



*Too many chiefs  
not enough  
Anarchists!*

# **ANARCHY**

**MAGAZINE 50p**



**SMILEY'S PEOPLE : THE S.A.S. MEN RETURN**  
Also Inside : Just Another Weapon ; The Drabbit  
Effect ; Augustin Souchy ; WACL ;  
Plus Books, Sniper & Letters





# EDITORIAL

## GETTING IT WRONG

First, the apologies! Our last issue proved so popular that it sold-out before we could finish sending off the bundles to comrades taking extra copies for street selling. Sorry if you didn't get yours. . . we'll try to do better this time. Meanwhile, we are upping our print run to meet the increased demand. Grovelling excuses, also, to those readers awaiting **BLACK PAPERS No1 - STEFANO DELLE CHIAIE**, advertised in **A36** for October publication. Unforeseen production delays have meant that the book will not now be out before the New Year. But readers who have already sent in their orders will be the first to receive their copies, hot off the press.

## GETTING IT RIGHT

This issue of **ANARCHY** reflects our continuing evolution as a magazine since the change-over in Editorial Collectives noted in **A35**. We are still finding our feet and trying out different formulas to arrive at a good balance of material. From now on, 'News' will not appear as a separate section of the magazine. Common sense dictates that, whilst coming out (in theory) as a 'Quarterly', it is more efficient for us to tackle interesting news items in greater depth as Features, and to leave the job of straight reporting to the (fortnightly) **BLACK FLAG NEWS BULLETIN**. News material received by us will now, therefore, be passed on to **BLACK FLAG** on a regular basis.

## GETTING IT GOING

**ANARCHY** intends to be taken seriously - by our friends, as well as our enemies - and to show that the often vaunted 'propaganda by deed' actually means setting an example of how Anarchists can do something worthwhile, and doing it

properly. We believe it is time **ANARCHY** made people sit up and take notice . . . . .

A small group of imaginative, determined, individuals who are highly motivated can invariably achieve an influence far in excess of their numbers. But to reach our stated aim of "a revolutionary struggle with the most Libertarian character possible", we also have to see ourselves in a wider perspective. Being a 'Vanguard' is not our style. We seek only to act as a catalyst within the class struggle wing of the anarchist movement. Ultimately, the pace of events will require such activist elements as exist to come together as a more organised **Revolutionary Fraction** (though not necessarily one organisation), rooted in the anarchist movement but not restricted to it. It is our hope to take **ANARCHY** beyond the narrow confines of the anarchist ghetto and reach a wider audience. The need exists already for a more outward looking anarchist presence in Britain; only the wherewithal is still elusive.

Successful activity proceeds from the specific to the general, and not the other way about. It is self-defeating to speak in terms of 'the movement' (still less 'the masses'!) without paying due regard to the nuts and bolts of activity. We believe no one group or organisation has a monopoly on the truth when it comes to advancing the cause of revolution. Useless arguments, dressed-up as 'points of principal', should not be allowed to get in the way of mutual understanding and united action. We appeal to all serious comrades to overcome this poisonous tussle for the first place in the queue for Utopia, and to put their energies instead into practical activity aimed at hotting-up the class war, and (this time) making sure we win.

**ANARCHY COLLECTIVE.**

# ANARCHY

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Signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the *Anarchy Collective*.

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*Aerobics? No, he's just practising kicking down doors.*



THE SAS MEN RETURN

# SMILEY'S PEOPLE



In the Middle East history has a habit of repeating itself — under different political colours. A case in point is the secret involvement of the British SAS in North Yemen involving an ultra-clandestine mercenary operation between 1963-1967, and their secret (unpublished) return to the same country last year. During 1963-1967 the SAS were fighting alongside a Royalist movement in a civil war against the Republican regime (backed by Egypt and Russia). Last year the SAS returned (1) in response to "...secret cables to Bonn, Paris, Washington and London" sent by North Yemeni President Colonel Saleh "calling for serious help to stop...an imminent communist takeover bid". (2) The mission of the SAS took the form of giving Yemen troops a crash course in counter-insurgency.

Twenty-one years ago North Yemen was ruled by a cruel despotic King (Imam) and South Yemen was under British rule. The Imam died in September, 1962, and his son, the Crown Prince al-Badr was deposed in a coup led by Colonel al-Sallal which was backed by Egypt. Al-Sallal broadcast that al-Badr had been killed during the coup, and declared Yemen to be a Republic, and also against British rule in South Yemen. The British government and British officials in South Yemen (Aden) were most concerned, because, in their view "...what happens in the Yemen is of vital importance to Britain and our interests in Aden and the Persian Gulf...the whole of Arabia, from where we get our oil". (3) Back in London the British government hardly knew what was going on as a result of conflicting reports: some reports stated that al-Badr was still alive and had a following, others that he was dead.

"MI6 linkman" Colonel David Smiley (centre) with Royalist Prime Minister Amir el Hassan and bodyguard.

The American government wanted to recognise the Republican regime and pressed the British government to do the same. "Many of us in the Government" said Conservative Minister Julian Amery "had doubts whether this was good advice. Colonel MacLean also had the gravest doubts. There were reports, but they were not all well confirmed, of resistance in the Yemen". (4) Shortly after the coup MacLean and Amery met at Amery's residence in Eaton Square, London. (5) They were soon to find themselves working together, as they had done before, prior to — in connection with the joint CIA/British Intelligence operation *Climber* in Albania, beginning in 1949. (6)

Amery and MacLean "discussed the situation" (7) in Yemen, and eventually MacLean decided that he would go there to Yemen and assess the situation "with no support from any official agency...at his own expense". (8) However, MacLean did not have to dig too deeply into his pocket if at all because he flew by an RAF plane from Northolt (9) to Jordan, where he saw King Hussein; both were "old friends" (10) and were concerned about the situation. After their discussion MacLean flew (the plane had been held an hour or so for him, including passengers) to Saudi Arabia and saw King Saud who was "highly concerned". (11) His next flight took him to Aden. In Aden he went to Government House and saw the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Aden, Sir Charles Johnston, and his A.D.C. flight Lt. A. Boyle — all of whom wanted "Aden to protect its

back (from North Yemen)". (12) It was decided that it was best for someone to spy out the situation in North Yemen — being MacLean. The Sheriff of Beihan, Saleh bin Hussein, invited to dinner at Government House, "interceded". (13) and MacLean subsequently passed through Beihani territory in South Yemen (on the border between North and South Yemen) into North Yemen.

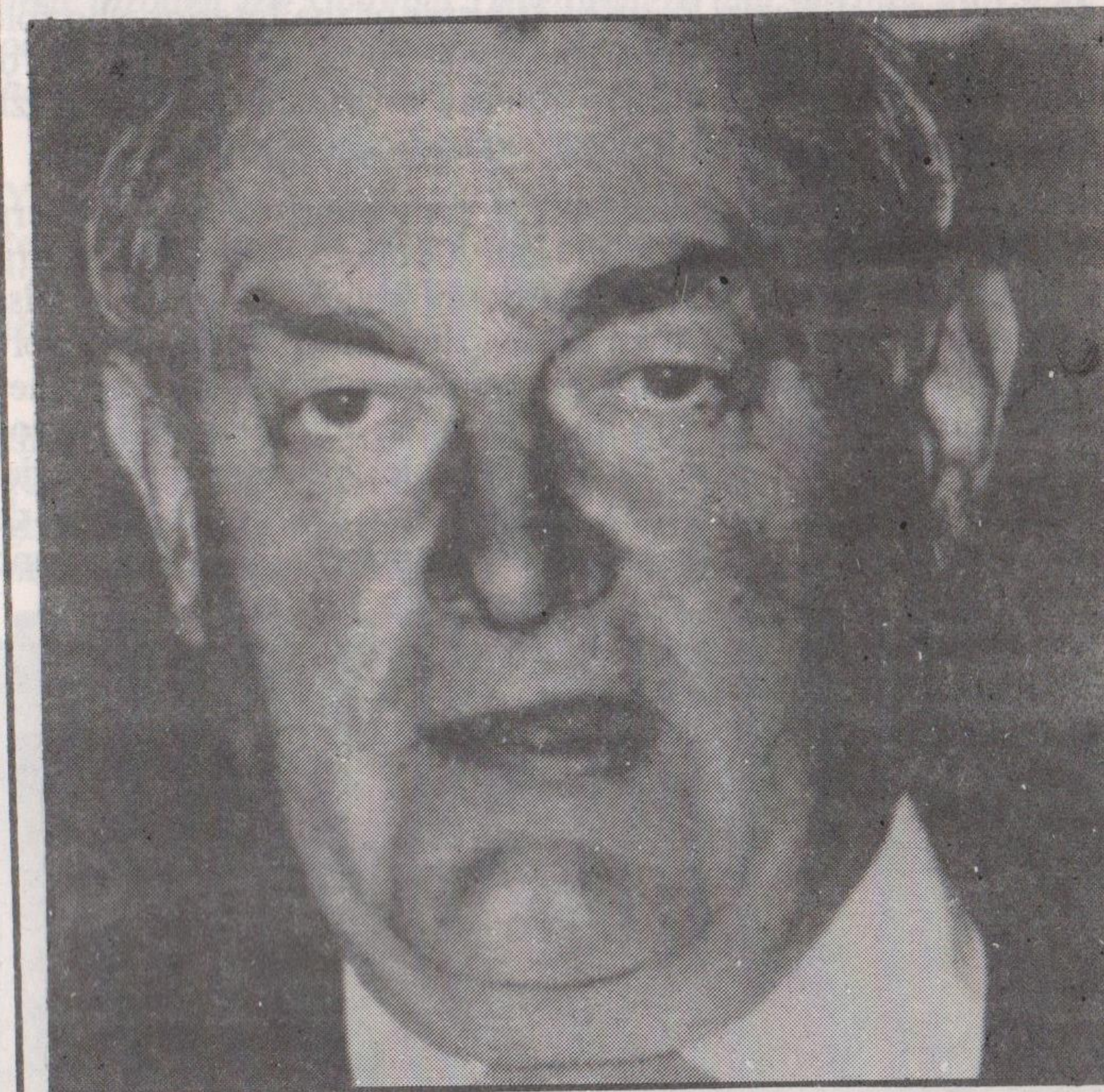
He then travelled by truck right across East Yemen then up to Najran in Saudi Arabia. When he arrived back in Aden he sent out a telegramme via Johnston to Amery (14) in London reporting that "...at least half the country was in Royalist hands and that it would be a disaster if (the government) recognised the Republic". (15) MacLean's report came under the heading of Intelligence information. Upon arriving in London all information for MI6 when it arrives "is first filtered to disguise sources and is then passed on in raw form to the relevant section" (16) "and also to the intelligence group in the Cabinet Office, which processes it before reporting its assessment to the Joint Intelligence Committee" (17) (J.I.C.). The assessment of the J.I.C. is reported to the Cabinet's most sensitive committee, the Overseas and Defence Committee. "Membership is a closed secret...". (18) When asked who attended, Amery replied "that's secret", but explained that Defence Committee including "the Foreign Office (MI6), Joint Chiefs of Staff, Ministry of Defence members, and the Prime Minister". The P.M. chairs the Committee which also includes "...the most senior and trusted members of the other Cabinet and Ministerial Committees". (19) MacLean's information arrived at the Defence Committee just three days prior to a Cabinet meeting with the recognition of the Republican regime on the agenda. The Defence Committee decided not to recognise the new regime, and likewise advised the Cabinet. The Cabinet's subsequent announcement against recognition "was not liked by the American government". (20) (The American government recognised the Republican regime in December 1962).

MacLean journeyed to North Yemen several more times, when he saw Imam al-Badr who certainly was not dead. Officially MacLean was a journalist and he propagandized for the Royalists... "(The Royalist organisation) has grown steadily in strength and cohesion until, today, it is stronger and better organised than at any time, since the coup d'etat. The Royalists now control at least half of the country and have the support of the majority of the Yemen's five million inhabitants, almost all of whom have come to hate the Egyptians...President Nasser invaded the Yemen as a first step to extend his influence into Saudi Arabia. He wished to destroy the monarchy in Saudi Arabia and chase the British out of Aden. For he coveted the oil wealth of Arabia and the Gulf. The Russians approved as they felt it would weaken the ties between the Middle East and the West. They are now building a large new airfield just north of Sana which will give them direct air, transit facilities to Africa". (21)

Following one visit the idea of a mercenary operation materialised. Various people and organisations dropped broad "hints" that something needed to be done. MacLean and Amery totally agreed: something had to be done. Colonel David Stirling (a descendant of Sir William Stirling, 9th Baronet and Founder of the SAS during WW II) and MI6 man Nicolas Elliott\*, with whom Stirling was "well acquainted" in 1962/3 also agreed that something needed to be done. That "something" was a highly clandestine mercenary operation involving ex and serving members of the SAS, and British Intelligence operatives. MacLean canvassed the Cabinet. Not all the members agreed, with the exception of Julian Amery, Peter Thorneycroft, Hugh Fraser and Duncan-Sandys who "tacitly" (22) sanctioned mercenary involvement. Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home "fully supported" the idea. (23)

\* Elliott was MI6 Station Chief, in Beirut in 1960 and "ran" Kim Philby. It was to Elliott that Philby confessed in January, 1963 and described his role and operations in the Middle East for the KGB. Recent evidence has emerged that Philby was involved in the 1962 coup in North Yemen. To be published in "Philby The Hidden Years", by Morris Riley.

Any proposed operation had to be handled on an extremely secret basis fully shielding from any glare of (investigative) publicity. Therefore the operation — as to be seen — became a classic "arms length" operation in terms of there being no "official" links between the mercenaries and the British government. However, the "operation could never have been carried out without official support", (24) and the operation became striking in terms of the "degree of official connivance and co-operation it managed to acquire". (25) MacLean and Stirling met when Stirling suggested the recruitment of ex-SAS men. "Stirling took on contracts of which the government approved, but which it did not want to handle too directly". (26) Stirling was excited by the idea of the operation: "The British Government still needed his services..." (27).



Colonel David Stirling (above).  
Colonel James Johnson (below).





Next Stirling arranged a lunch with Colonel Brian Franks, Honorary Colonel of the SAS. (28) (Franks was no stranger to British Intelligence or Intelligence linked operations, for as part of operation *Climber* in Albania he had trained counter-revolutionaries at a special school near Berchtesgaden in 1949). (29) Franks recommended Colonel James Johnson, formerly of 21 SAS. In fact Franks saw Johnson at Johnson's residence, Slaone Avenue, Chelsea, London, one evening and asked him if he would "organise a mercenary operation in North Yemen" for the Royalists against the Republicans. Johnson agreed, (30) and next met Ahmed al-Shami, the Imam's Foreign Minister at dinner in London, when Ahmed al-Shami asked for help and convinced Johnson that he had the necessary funds to mount a cadre of British officers as advisors. The following day Johnson met Abdel Kerim el Wazir, Royalist Minister of the Interior who told Johnson that the first priority should be to destroy a force of MiG aircraft on the southern runway of Sana airport. El-Wazir immediately authorised "a large expenditure of money". (31)

Thereupon Johnson looked for competent ex-SAS officers. His first choice was Major John Cooper, who as Corporal Cooper had been Stirling's driver during WW II; he had also seen active service in Oman during the Green Mountain revolt. (32) Two other ex-SAS officers were recruited. However, they were short of Arabic speaking recruits. Cooper and Johnson flew to Paris in order to find Arabic speaking mercenaries (who had fought in Algeria). In Paris they met Prince Michel de Bourbon-Parma - "a resourceful operator" (33) who found three highly competent French ex-officers for Johnson.



Amir Mohammed ibn Hussein (left), Commander of the 1st Army, which included all Royalist Forces in eastern Yemen and the Jauf; and Amir Abdullah idn Hassan (right), Commander of Royalist Forces in the Khowlan. He was assassinated in July 1969.

Stirling was also involved in terms of visiting the Middle East and seeing people. On Friday evening 12th April (1963) at Government House, Aden, he saw Sir Kennedy Trevaskis (who had superseded Sir Charles Johnston), Sherif Hussain and Boyle. They all met again "a few days later" (34) and discussed the current situation. Back in London it took Johnson "a few weeks" (35) to form the first mercenary team of six men. The men, including Cooper, flew from Britain to Whitsun to Bahrain. At the *Speedbird Hotel* Stirling briefed Cooper. (36) From Bahrain the team flew to Aden and entered without any problems. Officially they should have been stopped at customs in Aden (or Bahrain) because Duncan-Sandys the Commonwealth Secretary, issued a veto, supposedly putting a stop to the whole operation. Conveniently, the team were actually in the air before the veto became effective. According to the press "How they got past the security in Aden remains a mystery..." (37) There was no mystery; the "veto" was in fact a P.R. political ploy, in order to absolve the government from any responsibility for the operation. In Aden the six mercenaries found their movements trouble-free from any official hindrance. Government House was used as a 'safe house' courtesy of the Governor's ADC, Boyle. (38) From Aden they moved to another

er 'safe house' in Naqub, (39) Beihan, under the protection of the Sherif of Beihan.

In all, it took the team five weeks to reach the outskirts of Sana when they met Prince Hassan. Cooper suggested the bombing and blowing up of Egyptian planes at Sana airport. Hussain disagreed because "reprisals could be taken against Royalist families". Instead it was agreed that the team would concentrate on weapon training, for the Royalist Army, and on communications. (40) Cooper returned to London, and saw Johnson on 30th May. (41) A few days later Cooper and Johnson journeyed to Paris and on 6th June booked into the Hotel *Plaza Athenea*, and stayed in the Bridal Suite. (42) They saw Borbon-Parma about the recruitment of more European mercenaries. Such recruits subsequently included ex-French Legionnaires originating from Russia, Greece, Germany, France and Belgium (some of whom had fought in Algeria). Arabic-speaking mercenaries were preferred; but when in Yemen, their Algerian accented Arabic "was not fully understood". (43) Also seen was an Israeli. When asked by the author as to "what assistance did the Israeli give?" Stirling replied "That's secret... (but admitted that) At that time (1960's) it would have been very sensitive had it been known that any Arab country had received assistance from Israel...we received stuff from wherever it was available".

Cooper and Stirling arranged for and received "stuff" from a variety of places: the French organisers convinced contacts in Bulgaria "that arms should be sent to the Red Sea area, ostensibly for an African nationalist group fighting French colonialism". (44) Stirling and Cooper engaged Jack Malloch of Rhodesian Air Services to fly the arms into Yemen - the Iranian Air force was also used - negotiated by Stirling. (45) The Air Force in Jordan was organised by Eric Bennett, (46) in conjunction with Stirling. In January 1964 questions were asked in the House of Commons (47) about some 20,000 rifles, including Lee Endfields, which it was said had reached the Yemen from Saudi Arabia, and the then Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home was told that documentary proof existed that the rifles had reached there, (48) by Labour M.P. Mr Richard Marsh adding that British businessmen "including Intor (International Ordinance) Ltd" had admitted that the rifles had been exported to Yemen. The Prime Minister rejected the allegation, and Major Robert Turp, a director of Intor said: "The facts are that we received an order from Shaikh Ibrahim Zahid, the accredited agent of the Saudi Arabian Government. This was subcontracted to a Belgian company which applied for an export licence to supply the weapons from Belgium. An export licence was granted by the Belgian Government to them against a certificate from the Saudi Arabian Government, certifying that the weapons were for the use of their forces and would not be re-exported...The rifles were not destined for the Yemen, and to the best of our knowledge they are still in use by the Saudi Arabian forces". (49) Even so, questions still remained in the air, because weapons and ammunition were moved into Yemen via Saudi Arabia (the country financing the operation). (50)

During the summer of 1964 the respective mercenary H.Q.'s in London, Paris and Aden were "doing a lot of reorganising". (51) During this reorganisation Stirling and Boyle drew up a British Plan of Assistance to the Royalist Government. On 6th September Stirling, Boyle, Mr. Ahmed al-Shami, (53) plus "someone whose name - even now - must remain secret" (53a) met (with regard to the "mystery" figure, no doubt SIS man Nicolas Elliott could shine light onto this area; Elliott was also involved in another covert operation covering both sides of the Yemeni border - to be later described). The three Britons had met in the *Crescent Hotel* at Aden, and composed a paper to be approved by Ahmed, which stated the following:

**Mission**

"To assist the legal Government of the Yemen to reassert its authority over the country

**Execution, General Outline:**

A - To establish and maintain a regular supply of arms and ammunition to the Royalist forces in the field.

This must be done by:

- (1) Parachutage or, if this is impossible/or the political situation changes:
- (2) Overland delivery from Saudi Arabia, the Yemen coast or Beihan.

B - To deny the Hodeida road to the Egyptians and assist the Royalists in other acts of sabotage which may periodically seem desirable.

C - To help the Royalists with skilled advice and practical assistance whenever it is sought". (53)

Within a month or so the operation was really underway. However, within several months the operation was "blown" and reported upon in the British media, to a minor degree, but not all of the names of mercenaries/operatives were revealed, nor were British Government and Intelligence links revealed. On 1st May, 1964 the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram* published letters said to have been intercepted near the Yemeni border with Beihan State. The letters were between Boyle and Cooper concerning sabotage operations, "Experience in demolition and small arms", letter dated 4th November, 1963 from Boyle to Cooper; and dropping arms to Royalists by parachute, "The arms suppliers would ship direct", letter dated 29th November, 1963 to Cooper. (54) The letters were "admitted to be genuine by a British Government spokesman". (54) Once again questions were asked in the House of Commons:

Q3. Mr. Marsh asked the Prime Minister, in view of his expressed policy of non-interference in the Yemen, who authorised the former aide-de-camp to the British High Commissioner in Aden to become actively involved, while holding that office, with an organisation led by British nationals which was supplying men and military materials to the Yemeni Royalist forces; and why such activities were not reported to Her Majesty's Government.

The Prime Minister: No one gave any such authorisation. Both the present High Commissioner and his predecessor have assured my right hon. Friend that they were not aware that the person in question was involved in any way.

Mr. Marsh: Is the Prime Minister seriously telling the House that people as well known as Colonel David Stirling, Major Cooper and the High Commissioner's own A.D.C. could, in an area as dangerous as this, engage in activities on this scale without anyone noticing it? Has the Prime Minister read the recent book by Sir Charles Johnston, the former High Commissioner, which makes it very clear that if he did not know what was going on he had a pretty good idea?

The Prime Minister: No. The hon. Gentleman has no right to make that kind of insinuation. Both Sir Charles Johnston and the High Commissioner have assured me that they had no idea at all that Mr. Boyle was engaged in these activities, and I must take their word for it - and I do. (56)

The P.M.'s "denial was widely disbelieved, especially as Boyle later appeared in the Imam's camp as a military adviser..." (57) The Parliamentary exchanges raises some interesting questions: the P.M.'s "expressed policy of non-interference in the Yemen" was totally at variance with the fact that he had fully supported (and sanctioned) the idea of the clandestine operation.

For Johnston and Trevaskis not to have known about Boyle's activities, would have required:

- 1) For Stirling, MacLean and the Sherif of Beihan not to have told them anything;
- 2) For Boyle not to have said anything;
- 3) To have been away, or not aware that Government House was being used as a 'safe-house'.

Whilst ADC to Johnston and Trevaskis, Boyle was also an

RAF officer. Son of Marshal of the RAF Sir Dermot Boyle, young Boyle became a Flt. Lt., before he retired from the RAF in January 1964. His covert role in the operation, 'safe-houses', etc. put him in a position much suited to British Intelligence. In fact, Boyle was seconded by MI6 to work with Johnson and Stirling. But, "It was entirely unclear whether he was intended to assist or to provide an official eye to monitor Johnson's activities". (58) Intelligence operatives also became involved when "coopted to help out with radic monitoring problems". The Yemen operation "was the focus of a fierce dispute within (British Intelligence); many senior officers wanted the Government to call a halt to it, but they apparently lost their battle". (59) MI6 were not too happy about the other Yemen operation where "\$30 million, to be exact (was) laundered through the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts (and) ostensibly paid into the South Arabian Federal Treasure, then handed out to tribal rulers on both sides of the border". (60)

The operation continued: Colonel de C Smiley arrived in Yemen in June of that year (with MacLean, having been contacted by MacLean in May (61)) ostensibly as a "journalist"\* - "a journalist's cover (gave) respectability to my trip" (62) for the *Daily Telegraph*.

Smiley had been invited by (Saudi Arabian) Prince Feisal, through MacLean, to do a thorough reconnaissance of the Royalist-held areas, and to write an appreciation of the situation giving recommendations as to what help the Royalists needed in men and supplies - this he first did in June 1963. Feisal seemed



Yemeni Royalist Tribesmen.

pleased with Smiley's report, and personally asked him to complete several more, when he suggested the use of European mercenaries as instructors in weapons and demolitions, mine-laying, as radio operators and as medical orderlies.

Eventually, as the mercenary operation expanded and grew into a size where it needed one man to command and co-ordinate activities, Smiley was asked by Ahmed el Shami and Amir Sultan, the Saudi Minister of Defence, to take command of the mercenaries. This was agreed by Johnson: and Smiley commanded the mercenaries until he left Yemen in 1967.

In the meantime, the Royalist-Republican civil war was carried on. Both sides made gains and losses in terms of territory. Initially, Egyptian troops had been thought by the Republicans and Cairo, in the form of 11,000 men, to be able to advance from Hodeida to Sana in a matter of 14 days, and win (they had told the CIA the same). (63) This never happened because of the terrible terrain (no paved roads) and Royalist opposition. Even though the Royalist army was outnumbered by Egyptian and Republican troops, the mercenary-trained (plus actual

\* Authors Jonathon Bloch and Pat Fitzgerald in their book "British Intelligence and Covert Action" (Junction Books, 1983) claim that Smiley was also an "MI6 link man". Smiley (in a letter to the author, July 1983) states that he "was not an MI6 link man". To date, he has not taken legal action against Junction Books.



serving members of the SAS) (64) Royalists were, by 1967, able to hold 68,000 Egyptian troops in a stalemate situation. At one point during that year Royalist troops ringed Sana, and could have taken the capital.

Across the Saudi Arabia, Johnson (he and his team had moved from the HQ in Aden) saw the head of Saudi Intelligence and explained: "We can win - what do you want us to do, go ahead or withdraw". However, Saudi Arabia did not want the mercenary-backed Royalists to win because the Saudi Government feared reprisals in terms of attacks by the Egyptian Air Force, for which the Saudis were not matched. Such attacks would have targeted main Saudi towns and cities; Jeddah had "previously been overflown as a warning". (65) The Egyptian Ambassador was in contact with the Saudi Government and cautioned: "You (Saudi-backed Royalists and mercenaries) had moved to there, tut, tut, tut, if you move further, we could retaliate...". "So" according to Johnson "things never went too far, (although) we could have taken Sana".

The Saudi Government were even willing to offer one million dollars (in a suitcase) to Nasser to induce Nasser to withdraw Egyptian troops from North Yemen. (66) This bribe, according to certain quarters, may well have been accepted by Nasser, (who accepted money from Saudi Arabia, America and Russia) in 1968, at a time when Smiley paid a visit to Yemen in March "on an assignment... (he is) not prepared to discuss".\*

The withdrawal of such troops could have aided Egypt because the troops would have been useful during the 1967 war involving Egypt and Israel. As it was the 68,000 troops when required by Egypt were tied down in North Yemen - Israeli involvement in the mercenary operation had really paid dividends. After the 1967 war, Egyptian troops were indeed withdrawn, and eventually a government emerged in Yemen comprised of both Republicans and Royalists.

History in North Yemen during the last two decades, as described for the first time in this article, shows how the British public were not allowed to be cognizant about what was happening in North Yemen on their behalf. Publically (67) Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home (68) professed a policy of "non-involvement in the civil war in the Yemen". Yet at the same time he had fully supported the operation, and was following ex-Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's attempt, executed by Julian Amery and a clutch of his old Albanian cronies, to fight the good fight in Yemen". (69) This attempt included the involvement of British Intelligence and the SAS plus key figures who had previously been employed in Intelligence operations.

Even though the British public did not know what was going on in Yemen, the CIA had a good idea. President Kennedy telephoned 10 Downing Street during the third week of November, 1963 for an angry and critical "scrambler" conversation with Douglas-Home and asked whether Sir Alec was really aware of the extent of the mercenary operation as reported to the CIA and whether the British Government was involved. Sir Alec promised to make enquiries. "But don't ring me back tomorrow", said the President, "I shall be in Dallas, Texas". (70) "The assassination of President Kennedy on November 22nd had the incidental effect of ending an awkward dialogue between the White House and 10 Downing Street about the Yemen war". (71)

Morris Riley

### THE SAS MEN RETURN

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* July 1983 letter, op.cit.
1. Information to the author from Mr. J. Adams, Foreign Manager, The Sunday Times, January, 1983.
  2. Peter Wilsher, "A Hot Spot may be he Next Hotspot", The Sunday Times, 22nd May, 1982.



The Imam of Yemen.

3. Colonel Neil MacLean, "The War in the Yemen", Royal Central Asian Journal, London, 1964, No.51, p.102.
4. Julian Amery, as chairman, at a lecture given at the R.U.S.I. called "The War in the Yemen" by Colonel Neil MacLean, 20th October, 1965.
5. Information from Colonel MacLean to the author.
6. See Anthony Verrier, "Through the Looking Glass", Jonathan Cape, London, 1983, pp.67-77.
7. Information from Julian Amery to the author.
8. C.f. supra No.4.
9. Information from Colonel David Stirling to the author.
10. Information from Colonel MacLean to the author.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. C.f. supra No.7.
15. C.f. supra No.4.
16. The Observer, 16th January, 1983, p.9.
17. Ibid.
18. The Daily Telegraph, 19th January, 1983, p.11.
19. Ibid.
20. C.f. supra No.7.
21. Neil McLean, M.P. "Drawing Strength of Yemen Royalists", The Times, 4th January, 1964, p.9.
22. C.f. supra No.10.
23. Information from Colonel James Johnson to the author. "For years Colonel Johnson had been dodging interviewers trying to obtain the inside on British secret operations in the Middle East". The Daily Telegraph, 4th February, 1970.
24. Fred Halliday, "Arabia Without Sultans", Penguin Books, London, 1974, p. 149.
25. Time Out, 28th July, 1978.
26. Tony Geraghty, "Who Dares Wins", Fontana, London, 1981, p.123.
27. Ibid. p.112.
28. The Daily Telegraph, 4th February, 1970.
29. "The Investigative Researcher's Handbook", Refract, London, p.123.
30. Information from Colonel Johnson to the author.
31. C.f. supra No.28.

32. Dana Adams Schmidt, "Yemen, the Unknown War", Bodley Head, London, 1968, p.181.
33. C.f. supra No.28.
34. C.f. supra No.9.
35. C.f. supra No.30.
36. C.f. supra No.9.
37. C.f. supra No. 28.
38. C.f. supra No.25.
39. Colonel de Crespigny Smiley, "Arabian Assignment", Leo Cooper, London, 1975, p. 156.
40. C.f. supra No.30.
41. C.f. supra No.9.
42. C.f. supra No.30.
43. Ibid.
44. C.f. supra No.28.
45. C.f. supra No. 28.
46. C.f. supra No.9.
47. "Firm Denies Yemen Arms Deal", The Times, 25th January, 1964.
48. "Mercenaries", Town, London, May 1965, Vol.6, No. 5, p.52.
49. C.f. supra No. 47.
50. C.f. supra No. 30.
51. C.f. supra, No.9.
52. Ibid.
53. C.f. supra No.28.
53. (a) C.f. supra No.9.
54. "The story behind these five captured letters", The Sunday Times, 5th July, 1964.
55. Colonel Edgar O'Ballance, "The War in the Yemen", Faber, London, 1971, p.127.
56. Official Reports, Fifth Series, Parliamentary Debates Commons 1963-64, Vol.699, July 20 to July 31, 1964, p.267.
57. C.f. supra No. 55, p.127.
58. "The Pedigree Dogs of War", Time Out, London, 21-27 July, 1977, p.10.
59. C.f. supra No.25.
60. Anthony Verrier, "Through the Looking Glass", Jonathan Cape, London, 1983, p.255.

61. C.f. supra No.39, p.104.
62. Ibid, p.118.
63. C.f. supra No.30.
64. Information to the author from Mr. J. Adams, Foreign Manager, The Sunday Times, January, 1983.
65. C.f. supra No.30.
66. Ibid.
67. C.f. supra No.56, p.268.
68. The ex-Prime Minister The Right Honourable, The Lord Home of The Hirsel, K.T. did not want to be interviewed: "The more I think about it, the less I can find to contribute on the Yemen, so you miss nothing!". Letter to the author, November 24th, 1982. Other notables involved had "lapses" of memory: "I have no memories of Aden beyond what I put into my book "The View from Steamer Point" - Sir Charles Johnston. Letter dated November 30th, 1981. "I regret that I cannot assist you..." A.A. Boyle, Letter dated 9th December, 1981. "...I have little or no knowledge about events in North Yemen" - Lord Duncan-Sandys. Letter dated 3rd December, 1981. The author replied and asked about: "1) The overall impression you gained when you visited North Yemen with Colonel MacLean in April, 1967; 2) The encouragement/assistance - in 1962-67 - you gave to Colonel MacLean". He replied "I understand that you will yourself be shortly seeing Colonel MacLean. He will, I am sure, be better able than I to give you the information you require". Reply dated 6th January, 1982.
69. C.f. supra No.60.
70. C.f. supra No.28.
71. Ibid.



David Smiley strikes a pose...

no. 3  
50p  
the gulf  
news from the middle east  
Further US Involvement in Oman  
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Mr Robert Lean, the IRA informer, (right) campaigning with Mr Gerry Adams in June.

# JUST ANOTHER WEAPON

There is an underground passage which links Crumlin Road Prison in Belfast with the Central Criminal Court. Every morning prisoners are taken in handcuffs by a large escort of prison officers along this crumbling, dank tunnel. The tunnel has been in use since 1970 but in recent months it has carried a hugely increased volume of traffic. The number of men appearing in the Belfast Central Criminal Court on "terrorist" charges has increased because of the government decision at the end of 1982 to implement its supergrass strategy.

Government and police spokesmen claim that by using supergrasses they have been able to deal severe blows to the operational capacity of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). Some have gone further and stated that supergrasses have brought "the end in sight" — a phrase not heard since the early 1970s when Unionist politicians and senior army officers sought to bolster morale and fend off attacks on their apparent inability to deal with republican resistance. It is true that supergrasses have supplied a new confidence for the army and police. Unionist politicians, the maverick Paisley apart, have staunchly defended the use of supergrasses and smugly contemplate the defeat of republicanism.

Meanwhile the government and Northern Ireland Office have been at pains to assure liberal opinion that the supergrass strategy implies no threat to civil liberties and that the objectivity and impartiality of the law survives as before. Some less squeamish Unionist politicians have dismissed talk about the possible dangers of using supergrasses. What does it matter, they reason, that the innocent suffer with the guilty as long as the problem is solved? However, signs are growing that the confidence of the Northern Ireland Office and the Unionists in their weapon is misplaced, that the IRA and INLA will

survive the informers, and that supergrasses offer no real chances of a victory for the government over republican resistance. There is also evidence that a growing number of more liberal politicians and lawyers are becoming increasingly restive about the use of supergrasses.

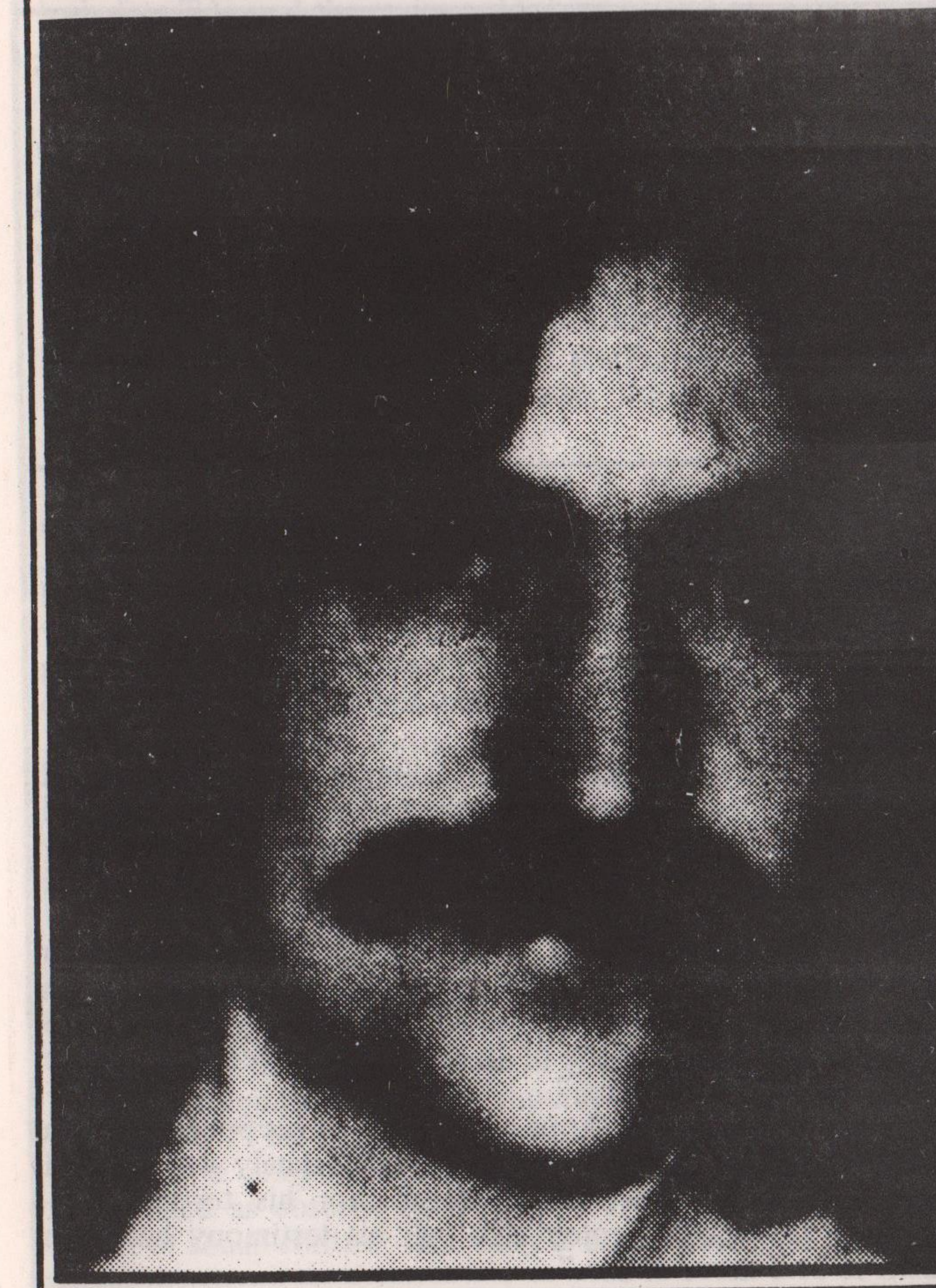
## Christopher Black

The first supergrass in Ireland was Christopher Black. Arrested by police at an IRA checkpoint in 1982 Black was successfully "turned" by his interrogators and agreed to give evidence in court against 38 men and women accused of IRA-linked offences ranging from membership of an illegal organisation to murder. From the beginning the defendants and their lawyers argued that the evidence of Black was inadmissible as it had been obtained by inducement. The police agreed that Black had been given immunity from prosecution and had been promised a new life "anywhere in the world". The police and the DPP denied that any financial inducements were held out to Black but earlier James Prior, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, had told a press conference that informers "would be taken care of". Defence lawyers were quick to point out the difference between "taking care of" informers and giving them money might not be that great, and in any case there was evidence from defendants that they themselves had been offered large sums, anything from £10,000 to £150,000, on condition that they would give evidence in court. In addition informers who retracted their statements revealed that they had been promised money once the trial was over.

The Christopher Black trial began on Thursday January 13th this year. 35 of the 38 men and women on trial received hefty sentences; 22 received a total of 4,000 years, the majority on the uncorroborated testimony of Black. One man produced 30 alibi witnesses to prove that Black was lying. Despite the fact



Christopher Black (above) and Harry Kirkpatrick.



that Black's testimony was the sole evidence against this man he received a 20 year sentence.

## Green Light to the RUC

Flushed with success the RUC was given the green light by the Northern Ireland Office to intensify its supergrass strategy. More arrests followed. Several more informers were recruited. The new informers were, however, of a completely different type. In the case of Black the police and the DPP could argue that the usual safeguards governing the admissibility of supergrass evidence had not been breached. The most important rule is that murderers should under no circumstances be offered deals.

But this is precisely what happened next. Harry Kirkpatrick, a former member of the INLA, was convicted in 1982 of five murders. Shortly after his conviction tentative negotiations were begun by the police to persuade him to give evidence against several men alleged to be leading members of the INLA. The police were desperate for Kirkpatrick's assistance after the collapse of earlier attempts to indict these men. In return for giving evidence in court Kirkpatrick was offered early release. This has been confirmed by Kirkpatrick's mother who visited her son in jail and was told by him that he expected to be released after five years.

Among those named by Kirkpatrick is former chairman of the Irish Republican Socialist Party in Belfast, Jimmy Brown. Brown maintains that the police's determination to destroy the IRSP led them to recruit Kirkpatrick. He dismisses Kirkpatrick's evidence as a complete fabrication and cites the occasions when he himself was approached by police and offered £80,000 if he would implicate people the police named to him. Brown and others have steadfastly maintained that supergrasses have been implicating as many people as possible, partly to increase their own value to the police, and partly on the initiative of the police.

Nor has Kirkpatrick been the only informer to have been offered a deal despite the fact that he has been involved in murders. Clifford McKeown was given immunity for his part in a murder. McKeown later retracted his statements and declared to the press that the decision to give him immunity had been taken at a meeting attended by representatives of the RUC, the government and the judiciary. It seems clear that the decision to ignore the usual guidelines surrounding the use of informers originated at high government level. Jimmy Brown and other defendants have been quick to accuse the government and police of a conspiracy to pervert the course of justice.

## Grassing for God

Another self-confessed murderer turned informer is Kevin McGrady, a 27 year-old Belfast man. McGrady fled abroad in 1978 and after undergoing a religious conversion in Amsterdam at the hands of a shady US-based religious sect called Youth with a Mission that specialises in handling "converted terrorists", he returned to Belfast in 1982 and surrendered to the RUC. Allegations have been made in court that this organisation has strong links with the CIA. McGrady is currently giving his evidence in No.2 court at the Central Criminal Court. In passing he has mentioned how God talks to him. He is more reticent about the deals he has been offered by the police in return for his testimony but evidence suggests that he has been granted the usual release after five years promised to convicted murderers who co-operate.

An even shadier character is Jimmy Grimley. Grimley is giving evidence against more than 20 men accused of being members of the INLA and of a variety of offences ranging from murder to causing explosions. Since cross-examination of Grimley began it has been revealed that:

1. Grimley was recruited as a police informer in late 1979.
2. He had received money from the police over the years in return for information.



3. He had organised in early 1980 an INLA unit in Craigavon, a town which had no history of INLA activity.
4. He had recruited several people for this INLA unit, including a 17 year-old boy whom he then ordered to commit a robbery.
5. He was discharged from the British army after medical reports had revealed him to be "a psychopathic personality, schizophrenic and emotionally unstable".

Despite all this, those accused by Grimley seem set to be convicted and receive substantial jail sentences.

#### No End in Sight

So far 350 people have been charged or sentenced on the word of men who have a vested interest in their conviction. Yet despite this, there is no evidence to suggest that the defeat of the IRA and INLA is in sight. On the contrary, attacks on the army and police continue. On 15th October for example, one soldier was killed and another injured during an ambush in Derry. More importantly, the nationalist community has been further alienated from the government by what they see as the manifest injustice of the supergrass trials. Informers may succeed in locking up some of the most active republicans — though these with the breakout of 38 men in September, in the most spectacular way\* that even in the H-Blocks they have resources the police cannot contain — but the price paid by the government will be a heavy one. It is more likely that the IRA and INLA will suffer temporary setbacks but will evolve their own tactics to overcome the threats posed by informers. In the meantime they can count on the continued support of a population angered and embittered by the latest government strategy of repression.

It is clear that the use of informers is a legal expedient designed by the government to fill a gap in its security policy. In order to crush republican resistance in the early 1970's the government resorted to internment without trial. In 1976 the then Labour government found the continued use of internment a political embarrassment and abandoned it. The void was then filled by torture at the Castlereagh Interrogation Centre. As a result of the investigations of Amnesty International and other bodies the English Judge Bennett (no relation) was appointed to head a commission to investigate torture allegations at Castlereagh. As a result of his findings new safeguards were imposed and the number of "confessions" declined dramatically. The Northern Ireland Office and the police had to come up with a new solution. Supergrasses appeared eminently suitable, having proved their worth in England in dealing with professional armed robbers. What the NIO failed to realise is that using supergrasses in Ireland, where the community has an already heightened sense of its own repression, would lead to totally different results.

#### Just Another Weapon

In England supergrasses have fallen into disuse as a result of the unwillingness of juries to convict and the growing appreciation by some of the legal profession that the dangers inherent in using informers outweigh the advantages. Liberal opinion has been slow to take note of recent developments in Ireland but in the last few months there have been signs that liberal lawyers are beginning to voice their concern. Deputations from the USA and France and observers from England are a regular sight in the Belfast courts. In particular they express disquiet over the absence of juries (in England judges are obliged to warn the jury of the dangers of informers' evidence but in Ireland they simply warn themselves), the fact that uncorroborated testimony from an informer is sufficient to convict men of the most serious offences, and over the case-hardening of judges.

But while liberal lawyers fret over the morality of using tainted evidence republicans describe the supergrasses as the logical extension of the policy of repression in Ireland. Legal developments, seen in this context, fit well with the view of



Former Belfast IRSP Chairman, Jimmy Brown, in happier days.

the utility of the law as expressed by General Frank Kitson; British counter insurgency expert:

*"The Law should be used as just another weapon in the government arsenal and in this case becomes little more than a propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public. The activities of the legal services have to be tied into the war effort in as discreet a way as possible."*

(Low Intensity Operations)

Ronan Bennett

**AFTERWORD:** The trial starring 'born-again' grass Kevin McGrady as chief prosecution witness ended on 26th October. McGrady's evidence was accepted by the Chief Justice, Lord Lowry, even though he strongly attacked his general credibility as a witness. Seven men were convicted as a result: one to a 'life' sentence, a second to 12 years, and the rest to terms up to eight years.

In the Grimely trial, sentences totalling 51 years were dished out to eight men. Three others, including a woman, received suspended sentences. The court was told the whole seamy story of Grimely's life as petty thief, sex offender and police spy. The Guardian noted:

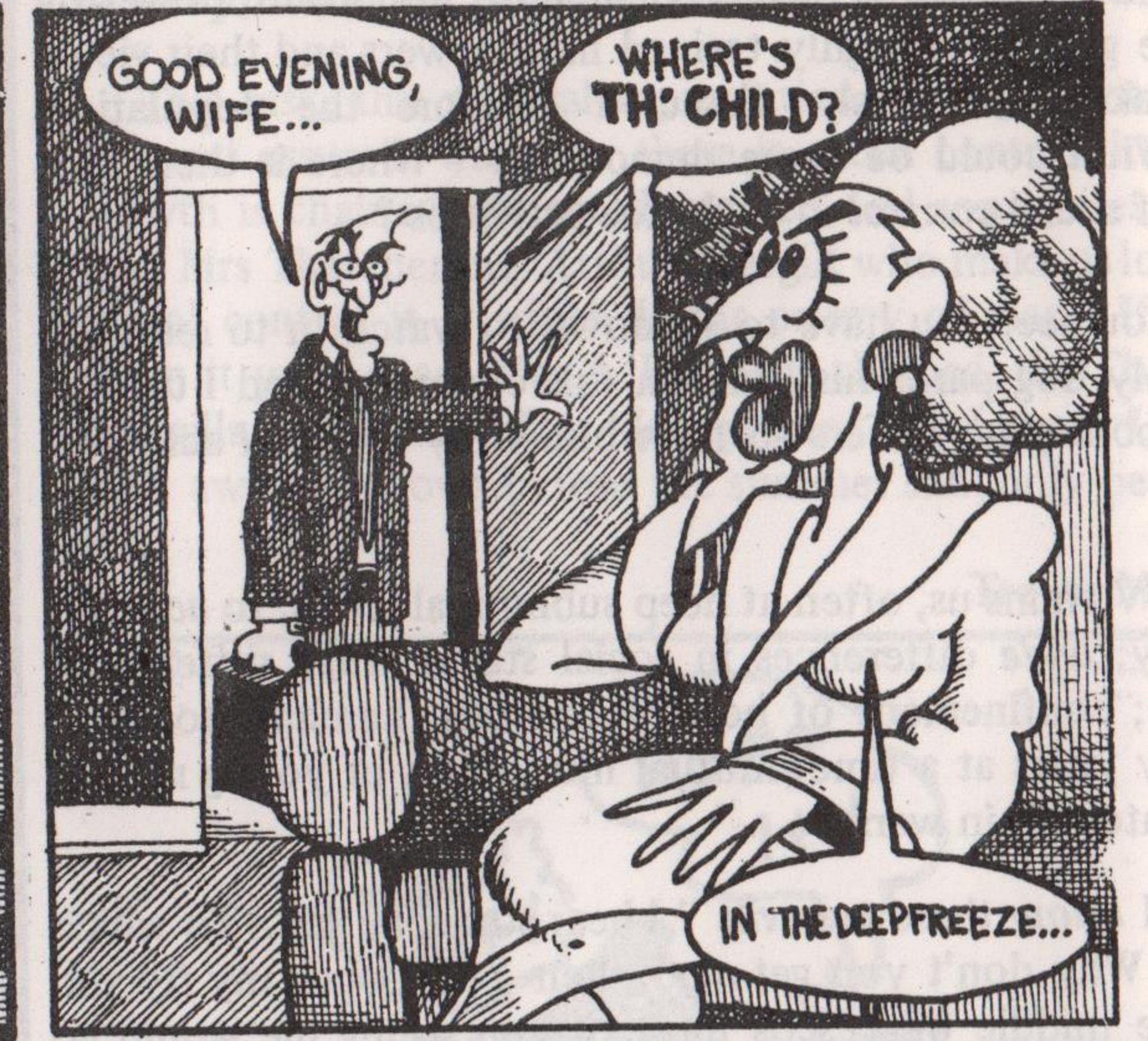
*"As a police spy he made up stories for his Special Branch handlers, receiving £25 a time for his troubles. Heading an INLA "active service unit" in the Craigavon area, he appears to have operated as something of an agent provocateur with police knowledge and connivance."*

*"... eventually pulled out of the field by his Special Branch controllers to go into the witness box, Grimely was granted immunity from prosecution in return for his testimony — immunity he will still enjoy although his testimony has been shown to be a tissue of lies."*

ANARCHY COLLECTIVE

# THE DRABBIT-EFFECT & SOCIAL CONTROL

ACROSS TOWN...THE HOME FIRE BLAZES



The State is that institution within fixed geographical borders which monopolises all techniques of social control including repression of tendencies and acts it views as undesirable. Little of it is located in the government, it is far larger in scope than government and much, much more powerful.

Isolating State elements is then, a task of isolating social control elements with a certain geographical area. Some elements are obvious: police; soldiery. Less obvious but even more important as formative are: Education ministry; mass media including T.V. and the major publishing houses.

Since my thesis is that the State is an organic whole with society, and not an excrescence upon it, the State must obey the Law of organisms. This is that the whole must reflect every part of the organism and every part must give evidence of the whole that makes it a part.

In an average school, for example, the structure of the State is clearly present in embryo. The social control apparatus is the inner sanctum and out-of-group administrators (Head/Deputy head, and the rest of the teaching staff); the cutting edges of the State, the police, are of course, the prefects; Society is made up of pupils.

With this in mind it is amusing to witness debates often heated, on the topic of State education and whether what is taught in the schools is State propaganda or not. It is propaganda, of course, but it is the mere fact of *going to school*, of spending formative years in such a skillfully designed strait-jacket, which is the *deepest* strongest technique of social control. One could learn *nothing* there yet still satisfy the State.

Beyond the public sector the State's macrocosmic influence is detected in each microcosm of the private sector. The external confrontation between State and Society is reflected darkly in that between Management and Labour. Again, individuals in each element are victims of it, deluded by it, not manipulators of it. That is, there is no conspiracy by Management against Labour and vice versa. Merely accepting the confrontation position ensures that the appropriate behaviour and attitude manifest. Thus, working men accept that they are *working* men and demand the right to work. They react indignantly to anarchist arguments that they should, instead, demand the right to idleness. "Free bread and no work" is a perfectly reasonable request in a computerised machine-dominated economy, but it is regarded as obscene by 99% of *working* people. This is an aspect of social control; this *really* is brainwashing.

On the side of Management there are aspects of social control, too. Y'er average Top Manager faced with a wilful, malicious, mutinous determination not to perform a certain reasonable task by a violent section of the workforce (i.e. a strike) now finds no buttons connected to the police or to military H.Q. They used to be there but the State disconnected them long ago. Instead, he becomes a Marxist and sends for the union negotiating team.

Marxist? A Top Manager? Well, you see, Marxism can be summed up in a single sentence known by heart to every successful Top Manager, even if he keeps his knowledge to himself. "The contradiction of Capitalism is that the Capitalist must gain the co-operation of the workers he is screwing". So, the union negotiators are sent for to regain this co-operation. Always temporary, note, because it is contradictory.

Naturally, prevention is better than cure. Better not to have a strike than to settle one expensively. The very latest method of social control used by the State on Society is the social welfare system. Its shadow too is darkly reflected in the factories and offices of Mammon: Organisational Development: the industrial wing of the State's social welfare system: the Fascist Red Cross! The practitioners of OD are not capitalist tools, of course. They do much good work among the walking wounded of industrial relationships scarred by the original Mammon/Labour social control technique. But willy nilly they are like those prison doctors who assiduously nursed ailing convicts back to health so that they could be hanged. Co-operation of workers regained? Let screwing re-commence!

In the religious field the same microcosmic confrontation is darkly reflected. "Darkly" is stressed because it is a reflection difficult to see, as is one's image in a mirror in a moonlit room. Clergy and laity argue the toss about abortion, nuclear first strikes and euthanasia in a most intense, responsible way. How indignant they become when anarchists suggest that religious duties and obligations are merely institutionalised superstitious anachronisms left over from pre-industrial tribal society. Social control gained by spreading superstition is an ancient technique. Luckily it is beginning to show its age; only 16% of Britons attend churches. But my point is that the superstitious contribute the bound sacrifice of their powers of reason and



common sense as willingly as their priests prey on them. (Sorry about that !).

The whole mass media scene is a relatively new, powerful technique of social control. Millions of people freely watch TV, listen to radio, choose and read books and newspapers. Every subject under the sun is discussed therein. Important, powerful people are grilled by highly trained interviewers and their views and mistakes mercilessly dissected before the population nightly. What could be more democratic ? Where is there any element of social control in such free activities ?

Well, you see, you have to sit down to watch or to read. *Sit down !* My dog parks his bum on this command and I use the loss of mobility he suffers to *train* him : my way ! *I act ; you watch !*

Thus TV trains us, often at deep subliminal levels, to *accept* : monogamy; *wide* differences in social status; *huge* differences in income; confinement of healthy animals, humans, to cages for twenty years at a time; mutual mutilation of young men at periodic intervals in wars.

" But I *know* these are evils " I hear someone say. To which I reply, " Why don't you get mad, then ? If I open my fly and piss in the middle of Tescos most of you seeing me would go out of your *minds* with outrage. But seeing loads of Arab kids shot to death on TV merely makes you switch over to 'Coronation Street'. That harmless passive reaction to manifest evil is *socially controlled !* "

From here on, if I do not part company with Anarchism, I separate myself from the views of many anarchist comrades. For I have stated at the outset that the State is organically related to Society. That organism is the very condition of its powerful penetration of every corner of men's life space. I say it is a wrong conception of the State to define it as an oppressive group of individuals ( The Establishment ? The Boss-class ? The oligarchal plutocrats ? ) controlling from the outside a society

it dominates.

Such a view leads to paranoid searches for these hidden individuals. When they are not found ( they *cannot* be found) a typical paranoid syndrome develops : how *clever* they are to remain so cunningly concealed; how diabolically *clever*; how *diabolical !* The Devil rules Head Office O.K !

For those real-politik types lettering on the edges of Wet Socialism (Social Democracy) I sharpen up the point and apply it to the industrial economy. If Labour elements destroy Management in a single night they would recreate it within a week. Look at Russia ! If Management literally enslave Labour it would have the powerful Unions Back in a trice. Slaves can bite and co-operation is the name of the industrial game. At heart yer average Top Union Official stands a little to the Right of Maggie, and Management knows it ! No one is more repressively authoritarian than a bunch of politically ignorant, leaderless workers recreating society along the only lines they know : Management v. Labour with the State as the ref. It is a truism at the Home Office that even with that clone of a State-Society complex a maximum security jail can only run *with the co-operation of its society, its prisoners !* If unionism had not already existed Top Management would have been forced to invent it.

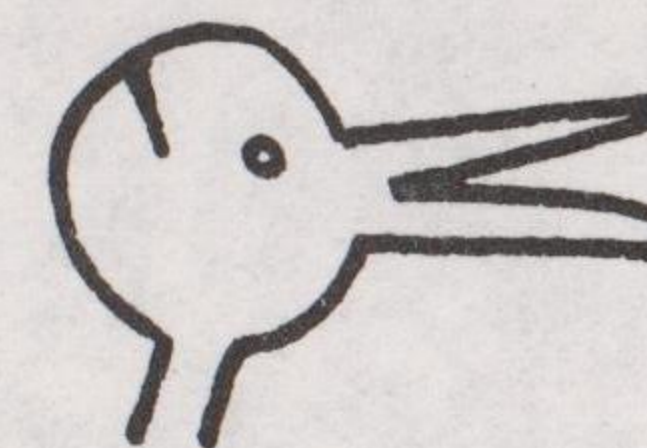
The State is, actually, the persona of Society, its mask. Masks are always protective, defensive, indicating a felt anxiety by the wearer. But masks are not always *good* masks; they are not always a good defensive *idea*, either. The wearer(s) can hide from reality behind it. The mask may give it exactly the *wrong* impression to those it is meant to influence.

Between States, a good example exists in the nuclear confrontation of the Super-States. America wears a John Wayne "True Grit" mask. Russia (and God knows a less harmless people never stalked the earth or how could Authoritarian Communism persist there so long ? ) huddles apprehensively behind its "Ivan the Terrible" mask. Both personas are giving out madly wrong signals to the peoples facing them, whilst



simultaneously controlling the wearers by deluding them that any mask is better than psychic nakedness. Yet psychic nakedness is a tried and tested method of reducing tensions – which is why experienced policemen sometimes strip off down to underpants in order to talk with besieged gun-toting nutters.

True revolution, true significant change, *social* change, need not therefore degenerate into bloody revolt or the armed moralism our media calls "terrorism". All that is required is the accomplishment of a very easy, frantically difficult *change of perception*. Let me show it schematically :



This is a duck. *This* way it is. Tilt the page to the left and it is a rabbit ! The bulk, in fact all, of the important issues dividing mankind are due to these issues being seen *plainly* to be a set of duck-issues by one person or group, and *plainly* to be rabbit-issues by their protagonists. Issues cannot be fudged. A duck is *not* a rabbit. So they are distinctly different issues ? Of course they aren't, otherwise reason would prevail and some kind of accomodation reached.

Easily understood, isn't it ? Now comes the hard bit. In order to resolve what I have called elsewhere the Drabbit-effect one must alter one's perceptual field so as to focus on duck and rabbit seperately but *simultaneously*. At the moment *understanding* of the Drabbit-effect is attained; it ceases to perplex; the mind, like a candle flame in still air burns upwards brightly, illuminated, *enlightened*. (cp. Christos. Grk., Buddhi, Skt.)

To apply what I am arguing for, the State v. Society or for the economically orientated, Management v. Labour issue, is *not* a melodrama. No villains; no good guys and gals. It is an instance of the Drabbit-effect. And, in view of what I have been saying throughout : the political Drabbit-effect is fundamentally

On 2 August 1980 a bomb hidden in a suitcase exploded at Bologna railway station in Italy, claiming the lives of 85 innocent people and injuring over 200. The outrage at Bologna was just one more episode in what has become known as the "Strategy of Tension" - a campaign of terror, infiltration, provocation, and murder (including that of anarchist Giuseppe Pinnelli) that stretches back to the beginning of the 1960's and has its roots in the cold war. But what exactly are the aims of this seemingly senseless campaign, and who are the people behind it ?

Of the five people named as suspects by the Italian Judge investigating the outrage at Bologna, one stands out from all the rest: *Stefano Delle Chiaie*. Master organiser of neo-fascist terror, or someone who has been deliberately set-up as such by other more shadowy figures, the name of *Delle Chiaie* is inextricably linked with just about every major right-wing scandal and terrorist outrage to have rocked Italy during the past two decades. The history of *Delle Chiaie* is the history of nazism in our world today. Through it we see neo-fascist terrorist organisations in their true role: that of "Plausibly Deniable" agents of an inner oligarchic power sphere which sets itself above all law and morality.

*Black Papers No.1* is the first in a series of occasional investigative reports to be published jointly by *Anarchy Magazine & Refract Publications*. You can order your copy of *Stefano Delle Chiaie: Portrait of a 'Black' Terrorist* directly from us:

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copy/ies of *Stefano Delle Chiaie: Portrait of a 'Black' Terrorist* by Stuart Christie (ISBN-0-946222-09-6), price £3 (plus 50p. p&p.) each.

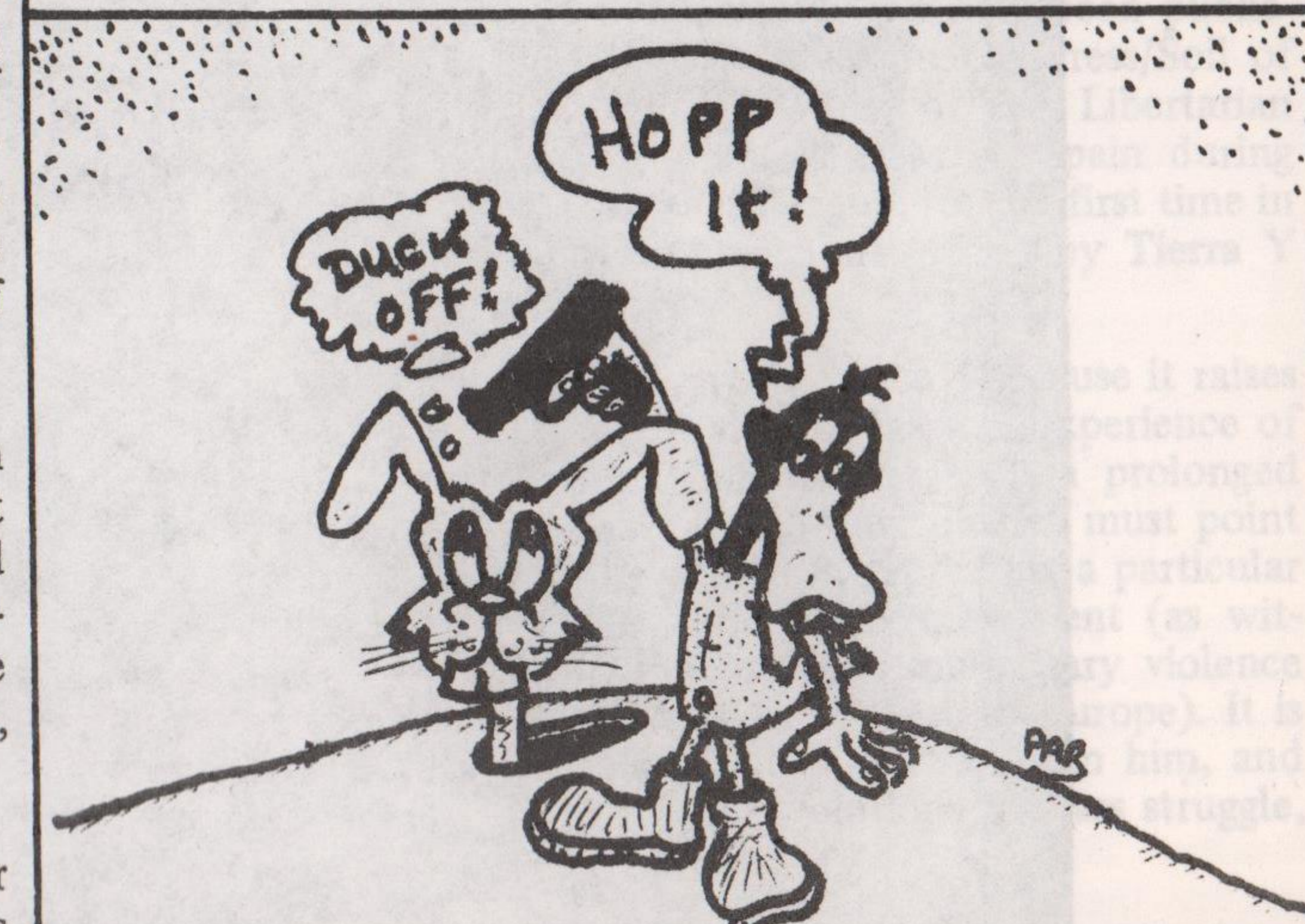
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social control; social control is a quasi-cooperative business between macrocosm and it's constituent microcosms; finding and unearthing social controls in operation is a *perceptual* skill, not an intellectual, analytic one. Political analysis for anarchists is therefore less like fielding political lies (although they abound) and more like registering the disharmonies in fine music broadcast from Downing Street very loud.

This task, this musical appreciation activity, is vital, pressing. For rest assured, wherever there is social control, human moral growth is chained, distorted, starved and sometimes stopped. It isn't Mrs Thatcher nor Arthur Scargill who make us lonely sheep. Social control it is which is the enemy of man. If we cannot chain it your dead, Man ! But once chained, the Thatchers, the Scargills, the States, Top Management and Labour Unions must melt away as snows before the summer sun; only people will be left.

Trevor M Artingstoll



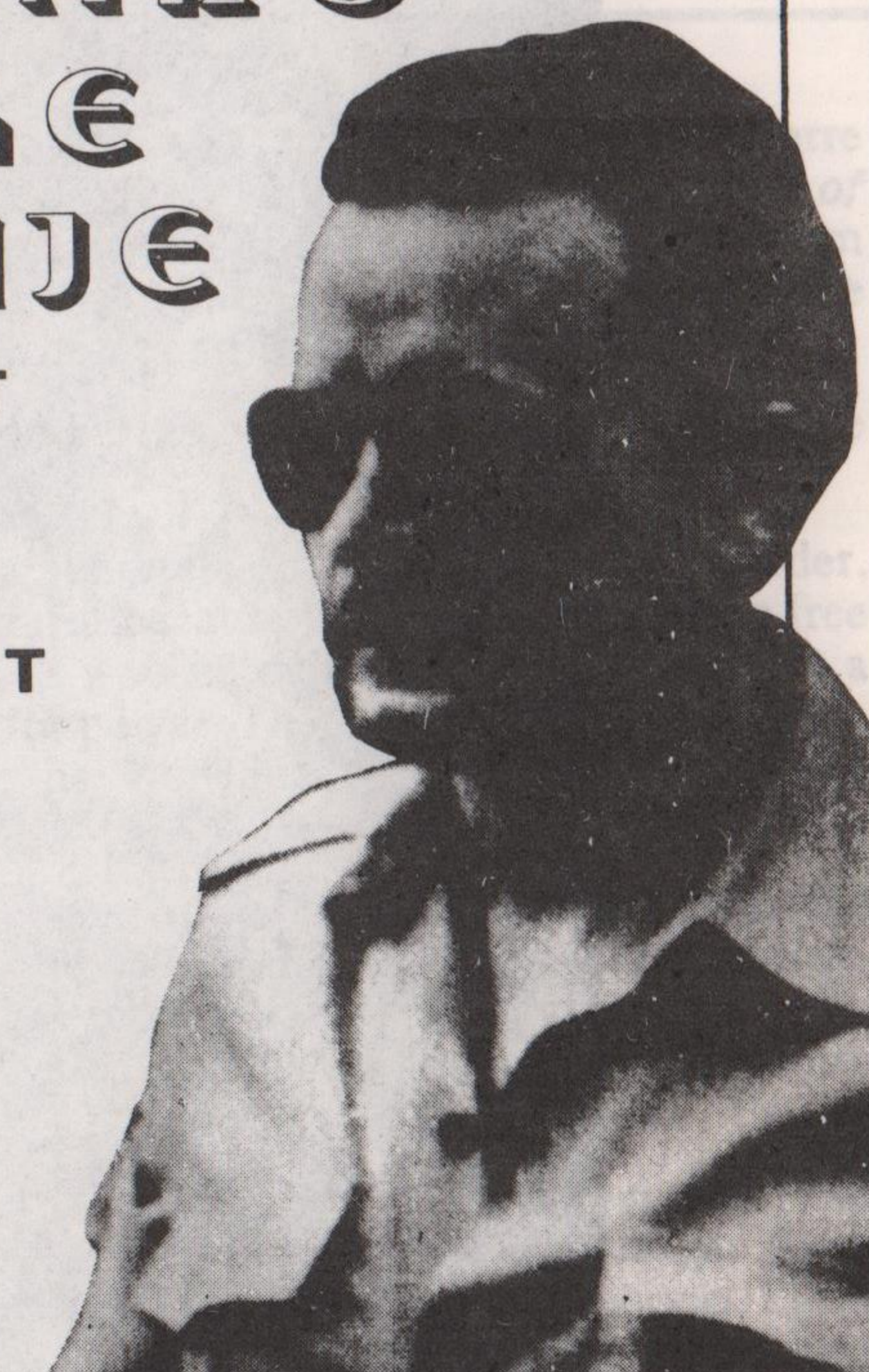
Trevor M. Artingstoll is the author of "How to Bend the Council to Your Will (A Book of Action)", Fire Horse Associates, 1980.

BLACK PAPERS No.1

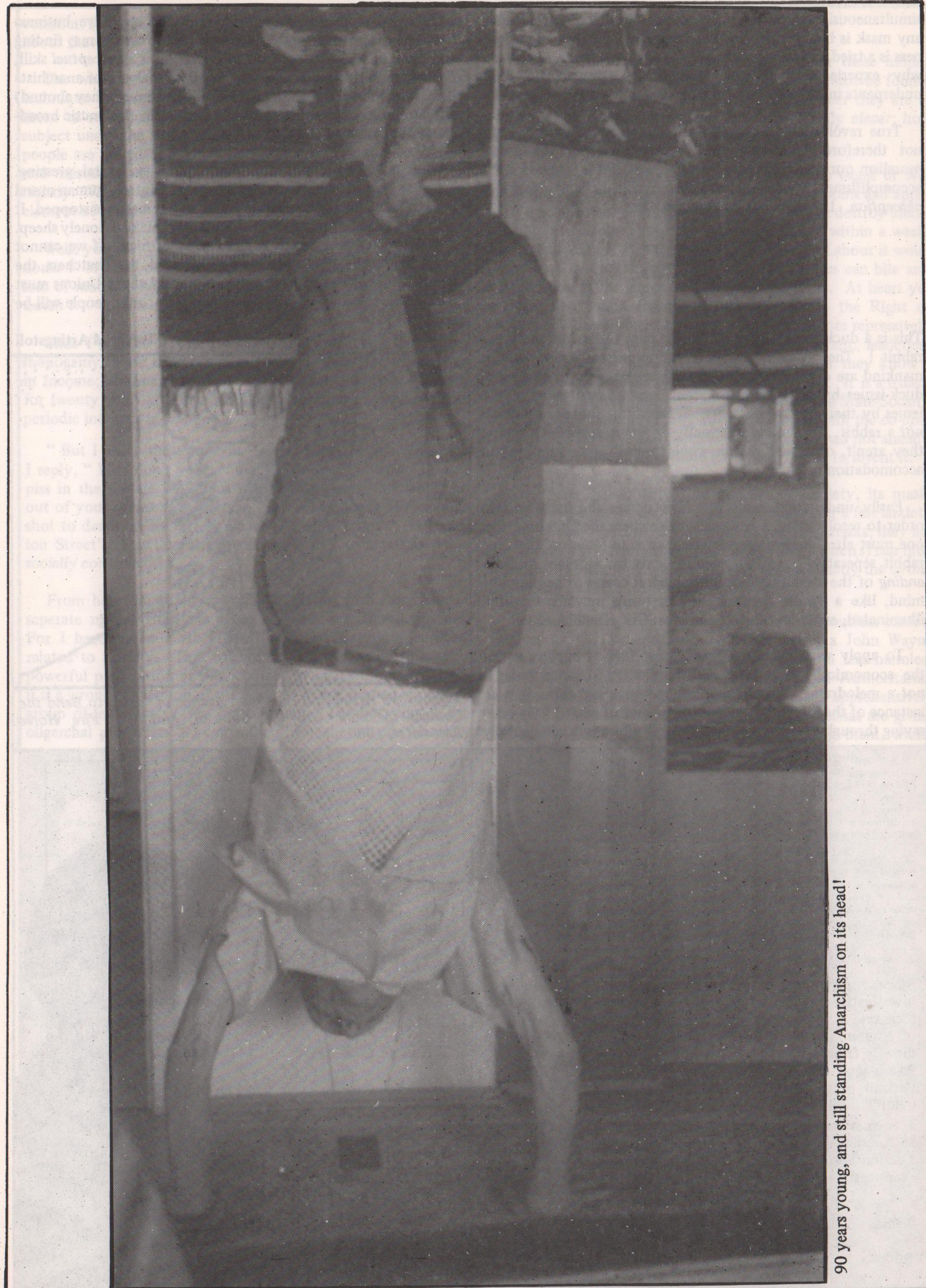
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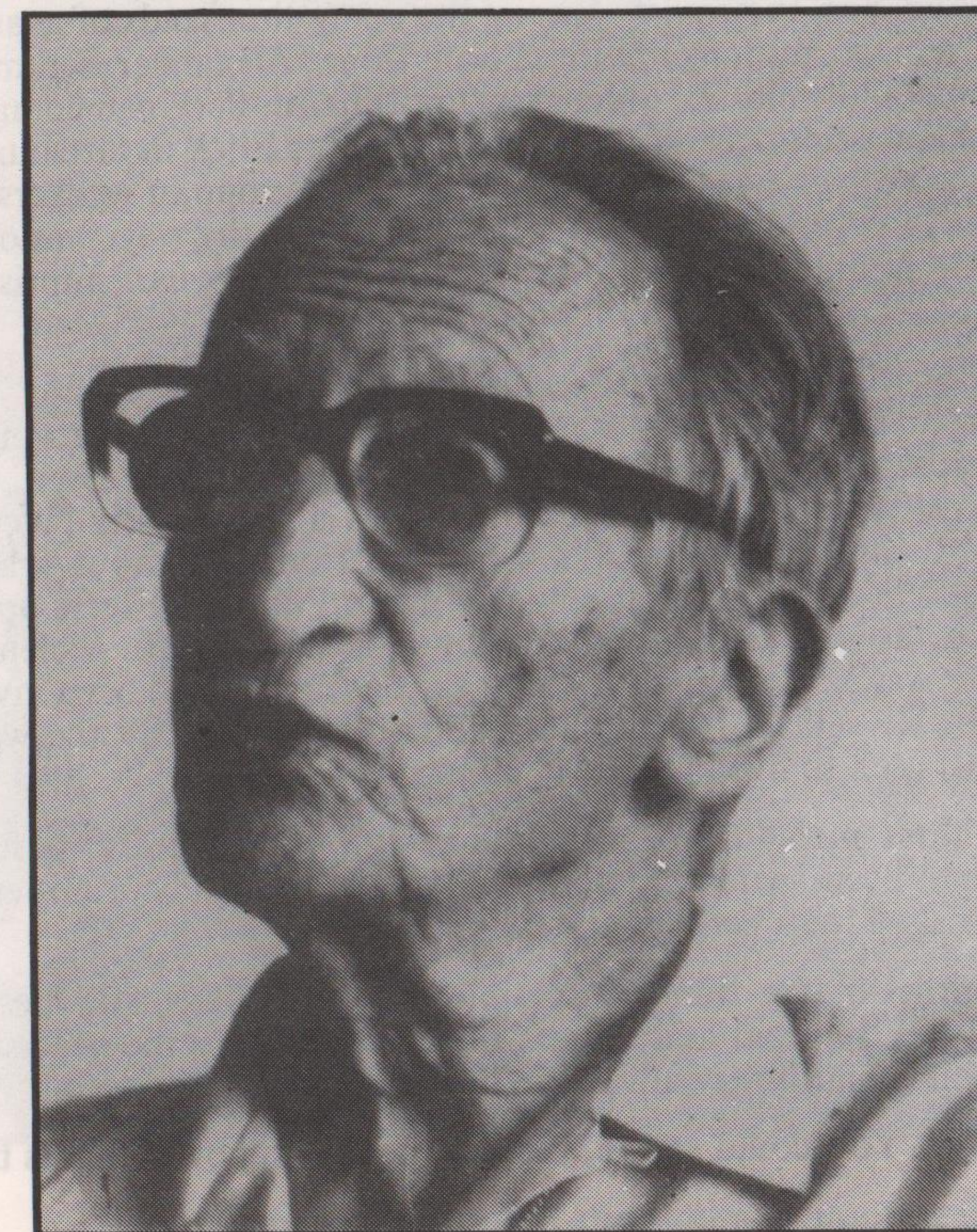
STUART  
CHRISTIE







90 years young, and still standing Anarchism on its head!



Augustin Souchy Baur

Born in 1892, Augustin Souchy is today the oldest living German anarchist. In 1917 he escaped from Germany to avoid military service, and was subsequently expelled from Sweden

and Norway for his anti-militarist activities. He began writing articles and books for the anarchist movement in 1918. In 1920 he attended the first International Congress of Red Trade Unions held in Moscow. Between 1921-1933 he was again in Germany, editing *Der Syndicalist*, organ of the German anarcho-syndicalist union (FAUD), and acting as co-secretary of the International Working Mens Association (IWMA) with Rudolf Rocker and Alexander Shapiro. Souchy visited Spain frequently after it became a Republic in 1931, and was there throughout the Civil War and Revolution, until finally being forced to leave as a political refugee in 1939; going first to France and then on to Mexico.

Souchy, has watched and influenced revolutionary movements in four continents during his lifetime. He argued with Lenin, was a guest of Peter Kropotkin, spoke in front of Fidel Castro and knew almost all of the well known anarchist figures of this century. Still believing in the ideals of his youth, he summarises his life in the short sentence: "Much strived for, little achieved..". His autobiography, *Vorsicht: Anarchist!*, has now been published by *Trotzdem-Verlag*, Reutlingen. *Cienfuegos Press/Soil of Liberty* recently published Souchy's study of how Libertarian Communism worked in the liberated areas of Spain during the Civil War, *With The Peasants Of Aragon*, for the first time in English (published originally in Barcelona, 1937, by *Tierra Y Libertad*).

We are printing this interview with Souchy because it raises some important points and – in view of his vast experience of the international anarchist movement over such a prolonged period of history – is generally interesting. But we must point out that comrade Souchy, nevertheless, represents a particular reformist current within the Libertarian movement (as witnessed by his comments on the use of revolutionary violence and the (im)possibility of revolution in Western Europe). It is at this juncture that we must take our leave from him, and re-affirm the essential tenants of revolutionary, class struggle, anarchism.

Anarchy Collective

## AUGUSTIN SOUCHY INTERVIEWED

*Spiegel* (No.16, 1983) Interviews Augustin Souchy on the occasion of the publication of his auto-biography: Listen Anarchist!

Anarchy remains the long-range objective of mankind.

**Spiegel:** Mr. Souchy, 72 years ago you were for the first time arrested for being an anarchist, at that time from the Emperor's police. Twice you had to emigrate from Germany, in 1914 and again in 1933. In various countries of the world you got to know prisons from inside, and now – towards the end of this century, you are still an anarchist?

**Souchy:** Yes, I'm still an anarchist. However, I agree with the philosopher Immanuel Kant. He said: "Anarchism is law and liberty without force".

**Spiegel:** Others say different. For the majority of the German population "anarchism" is equal to disorder, chaos, at its best lawlessness.

**Souchy:** Unfortunately that is true. It is a widespread wrong belief. The word *Anarchy* actually stems from the Greek prefix *a* and the word *archos* and that does not mean "disorder" but *no leadership, freedom from sovereign authority*. What we anarchists wanted is still expressed by the postulates of the French revolution in 1789.

**Spiegel:** Liberty, Equality, Fraternity?

**Souchy:** Yes, that's what it says on the French coins. Pierre Proudhon, a French philosopher, who is said to be *the father of anarchism* defined analogously in 1864 that anarchism is a form of government in which the public and private conscience alone are sufficient to keep up order and to secure all freedom.

**Spiegel:** That means: no parties, no state, church, law or police authorities?

**Souchy:** Anarchism is a voluntary order, not a forced disorder. The authorities are harmful because they will never allow a free society. But anarchism is a social culture movement and not a political party fighting for power. Therefore naturally anarchism has different streams: the individual, the collective, and the communistic stream.

**Spiegel:** You don't seem to have a lot of sympathy for the individual anarchism? Or would you, as its prophet Max Stirner, say: *I am to myself the most important. Every higher Being above me, may it be god, may it be human, weakens my sense of my individuality.*

**Souchy** (laughs): One cannot take this quotation word for word. Max Stirner must have written it in his younger days, around 1845. He was a teacher at girls' grammar schools. I lean more on prince Peter Kropotkin – keyword: *Everybody may live according to his needs* – and with Bakunin.



**Spiegel:** Also aristocratic, also Russian.

**Souchy:** And Karl Marx's most important opponent! The anarchist Bakunin, however, didn't — opposed to Marx — want to abolish dictatorship but to abolish the proletariat. He wanted a truly free and new society, autonomous communities and social equality.

**Spiegel:** Back to Bakunin? A long time ago, in 1926, an anarchist called Herbert Wehner already canvassed for this idea. However, he only wanted to go back to Bakunin until 1927; then he became a regular functionary of the KP. (Communist Party).

**Souchy:** I know him from those years in Berlin. We had discussions together. At that time Wehner belonged to Erich Muhsam's *Anarchistische Vereinigung* (Anarchist Alliance). Since then he has changed a great deal. When he joined the KP he is supposed to have taken the cash-box with him.

**Spiegel:** There couldn't have been much in it.

**Souchy:** Erich Muhsam was a poet and was always a poor man, poor and honest. The Nazis killed him in 1934 in the Oranienburg concentration camp.

**Spiegel:** That anarchism constantly lost its significance over the past 100 years is then not because its famous representatives weren't good charismatic people?

**Souchy:** One cannot generalise this "losing significance". Be assured that all these well-known anarchists — and I knew almost all of them — personally were lovable (kind, charming) people; they were modest, optimistic, dedicated to their issues.

**Spiegel:** If the idea — liberty, equality, fraternity — is so judicious, and its representatives personally so amicable and likeable, why do you think the word *anarchist* has become a swearword and anarchism has such a bad reputation?

**Souchy:** There have been several reasons. At the end of the last century there were anarchists — especially in France — who committed assassinations. One of them was Francois Ravachol, a man of violence.

**Spiegel:** When he was led to the guillotine — a large crowd watching — he sang to his last breath a cheeky song directed against the Rich and the Church.

**Souchy:** That was Ravachol. He died in 1892. I know it so well because I was born that year. In Germany the socialist law had just been cancelled. It had been directed against "the efforts of social democracy dangerous to the public", and had been substantiated by Bismarck with alleged anarchistic acts of violence against the emperor. They even categorised the lord mayor Tschech\* as anarchist at that time.

**Spiegel:** *He almost killed the king in front of the public. Even shot the queen through the skirt into the lining.*

**Souchy:** Well, those ballad mongers! Seriously, to some people a great fascination emanated from Ravachol and other assassins, similar to the Baader-Meinhof group.

**Spiegel:** No, they were not. They were Marxists and Leninists. I have their program here. They themselves declared: "We are not anarchists".

**Souchy:** Nevertheless, against better judgement it was often attempted to label these gone-crazy middle class sons and daughters as anarchists.

**Spiegel:** Against better judgement? Are you thinking of Willy Brandt, the chancellor at that time?

**Souchy:** Unfortunately, yes, him too. I have known Brandt since 1936, since the time of the Spanish Civil War. He knows what anarchists are. I wrote him because of his remarks on the *Baader-Meinhof-Anarchists*, but he did not give me a straight answer.

**Spiegel:** You, yourself, Mr. Souchy, are proud of the fact that

you personally never used violence. But one cannot deny that there were anarchistic terrorists and assassins.

**Souchy:** Yes, they exist. Among the many thousands of anarchists I met in my long life there were three: Alexander Berkman, Simon Radowicki and Buenaventura Durruti. Berkman committed an assassination on the factory director Frick in Pittsburgh, USA, who had given orders to shoot into a group of workers on strike. 11 people were killed. The director, by the way, was only slightly injured. Berkman was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

Radowicki threw a self-made bomb onto the car of the police president of Buenos Aires, Falcon, on whose orders eight participants of the May demonstration were shot. Even the conservative press had vainly demanded a penalty for Falcon. Durruti was since the 1920's the internationally famous fighter against the Spanish dictatorships — from Primo de Rivera up to Franco. This resistance fight was not always free of violence. But he was also blamed for assassinations he had not been involved in. He fell in 1936 in the Spanish Civil War. By the way, Durruti used to live with me in Berlin.

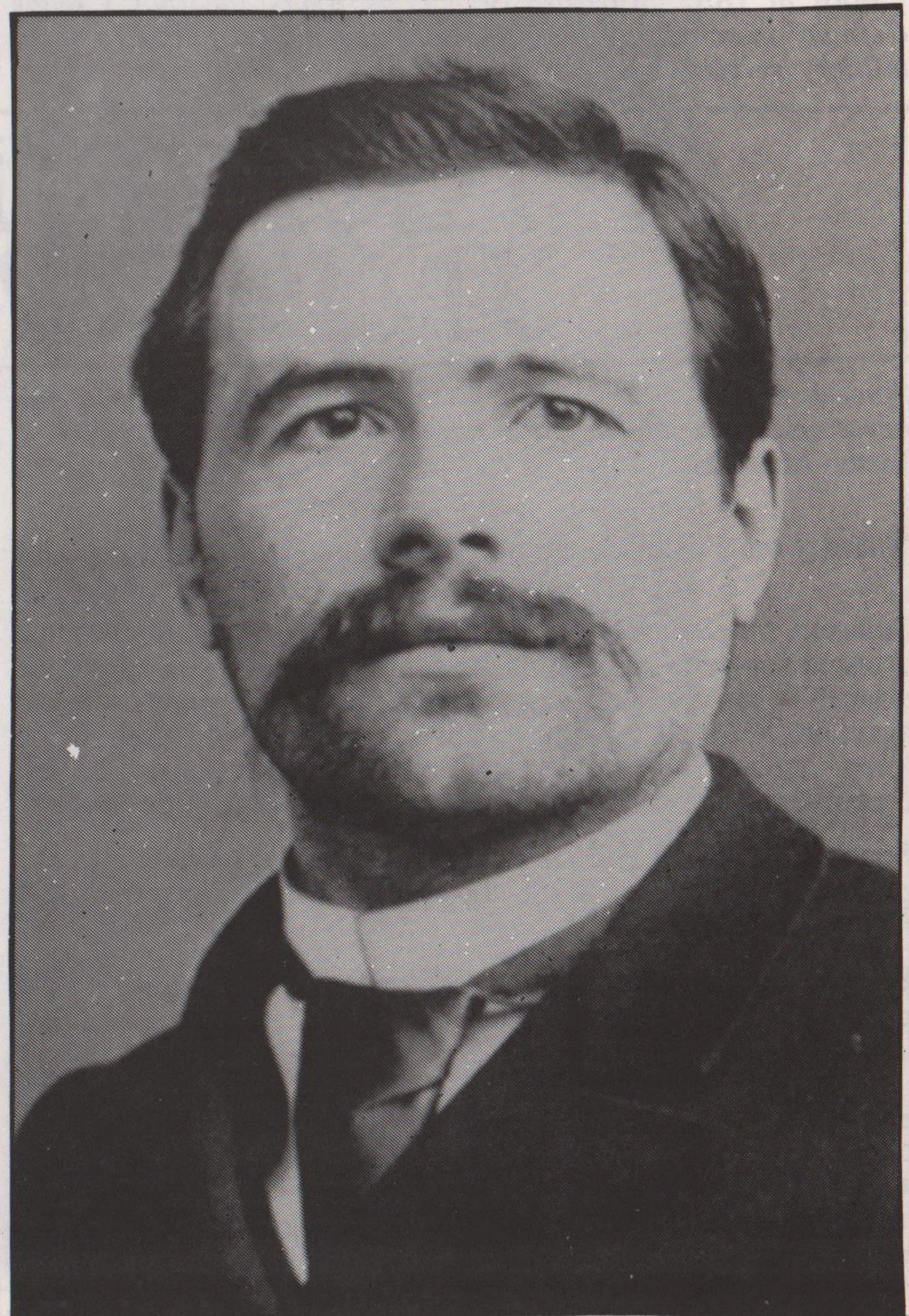
All three men I mentioned wanted to penalise guilty persons who had been spared by the law. The three men were not evil. They risked their lives for the sake of justice.

**Spiegel:** Do you think it possible that the anarchistic idea is also firmly rejected and opposed because it denies the necessity of sovereign authority altogether.

**Souchy:** You could say so, yes. For people in power that is the worst.

**Spiegel:** Well, people in power, at least during the peak of anarchism, not only had to fear for loss of power, they also had to fear for their lives. Many a revolution went through the chest of a king.

Francois Claudius Ravachol



Demonstration in front of the House of Representatives in Berlin. 'All power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils'.

**Souchy:** I experienced several revolutions during this century, some in close contact. In the first decades of my life I believed in the almightiness of revolution, later I got to know its boundaries.

**Spiegel:** You were once called "student of the revolution", probably because again and again you analysed contents, meaning (significance) and development of revolutions.

**Souchy:** Revolutions always fascinated me, for many reasons. Today I know that a revolution will occur when political, commercial, social and national conditions have become unbearable and stir up public feeling. Depth and duration of a revolution cannot be forecast, and therefore neither its historical importance. No revolution can eradicate all social evil once and for all. Take the great French Revolution in 1789. It removed feudalism and the absolute monarchy, but could not prevent the rise of an exploiting private capitalism.

**Spiegel:** And in 1917 in Petrograd and Moscow? Did your dreams become true there?

**Souchy:** No, at that time we anarchists hoped the Russian revolution would start a new era, but it turned into a bitter disappointment for us. Although the tsardom was overthrown, the new dictators soon erected a state-capitalistic and hierarchical dictatorship and a police state, under which the nation is still denied all freedom and in which social inequality still remains.

**Spiegel:** Therefore, in your opinion, revolutions are not the locomotives of history, as Karl Marx said?

**Souchy:** A violent revolution can overthrow an authoritarian leadership and can ease the path for more liberal systems. When a revolution takes place, a great many things can change very quickly. It is necessary where neither democracy exists nor other possibilities to remove a dictatorship.

**Spiegel:** Then consequently, from an anarchist's viewpoint, a revolution is not necessary in the western countries, including West Germany?

**Souchy:** Above all, it is not possible. The population is not in

uproar; revolutionary collective energies don't exist, neither a revolutionary climate.

**Spiegel:** Would you find a revolution desirable then?

**Souchy:** That depends. One has to ask: would a new society realise the ideals we have thought up?

**Spiegel:** Do you think it would?

**Souchy:** That will be difficult. Revolutions are not the only factor of history. Sometimes evolution is of equal significance. The achievements of a revolution are always in danger. An evolutionary progress has no really strong opponents; it is therefore safer than progress through revolution.

**Spiegel:** What is your opinion on the influence of the military and a war on a revolution?

**Souchy:** When a country loses a war, a revolution is more probable. If Germany had won the war the *Hohenzollern* would still be in power today, just as the monarchies in England, Belgium or Scandinavia still are. After a lost war not only the working class but also national elements are dissatisfied. History teaches us this.

**Spiegel:** Does history also teach us in which countries a revolution would be necessary at this present age?

**Souchy:** Maybe in Russia. I would say: everywhere a regime rules that was not elected by the population and that does not resign voluntarily. State capitalism in Russia cannot be removed by establishing a new government from the top. Workers from the bottom have to do that.

**Spiegel:** You already met Lenin in 1917 in Stockholm when he, assisted by German generals, went from Switzerland in the direction of Russia. But didn't the relationship between Lenin and yourself become really lively only from 1920 onwards?

**Souchy:** Right. In the summer of 1920 I took part as a delegate of the German Anarcho-Syndicalists in the 2nd Congress of the *Third International* in Moscow. All of us, communists and anarchists alike, at that time believed that a world revolution was on the doorstep. But we had vivid disagreements as to how



this revolution should take place. Lenin...

**Spiegel:** What kind of a man was Lenin?

**Souchy:** He was friendly, but very firm. But he was not a captivating speaker. However, one always got the impression that he knew exactly what he wanted. Even in 1920 he already appeared a little stiff to me, well — like someone who is in power.

**Spiegel:** Is it true that he called you into the Kremlin to give you a lecture?

**Souchy:** We younger people — I was then 28 years old — were in Lenin's opinion suffering from "ideological children's diseases". He wanted to convince us anarchists that without the gaining of political power by the communists and without dictatorship of the working class, socialism couldn't win. All production means would have to be nationalised, Lenin told me, and the factories that were taken over by the workers would have to be put under a strict central control.

**Spiegel:** And you pleaded for "All power to the councillors"?

**Souchy:** Yes. At that time there was the possibility of collective production, i.e. self-control of the producer over his products. But the communists nationalised everything, and now there is less freedom in Russia than in the States. That is the result of this damn "democratic centralisation".

**Spiegel:** When you were in Moscow in 1920, Lenin wanted to integrate also the best from anarchism as well. He did not succeed.

**Souchy:** No. I was against it. I was in Russia from April to November and thoroughly looked around. The workers' councils, the Soviets, had no rights at all. All working conditions all wages, were centrally laid down by the ministry, and especially, of course, the products. The "Soviets" were only allowed to do minor jobs, i.e. distribute dinner tickets in the factories, etc. And immediately after the Tsarism was overthrown the preconditions for liberal socialism would have been quite favourable. Even in 1921 the political direction could have still been adjusted. If the sailors of Kronstadt, together with the left socialist revolutionaries, Maximalists and anarchists, had won, then Russia would be an authentic Soviet republic today — with autonomous collective production groups, with political liberty and without the shame of labour camps, prisons and psychiatric institutions for political enemies.

Lenin's and Stalin's party prevented this. It is always the same: the conquest of political power through a party does not lead to an emancipation of the working class, but creates a new reigning elite.

**Spiegel:** Consequently the Polish workers are on the right path then?

**Souchy:** The activities of the *Solidarnose* are without a doubt moving towards anarcho-syndicalism, that is not satisfied just fighting for better living conditions of the workers; but the unions in the factories should also be active in forming a new society, and that is what the *Solidarnose* wants to do in Poland now.

**Spiegel:** Do you think the Polish workers have a realistic chance?

**Souchy:** That depends on Russia. But Russia will not allow it.

**Spiegel:** Do you think that in Russia itself there is a possibility of a change towards liberal socialism?

**Souchy:** Yes, in a hundred years. One has to realise: Russia never had a democracy. Today Russia is what Prussia once was. A militaristic state. Economically the state is far behind the others. If that does not change in the near future people become dissatisfied. I'm not a prophet, I can't say when it will be. But I'm sure that the present situation will not remain as it is.

**Spiegel:** "Great things don't remain great, small once not small" Bert Brecht once condoled. "The night has twelve hours,

then it is daytime again". When you as an anarchist strike a balance, don't your ideas and ideals still lie in the dark while world-wide marxistically-centralised parties become influential, come to power, make history?

**Souchy:** Anarchism does not back away from social responsibility. Its task, however, is not the execution but the criticism of power. The uniqueness and importance of the anarchists for progress lies in the fact that they do not participate in practical politics, because if they did they would become corrupt themselves. Proletarian class consciousness, together with elite-thinking, leads to Lenin's democratic centralisation. And that is a "Danaer" gift for the working class. Freedom without socialism leads to exploitation, socialism without freedom to oppression.

**Spiegel:** Why do you think do lesser and lesser workers realise this? In your youth Western Europe had many millions of anarchists; in the 1920's the anarchist paper *Der Syndikalist*...

**Souchy:** Whose editor I was!...

**Spiegel:** still had a publication of 120,000, and now, 1983, you could have a meeting of all German anarchistic workers in your apartment, What is the cause?

**Souchy:** Under all revolutionaries, anarchists were always especially mercilessly treated, everywhere. Additionally the ruble and the dollar always fought jointly against the anarchists. That is also the reason why after 1945 anarchist organisations, i.e. anarcho-syndicalist unions, did not establish themselves again, because they were simply forbidden by the occupiers.

**Spiegel:** In France, Italy and even in Spain anarchistic ideas were also suppressed.

**Souchy:** That's right. Don't forget that during the Spanish Civil war one of the most significant liberal social experiments of the 20th century succeeded.

**Spiegel:** You mean the short summer of anarchism Hans-Magnus Enzenberger described when in a few Spanish provinces all money was abolished by free choice, collective production communities were formed and enterprises were controlled by all workers?

## Erich Mühsam Befreiung der Gesellschaft vom Staat



**Souchy:** I was in the country during the entire Spanish Civil War, e.g. I experienced everything at first hand. It was really the case that the principals of social justice and personal freedom, at least for some time, were realised. Everything functioned without laws, without state control, without pressure from outside. The social discrepancies disappeared because the contrast of capital and work was eliminated.

**Spiegel:** Don't you romanticise your memories a little?

**Souchy:** I am not inclined that way. Of course there were difficulties. Although as anarcho-syndicalists we took part in government, we renounced dictatorship. The anarchists did not even become authoritarian when they necessarily had to take over police duties.

I can still remember very well how the anarchist Eroles, as police president of Barcelona, solved a conflict regarding the question who could work as a street vendor, by just one general meeting of the unions. And how else should it have been done? The axiom of non-violence is inherent in anarchism; life without sovereign authorities cannot be accomplished by force. Therefore anarchism is always pluralistic, too.

**Spiegel:** Could this be the reason why some anarchistic ideas now have been adopted by other socialistic movements?

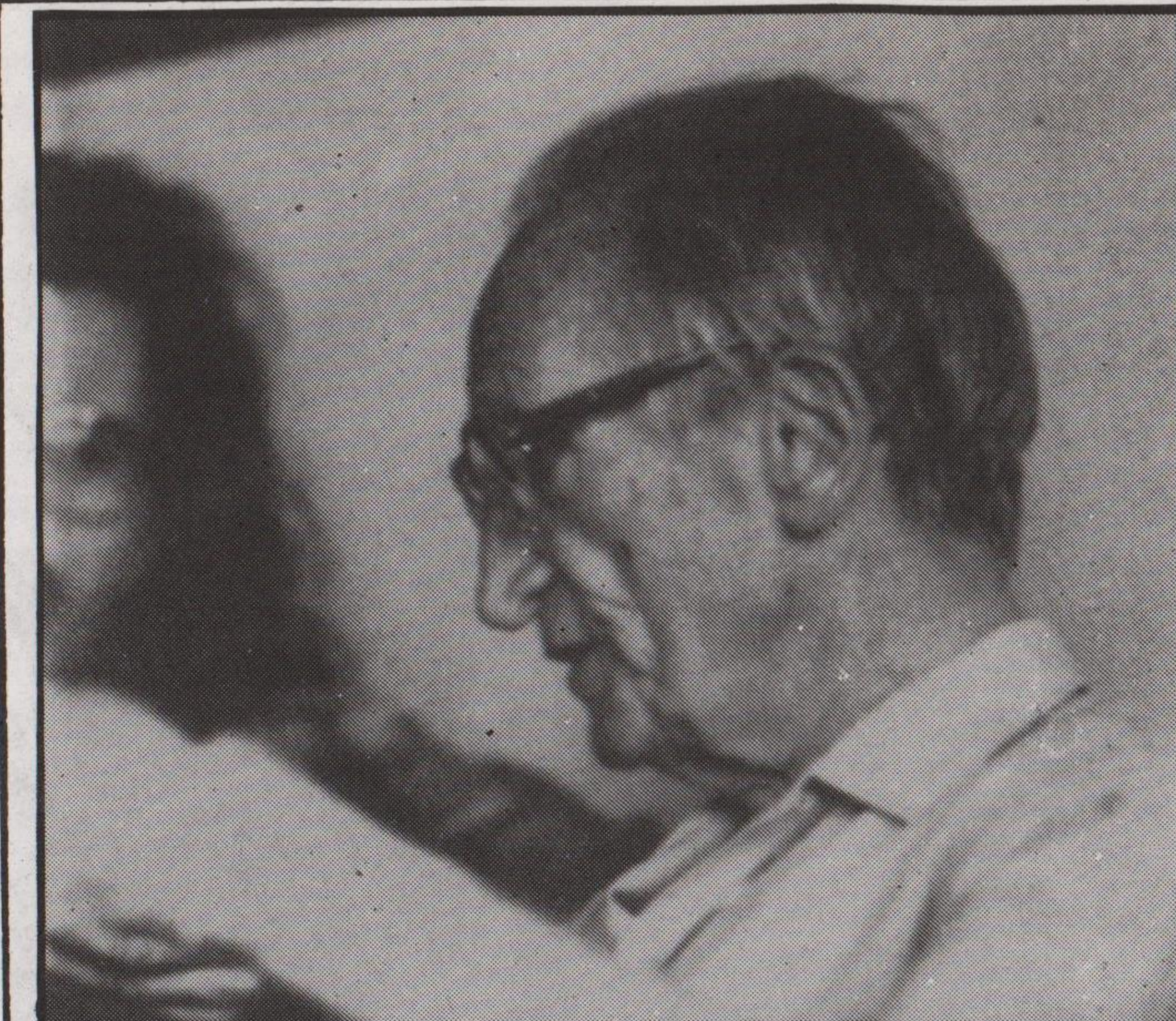
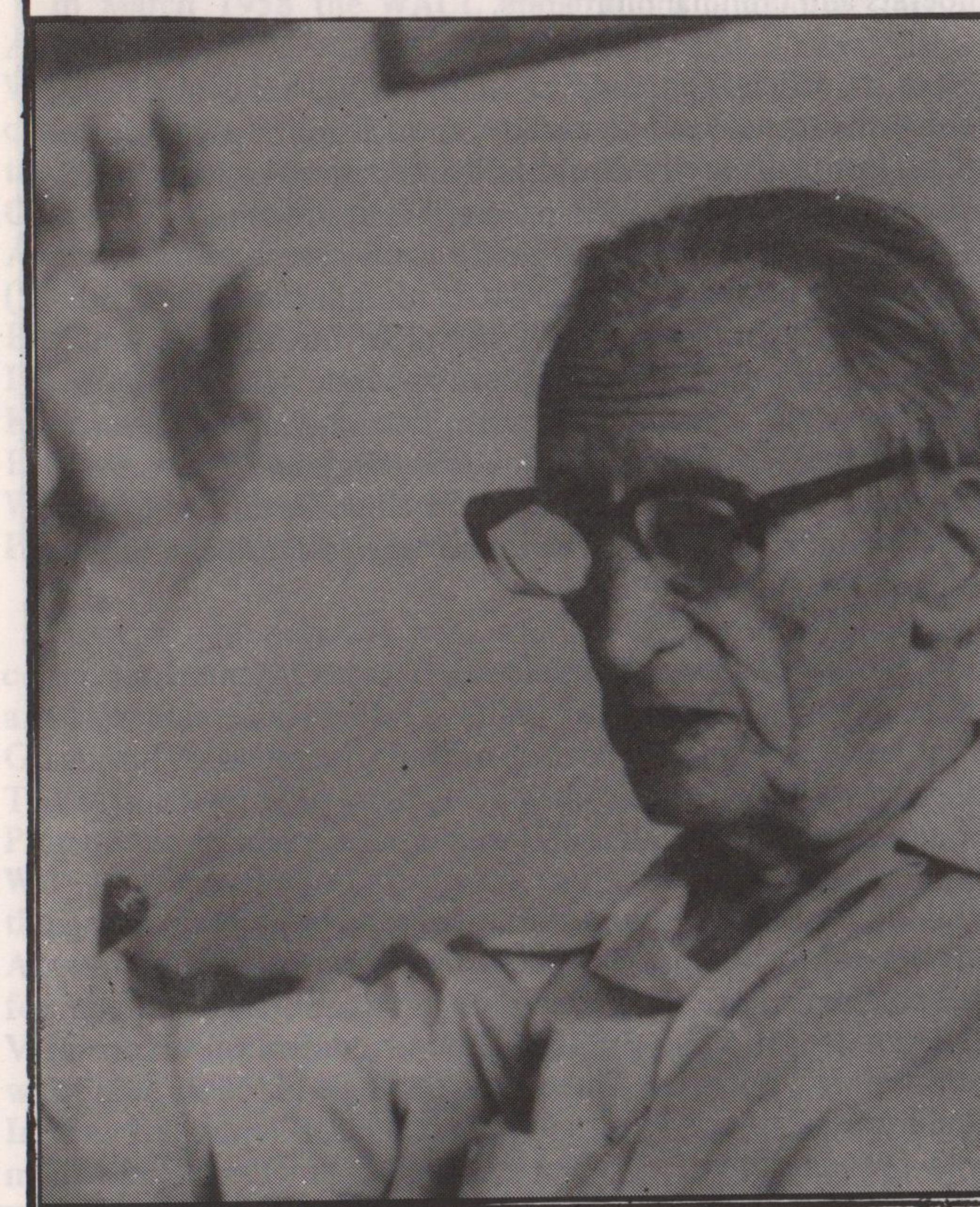
**Souchy:** Most countries, including Germany, are still far from our ideals: self-determination of the individual, the right of the producer to decide over his own products, and autonomous communities. But today various political movements have taken over many anarchistic elements. Take the younger German generation for instance, the *Alternatives*.

**Spiegel:** In a recent poll 15% of the students classified themselves as being anarcho-syndicalists.

**Souchy:** 15%? That would be, roughly calculated, 150,000!!

**Spiegel:** Does that give you encouragement?

**Souchy:** In my youth I believed in a 100-year realm of liberty, equality and fraternity, and I also believed that I would still live to see its beginning. Today I know that the pendulum of history is moving between the two opposite poles Authority and Liberty. On the way to liberty it is especially the youth's duty to fight for as many part-successes as possible.



**Spiegel:** What do you think: is there, all in all, a noticeable success?

**Souchy:** All in all: yes. Remember that today there are no masters' entrances any more, child-labour is prohibited; even the unemployed don't have to starve any longer, and the women have equal rights now. Isn't it encouraging that the *Grüne* and *Alternative* (two political movements: ecologists and alternatives) at least try to keep their representatives electable; they can be voted out and they are accountable towards their party. Their mandates in councils and in Parliament do not earn more than an ordinary citizen and are not to become professional politicians.

**Spiegel:** Should an anarchist get into Parliament?

**Souchy:** No, I would never go along with it. After a few years in Parliament such a man would go the same established path like the rest of them.

**Spiegel:** Therefore no representative democracy, but basis democracy?

**Souchy:** Yes, I am for the latter.

**Spiegel:** Small is beautiful?

**Souchy:** Yes

**Spiegel:** But the state which anarchists actually want to destroy and Friedrich Engels wanted to die out, is becoming stronger and stronger.

**Souchy:** Well, the policemen are becoming more numerous anyway. But that is only the one tendency. The other is that the human rights always requested by us anarchists, such as a reasonable standard of living for all, liberty for everyone, the acknowledgement of human dignity, are not violated so cynically everywhere any longer by dictators and governments.

**Spiegel:** Then mankind only needs to have plenty of wind in order to finally experience anarchism — is it that what you mean?

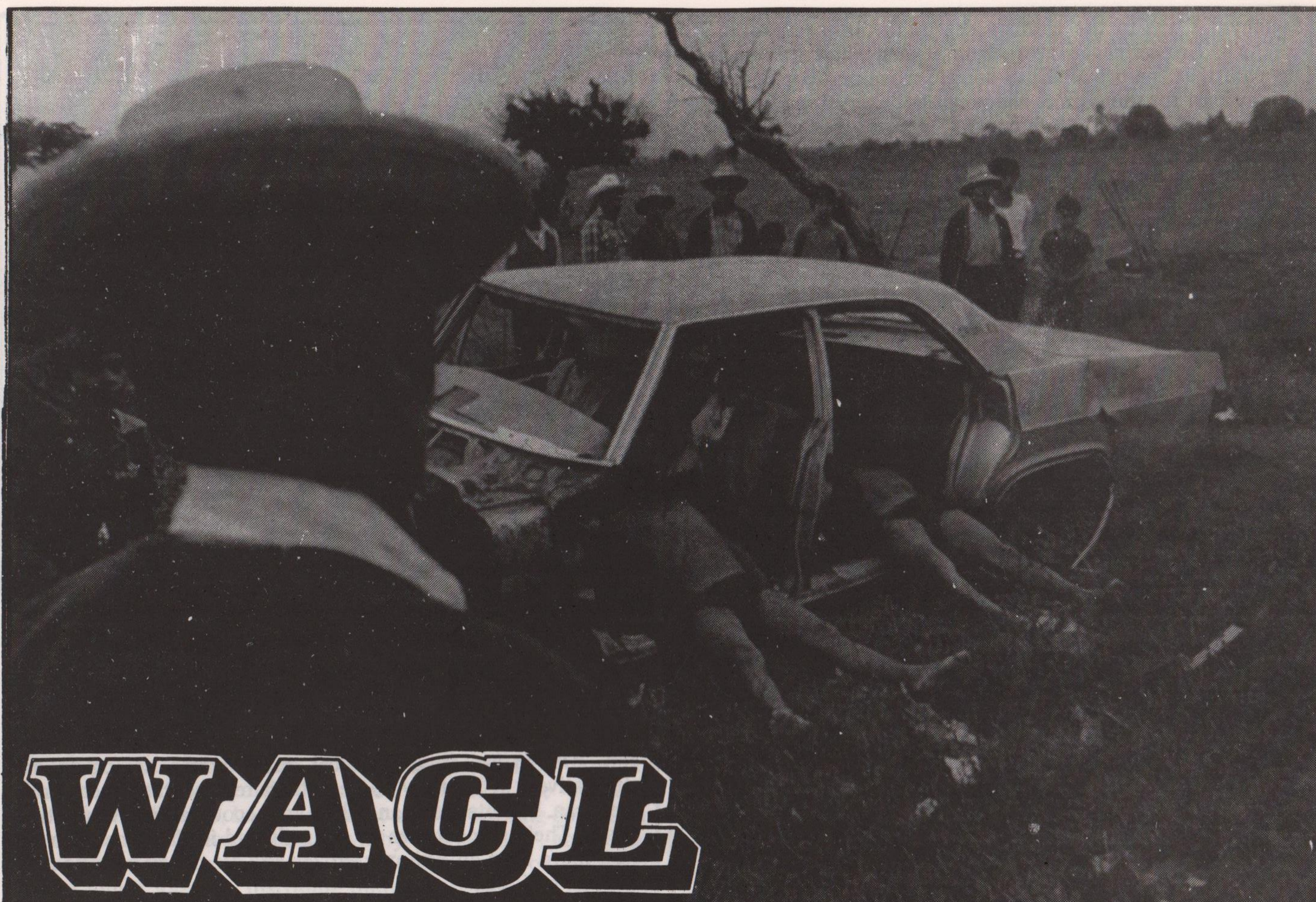
**Souchy:** Yes. I used to think in periods of decades, now I think in centuries.

**Spiegel:** Is that due to age or politics?

**Souchy:** Both. One has to be realistic, even though anarchism as social ideal has, of course, utopian characteristics as well. It can therefore not be realised within a few decades. I myself will not see anarchism in my life-time. But it remains the long-range objective of mankind: a liberal order instead of organised force.

**Spiegel:** Mr. Souchy, we thank you for this interview.





# WACL

A group of US senators, congressmen and powerful right wing lobbyists are frequently attending meetings with terrorists, drug-traffickers, hardcore nazis and fascists in the world wide umbrella organization World Anti Communist League, WACL.

In spite of several warnings from more conscientious conservatives, these US politicians have continued to support WACL in a way that indicates a wilful tactic of allying themselves with a merger of the worlds darkest forces in the holy name of anti-communism.

It would probably be an overstatement to call WACL a huge conspiracy with centralised steering. It is more like a widely branching catalyst of extreme right forces. Through WACL these forces become acquainted with one another and keep in contact, and whenever the situation demands it, various groups get together and fight the enemy. Sometimes it seems like a ritual: when the time comes, the performers know their places and what to do. The enemy is, described in WACL-members own definition: "Communists, those disguised marxists and those without disguises, philo-communists, crypto-communists, para-communists, sympathisers and plain pinko's".

Political pressure, financial support, propaganda, manipulation, weapons, torture, terrorist-manpower — all these ingredients can be made available from various circles within the frame of the WACL. This fact has been made most perfectly clear during the last seven years of repression in Latin America.

One finds, at WACL meetings, the likes of US senators Jesse Helms and Strom Thurmond, Congressmen Robert Dornan, Jake Garn, Philip Crane, Steven D. Symms, Larry McDonald (before his death in the Korean Jet shot down by the Russians), Edward Derwinski, and top brass from military and intelligence

circles. In the same room with these establishment figures one will find members of fascist terror groups, death squad leaders, outspoken racists and antisemites, members of the notorious P2 lodge and neo- as well as old nazis. Self-described crusaders for democracy embrace, in the name of their common cause, anti-democrats and criminal murderers.

Since its official founding in 1966, WACL has evolved from a behind-the-scenes cold war lobby, specialising in psychological warfare, into a distinctly fascist-infiltrated monster with a growing share of responsibility for international terrorism.

Frequently participating in WACL conferences is none other than the CIA's former Deputy Director of Intelligence, Ray S. Cline. His on-the-surface paradoxical presence in such company would be worth a laugh, if it wasn't so chilling. Director of research at the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies and head of the National Intelligence Study Centre, Cline also finds the time to be an advisor to President Ronald Reagan on the subject of terrorism.

Ray S.Cline helped formulate the Reagan Administrations "Soviets behind all terrorism" claim — which Cline elaborated upon at an October 1980 meeting of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers. According to investigative reporter Jeff Stein, not all of Cline's colleagues were in agreement:

"At the back of the room, in an angry, whispered exchange during a break in the panel, a red-faced Howard Bane, recently retired as chief of the CIA's department of terrorism, spat out: "We've got to get Cline off this Moscow control of terrorists. It's divisive. It's not true. There is not a single bit of truth in it. I should know", Bane said, waving his hand. "I just left that place a few days ago." Former CIA colleague Harry Rositzke

(Left) Death Squad victims in Guatamala.

received Bane's comments sympathetically: "It's that far right stuff", he said. "It's horseshit". Cline's emphasis on Moscows control of world terrorism was calculated, like phoney estimates of missile strength, to procure a "terrorism gap". This would create the need for a greater counterterrorism effort and a rebirth of political policing agencies like the Operation Chaos and Cointelpro disruption programme of the 1960's and early 70's."

Only three months prior to the above mentioned episode, Ray S.Cline had been the main speaker at the WACL general assembly in Geneva, Switzerland. There he was in the company of extreme right wing and fascist terrorist representatives, as he had been so often before. It is not possible for a man like Cline to be ignorant of the strange and dangerous composition of WACL's membership.

Cline might well have been one of WACL's real fathers. From the start of 1958 and until June of 1962 he was the CIA's station chief in Taiwan. And in 1958, the Taiwan-based Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League (APACL) and similar-minded groups in the US, Europe and Latin America started preparations for the world wide organisation.

From the start Cline was very close to the two Kuomintang figures who headed the APACL, Ku Cheng-Kang and Fang Chih. The threesome worked together operating the opium-smuggling airline, Civil Air Transport, which was owned jointly by the KMT and the CIA. It was in 1959, in fact, that CAT planes began flying opium out of Laos. Thus, it must be to Cline, among others, that researcher Peter Dale Scott aimed the following statement:

"What is extraordinary, and quite possibly criminal under US law, is not the involvement in narcotics of the KMT, nor that of the Taiwan airline CAT which it controls, but of americans exercising the authority of the CIA."

In March 1958 the WACL preparations committee (World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberalisation, WACCFL) met for the first time in Mexico City. There a dozen countries and a string of organisations were represented. Elected to the steering committee were Ku Cheng-Kang (Taiwan), L. George Paik (S.Korea), Nguyen Huu Thong (S.Vietnam), Admiral Carlos Penna Botte (Brazil), Sergio Fernandez Larrain (Chile), Charles Edison, Lev Dobriansky, Marvin Liebman and Francis J. McNamara (US), Fritz Cramer (W.Germany), George Dallas (G.Britain), Yaroslav Stetsko and General Ferenc Farkas Kisbarnaki (Anti Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, ABN). Marvin Liebman was elected General Secretary, and Alfred Gielen of W.Germany, Ernesto de la Fe of Cuba and Innamullah Khan of Pakistan were elected regional secretaries.

Some of these names were warning signals of what was to come — a hint that the activities of WACL were to be modelled after Hitler and Goebbel's *Anti-Comintern*. The two West Germans, Cramer and Gielen, were figureheads for Eberhard Taubert, mastermind of the Anti-Comintern. As head of the Propaganda Ministry's notorious Division II, Taubert's World War 2 responsibilities included Germany's campaign against the Jews. Following the war he found refuge in Iran and South Africa. In 1950 he returned to West Germany to resume his former vocation by founding a rightwing extremist organisation, Volksbund fur Frieden und Frieheit. Its leader was Fritz Cramer, who was also the secretary general of the Committee for Information and Social Activity, CISA. Both organisations maintained lengthy files on German leftists. Taubert and Cramer

were friends of Gerhard Frey, editor of the neo-nazi Deutsche National Zeitung und Soldaten Zeitung, which emerged as the European organ in the campaign to create a second Anti-Comintern.

The man elected European regional secretary at the WACL preparation meeting in Mexico, Alfred Gielen, worked directly under Taubert in Goebbel's propaganda ministry in the late 30's and throughout World War 2. In 1937 Gielen wrote "Das Rotbuch uber Spanien" which Taubert published.



A camera-shy Eberhard Taubert.

Taubert, also called "the man in the white Porsche", manoeuvred his way through the 50's and 60's to become the Psychological Warfare adviser to the rightist Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss. Taubert co-organized a paramilitary unit known as "Kampfbund Deutscher Soldaten". Through Taubert, members of this unit were recruited for terrorist actions in Spain and Italy in the early 70's. Both ABN representatives in the WACL founding Committee fought alongside the Nazis in World War 2. Stetzko was the prime minister of the short-lived Ukrainian Republic, and Kisbarnaki headed the Hungarian army formed by the traitor and war criminal Ferenc Szalasi to aid the Germans.

Stetzko later served US intelligence. Members of his secret police the "Sluzba Bezpecky" were recruited as executioners for the OSS/CIA's Operation Ohio, an assassination programme that bore much resemblance to the later Operation Phoenix in Vietnam. Thousands of displaced persons were assassinated in West German refugee camps in the late 40's and early 50's, having stood out in wartime for their anti-fascist sympathies. According to Maris Cakars and Barton Oxborn, "the full extent of this reign of terror is probably known only by Yaroslav Stetsko, the present head of ukrainian nationalists, OUN, and Mykola Matwiyelko, head of the OUN's secret police at the time of the murders.

As an aside, it is of interest to note that no less than three of the figures, whose names came up during investigations of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, were involved in laying the groundwork for the WACL. They were Spas T. Raikan, the man who greeted Lee Harvey Oswald upon his return to the United States from the Soviet Union, and the general secretary of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF-ABN), whose chairman, Nestor Procyk, sat in on meetings of the WACL founding committee. The private detective Guy Bannister and his associate, the attorney Maurice B. Gaitlin, are two men at the New Orleans end of the Oswald mystery who have attracted increasing attention during more recent investigations. Both men were active in the Anti-Communist League of



the Caribbean led by Ernesto de la Fe, and were involved in WACL preparations. Gaitlin himself took part in a steering committee meeting in Guatemala in late 1958.

In 1962 Gaitlin reportedly delivered the sum of 100,000 dollars to a group of OAS-terrorists in Paris to finance an attempted assassination of Charles de Gaulle, an allegation confirmed by Gaitlin's junior associate Jerry Milton Brooks. In 1964 Gaitlin either fell or was pushed to his death in the El Panama Hotel in Panama.

Documents of an extreme right wing group, American Veterans Against Communism, AVAC, located in California, confirm that in 1963 there were close ties between the key group in WACL preparations, the APACL, and a network of US far right extremists including the Minuteman organization and the Cuban exiles of Alpha 66. According to a letter, dated Oct. 16th 1963, AVAC was going to send a member to Taiwan for the annual APACL-conference "in the Dragon Lady's sampan" (with Anna Chan Chennault). The member, a Dr. Selwyn F. Lewis with the code name "Cherokee", in another letter tells, that he has started a "Kennedy Must Go" campaign, and that he is in touch with a man who is delivering weapons to the Cuban exiles and who "might do the same for the Chinese".

Eight years after the initial meetings in Mexico and Guatemala, WACL was finally established in Seoul, South Korea, in November 1966. One of the reasons for the delay was disagreements among two of the big aspiring membergroups, the Russian nationalists of the NTS and the Ukrainian and other separatist groups of the ABN. In this strife the ABN came out the strongest.

Represented at the first annual WACL conference in Taipei in 1966 were members from 64 national and 12 international organizations. By 1981 WACL had grown to include 89 nations membergroups, 13 international organizations and 10 associate organizations. The contingent from the Republic of China alone represents 838 sub-organisations with a combined membership approaching 6 million.

From the beginning the official US representation was made up by the disappointed cold warriors of the American Security Council, the China Lobby, the John Birch Society, Captive Nations Week, AF-ABN, The Defenders of American Liberty, Young Americans for Freedom and Christian Crusaders.

Besides the KMT in Taiwan, WACL's main financial sources during the first ten years were Sun Myung Moons Unification Church and the Japanese Industrialist Ryoichi Sasakawa ("I am the worlds wealthiest fascist"). The general secretariat of WACL was placed in Moon's "Freedom Centre" in Seoul.

Displeased with the behaviour of the rebellious American youth, Sun Myung Moon in 1969 decided to mobilize the "better part" of it to fight communism. He organised the Freedom Leadership Foundation and ordered its leader, Allan Tate Wood, to gather Moonies throughout the US to lobby for a hawkish position in Vietnam. The same political stormtroopers were later very active in the American Chilean Councils Campaign against Chile's Salvador Allende. Of course the Freedom Leadership Foundation functioned under the wing of WACL, and in 1970 Wood and eight other American Moonie leaders went to the annual WACL conference in Kyoto, Japan, where Senator Strom Thurmond was the main speaker.

One can suspect that some of the funds for WACL came from opium profits. Not only are WACL members connected with big-time drug smuggling through their association with

KMT-Chinese of the Golden Triangle and CAT airline, high standing APACL and WACL members have themselves been exposed as traffickers. In 1958, the head of the APACL's US affiliate, Chung Wing Fung, was arrested after arranging the shipment of 130 kilos of pure heroin to San Fransisco. However, Chung Wing Fung was also an agent of KMT Intelligence, and with the help of connections in high places he eventually escaped to Taiwan.

Two months before the fifth WACL conference in Quezon, Phillipines in 1971, the leader of the Laotian WACL delegation, Prince Sopsaisano was arrested in Paris' Orly Airport carrying a suitcase filled with 60 kilos of heroin. This had been manufactured in the laboratories of yet another Laotian delegate, General Vang Pao. Sopsaisano was freed due to his diplomatic immunity and still remains a delegate to WACL.

In 1972 the chief of Paraguay's secret police, Pastor Coronel, was exposed as an accomplice of the heroin traffickers Auguste Ricord and Christian "Beau Serge" David. Coronel is still a WACL delegate.

In 1973 WACL's British delegation pulled out in protest against "The pro-nazi sympathies and anti-semitism of the WACL members." The delegations chairman, former Conservative Member of Parliament Geoffrey Stewart Smith, had given up his fight to prevent the infiltration of such extremists.

WACL's 1974 conference was to be held in Washington, DC. This prompted Stewart Smith to send a secret memorandum to the US national member organization, the American Council for World Freedom, led by Major General Thomas A. Lane (retired), warning them of the neo-nazi infiltration. Stewart Smith alleged that, from its Mexico City headquarters, the regional Latin American WACL chapter, Confederacion Anticomunista Latinoamericana, CAL, was leading a drive to recruit European neo-

Sun Myung Moon (seated) and friend.



nazis and fascists into the mother organization. In his memo, Stewart Smith noted that a leader of the Spanish neo-nazi group CEDADE, Jesus Palacio, was already a WACL-delegate, and that the West German "Action Neue Rechte" and the Swedish "Nordiska Rikspartiet" were on their way. He also claimed to have written to WACL's honorary chairman and strongman, Ku Cheng-Kang, asking him to stop the nazi infiltration, but had had no response. He went on to write :

"More worrying than the existence of pro-nazi and anti-semitic persons and organizations within WACL is the moral neutrality of the officers of both WACL and ACWF (US) in neither condemning nor expelling such elements. They have known perfectly well about anti-semitism but have chosen to remain silent."

It would take a lot of space to name all the "black" groups and individuals which were part of WACL, when Stewart Smith sounded his alarm. Little did he know that it was only the beginning. There were signs that not only nazis and fascists but outright terrorists were to be welcomed into the WACL. Among the delegates to the 1974 conference in Washington were the French neo-nazi Francois Duprat, who was known as the liason between French, Italian and Spanish fascist terrorgroups, OAS-general Paul Vanuxem, Andres Nazario Sargen, head of the Cuban exile terrorist group Alpha 66, and his second-in-command, Diego Medina Hernandez.

What had happened within WACL, was that the Latin American chapter CAL, had become the "heaviest" and most powerful next to APACL. Losing the battle in South East Asia, all anti-communist forces now had to concentrate on Latin America, where the bully-boy dictators were fighting dirty with the use of death squad massacres and torture. Participation in this dirty war apparently became a new politic of WACL, and a new type of members filled the ranks.

Rather than react immediately to Stewart Smith's warning memo, the US chapter went on to host the 1974 conference. There, Thomas A. Lane was elected WACL's chairman for the following year. When the Americans eventually initiated their own investigation, they found that the Mexican WACL chapter was pro-nazi and anti-semitic as charged and that convicted Croatian terrorists were now under WACL's wings.

In spite of that, Senator Jesse Helms did not hesitate to journey to Rio de Janeiro to be one of the key speakers at WACL's ninth annual conference of 1975. There he was in the company of nazis, death squad leaders and other terrorists. Another speaker at the conference was Nazarene Mollicone, a leader of the outlawed Italian fascist terrorist organization Ordine Nuovo, which is responsible for numerous bombings and killings in Italy.

By 1975 one could no longer speak of infiltration, but rather of a takeover by the extremists. The new WACL chairman, the Brazilian Carlos Barbieri Filho, was allegedly associated with the Brazilian death squad AAB as well as its Argentine counterpart AAA. Other new strongmen in WACL were the founder of Guatemala's "White Hand" terrorist squad, Mario Sandoval Alarcon, and the head of El Salvador's version of the same, Roberto "Major Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson.

According to the "The Leveller":

"Carlos Barbieri Filho operates a finance company in Ascuncion, Paraguay, known as Financiera Urundey, which acts as a conduit for the laundering of "dirty money" from Saudi Arabia and South Korea through Paraguay's completely free foreign

exchange market to anywhere else in the world. He also arranges training courses in Taipei for the Paraguay police."

On May 23rd, 1975 a WACL-financed conference was held in Las Palmas, Canary Islands, in the name of the "Secret Atlantic Alliance". The conferees included terrorists from Argentina's AAA and the Italian Ordine Nuovo, right wing activists from Legion Africa, British neo-nazis from the paramilitary Column 88 and similarly inclined extremists from France, Switzerland, Spain and Brazil.

Finally it was too much for the US rightists of the American World Freedom Council. They renounced their WACL-membership but maintained observer-status.

There were others to take their places. The Council on American Affairs, headed by the anti-semitic anthropologist Roger Pearson, became WACL's new US affiliate, and the Liberty Lobby became an associate.



Roger Pearson founder of the Northern League and patron of Nouvelle Ecole

Pearson's strange career began in Britain. He went to India in the early 50's, and there he met a fellow anthropologist, the Scottish nobleman Robert Gayre, a long-time financier of racist propaganda. Upon his return to Britain, Pearson founded an international neo-nazi organization known as "The Northern League". His goal was a union of the most dedicated nazis in Northern Europe. His plans failed and he then went to the United States, where he published studies on "race and genetics", many of which are distributed through nazi publications like "White Power" and "National Vanguard". He slowly built up a network of contacts in Congress and among influential right wingers in the Heritage Foundation and the American Security Council.

In the mid-70's Croatian terrorists launched a series of terrorist bombings against Yugoslav institutions in the United States. The FBI determined that the most active terrorists were using Paraguay as their base. Two of the terrorists, Miro Baresic and Ivan Vujicevic were even recruited as bodyguards to the Paraguayan ambassador to the United States.

In 1971, Miro Baresic murdered Jugoslavia's ambassador to



Sweden. He was arrested and convicted in Stockholm. But in 1972, fellow terrorists hijacked a plane and forced the Swedish government to release Baresic. From Sweden they went to Paraguay, where in 1976 one of them, Jozo Damjanovic, killed the Uruguayan ambassador, Carlos Abdala, having mistaken him for a Yugoslav diplomat.

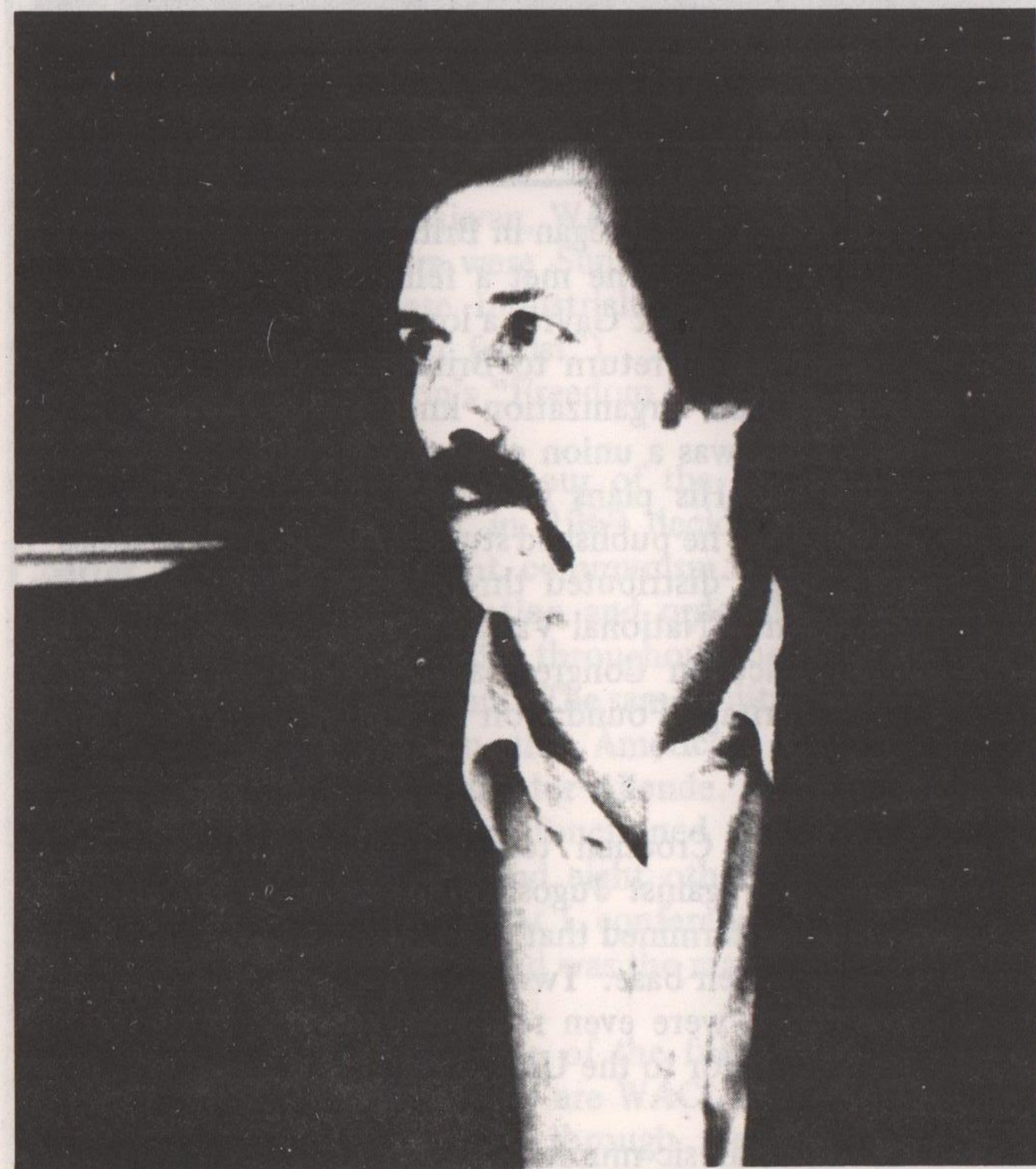
In 1977 the FBI put pressure on the Paraguayan government to cease its support of Croatian terrorists. It soon came out that not only had the Croatians been training Paraguay's secret police led by the heroin-trafficking WACL member Pastor Coronel, but the leader of the Croatians, Dinko Zakic, was also a WACL delegate.

It would be a delicate thing for WACL to explain why the organization, or rather the Latin American chapter, CAL, had supported the terrorists financially. Apparently to avoid such questions from the US government, the Paraguayan police arrested Zakic and some of his terrorists, charging them with stealing three and a half million dollars of CAL funds.

The Croatians were not the only European terrorists living in Paraguay and taking part in WACL meetings. Among the renegades who found shelter in Paraguay were Italian Ordine Nuovo members Elio Massagrande and Caetano Orlando, wanted for the murder of Judge Vittorio Occorsio and other killings and bombings. Both were present at the annual WACL conference in 1979.

All of this should come as no surprise considering that two of Paraguay's WACL delegates were Pastor Coronel and Colonel (now General) Benito Guanes. Both were involved in the plot to assassinate the former Chilean Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier in Washington in 1976. The two not only helped DINA agents/assassins Micheal Townley and Fernandez Larios secure false Paraguayan passports, they were also part of the cover-up that followed. Furthermore, Pastor Coronel, in addition to being classified by the US Drug Enforcement Administration as a "Class 1 narcotics violator", is infamous for the torture practised by his police forces, as a result of which US Ambassador George

Michael Vernon Townley



Landau forbade embassy officials from having any contact whatsoever with Coronel. The US prosecutor in the Letelier assassination case, Eugene Propper, described an early 1976 incident in his book *Labyrinth* :

"Shortly thereafter, Coronel came up with an even bigger catch — Miguel Angel Soler, underground leader of the tiny outlawed Paraguay Communist Party. Coronel had Soler brought directly to his office, where he promptly shot the prisoner twice in the head with his Magnum. Then Coronel ordered Soler's head cut off and took it to the Presidential Palace. His message was clear : The Paraguayan military intelligence agency, J-2, may have a huge budget and numerous analysts, but it was Pastor Coronel with his meagre resources and detectives, who was protecting the nation from the communists."

Only weeks after the arrest of the Croatian terrorists, WACL's Latin American chapter, CAL, met in Paraguay in an atmosphere of anger against President Carter's human rights campaign. Besides the strong attacks on Carter, the conference was characterised by the omnipresence of torturers, terrorists and members of death squads.

The Nazi-infiltration, the presence of terrorists, the warnings and the withdrawal of the original US WACL-group apparently made no impression on Congressman Robert Dornan, who appeared as the main speaker at this CAL-conference, which should become historical in a sad and bloody way.

Back in 1975 the Bolivian Interior Ministry had conceived the so called "Banzer Plan" (named after dictator Hugo Banzer), which called for a merciless war against the leftists of the church. Penny Lernoux tells in her book *"Cry of the People"* that the secret plan was leaked to Bolivian Jesuits by an Interior Ministry official, who had been horrified by the governments plan to smear, expel, arrest or murder any dissident priest or bishop in the Bolivian church. At the 1977 CAL meeting in Paraguay the Banzer Plan was adopted by ten Latin American governments, including those of Chile, Brazil and Honduras. In the interim, the plan has been carried out with much zeal. Bishops, nuns and priests have been arrested, tortured and killed throughout Latin America. This has lately been especially true in El Salvador and Guatemala, where CAL leaders also lead the Death Squads.

At WACL's 1977 annual conference in Taipei, the Cuban exile terrorist organisation Alpha 66 was recognised as the Cuban national representative in both WACL and CAL. Honorary chairman Ku Cheng-Kang stated that "the Cubans through Alpha 66 can count on the support of these two organisations in the struggle against Castro".

According to the Spanish press, WACL had also supported the terrorist center, Aginter Press, in Lisbon until it was dissolved in 1974. When Spanish, Italian and Cuban exile terrorists were at work in Spain to disrupt the first post-Franco elections in 1977, WACL reportedly supported the largest and most active terrorist group, Alianza Anticomunista Apostolica.

In 1976/77 South Korean WACL-members were involved in the Korea-gate scandal in the US, and when the Fraser sub-committee were investigating the case, one of its members, Congressman Edward Derwinski was accused of leaking information to the Korean Intelligence KCIA. Derwinski was never indicted, and today he frequently attends WACL meetings in Taiwan.

By 1978 the fascist takeover of WACL almost seemed complete. In May of that year, neo-Nazis, fascists, terrorists and racists gathered in Washington for the annual WACL conference. In an article headlined "The fascists Specter Behind the World

Anti-Red League", Washington Post journalist Paul Valentine wrote:

"A subtle but major development, for example, was the formal admission to WACL membership of the Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale, introduced at WACL's opening plenary session simply as "MSI", an Italian political organization." Conference delegates calpedpolitely. Few had heard of the organization, at least by that name. In fact, MSI is the principal neo-fascist party of Italy with 50 senators and deputies in the Italian parliament. Party chief Giorgio Almirante, 62, ex-Blackshirt and leader in Benito Mussolini's government in World War 11, attended the WACL conference along with several aides".

According to Valentine, members of the French neo-fascist "Nouvelle le.Ecole met informally at the conference with the American neo-Nazi William Pierce, a former functionary of the American Nazi party, who now heads his own "National Alliance". Pierce stated that he met with the Nouvelle Ecole-people because "they are working along lines very close to ours".

Among the old line Nazis present at the conference were one St. C. de Beurkelaar, chairman of the Dutch organisation of former SS volunteers and West German Heinrich Hartle, a former Nazi-functionary and associate of the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg.

A bus load of exile Cuban Alpha 66 members came to the conference from Miami. The bus was paid for by Reverend Jose Casado of the Unification church.

This strange Washington conference was attended by US senators Jake Garn and James McClure, who were both addressing the 800 delegates from 65 countries.

Roger Pearson assumed the WACL chairmanship for the following year, thereby gaining the opportunity to carry out his plans for a hard core neo-Nazi European regional chapter. More traditional rightists such as the French Suzanne Labin, Italian Matteo Lombardi and Belgian George Rombouts were horrified.

From a number of groups, most of them belonging to the European "New Order" (involved in terrorism in Italy, France and Spain), Pearson created EUROWACL and made plans for its official acceptance as a regional chapter at the April 1979 WACL conference in Paraguay.

In November 1978 the neo-Nazis met with Pearson in Vienna to forge their plans. However, they made the major mistake of demanding the expulsion of their European opponents, thereby igniting an open war between the two factions.

The two sides converged in Copenhagen in February of 1979, holding their respective meetings at separate rooms in the Royal Hotel, and forcing WACL Honorary Chairman Ku Cheng-Kang and General Secretary Dr. Woe to run from one room to another, trying to reconcile the two groups.

24 organisations were represented in Pearson's EUROWACL. Seven of them were long time WACL members. The remaining 17 sought membership with the support of Pearson's US chapter, the Latin American chapter CAL and the Middle East chapter, MESC.

Take one of the aspiring groups, for example the small Norwegian Nazi Party, "Norsk Front", which in recent years has been active in terror bombings. The leader of its storm troopers, Tor Petter Hadland, became its representative in EUROWACL. Hadland was invited to the 1979 WACL conference in Paraguay along with the other EUROWACL-Nazis. His travel expenses, according to the leader of his party, were picked up by Sheik Ahmed Salah Jamjoon, member of WACL's Executive Committee, former Saudi Arabian minister and now general manager

of a heavy equipment company. Since 1976 a branch of the Saudi Arabian royal family has been one of WACL's main financial sources.

At the 1979 annual WACL conference in Paraguay, another major European fascist party was invited, as the Italian MSI had been in Washington in 1978. This time it was a delegation from the Spanish "Fuerza Nueva", headed by party chief Blas Pinar.

At the conference the rivalry between the two European groups created such difficulties that a special Executive Committee meeting was set for November of 1979. The traditional right wing Scandinavian WACL chapters had composed a 28-page study known as "The Blue Document" ("For strictly internal use in WACL. Classified Information") which spelled out in detail the Nazi backgrounds of EUROWACL members and the manipulations of Roger Pearson.

In 1980 the Executive Committee was finally forced to denounce Pearson and refused to endorse the applications for membership of his prospective EUROWACL groups. The opposition European members were to form the European regional chapter, named WACL Council for Europe, WFCE. The old neo-Nazi members were not, however, expelled. Their attempted coup had merely failed.

In July of 1981 over a thousand British unionists, industrialists and Members of Parliament received parcels containing three violently anti-semitic books, two of them written by the American Nazi William Grimstad, an associate of Pearson. The parcels had been sent from the Pakistani office of the "World Muslim League". The head of that office and director general of the "Muslim League", Inamullah Khan, is one of the founders of WACL and still one of its top members.

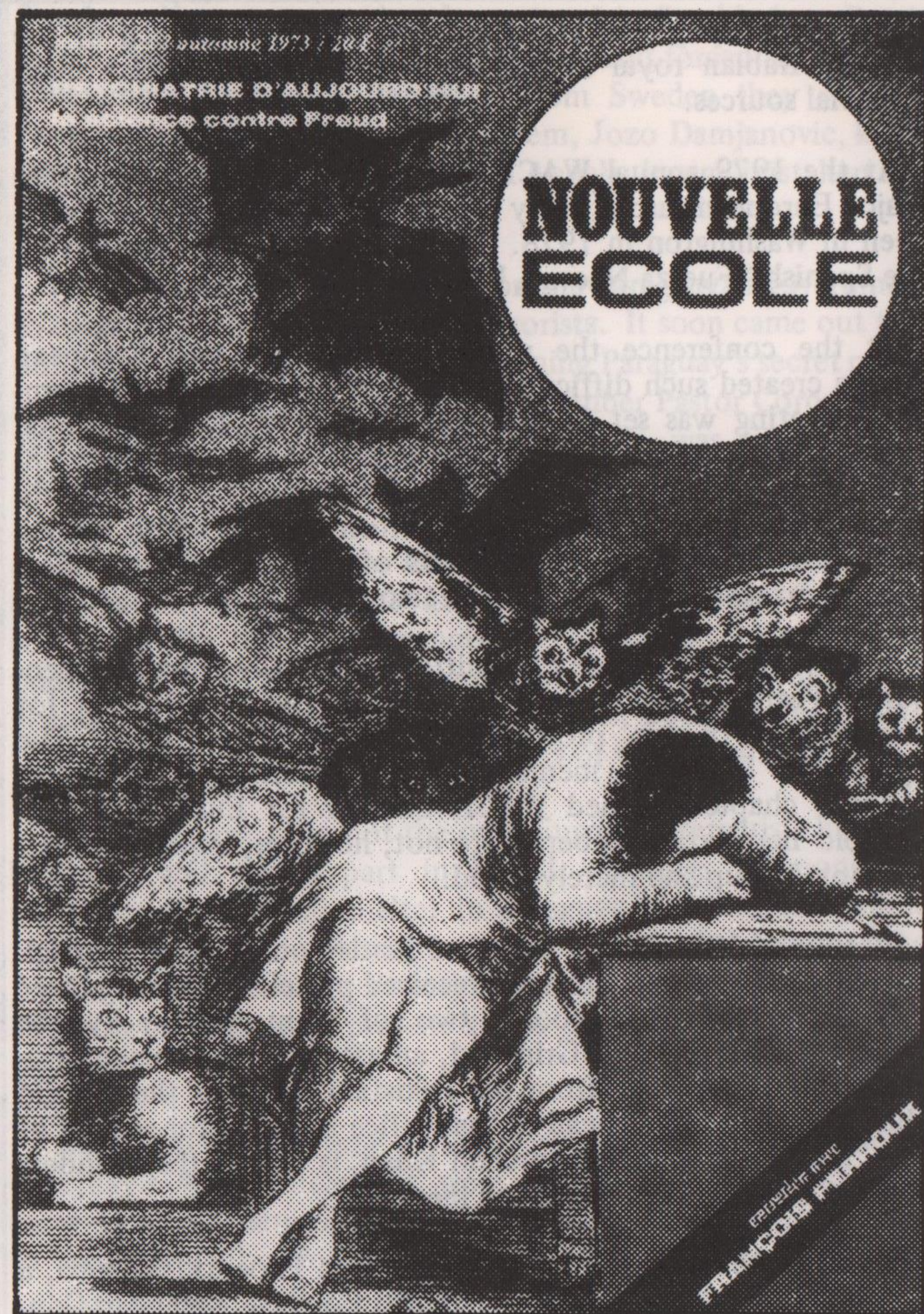
On November 22, 1981, at a meeting in Phoenix, Arizona, a lot of the original US WACL members from the American Council for World Freedom decided to rejoin WACL as its US chapter. The Reagan government had provided a better climate for extreme right wing activities, and the old cold warriors were especially anxious about "the growing communist threat in Central America".

General John K. Singlaub (retired) was elected chairman of the new US national WACL chapter. Board members are Dr. Lev E.Dobriansky Dr, David N.Rowe, Dr. Anthony Bouscarne, Lt. Col. Albert T.Koen (ret.), Walter Chopiwskij, Dr. Anthony Kubek, Capt. John McCain (ret.), Dr. Robert Morris, Fred Schlafly and J.A. Parker.



MSI Leader Giorgio Almirante (left) greeting Senator James McClure from the USA at a WACL conference.





# NOUVELLE ECOLE

Obviously a lot of the dirty work in Central America has been done by WACL-members. In the last two years, the official Cuban national WACL member/organisation Alpha 66 has been training former Nicaraguan National Guard members in camps in the Florida Everglades and in San Bernidino and Orange Counties in California. At the same time, former Laotian Meo soldiers loyal to WACL-member and heroin-trafficker General Vang Pao (now living in the US) has been trained by Alpha 66 in Orange County.

According to Guatemalan Julia Esquivel Velasquez, co-ordinator for the "International Committee for Justice and Peace" and co-founder of the magazine "Dialogo", a group of Asians, who didn't speak a word of Spanish, in 1981 attacked an Indian Mountain village in the Guatemalan Quiche province and performed a massacre on the people living there.

In February 1982 the press revealed the existence of a Counter terrorist Task Force, which in November 1981 went on a secret mission into Laos. This mission was led by James G.Gritz, a retired Green Beret Lt.Colonel and General Vang Pao. They were allegedly supported by Rep. Robert K. Dornan.

Various WACL groups seem to have put an iron ring around Central America. Even the US ambassador to the Organization of American States, J.William Middendorf, is a member of the American Security Council as well as of Ray S.Cline's two organisations, the National Intelligence Study Center and the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies.

It would be an educated guess, that the real behind-the-scenes WACL strongman in the US could be Ray S.Cline. Through all these years he has continued to be a faithful traveller to Taiwan for meetings. Cline's articles and speeches appear in the WACL publication "Asian Outlook", and his photo in the company of WACL honorary chairman Ku Chang-Kang is a regular feature of the magazine.

Cline links the WACL to almost all corners of US Intelligence, and most ironical to the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism whose members appear blind to the terrorism practised by members of WACL.

Among Cline's friends are foner CIA agents Theodore Shackley and David Atlee Philips, who on behalf of the CIA, originally trained and supervised the terrorists of Alpha 66. Shackley even went on to train and supervise General Vang Pao's Meo-soldiers in Laos.

Why is it, that to the likes of Ray S.Cline, General Singlaub, Robert Dornan, Jesse Helms and Larry McDonald, Death Squad assassins in Latin America, Ordine Nuovo terrorists in Italy, Cuban exiles of Alpha 66 and even hard core Nazis are not terrorists, but freedom fighters?

**Henrik Kruger**

Henrick Kruger is the author of *The Great Heroin Coup: Drugs, Intelligence, and International Fascism* (South End Press, Boston, 1980).

These people represent almost everything important in the current power structure of the US extreme right, the American Security Council, The John Birch Society, The Heritage Foundation, the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and the National Intelligence Study Center.

General Singlaub (the old buddy of mercenary and arms dealer Mitch Werbell) seems to be everywhere these days. He is very active in the American Security Council and on the board of another newly created right-wing organisation, "Western Goals", a brainchild of Congressman and bircher Larry McDonald and Information Digest-Editor John Rees.

In 1980 General Singlaub went to Central America with Reagan advisor and former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency General Daniel Graham (Ret.). According to an on-the-site investigation by the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs, Singlaub and Graham gave Guatemalan officials a "clear message" to get on with the terror killings. "Mr. Reagan", they said, "recognises that a good deal of dirty work has to be done."

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# BOOKS



**Trotsky for Beginners** - Tariq Ali & Phil Evans  
**Marx for Beginners** - Rius & Friends  
(Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative)

Hands up all those who've read the whole of *Capital* ... Let's face it, only academics have the time, and, more to the point, the motive (i.e. are sufficiently unintelligent to try). So maybe we should be grateful that this handy little series makes accessible the theory and history of Marxism in a compact and popular form. Revolutionary intellectuals have rarely solved the problem of translating their ideas into terms comprehensible to non-intellectuals. The situationists, for instance, assumed that workers would learn to cope with their heavy terminology because it would be historically necessary that they do so. Failing to achieve mass currency (except in debased or spontaneous forms) situationist thought degenerated into a mere intellectual style.

On the other hand, we have the patronising workerism of Rius's *Marx for Beginners*, forerunner of these two titles. Here Feuerbach is written "Foy-er-back"; so that the thickies can cope with it, see. Marx is called "Charlie", or worse, "our Charlie", throughout. He winks at us from the cover like a jolly Santa. "Yes, even Charlie had feelings", concedes Rius, introducing Jenny Marx; the tone of half-joke apology is typical - it's hard work humanising the brilliant old bore, and

harder still to render his ideas intelligible and interesting. Little cartoon men pop up here and there, protesting at all the long words - Rius gives his readers precious little credit. (But then, it's precisely those workerists who make the most noise about an abstract proletariat who really have the least faith in the real abilities of real workers - that's the qualification for "representing" their "interests" in the post-revolutionary bureaucracy).

These defensive little anticipations of reader resistance betray the author's doubts about the whole exercise; these little grumbling cartoon men are Rius himself! "I promise not to yawn if you keep it simple", says a funny character and - wallops! - off we go again into the chapter on Surplus Value, or Aristotle, or Empiricism... Bakunin was spot on when he criticised the philosophical basis of Marxism - not any particular philosophy, but philosophy itself. The book may be informative in some respects, but basically you just can't simplify Marx the way Rius wants. But he's so enslaved by his ideology that when he fails, far from blaming Marx, he flagellates himself for not being up to the task, grovelling on about not having fulfilled his ambition to understand Marx, about his own limited education, about his book not being up to scratch. "But that", he says, "just goes to prove in the end that Marx is Marx, and Rius is... well, just a poor guy!" And he signs his name with a picture of an ass...

If such doubts lend *Marx* a certain small honesty, *Lenin for Beginners*, by Richard Appignanesi and Oscar Zarate, is good no-nonsense stuff. First page: "What is the 'Great Fact' of the 20th Century? The Victory of the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, October 1917." And the man personally responsible winks from the cover... It can't be denied that Lenin was right every time, in his own terms, and since those terms are assumed to be beyond reproach, there's not a whisper of criticism. Makhno and Kronstadt are dealt

with cursorily; the former was wrong because he refused to merge with the Red Army (serves him right), the latter because they had "peasant origins" (serves them right). If you disapprove of Lenin's introduction of assembly-line Taylorism you're just a lily-livered "intellectual", afraid of "factory discipline". In fact, if you disapprove of any of it, you're obviously "prejudiced" by a "false image" built up by "Cold War hostility". Serves you right...

Compared with this, *Trotsky for Beginners* (text by Tariq Ali, cartoons by Phil Evans, the well-known Bill Tidy of Trotskyism) adopts a more flexible (menshevist?) strategy of falsehood. Mind you, we start on the right note; on page one, above an imposing portrait, we read that "Trotsky was the revolutionary closest to Lenin. Lenin called him 'The ablest man in the party'. Pedigree established, we can afford some small concessions: "quick-tempered, arrogant and a stubborn believer in intellectual solutions"... "On the central question of party discipline he had been wrong"... "The Kronstadt tragedy will haunt Trotsky for the rest of his life" (poor man)... But all this is personality, issues, tactics. Basically, our man is sound. That's not demonstrated, just assumed.

If this is so, omissions and exaggerations don't matter. So, for instance, the organisation of the Red Army is dealt with in a couple of sentences. Military men are needed, so Tsarist officers are used, their loyalty ensured by commissars. Many desert to the Whites, but more "are won over to the Revolution". Nothing on the significance of this move for the behaviour of the Army towards the peasants; nothing on the betrayal and elimination of the independents and guerrillas who originally fought the Whites; nothing on the desertions to the Green movement; nothing on the execution of officers who incurred Trotsky's displeasure, of the complaints of the "Military Opposition" within the Party, of the machine-gunning





of retreating soldiers; nothing, in short, on the general Terror within the Red Army. (However, we do learn that sometimes Trotsky actually goes to the front in his armoured train and "participates in the battles". (Gasp!) "Irresponsible? No. Leaders should be seen as capable of defending the Revolution when the occasion demands it." Good grief... They don't really have to share the hardships of all the poor sods who are getting shot up, you notice. Just be "capable" of it, or at least give that impression. But not all the time — just when the occasion (incipient mutiny?) demands it...)

I could cite a hundred such examples. Much is made of the way Trotsky was snipped from the history books under Stalin, but the innocent reader might not notice something similar going on here. Popularisation (since folks are simple-minded) means simplification, which means that only ideologically viable facts are guaranteed inclusion.

Omissions are balanced by exaggerated claims, with basis more in the logic of ideology than in fact. British union leaders capitulate in the General Strike. Why? The inference is clear — they have "collaborated with Stalin". What alone opposes them? Why, Trotsky's book, *Where is Britain Going?*, of course ("widely distributed"). Shanghai, the rise of Nazism, France, Spain — all are portrayed as extensions of a personal Trotsky-Stalin tussle. Once again, absolute good and absolute evil slug it out in the boxing-ring of history...

Yet, somehow, despite the blinding obviousness of his correct analyses, our Lev, after the purges, is a Dead Duck, unfairly outmuscled. Things look pretty bleak for the World Proletariat, now deprived of their only True Leader. But wait! (distant bugles...) Over the horizon comes galloping — you've guessed it — The Fourth International! The innocent reader could be forgiven for confusing this obscure cabal with the entire modern world revolutionary movement...



Ali is vague on the factors underlying Trotsky's decline. It seems he should have stood up to the school bully a bit earlier, that's all. We have to take our clue from his account of the fate of the Left Opposition: "The Opposition attempts to appeal to the masses... The masses watch silently. Their silence is decisive." "Appeal to the masses", indeed! (This stuff makes me so cross...) A bunch of leftist bureaucrats with a populist platform suffer the supreme and ironic indignity of rejection by the people. Not because of the content of the platform, but simply because they find it necessary to appeal in the first place — being leftist bureaucrats, they have no popular base, hence no political clout. And what was Trotsky's "one weapon"? The time-honoured socialist method of appealing to the workers". Whose silence, though Ali doesn't say it, was obviously decisive. Indifferent (and who can blame them?) to the outcome of the bureaucratic tussle, the mass of powerless spectators watches silently this game played out by cartoon giants that passes for "history". Not the "Great Fact" of the 20th Century, but the Great Lie.

I wouldn't dream of playing down Stalin, but Ali makes him solely responsible for all that goes wrong, neatly exonerating Lenin and Trotsky. He was, apparently, personally responsible for the bolshevik invasion of independent and socialist Georgia. Lenin, apparently, was going to tick him off for this, but didn't get round to it. Big deal. Evans, taking his cue from Lenin's famous remark that "this cook will only cook peppery dishes", portrays Stalin throughout as a comic but sinister butcher in chef's cap and striped apron, wielding a long carving knife, gross, unsavoury and piggy-eyed. (All the various sub-species of bureaucrat are pictured as cartoon Stalins in funny costumes — where the text shrinks from the audacious absurdity of blaming Stalin for the rise of the entire bureaucracy. The cartoons step in and carry the lie). I'm not exactly saying that cartoons should never dehumanise their victims, but I don't think this approach exactly enlarges our understanding of Stalin's personality, of the historical forces that brought him to power, or of the nature of the struggle against such forces. It's the third-rate old agit-prop: don't worry, brothers, we can leave the analysis to the comrade intellectuals — it's all clear as day: The historical struggle of the proletariat is simply a fight against *Nasty Men*.

Evans' cartoons serve another purpose: They punctuate the heavy stuff, to lighten the load. A few of the jokes are quite funny, but these are invariably off the point. Sometimes he's hard-pushed, and so we get a page weirdly devoted to a cartoon of Trotsky playing chess with the psychoanalyst Adler, or to one of Trotsky's "revolutionary limericks" (the nearest thing to a sense of humour yet unearthed) — unpublished, and if the sample on Rasputin is typical, I'm not surprised.

Maybe it suffers in translation...

This light-relief technique is lifted from the mass media and shows exactly the same contempt for the reader. As with Rius, it's a tacit admission that this stuff is considered even by its authors to be impossible to take straight. Some cartoons carry forward the narrative or argument, but many are just sweeties for the persevering reader.

Where Evans inserts Rius-style little characters who make interjections, these are invariably dressed in boiler suits and/or headscarves, the usual workerist fantasy proles. Naturally, he doesn't trust real workers to make much of an imaginative leap: The cartoon of a day in the life of a Russian worker c. 1905 shows stereotyped modern British proles bashing out what looks like transistor radios or toasters — something the poor saps can relate to, see...

Not just the choice of content, not just the employment of the cartoons, but the whole notion of the book is profoundly anti-democratic. Cartoons lie when they show Great Men. (Mind you, we anarchists have our personality cults...) Talking of personality cults, back to Rius again, this time (with "friends") on Mao. It's difficult to draw orientals winking, since their eyes are all narrowed up anyway (complaints about racism on a postcard, please...), so the cover shows a standard Mao beam instead. The first three quarters of this book, up to 1949, isn't too bad, as far as it goes. For those vague on Chinese history, it could be informative. Rius has tightened up his graphics style since *Marx* and a number of well-chosen photos and illustrations make this part more of a pocket picture history. Rius doesn't have to struggle with the material here, as he did with Marx's theories, and so we are spared the grumbling cartoon men, though a couple of characters pop up to ask "Still with me?" after only two pages of the Long March. Though perhaps that's justified, considering the mind-boggling complexities of the accompanying map...

The innocent reader could, of course, be forgiven for thinking that Mao founded the entire Chinese revolutionary movement single-handed, but it's the final quarter of the book, post 1949, that is really pretty abysmal, especially after Mao's death. Great play is made of Russian support for the Kuomintang, and an Evans butcher-Stalin is thrown in to show that we should disapprove at this point, but then excuses are offered for the reconstruction of China on the Russian model. Nevertheless, Mao is apparently "uneasy" about this, and so Rius hails the Great Nose-Dive Forward as "a tumultuous mass movement", and the "spontaneous radicalism of... poor peasants". On the next page, however, we read that "the Maoists began to disregard sound economic and Marxist considerations... and the pent-up demands for radical change from the poor pushed them even further and faster than they had intended to go. Soon the country was wracked by

disasters..." So much for spontaneous radicalism... Rius, having no analysis of his own, hops awkwardly from one line to its contradiction, simply following the course of Mao's opportunism, in fact, but without Mao's understanding. The Cultural Revolution is applauded, but Rius is plainly worried about the personality cult and starts tutting about "idealistic youngsters", "abuses, injuries and deaths", and "criticism and destruction". By the time we get to the Gang of Four and Hua Guofeng, he has switched lines so often that he becomes hopelessly confused and finally falls over twitching: "Can anyone understand all these reversals?" "Could even Mao have made sense of it all?" "What about the Gang of Four? Do we really know what they represented?" "The author admits he's as puzzled as everyone else..." Rius has the nerve to project his own confusion onto history and call it a fact. If he can't make sense of it, he's no business writing tinpot comic books on the subject. So much for Marxism as invincible scientific thought; if Marxists can't even make out what their own lot are up to, how on earth can they hope to make any sense of history in general?



"Only one thing is sure", Rius tells us on the last page, and that is the status of Mao himself. (It's back to the personality cult, after all). Events in China are proving him wrong as I write. And in any case Rius can't even make a judgement on what Mao has done, except that he's done a lot. As the cartoons imply, all that we're really left with is the *image* of Mao.

You don't need to be a professional Sinologist to make perfect sense of all this: all these "reversals" are essentially the manoeuvring of bureaucrats in the struggle for power. Whereas the fall of Trotsky is played out to the silence of the masses, the Red Warlords harness popular clamour to their own ends. In Russia, the working classes were said to exercise power; in China, they appeared to do so — just a more developed disguise of real absolute powerlessness. Everyone knows all about the ambiguous role of real popular discontent in the Cultural Revolution, except Rius, that is. Rius sees ideologies and policies as pure abstract forces with an impetus of their own, failing utterly to understand that they are merely means employed by

personalities and factions for particular political ends.

Rius admits that the Chinese model of selfless socialist Man was maybe a wee bit Utopian; he says nothing of the real daily repression, where ideology begins to really hurt. How would you like to live in a society where a much-vaunted collectivity is really not a positive collectivity at all, but simply the total absence of all individual life? No wonder they're all making for Hong Kong...

But then, what else could we expect from books with such heavy ideological axes to grind? They are a little different because they are simplified, but that just means the axes have cut away bigger and bolder chunks of reality. What in particular (apart from aspects I've already touched on) about the use of cartoons? A cartoon selects, condenses and exaggerates relevant features: a drunk has a red nose, wobbly grin, loose tie and so on — not any particular drunken man, but a stereotype "drunk". For all their apparent simplicity, cartoons are products of an enormously complex, subtle (and largely intuitive) process; a slight alteration to a couple of lines, almost impossible to pin down, can transform the effect of the humour, turning a sympathetic portrait into a vicious one. This makes cartoons dangerous — an important method, for instance, of establishing cruel racial stereotypes.

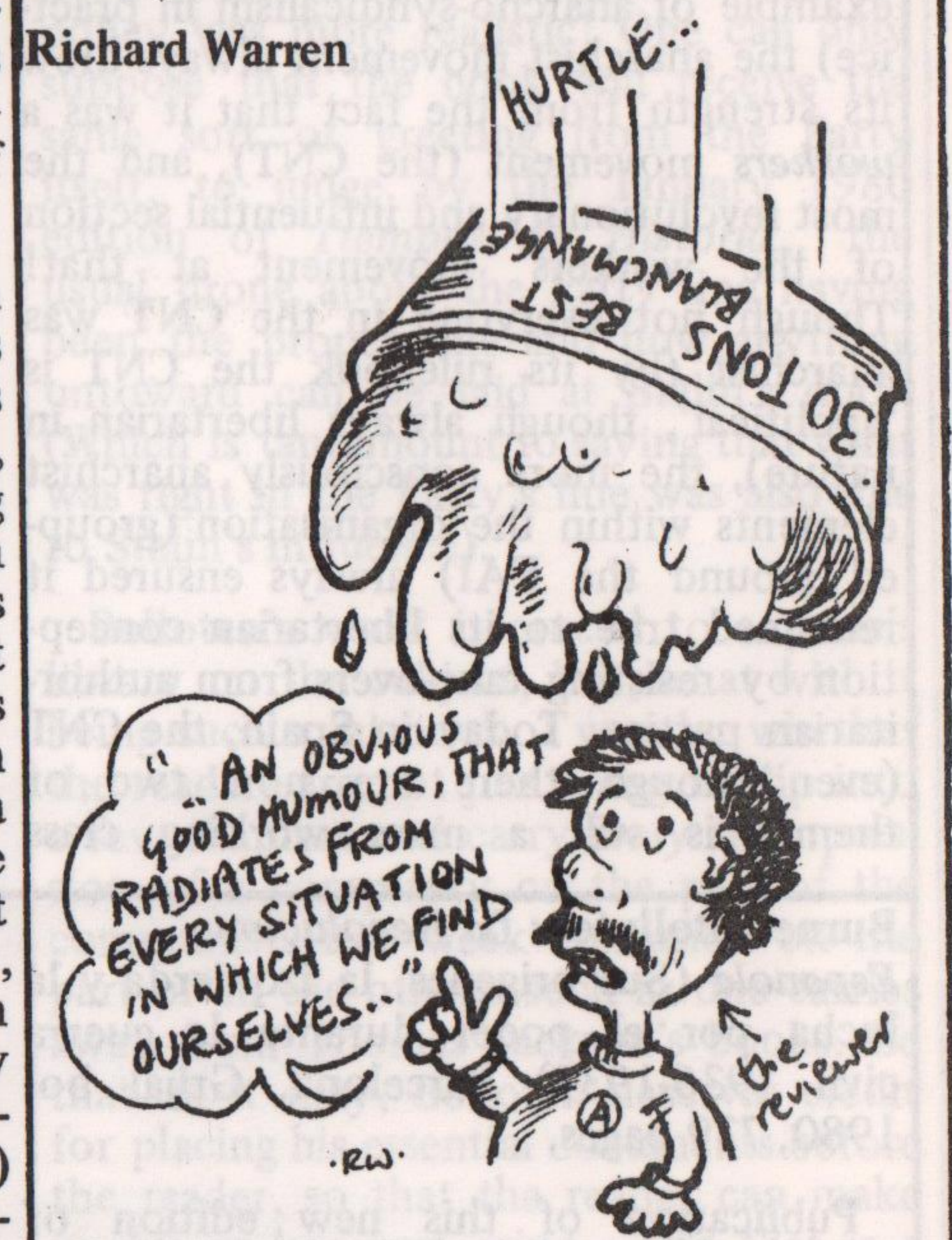
A political cartoon can dispense with the comic element altogether since it uses metaphor and symbols — likewise a process of selection and exaggeration. For instance, the bolshevik-menshevik split as a boxing match between Lenin and Martov, with Plekhanov and Trotsky respectively as seconds, shows us one aspect of the event that may or may not be true, but leaves out the rest. By implication, the cartoon claims for this single aspect the status of a total interpretation. It may be that the cartoonist, in all sincerity, has gone straight to what he sees as the heart of the matter, but the possibilities for cynical distortion are obvious. This treatment is precisely what ideologies make of reality; a fragmented view (right or wrong doesn't matter) is blown up into a totally satisfying explanation of everything. This kinship makes the cartoon an ideal vehicle for ideology. Why else do newspapers carry political cartoons?

This imposes a tremendous responsibility on the cartoonist. Much in these books doesn't measure up too well. Whether it's the outright lie (winking must have been the last thing that came easily to Lenin, but it disposes us favourably towards the man and therefore to his ideas) or the partial truth that by dint of repetition becomes total untruth (the butcher-Stalin), it's no better than the club-wielding union thugs and jackbooted labour militants dear to the hearts of certain Fleet Street hacks. (The question of a cartoonists' skill is something else — you can admire Gillray without liking his

politics. But in essence a cartoon is no better than the politics of the cartoonist). We tend to think of cartoons as a bit of harmless fun, but in fact they are about the last traditional art form with any political punch, socialist theatre hi-jinks notwithstanding. Did you notice the bronhaha a couple of years back when elements of the twitching decomposed art avant-garde transformed themselves for a fortnight into a twitching decomposed leftist vanguard? Nor did anyone else not intimately connected with the tiny snob-world of Modern Art. But the cartoon will survive, all the more dangerous because it seems so harmless.

We have to fight to claim it. This is where I start sounding vague and pompous. In the teeth of these lying grins our humour has to be humane, has to serve nothing and spare nothing. Like those Phil Ruff one-liners in *Black Flag*, it has to be an obvious good humour, that radiates from every situation in which we find ourselves — not calculated for effect, but the laughter at the heart of things. Those that think such laughter is juvenile and has nothing to do with politics have missed the point. Anything less blasphemes the human spirit.

Richard Warren



*Black Flag* — Organ of the Anarchist *Black Cross*. Produced as a fortnightly news bulletin & a quarterly journal. Subs. £9 inland/overseas (surface) £17 overseas (airmail) C/O Box ABC 121 Railton Road, London SE24.

*Direct Action* — Bulletin of the *Direct Action Movement* (British Section of the *International Workers Association* — anarcho-syndicalist International). Maintains a network of local groups. Subs: UK & Ireland £2/ Overseas £2.50 DAM-IWA, 164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Manchester M4 3BN.



## Anarcho-Syndicalism: History and Action (DAM, 30p)

The ideas of anarcho-syndicalism (anarchism applied to the workers' movement) invariably bring forth either slavish adoration or churlish dismissal from within the ranks of the anarchist movement today — both responses doing an equal injustice to a subject of critical importance in the battle for a free society. A much more objective and thought-out attempt to apply the *essence* of anarchism to the class struggle, without getting bogged down in arguments over the *forms* it should take, is long overdue.

Traditionally, the choice has been posed as being between a loose network of workers' councils which (it is hoped) arise more or less 'spontaneously' during times of struggle ("Councilism", or "Council Communism"), and a more premeditated variation of that, where the workers' councils are organised, before the struggle escalates, into a permanent (union) structure ("Anarcho-Syndicalism"). But in essence, there is very little to distinguish the one from the other when it comes down to principles translated into practice. In Spain (the best living example of anarcho-syndicalism in practice) the anarchist movement always drew its strength from the fact that it was a workers' movement (the CNT), and the most revolutionary and influential section of the workers' movement at that! Though not everyone in the CNT was anarchist (by its rulebook the CNT is 'apolitical', though always libertarian in nature), the more consciously anarchist elements within the organisation (grouped around the FAI) always ensured it remained true to its libertarian conception by resisting take-overs from authoritarian parties. Today in Spain, the CNT (even though there are now two of them!) is still a mass working class

**Burnett Bolloten: *La Revolucion Espanola*** (Sus origenes, la izquierda y la lucha por el poder durante la guerra civil 1936-1939) Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1980, 739 pages.

Publication of this new edition of Bolloten's work constitutes a crucial contribution to our knowledge of the theme, on account of the author's serious scholarship and extraordinary erudition. Before venturing an opinion he names and places his sources in context. This approach has enabled him to pierce the veil of communist propaganda more tellingly than anyone else and to ferret out startling truths about the libertarian movement. Bolloten's method may be summed up as first familiarising oneself with one's subject and every fact thereof (including the negative) and only then weighing all the evidence in the balance. Perhaps because I find this methodology personally appealing and because I have employed it myself, I am tempted to regard Bolloten's work as a sort of "fellow traveller" with the libertarian viewpoint.



organisation, though there now exists, also, an anarchist movement probably of equal size *outside* the CNT. In Britain we are not in that happy situation, and have the job of having to start virtually from scratch.

Encouraged by the re-emergence of the CNT in Spain during the late 1970's, "a number of class struggle anarchists (including members of the Syndicalist Workers Federation) who felt it was time to leave behind the irrelevant, disorganised nature of most of the British anarchist movement and go on to create a national working class anarchist organisation", came together in March 1979 to form the Direct Action Movement (DAM). Since then DAM has established a network of local groups and become accepted as the British section of the AIT (the anarcho-syndicalist International). Its activities have concentrated mainly on producing anarcho-syndicalist propaganda material (through its national bulletin, *Direct Action*, and a collection of interesting regionally based papers and pamphlets) which have enjoyed a wide circulation — although as this pamphlet freely admits, "In fact unemployed workers are prop-

Now that I read the book in its entirety and not just for its references to the collectivisations, I see it in a quite different light and appreciate that its view has altered somewhat. As Bolloten himself warns in his preface... "Readers of *The Grand Camouflage* (the earliest version of the book) in its English, Spanish or Mexican editions, will find in the present vastly expanded volume a wealth of new materials". This same caution is to be found in the 1977 editions of the book in the United States and France.

To discover the differences, one has to look to editions of the book which saw the light before 1962. This shows that Bolloten has since assimilated new material in several chapters which have taken on a much expanded relevance... chapters like 'The Brewing Upheaval', 'The Communists Strive for Hegemony', 'The Communists Pilot the Cabinet', 'The Anarcho-Syndicalists enter the Government', 'Balancing the Class Forces', 'The Communists and the Popular Army' or 'Largo Caballero Hits Back'. I note also that

ortionally the largest group within the organisation", and DAM has yet to make any real impact on the industrial scene (though this is a problem that faces the whole of the libertarian movement, and not just DAM).

*Anarcho-Syndicalism: History and Action* mentions, but fails to really tackle properly, the problem of why "Anarcho-Syndicalism has a small following and little influence in this country..." beyond some brief references to the historical influences, on its sharp decline as a movement, of the first World War and the triumph of Bolshevik state socialism in Russia. Rather unfairly, it dismisses any objections to whether it is a practical proposition for us to emulate the Spanish experience, and form a 'British CNT', as being the product of "the uncommitted reader or cynic". To the DAM's credit, they are at least amongst the few people who are trying seriously to go beyond the "little cliques crying in the wind" that passes for an 'anarchist movement'. But perhaps they should stop confusing the problem of re-organising the anarchists with organising the workers. Both are vital and need doing, though past attempts have floundered from putting the organisation-building before the activity-doing... witness ORA-AWA-LCG, et al. but in Britain they are recognisably separate issues, and need to be tackled differently.

Whether or not the DAM will manage to move beyond its propagandist stage, into actually building up an anarcho-syndicalist union here, remains a question for the future to decide. Meanwhile, this latest pamphlet of theirs is recommended for providing a simple, clearly written, digest of basic anarcho-syndicalist ideas and history, and deserves to be widely read and discussed.

**Jack McArdle**

there are wholly new chapters such as 'Catalonia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution' or 'Barcelona: The May Events' a new epilogue, and an index of names. Place the 1980 Grijalbo edition under review alongside the US edition (*The Spanish Revolution*. The left and the struggle for power during the civil war, Chapel Hill, 1979, 664 pages) or the French one (*La Revolution espagnole: la gauche et la lutte pour le pouvoir*, Paris, Ruedo Iberico, 1977, 564 pages) and one finds that it is basically the same text except that some points are more thoroughly dealt with. Two pages are devoted to Camilo Berneri. Formerly Berneri did not even receive a mention. This time too, Bolloten drops the reference to Sam Dolgoff's book (mentioned on page 481 of the Chapel Hill US edition) which is one of the few texts on collectives available in English. But he retains the paragraphs on the contacts between the USSR and Germany in 1937, which are not to be found in the French edition (See the Grijalbo edition pp 172-175).



Camilo Berneri

Indeed, the only page from the earlier editions of the book which is not included in the Grijalbo edition is the one which I feel is of the greatest importance, with its magnificent opening:

"Although the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July of 1936 brought in its wake a thorough going social revolution in the anti-Francoist zone — in some respects a revolution more profound than the Bolshevik revolution in its early stages — millions of persons of discernment who were living outside Spain were kept in the most utter ignorance of it, thanks to a policy of duplicity and dissimulation for which history has no parallel to offer". (Mexican edition of 1962, page 17).

This omission, taken together with the absence of allusions to Chomsky and his interpretation of the war (which is also the interpretation of A. Peirats or Vernon Richards... and by the way, I note that a quote from Chomsky appears on the dust cover of the Chapel Hill edition of Bolloten's book) and the long quotations from Cesar Lorenzo (speaking as Prieto's son) depicting anarchism as utopianism starkly contrasted with the practicable approach of participating in government, leads one to the conclusion that this present edition singles out the anarchists and communists as targets for criticisms.

Or, to put it another way: Bolloten has switched his sights away from what appeared (up to 1962) to have been his chief target... the "thorough going social revolution" which was camouflaged by a "policy of duplicity and dissimulation for which history has no parallel to offer", and cheerfully unfolds the history of the civil war instead, with especial emphasis on the communists.

Now, briefly, to go through Bolloten's book in this edition, I must say I heartily endorse his emphasis on the importance of hunger and poverty as driving forces. But it seems to me he is mistaken in taking seriously the PSOE in 1934 and also in utterly ignoring (in his text at least) the attempts to install libertarian

communism in 1932 and 1933. I must also part company from Bolloten when he shows this tendency to present the libertarians as some sort of monolith; his earliest reference to the CNT (p 52) is altogether too sanguine and completely ignores the phenomenon of 'trientismo' and the manipulations which it brought in its wake. By chapter two such shortcomings are behind us and we are into the text proper. Pages 101 to 139 deal with the collectivisations (with only a very few alterations since 1962); he is quite sympathetic, but to dwell to the extent he does upon the superficial comments of a H.E. Kaminsky when plenty of collectivists' accounts are now to hand, is quite illogical, as is the bit about... "puritanism... one of the characteristics of the libertarian movement..." (p 126). One has only to spend a few days in any country with a communist regime to run across a puritanism harnessed along with sectarianism, which is the cornerstone of the Party's propaganda. And it seems to me that Bolloten would have done better to stress benevolent assistance as a characteristic a propos of the shipments of foodstuffs and goods, or on their cultural activities, with the schools and libraries, and — above all — the espousal of retirement and free medical services. These are things which sit uncomfortably with Bolloten's insistence upon the "forcible" nature of collectivisations. There were certain instances of imposition... true, but the very fact that the collectives survived the "liberation" by the communists' army units is obviously evidence, strong evidence to the contrary.

And Bolloten's contention (p 640) that the CP ceased its attacks upon the collectives in order to woo the CNT over to ousting Indalecio Prieto, does not convince me. The change in tactics may have been ordered by Moscow since the USSR was coming to an arrangement with Germany at the time, or it may have been because of the CP's own grassroots members were beginning to protest (see p 317, and also Ronald Fraser's book *Blood of Spain*; Allen Lane, 1979).

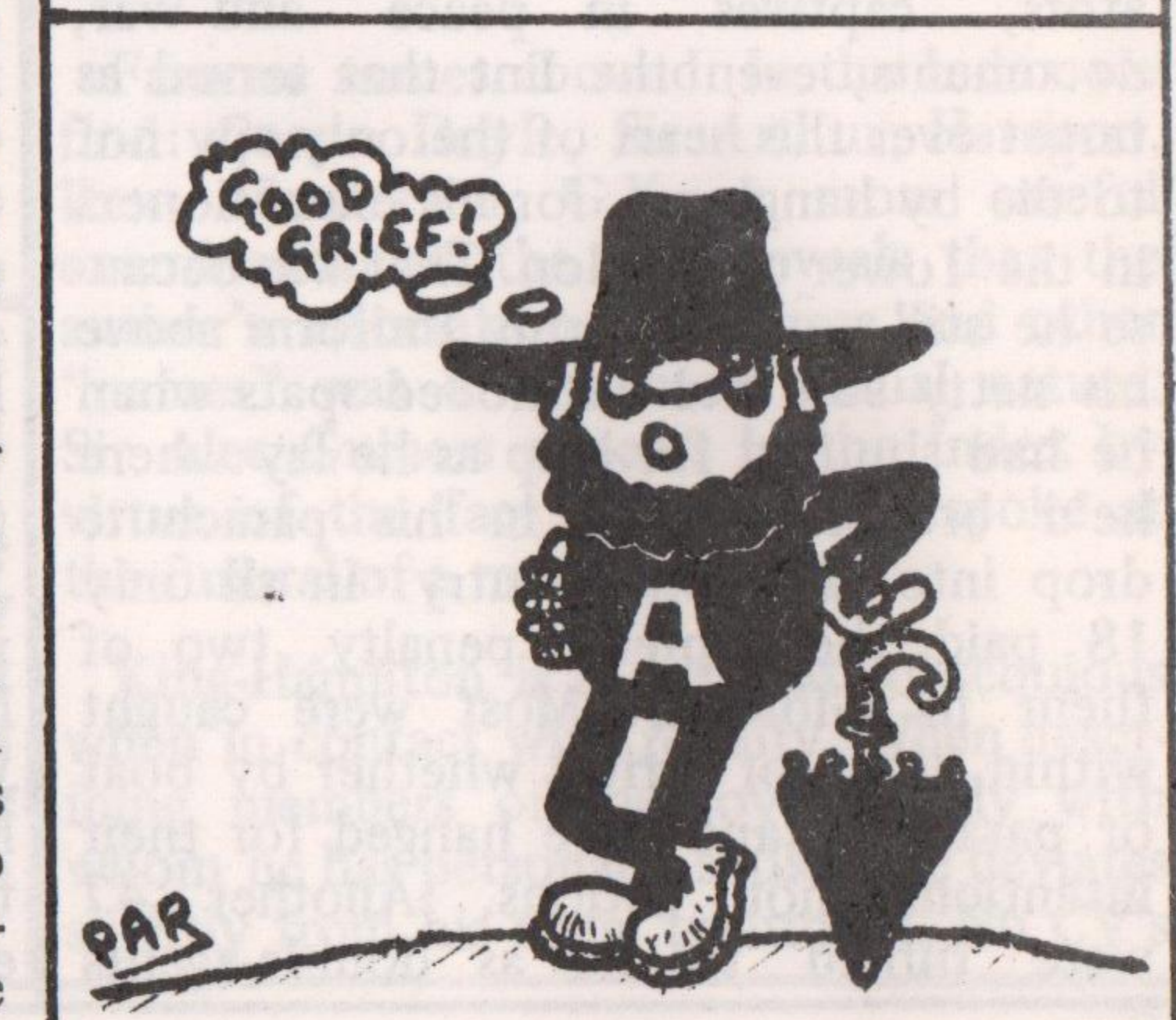
Bolloten has a formidable mastery of his data, but he cannot see beyond the hierarchical set-up; he speaks of government policy and the strength of the committees but leaves the to one side; he speaks of the military side of the war, the militias and the Soviet advisors and delivers a negative judgement upon improvised efforts. An exception is his chapter on the Iron Column (on which he has more to say than Peirats; indeed the chapter is a fine and forceful piece of testimony) but Bolloten fails to discuss people's war, Makhno's ideas, or the much felt need for guerrilla tactics. Instead Bolloten prefers to grapple with his anarchists by means of quotations from Bakunin or Malatesta or Horacio Prieto, but obedience to their recommendations, would have made nonsense

of anarchism as an ideology. Although there are plenty of writings by Malatesta or Bakunin on the subjects of the necessary but limited use of revolutionary violence.

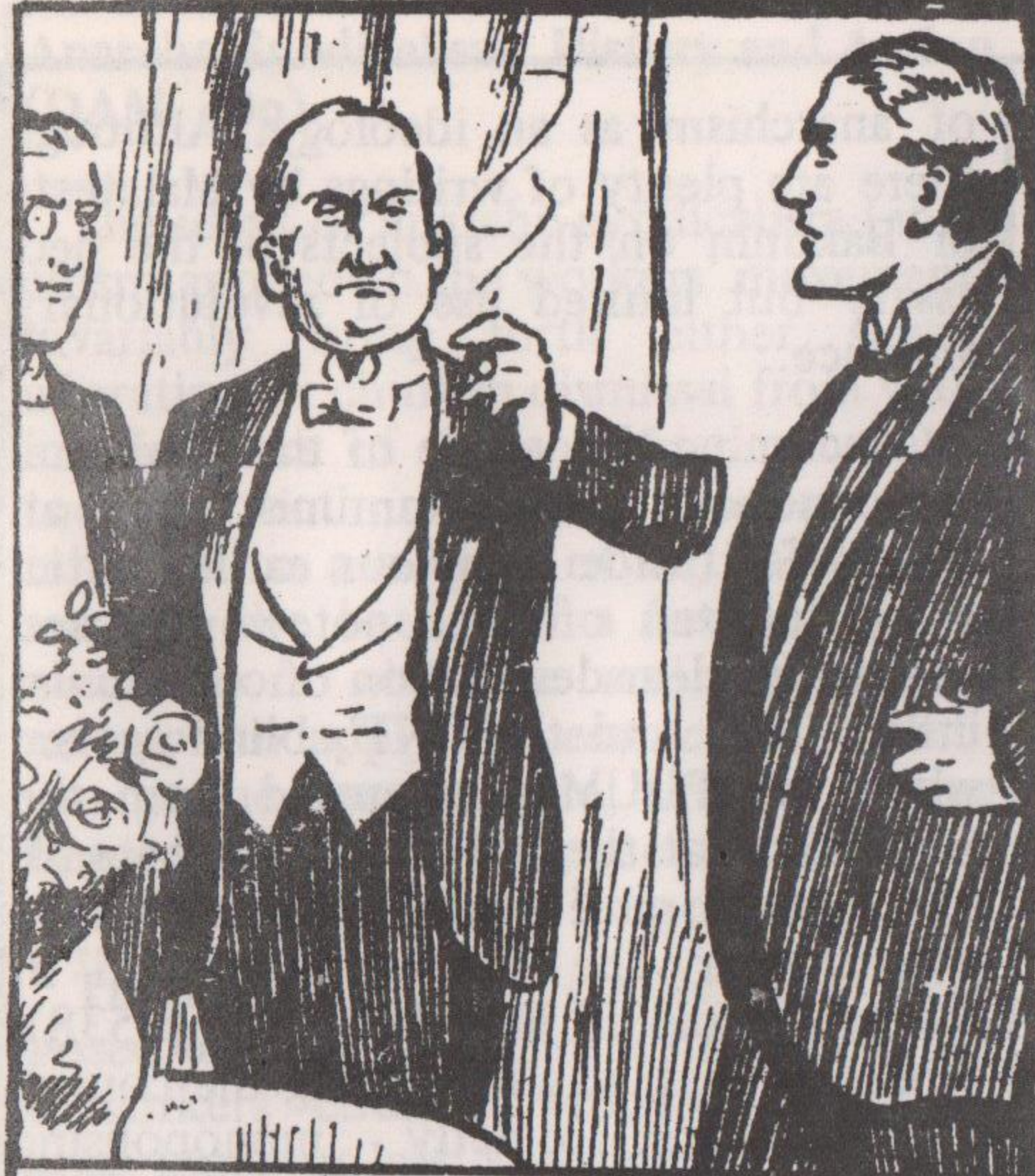
Concerning the kernel of the book, i.e. the conduct of the communist party in the USSR (aside from our earlier criticism), Bolloten offers a noteworthy and extremely clear description of communist infiltration. And the CNT's blind egoism when the POUM was ousted from the Generalitat at the end of 1966 still stands out as deplorable. The POUM, of course was to repay the 'Friends of Durruti' in the same coin in May 1937 (see p 538). While all that was happening the communists were quietly monopolising command of the army; they failed to achieve 100% success in this, but they did manage to hold up various initiatives like the famous Largo Caballero offensive against Extremadura (see pages 382, 422, 604). Bolloten's use of Russian sources is highly significant. And the glib review of the book in *El Pais* (of 31 August 1980) by Ludolfo Paramio is typical. The only argument Paramio can advance on the CP's behalf is the allegation that its policy was more realistic! One can only suppose that the book will receive the same sort of greeting from the Party itself, to judge by the January 1980 edition of *Tiempos de Historia*... the usual drone about the Party line having been the proper one and how anything untoward can be laid at Stalin's door. (Which is tantamount to saying that what was right in the Party's line was also due to Stalin's influence).

Bolloten's work is crucial to anyone's library on the subject, but, what with it being such a fat book, I wonder whether the readers are not just going to dip into a few chapters and carry away an impression of a conspiracy on the part of the communists and weak confusion on the part of all the others, such as one carries away from Thomas Jackson's books. Be that as it may, Bolloten deserves credit for placing his essential documents before the reader, so that the reader can make up his or her own mind... and that is a most un-academic thing to do.

**Frank Mintz**







**MI5 British Security Operations 1909-1945.** Nigel West (Granada, £1.95)

Certainly this is a book future spy-writers will ignore at their peril, past ones study with enlightenment, some greet with snorts of rebuttal as indeed began to happen soon after publication. The author's laborious delving and tending has produced a very readable history of the UK spy catchers and manipulators in the period covered. Readers will beware and judge its total veracity from my few later remarks. Whilst separate States exist their mymidions of high degree will continue to bicker and some no doubt eventually order theirs of lesser degree to tear at the throats of the others. As in Art so in War: any Means justifies the End. So torture, spies, any slimy method is supposed to be correct, and indeed is so if mass murder is thereby curtailed. It appears that MI5 was more successful than its opposite numbers of the Abwehr and KGB.

The ramifications of MI5 are explained in an eight page 'family tree'. Chapters cover specific operations against the CPGB, the British fascists, spies, double agents, etc. The first war gets scant space although eleven spies then ended on the scaffold because for five years prior to hostilities the Kaiser's men had operated from a scruffy barber shop near Kings Cross railway station — all unaware that their mail was being opened, studied, themselves tailed!

Illustrations include photos of operators, captives in peace and war, documents, even the lint that served as target over the heart of the only spy not to die by hanging — for his executioners in the tower of London. That was because he still wore his army uniform above his natty suit and outmoded spats when he had shouted for help as he lay where he'd broken his leg in his parachute drop into the Fen country. In all only 18 paid the supreme penalty, two of them in Gibraltar. Most were caught within hours of arrival whether by boat or parachute and were hanged for their intentions not actions. Another 47 were 'turned' to act as double-agents

in various ways, many to send back messages to confuse as with incorrect troop movements prior to the D Day Normandy landings. Some heroes became Nazi spies only so that they could 'turn' immediately they landed in the UK. Two such came ashore on the Moray coast to awaken a sleeping fisherman with revolver butt hammering on his door and demands for directions to the nearest military post. Later on down in the London Scotland Yard canteen an ultra patriotic girl, aware of the incorrect gossip circulating, refused to serve them much needed refreshment even though they were accompanied by their equally thirsty interrogators!

Pre-war MI5 activities included the dramatic Arcos Raid which made headlines in the late twenties for some 150 police one afternoon charged into the City offices of a Russian Trade Delegation and Arcos import company. (Much to the disgust of the *Daily Mail* or *Express*, I forget which, the latter had been selling cheap dairy foods here so headlines had appeared: "Flies found in Russian butter!") MI5 found no flies but caused much trouble by taking four days to study, photo or remove documents, to smash in cellar doors behind which defenders were burning sensitive papers. It helped to end diplomatic relations. Opportunely to raid had been caused by the inept Wilfred Macartney who had boasted to a fellow clerk from whom he wanted information that he was a Russian agent. The clerk promptly blabbed and was ordered by MI5 to string him along. A secret Manual was provided, Macartney seen to pass that to a Russian — hence the Raid in hope its 'discovery' would justify all. It wasn't, so the spy was watched for some months before finding himself at the Old Bailey where he got ten years. Later he wrote *Walls Have Mouths* and became the first CO of the British Section of the International Brigade in Spain.

Apparently the Communist Party HQ in King Street, Covent Garden had its phone monitored from its beginning in the twenties whilst top members were card-indexed. Doubtless subsidiary organisations got similar treatment. Secret members seem to have escaped attention even though spies insinuated themselves. The CP was always well aware of that possibility for as well as 'Trotskyist' the many drop-outs or expelled over the years were always labelled 'Police Spy' normally incorrectly! One young girl called Olga Gray escaped discovery for seven years. Captivating activist Percy Glading she eventually graduated into a photographer of 'borrowed' armament blue-prints. Her old 'friends' were much shocked when she appeared against them as chief prosecution witness at the Old Bailey in 1938. Another MI5 spy was Joan Millar who penetrated the British Fascists and helped to get her erstwhile 'friend' Anna Wolkoff a ten year sentence. Anna's heart had been imbued with hatred of the Bolsheviks since childhood and worked in her White Russian parents' emigre

cafe in a Kensington alley. She had passed records stolen from the American to the Italian Embassy.

In this long study by an author I understand is too young to have experienced any of the times considered it would be perhaps surprising to find no errors of fact or opinion. Considering that most of his evidence is 'hearsay' and would not be admitted in a court even though he has seen some records, etc. I can only say he has done well, but not well enough. Much is left in the air. He says all the 400 odd seamen discharged from the RN after Invergordon were "usefully card-indexed" by MI5 — but no more. Did he see them at all? Some of them? What entries did they hold? He alleges that Tom Driberg (the well known journalist and MP first as Independent and then for Labour) was MI5 Agent M8, that he'd joined the CP on MI5 instructions, that the now exposed Blunt had in 1941 exposed Driberg as a spy to the KGB, that they'd told Harry Pollitt who then sent for Driberg to confront and expel him. All very plausible and Tom Driberg is dead! But Tom wrote his autobiography and told of being an active communist since joining the party as a Brighton schoolboy; that he never knew why he had been expelled in 1941, that not Pollitt but a Fleet Street worker had been ordered to tell him he was expelled. Moreover, he afterwards found no difficulty in getting Moscow visas and in 1956 actually had two long talks with Khrushchov in the Kremlin, alone except for an interpreter. His first visa had been to allow him to interview the defector Burgess. Now whatever Pollitt's reason for not wanting Tom in 'his' CPGB any longer isn't important, probably it was only because of some anti-Stalin remark or just that he was a bit too bourgeois and mixing with too many top people. Readers may judge for themselves whether the KGB would have granted a known MI5 Agent visas to meet a prize defector and twice allow him to be alone with the top man of the USSR!

An index in a book like this is important. This one goes to 25 pages. Under Driberg is only "see M8" and there it is incomplete. I looked up "Springhall" — absent! Yet there ought to have been three refs, particularly for his trial when he got seven years for passing helpful information to the USSR when they were British allies in the Hitler war. That sentence was later reduced to four years as West apparently never discovered. There are other stupidities in the index as well as the book itself but the publishers otherwise may be pleased with their production and the author of quite a good adventure story. After all, has any wide ranging history book, whether Soviet or British or whatever, ever stood the test of detailed examination!

Barry Duncan

**And Nothing But The Truth.** An Autobiography. — Alan King-Hamilton (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £12.50)

Alan King-Hamilton will be remembered by readers of *Anarchy* as the judge who presided over the *Persons Unknown* trial at the Old Bailey in 1979. That was his last case and the epitaph to what *The Times* described as "an undistinguished judicial career which has now, mercifully, ended." Since going into retirement King-Hamilton has produced this autobiography which the blurb claims to be an assessment of his career and "a behind-the-scenes look at life in Chambers, at the Old Bailey and the Middle Temple".

Although classical allusions and quotations from Shakespeare appear in the Preface, the remainder of the book is rather less pretentious in its literary style. The effort of producing early sentences like "sterr(ing) between the Scylla of excessive modesty... and the Charybdis of conceit" clearly proved too much for the ancient judge for on page two we find a more characteristic and less flowery description of King-Hamilton's entry into the world:

"I was born on 9 December 1904, in London, in West Hampstead. My father (who, incidentally, was a founder member of the Automobile Association in 1905 and remained on the Committee from then until 1957 when he became one of the two vice-presidents, and was the sole surviving founder when he died in May 1959) was a solicitor with a small family practice in Lincoln's Inn Fields."

From this paragraph we glean two things about the book: its unremitting banality and the author's obsession for measuring a person's worth by reference to the number of clubs he belongs to or the array of letters after his name.

The following passage sets the intellectual tone:

"My earliest childhood recollection is of being in my pram — and I could point to the exact spot to within a few feet — on a hot day in, it must have been, the summer of 1905 when I was about six or seven months old. The hood of the pram was down but a summer shade or awning was up. All round was a fringe. I recall my nanny lifting the fringe up and playing "Bo-Peep" with me to my huge delight."

Few of us can claim that our first childhood memory exceeded King-Hamilton's in-depth but then few of us bother to commit it to print.

We learn little of the influences King-Hamilton must have encountered in his youth from the four-page chapter *Early Years*. His father was a middle class Jew, a solicitor and, as we have seen, a founder member of the AA. Apart from one additional piece of information, that he read *The Times*, we get nothing more and King-Hamilton senior remains a cipher. Of his mother there is not a single ref-

erence. This could be simple over-sight but for the fact that the allusions to friends and colleagues reveal that the author is incapable of anything remotely resembling a psychological profile or a penetrating insight. The people he encounters are summed up in the only way he knows how. Take the following examples: "My vice-president was Selwyn Lloyd (who became Foreign Secretary, Chancellor of



the Exchequer, and the Speaker of the House of Commons)." Sir Richard Jackson (a friend of King-Hamilton's), CBE "...A former heavy-weight boxing Blue at Cambridge... (appointed to) the staff of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and later Assistant Commissioner at Scotland Yard, head of the CID and President of Interpol." Assessing people by the length of their CV's seems to be the technique.

Of his wife he has this to say: "Rosalind, only daughter of Dr and Mrs Ellis of Hampstead." And that's all. The paragraph dealing with his courtship and marriage to Rosalind reveals King-Hamilton to be a true romantic. After deciding that Rosalind is the girl for him, he consults with her mother and asks her how much Rosalind would need for housekeeping. Satisfied that he can afford her, the author takes his courage in both hands and marries. Looking back, he says, "I marvel at our courage." Courage was apparently required because the newly-weds had to make do with £600 a year (it was 1935), out of which they had to find £3 a week for housekeeping which included the wages of a resident domestic servant.

The courage displayed by King-Hamilton in 1935 evaporated in the summer of 1939 when he fled with his family to Bournemouth to avoid being caught in a lightning German air raid on London. Many families did, of course, leave London during the Blitz but few equalled King-Hamilton's marvellous exhibition of backbone by fleeing the capital before war had been declared.

King-Hamilton's courage had failed him earlier, as he admits, when in 1926 he was delegated to go and harangue striking miners in an effort to get them back to work. Instead, he joined his fellow students as strike-breakers, an experience he found "mildly exciting."

In dealing with the General Strike he shows his usual preference for trivia. The Strike he describes in 23 lines without touching on any of the issues involved. Of greater importance to King-Hamilton, apparently, was the "juicy" divorce in which Professor Haldane was implicated and the wearisome double entendre involved in the Sex Viri, the six dons who acted as moral guardians at the university (38 lines).

The chapters in which King-Hamilton describes his early career, apart from being trivial, are full of snobbery and name-dropping. There is a complete lack of reference to anything outside the privileged world of Cambridge and the Bar. Only two political events merit inclusion: the General Strike because of his activities and the abdication of Edward VIII, which gets in only because King-Hamilton's leader, Walter Monckton, "was a very close friend of the King."

Famous names abound. In the Index we find: Conan Doyle, Sir Arthur; Harrison, Rex; Chesterton, G.K. A more careful examination of the text reveals that the author's association with these and other "names" was of the most casual nature. Sir Alec Guinness appears in the Index by virtue of the fact that he once spoke at the funeral of a mutual friend.

King-Hamilton is at his most obsequious when in contact with royalty. When describing members of the royal family with whom he has personally spoken he deviates slightly from his usual treatment. No CV's



here. Instead the Queen has, according to the author, "a wonderful capacity for putting one at one's ease and I was captivated by her engaging charm and personality." What else?

The sole value of the book lies in the unconscious insights it affords us into the mind of a judge. From a narrow background, he progressed through a cloistered world. There is no hint that at any time did he scrutinize the values and opinions of his privileged milieu. There is no attempt at self-critical analysis; rather the book is self-congratulatory throughout. He laughs loudly at his own jokes (pp9, 10, 15 and 16) and people are frequently complimenting him (pp18, 125, 156/7, 181 and 218). He likes to portray himself as reluctantly pushed forward by others. People seek him out, as when, in 1938, he was "persuaded to stand for election to the Finchley Borough Council." Again when he was appointed a judge he argued that he could not possibly cope but was persuaded, and "so had to try it."

There is something suspicious about all this. Name-dropping on this scale and the evident anxiety to recall compliments suggest a sense of social and intellectual inferiority. This perhaps stems from his inevitable, though undisclosed, encounters with anti-semiticism at the Bar, and from

the "taint" of coming from a family of solicitors. It may also arise from his own rather mediocre CV: a poor academic record, an indifferent practice as a barrister, never in the top flight as a judge.

These failures he never faces up to. Instead, he excuses them with "I could have, had I really tried." He took a third at Cambridge but could have done better had he not been too busy sampling the more attractive things university had to offer. Similarly he would have been awarded a "half-Blue" in the fencing team had not "Oxford fielded two left-handed fencers (against whom I was never much good)." He could have been called to the Bar earlier "but I had to purge myself of the taint of having been to a solicitor's office."

Excuses are coupled with a touchiness about gaffs. These he tries hard to cover up. His motion at Cambridge "That This House Disapproves of Woman", he explains, was never intended seriously and he was "amazed" it attracted such controversy. It never occurs to him to admit mistakes. The touchiness and defensiveness suggest the author is a man keenly sensitive to rebuke, a man doing his utmost to win the approbation of his contemporaries. Nowhere is this more evident than when dealing with Court of Appeal rulings. When the high courts agree with him he cites

them with pride. When they disagree he reacts defensively. I could count only three occasions when he admits he is wrong. Two of these admissions come after the Court of Appeal has criticized him, and the other when he regretted allowing *Gay News* to bring Bernard Levin and Margaret Drabble as witnesses of character for the paper.

Descriptions of some of the more famous trials over which he presided are to be found in chapters ten to 17. These include the *Gay News* Blasphemy Case (during which he felt guided by "some superhuman inspiration"), the trial of Peter Hain for theft, and the *Persons Unknown* Case. His observations are of little interest, though he does include his own explanation of why the *Persons Unknown* Case did not constitute a political trial. He had directed the jury at the outset that it was not political — therefore it was not political. Simple. It is the same kind of logic that prompted another of his observations (this one is not included): "Anarchism is not political. There is no party called the 'Anarchist Party'. Therefore Anarchism is not political."

Behind the simple logic, it would seem, is a simple mind, and the book does little to contradict such a conclusion.

Ronan Bennett

minorities but a warning that council-funded groups will not remain independent. Like all patrons, these "socialist republics" will expect, and have the financial muscle to insist on an influence, albeit subtle, on the form of the organisational structure.

One example of this manipulation, is an insistence (in funded groups) on a formal hierarchy i.e. Secretary, Treasurer, etc. This single example makes the task of dealing with a group that much simpler, so that, instead of 30 (or whatever) angry people, it becomes necessary only to mollify two or three individuals with bribes (well-paid community jobs) or merely flattering references to 'community leaders'. These individuals then have a vested interest in the careers of their benefactors. This is not a particularly new method of stifling dissent but it is something that these so-called "socialist republics" have perfected, indeed improved upon, by creating groups of 'community leaders' whose access to previously closed communities helps to 'educate' future voting-fodder as to the 'benefits' to the community of their socialist administrators.

These people are planning to continue their useless careers on the backs of the minority groups. They are not the harmless lunatics many comrades seem to believe, but like the social workers they sprang from, they exacerbate divisions in order to perpetuate their privileged existence. They are dangerous.



### "Socialist Republics"

An interesting phenomenon arising from the bankruptcy of liberal reformism in Britain is the growth of the so-called 'socialist republics' (these have arisen with the capture of local labour parties by, mainly, petit-bourgeois leftist elements armed with sociological degrees, and their subsequent election into local government in 'safe' labour areas). Islington (in north London) and Sheffield spring to mind immediately, but numerous Labour-held boroughs seem to be following the same line.

The salient point of their political strategy is the decision to all but give up trying to convince the working class of the value of their package deal of leftist panacea's, and to build a power base on the support (or, more accurately, coercion) of political and ethnic minorities.

This has resulted in large financial grants to organised minority groups, which, of course, the gutter press seize on with glee, and use to fan the flames of resentment against black workers within the white working class.

True or false, there are many working class people in Islington, for example, who believe that they will not be rehoused or employed by the council unless they are black or homosexual. The fact that the unorganised black working class receive as little benefit from this corruption is lost on people whose only source of information is either the Tory press or the "socialist republic's" own propaganda rags which openly boast of their corrupt practices (though that is not their description).

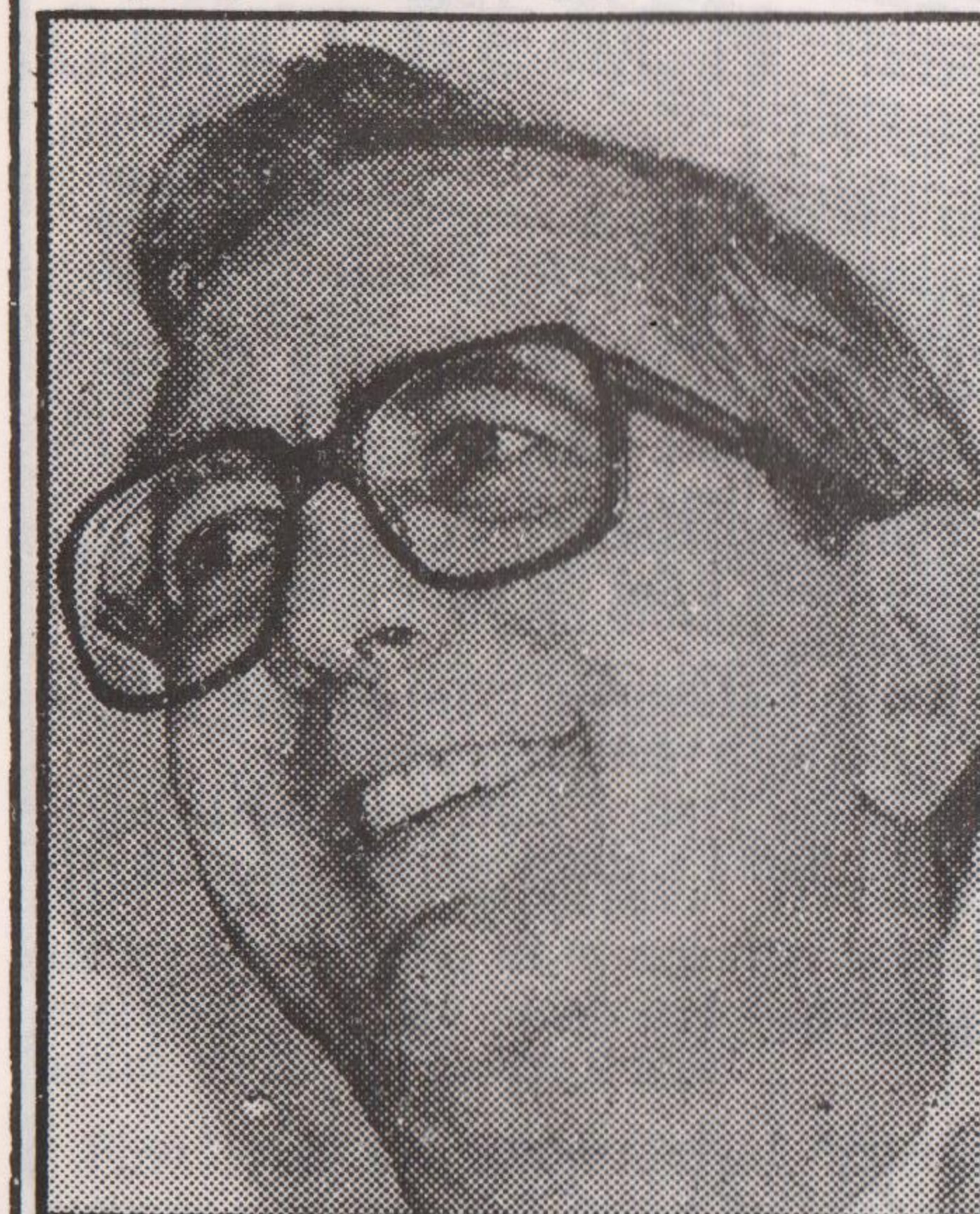
This is not an argument against separate organisation by political or ethnic

### Not Angry, just plain Nasty!

Remember the theft of pistols and a machine gun from Oakington Barracks in December 1981, which the media and police tried to blame on the Angry Brigade? No paper mentioned the fact that *Column 88* and *Heil Hitler* slogans had been taped on the access road to the Barracks on a number of occasions prior to the robbery. There have been five other ACF and Barrack arms robberies in the area in the past. Will all that ironmongery go on gathering dust under the beds of Adolf's later-day Supermen for much longer? A few trigger-fingers must be starting to itch...

### Billion-Dollar Anarchist

A few of you Len Deighton fans out there may have missed the *Guardian's* interview with him recently, on the occasion of his return to spy fiction (with *Berlin Game*, Hutchinson, £8.95) after a seven year break devoted to churning out war stories (both fiction and fact). The Deighton recipe for success — which began with *The Ipcress File* in 1962 — relies heavily on careful research ("the carrot that keeps him running").



"His best contacts are in the German memorabilia market. They provided an entree to the 90th birthday party of a top SS general and enabled him to reach a conclusion about the Hitler Diaries episode. 'I know some of those people. I would have been astounded if there had been any truth in it.'"

But not all of the author's political interests have been to Nazi birthday parties:

"Deighton says he has been through the entire political spectrum. As an RAF photographer he attended anarchist meetings in Soho. He discovered recently that he was investigated by the security services while studying at the Royal College of Art. 'I'm still an anarchist, but a right-wing anarchist. I am sort of anti-statist. I am very keen

on a society in which people don't have to have political attitudes if they don't want to.'"

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, but at least we know now where Deighton drew his inspiration for the delightful satire of an anarchist vegetarian restaurant in *Spy Story* (1975.)

### Only Fools and Horses...

If we seem to concentrate overmuch in this column on the subject of informers we can only plead that there is a lot of it about... For some "comrades" the malady is deliberate; others become the tools of the police despite themselves. In all cases the end result is the same: more people in prison who should not be there (and *would not* be there if certain mouths stayed shut!).

The end of the recent 'Welsh' conspiracy trial in Cardiff offers some hard lessons which *must* be learnt. In many respects the outcome was a carbon-copy of the *Persons Unknown* case: four defendants acquitted, one on the run after jumping bail, and another sentenced to nine years after making signed statements to the police.

The comparison has substance. The person who received the nine years (for possession of detonators, and obtaining a false birth certificate and passport) was Dafydd "Taff" Ladd, who previously jumped bail during the *Persons Unknown* case. Ladd remained out of sight for nearly two years, before suddenly deciding to surrender to the police. All outstanding charges from the *Persons Unknown* case were mysteriously dropped; and instead he was charged with co-conspiracy in the 'Welsh' case (pertaining to a series of bombings claimed by the *Workers Army of the Welsh Republic*). Amongst those arrested at the same time was Jenny Smith, Ladd's girlfriend.

The brief facts of what followed are these:

- (1) Ladd offered the police a deal in exchange for them granting Jenny Smith bail.
- (2) He made and signed two written statements to the police *after* being expressly advised *not* to by his solicitor.
- (3) He led the police to a cache of detonators hidden in Wales, the existence of which they were previously oblivious to.
- (4) John Jenkins (who received two years for harbouring Ladd whilst on the run) and Brian Rees (who got three years for possession of the same detonators that Ladd had led the police to) were both arrested *after* Ladd was taken into custody.
- (5) Conspiracy charges against Ladd were dropped and he changed his plea to 'guilty' on the secondary

charges of possession, etc., after the trial began. One result of this was that his two signed statements to the police did not then have to be introduced as evidence in court.

Nine years may seem harsh on the charges to anyone not familiar to the working of the courts in political trials. But Ladd was no 'first offender'. He had already served a five year sentence for political bombings during the 70's, and later skipped bail during the *Persons Unknown* case (in which the prosecution painted him in a damning light, and the informer Stuart Carr — who also got nine years for his efforts, and was himself introduced into anarchist circles by Ladd! — made him out to be a leading figure in the alleged "conspiracy"). A 20 year sentence would not have come as a surprise: witness countless IRA trials of a similar nature with *less* evidence! And the 25 year sentence given to the 'un-political' David Martin recently for possession of arms and 'GBH'...

We cannot yet establish the precise contents of Ladd's signed admissions to the police. But the facts outlined above do allow us to draw a general conclusion for the benefit of others who may fall into the unhappy situation Ladd put



himself in: When in custody and facing (or merely threatened with) charges, say and sign nothing. No matter how black things look it pays *not* to co-operate. The going rate for those weak individuals who through greed, spite, cowardice, or simple lack of ability to stand up under pressure, agree to 'co-operate', is *nine* years. Silence offers a fighting chance of acquittal. And if all else fails at the end of the day, prison is a preferable fate to the stigma of the grass (or his just deserts!).

It might also profit anyone seriously contemplating serious political activism to submit people coming to them shrouded in heroic aurora of previous revolutionary struggle to closer scrutiny before trusting their futures to a dubious legend.



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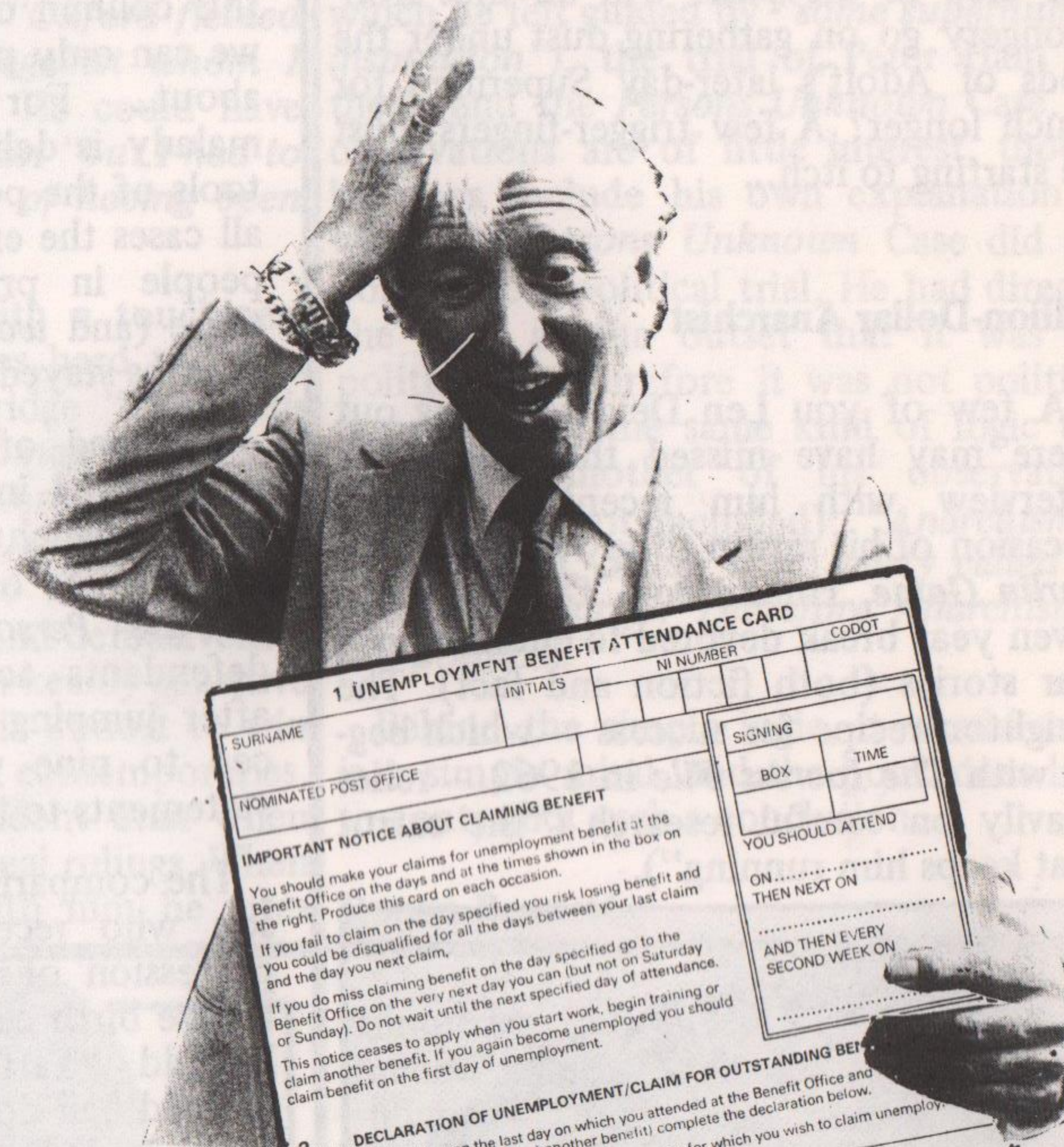
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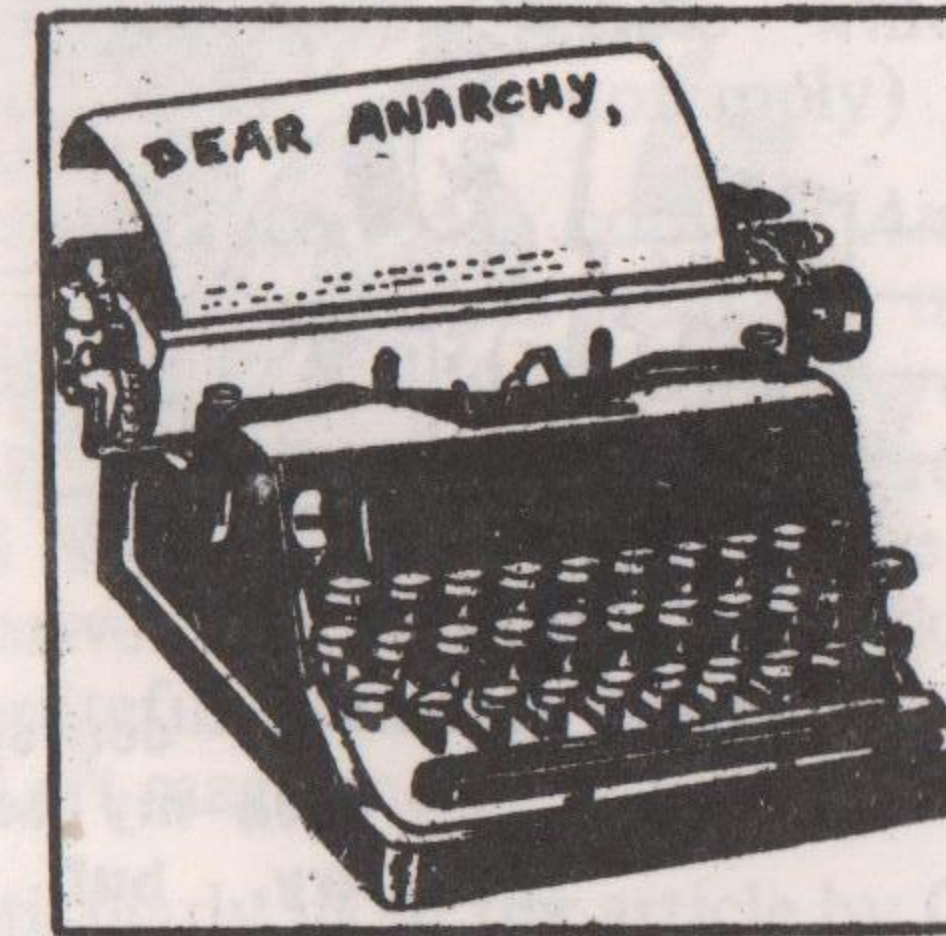
# TOILERS' PAPER

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## Letters



Long, boring letters are not encouraged. Please spare a thought for our oppressed type-setter, and wherever possible type your pearls of wisdom (double-spaced) on one side of the page only. All communications should be addressed to Anarchy Magazine, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

## REFRESHING THE COMRADES OTHER PAPERS CAN'T REACH

Dear Comrades,

After an absence from politics of almost four years I read your last edition of *Anarchy* with pleasure and excitement. You have helped to renew my commitment. I did, however, see various letters with which I became enraged and disgusted. As a male anarcho-feminist and committed anarcho-syndicalist I must protest in the strongest terms at the letter of 'Alf' from Hampstead who writes, quote "There is an almost total lack of debate in the Anarchist movement. Pacifism, syndicalism, feminism, are in ascendancy, all in my view totally irrelevant to the advanced capitalism which we in Britain live under".

First of all the oppression of half the human race by the other half is not "irrelevant". The struggle of women is a subject which all anarchists should be involved in, regardless of sex. To anarchist women freeing themselves from male oppression is seen as the primary front upon which they struggle. It's no good keeping the fight against sexism till after the revolution. It's got to be fought here and now, on a personal, as well as political level. I have noticed since my return to the British anarchist movement from Canada and the US, a lack of commitment on the part of male anarchists to the struggle against sexism which verges on sexism itself.

As an anarcho-syndicalist I also take exception to being called part of an "irrelevant" movement. 'Alf's views of "advanced capitalism" seem to me to be a cop-out in order not to be involved

in day to day struggles. Anarcho-syndicalism is still the industrial wing of anarchism and the fact remains that so long as the majority of the population of the world are wage slaves, so long does anarcho-syndicalism still have relevance. Of course, world capitalism has changed since the beginning of the century but this still does not negate the syndicalist organisation and methods of struggle. They may not be perfect but they're the best we've got.

Finally, when is the British Anarchist Movement finally going to get around to organising a viable nationwide federation. It's important in my estimation to co-ordinate all anarchist activity in the fight against Thatcherism and the State. Only a British Anarchist Federation can in my view be the co-ordinator of such activity.

Salud y Anarquía  
P.R. (Tyne & Wear)

## 22 CARAT SWINE

Dear Anarchy Collective,

I am sorry that this is such a belated response to your letter of September 9, but I was away in France, and then researching in North America until early October, and then off immediately again to a speaking tour of Germany from which I returned only two days ago.

Thanks for letting me see the item on Gerry Gable. A 22 carat swine. I think you covered just about everything on him.

Yours sincerely,

David Irving  
81 Duke Street, London, W1.

**Editorial note:** 'Revisionist' historian David Irving figured prominently in *Sniper's* account of the dubious career of *Searchlight* director Gerry Gable published in our last issue. We sent both Mr. Irving and *Searchlight* copies of the article for their comments. So far neither *Searchlight* or Gerry Gable have made any response...

## VANCOUVER ONE

Dear comrades at Anarchy Magazine,

I really hope that things are going well for you.

I am currently on trial with four other comrades, and have been now for two months. I must say that the courtroom is truly one of the most horrible places I have ever had to do time in: the whole environment inside one is like death warmed over. Boring and lifeless, a pompous hypocritical sham - that's what justice is all about, day after day, sitting in that courtroom. See, even trying to describe it is boring. This trial alone will likely last another four months.

Anyhow, I would most appreciate it if I could be sent your magazine, as there is

virtually no other source available for the information contained in it. Myself, and the others, would be most interested in reading every issue thoroughly, for sure. I am hoping that you can send it to me, even though I am a prisoner and cannot send any funds. Any recent back issues would be excellent also.

Take care. Much thanks for your help.

In resistance,

Brent Taylor

**Editorial note:** The five comrades imprisoned in Vancouver would, no doubt, get a great boost from receiving your letters and postcards of support. Show your solidarity by writing to:

Brent Taylor, Julia Belmas, Gerry Hannah, Ann Hansen, Doug Stewart at:  
Drawer "O", Burnaby, British Columbia, V5H 3N4, Canada.

## IF YOU'RE ANGRY & YOU KNOW IT, CLAP YOUR HANDS...

Dear Anarchy,

Have recently received *Anarchy* 36 as part of the Refract subscription. I did not see *Anarchy* 35 and, therefore, am not really in a position to pass comment on it. However, while opposing the indiscriminate violence of incumbent and aspirant Stalinists alike, of whatever political hue - whether Republicans or Nationalists and the credence which such *Anarchy* reviewers as A.N.A. appear to give to their politics (I really can't see what merit there is in fraternising with the Soviet Union or in being 'anti-Brit' and adopting the heel-worn terminology of Nationalism and Statism, although it is certainly guaranteed to polarise English Nationalism!); whether Democrats or Fascists - I feel I must pass comment on the question of violence as such.

Certainly, to support all actions, whether violent or otherwise, but peculiarly because of their violent nature - and such actions which 'seem' to fit in with one's own political philosophy - and merely because of that is as clearly irresponsible as it is self-defeating to oppose all actions which involve violence because violence has been involved. This is borne out by *Anarchy's* support of the so-called RZ action in Germany. And if a quarterly publication has to *rush* to meet a deadline... Well! Perhaps the same excuse could be used by *Socialist Worker* and other Trot publications whose headlines are often identical with the NF's *Nationalism Today*?

Perhaps I may comment on some of the commentators who were in a position to pass comment? A.Y.M. makes the point that to attack the police will ensure



that they are replaced in even larger numbers. The corollary of this is surely that to become passive law-abiding citizens is to ensure that the police will be withdrawn in ever larger numbers. Who knows, if we do nothing, perhaps even the State will wither away? He says, correctly, that policemen are only people in uniforms. So were the SS for that matter! The police are to be opposed merely because they exist. They are the embodiment of an externalised authority, the civil arm of the State, and necessarily anathema to the politics of self-regulation. And while we're on the subject, DJC should remember that orgasmic potency may guarantee a personal or individual freedom of thought, of self, — free from all authoritarian hang-ups, but it does not insulate either thought or self or person from the rigours, injustices and violence of class society. Only a more fortunate placement in society can guarantee that.

A.Y.M. says the whole of your magazine emits a mood of violence. Is this not to be expected as a natural response to the violence which permeates class society? Then we come to A.Y.M.'s comments on the writer who says that grasses should have their legs broken. On the subjective level of gut revenge, such an act is surely understandable but, objectively, it is hardly going to stop the grass from talking. Perhaps a more suitable punishment would be to have the tongue torn out by the roots! Certainly, if the writer to whom A.Y.M. is referring is seriously suggesting this on an objective level then it is closer to Britten's philosophy that fear can act as a 'deterrent'. A.Y.M. denies Dorothy Prosser's 'right of personal revenge'. Of course, justice and revenge are not quite the same thing, but the 'right of personal revenge' is a more humane justice than that practiced by law. And it is right and natural to feel anger and hurt, to want to give vent to these feelings.

It is good strategy in planning an assault on the system to attempt to predetermine what the effects of such action will be toward generating a positive and revolutionary awareness. As, for instance, the Wimmin's Fire Brigade actions. But on a personalised, individual, subjective level this is not always the sort of response that oppression generates — it is, in such a case, a spontaneous fury that must satisfy its lust on the oppressor with every measure of strength it can muster. And is that to be wholly condemned out of turn when such is the stuff of revolutions? Can the revolutionary act truly detach itself from the gut feeling of anger at an injustice or a hurt done and still remain true to itself? Whether the struggle remains on a subjective or an objective level is more often determined by class or by a more or less fortunate placement in society. Certainly, Eddie Horner's response was on the subjective level: he acted from the position of the oppressed against the oppressor. And rightly so! Does DJC never feel frustrated and angry

enough to take such actions because of that and no more? We too are the victims of class society. While it is obviously an error to claim that 'we ARE the people', can we not act on our own behalf as well as on the behalf of others?

Perhaps the truly revolutionary response would arise out of a unity of purpose of the burning anger of the subjective and calculating strategy of the objective.

Faternally,

L.D. (Surrey)

## CHALK & CHEESE

Dear Anarchy,

Issue No.36 was very impressive in both style and content with a few exceptions. Although I accept that "signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the *Anarchy Collective*" this does not absolve *Anarchy* from responsibility for all articles, reviews, etc. — there is, presumably, some form of editorial control? There are two items which concern me:

The item on *The Frankfurt Bombings* (unsigned, therefore a collective response) which says "... Confusion is bound to arise when the extreme Right begins to jump on the bandwagon of 'anti-Imperialism' even to the extent of using the same rhetoric." Surely this tells you something of the nature of 'Nationalism' and 'Anti-Imperialism'. I would suggest that there is nothing odd or confusing about National(ist) Socialist groups using anti-imperialist rhetoric.

The second item was the review of the book *The Longest War*. A mixture of truisms, evasions, and the profoundly ludicrous. I'm aware that a book review is only one person's opinion, but I cannot allow a comment like the one below go unremarked in an Anarchist (revolutionary) magazine "... instead of trying to make the struggle into what we would like it to be, see it as it really is..." If we are not trying to make the struggle into what we would like it to be, how could we possibly claim to be revolutionaries, or Anarchists. This is not semantic sophistry, this whole review is symptomatic of a particularly revolting attitude prevalent in many demoralised leftists who, lacking the means or will to even attempt to effect the poverty of their own lives, vicariously applaud the actions of the IRA from the sidelines whilst criticising those who oppose the concept of national unity instead of class unity, exhorting us "to see it as it really is".

Those are my two main criticisms, a make of them what you will, as I said, I think in general the magazine is very good, keep up the good work and best wishes for the future.

S.B. (Essex)



"Of course I love my country, but I'm not a fanatic about it."

*Anarchy* (Provisional Wing) replies:

Whilst having a definite editorial policy (see A35), *Anarchy* does not seek to impose a 'party line' on its contributors. Rather we hope to provide a forum for differing opinions, which at the same time reflects and stimulates thinking within our ranks.

Disregarding the personal slurs against our reviewer (A.N.A. is no more or less "demoralised" — still less, a "leftists" — or unable to effect "the poverty" of their life than is S.B.), what is at issue is not the criticising of class unity over national unity, but whether or not we admit the reality of a situation that refuses to fit neatly into an anarchist dogma, and our responses to that. Do we forgo action altogether, or shape our actions to fit the situation and try at least, as A.N.A. pointed out, to make "our own contribution to moving events more in our own direction..."? We would all like class unity to suddenly cut across the sectarian divide in Ireland, and for the struggle between rival nationalisms to give way to open class warfare. But it has not. And there is little hope of it doing so until the structure that ensures the continuance of a divided working class (the Orange statelet thrown up by Partition, which institutionalises sectarianism in the interests of the British ruling class) is removed.

Nationalism and Anti-Imperialism overlap. But they are not identical. Witness the 'nationalist' states of Latin America, for example, which demonstrate a closer affinity and identity of interest between themselves and US Imperialism, in waging war against 'their own' people, than in challenging the domination of 'foreign' Capital. It is a matter of class allegiances which predominates, not patriotism. Hitler was not an anti-Imperialist but a rival-Imperialist. The neo-Nazi attacks of Hepp & Co., against "Americanism" are different from those of the RAF and RZ against "US Imperialism" by virtue of their intent. That the targets (US soldiers) chosen may be the same should not disguise the simple fact that their motivations and aims are entirely different. Revolution and counter-revolution may well adopt some of the same methods, but they are as different in content as chalk and cheese.

## THUS SPOKE THE MAJOR

Dear Sir/Comrade, (delete whichever does not apply)

I recently received a copy of *Anarchy* which I presume was sent to me by yourselves. I would like to thank you for this gesture and to say I enjoyed reading it, and found its contents to be both imaginative and interesting; unlike the usual spiteful whinings served up in so many Left magazines.

I particularly liked the article by Christie on Freemasonry, and I had come to much the same conclusions myself on this subject. I have a copy of his *Towards a Citizens Militia*, and although much of it appeared to have been lifted from an earlier book by Dach Bern, it was well compiled and easy to read, although not perhaps without some flaws.

Regarding the article on the Frankfurt bombings in which I am mentioned, I am afraid you have been misinformed, possibly by reading that rather pathetic and mendacious little rag *Searchlight*, which I found long ago to be worthless as a source of reliable information. Should you be interested in fact and not political fiction (it would be a pity to see *Anarchy* sink to the level of *Searchlight*) I inform you briefly that I have known only one member of that gang of odious little criminals, and that is Tillmann with whose family I have been friends for a number of years. He asked me if he could come over for a few days holiday and as I knew nothing of his new found "comrades", I agreed. I

found the views expressed by the pair to be immature, confused and lacking any conviction, the sort of thing one might expect from adolescent criminals seeking a layer of phoney politics as a "conscience saver". I can assure you that in the Third Reich they would have received short shrift. For myself I consider the "Strategy of Tension" to be utter claptrap, and merely an excuse for criminal activity, no matter by which side it is applied.

As one who has an interest in survival techniques, I was interested to visit an anarchist commune last year. An illuminating experience which I enjoyed. In the "alternative society" which will certainly exist should the big bang come, their self-reliance will stand them in good stead.

You will appreciate that I can hardly wish you Good Luck, but I am nevertheless enclosing £2.50 for the next four issues of *Anarchy*.

Signed:

I.Souter Clarence (8 Overbury Road, Parkstone, Poole, BH14 9JL)

PS: Concerning Hepp

He was not staying at my house, and I have never met the man, nor had I heard of him prior to this affair. I do not know what his politics are, and hesitate to trust press reports, but as an alleged terrorist he would get no help from me, in fact just the opposite.

EDITORIAL NOTE : This is the first time Ian Souter Clarence has broken his silence on the Tillman affair, and commented on

the allegations of his involvement in the safe-housing of wanted neo-Nazi terrorists. ANARCHY is keeping an open mind on the matter, pending more verifiable evidence, but we note that except for his claim not to know Hepp, Souter Clarence's version of events does not differ in any essential way with what we said in our last issue (see A36, "THE FRANKFURT BOMBINGS : SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT").

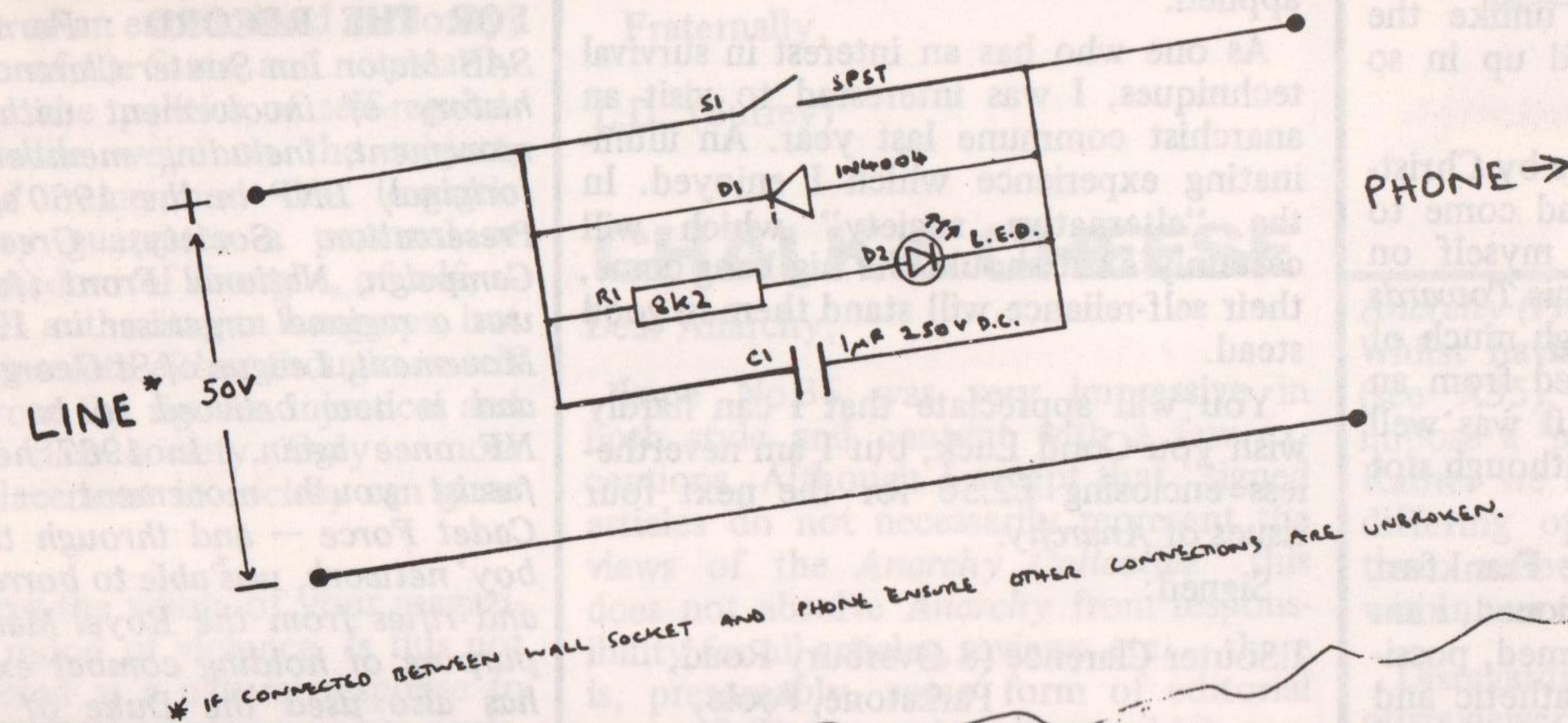
FOR THE RECORD : Former wartime SAS Major Ian Souter Clarence has a long history of involvement with the fascist movement, including membership of the (original) BNP in the 1960's, the Racial Preservation Society, Greater Britain Campaign, National Front (for which he was a regional organiser in 1977), British Movement, League of St George. . . . . and is now believed to be back in the NF once again. In 1967 he founded a fascist youth movement — the Viking Cadet Force — and through the SAS 'old boy' network, was able to borrow transport and rifles from the Royal Marines for the purpose of holding combat exercises. He has also used the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme (to get youth grants) as a cover for his, rather more than Boy Scout, activities. Frequent allegations have been made linking his name with the now dormant "Column 88" (allegedly once the main para-military and intelligence gathering organisation of the Nazi movement in Britain). Souter Clarence has, elsewhere, denied such involvement, but freely admits to running "Survival" courses attended mostly by fellow Right Wingers, including fascist activists from the Continent.

Ian Souter Clarence (left) and Micheál Griffin (centre) of the League of St George, with Roger Spinjewijn of the (now illegal) VMO, at the graveside of Belgian members of the Waffen SS in Diksmuide.





# FREEPHONE



This is the text of a leaflet that's been circulating in photocopy form.

"British Telecom's recent record profits and continued appalling service have prompted the circulation of this information. It comprises a method of making telephone calls free of charge.

The circuit inhibits the charging for incoming calls only. When a phone is answered, there is normally approx. 100 mA DC loop current but only 8mA or so is necessary to polarise the microphone in the handset. Drawing only this small amount of current is sufficient to defeat BT's ancient 'Electric Meccano'.

It's extremely simple. When ringing, the polarity of the line reverses so D1 effectively answers the call when the handset is lifted. When the call is established, the line polarity reverts and R1 limits the loop current while D2 is an LED to indicate that the circuit is in operation. C1 ensures speech is unaffected. S1 returns the telephone to normal.

Local calls of unlimited length can be made free of charge. Long distance calls using this circuit are prone to automatic disconnection; this varies from area to area but you will get at least 3 minutes before the line is closed down. Further experimentation should bear fruit in this respect.

With the phone on the hook the circuit is completely undetectable. The switch should be thrown if a call is received from an operator, for example, or to make an outgoing call. It has proved

extremely useful, particularly for friends phoning from payphones with permanently jammed coin slots."

The leaflet and diagram are written in technical jargon. A few notes to assist decipherment by those of us who have yet to progress beyond blue touch papers. What the device does is allow people to call you without paying for it - you only directly benefit from the virtuos glow this gives you.

S1 - SPST : An on/off switch. (Single position single throw).

IN 4004 : A type of Diode. An electronic device which only allows current through in one direction. The charging system is initiated by the reversals of polarity - current changing direction - so this inhibits the reversal of polarity which sets off the charging system. (But see below.)

R1 8K2 - A type of Resistor. This only allows 8mA of current through - undetectable

R1 8K2 - A type of Resistor. This only allows 8mA of current through - undetectable by the charging system but enough to be audible.

LED - A Light Emitting Diode. A little light which tells you that the system is in operation (and reminds you to switch it off if necessary).

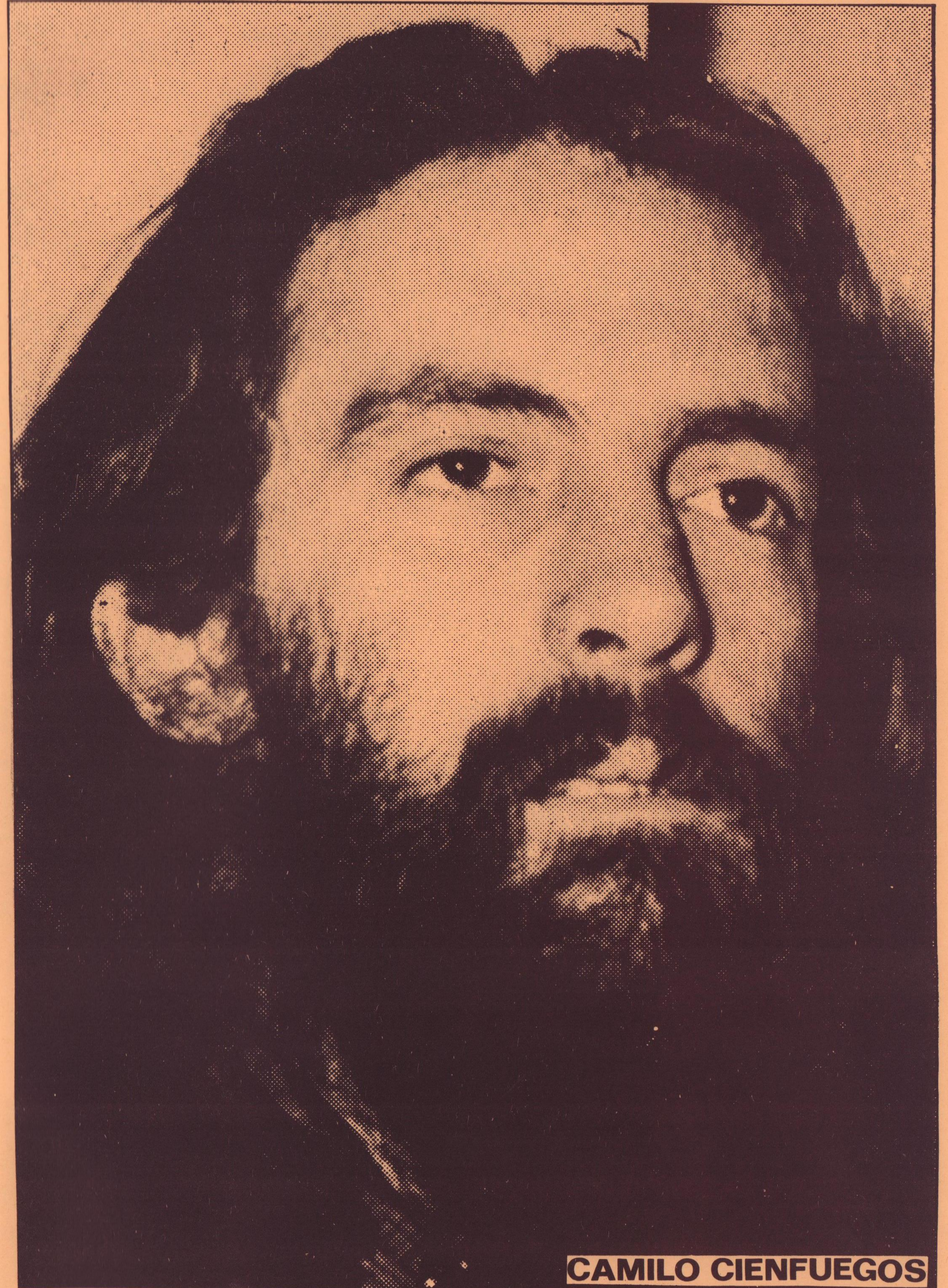
C1 - 1µF 250 v. DC. : A type of Capacitor. This stops direct current but accepts alternating current (I don't fully understand it but basically this means it lets through sound waves - in this case voices.)

A simple book on basic electronic construction should be enough to enable you to translate the circuit above into a working device. (Being totally ignorant myself it seemed possible to me after it had been explained to me.) The tricky bit will probably be working out which is the positive wire in the phone cable.

A friendly telephone engineer speaks : This device probably works but I have a few reservations. I'm not sure about local calls of unlimited duration - this device only affects the first unit of a phone call. Subsequent units are metered differently. It might work - I just don't see how.

I disagree that its undetectable when the handset is in place. I'd recommend leaving it switched off until the phone rings and only then switching it on before lifting the receiver. Engineers can detect unauthorised devices on the line, and in any case the metering on all lines is checked annually. Call boxes are regularly monitored to check that money is being put in - if it isn't but a call takes place questions will be asked.

This device will only work on old mechanical exchanges, and perhaps (I don't know) on newer TXE exchanges. It will not work on the System X exchanges but these will only be coming in over the next 20 years. However the new method of recording itemised bills which is to be introduced over the next 2½ years will probably be triggered off before the phone is answered - this may make this scam more visible, and if so will constitute evidence of your misdeeds.



**CAMILO CIENFUEGOS**