to preserve. Justice is the means by which established injustices are sanctioned.'

Last year the government spent £13,000,000,000 of our money in furthering the illusion that this green and pleasant land of ours could be successfully defended against the 'enemy' both internal and external. The catalogue

of threats which assail us daily through the media, — real, potential, imaginary and fantastic — in innumerable permutations, is extensive — ranging from the everyday fear of Soviet expansionism from the East, the Damoclean sword of nuclear Armageddon, bolshevik and trotskyist subversion of our secret services and school playgrounds, to paedophiles in the Foreign Office, homosexuals in the seats of power and cattle mutilators in the Min. of Ag. & Fisheries. The Golden Rule of all successful secret policemen is: paranoid fears *are* self-fulfilling and paranoids *do* have many enemies. Who needs such friends?

Against this background it is not unreasonable that the average thinking citizen should postulate the Discordian theorem that *National Security is the chief cause of national insecurity*. The realisation that *the worst is possible* should provoke us to seriously consider our options. By *worst is possible* I mean anything from some Foreign Devil or home grown nutcase — noticeable the latter is the least likely and causes the most alarm — dropping the property-respecting Neutron Bomb to all-out nuclear or biological warfare, invasion,

bloody revolution, military coup, or just the plain old collapse of 'society-as-we-know-it', whether due to super-inflation, genetic degeneration, famine, or the infiltration of 33rd Degree Freemasonry by the Militant tendency, or whatever.

History has shown that given such a not-so-hypothetical situation, a substantial majority of the population would follow the path of least resistance, willing to serve any master with the minimum of fuss and bother. However, for those of us who maintain against all trends a psychological attachment to the idea of freedom, there is little alternative but to resist to survive. If we are to survive with dignity and retain some of the more positive values of civilised society then we should start thinking about it now. Contingency planning should not be looked upon as exclusive to government departments and military. How better to prepare than falling back on the alleged and much lauded Conservative tenet of rejecting dependency on the State — which after all won't exist after doomsday — and opting for self-reliance?

Just suppose, for the sake of argument, that due to an 'ongoing Polish situation, the Russians/Americans have landed on the Kent coast or, heaven forbid, a cabal of eccentric and disaffected army and police officers led by a senior member of the Royal Family and a Press Baron decided to impose *temporary* controls tomorrow at 4am in order to safeguard 'Freedom'. Having lived for many centuries in a society rooted in obedience to authority it is not unreasonable to assume that by midday people would be clapping the conquerors in the streets. . . by three we'd have citizens loading other citizens on to three ton lorries. . . on the nine o'clock news there would be a panel of well-known personalities oozing assurances that all is for the best and that it is our constitutional duty to accept the new order. . . and by 10.30 the following morning we would have respected members of the bench setting the seal of legality on the new regime by packing the opposition off to re-training centres at Wembley Stadium: or the Orcadian uranium mines, with a worse fate reserved for the more recalcitrant of the three million unfortunate enough to be listed on the Central Register.

The idea of a popular citizens' defence force is not new, but to avoid any possible confusion I should make it clear I am not talking about a political gang-system defending sectarian interests such as those which have developed in Northern Ireland, or the private armies of the madcap would-be gauleiters who rose to prominence in the mid-70's at the insti-

gation of the professional 'terrorists' who earn their living peddling apocalyptic scare stories totally at odds with reality in the hope of raising tensions to a sufficiently intolerable level — the strategy of Chile, Indonesia, Italy, Afghanistan, Poland, etc.

No, the type of defence force I envisage is one which represents the community, and although the more recent examples have been short lived, mainly due to the fact they were popular movements and presented a direct challenge to State and Party authority, they have proved themselves to be workable, effective and the only genuinely democratic solution to the problem of community defence.

In the Ukraine, in 1919, the local peasantry, in revolt against both the Czarist armies and the new and already repressive Soviet State, called for the egalitarian mobilisation of the local population with villages and towns voluntarily providing soldiers to defend their communities and workplaces. The Makhnovist Insurrectionary Army of the Ukraine was thus organised successfully for three years on three basic principles, *voluntary enlistment*, an *electoral principle* whereby all officers and commanders were elected by all units, and *self-discipline* whereby rules for discipline were drawn up by soldier committees and generally approved by all units. These rules were rigorously observed on the basis of individual responsibility and awareness of the possible results of ill-discipline on fellow soldiers.

In Spain, after the national army proved to be the enemy, large areas of Spain organised spontaneously on the basis of workers militia committees. These volunteer militia units were hastily created by the labour organisations and were thrown directly into battle against Franco's highly trained and seasoned regular troops backed by an Axis forces, but they did provide sufficient breathing space for what remained of the Republican army to decide which side it was on.

The Spanish militia units made many mistakes, hardly surprising as they were amateurs against professionals. However, one person who learned much from

Spain was Captain Tom Wintringham who was involved at the time of Dunkirk in setting up a totally unauthorised volunteer defence force. This spontaneous and popular movement put the wind up the British Government to such an extent that they hastily absorbed these Local Defence Volunteers into the Home Guard under the safe control of Westminster, in much the same way as the Communists and Republicans had

done with the workers' militias in Republican Spain.

Given the present uncertainty in political life and the escalating degree of suspicion and paranoia in national and international affairs it is not implausible that due to a failure in communication we could suddenly find ourselves facing anything from human extinction to a 'pre-emptive' military coup on the Chilean or Afghan model. The question now facing us is how best to confront the problem of defence in the face of aggression within a democratic framework and sidestep present genocidal reliance on nuclear weapons at the same time. With a Citizens' Militia based on the *Community Council* and workplace we have the *only* realistic and viable defence alternative to the spiralling nuclear arms race with its inevitable outcome for all mankind. It also provides the only effective democratic solution to totalitarian aggression, be it of the right, left or centre. I'd also like to think that such a popular movement would stimulate our collective imagination sufficiently to remove once and for all the self-imposed blinkers obscuring the fact that it is ourselves alone, not politicians, civil servants, soldiers or policemen, who bear responsibility for the quality of our lives and those of our children from whom this world of ours is borrowed.

Stuart Christie



BOOK REVIEWS

SOLDIERS OF THE NIGHT. The Story of the French Resistance, David Schoenbrun, Robert Hale (£9.95).

Written by an American intelligence agent (Psychological Warfare Branch), this is the first reasonably satisfying account to date, in English, of the French Resistance. David Schoenbrun has an obvious affinity for those whose activities he describes, and his profession as a spy proves both useful and illuminating as he guides us through the murky labyrinthine world of political and military intrigue in London, Washington and Casablanca as well as Occupied and Vichy France.

But it was not the Generals who fled to London or North Africa, nor the adventurers of the OSS or the SOE who constituted the French Resistance, as this book clearly shows. It was the ordinary men and women from all walks of life and varying political persuasions. They were soldiers without uniforms or proper arms who lived in the shadows as soldiers of the night and who courageously defied the might of the German military machine and their fascist Vichy collaborators.

The Resistance was individual and sporadic at first, like Madame Bourgeois of Louray who shouted and shook her fist at the newly arrived invaders. She was tied to a tree and murdered in front of her daughter and her body left there for 24 hours as a warning to others who might be tempted to follow her example.

However, the spirit of Resistance did spread, inexorably. It was organised either through affinity groups or political and industrial networks such as the anthropologists of the Musée de L'Homme, the Communist Party (which had a ready made network as it had been forced underground a year before the outbreak of war), the Resistance network of the Railway Workers' Union or the Jewish Combat Organisation. There is, however, one glaring and important omission from the fairly comprehensive list of organisations and groups which made up the Resistance — the Spanish Republican exiles.

The contribution of the refugees from francoism to the French Resistance is fairly important yet for the most part unrecorded and unacknowledged. It is worth a slight digression as it does raise some questions as to why the historians should deliberately ignore or misrepresent it.

When the Vichy Government was installed on July 1st 1940, there were an estimated 236,000 Spanish Republican refugees in France. Of these it is reckoned that 40,000 Spanish anarchists, communists and republicans joined the maquis — 5000 of whom operated in the North Pyrenees under the banner of the Junta Nacional Espanola. I wonder how many of the thousands of Jews, allied airmen, POWs and refugees who escaped through the Pyrenees realised that they owed their lives to Spanish anarchist resistance and escape networks? The famous so-called SOE "Pat O'Leary" network was in fact organised by the militant anarcho-syndicalist Francisco Ponzan Vidal and known throughout the south as the "Grupo Ponzan". Between 1940 and 1944 some 6000 Spanish Republicans were killed by the Germans, and between 10,000 and 25,000 died in German Concentration Camps. Spanish exile units also played an important part in almost every Allied campaign from the battle of Narvik to VE Day, including Crete, North Africa, Italy and the Riviera Landings. Toulouse was liberated almost exclusively by Spanish guerrilla groups as were more than 50 important towns, including Clermont-Ferrand, Nimes and Marseilles. The first vehicles of Leclerc's famous Second Armoured Division (with a complement of over 3000 Spanish soldiers) to reach the Hotel de Ville during the Liberation of Paris carried memories of the Spanish Civil War emblazoned on their sides — Durruti, Guernica, Guadalajara, etc. Finally, the Spanish anarchist battalion, "Libertad", commanded by Ramon Vila Capdevilla ("Scarface") — the last of the Spanish anti-francoist guerrillas who died in an ambush in the Pyrenees in 1961 — played an important role in the storming of Royan and Pointe de Grave — the last German strongholds in France.

Soldiers of the Night is not simply a collection of anecdotes about heroism and selfless dedication, or even cowardice and treachery. It is a tapestry whose warp and weft combine to depict the fall and rise of France — from the machinations of the Stalinist Popular Front which divided the labour movement to the self-fulfilling conspiracy theories of the right which blamed the national malaise on Jews, Freemasons and Communists, all of which served to hasten the collapse of the Third Republic. But apart from the historical narrative

we are also given some fascinating insights into the power struggles behind the scenes, the effects of which are still with us today. Clearly there were two separate worlds. On the one hand were the ordinary men and women of France who were fighting for freedom and democracy, and on the other were the Allied leaders — De Gaulle, Giraud, Roosevelt and Churchill — scheming and conniving for control of post war France. De Gaulle was never recognised as the leader of the French Resistance, but because he was in the right place at the right time he was able to present himself as incarnating the spirit of Free France and was accepted in good faith by millions of French men and women as the *symbol* of the Resistance. By a quick piece of sharp political legerdemain he transformed the illusion into reality by declaring himself "president" of the Provisional Republic of France.

One intriguing and somewhat aggravating conclusion the author leaves us with is that the long term psychological consequences on the French body politic of Eisenhower's decision to allow General Leclerc's Second Armoured Division to liberate Paris (if that is the case, and Leclerc didn't do it off his own bat!) were to be disastrous for France. The author's premise is that Leclerc could not have done it without the support of the Americans, therefore the idea that Paris was liberated by the French was a myth and self-delusion. According to the author, this gave rise to the idea that once again, under De Gaulle, France would become a great world power and centre of empire — an obsession which led to the wars in Indochina, Algeria and the Congo. This interpretation of history is patronising and elitist. The French Resistance was a popular movement and in it the people of France fought — in co-operation with many others — with a courage and selflessness which is hard to equal. It is equally true to say the Americans could never have liberated France without the French. And by the same logic one could ask if the trauma of failing to take Paris first led the United States into Korea, Vietnam and El Salvador?

Soldiers of the Night is a moving tribute to a brave people who paid a heavy price for their decision to resist nazism. The lesson this book should have for all its readers is that although nazism may be a spent force, fascism and totalitarianism are still with us and no matter what the guise may be must be confronted at all costs if democracy is to remain "triumphant" as David Schoenbrun claims.

Stuart Christie

Left, Right: The March of Political Extremism in Britain,

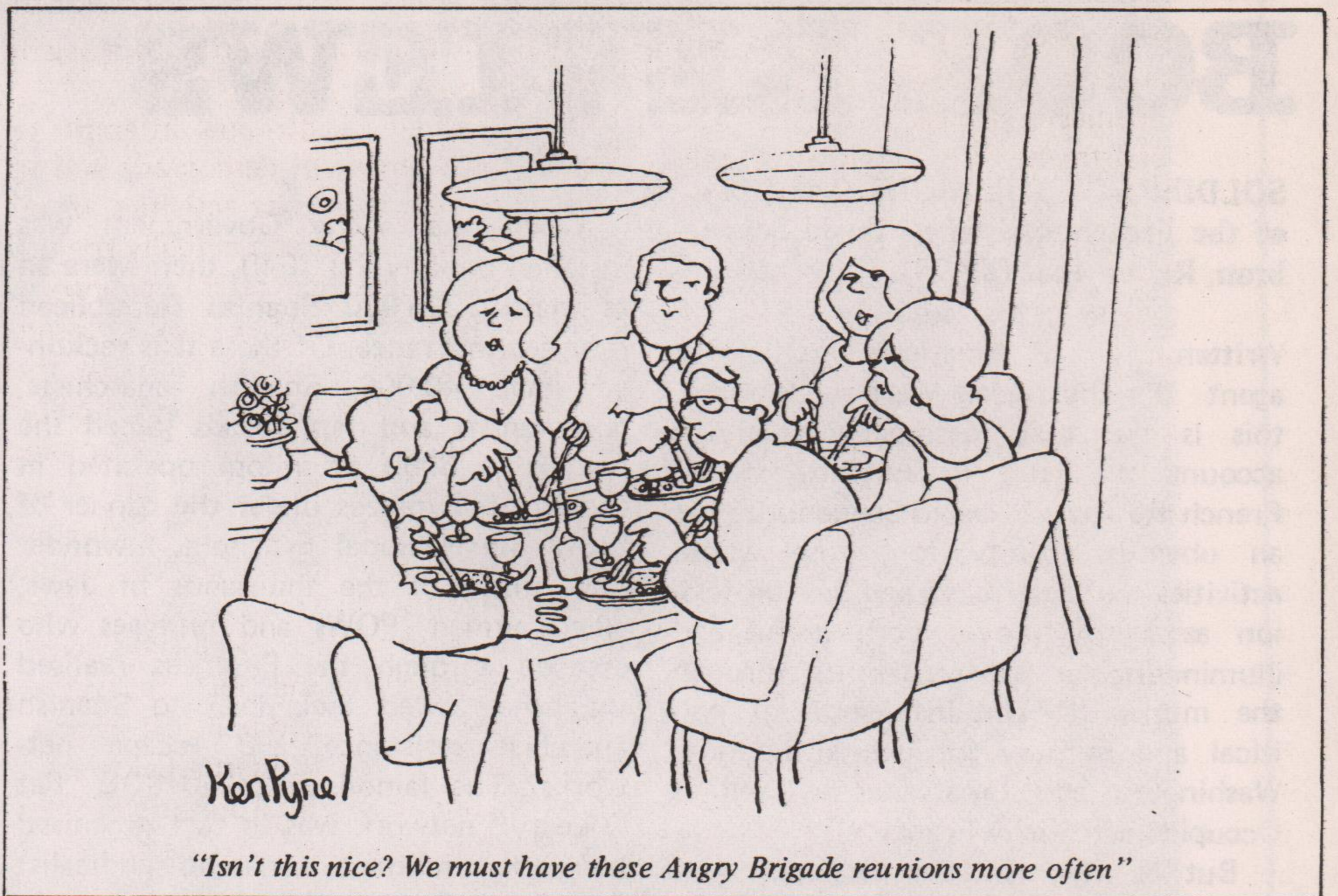
by John Tomlinson

published by John Calder at £4.95

Just how important are the extremist groups in Britain today? Are they compatible with Parliamentary Democracy? These are some of the questions John Tomlinson, academic ex-labour M.P. and Junior Minister at the Foreign Office sets out to answer in this book – or does he? At the end of it, the reader is left wondering just who the extremists are; the medicine the author prescribes would serve only to further polarise society and kill the doctor as well as the patient.

In spite of his self-styled impartiality and objectivity, Tomlinson's position is that of an "extremist of the centre." By damning Left and Right equally he hopes to infer that he is the guardian of the mythical middle ground and epitomises the spirit of compromise and sound commonsense. However, the true nature of Mr. Tomlinson's authoritarian politics soon reveal itself, like a shark's fin breaking water. "The concern of this paper, then is to encourage awareness and discussion of *those political attitudes which are incompatible with or counter to the interests of a free and liberal democracy, and to disclose as far as possible those extremist activities which are subversive and illegal, and actually and immediately prejudicial to the well being of this country and all its citizens.*" (my italics) Where have we heard this before? I wonder just which attitudes and which sanctions the author has in mind. Is he suggesting that the police are dilatory or are deliberately not prosecuting illegal actions, let alone those which are prejudicial to the well-being of the country?

Left, Right is essentially an update of an earlier study of extra-parliamentary politics in this country by an American post-graduate, George Thayer ("The British Political Fringe", London 1965). Although riddled with inaccuracies, the earlier struggle was an interesting and useful piece of original genuine academic research. The present study is simply compilation. In spite of his assertion "that in the necessary research for this paper, the author was not able to call upon a single comprehensive source or survey of the current political fringe," all the information on the Right appears to be culled exclusively from back copies of the anti-fascist journal *Searchlight* and *State Research*. The material on the Left, on the other hand, reads like a rehash of ex-Conservative MP, Geoffrey Stewart Smith's *East West Digest*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and hand-



outs from the Economic League, the Institute for the Study of Conflict, and other suspect sources who earn their living peddling apocalyptic scare stories which are totally at odds with reality, all part of the softening up technique designed to raise political and social tensions to a sufficiently intolerable level – the strategy of Chile, Indonesia, Poland, Afghanistan etc.

Although the book does provide a useful reference source on the extra-parliamentary groups and organisations in this country, the real fascination this book had for me was the insight it provides into the manipulative thought processes and black propaganda of the liberal/social democratic extremists. Scratch a liberal and you'll find a fascist, they say – this book does just that, not only with the author but with the Rt. Hon. Joe Grimond M.P. who provided the introduction to the book. Tomlinson's main thesis is a classic of elitism. It is a thesis which condemns extra-parliamentary groups (i.e. those who don't believe the political infrastructure of Westminster can provide a just and satisfying solution to the problems facing society) as subversive of the common good, and predicates that only those who possess knowledge, understanding and right-thinking can effectively manage society. Any person or group who presumes to question the authority of the mandarins of Whitehall or who shows signs of "political attitudes which may not be compatible with the interests of a free and liberal society" are obviously agents of shadowy Ahrimanic forces. Mr. Tomlinson's own experiences in the smoke-filled backrooms of Westminster, and his close liaison with the Special Intelligence Services (M16) as

Junior Minister at the Foreign Office must have been quite traumatic if they have jaundiced his views of politics so dramatically.

The section on the Left is a mishmash of truth, half truth and wishful thinking on the part of the author and his friends. I'll go along with his premise that both sides need each other or rather one calls the other into being – after all both Left and Right do represent real social forces which exist in all hierarchically structured societies. It is a nonsense to think of an Anti-Nazi League without fascists – but the opposite is a chilling possibility which is always with us. The fact that the Socialist Workers' Party may use the ANL as a recruiting ground is totally irrelevant and a deliberate red herring to further confuse the real issues involved. However, it is when Mr. Tomlinson claims that *both sides are funded by the same source* that the reader may begin to wonder if he is reading Len Deighton rather than an allegedly serious guide to contemporary politics. An allegation that such a master conspiracy existed would be earth shattering if there were some solid proof to substantiate it, but as we read on we find nothing to indicate just how the author arrived at such a startling conclusion.

Eventually, the plot unfolds to reveal the spider at the centre of the global web – the Palestine Liberation Organisation backed up with the enormous financial and diplomatic resources of Colonel Gaddafi and the Soviet Union. That this is a gross nonsense has recently been proved with the revelations that Gaddafi's terrorists have been trained by CIA agents Frank Terpil, Ed Wilson and the

U.S. Special force with explosives and special terrorist equipment supplied by U.S. companies and cleared by the U.S. State Department. The source of this information is also revealed, the ubiquitous Robert Moss — a known apologist for every murderous and reactionary regime in the Western sphere of influence. He is a journalist who is equally at home lecturing the Argentinian and Chilean military on "western" values or directing the NAFF campaign against the Grunwick strikers — a public voice for the paranoid obsessions of M16 and the CIA. According to Tomlinson/Moss, the PLO control an "endless" list of terrorist and subversive organisations across the world — but again the reader is not provided with any evidence to permit independent evaluation of the facts. This is quickly followed up by what has to be the Catch 22 of all time "... even if extreme groups do not of themselves engage in terrorist campaigns, there is no assurance, they may or do not lend local and logistical support to international guerrilla groups.' He goes on. "... The existence in Britain of extremist groups of either right or left is in itself regrettable. . . (they are) at the very least a national liability, and

at the worst a committed and efficient Fifth Column."

If this were a genuine attempt to isolate the enemies of democracy and to "disclose those extremist activities which are subversive, illegal and actually prejudicial to the well being of this country", I would have expected at least a passing reference to the activities of both the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission, the two major examples of anti-democratic forces at work today who wield enormous power and influence over political and monetary power in the Western world, but nary a word. That omission, however, may well have something to do with the fact that John Tomlinson's ex-boss and political mentor, Dr. David Owen is a "Bilderberger."

John Tomlinson's interpretation of the information contained in *Left, Right* should not be dismissed as nonsense, however. It is a deadly serious work which plays to that gallery of public opinion which lives and thrives on conspiracy theories. The ingredients of this particular one are no different to any others which have trod the boards of history — be it the restoration of the Merovingian Kings by the Priory of Sion or the infiltration of the Labour

Party by the Militant Tendency at the behest of 33⁰ Freemasonry and/or the KGB — a few facts, ignorance, misinformation, speculation, paranoia — and the myth becomes a reality. Seventy years ago it was the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion which fanned the flames of pogrom and genocide, today it is the turn of the Libyan Illuminati.

Hopefully, most readers of *Left, Right* will use their common sense in appraising its value as an index of the extra-parliamentary movement in this country, but no doubt it will also fulfil its real purpose in reinforcing the prejudiced fears of people who lack the critical ability to distinguish between fact and fiction, and those who deliberately close their minds to dialogue when it furthers their own self-interest.

We can only speculate as to whose interests Mr. Tomlinson's theories serve.

The real dangers of a rapidly polarising society in which consensus is breaking down are not dealt with, however. Organisations such as those described in *Left, Right* can be used wittingly or unwittingly by "extremists of the centre as important and necessary tools in the Strategy of Tension. Violent confrontations between left and right on the streets, tit for tat reprisals, racist murders, nationalist bombings, etc., lead first to Special Measures, Diplock Courts, Military Assistance to the Civil Power — and from there it is a short step to the "National Government" type plots such as those prepared by senior Army officers, politicians, businessmen and public figures in 1968, 1974 and again in 1979. Links between the "National Government" type conspirators and the fascist paramilitary groups do exist, mainly through right-wing think tanks such as the CIA funded Institute for the Study of Conflict, the Freedom Association, the Clarendon Club, the Focus Policy Group, the Economic League, right wing regular and retired army officers with their private army and security organisations, right wing elements in the TAVR, the Special Branch, the SIS and the Security Service — but this very real aspect of the potential danger to democracy is not touched on at all, or it has been deliberately ignored.

If we are to avoid becoming another Chile or Afghanistan, or if we are to prevent the terrorism of the Bologna Railway Station, the Munich Beer Festival or the Rue Copernic synagogue happening here today then it is imperative that we are able to recognise and resist all totalitarian trends in our daily life — be they from the left, right or centre.

Stuart Christie



L'Indesirable (Seuil) and La Neige Brule (Grasset), Regis Debray.

It is fascinating to read these two novels one after the other even though the interval does not reveal a development in political thought. If anything one could say that 'L'Indesirable' is the most interesting 'politically', while 'La Neige Brule' is probably the greatest revolutionary love story ever written.

L'Indesirable (The Undesirable) was Regis Debray's first novel and it is a remarkable book from many points of view. Unlike many first novels it shows a courage in its unselfconscious experimenting with different styles while searching for what suited him the best. Apart from breaking between different passages in the first and third person, they range from the clipped sentences of say the Hemingway school to Malraux's Condition Humaine. A down to earth discussion of weapons and guerrilla tactics can be followed by a section whose luxuriant sonority has an entrancing and unfortunately soporific effect.

It is a difficult novel to get into, and the story is fairly predictable, but it is well worth reading for many reasons. The central character, Frank, is a Swiss, and an ill-defined Trotskyist who has left Europe for South America to find a meaning in Revolution. He works with the Communist Party in an unidentified country, (presumably Bolivia), and experiences the betrayal of the guerrilla forces by a sudden change of policy by the central committee.

There are many powerful images and his description of being 'underground' is excellent. However, one senses a certain detachment despite the passion, and this may well come from the political disorientation which the main character (and Debray himself) feels. He also brings out the resemblances of the Communist Party to a multi-national corporation which is excellently done with its boardroom battles, international seminars and betrayal of loyal employees.

From our point of view the book is also interesting with his portrait of the Anarchist Manuel*, which is more than sympathetic. Perhaps it is almost too idealised to be convincing for Manuel is shown as a synthesis of all that was finest in the Civil War generation, but it is certainly an effective description nevertheless. What is more significant is the way it shows Debray's disillusionment with Marxism and his own political searching, (apparently he is now sympathetic to Anarcho-Syndicalism).

In *La Neige Brule* (The Snow Burns) which recently won the Prix Feminat, there is far less examination of the tensions within the revolutionary left, and only in that way is it a less 'political' book.

Boris, a French CP international commando, meets Imilla in Havana and they train together under the auspices of "the organisation." He is a slightly cynical Frenchman who seems content to play a second role while she at that point is a rather humourless and over-professional militant. They are joined by Carlos who is good CP hero fodder, and go first to Chile where they talk with Allende shortly before the coup, and then Carlos and Imilla go on to Bolivia while Boris returns to France disillusioned. Imilla is expecting

Carlos's child but eventually their organisation is broken by the secret police. This is brilliantly told and the description of the 'underground' atmosphere is even better than in his earlier book. Carlos is killed and Imilla loses her child but is smuggled into the Italian embassy to escape Anaya, the secret police Colonel. She then makes her way back to Europe and meets Boris again in London. The death of Carlos and of her child have left a terrible emptiness in her, and the book describes how she works towards creating a new self by her only method of liberation – the killing of Anaya. This act finally releases her from the past but it also destroys any possibility of her relationship with Boris going any further. She realises that he could only be a substitute for Carlos and that she cannot cling to a past at second hand.

To summarise such a story must drain it of its strength, and all I can do is encourage everybody who has the chance to read it. Perhaps even to call it a love story is to trivialise it, for it is far more. It is a superb study of relationships and of a woman's self-liberation in the widest sense of the word. Let's hope that it will be translated into English soon.

A.B.

* The character of Manuel is based closely on the life of an outstanding anarchist militant of the Bolivian Tin Miners' Union whom Debray regards as his "maestro." This comrade still remains as closely involved in the struggle in Bolivia and other South American countries as ever. – *Editor.*

The Last of the Just, Andre Schwarz-Bart, (1959), Penguin Modern Classics 1977.

"A biography of my friend Ernie could easily be set in the second quarter of the twentieth century . . ." (para. 1 of the novel).

The full effect of this powerful novel does indeed find focus in the latter stages of the story when the raw material for its setting is the Nazi persecution, internment and extermination of the Jews prior to and during the Second World War.

The characteristically Jewish narrative method – the setting of the story in a partially legendary and interminably and slowly more identifiably factual historical framework – makes it harder to read, particularly for the non-Jew, than it might have been. One appreciates that this is no mere desire for tradition or for ethnic colour: the difficulty is, however, that the full impact of the novel does not make itself felt until freed of the more parochial aspects. The importance of the historical perspective is that the problem of persecution is no isolated phenomenon but a permanent (but not necessarily necessary?) fact in history. While one recognises the special fate which the Jews have undergone in their long struggle to survive and the special understanding of ethical dilemmas arising from being a conscious and identifiable minority, it is the novel's capacity for universal relevance and its evocation of human suffering which makes it a major work.

The call to be one of the Just Men – those

who bear the sorrows and sins of the world – is presented here as arising from the intimate religious life of orthodox Jewry, but the development of this by the end of the novel

is far wider, going through and beyond the Jewish and Christian traditions as conventionally formulated. In the infirmary of the camp at Dranc

" . . . The attendant came down to Ernie's bed again

"Do I still believe, my poor Gribouille? . . . It depends on the times. When I was a gentleman, as you put it, one of my friends used to tease me by asking if God, in his omnipotence, could create a stone so heavy that he couldn't lift it. Which is more or less my position: I believe in God, and I believe in the stone."

"Two thousand years of Christology," he said dreamily, as if to himself. "And yet I know it's absurd, but I still believe, and I love the person of the Christ more than ever. Except that he's not the blond Christ of the cathedrals any more, the glorious Saviour put to death by the Jews. He's . . ." Gesturing at the infirmary, he leaned over Ernie's stinking bunk and looking quite disintegrated, "*He's something else.*" he whispered in a suddenly Jewish tone, the miserable tone of a prisoner." (pp.361-2).

By the time that Ernie himself enters the gas chamber, accompanied by other men, women and children, the reinterpretation of faith has, as one of the first priorities of the novel, become less negative if less traditionally assured:

"At times, it is true, one's heart could break in sorrow. But often too, preferably in the evening, I cannot help thinking that Ernie Levy, dead six million times, is still alive, somewhere, I don't know where . . . Yesterday, as I stood in the street trembling in despair, rooted to the spot, a drop of pity fell from above upon my face; but there was no breeze in the air, no cloud in the sky . . . there was only a presence." (p.383).

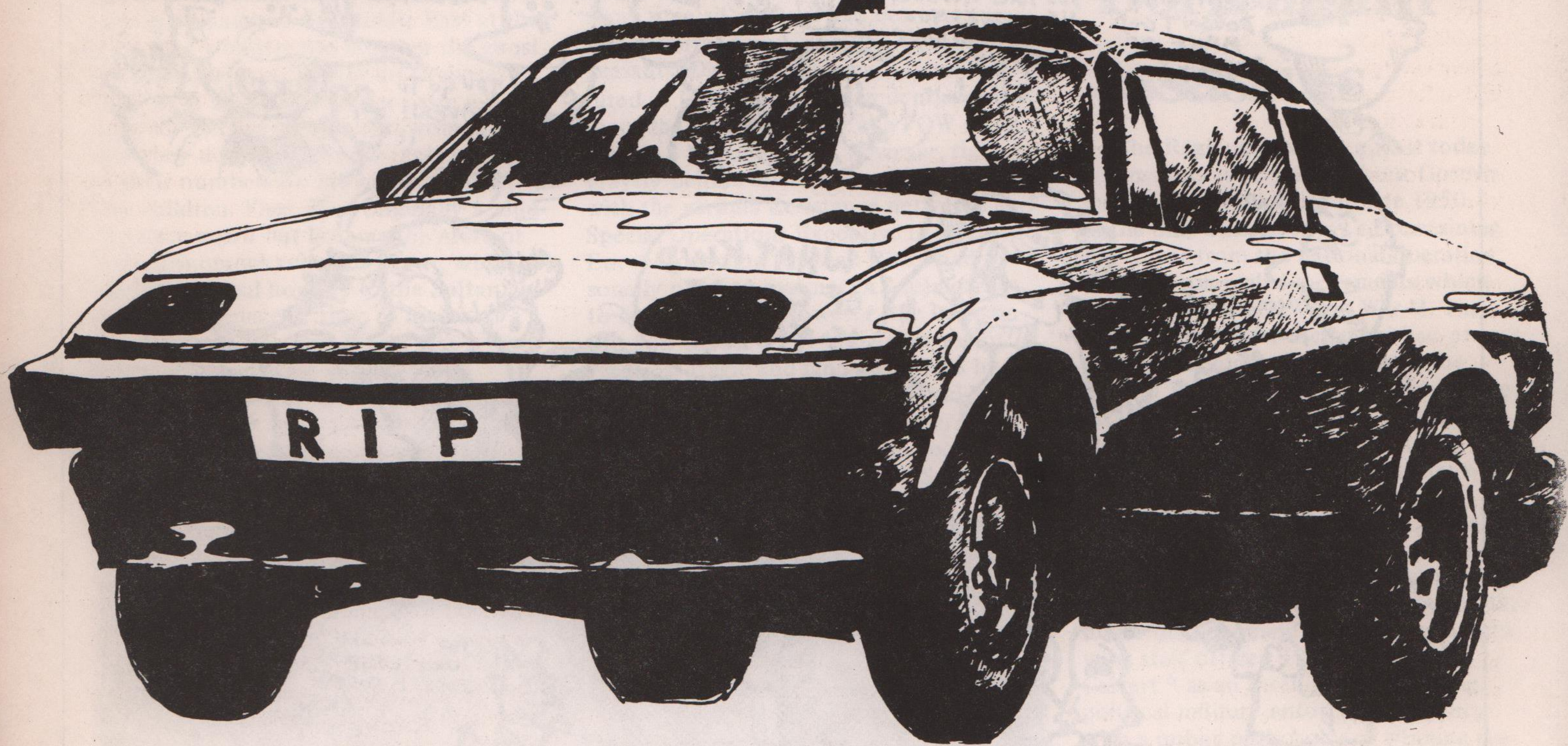
So ends the novel.

It is not possible here to do justice to the many evocative descriptive passages, especially those of Paris during the occupation when Ernie falls in love with Golda and they walk, emblazoned with their Jewish stars, in a world of stroller where beauty has not yet been destroyed, or those of the Jewish workshops and living-rooms so warmly and intimately alive through the clarity of both original and translation (by Stephen Becker). A thoroughly European expression of the Jewish consciousness both in its clinging to tradition and its attempts to go beyond, under the pressure of World War and genocide in the period around 1940; written by a French Jew and Resistance fighter, it is closer in spirit, and in all but its most 'kosher' passages, to the evocation of the Negro experience in America in, say, Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952), than the contemporary, freer Jewish writing of major American novelists whose individualism is more in conformity with the prevailing ethos, especially in the intellectual and literary fields.

Indeed a powerful and moving book, by a writer who has great facility in prose.

Geoff Charlton.

Some of us are dying to build your car



TRIM AND BUMPERS: Nasal and Sinus Cancer

WINDOWS: Lung Disease, Cataracts

VINYL TOPS: Angiosarcoma

COPPER WIRE: Lung and Skin Cancer

PAINT: Lead Poisoning, Liver Disease

SEAT CUSHIONS: Emphysema, Bronchitis

ASSEMBLY: Stress, Mental Disturbances

ENGINE BLOCKS: Silicosis, Cancer, Burns

SHEET STEEL BODY: Deafness, Amputations

GEARS: Dermatitis, Lung Disease

TYRES: Leukemia

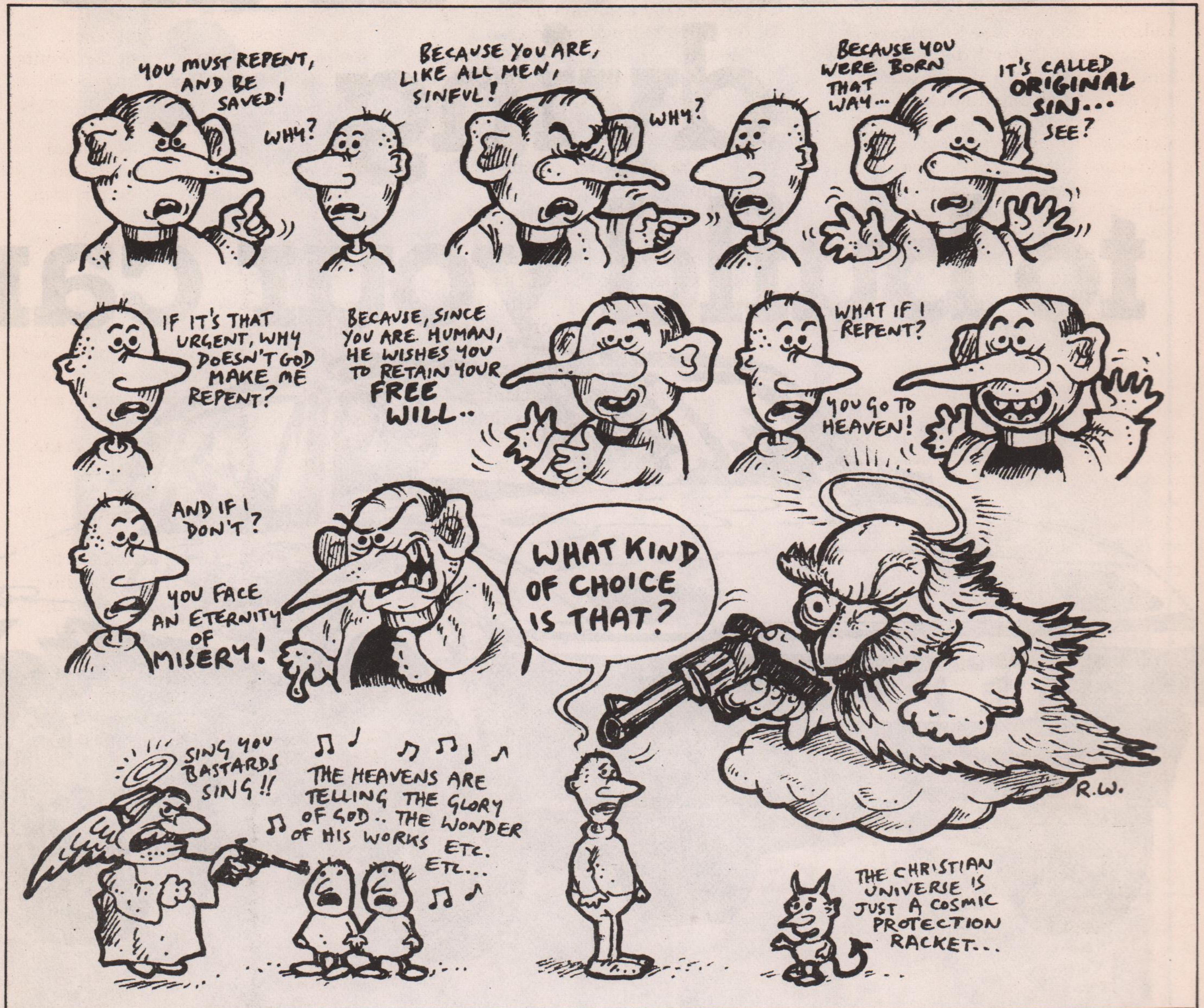
BRAKES AND CLUTCH: Lung Cancer, Asbestosis

BATTERY: Lead Poisoning, Burns

**Profitable
business is just a
throw away**

*and the workers
are the
rubbish!*

Here's Hopi

**Book of the Hopi**

Frank Waters Penguin £1.50

Needles of Stone

Tom Graves, Turnstone £4.95

The Fourth Dimension

Anthony D Duncan Mowbrays £2.75

The extermination of the native tribes in various countries is a sad fact of Imperialism. The extermination of the native Americans is perhaps the worst example, and is yet best documented. It is a terrible thing to relate that the genocide of the natives is almost exclusively an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. In parts of the world colonised by the Spanish or French, the natives interbred with the colonists, and were treated on the whole as people; in North America (and Australia), the natives were legally stated to be animal vermin and were extirpated.

The book of the Hopi details the

life of that North American tribe and forcefully brings home the way that every facet of their traditional life was an act of ritual. Through the year, at certain key dates, various significant rituals took place, many of them determined by precise observations of star positions — hardly a sign of savagery. Through a complex structure of 'clans' and 'societies', each with a defined role in the community, a rich and symbolic life was enjoyed by the Hopi people.

However, the white settlers did not allow this to go on peacefully. As early as 1700 Padre Juan Garaycochia attempted to convert the peaceful Hopi to the Imperial religion of Catholic Spain, but with little success for he succeeded in disrupting the traditional life of the tribe. Various missionaries had a 'go' at the tribe, and succeeded in watering down much of the tribe's

solidarity in the face of White onslaught.

Waters details the Anglo-Saxon tradition in the extermination of the natives of North America. "The Anglo-Protestants were the direct antithesis of these other Euro-Americans. Cold-blooded, and deeply inhibited, and bound by their Puritan traditions, they began a programme of complete extermination of all Indians almost from the day they landed on Plymouth Rock." Cotton Mather wrote of a Pequod massacre: "The woods were almost cleared of these pernicious creatures, to make room for a better growth". Benjamin Franklin, father of a nation based upon freedom, wrote: "The design of providence to extirpate those savages in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth". Abraham Lincoln, in his boyhood, was horrified that the Franchmen fraternized with the natives, as it seemed little short of

monstrous that they should intermarry.

Throughout the history of North America, we see rewards offered for 'Indian' scalps, we read of women being clubbed to death and children being based to death against trees in order to save on ammunition. In 1864, the Reverent J M Chivington of the Methodist Church urged a troop of volunteers to exterminate a peaceful village "Kill and scalp all Indians, big and little" he ordered "since nits make lice". 75 men, 225 women and children died as a result of that order from a Christian clergyman.

Whilst the pernicious superstitions of Christianity were being imposed upon an unwilling nation, the ancient skills and wisdom of that nation were being extirpated. A similar thing had happened earlier in the land which produced Methodism. The ancient knowledge of geomancy, in which the doings of man were integrated with the natural world, was stamped out by a fanatical Christian church. Dowsing, an ancient art of water and energy divining, was dismissed as 'witchcraft' i.e. that which the Church disapproved of. With the interest in dowsing developed by the British Army in the last century, a whole corpus of knowledge was rediscovered. Tom Graves, in a followup to his excellent little book *Dowsing* has gone into the lost knowledge of standing stones and energy patterns which formerly existed in the British Isles and elsewhere.

The recent discoveries of energy associated with stones is detailed, and the the strange phenomenon of the siting of the Government's microwave communications towers, which fits in with the system of 'overgrounds' or dowsable energy lines. This connection, which some see as a Masonic Conspiracy, and others see as chance or paranoia, is certainly an interesting possibility to follow up.

In *Needles of Stone*, Graves cites report of the Bishop of Exeter on Exorcism which is also mentioned in Duncan's book *The Fourth Dimension*, which is a Christian approach to the occult. This report on exorcism cites various places which can act as accumulators of harmful energies. Among the usual Christian claptrap of 'fertility rites' etc, there is the Offices of Organisations dedicated to Greed and Domination. Strangely, the Houses of Parliament are based on the site of an ancient stone circle and dowsers have detected such energy lines entering and leaving it.

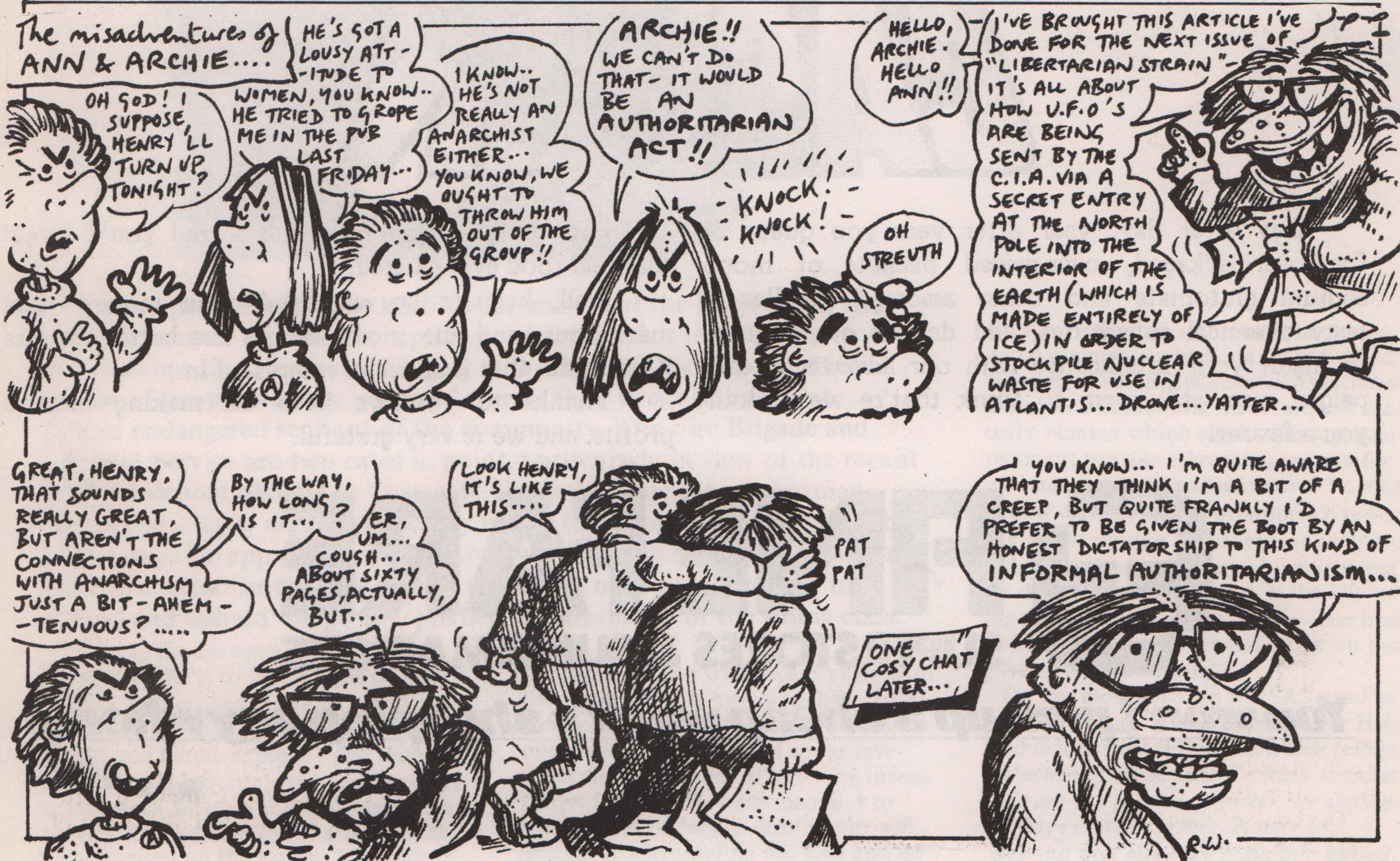
Duncan believes that rock festivals generate evil energies which may then be used by black magicians, and cites (without being specific) the 1972 Glastonbury Fair, where a pyramid was erected on a ley line in order to enhance its energies. This is seen by the Christians as dabbling with daemonic forces.

The fear of the church in what is considered magical, whilst never admitt-

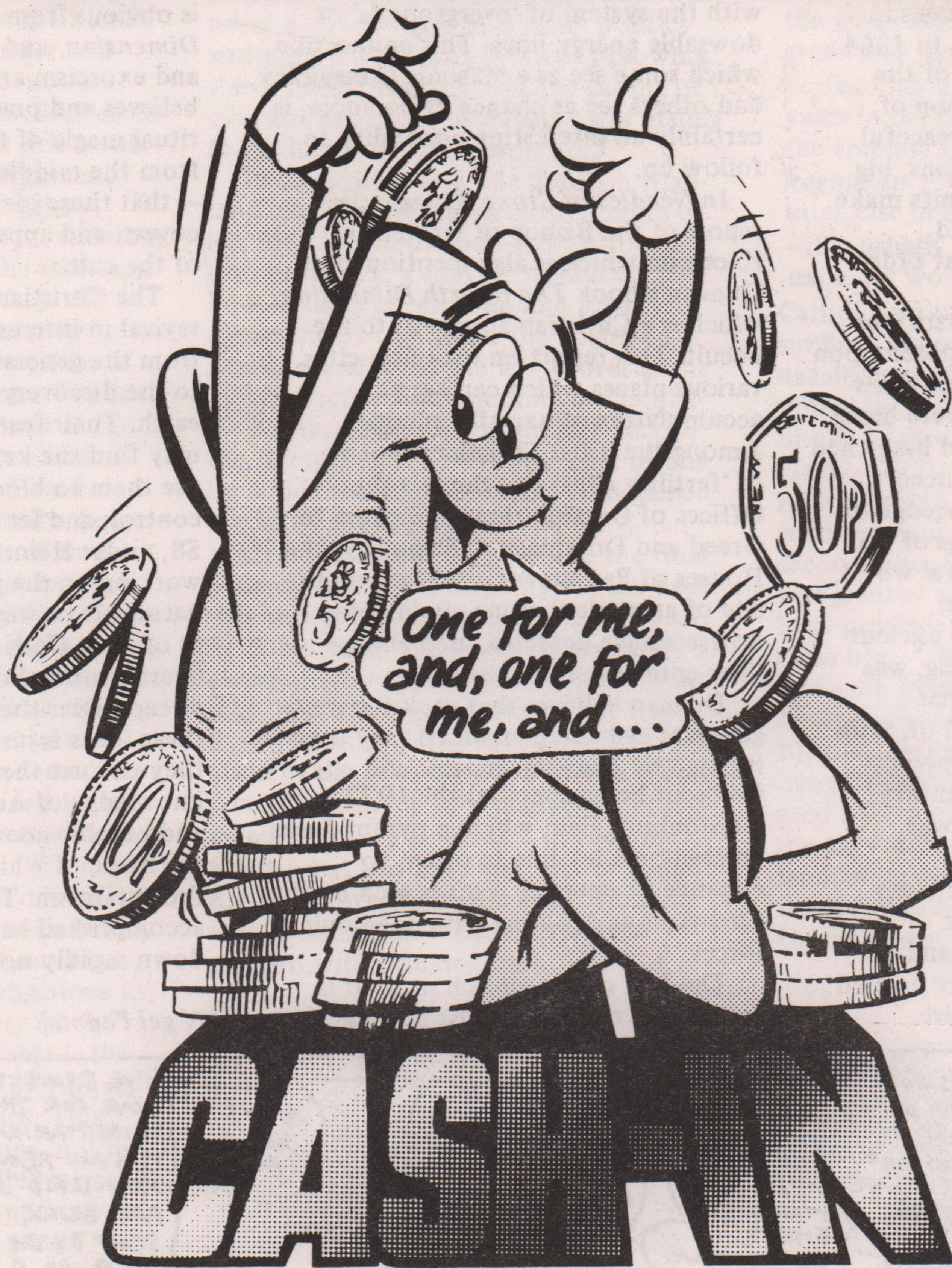
ing it to the churchgoing layperson, is a typical example of the authoritarian structure of that organisation. Its 'private gnosis - public ignorance' stance, derived in part from the Jesuits, is obvious from reading *The Fourth Dimension*, and its admission on magic and exorcism are astonishing - it believes and practises all the ancient ritual magic of the past, unchanged from the middle ages but by one thing - that these ideas and beliefs are now covert, and appear only on the fringes of the cult.

The Christians fear the present revival in interest in 'other' matters, from the generation of psychic energies to the discovery of energy centres on the earth. Their fear is that other people may find the key to these centres and use them to block their modes of control, and let us remember that the SS, under Heinrich Himmler, were working on the psychic control of nations from key points - the researches of Kurt Gerlach in Bohemia are an overt reminder of this possibility. To sweep under the carpet of materialism these ideas is just what those who think they can use them want. The ancient knowledge of America was destroyed and psychic control was established in the name of White Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. The same thing was accomplished here, but it is breaking down rapidly now.

Nigel Pennick



We're cashing in on your gullibility



Day after day, year after year you queue up for over-packaged, over-priced packets of monosodium glutamate and other assorted bundles of tasty chemical substitutes, and despite our attempts to insult your intelligence with our advertising campaigns, you still seem to think that're we're doing you a favour.

Give us a couple more years, and you'll forget that real food ever existed.

Well, keep it up; we think your money's just marvellous, and the more we get the better we like it (after all, that is all we're interested in.)

Thanks to you we keep on making massive profits, and we're very grateful.

G FINE FARE
SUPERSTORES & SUPERMARKETS

You won't pick up a cheap week's shopping anywhere.

We'll see to that!

Shopping List

Cienfuegos Press Readership Survey

CPAR 4 Print run: 3,500 copies. Copies sold (25/11/80): 3,300

Questionnaires sent out 500 (January 1979)

Questionnaires returned 112 (22.4%), mostly by subscribers.

Country: U.K.: 58.92%; U.S.A.: 20.53%; Australia: 4.45%; France: 1.78%; Canada: 3.57%; Spain: 1.78%;
New Zealand: 0.89%; S. Africa: 0.89%; Sweden: 0.89%; Norway: 0.89%; Italy: 1.78%; Hong Kong: 0.89%;
W. Germany: 0.89%; Eire: 0.89%; Japan: 0.89%

Geographic location in U.K.:

London & Home Counties: 23.21%; Midlands: 8.03%; North: 10.71%; Southwest: 3.53%;
East Anglia: 0.89%; Scotland: 8.92%; Wales: 0.89%

Age:

Under 20: 5.35%; 20-30: 55.35%; 31-40: 30.35%; 41 and over: 8.92%

Sex:

Male: 95.53%; Female: 4.46%

Membership of political groups:

Yes: 47.32%; No: 52.67%

Which political groups:

Anarchist: 30.35%; ~~Other~~

Are you a member of a trade union:

Yes: 49.46%; No: 50.89%

Are you active in your union:

Very: 11.60%; Middling: 25.89%; Not at all: 11.60%

Do you have any religious beliefs:

Yes: 12.5%; No: 87.5%

Have you had any direct experience with the police or prison:

Yes: 58.03%; No: 41.96%

At what age did you leave school:

15: 7.14%; 16: 14.28%; 17: 6.25%; 18: 8.03%; 19: 2.67%;
Over 20: 47.32%; Still studying: 14.28%

Do you have any trade, professional or academic qualifications:

Yes: 67.85%; No: 32.14%

Where do you live:

Squat: 1.78%; Rented flat: 37.50%; Own flat: 3.57%; Rented house: 15.64%;
Own house: 25.00%; Parents: 10.71%; No reply: 1.78%

What are your preferences in books:

Fiction: 7.14%; Non-fiction: 32.14%; Both: 58.03%; No reply: 1.78%

Do you speak any language other than your own:

Yes: 41.07%; No: 58.92%

If your country were invaded by an enemy, or became a totalitarian state, what do you think your reaction would be:

Armed resistance: 58.92%; Passive resistance: 16.07%; Don't know: 20.53%; Other: 4.46%

How would you describe yourself politically:

Anarchist: 39.28%; Libertarian: 8.03%; Anarcho syndicalist: 1.78%;
Anarcho-liberal: 0.89%; Situationist: 2.67%; Anarcho feminist: 1.78%; Individualist: 2.67%; Far Left: 1.78%;
Anarcho absurdist: 0.89%; Independent: 0.89%; Anarchist pacifist: 0.89%; Armchair anarchist: 0.89%;
Anarcho absurdist: 0.89%; Eco anarchist: 0.89%; Moderate: 0.89%; Democratic socialist: 0.89%; Other: 24.10%

What, if any, political organisation(s) did you belong to before opting for anarchism (if you have):

None: 53.57%; Establishment Parties: 21.42%; Revolutionary groups: 25%

How did you get hold of CPAR:

Subscription: 75.89%; Bookshop: 8.92%; Borrowed: 3.57%; Other (?): 11.60%

How many issues of the Review have you seen:

All 4: 46.42%; 3: 24.10%; 2: 16.96%; 1: 10.71%. (What about the other 1.81%?)

Number of books read in a year (approx.):

7, 779 (Coverage 69.45 each.)

Number of books bought in a year (approx.):

4, 489 (average 40.08 each.)

A journey
of exploration
week by week
into the unknown...

Aus & NZ \$125 SA R125 US \$125
★ **DOGMA**
A JOURNAL OF VULGAR MARXIST THOUGHT

1

50p

SPECIAL OFFER!

All early subscribers
will receive, free of charge,
a handsome hide-bound
edition of
"DIALECTICS"
by
Lafayette Ron Trotsky

