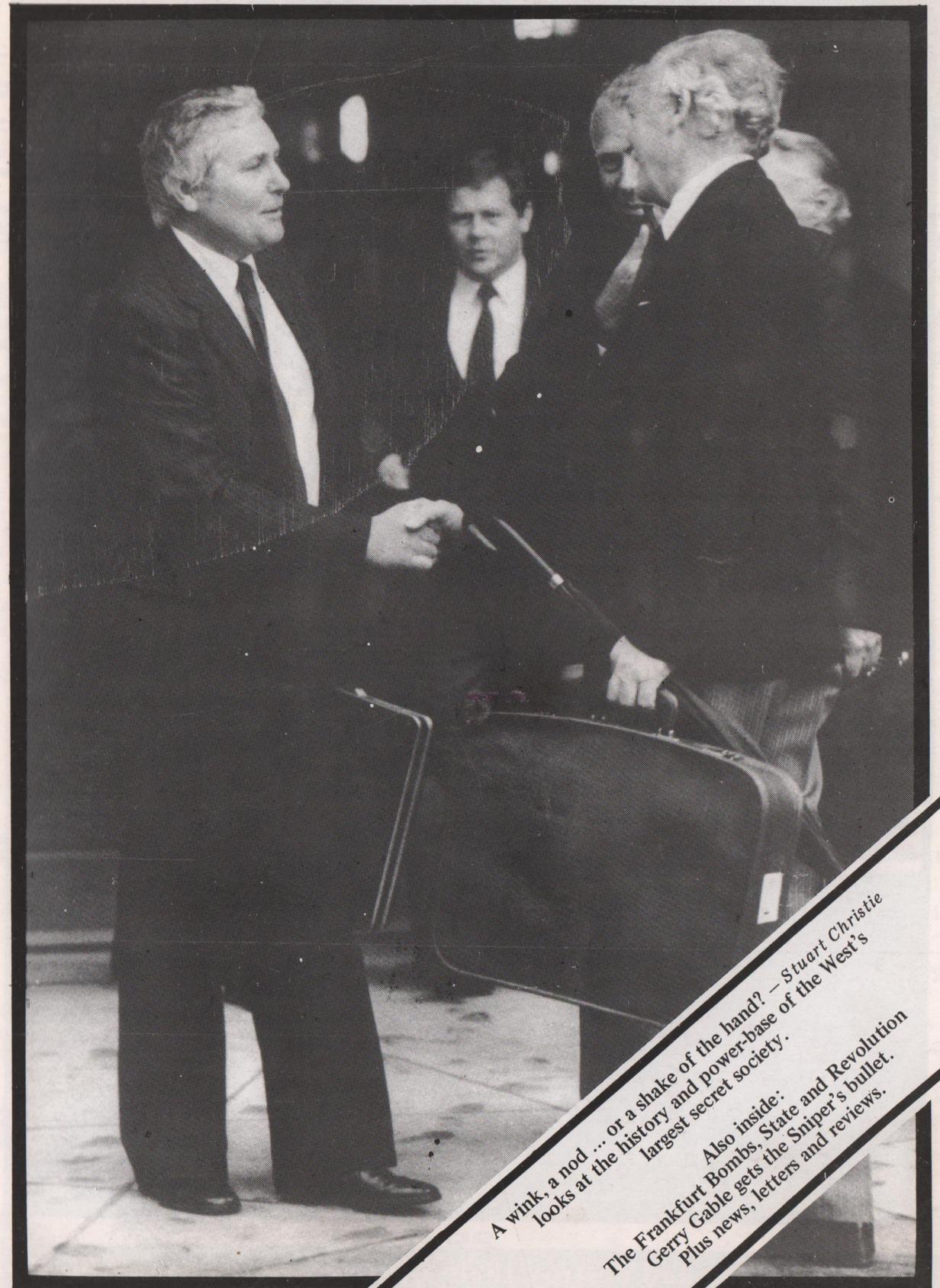
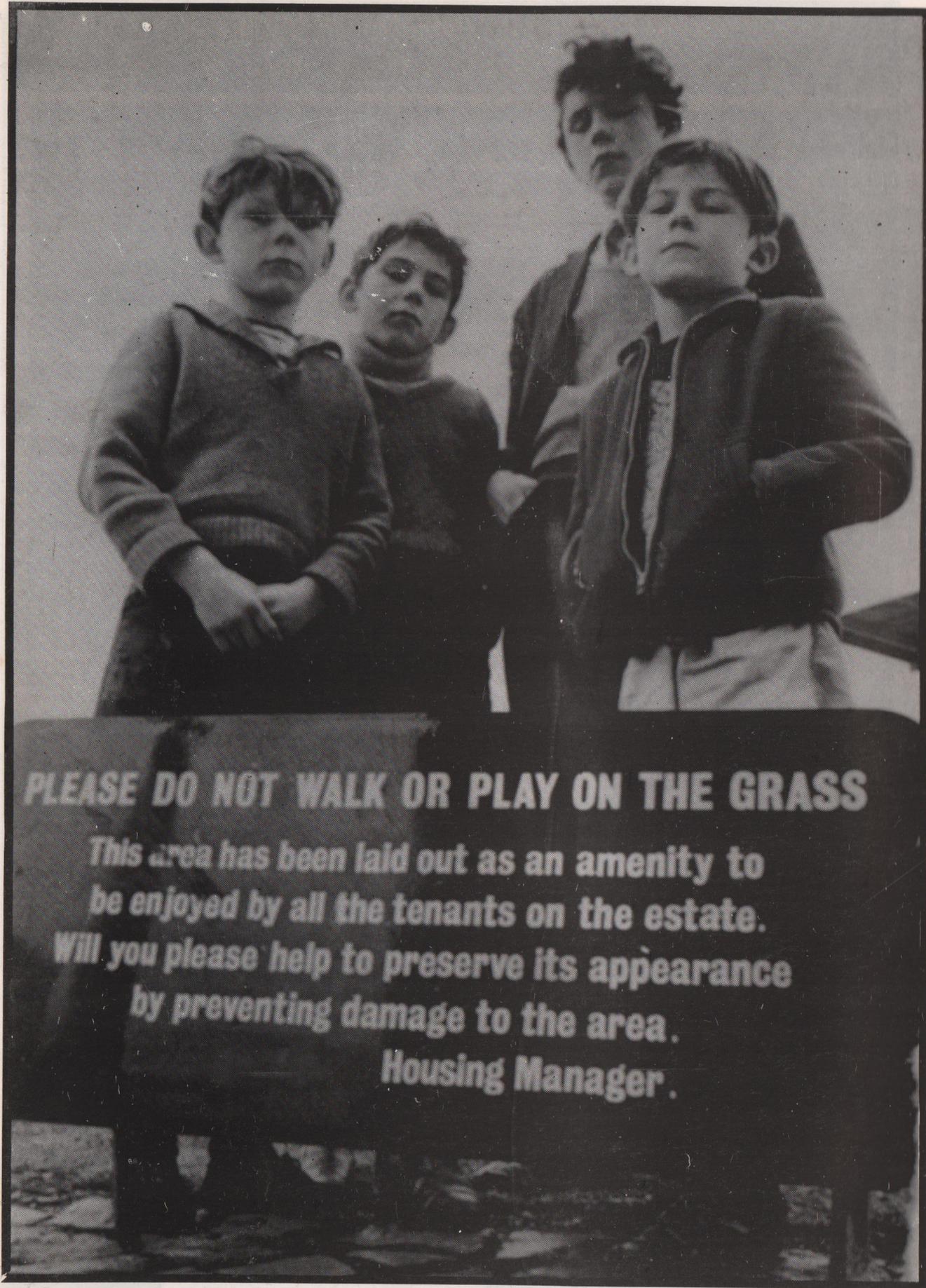


Anarchy

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50p



A wink, a nod ... or a shake of the hand? — Stuart Christie looks at the history and power-base of the West's largest secret society.

Also inside:
The Frankfurt Bombs, State and Revolution
Gerry Gable gets the Sniper's bullet.
Plus news, letters and reviews.

NESTOR MAKHNO



“Burn their laws and destroy their prisons, kill the hangmen, the bane of mankind. SMASH AUTHORITY.”

ANARCHY

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HOME NEWS...

Prison Protests

Rising anger at conditions within British top-security prisons has spilled over into a number of protests in recent months.

Three IRA prisoners — Eddie O'Neill, John McClusky, and Richard Glenholmes — were hastily transferred from Hull prison on 30 January under the notorious 'Rule 43b' (G.O.D.) for 28 days, as a result of direct Home Office intervention to prevent them from speaking to a BBC *Newsnight* film crew, who had been granted permission to speak to prisoners in the gaol during the making of a TV documentary.

Then, at the end of February, nearly 800 long-term prisoners in Albany, Parkhurst, Gartree, Long Lartin, and Wakefield stopped work in protest at official refusal to grant them equal 'privileges' as received by prisoners in Northern Ireland: half remission, the right to wear their own clothes, and receive weekly food parcels, visits and letters chief amongst them. The scale (all 300 prisoners in Albany, and 243 out of 261 in Parkhurst) and co-ordination of the protest is something not seen in English prisons since the early '70's.

Albany

In May, frustration in Albany came to a head when allowances were cut from £1.60 to £1, after some men had refused to sew mailbags in the prison workshop. An estimated £250,000 of damage was done when prisoners in 'B' and 'C' wings smashed up the cell blocks. One television reporter allowed into the gaol, described the state of Albany as "worse than the scenes of destruction I saw in Beirut." During the riot, 10 prisoners took to the roof to demonstrate against conditions in the prison and demand repatriation for Irish political prisoners and parity of conditions and remission with prisoners in the six counties. Three prisoners came down from the roof on 22 May (after three days), leaving seven men up there, including for IRA prisoners — Anthony Clarke, Steven Blake, Paul Norney, and Eddie O'Neill (who had earlier been 'ghosted' from Hull) — and a member of the PFLP, Fahid Mihyi, serving a life sentence for a grenade attack on El Al airlines in London in 1979. By lowering a basket to prisoners still in cells below, the roof-top demonstrators received food, cigarettes, and newspapers throughout their protest until the mass transfer of men to gaols on the mainland cleared the cells and cut off their lines of supply. The seven prisoners held out until 25 May, when they came down voluntarily

from the roof and ended their protest (which received extensive TV and newspaper coverage).

Roy Richardson, an Albany screw, told the annual conference of the Prison Officer's Association (POA) on the day before the rooftop demonstration ended, that the relatively relaxed regime (relative to other gaols that is) in long-term prisons enabled "terrorists" and "bombers" to "...spread their sick brand of anarchy to impressionable, drug-reliant prisoners who will do anything to pay off their debts which they owe for a drug habit fed to them by the IRA." As ever, whenever prisoners revolt against the inhuman conditions of English prisons, Richardson fell back on the old conspiracy theory that it was the political prisoners who were behind it: "nine IRA inmates and five other terrorist prisoners worked together to disrupt and destroy the system because of their total commitment to anarchy which recognises no formal system". This is

exactly the line fed to the press by the POA after the "drug-reliant" prisoners of Gartree took over and destroyed three wings of the prison in October 1978 in protest at the organised and systematic drugging of troublesome prisoners for control purposes by the prison doctors and screws. On that occasion the riot was blamed on Anarchists, IRA, and black prisoners.

Shortly before the Albany protest ended, on 24 May, four IRA prisoners in Gartree were locked up in their cells all day because the Governor suspected that there might be a similar protest there. And the next day, John McClusky (another of those ghosted from Hull in January) was transferred out of the gaol to Leicester on another 28 days preventative "Good Order and Discipline" (GOD).

Wormwood Scrubs

On 16 June prisoners in Wormwood

Scrubs in London mounted another protest demonstration over prison conditions. The official version, given wide and sensationalised coverage in the press, was that a group of prisoners had stormed the office of D Wing during meal time and battled with screws for 15 minutes. 25 screws and seven prisoners were reported injured, though the press only played-up the injuries to the screws. But in a statement smuggled out of the gaol and passed to *Time Out* and the *New Statesman*, prisoner James Anderson gives a very different perspective to what really happened: "Rumours had been coming in that the men involved in the Albany demo had been badly mistreated by guards. In an attempt to bring attention to this, a group of D-wing prisoners, including myself, decided to stage our own protest. We intended to take over the top landing to display banners outside. No IRA men or ex-Albany prisoners took part in this demo..."

"At 4.30 p.m. we put the plan into operation; within five minutes we had secured the top landing. We had taken five prison officers captive, locking them in an office. We did not hurt them in any way. While we were consolidating our position, building barricades across the staircase, the riot squad numbering 60 to 80 prison officers charged up three different staircases and breached our positions."

Fighting continued for about 10 minutes with prisoners "defending themselves against the officers indiscriminately battering those they came across", says Anderson, who was knocked unconscious.

"When I recovered I was being dragged along a landing by a group of 10 or 12 officers. They were kicking and punching me. They dragged me downstairs, letting my body bounce on the metal staircase, and across No.1 landing through broken glass. I was thrown into a bare cell and stripped naked. The officers (who cannot be named as yet for legal reasons) repeatedly assaulted me using their fists and feet. I was again knocked unconscious. When I regained my senses I was on the floor, naked with handcuffs behind my back. I was badly injured and in pain. I could hear sounds of other people being attacked, general laughing and shouting and men in pain."

Later, Governor Ian Dunbar entered Anderson's cell with the screws. "He made no comment and told them to remove the handcuffs and a doctor would be coming to see me." Anderson was taken to the prison hospital, X-rayed, then put back in an isolation cell.

HOME NEWS...

Wormwood Scrubs has been described by a former Governor, John McCarthy, as "a penal dustbin". In a letter to the *Guardian* newspaper, the week before this latest attack on the prisoners, 17 D-wing prisoners said that conflicts within the gaol were due to "Victorian conditions" and a "repressive regime". The Scrubs had previously been the scene of a 'riot' in 1979, when 60 prisoners were hospitalised after a peaceful demonstration was attacked by the prison 'MUFTI' squad (Minimum Use of Force Tactical Intervention). After that episode, the screws staged a virtual coup within the prison, denying control of the place to the Governors, and arbitrarily stopping all visits and excluding all teaching and

Strangeways, Manchester. 28 of the 31 of the ex-Albany prisoners facing adjudication have been charged with "mutiny", one of the most serious charges that can be brought against a prisoner under prison regulations. 'Mutiny' was singled out for criticism by the European Commission on Human Rights, when it heard the appeal of two Irish prisoners, Sean Campbell and Patrick Fell (both now released). The Commission recommended that prisoners facing such a charge should have an absolute right to legal representation and legal aid. The recommendation is expected to be ratified by the full court this autumn. At present, prisoners have no rights to either representation or legal aid under British prison rules.



James Anderson

civilian staff, so that no word conflicting with the 'official' version of events concocted by the POA would be allowed to escape before the interest of the press and public had died down. Control over the prison has remained with the screws ever since. Only at great risk to themselves, can individual prisoners smuggle out their side of the story.

Footnote:

Since this report was written, the prisoners who took part in the Albany protests have been facing adjudications in gaols scattered around the country. Steven Blake has lost 670 days remission at Walton Prison, Liverpool. Anthony Clarke has lost 500 days remission in

Glasgow: Lower Clyde Update

When British Shipbuilders officially announced that half of the Scott Lithgow workforce were to be made redundant and that Scott's Cartburn yard at Greenock would close — 3000 to be laid off at the summer and the rest between then and March 1984 — the shop stewards committees decided to call meetings of their respective departments and ask the workers to pay 50p per man into a fighting fund, which would be needed in order to fight the corporation's proposed redundancies.

Every department agreed to pay this levy of 50p with the exception of the Kingston/Glen platers (the crossword strikers - see *Anarchy* 35). The platers stewards called three meetings on this question of the 50p in order to get the platers to reverse their decision. At each of these meetings our stewards were told — if they didn't like the department's decision then they should resign. They didn't, and the platers still haven't paid the 50p. And because they haven't paid the levy, they have been expelled from the shop stewards committee and excluded from mass meetings.

The platers felt that, looking at the shop stewards committee's track record over the past years, they couldn't take the shop stewards committees seriously when they speak about fighting redundancies. We cast our minds back to our last strike and the role which the shop stewards played then — they were instrumental in getting a worker the sack. We cast our minds back to last May ('82) when the secretary and the chairman of the shop stewards committees signed a no strike agreement with the company. We cast our minds back to the late seventies when redundancies should have been fought



HOME NEWS...

but weren't. At that period the shop stewards called mass meetings and made fiery speeches about fighting redundancies only to call mass meetings a week later and tell the workforce that there would be no fight — and recommend that voluntary redundancies should be accepted. These points are only a few of our reasons for not paying into their fighting fund.

It was also made clear at the platers meetings that we are not shying away from a fight. If there is going to be any fighting with the bosses, then we are prepared to fight. We don't see lobbies, etc. as fighting, the fight will have to be done at the point of production — within the yards.

Mass Meeting

The shop stewards called a mass meeting of the workforce (excluding the Kingston/Glen platers) and asked for the 50p to be paid on a weekly basis. This was accepted by the mass meetings. At this particular mass meeting, workers called out for an explanation as to why the Kingston/Glen platers were not present. The chairman of the meeting told them that the platers had been asked three or four times to pay the 50p and keep on refusing to pay it — that is why they are not here. If they pay the levy, they can attend the meetings.

It was at this mass meeting that the shop stewards fighting campaign was spelled out to the workforce. It was to be a 'political campaign'. The shop stewards were inviting all local political parties, churches, local councillors, etc. and Uncle Tom Cobbley and all, to join forces with them in order to fight the forthcoming redundancies. This is what the stewards call involving the community. Meanwhile, the workforce and the townsfolk are being urged to send letters of protest to the government and British Shipbuilders.

There have been lobbies to Newcastle and to the STUC conference which was held at Rothesay on the Island of Bute. Members of the workforce get sent on these lobbies as this is what they term, 'involving the workforce'.

While all this fighting is going on, the workforce doesn't seem to be up nor down over it. There are a lot of workers prepared to take voluntary redundancy. But they are not going to get that choice as British Shipbuilders have told us that all redundancies will be compulsory.

By A.Plater

Matt Lygate

Scottish Maoist Matt Lygate, who was sentenced to 24 years on 20 March 1972 for a series of armed expropriations, will finally be released on parole in September after serving 11½ years. Matt's group, the 'John McClean Society' (who were all disowned by the Scottish Workers Party of which they were members) all received heavy sentences after reading political statements from the dock at their trial, in which they condemned British Imperialism in Northern Ireland. One of Matt's comrades, Bill MacPherson, was recently transferred from the infamous cages at Porterfield to the Special Unit at Barlinnie. An Englishman, Ian Doran, who participated in some of the armed robberies but was not at the time 'political' (though he is well respected within the



Matt Lygate

prison system as a "staunch" comrade who has participated in many prison protests and is always willing to stand up for his fellow prisoners) at the time, is still serving a life sentence on other charges in an English prison.

STOP THE STRIP SEARCHES CAMPAIGN

Republican women in Armagh Jail in Northern Ireland are being routinely sexually abused by regular strip searches. A group of women in London are mounting a campaign to put a stop to this violation. We call on you to support us to STOP THE STRIP SEARCHES.

Regular and extensive strip searches have not been used in Armagh in the past thirty years. In October 1982 a non-political prisoner picked up some keys left in the courtroom by a negligent RUC officer. This incident was used by Murtagh, the new Governor, to justify the introduction of strip searches.

Women are searched when leaving or entering the prison — before and after court appearances, visits to the prison hospital, and inter-prison visits. In Parliament, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, James Prior defended the strip searches on security grounds. In fact, women remain under constant surveillance and never have contact with the public.

All prisoners are subjected to the degrading searches regardless of age or physical condition. All these women have been strip-searched: a 43-year-old mother of three; menstruating women who are required to remove their tampons or pads; adolescent women held in Armagh's young offenders unit; a woman who was 5½ months pregnant; a three-year-old girl visiting a prisoner.

Searches are carried out in small, semi-open cubicles, as described by a prisoner: "A curtain is fastened across the cubicle from about waist high to the floor. You are always in view of the prison staff who sometimes number as many as ten. When you are naked your body from the waist up is visible to all the prison staff (female and male screws) in the room... you are told to turn completely round so as no part of your body is left unseen. Anyone with long hair is ordered to gather their hair up in their hands and hold it on top

of their heads. This makes the entire sordid affair seem like a slave trade market."

One Republican woman has been strip-searched 19 times in 11 days. Gangs of warders, including men, have assaulted three women who refused the search. They were thrown down on the ground, arms and legs twisted behind them and sat upon — then the screws dragged off their clothes. One woman had refused because she was wearing a sanitary towel, but it was removed.

Instead of 'normalising' conditions in the gaol after the end of the 'no wash' protest, the prison authorities have chosen to escalate the tension. This is done with strip searches, solitary confinement, petty harassment, withdrawal of privileges and victimisation of Republican prisoners. Far from the so-called peace keeping role of the security forces, which include prison officers, the strip-search policy is indicative of the systematic sexual abuse of women in war time.

Northern Ireland has long been used as a practice ground for Britain's increasingly repressive government. Strip searches are already going beyond the prison walls. In England and Wales under the provisions of the new Police Bill, strip searches and internal probing of anus, vagina and penis will be legalised.

Support the fight against the strip searches. Write to:
Your MP;

Governor Murtagh, Armagh Women's Prison, Armagh, Northern Ireland;
Board of Visitors of Armagh Gaol, c/o Armagh Women's Prison, Armagh, Northern Ireland.

HOME NEWS...



Have Gun, Will Travel

The existence of a secret police anti-terrorist unit that has been operating out of Hampshire for the last 13 years, was revealed by the TVS documentary programme *Seven Days* on 12 May. The unit, known as the 'Irish Squad', is said to consist of about 30 members, working

from an electronically-guarded base 'somewhere in Hampshire', and to be one of the most expensive, skilled, and effective specialist units in the police force. According to the programme the identity of the squad's members is top secret, and until now, it is claimed, many high-ranking police officers were unaware of its existence. Members travel all over the world under cover and gathering intelligence about Republican activities.

Cheshire's police chief, George Fenn, admitted to the local press in April that the county had a special squad of armed policemen. The 'Firearms Support Unit' (FSU) has recently been beefed up from 14 members to 22, including two inspectors, five sergeants and 15 PC's. The unit 'provides immediate support in any county incident where there is a requirement for a high level of team training and firearms expertise.' Fenn reported that the unit was deployed on 11 occasions in the last year — seven times to protect VIP's visiting the area, three times in connection with investigation

into armed robberies, and once to escort a prisoner to a 'Category A' gaol.

Pink Panthers

The eagle-eyed Trotskyist daily *Newsline* spotted five custom-built Land Rovers of the SAS moving through Fleet Street on 1 August. The vehicles — nick-named 'Pink Panthers' by 22 SAS — were painted in desert-pink camouflage, and each fitted with smoke dischargers at each corner. But the 7.62mm heavy machine guns that are normally carried by the vehicles were not in evidence. Each was driven by a man in combat jacket and motor cyclist's helmet. It is understood that the vehicles were en route to London docks for 'deployment' to warmer climes... A Defence Ministry spokesman was unable to comment to *Newsline*. "We do not discuss matters relating to the SAS or otherwise". It is known that the SAS, who were heavily committed to fighting nationalist guerrillas in the Gulf States in the early 1960's, recently returned to Oman to resume operations.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ITALY

Petra Krause

An appeals court in Rome on 22 February confirmed the prison sentences on seven people — including anarchist Petra Krause, who has already been convicted for guerrilla activities by a Swiss court — on charges of smuggling explosives into Italy for guerrilla organisations. Petra got the heaviest of the sentences handed out to the group: six years, three months.

Rome Arrests

Three people were arrested in Rome on 17 May after a raid on a suburban post of office went wrong. One man was captured after police arrived on the scene unexpectedly, and a second surrendered after holding two hostages for five hours. A woman who managed to escape gave herself up to police early the next morning. The three arrested were Carlo Garavaglia, Francisco Donati, and Barbara Fabrizi. They are also accused of the wounding of a socialist law professor, Gino Giugni, on 3 May claimed by the 'Communist Combat Party'; and the kidnapping and execution of a woman prison warder from Rome's Rebibbia gaol on 28 January. Police discovered the flat said to have been used by the three after neighbours reported a gas leak. In the flat arms, "terrorist literature", and a tape

recording of the interrogation of the kidnapped prison wardress were discovered.

Turin Prosecutor Executed

The Red Brigades claimed responsibility for the execution of Turin's chief prosecutor, Bruno Caccia, shot at close range whilst out walking his dog on 26 June. In a telephone call to the Rome office of *Corriere Della Sera*, the group said the execution was "in reply to the arrest of Vanzi". Pietro Vanzi is a wanted member of the Red Brigades who was captured in Rome the previous week.

More Red Brigades Trials

Twelve people were sentenced to life imprisonment and 48 received lesser gaol terms in Turin at the end of July, following a three month trial. All were accused of belonging to the Red Brigades and Prima Linea. Only one of the 61 people charged was acquitted. Two of those on trial were given reduced sentences as reward for turning informers. Patrizio Peci (whom the press have built up as a 'former leader of the Prima Linea guerrilla group') got eight years for betraying his comrades. The other grass, Antonio Savasta (arrested by anti-terrorist police at the end of the Dozier kidnapping) received a two year sentence. These two traitors previously received

reduced gaol terms in the major trial of Red Brigades militants, which ended in January (see *Anarchy 35*).

And in Cagliari, Sardinia, 39 people were gaoled as members of guerrilla organisations on 2 August. Two men, alleged to be the leaders of the Sardinian Red Brigades were sentenced to life imprisonment.



Antonio Savasta, B R 'super-grass'.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

WEST GERMANY

RAF Arrest

Police arrested Gisela Dutzi (31) after a chase on Darmstadt railway station (near Frankfurt) on 1 March. She is said to have been carrying a Colt .45 pistol and a false passport at the time of the arrest, and the authorities claim she is suspected of belonging to the Red Army Fraction.



Bernd Rossner on No-Wash Strike

Since 18th April this year, RAF prisoner Bernd Rossner, has been on a no-wash protest. He doesn't leave his cell to go to the toilet, refuses to clean his cell and to take showers. He demands to be transferred to Celle, where Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Lutz Tauffer, Knut Folkerts and Andreas Vogel are together.

Bernd is the longest isolated prisoner in Germany: for eight years now he has not only been isolated but is refused visits and letters.

The result of Bernd's demands was that he was forbidden to exercise in the prison yard and he was also tortured. Since the beginning of his no wash protest Bernd was put into a special cell in the cellar with nothing in it — no windows, only a glaring neon light. The cell is sound-proof and he is unable to distinguish between day and night. He has no watch and no blankets and cannot sleep because of the cold. During the night the neon-lights are turned on nearly every hour.

Bernd has explained that he will continue his strike against every attempt to break his fight until he goes to Celle.

(Source: *Outta Control*)

Roos Convicted

Helga Roos (28) was sentenced to four years and nine months by a court in Stuttgart on 2 May, for allegedly helping the RAF carry out the rocket-grenade attack on the car carrying General Frederick Kroesen, US army commander in Europe, in September 1981. Six people were previously held by police in Heidelberg in connection with the Kroes-

en attack in December 1981. The prosecution alleged Helga had bought bottles of cacao and a tent for the RAF, but the evidence about the cacao broke down during the trial. Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Adelheid Schulz (see our report of their arrests in *Anarchy* 35) made statements at the trial denying the allegations of Helga's complicity with the RAF.

Berlin Riot

Riot police battled with about 1,000 rioters in West Berlin on 18 June after a march by more than 10,000 people protesting over the anti-Turkish activities of a neo-Nazi group called 'Conservative Action'. Chanting "Foreigners stay here, we'll chase away the Nazis", some of the crowd began attacking the police with stones, tin cans, and petrol bombs as they tried to remove a pro-Turkish banner from a bridge. The fighting was the biggest since the anti-nuclear protests that took place during President Reagan's visit last June. An estimated 150 people were injured (including 46 police), and more than 200 arrested (though only 13 remained in custody). Events escalated as police evicted squatters from an occupied building and arrested them for throwing stones from its windows. 53 police cars and six private cars were wrecked in the fighting, and hundreds of windows smashed.

Meanwhile, Back In Frankfurt..

A bomb caused over £14,000 damage to the home of the Frankfurt airport chief on 27 June. Nobody was injured in the attack, which was later claimed by "an underground extremist group". The site of the new airport at Frankfurt has been the scene of a long campaign of resistance by residents and left wing groups who are opposed to it.

Anti-Terrorist Cop Gaoled

Gerhard Benoit (36), a former anti-terrorist policeman, was sentenced to life imprisonment on 27 May for the murder of a 19 year-old bank clerk during a £300,000 raid on the Koblenz Savings Bank on 6 November. Benoit, who admitted shooting the clerk, accepted the sentence, but his accomplice, Ernst Schluscius (37), asked his lawyers to appeal.

NEW ZEALAND

Resistance Spreads

Two gelignite charges exploded, shattering the concrete base of the Russell flagstaff at the beginning of March. The attackers left behind the slogans "The

treaty is dead" (in English), and (in Maori) "We shall fight to the death". The flagstaff is visited by tens of thousands of tourists each year. It marks the site where Chief Hone Heke cut down the first flagpole on 5 June, 1844, and the flag of the 1834 confederacy of chiefs is flown from it to mark the anniversary of various defeats of the Maori people during the white settlement of New Zealand, such as the battle of Ruapekepeka Pa, the sacking of Kororareka, the death of Hone Heke in 1854 and the death of Kawiti. Local Maoris object to the celebration of such events.

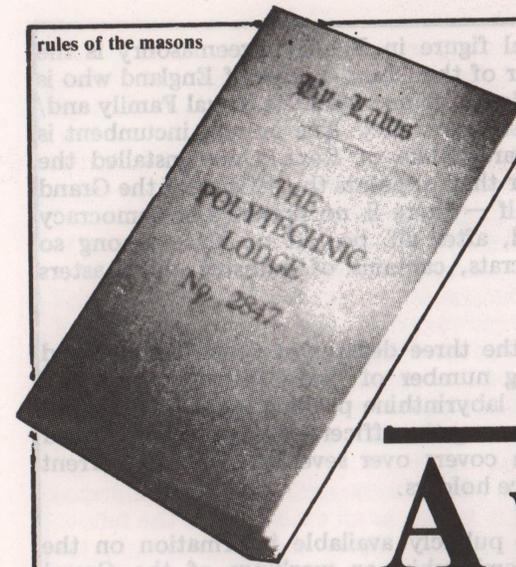
On 30 March a 19 year-old man was charged with wilful damage, following a bomb attack on a bridge in Lees Valley. Police said that the gelignite attack on the bridge showed "skill and knowledge". Anarchist slogans and the words "We have remained in silence closely resembling stupidity" were painted on a span of the bridge left standing. The same slogan had been sprayed on the walls of the police computer centre at Wanganui in November 1982, when Neil Roberts (22), an anarchist from Auckland, was killed when a bomb he was placing in the doorway of the centre at Wairere House exploded prematurely.

USA

Anarchist Black Dragon

The Anarchist Black Dragon is now being published by the Survival Network Information Centre and they of the centre are now initiating the formation of a support network for the work of the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective. The Anarchist Black Dragon is North America's only anarchist publication which is written and laid out by a collective in prison. They are making an appeal for people to donate money to help get Anarchist Black Dragon No. 11 and future issues out. They are also updating their mailing list. If you want to stay on the mailing list you need to write in and request it. An Anarchist Black Dragon Anthology is in preparation. All money from the sales of this will go to help pay for the magazine. The Anarchist Black Dragon Support Network is being organised so that no one gets overburdened with work and that there are people available to aid Anarchist Black Dragon Collective members in time of need. Please help if you can. Cheques should be made payable to The Survival Network. Address all correspondence to the following: A.B.D. Project, c/o Survival Network Information Centre, Post Office Box 52282, New Orleans, Louisiana 70152, U.S.A.

rules of the masons



The recent London inquest into the death of Italian banker Roberto Calvi has exposed once more the international links of Freemasons. Stuart Christie looks at the brotherhood's history and power base and reveals the names of the senior officers of the West's largest secret society. This article was first published (heavily abridged) in the London magazine *City Limits*. Here for the first time is the full text.

A wink, a nod....

or a shake of the hand

"The point of a club is not who it lets in, but who it keeps out. The club is based on two ancient British ideas — the segregation of classes, and the segregation of sexes: and they even remain insistent on keeping people out, long after they have stopped wanting to come in." Anthony Sampson, *Anatomy of Britain*.

If secrecy is to be considered a factor in British politics and commerce then without doubt Freemasonry is one of its principal vehicles. Freemasonry is the largest semi-covert organisation of the western bourgeoisie, with over six million members worldwide sharing a vision of a unified work order bound together through a series of interlocking masonic alliances. Among the world's most influential institutions must be the United Grand Lodge of England, the mother lodge of Craft Freemasonry, with its headquarters at Freemason's Hall in Great Queen Street near Covent Garden. It is here that the wealthy and influential members of the British Establishment meet in conditions of ritual secrecy, ostensibly to listen to lectures on Masonic history and to discuss charitable and other Masonic business. In practice, the Masonic brotherhood constitutes a clandestine network for the defence of the status quo and established privilege, a mutual-aid society for the British ruling class.

Of course just as a mutual-aid society for gaoleders will be different in aims and functions from a mutual-aid society for prisoners (one providing clubs and other hacksaws), so the mutual-aid society of society's privileged power elite will be different from tge mutual-aid societies which provide assistance among those whose continued deprivation of the good things in life is the essential condition for the preservation of the privileges of the few.



The handshake—
it takes one to know one

of the Third Degree, that of Master Mason. The "Higher" degrees and officership of the Grand Lodge are the prerogative of the rich and powerful and not for the likes of working class "brothers" from Hackney or Dalston. The following advice given by the *Masonic Record* in June 1964 although couched in suitably diplomatic language reminded the Freemasons of proletarian origin to remember his place:

"He (the brother) must consider how much time he can devote to Freemasonry without detriment to family, business and his other commitments. The more he progresses in Freemasonry the greater will be the demands on his pocket and he must decide whether he can meet these extra financial obligations."

For those with time, money, friends and influence the Masonic world is their oyster and they can join as many lodges as they can afford — and will have them.

Nor are the restrictions imposed by the credit-rating of the less-privileged brethren the only drawbacks to Masonic advancement. Aspiring upwardly mobile Freemasons who join with an eye to discussing the price of beer with the Duke of Edinburgh, the Duke of Kent, Lord Cornwallis and other distinguished members of the Craft are in for a disappointment — there are lodges and lodges and, like Orwell's animals, some brethren are more equal than others.

As with the now notorious secret or "covered" lodges "P1" and "P2" in Italy the latter which had a coded membership of 2,400 brothers although only 953 names were disclosed (2), there are a number of the 1679 lodges in London and the 5,865 Provincial lodges whose purpose is to bring together into single discreet bodies "brothers" who hold high public or private office and who wish to remain at a suitable distance from the hoi poloi of Freemasonry.

Thus, there are lodges whose members are recruited exclusively and selectively from among the ranks of particular power elites: mayors and Lord Mayors of London, the Bank of England, chartered accountants, architects, the legal profession, the merchant navy, the armed services, the Metropolitan Police, broadcasting. There is even a Council of Public School Lodges.

Success and promotion in any of the professions is eased by membership of the Craft. The Royal College of Surgeons and Royal College of Physicians, for example, appear to be an exclusively Masonic preserve. In his book *The Doctors* (Gollancz, 1965) Paul Ferris quotes a senior physician as saying "No one would become surgeon to the Queen unless he was a Mason." This tradition dates back at least as far as Queen Victoria when, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales who was Grand Master of England from 1875 until his accession to the throne in 1901 when he assumed the title "Protector of the Craft", the British Establishment consolidated its hold on Freemasonry. It would appear that the Prince of Wales (later Edward V11) successfully used Freemasonry as a parallel policy-making and action body

to influence the affairs of State from which he had been excluded by his mother (herself, of course, ineligible for membership, as a woman). A particularly unpleasant example of such "parallel policy-making" may have been the so-called "Jack the Ripper" murders of 1889-90. These, it has been argued convincingly, were in fact "terminations" carried out by Sir Willam Gull, personal surgeon to Queen Victoria and a member of the Prince of Wales Lodge, in order to cover up the embarrassing and potentially dangerous secret marriage of the Duke of Clarence, the Prince of Wales's oldest son and the heir to the throne of England, to an Irish Roman Catholic servant girl. The victims were in fact the "Duchess" herself and her friends, witnesses to the marriage.

Freemasonry is particularly strong within the armed services where it is seen as an extension of the fellowship of the regiment. There are 42 lodges in the British cavalry regiments alone, 25 in the Royal Regiment of Artillery and a number of Royal Marine lodges. The exclusive elite of the British Army, the 22 SAS and "Artists Rifles" (21st SAS) have a lodge (Byfield) which meets on the second Monday of every month at the Duke of York's HQ in Chelsea. The Senior Service have their own exclusive lodges such as Royal Navy Lodge 2612 whose members include such worthies as the Duke of Edinburgh and the present Grand Secretary, Commander Michael Higham.

Hopeful squaddies and matelots looking for rapid advancement or simply good Masonic friendship should know, however, that since 1815 naval and military lodges have introduced by-laws excluding all civilians and stating that no sailor below the rank of Petty Officer or no soldier below the rank of Sergeant is eligible for initiation into the Brotherhood. Masonic researcher John Dewar, author of the authoritative study of contemporary Freemasonry *The Unlocked Secret*, was told by a spokesman for a large masonic outfitter in Great Queen Street that much of the firm's successful business rested on export orders for regalia received from NATO troops in Europe, an indication as to the extent of Masonic strength among the officer corps of the British and other NATO armed services.

Less bloodthirsty oaths than Masonic ones, but instead administered by trade unionists in the early part of the 19th century were punished severely, as in the case of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. Here are some Masonic examples:

"I... in the presence of the Great Architect of the Universe, and of this worthy, worshipful, and warranted Lodge... sincerely and solemnly promise and swear, that I will always help, conceal and never reveal any part or parts, point or points of the secrets or mysteries of or belonging to Free and Accepted Masons in Masonry ... under no less a penalty, on the violation of any of them, than that of having my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the root, and buried at a cable's length from the shore, where the tide regularly ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours ... So help me, God, and keep me steadfast in this my Great and Solemn Obligation of an Entered Apprentice Freemason." (The candidate

then seals his oath by kissing the volume of Sacred Law.) — Oath of Obligation administered during the Ceremony of Initiation.

"I ... in the presence of the Grand Geometrician... under no less a penalty... than that of having my left breast laid open, my heart torn therefrom, and given to the ravenous birds of the air, or devouring beasts of the field as prey. So help me Almighty God..." — Oath of Obligation, Second Degree.

"I ... in the presence of the Most High ... solemnly promise and swear ... under no less a penalty ... than that of being severed in two, my bowels burned to ashes ... and those ashes scattered over the face of the earth and wafted by the four cardinal winds of heaven." — Oath of Obligation, Third Degree.

"I ... in the presence of the True and Living God ... solemnly promise ... under no less a penalty ... than that of having my head struck off." — Oath of Obligation, Holy Royal Arch Chapter

And here are some of the laws which might have applied:

"Every person, who shall in any manner or form whatsoever administer or cause to be administered, or be assisting at the administering of any oath or engagement, purporting or intending to bind the person taking the same to commit any treason or murder ... shall, on conviction thereof by due course of law, be adjudged guilty of felony". — Unlawful Oaths Act 1812.

"All persons who shall conspire, confederate and agree to murder any person, whether he be a subject of Her Majesty or not, and whether he be within the Queen's dominions or not, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour and shall be liable to imprisonment for any term not more than ten years." — Offences Against the Person Act 1861.

In fact, however, Freemasonry, being an arm of the Establishment, has been able to circumvent or ignore the law of the land relating to secret societies and conspiracy for almost two hundred years now. Masonic lodges were specifically exempted from the Unlawful Societies Act 1799 by the intervention of the Fourth Duke of Atholl and the Earl of Moira. They were equally able to ignore other repressive statutes and legislation directed against the nascent working class and radical organisations: the Seditious Meetings Act 1817 and the Promissory Oaths Act 1868 which specifically provided that any society requiring members to take an oath when they join shall substitute a declaration for an oath.

Every Masonic lodge is required, however, to submit an annual return of the names, addresses and occupations of its subscribing members to the Clerk of the Peace for the county in which the lodge is held. This information is not available to the general public nor is it, apparently, collated by central government. The fact that most Clerks of the Peace are likely to be Freemasons themselves will help ensure the information remains among "friends".

A Criminal Conspiracy?

Although most of the laws relating to the taking of oaths were cleared from the Statute Books with the Criminal Law Act 1967 the Masonic Oaths — even though they have for the most part, since 1964, been abbreviated for the benefit of the squeamish to the euphemistic "ever bearing in mind the ancient penalty" — are clearly in contravention of the Conspiracy Laws so beloved of the English judiciary for use against the organised working class.

The prime justification for the use of the Conspiracy Laws is that it enables the law to intervene at an early stage before a contemplated crime has actually been committed. Lord Diplock defined conspiracy thus "... that the offence lies not in the overt acts themselves ... but in an inferred anterior agreement to commit them..." There can be little doubt that a sacred promise to countenance and agree to premeditated ritual mutilation and murder falls within the category of an agreement to commit a crime.

In his summing up in the conspiracy trial of the Shrewsbury Three in 1974 Mr Justice Mais directed the jury to consider the following: "... conspirators do not publish their agreement or design. The whole object of conspiracy is something secret, and so it is necessary to see whether the surrounding circumstances and facts as found by you are such that you can infer a conspiracy and that an accused was part of that conspiracy ... I must tell you that conspiracy, generally speaking, is a matter of inference. It is seldom expressed in words still less in writing, and it can be inferred from conduct, by the words and actions of those concerned... Now it is not necessary that all conspirators, or the accused here, should join the conspiracy at one and the same time. It is not necessary that they should all join at the beginning, or that they all originated the idea. They needn't all know the smallest detail but there must be knowledge of the general scheme... a man, as I say, who joins a conspiracy after its formation, who lends his aid to it knowingly, in furtherance of its objects, is just as guilty as the man who was there at the beginning. He can even join during the implementation of the conspiracy."

Also, the permeation of the entire legal profession by Freemasonry from the Lord Chancellor's Office to the most far-flung provincial lawyer and JP or Sheriff — the conspiracy makers and arbiters themselves will no doubt ensure that Freemasonry remains a locked secret.

In April 1951 Fred Longden, a Labour MP, called for a Royal Commission of Enquiry into Freemasonry, but this was rejected by Herbert Morrison the then Home Secretary and the matter has never been raised seriously since then.

Who's Who?

In national affairs of State and business there is little doubt that Freemasonry provides a serious instrument of influence for the relatively small number of people who wield real political and economic power

in Britain today: Cabinet Ministers, senior civil servants, senior police officers and leading members of the armed services, executives of local authorities, senior judges, prominent churchmen, industrialists and trade union leaders.

The following list is a breakdown of just some of the 400 odd past and present living people we have been able to identify as *office-holders* in the Grand Lodge of England for the years 1982/83:

Legal

The Rt. Hon Sir John Arnold (President Family Division); His Honour Judge Rodney Bax QC, the Rt. Hon Viscount Bledisloe QC, Mr Registrar John Bradburn (Registrar in Bankruptcy and of the Companies Court, High Court of Justice, Clerk of the Restrictive Practices Court and Lord Chancellor's Legal Visitor), Sir Lionel Brett, the Hon. Mr. Justice Mervyn Davies, Mr Registrar T.L. Dewhurst, the Hon. Mr. Justice Drake, the Hon Robert Kinley Eason, His Hon Judge Brian Gibbens QC, His Hon. Judge J.E. Jones, The Hon Mr Justice Leonard (Common Sergeant in the City of London, ex Chairman Criminal Bar Association, etc.), F. Ashe Lincoln QC, the Hon Mr. Justice Reeve, His Hon Judge Michael Underhill QC, His Hon, Judge P.M. Slot, His Hon Judge Sir William Stabb QC, Sir John Chalmer Stubbings (Partner Payne Hicks Beach & Co. Solicitors, President Law Society), Andrew Felix Waley QC (Recorder of the Crown Court), The Rt. Hon Lord Justice Waller OBE'

Aristocracy

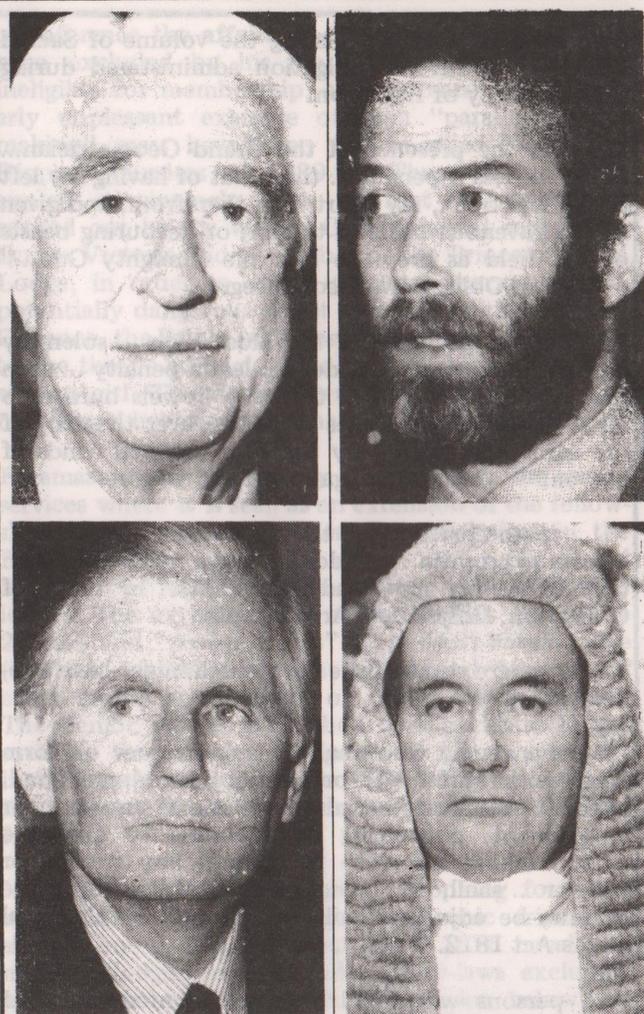
The Hon Edward Latham Baillieu, the Rt. Hon Lord Barnard, Viscount Chelsea, the Rt Hon Lord Cornwallis, Most Hon Marquess of Donegal, the Rt Hon Earl of Eglinton and Winton, H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, H.R.H. Prince Michael of Kent, the Rt Hon Lord Kenyon (Dir. Lloyd's Bank), the Rt Hon Lord Rathcreedan, the Rt Hon the Earl of Shannon, the Earl of Stradbroke, the Earl of Derby, Earl Cadogan, the Rt Hon Lord Porritt, the Rt Hon Lord Harris, Lt Col the Rt Hon Lord Burnham, the Rt Hon Lord Swansea, the Most Hon the Marquess of Zetland.

Commerce

Arthur J. Davis (Chief Gen Man Lloyd's Bank), Sir Knowles Edge (ex Man Dir Wm. Edge & Sons), Alex Stewart Frere (ex Pres. Wm. Heinemann Ltd., Publishers), Sir Peter Gadsden (ex Lord Mayor of London, Member of Lloyd's), Sir Gilbert S. Inglefield (ex Lord Mayor of London), Arthur Harris Ley, FRSA, FRIBA (former partner Ley Colbeck & Partners, Architects), Alan Lamboll (Member of Lloyd's, ex-Sheriff of London, Sec. Ross McWhirter Foundation), Sir Kenneth Newman (Chmn Garnar Scotblair Ltd., General Commissioner for Income Tax), Sir Oliver Chesterton (Chairman Woolwich Building Society and Crown Estates Commissioner), Sir Alexander Ross (Chmn United Dominion Trust Ltd., Eagle Star), Sir James Stubbs, Lt Col Neil Gordon Thorne, OBE, MP (ex Partner Hull & Co., Chartered Surveyors).

Civil Service

Sir Arthur Llewellyn Armitage (Prof Emeritus of



Masons all: (clockwise from top left): Sir Alexander Ross, Director British Commonwealth Federation; Prince Michael of Kent; Arthur J. Davis, (chief manager Lloyds Bank); Judge Michael Underhill

Common Law, Un. of Manchester, Chmn Social Security Advisory Committee and numerous other advisory committees including the Political Activities of Civil Servants and the National Advisory Council on the Training of Magistrates), William Derrick Pattinson (ex Treasury now Sec Gen General Synod of the Church of England), Anthony F.A. Sutherland (ex Under Sec Dept. of Employment), Sir Herbert Tetley KBE (ex Govt Actuary), Charles Freedman (Commissioner, Customs & Excise).

Armed Services

Major General Sir Allen Henry Adair GVC, General Sir Rodney Moore GCVO (Chief Steward Hampton Court Palace), Major General Sir Ralph Hone KCMG, Major General Sir Leonard Atkinson. There is also one Brigadier, 10 Colonels, four Lt. Colonels, one Major and one Captain representing the Army; one Captain, three Commanders and one Lt. Commander from the Navy and one Wing Commander and two Squadron Commanders from the Royal Air Force.

This list of officers of the Grand Lodge also contains 14 Privy Councillors and 21 Deputy Lieutenants of Counties.

Mafiosi

It is not only in national affairs that Freemasons can exert their influence. The extent to which Freemasonry can exert a powerful grip on the life of a community has been illustrated by the investigations carried out by local radical papers such as *Rebecca* and *Tameside Eye*. Journalists from both papers obtained the masonic membership lists for their respective areas. The investigation into the Abergavenny Freemasons showed just how ubiquitous and pervasive Freemasonry can within the power structure of local politics, commerce and privilege.

Abergavenny is a quiet market town with a population of about 10,000 and one Masonic lodge with about 170 members. On the Conservative-controlled 16 seat council many of the Tories were Freemasons, including solicitors and the managers of the three High Street Banks, the Town Clerk, the Deputy Town Clerk, the Borough Treasurer, the Housing Manager, the Clerk to the Magistrates, the owners of the *Abergavenny Chronicle*, the Master of the Talybont Hunt, the head of the Abergavenny police force, three sergeants and a detective constable, 17 shopkeepers and 16 local businessmen. If Abergavenny could be said to have an Establishment it was to be found at the monthly meetings of the local St. John's Lodge. The *Tameside Eye* investigation into the sixty lodges in the Greater Manchester area showed a similar picture of a cohesive and all-pervasive network underpinning vested interest and privilege.

Charity Begins At Home

Freemasonry claims for itself the status of a privately exclusively male club whose members are dedicated to the ideals of universal brotherhood and morality which finds its principle expression in its charitable works. But in the UK — as opposed to Craft Freemasonry in the US — the main benefactors of Masonic charities: the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institute (which owns a block of a hundred flats at Harewood Court, Hove), the Royal Masonic Institute for Girls, the RMI for Boys and the Royal Masonic Hospital. The Queen is patron of all with the exception of the Hospital.

In 1981 Commander Higham, the Grand Secretary, authorised the transfer of the assets of the "Fund of Benevolence" — which at the time stood at £2,496,961 — to the Grand Charity, the *only* registered masonic charity which does not mention a specific purpose in its articles of association (i.e. "for relief of distressed dependents of Masons"). In fact the stated aims of the Grand Charity are sufficiently vague as to cast serious doubt as to its claims to be a charity. The monies at its disposal can now be distributed to: "such charitable institutions, objects or purposes as the council shall have at its absolute discretion determine". The assets of the Grand Charity at the end of 1981 stood at £2,638,447 while its income for the year was £834,589, including over half a million in contributions from the Craft and a quarter of a million in dividends and interest from stocks and bonds (Distillers, Imperial Group, Marks and Spencers, Rank Hovis McDougall, etc.). The

25 members of the Executive Council of the Grand Charity include a Commissioner of Customs and Excise (Charles Freedman), one ex-Lord Mayor of London (Sir Peter Gadsden) and the President of the Law Society (Sir John Chalmer Stebbings).

Masonic charities would appear to come under the category of Friendly Societies as they are primarily self-serving institutions, but they are in fact registered Charities and present their accounts infrequently.

International Links

For many years the Grand Lodge of England disavowed the European Grand Orient Lodge because of their alleged permeation by freethinkers and revolutionaries. It may not be entirely coincidental that the Grand Lodge of England finally recognised the Grand Orient of Italy in 1972 at the height of extreme right-wing machinations in both the UK and Italy (in Italy these being mostly closely linked with the Italian Grand Lodge and the secret lodges such as 'P1' and 'P2'), thus bringing Italy back into full membership of the international Masonic community after 110 years in the "wilderness".

The principal architect of this historic rapprochement was the then Grand Master of the Grand Orient, Lino Salvini, an extreme right winger who immediately set about involving the masonic movement in a series of financial and political intrigues which included moves to sabotage the proposed amalgamation of the three main Italian trade unions. These manoeuvres had the financial backing of Fiat and the Italian employers' federation who donate in the region of 100 million lire a year to Masonic coffers.

It is equally a matter of interest that within 24 hours of the discovery of the hanged body of Roberto Calvi on 17 June 1982 — a death which occurred in an almost ritualistic setting under the arches of Blackfriars Bridge with the tidal waters of the Thames lapping at his feet ('P2' members were known as the 'Black Brothers') — the present Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Italy, Armando Corona, made a hurried trip to London accompanied by his Grand Secretary, De Stefano, to discuss Calvi's death with officials of the Grand Lodge in England.

Flavio Carboni



Calvi's escape to England had been organised throughout by fellow 'P2' member and neo-fascist financier Flavio Carboni and the man who safehoused Calvi in London was a London Freemason by the name of Michael Morris.

Whose Conspiracy?

"As long as you know what the agreement is, then you are a conspirator. You needn't necessarily know your fellow conspirators, nor need you always be active in the conspiracy. All you need know is the agreement. It can be effected by a wink or a nod, without a word being exchanged. It need have no particular time limit, no particular form, no boundaries." Mr Justice James (later Lord James) summing up in the 'Angry Brigade' trial, 1971.



Freemasonry is not a conspiracy in itself, nor is it the repository of any hidden secret or arcane knowledge. Neither is Freemasonry attractive to fascists of the old or new variety who view it with the greatest antagonism, seeing in it the hidden hand of Bolshevik subversion and a tool of International Finance Capital — a polite euphemism for what they believe is the Jewish world conspiracy. Politically speaking, Freemasonry is a vehicle for the 'extremists of the centre'.

For the vast majority of Freemasons the Craft permits them to get away from their wives on a regular basis and rationalise it to themselves — and others — in a good and worthy cause. The Minister at London's City Temple, the Reverend Leonard Griffith, explained his misogyny to Masonic researcher James Dewar: "I think there is a man's world and I think every man needs to get into that world occasionally and masonry is perhaps one expression of this. Certainly in the Churches I've always been depressed by the fact that there seems to be a much larger proportion of women than men. I like to be with men and perhaps that's

one reason why I enjoy attending a meeting of the Masonic Lodge."

What inference can we draw concerning the covert power and influence which Freemasonry may exercise among its members — there are, after all, many secret, semi-secret and exclusive societies and clubs either contending for power or warding off attempts by outsiders to undermine their own position in the great pecking order.

Success in an authoritarian and competitive society — as in totalitarian societies — depends on knowing more about the opposition and their plans together with the ability to monopolise that information and use it intelligently. Conspiracy is, as Carl Oglesby affirms standard practice among all power groups, occult or otherwise. What they fail to recognise is that ultimately secrets are more dangerous to those who hoard them than to those excluded from the information cycle.

Freemasonry is all things to men. Freemasons argue that the Craft consists of enlightened and disinterested persons who cherish humanitarian and charitable goals and who combine co-operatively to realise mutual aspirations. In reality Freemasonry cannot but provide a conduit for the bribery, corruption and subornation that are endemic in any system of privilege. The secrecy and exclusiveness of the Craft creates an unbridgeable gap between the Masonic view of the world and those outside the brotherhood who, in effect, do not exist for Freemasons except inasmuch as they aid or hinder their political or career ambitions. Count Windischgratz, an astute observer of human nature and the activities of secret societies wrote in 1788: "... they are likely to encourage habits of mind and behaviour destructive of attention to the ordinary moral and social duties. The danger of degeneration from the high ideals of a secret brotherhood will always be present because of the difficulties of reconciling the secret obligations to the society with the outside world. Claims to use the opportunities of secret organisations for the preparation of the regeneration of the world are always to be regarded as dubious, given men's ordinary weaknesses."

The claim by Freemasons that the Craft provides "brotherhood" is equally fictitious. The exclusiveness of the inner circles of the "Higher" degrees and the hierarchical structure of the Grand Lodge itself based on patronage, rank, precedence and wealth have more in common with the murdering barbarians of the Mafia or the Union Corse than with a universal brotherhood.

Although Freemasons do constitute a powerful pressure group because of their positions in society it would of course be very wrong and misleading to see them as some sort of omnipotent cabal controlling the course of human affairs. Freemasons, like the Roman Catholic Catenian Association, the editorial board of Searchlight, MI5, the KGB or any other exclusive group, have as much idea as anyone else as to what is going on in the world. What Freemasonry provides is a well organised and efficient

syndicate capable of defending and extending the influence of those who already wield power.

Certainly, no evidence exists of criminal manipulation of the Craft by Freemasons. Finding tangible proof of criminal conspiracy among any cohesive and tenacious combination or friendship circle is like hunting for something solid in a sea of tapioca pudding. Also, most conspiracy theories are invariably so loosely defined that all evidence which does not time in with the thesis is usually dismissed as part of the cover-up, but the law is quite specific.

In his summing up in the Shrewsbury Three conspiracy trial in 1974, Mr Justice Mais told the jury: "(A conspiracy) is seldom expressed in words, still less in writing, and it can be inferred from the conduct, by the words and by the acts of those concerned ..."

The one solid conclusion we can reach is that Freemasons do constitute an important political, social and business pressure group and the potential, at least, to exert a powerful influence at national and international as well as local level. The relationship between the Establishment is symbiotic and mutually supportive and the Craft provides a parallel power structure linking financial, administrative, military and other power elites whose vision of a healthy world order depends on strong masonic alliances among right thinking men.

For those of us who believe in an open and accountable society it is important to be able to identify the power wielders and backroom policy makers in our local communities. Mason spotting is one such way of going about this. Lodge meetings and Masonic functions are usually advertised in the local papers, while the more important events in the Masonic calendar are covered regularly in the Daily Telegraph. Masons themselves can be easily identified going to and from the Masonic Hall, restaurant, hotel or pub where the lodge or function is being held by their dark suits and small cases in which they carry their regalia and "jewels". Apart from the regular lodge meetings it is useful to know Freemasons also celebrate certain saint's days and attend special lodge functions on or close to those days: St. John the Evangelist, 27 December (1st Sunday after Christmas); St. George's Day, 23 April (1st Wednesday after); St. John the Baptist (24 June). St. Barbara, St. Thomas and the Four Crowned Martyres are among other saints with particular significance to members of the Craft.

A photographer working with the Welsh investigative magazine *Rebecca* showed great initiative when she managed to smuggle herself into the annual meeting of the South Wales Province's Eastern Division Grand Lodge while it was in full session and take photographs. She was grabbed by the Lodge Tyler — a Masonic security officer whose function is to guard the lodge while in session and, historically, has the task of organising and carrying out the ritual murder of Masonic 'Deep Throats' — but she managed to throw the camera to a waiting colleague and save the film. As there is no publicly available register of the membership of this particular secret society — and it is unlikely the Clerks of the Peace will agree to make

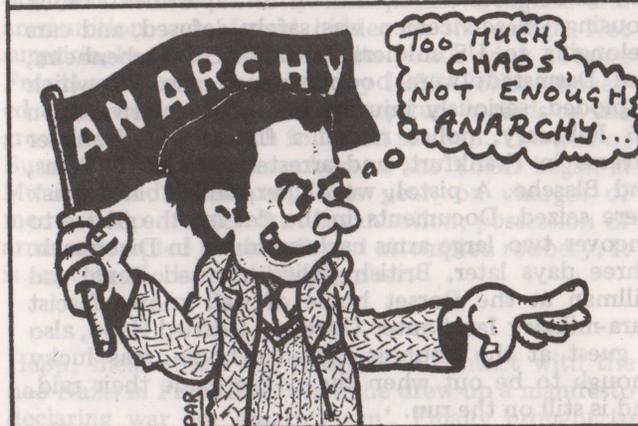


their lists available for inspection — then only actions such as the above are likely to identify the membership of one of the central pillars of privilege in clandestine Britain.

Stuart Christie

Footnotes

1. Solemn excommunication for baptised believers who became Freemasons is no longer automatic according to the recently published Codex of Canon Law in the Roman Catholic Church. There is also a document from the Congregation for Doctrine and the Faith which, together with a series of official and semi-official pronouncements have more or less cemented the peace between the Vatican and Freemasonry.
2. During the investigation into Michele Sindona's Banca Privata Italiana, a conduit for Mafia, fascist and secret service money, police discovered a list of 953 members of Lodge 'P2'. Members included three Cabinet Ministers, 30 generals, eight admirals, including the head of the armed forces, the heads of two intelligence services as well as the civilian collator of intelligence, 43 MPs, police chiefs of Italy's four main cities, etc.



THE FRANKFURT BOMBINGS

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Too late to make any changes as Anarchy 35 went to press, we learned that three of the bomb attacks against US military targets included in our report from West Germany ('RZ - Bombing On!') were the work of a neo-Nazi cell based in Frankfurt. This sort of mistake (as Black Flag, who kindly pointed out that we should check our sources, well knows) is an occupational hazard for any publication rushing to meet a deadline. The US military has been a central target for the armed resistance of the German Left since the formation of the Red Army Fraction in 1970. 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.

The Frankfurt bombings mark a new point of departure for the neo-Nazi para-militaries in Germany (who until now have preferred the easier option of bombing refugee centres, schools, and other civilian targets - though not being adverse to making raids on NATO and Bundeswehr arms dumps to obtain weapons). They are symptomatic of the 'Third Position' (Nationalist Revolutionary) style of fascism currently enjoying popularity with the activist wing of the Nazi international (to whom the US army is a foreign force of occupation, and the Federal Republic "a falsification of history by law"), which refuses to recognise the Nazi military defeat of 1945, and seeks to advance the 'Strategy of Tension' that has been practiced by fascists in Italy for the past two decades.

Frankfurt Cell

Six neo-Nazis — Dieter Sporleder, Hans-Peter Fraas, Helge-Karl Blasche, Walther Kexel, Ulrich Tillman, and Odfried Hepp — have since been accused of responsibility for the Frankfurt attacks which took place last November and December (a bomb left in the underground carpark of an apartment block housing US servicemen was safely defused, and cars belonging to US soldiers in Butzbach, Fechenheim, and Darmstadt were booby-trapped, two of which exploded, seriously injuring one of their drivers). On 15 February, police raided a flat at 497 Hanauer Strasse in Frankfurt, and arrested Sporleder, Fraas, and Blasche. A pistol, weedkiller, and a black mask were seized. Documents in the flat led the police to uncover two large arms caches hidden in Dizenbach. Three days later, British police arrested Kexel and Tillman at the Dorset home of well known fascist para-military Ian Souter Clarence. Odfried Hepp, also a guest at the Souter Clarence home, was lucky enough to be out when the police made their raid, and is still on the run.



Ard-Heinz Marx (left) & Michael Kuehnen.

All six accused belong to a para-military cell formed in Frankfurt after members of the 'Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann' and Friedhelm Busse's 'Volkssozialistischen Bewegung Deutschlands' (VSBDB) came together as one group, known as 'Sturm 7'. In January of this year, Michael Kuehnen (only just released from prison in Celle) brought the remnants of the now banned Hoffmann Group and VSBDB together with the (also illegal) 'Jungen Front' (youth wing of the VSBDB) and his old ANS of Hamburg, to form a new organisation centred on Frankfurt: National Socialist Action Front/National Activists (ANS/NA) (see footnote). Prominent in the ANS/NA as one of Kuehnen's deputies is Arnd-Heinz Marx, formerly the Hoffman Group's military instructor and the man who trained Gundolf Kohler (who died planting the bomb in the Munich Oktoberfest in 1980). Marx

has also acted as contact man between the Hoffman Group and the League of St. George here in England (of which Ian Souter Clarence is a leading member).

Kexel and Sporleder were both close friends of Frank Schubert, another member of the Frankfurt VSBDB/Hoffman Group cell, who died in a gun battle with police in December 1980, after killing a Swiss policeman and a customs official on the Swiss/German border, during a Nazi gun-running operation. It was Kexel who rented the car used by Schubert at the time of his death. Sporleder was formerly leader of the VSBDB in Frankfurt. In addition to the recent



Odfried Hepp

Frankfurt attacks, Kexel, Tillmann, and Hepp are wanted for questioning by French police in connection with the machine gun attack on Goldenberg's restaurant in Paris, blamed on 'Action Directe', in August 1982.

Hepp: Unwanted 'Most Wanted'

Odfried Hepp (wanted for the four bomb attacks on US soldiers, and three bank robberies) - now Germany's 'most wanted' neo-Nazi (though the authorities have frequently had him in their hands in the past, without showing any desire to do much about it) — is another close friend of the late Gundolf Kohler, and former area leader of the Hoffman Group in Baden-Wuerttemberg. During his military service he served in the Sappers because of his refusal to take

the oath of allegiance. After leaving the army, he built up a Nazi cell in Ortenau modelled on the Hoffman Group. In 1979, Hepp's Ortenauer group was suspected by the authorities of planning a "terrorist conspiracy", explosions, and bank robberies. The money stolen was intended to buy arms, vehicles, and radio equipment. After joining Hoffman, Hepp went to the Lebanon. His name first appeared in the British press after he and three other members of the Hoffman Group — Peter Hamburger, Steffan Duper, and Kap-Uwe Bergmann — disappeared in Beirut in September 1980, whilst delivering German army-surplus vehicles from Hoffman to the Phalange militia. A spokesman for the PLO later disclosed that they had held the four Germans for questioning, during which they had revealed to them that they had all received military training at a Phalange camp at Aquora. They told the PLO that seven Italians had been at the camp at the same time, led by a man known only as 'Alfredo', who had taught them sophisticated bomb-making techniques (this was very probably Stefano Delle Chiaie, who has often used the name 'Alfredo di Stefano', and is generally credited with being the organiser of the Bologna railway station bombing). Altogether, 35-40 Europeans had been in the camp at the same time (Italians, Germans, Frenchmen, and Spaniards). The German contingent was led by Karl-Heinz Hoffman.

In June 1981 Hepp and Peter Hamburger (a friend of another of those arrested in the recent raids, Hans Frass) returned to Germany and surrendered themselves to police. Hepp was not even held in custody, and Hamburger was only detained for six weeks. During questioning, they told the police of hearing Hoffmann brag about the December 1980 murders of Shlomo Lewin and Frida Poeschke, Hoffman and his girlfriend Fraziska Birkmann were subsequently convicted for the killings.

After his return to Germany, Hamburger was chosen by VSBDB leader Busse to be part of a group being sent to Paris to establish closer links with fascist activists there. But he was arrested in Munich before he could make the trip, after a gun battle with police in which two other VSBDB members were killed, when their car was stopped on the way to rob a bank. The occupants of the car (four Germans and a Frenchman) had with them seven handgrenades, three machine pistols, a rifle, pistol, smoke bombs, and tear gas cartridges. Busse himself, from whose home police had seen the group load up their car with the weapons, was arrested shortly afterwards. Gelignite and ammunition were found hidden in the garage. Not surprisingly, the VSBDB and its youth wing (Young Front) were banned in January 1982. Police recovered arms, explosives and Nazi literature in raids on the group's members which followed the ban. The trial of Busse and five other members of the VSBDB began in Munich on 23 January this year, on charges of membership of a terrorist organisation, possession of arms, attempted blackmail, and attempted robbery. It is expected to last until September.

Hepp, meanwhile, had established contact with the neo-Nazis in Frankfurt, where he drew-up a manifesto declaring war on 'Americanism'. Finally brought to

trial in Karlsruhe in October 1981, on charges of incitement and distribution of anti-constitutional propaganda (the prosecution made no mention of his earlier para-military conspiracies), he was sentenced to 16 months, but released on bail.

The English Connection

That Odfried Hepp, Kexel, and Tillman, should now show up at the home of a leading member of the League of St. George, is of no great surprise. League members play a prominent part in the activities of the neo-Nazi international. Ian Souter Clarence has long been associated with *Column 88*, and through his own *Eidelweiss* group, holds regular para-military training camps in Dorset (advertised in *League Review*) which have been attended by European fascists. Fascist informer Walter Sordi (who spent two years as a fugitive in France) has made statements concerning the existence of a (possible Paris based) clandestine clearing house for wanted fascists which also acts as a mercenary recruitment agency. Sordi told Italian magistrates of the case of one fascist, Carlo de Cilla, wanted for robbery attributed to the NAR, who was recruited through this agency to fight for the Afghan liberation army. The existence of this network was confirmed by another wanted member of the Hoffman Group (and VSBD youth wing), Willy Kraus, during a *World in Action* TV documentary in July 1981, who referred to it as Brown Aid. Both Kraus and Manfred Roeder (now serving a 13 year gaol sentence in Germany for attacks carried out by the German Action Group) were safe-housed in England by members of the League of St. George and British Movement (one of whom, Roderick Roberts, is himself now serving 7 years in prison on arms charges). It was this network, also, that has sheltered wanted members of the NAR in London following the Bologna railway station bombing in 1982, when there was a mass exodus from Italy of fascist activists running for cover.

Understandably, Ian Souter Clarence has remained tight-lipped about his involvement with Kexel, Tillman, and Hepp. The ease with which Hepp came into Britain makes it likely that he has already slipped out again without too much difficulty. In any case, the incestuous friendship networks on which 'the new Odessa' is based would assure him of a safe refuge should he choose to lie low here for a while longer yet. Up until now, the British end of this international network has lagged behind in the 'violence' stakes. The likes of Ian Souter Clarence may soon come under increasing pressure to translate their supporting role for European Nazi activists into direct offensive action. Given the Italian model of the 'Strategy of Tension', and the more recent examples in Paris and Frankfurt (where fascist attacks are deliberately confused with the activities of genuine anti-Imperialist groups), any new wave of fascist violence may not come quite in the colours we expect it to.

Footnote:

The ANS/NA, is thought now to have approximately 150 members, and was recently in the British press after they took part in a gathering of former members of the Waffen SS in Bad Hersfeld at Easter.

Michael Kuehnen is a former army lieutenant, who gives out gold and silver medals to ANS/NA members who have shown particular merit in the 'holy cause' of advancing National Socialism. In 1979 he was sentenced to four years four months in prison for incitement to racial hatred, insulting the state, Nazi propaganda, and wearing Nazi uniform when he stood trial with other members of the old ANS of Hamburg and an American-based Nazi organisation, the NSDAP-AO, responsible for raids on NATO and Bundeswehr arms dumps, shops, and a bank. Though actually acquitted of direct involvement in the raids, Kuehnen was said by the trial judge to be the main force behind the group. Another member of the group, Lothar Schulte, got 11 years, after NSDAP-AO founder Gerry Lauck (one of the main figures in the printing and distribution of Nazi 'revisionist' literature in Europe, claiming that the 'Holocaust' against the Jews never happened), gave evidence for the State in return for immunity from prosecution. Kuehnen still faces another year in prison for his past activities. Whilst he is in prison, the ANS/NA will be managed by Arnd-Heinze Marx (Frankfurt leader), and Thomas Brehl (Fulda leader).

In a recent interview with the German news magazine *Quick*, Kuehnen refused to be drawn on his attitude to the Jews. But he has written elsewhere: "A Jew remains in any case a member of a foreign people and therefore a guest who has to be treated accordingly. In the event of our taking power the Jews will immediately lose German citizenship and be treated as foreigners."

His remarks to *Quick* are worth noting: "I live only for the idea of a re-emergence of National Socialism. I believe in that unshakeably".

"We must be allowed to defend ourselves. I'm forever being pursued and regularly beaten up. We certainly say yes to self-defence. If we are yet again not allowed to speak out, and driven into illegality, then we will use force."

"Our political aims are clear. We do not accept in any way the defeat of 1945. Furthermore, we reject a democratic system in the Federal Republic. We state that openly and honestly. We will soon be sending a petition to the Bundestag proclaiming allegiance to National Socialism and demanding a lifting of the ban on National Socialism. We are in favour of a new NSDAP, a true peoples' society (*Volksgemeinschaft*) in Hitler's meaning."

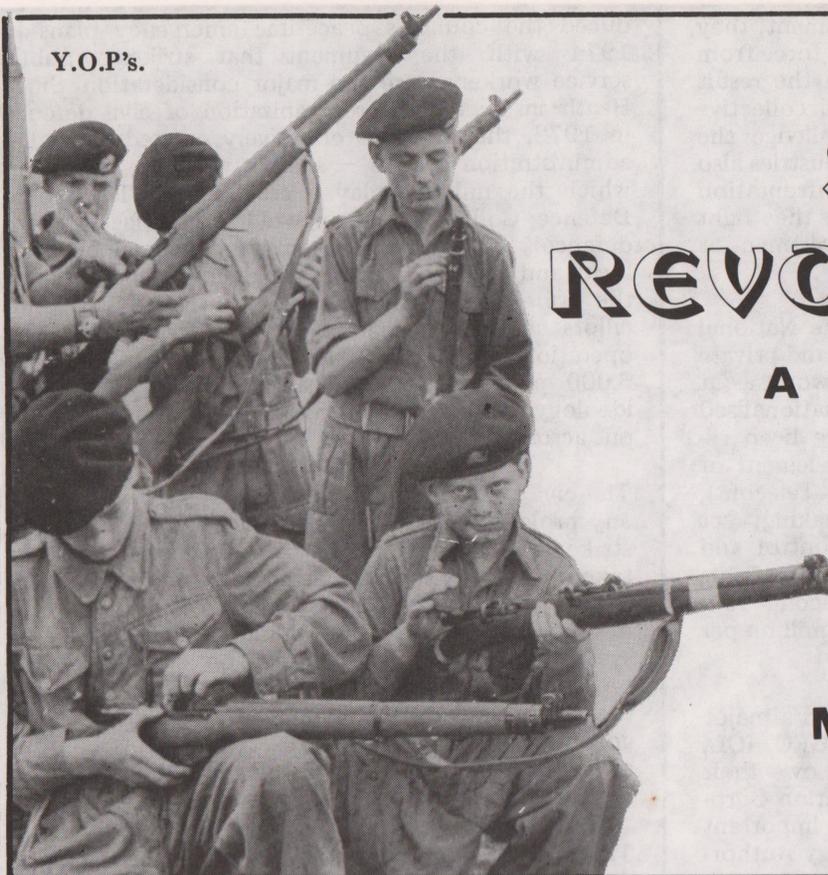
"In the next few months we will give the German people a sign and open the eyes of the world".

"What we want is not irrational or mad. A lot that is said by politicians today is just plain lies about the past. I recommend our critics first of all to read books like *Mein Kampf* and to get to grips with history. Hitler was not like he's being represented today. We want to open the eyes of many Germans."

The ANS/NA is taking part in the October elections in the State of Hesse. Kuehnen is also planning a new party, *Aktion Auslaenderueckfuehrung* (Action To Send Back The Foreigners), which will campaign for all foreigners to be put out of Germany... Where have we heard all this before? Answers on a postcard, please, to Ian Souter Clarence, 8 Overbury Road, Parkstone, Poole, BH14 9JL, Dorset.



Y.O.P's.



STATE & REVOLUTION

A PERSONAL VIEW

by
MARTYN EVERETT

Thatcher's anti-statist rhetoric has served to conceal extensive changes in the nature of the state's role, and a massive increase in its power. Like Lenin she has resorted to Libertarian rhetoric and even some devolution and division in power at a crucial moment in history, not out of any belief in Libertarian ideals but as a means of decentralising and undermining the forces opposing her.

To a considerable extent the Tories have been only continuing a process begun by Labour with the Wilson/Callaghan governments of 1974-79. This process is more clearly observed with the cuts in public expenditure, but is also apparent, and more far-reaching with for example the exertion of centralised control over local government; the continuing incorporation and neutering of the trade union movement, and trends in nationalised industries. Superficially Labour and Tory policies, particularly in the latter sphere, seem to be opposed, but in fact are not as I will describe.

None of the changes which have occurred will actually resolve the long-term decline of British industry, and are in fact, while the Tories remain in power, likely to exacerbate the real cause of Britain's industrial decline, which stems in no small measure from the lack of any balance of power between different classes. The stranglehold exercised on British social, political, cultural and economic life by the traditional capitalist class is one of the major causes of the disastrous state of the British economy, and compounds the problem brought about by global recession, and the developing ecological crisis.

In fact, private ownership of the means of production has become a barrier to the development of capitalism, as society's social needs and objectives come into conflict with the priorities of the ruling class. If the establishment is to retain power, and its privileged life-style, the development and growth of the welfare state needs to be checked, and channelled into new forms. The solution has been the social market economy.

The most important aspect of the social market economy is a qualitatively new relationship between the state and industry. The state apparatus increasingly utilises large companies as a means of resolving its education, transport and welfare problems. In other words, far from the present crisis demonstrating the power of capital and "market forces" over the state, it actually reveals precisely how the state encourages and develops particular market forms and types of industry because they suit the social objectives of the establishment. Private companies are no longer (if they ever were) solely means of making profits, but agencies of social policy.

The development of the private firm as the technical-political instrument of the state is most apparent in the fields of nuclear energy, aerospace, telecommunications and computer design and manufacture, all of which have witnessed a fusion between industry and state, in a way which has been pioneered within the military-industrial complex. "Market forces" are no longer sufficient to ensure the development of companies capable of operating in the world of advanced technology, but nationalised industries deprive the privileged of a source of profit. Worse

still from the perspective of the establishment, they remove a considerable section of the work-force from the 'discipline' of the market-place, with the result that large groups of workers put forward collective solutions to social problems which challenge the power of the ruling class. Nationalised industries also tend to draw people into eventual confrontation with the State, challenging its legitimacy as they fight for higher pay, better conditions, more investment or against pay restrictions.

Labour's solution to this problem was the National Enterprise Board which enabled the state and private capital to work together in a single framework, as at British Leyland. Noticeably many of the nationalised industries 'privatised' by the Tories have been restructured so that the State retains an element of control (e.g. British Aerospace and British Telecom), allowing private investment and profit-taking, yet retaining the 'benefits' of both state control and market influences. This political control reflects the way in which private industry has become subsidised by the state — to the tune of £11 million per day by 1977.

Over the past few years the state has played a major role in trying to make capitalism work. GEC, ICL, and the National Nuclear Corporation all owe their present form to the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation, and the state continues to play an important part in the latter via the UK Atomic Energy Authority's shareholding.

The Parallel State

One of the aspects of the considerable changes taking place in the British state stems from the fact that the state itself has become a terrain of class conflict. This has in part stemmed from the increasing social intervention of the state, but whatever its causes Libertarian socialists have failed to come to grips with it. As a means of overcoming the lack of dependability on its own structures the state has been attempting to construct a "state within a state", under the guise of creating a civil defence system.

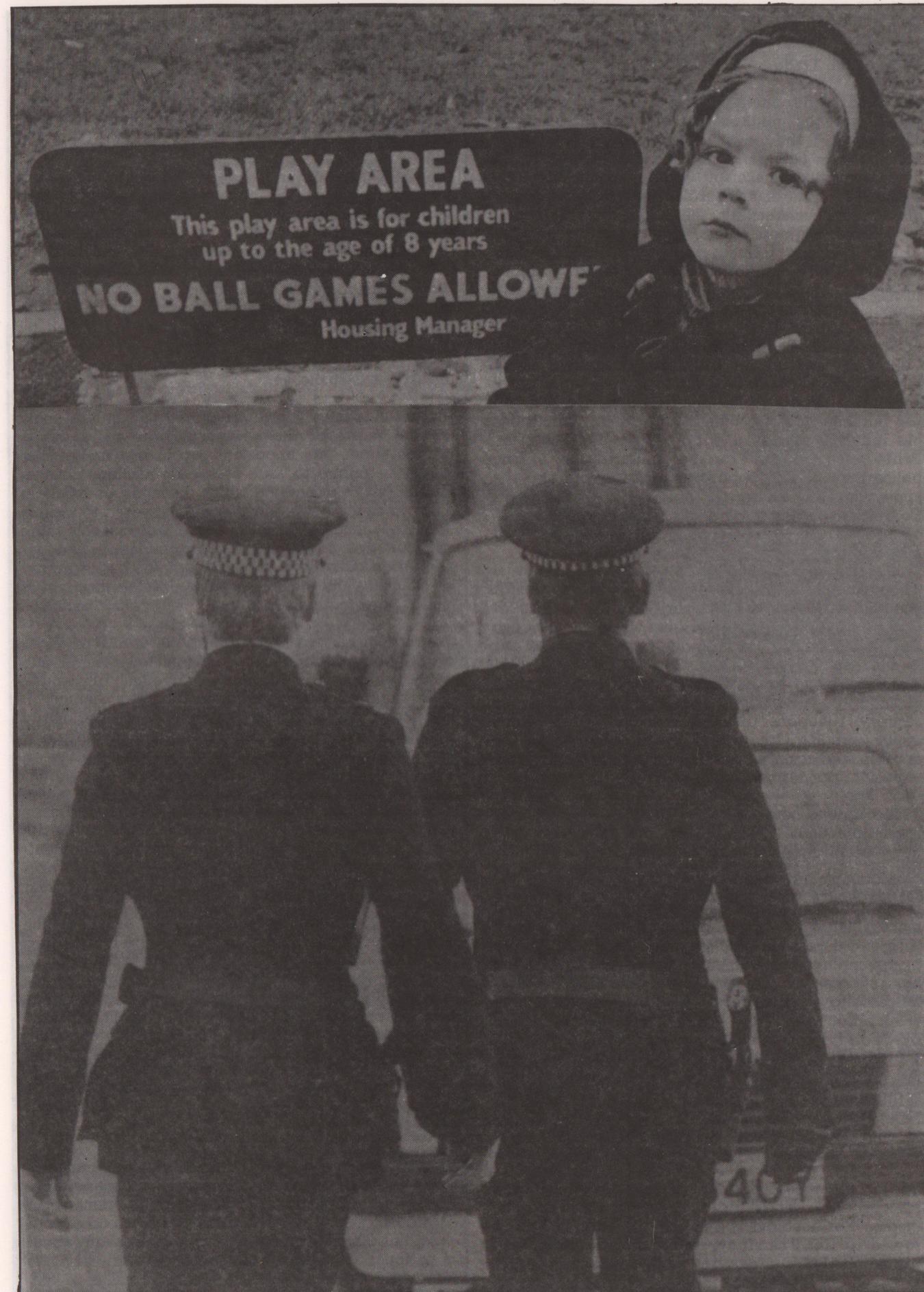
That the civil defence programme was established to control what was perceived as an "internal threat" rather than cope with the aftermath of a nuclear war is obvious from the public statements of people involved. Essex's Emergency Planning officer intr-

duced the council's peacetime emergency plans in 1974 with the argument that strikes by public service workers were the major consideration. Since Heath instructed the reorganisation of civil defence in 1972, the state has effectively created a parallel administration system — a state within a state — in which the military play a crucial role. The Home Defence College at Easingwold runs special "civil defence" courses where military personnel train local and central government officials, members of the armed forces, industrial executives, local councillors and the police. In the first five years of its operation the College arranged courses for over 6,000 people. It is at Easingwold that a common ideology based on Soviet-inspired subversion, is put across.

The civil defence structure is intended for use during any prolonged "state of emergency" such as a general strike, when the functions of government would be taken over by special national committees and a system of "Regional Government" based on a network of specially prepared bunkers. The democratic system of government would be suspended and replaced by a highly militarised administration based on the army, the police and unelected local government officials. It is to facilitate this co-operation that so many Emergency Planning Officers are former military or police personnel.

This parallel administration has already been used — during the miner's strike in 1973, and more recently during the firemen's strike, when in London at least several of the Home Defence "controls" were utilised.

While this dual administration has been established (often with only limited success) there has been a corresponding attempt to increase central government control over local government. Transforming local councils into an arm of the state is a process that has been under way since Heath's government and clearly documented by Cynthia Cockburn. What is new under the Thatcher government is the way in which this process has been extended to incorporate education (via the increased central government control over UGC and the new co-ordinating body for Polytechnics, as well as increasing MSC involvement in areas of traditional educational autonomy), and the Health Service. Again at local, as well as national level this increased authoritarianism is coupled with greater integration of state and private



capital.

Tools of the Trade

The most disconcerting trend within the state structure is the militarization of the police, and its counterpart — the drawing of the army into an overt policing role. Out of 52 police forces in the UK, 24 now have Special Patrol Groups which combine traditional crime-fighting roles with a paramilitary one. Other specialist units have been formed, including Police Support Units, containing more than 11,000 specially trained riot police, and Firearms Support Units, involving highly trained weapons specialists. Many police units are now permanently armed, including the Diplomatic Protection Squad, and the Atomic Energy Authority Constabulary, set up by Tony Benn and given draconian powers. Following the riots in Brixton and Toxteth many local police forces have invested in new riot control equipment. Essex (a hot-bed of subversive activity) has purchased plastic bullets and CS gas. Cambridge has indulged in special riot-proof personnel carriers. Behind the impetus to the militarization of the police lies not only a political decision, but also the application of military technologies to police work. Computerised communications, command and control systems utilised by the police were first developed within a military framework.

The dynamic behind the emerging policing role for the military was created primarily by the collapse of traditional policing in Northern Ireland, although clearly the military have always been fixated by the idea of an internal enemy. The use of troops as a strike-breaking force which has developed since 1945 has been a doubtful legality, but along with the security functions they have taken over at some major airports, has provided the opportunity to develop police-military co-operation and the experience of operating in a high-street environment.

Trade unions have been the focus of considerable legislation since 1979, but in the main new laws have been designed not to "smash the unions", but to turn them into something along the lines of staff associations. The role of unions is increasingly to discipline members, contain unofficial action and manage labour during a period of transition. True, their social position has been weakened, but far more by unemployment and industrial re-structuring than by Tebbit's laws. In the labour market, the most far-reaching trend in recent years has been a kind of economic conscription, where people become employed on government-financed schemes (YOP, WEEPS, YTS, etc.) administered by private companies. Yet another example of the state using private companies as instruments of policy. The primary idea behind such schemes being to accustom the unemployed to discipline at work and the reactionary ideas and values that predominate in the work place.

By far the most important change that has taken place is the relationship between the state and the media. For ideological reasons the state has been forced to tread carefully, using informal rather than formal methods of control. The Falklands conflict provided an interesting insight into the process at work. The state was able to use a variety of devices

to ensure that its message was the dominant one. These devices ranged from overt censorship of journalists' reports, limiting the nature of the facilities available and the number of people with access to them. Pressure on broadcasting authorities, misinformation, control over key appointments, and official patronage.

The 1980's, however, are an age of electronic communications and so the increasing harassment of free 'private' radio assumes a new importance. Apparently liberal attitudes are struck by the granting of new concessions to local commercial radio, and to cable TV precisely because they don't upset the balance of power, but maintain it. A telling contrast to the wave of arrests and equipment seizures from pirate radio stations up and down Britain just prior to the General Election.

Meeting the Challenge?

Rather sketchily I have attempted to examine some of the facets of the newly emerging authoritarian British state. One important gap in my analysis has been the failure to look at the far-reaching changes in the law — something which demands an article in its own right. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the changes outlined above will make it more difficult for people to resist domination and exploitation. Certainly the nature of the battle-ground is changing and we will need to develop new tactics and refine old ones.

In particular I feel that one of the crucial divisions within the establishment is that between the private capitalist and the managers/controllers of capital, with the former becoming increasingly dependant on the latter, and the latter exercising control primarily through its power over information and the information media. This factor places increasing emphasis on our need to develop a whole strategy of counter-information, particularly at a community level where news-sheets and free-radio can become the organisational nuclei for new protest movements. With the changes in the role of the unions gathering momentum, we should also attempt to create local networks of workers which cut across trade, factory and political boundaries. These groups might initially come together to support a strike or something similar, but could remain active, by promoting new forms of industrial direct action, and attempting to challenge the social basis of production. One basis for this might be for local groups of workers to prepare alternative community plans — on the lines of the Lucas Aerospace plan, but involving whole communities rather than single factories or combines. Providing that such plans didn't become rigid blue-prints they could provide a useful starting point for new forms of direct action which would go beyond protest.

Lastly the question must arise — how long must the anarchist movement in Britain limp along without any kind of national organisational framework? Obviously this is not the place or time to argue the case, but it's about time that we started talking about a national federation of anarchist groups, not as a substitute for local activity, but as a means of extending the struggle in a new era of authoritarianism.

"Leave it to the experts..."

"I have now given the names I have acquired to be checked out by British/French security services, especially the French and German connections and the South American stuff is being checked by Geoffrey Stewart-Smiths institute. He has strong CIA links. (1), I may try somebody in the Israeli Foreign Office that I know for some checks on Kelly. It is now a time for waiting for a feed-back and also further checks here."

"I have attached a number of documents including the transcript of Kelly's interview with World in Action. It goes without saying that I would like this kept strictly secret."

("Strictly secret": one of a series of reports on other journalists which London Weekend Television researcher and Searchlight Publishing Chairman Gerry Gable prepared... with a little help from "the experts".)

* *

In January 1964, three young men (2) were convicted at Highbury Magistrates Court for breaking and entering with intent to commit a felony, after attempting to steal private papers from the self-proclaimed "mild fascist" historian David Irving. Despite the fact that one of them was unemployed and the other two gave their professions as "electrician", they were represented in Court by a Queens Council and £1,000 bail was put up by a businessman, company director Leslie Jacobs of Clapton. One of the three was additionally charged with stealing a GPO identity card which he used in the burglary: his name was Gerry Gable. Council for the defence told the court, "they hoped to find material they could take to Special Branch". (3)

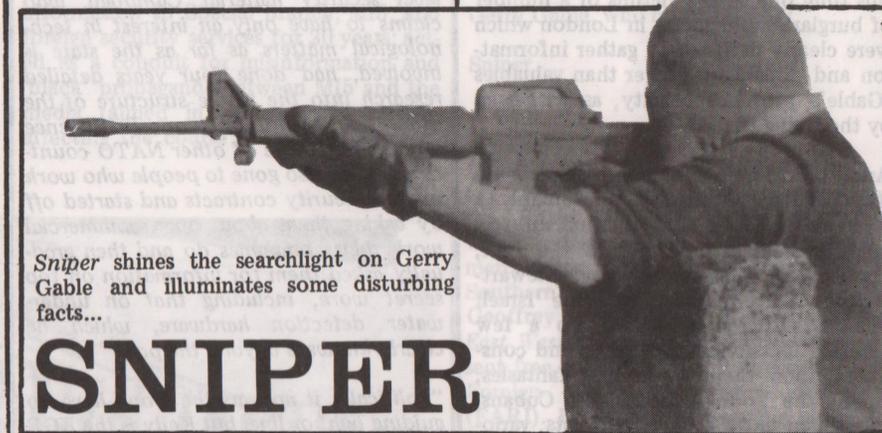
Twenty years later the same Gerry Gable, reviewing Stuart Christie's *Investigative Researcher's Handbook* (which had included profiles of two leading right-wingers as examples of how to go about an investigation), dismissed the book with the scathing admonishment to "leave it to the experts". (4) We think our readers should be made aware of just which "experts" Mr. Gable has in mind, and why it is that *Searchlight* reacts so curiously whenever anyone outside their select circle dares step onto their jealously guarded territory of investigating the extreme Right.

Born in January 1937, Gerry Gable is a former member of the Young Communist League (YCL), and stood as Communist Party candidate in the Northfield ward of Stamford Hill, north London, in 1962. He was also linked to the Zionist 'anti-fascist' 62 Group nominally led by Harry Bidney (manager of the Limbo Club in Soho) — formed by veterans of the anti-Mosley 43 Group (basically a CP set-up)

who thought the group had grown 'too liberal' — to counter the antics of Colin Jordan, John Tyndall, and the revived neo-Nazi movement of the early '60's. The 62 Group (mostly supporters of the Beginite Herut organisation, a political successor to the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* terrorist group) specialised in direct action, infiltration, dirty-tricks, and 'black-bag' jobs (burglary). Gable has retained an endearing affection for 'black-bag' jobs, as a means of gathering information on target individuals, ever since.

Searchlight

Parallel to the activities of the '62 Group, a small anti-fascist journal was founded in London to monitor the activities of Jordan, Tyndall & Co. The journal was called *Searchlight*. Amongst its early editors were Labour MP's Reg Freeson



Sniper shines the searchlight on Gerry Gable and illuminates some disturbing facts...

SNIPER

and Joan Lester (both subsequently Government Ministers for Housing and Foreign Affairs respectively). *Searchlight's* "research director" was Gerry Gable. The journal ceased publication in 1967, but Gable, Maurice Ludmer (a veteran Communist and anti-fascist), and others stayed together as *Searchlight Associates*, in order to go on providing 'research material' on the extreme Right to journalists and broadcasters. In 1974 Gable and Ludmer collaborated in the production of a pamphlet detailing the background and nature of the National Front: *A Well Oiled Nazi Machine*. The instant success of the pamphlet (it sold out in a few weeks), helped by the wave of concern awakened on the Left by the seeming advance being made by the NF (and incidentally, the re-emergence of 'anti-fascism' as a bandwagon for groups like the SWP to use for their recruitment drives), prompted *Searchlight Associates* to resume publication as a regular journal. The pilot issue of the new *Searchlight* appeared in February 1975, with Maurice Ludmer as its editor. Ludmer and Gable were also amongst the first sponsors of the Anti-Nazi League.

Since then *Searchlight* has built up an impressive reputation for investigative

reporting, and has done pioneering work of genuine value in exposing the activities and international links of fascist organisations. But the political expediency of a perceived identity of interest in the short-term, in the cause of 'anti-fascism' just as in 'anti-communism', is apt to lead one to work with some strange allies. In *Searchlight's* case, opposition to the 'extremists' of the Right has opened up the door to the extremists of the centre, for whom Right and left are equally perceived as a threat to 'democracy'.

"Strictly secret"

Not only has Gable admitted, as part of his defence in the 1963/4 burglary trial, that he hoped to supply information to Special Branch on David Irving, but a confidential memorandum written by him to his producers in London on Weekend

Television (where he worked until recently as a researcher/presenter on the *London Programme*: he is now trying to work his ticket with an alleged 'heart condition') on 2 May 1977 gave clear, hard, evidence that he has also engaged in a two-way traffic of information with the security services of several countries, and acted as a conduit of misinformation for MI5 against fellow journalists, and socialists. The memo was the subject of an article by Duncan Campbell and Bruce Page in the *New Statesman* in February 1980. Gable has never successfully refuted the information contained in the article. When Campbell and Page went down to LWT's offices to confront Gable with the evidence and demand some answers, Gable simply cleared his desk and fled, refusing to talk to them. This is in marked contrast to his previous meeting with Campbell, whom he took out to an expensive account lunch during the 'ABC' Official Secrets case to pump him for information he could pass on to his friends in Special Branch.

The memo, written by Gable followed, he says, a lunch with a Security Service employee in May 1977. The nature of the official material received and recorded by him — mixed with large amounts of random gossip — indicates that much of it was

coloured by phone-tap information and informer's reports. It consists almost entirely of libellous untruths about a group of 'target' individuals — the 'ABC' Official Secrets defendants, American deportees Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball, and several of their acquaintances. In certain respects, material from Special Branch had been deliberately falsified to mislead Gable and his employers. The timing of the memo showed clearly an intense interest on behalf of MI5 in manipulating events surrounding the Agee/Hosenball case and the beginnings of the 'ABC' prosecution.

"Kelly is the KGB man..."

The person most frequently, and libellously, mentioned in its pages was not directly involved in either case: Phil Kelly, a journalist acquainted with both sets of accused men. Kelly was around this time one of the victims of a number of burglaries and thefts in London which were clearly designed to gather information and documents rather than valuables (Gable's proven speciality, as witnessed by the Irving trial...).

Admitted to be one of a series, the memo was headed "Agencies", presumably a reference to Gable's information sources (named, apart from MI5, as the CIA, French and German security, Stewart-Smith's FARI institute, and the 'Israeli Foreign Office'). It mixes up a few accurate facts with half-truths, and constructs upon them a series of fantasies, linking the Young Liberals with Cubans, Palestinian and German terrorists, various contributors to *Time Out*, members of

the London Co-Op, and the KGB, into a deadly, all-encompassing conspiracy. Gable also asserts that an "eye-witness" who "had infiltrated the Palestinians and some left groups" (and is apparently well known to him) has backed up his claims. There is a remarkable similarity between information received by Special Branch when they stopped Kelly at Heathrow Airport in 1970, and the "eye-witness" story re-told by Gable in 1977. The implication must be that Gable was at least aware of a Special Branch or MI5 informer amongst left-wing groups and remained quiet about it.

Gable wrote: "The arrest of Campbell/Berry and Aubrey has caused a civil rights row, but according to my top level security sources, they inform me in strictest confidence that for about four years Campbell/Berry/Kelly and others have been systematically gathering top-level security material. Campbell, who claims to have only an interest in technological matters as far as the state is involved, had done four years detailed research into the whole structure of the other side of not only our Intelligence services but those of other NATO countries. He has also gone to people who work on top security contracts and started off by asking them about open commercial work their companies do and then gradually asked them for information on top secret work, including that on underwater detection hardware, which he clearly knows is beyond the pale."

"Politically it appears the group have no guiding light or line, but Kelly is the KGB man who reaps the goodies gathered by

other people..."

"The security service accepts that once the real nature of this case begins to emerge they expect people like Jonathan Aitkin (the Tory MP, who has expressed support for the ABC) will fade away fast. The security service accepts that a number of decent people have signed up to support these people on civil rights grounds and also they unofficially accept all the shortcomings of the act they have been held under, but they say they are sure this has gone beyond the bounds of Press Investigation."

In the last few words of the memo Gable wrote: "I have now given the names I have acquired to be checked out by British/French security services... it is now a time for waiting for a feed-back and also for further checks here." The feed-back never came of course, because the whole story was really just black propaganda.

The Infiltration Game

Searchlight obtains much of its information from imaginative use of the telephone, 'black-bag' jobs (of the sort Gable has been convicted for), snippets of gossip and information blackmailed out of vulnerable fascists eager to protect some guilty secret or other (usually of a sexual nature), and selected tit-bits fed to Gable from his "top-level security sources". The value of a great deal of the material they print is arguable. Often it is slanted to achieve other ends than simply 'anti-fascism'. Gable has recently lent himself to a series of manoeuvres, allying himself with former members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain (SPGB) who had joined the Libertarian Alliance, aimed at seizing control of the *Alternative Bookshop* in Covent Garden (a pivotal influence within the LA) and ousting Chris Tame (who has recently also come under fire in the pages of *Searchlight*) in what they hoped would be the resulting split.

On the rare occasion when they do print information from genuine anti-fascist infiltrators (two people, independently, during our researches expressed bewilderment at *Searchlight's* lack of interest in information gathered on fascists — in one case through a successful infiltration of the NF — which was offered to them), it is subject to a curious process of 'editing' before being published. Birmingham Communist Dave Roberts, who provided *Searchlight* with much of their information during the mid-'70's, is a case in point.

Amongst the information passed to *Searchlight* in 1976 by Roberts (who was subsequently disowned by Gable after Maurice Ludmer's death), was the revelation that David King (a Birmingham Nazi known to have close links with the so-called "Column 88") had told Roberts in prison that he suspected fellow fascist

Peter Marriner of being in touch with Special Branch. Marriner, a long-time Nazi activist in Birmingham, then local organiser for the British Movement and said to be involved with "Column 88", achieved notoriety when he was exposed as a fascist infiltrator of the Labour Party, International Socialists, and other left-wing groups during the Ladywood bye-election. *Searchlight* subsequently printed a long expose of Marriner's activities, but only after the local press had already picked up the beginnings of the story and blown Marriner's cover as election agent to Labour MP Brian Waldon and his successor, John Severs. Nowhere in *Searchlight's* coverage of the Marriner case was there any mention of a Special Branch connection. Marriner told the Left he was infiltrating the Right. He told the Right he was infiltrating the Left. If he was also in contact with Special Branch, just who was infiltrating who? And why, after they published so much else of the information gathered by Roberts, did *Searchlight* balk at exposing a leading Birmingham Nazi as an agent of the Special Branch? Interestingly enough, another of the defendants in

the Irving burglary case with Gable in 1963, Manny Carpel, was jailed for 2½ years in April 1981 after setting fire to a printing works in Sussex which printed fascist literature. Carpel described himself during the trial as a freelance journalist working for *Searchlight*. His defence lawyer, Leonard Krickler, claimed on Carpel's behalf that his client had helped the Special Branch in the past in the Midlands and Birmingham.

Plausible Denial?

Gable's role in all this is open to speculation. He may be the naive tool (and fool) of the Special Branch. More probably, he appears in the classic role of "plausibly deniable" agent, used by "the experts" to do the dirty work which his "top level security sources" would rather not grubby their hands on. It is documented fact that Gable has been passing information to Special Branch, MI5, and foreign security services for 20 years; acted as a conduit for misinformation and 'black' propaganda between MI5 and the media (aimed in at least one case in affecting the course of criminal proceed-

ings against fellow journalists); and concealed the existence and activities of at least one Special Branch or MI5 infiltrator inside left-wing groups.

We can not really shed any tears about Gable employing unscrupulous methods against fascists; but his activities in other directions give us cause for concern. We are entitled to ask Mr. Gable, when he scolds those who ruffle his feathers, to just which "experts" we should leave the task of investigating those who threaten our well-being: MI5, Special Branch, CIA, Mossad? It is also necessary to ask those genuine anti-fascists amongst the *Searchlight* staff and contributors, whether they are in fact aware of Gerry Gable's activities on behalf of his "top level security" chums? If they are and continue to have any dealings with the man, then we would have cause to question their motivations also. With "experts" like Gerry Gable, who needs fascists?

Sniper

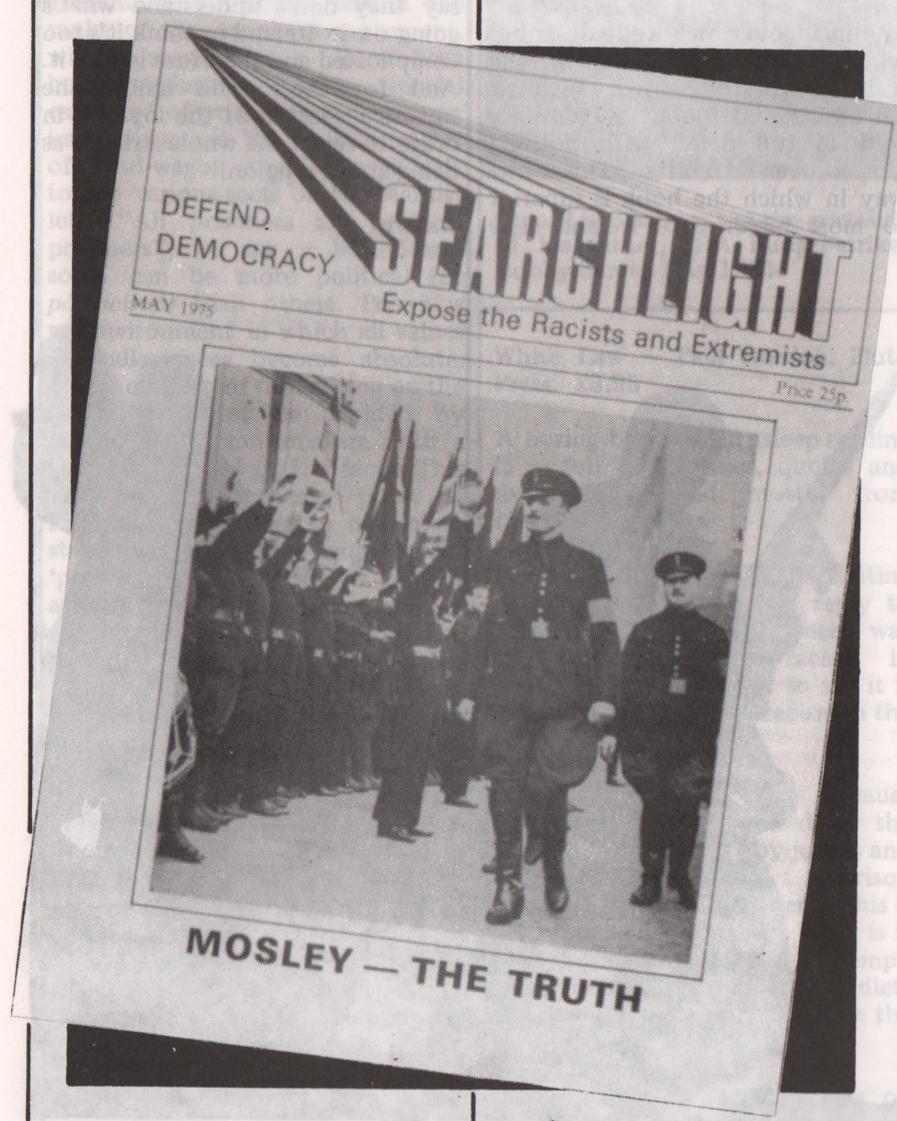
Footnotes:

(1) Besides having served as advisor to the British Military Voluntary Force which unsuccessfully tried to send mercenaries to the Congo, Biafra, and Southern Africa, former Tory MP. Geoffrey Stewart-Smith is the editor of *East West Digest* (an anti-communist rag sent free to all MP's), and director of the Foreign Affairs Research Institute (FARI). From a small beginning in 1966, by 1981 it was able to host an international conference which received a message of goodwill from President Reagan. FARI acts as an umbrella group for the Coalition for Peace through Security (CPS), located in the office above FARI at 27-31 Whitehall, which has also housed Freedom Communications International (yet another rabid anti-communist set-up) of whom Stewart-Smith is the director. Foreign Affairs Publishing Co. is a major publisher of right-wing books in England. The East West Institute/FARI maintains close links with British, Dutch and American Intelligence.

(2) Gerry Gable, Manny Carpel and David Freedman.

(3) *Evening Standard*, 28 November 1963.

(4) *Searchlight*, No.96, June 1983.



London Weekend Television

From Gerry Gable
On 2nd May, 1977
About Agencies
By Julian/Mike Graham/Berry Cox (Please keep these reports secure)

Phil Kelly was a member of the Young Liberals who in the sixties joined what was known as "the Red Guard". Young Liberals like Peter Hein and Peter Kellyer went against the traditional Liberal line and started campaigning along lines more akin to the Radical left. They stood out against the Vietnam War/Apartheid and for the Palestinians against the Israelis. At home they were for direct action on housing and other evils in our society.

I have now given the names I have acquired to be checked out by British/French security services, especially the French and German connections and the South American stuff is being checked by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith's institute. He has strong CIA links. I may try somebody in the Israeli Foreign Office that I know for some checks on Kelly. It is now a time of waiting for a feed-back and also further checks here.

I have attached a number of documents including the transcript of Kelly's interview with World in Action. It goes without saying that I would like this kept strictly secret.

GERRY GABLE

"Strictly secret": the Gable memo.



BOOKS

The Longest War — Northern Ireland and the IRA by Kevin Kelly. Zed Press. £

The Longest War — Northern Ireland and the IRA is a fact-filled history of primarily, the IRA. Written from a healthy "anti-Brit" position it provides us with all those facts we always wanted or had forgotten, on topics like the founding of Sinn Fein or the Birmingham pub bombings.

It's emphasis is on the IRA; and Kelly while providing us with a feast of information, gives us his own analysis of the situation — that the struggle in Ireland has been and is about British Imperialism. Initially Ireland was exploited for economic gain until today when despite the fact that England loses more economically than she gains she still sticks it out in the six counties. The book starts off with this initial economic exploitation of centuries ago and analyses what's in it for England now and why she doesn't get out. As the north of Ireland has now become uneconomic for England, Kelly points out that the English government's recognition of the so-called rights of the majority in 'Ulster' to remain within the UK is nothing more than a cloak for the fear of successive Brit governments of revolution in Ireland. Any sort of revolution in Ireland could and probably would, be a threat to the stability of Britain herself. Because if the IRA could defeat the British government then why couldn't we in Britain. Particularly if an internal threat to the UK as we know it came, after Ireland, from the Welsh and Scottish nationalists. There may be no stopping the entire disintegration of the UK. In addition, with the paranoia common to governments a newly liberated Ireland might even fraternise with the Soviet Union, making a mess of Britain's security arrangements, Kelly points out. No Conservative or Labour government could afford such a defeat. Even if a solution which meant withdrawal and a united Ireland were a negotiated one, it would still be *seen* to be a victory

for the IRA and the strategy of the armed struggle.

Also, the struggle in the north of Ireland keeps the troops busy while incidents such as the Birmingham pub bombings, which gave a pretext for the introduction of the PTA, provides the political justification for repressive legislation. Politicians do need to be *seen* to be protecting our interests when they legislate against those interests. Where this book is more worth reading than most is that Kelly doesn't simply make points and present analyses and expect us to take his word for it but provides the relevant verifiable back-up material. (Unlike some authors who merely reproduce fanciful theories that they *want* to believe, such as Paul Wilkinson).

The incidents which Kelly describes which were turning points in the history of the north such as Burntoltet and Bloody Sunday are told in full detail with nothing glossed over or omitted. This is one way in which the book is superior to most histories of Ireland. The

other is that historians usually talk about Ireland *or* the IRA whereas the two are inseparable. The war on the north is a continuation of resistance to both rule by the Brit state and loyalist ascendancy since the foundation of the statelet. Without this historical perspective the north of Ireland would probably appear as unrevolutionary as England does. This is brought out clearly and emphasised, and we in England should learn from this and instead of trying to make the struggle into what we would like it to be, see it as it really is (though this doesn't preclude us from making our own contribution to moving events more in our own direction).

The book is a must for those who say they don't understand what's going on in Ireland or think it's too complicated and therefore ignore it. And for those who ignore the historical fascism of the loyalists in order to reject the whole struggle as being about religion.

A.N.A.



BOOKS

One Day In My Life by Bobby Sands. Pluto Press. £2.95
Introduction by Sean MacBride

Simply told, and with an impact made greater by the fact that publication of this edition came just before the second anniversary of its author's death, *One Day In My Life* affords a sobering glimpse into the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. Bobby Sands was the first of ten political prisoners to hunger-strike to the death rather than accept the 'criminalisation' of Nationalist resistance in Northern Ireland by the British Government's withdrawal of 'special category status'.

The question of political status is a guaranteed hot-potato within the ranks of the Anarchist movement, where support for Republican hunger-strikers (or any 'special category' of prisoner) raises deeper issues than just the routine matter of band-wagon jumping applicable to the various sects on the Marxist left. "All prisoners are political prisoners", we say — but clearly some can be more political (or *politicised*) than others. Prison is an environment in which all values and allegiances become absolute. But the cliché of 'not sitting on the fence' can best be avoided by balancing-off emotionalism with a critical appraisal of the facts. This book is an excellent point of reference in coming to an understanding of the struggle for 'political status' and its motivations. It can also be recommended for providing an insight into the *psychological* aspects of imprisonment and resistance. Sean MacBride's introduction is tedious and legalistic, and it is a pity that no one more in tune with the 'younger generation' in the Republican Movement could have been found to present the book to an English audience.

Since his death, Bobby Sands has been transformed into martyr and legend. This small record of his thoughts and struggles rescues the man.

Henry Black



Gerard Sands weeps at the graveside of his father, IRA hunger-striker Bobby Sands, May 1981.

White Law — Paul Gordon. Pluto Press. £3.95

A boring book. I fell asleep reading it — full of statistics, quotes and examples gleaned mostly from newspaper reports.

He begins, in the Preface, by stating that the book is not a reply to Scarman's report, that there was "no institutionalised racism in Britain". Then goes on to say it is about institutionalised racism in the criminal justice system.

Basically, it seems, that because black people are arrested by the police, sent to prison by judges and kept there by screws ("prison officers" as P.G. calls them), this is evidence of state racism. What is it then when white people, unemployed people, punks, drug addicts and even anarchists go through the same system?

A large part of the chapters on

police racism are based on the racist essays written by police cadets which were released to the press by a teacher at the Met. Training School. Unfortunately, the book was published before it was revealed recently that the teacher who released these essays, also set them, asking his erstwhile students to write "as a racist" about blacks in Britain.

There are some good points made, especially about immigration control and procedure, though I rather think here a lot of points were about the status of women rather than blacks. He also underlines the fact that attacks on blacks, particularly Asians, are largely ignored by the police. He also ends on a good note, describing the present hysteria (my words) for making the police accountable to local authorities as "reformist", and urges the reader of the urgency in understanding and combatting racism — I agree but I do not believe this book will help in either respect.

On the whole a very naive and — for all its hefty statistics — a very shallow look at the "criminal (so-called) justice system".

Iris Mills

The Vatican Connection.
By Richard Hammer. Penguin.
£1.95.

The story of intrigue and villainy told in this book, which is based on the investigations of a New York detective, involves the Mafia dealing in international drug smuggling and the printing and passing of forged share certificates and securities. The culmination of the investigation was the discovery that a leading Vatican official, Paul Marcinkus, was behind a commission to produce 950 million dollars worth of forged securities to be used as collateral for a loan to the Vatican bank. This crime was conceived on such an immense scale that its carrying through must be considered a prodigious organisational achievement, especially having regard for the restrictions of secrecy that

BOOKS

were clearly necessary. The links between the Vatican and corrupt politicians and the Mafia, especially in Italy, will surprise only the naive. But the story which this book tells would have been thrown out as preposterous by any film producer who might have been offered it in script form.

The limitation of the book, of course, is that it is told only from the point of view of the investigating detective. He pursued his investigation into an apparently minor Mafia operation in New York right up through international deals of different sorts and on to the Vatican. Much of the evidence was obtained by bugging phones and intimidating smaller fry in the operation into informing on their bosses will only surprise the naive.

But when the involvement of the Vatican, and specifically some of its most senior officials, was quite clear to those investigating they met with difficulty from their political bosses in getting authority to proceed with charges against them. This occurred when the Nixon administration was moving ever

deeper into the swamp of Watergate. The Roman Catholic community was one of the few groups to still support Nixon at this time, so it should surprise nobody that authorisation to prepare a criminal case against Vatican officials was unlikely to be forthcoming.

The way this and later moves to protect highly placed individuals implicated in huge international crimes was blocked is one of the most interesting though poorly researched and analysed parts of this book. And I was forced repeatedly to the conclusion that this book would have been better and of more value in its insights if the author had researched more sources than simply the detective most closely involved in the case. For there is much more to be told of this affair than is in this book. The complex and apparently conspiratorial world of Italian high finance and politics is scarcely touched upon. This is a very useful and valuable book but a more complete one must be in the course of being written, I hope.

Peter Miller.

The Investigative Researchers Handbook — Compiled and Edited by Stuart Christie — Available from: BCM Refract London WC1N 3XX (price £6.00 including postage)

Gerry Gable's admonishment to "... leave it to the experts" in *Searchlight's* review of the Investigative Researcher's Handbook, inadvertently reveals the reason why this book is essential reading for people who wish to examine the machinations of the ruling class. We should not leave it to the "experts" (for experts invariably have vested interests and their interests are not ours — See *Sniper Column*, this issue).

The handbook is full of helpful addresses plus details on how to investigate Individuals, Organisatio-

ns, Companies, and State structures etc. with first hand comments on the problems involved. "As an introduction as to how ordinary people can find and use information, and as a primer on the methodology and techniques of field research" it is invaluable. I know of no comparable publication which is specifically valid for the British Isles. The addition of one or two blank pages, after each section, for corrections or additions, shows that the handbook is designed for practical use rather than as a coffee table book or for filing away in some library collection. (Your first correction should be made in the section: Individuals — Primary Sources. Page 105, under 'Electoral Register'. The City Business Library in London no longer has a complete set of all the Electoral Registers in England and Wales).

Interspersed among the investigative material, there are a number of sections dealing with such subjects as: "False Identities" and "Infiltration", as well as advice on surveillance (either 'by' or 'against' you) which could be extremely helpful to any of us at some stage. A chapter entitled "Anti-mass — some points on Anarchist Organisation" (abridged here, from a pamphlet originally published in the USA, and subsequently reprinted over here in *Anarchy* No.9 in the early '70's) is particularly interesting today, in view of the current debate around organisation generated by the attempts to launch yet another Anarchist Federation in London.

At a time when secrecy by the ruling class and its lackey's is, if anything, increasing, and dis-information by the experts (i.e. Journalists) is the rule rather than the exception, this is a welcome and necessary debut publication from Refract, and should be as widely available as possible.

Ozymandias



A press



Read *Anarchy*: How can you afford to miss Britain's longest running quality anarchist magazine?
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Workers Playtime — "Popular yarns of class war". Bimonthly produced by some members of the *London Workers Group* ("an open discussion group involving anarchists, councillors & autonomists"). 20p. Subs: £2 (includes anything else published by the LWG as well...) Box LWG, C/O Little @, C.1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1 (correspondence only). The LWG meets every Tuesday (8.15 p.m., upstairs at the Metropolitan Pub, 95 Farringdon Road, London EC1.

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* —

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 Pirelli) 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. Publication-date, September 1983.

I enclose my cheque/postal order/money order payable to *Anarchy Magazine*, Box A, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. (NOTE: Please pay in £'s sterling where-ever possible).

Name.....
 Address.....

BLACK PAPERS No.1
STEFANO DELLE CHIAIE
 PORTRAIT OF A "BLACK" TERRORIST

STUART CHRISTIE

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for sending me a copy of *Anarchy* Revivied. I am very impressed. Everything in it is interesting and good, including Albert's review. So I want to join in, once more as a subscriber. I want a second copy of this issue and then two copies of each of the next three issues and, to this end, I enclose my cheque for £5. One of my brothers likes to see this sort of thing from time to time but it is better for me to slip it to him, rather than for him to receive it directly, because of his wife!

With very best wishes...

Salut

AB
(Oxford)

Dear Anarchy,

I have just received issue No.35 of *Anarchy* and I'm glad to see the magazine has reappeared. It looks good.

Best wishes,

Bob Jones
(Bradford)

Dear Comrades,

Please find enclosed my sub to the new-style *Anarchy*.

I would very much like to see the prison news coverage continue, and be stepped up with more details of what readers can do, the various organisations and what aspects of prisoners' rights they are involved in, how one can get access to info about what is going on in your local prison, etc.. I think this is what readers would find most constructive and useful in "doing something about it".

Keep up the good work.

yours fraternally,

R.M.
(Edinburgh)

old lag 2

Dear Anarchy,

I was interested in Old Lag's account of medical abuse in English Gaols. He commences his story in 1978 but I can go back to 1974 to provide a little more historical perspective on this matter.

I did a year ... in 1974-75, six months at Risley Remand and two months at Walton Gaol Liverpool. My case is complex and I prefer not to go into it but



the nux is that I am a fairly harmless looking middle-aged ex-schoolmaster who felt aggrieved because his Father had been unlawfully killed by the action of a lawyer.

After about three months without my case coming to trial I went on hunger strike. After ten days I was dragged into a room with a couch on a stand and forced to lie down. The M.O. threatened to force feed me if I didn't eat. I told him

Home Sec. Woy Jenkins had recently forbidden force-feeding. I said no more, was released and carried back to my cell. The next day I was told my trial would take place within the week and it did.

On entering Walton Gaol later the local vicar came visiting and told me my home of fifty years had been robbed and vandalised of its entire contents. The Prudential Assurance Co. sent a gentleman the next week to tell me that they thought the police had taken a hand in it and until I got my complaint before a Judge in no way would they pay out on a policy pardon for over thirty years. I never received a penny for a house valued at £9,000 in 1972 and contents worth about £5,000 at that time.

Feeling considerably miffed I left the visiting room and was immediately assailed by a shouting warder to the effect that a floor I had mopped had been badly done "I've had enough of all of you for the moment" I replied (exact quote!).

The warder called two other warders and ordered them to take me to the punishment block. I remember well the comment from one of them in astonished tones: "Him? To the block?"

In the block I was stripped naked and left in a bare cell with an open window through which blew a chill April Breeze. An hour later two warders I had never seen burst open the cell door and rushed in. I was seated cross-legged since there was nothing to sit on. Running forward one of them jumped a foot or so in the air and landed on my left thigh. I was unable to walk without limping for the week following.

The next morning I was held forcibly between two stalwart warders, a spotlight shone in my face and found guilty of something. With all the commotion and bright lights blinding me I forgot what it

was. No further punishment followed and I was released.

About a week later I was put before a psychiatrist and we conversed amiably enough since part of my university course included Psychology. In all I saw him about ten times including several times when he had colleagues with him. Ugly rumours about the treatment meted out to political dissidents was already beginning to filter around amongst the prisoners and since I was a life-long non-activist philosophical anarchist I had been warned to treat him very carefully.

On the last occasion I asked him what my visits to him were all about. Seeming rather embarrassed he explained he had enjoyed talking to me, as had his colleagues. "However", he went on, "you are at liberty to refuse to see me". I refused all visits by him thereafter and that was the end of the matter. Personally I find it odd that I had to endure ten visits before being told my rights in the matter.

Easily the most dangerous men I met in Risley and Walton were the prison doctors. Extreme conservatives, extreme eccentrics, as Old Lag describes them, are the very words. One I know for a fact to have been a diagnostic incompetent and a liar to boot and I say this without either malice or anger. Pity those he has undoubtedly destroyed in the course of his career.

Insanity exists on a spectrum with obvious dementia at one end and unusual behaviour at the other. It is this end, the unusual behaviour end, which is currently being massively exploited by the States everywhere. Few people come into direct contact with mental illness and consequently they tend to believe what they are told by high-status professionals; the opportunities for social control should be obvious. Dissidence is 'unusual' as far as the States are concerned; the unusual is insane... I suggest what is growing in our exhausted social systems nowadays is a secular form of the mediaeval hunts for heresy wherein all refusals to allow superstitious garbage to be stuffed down the necks of the peasantry as a measure of social control were met with the accusations of diabolism. Few believe in the Devil today but many are afraid of the mentally ill...

Fraternally,
Old Lag 11

a warning to the misguided

Dear Anarchy,

I welcomed Jack McArdle's article 'Reflections on the Economy of Political Violence' in *Anarchy* no.35, not because I was in agreement with the contents but because it may open a long-overdue debate on the subject of 'Political Violence' or 'Terrorism' and its relation to Britain in the 80's. Or should I say its *relevance*? We recognise that the State has a virtual monopoly on 'Terror', and if we use the word 'Terrorism' to define acts of political violence against the State, its apparatus and its personnel, I think we are in agreement. The State, the entire System is based, among other things, on violence and coercion. Any act of violent political resistance is but a drop of water compared to an ocean. It is hypocrisy to compare 'Terrorist' acts with the violence of the State, they are *af* removed. I do not consider the so-called pacifist 'arguments' against political violence as anything other than trite moralising. They are after all opposed, so they say, to all forms of violence. An utterly unrealistic perspective based on their one-dimensional idea.

As I was saying, we must not allow ourselves to be side-tracked by pacifist 'arguments', but examine the relevance of political violence in Britain today. We must admit that 'Terrorism' or 'Acts of Resistance' against the State apparatus are not only carried out by anarchist groups but also by other people and groups, as entirely hostile to the establishment as ourselves. Groups at the other end of the political spectrum, the extreme Right, Nazis. In Europe we have the confusing situation of Nazi groups attacking, for different reasons, the same targets. Sometimes the Nazis even use a 'Revolutionary' label. "Was it one of ours, or one of theirs?"

What about the unofficial acts of Terrorism by factions of the secret services? These are all using the same 'tools', but strange as it may seem their actions are just as 'legitimate' or illegitimate' as our own. Who are we to call the other kettles names? To complain?

This, however, is just a minor point. In all seriousness how can 'Terrorism' change the face of revolutionary politics in Britain today? It cannot, apart from ridding ourselves of dilettante elements in our almost non-existent 'movement'. The impact of political violence apart from the initial 'act' will be measured and controlled by the State's alter-ego, the media. The population, the very people you are making a symbolic gesture on behalf of, would look upon your

act with indifference, if not outright hostility. The media would in a short space of time be able to turn any latent sympathy among a segment of the alienated masses into a reaction favouring the strengthening of the system. They have always succeeded so far. There is no evidence that they will fail in the immediate future, is there? A 'home-grown' terrorist campaign would become, no matter how 'spectacular' the acts, a spectacle *in itself* with the passive population watching the game of cat and mouse. A game that in the present situation the cat will always win. How, I ask you, does this change the consciousness of the British working class? I say it does not.

Britain is a unique situation for the budding terrorist. There is absolutely no base or segment of the population to fall back on or to utilise. Even the RAF had a student-alternative society base to emerge and operate from in its initial phase. Nothing comparable exists here, nor can it be artificially created. There is no evidence to support the idea that increased state repression against 'terrorism' will galvanise the masses, alter their consciousness. It did not in Germany with the RAF, or here with the PTA. I do not see how it can in the future.

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. We must understand, or at least *try* to understand contemporary capitalism, the system with all its ramifications in *totality*. This is the main task of revolutionaries and anarchists today. How can we even begin to 'resist' if we only have a blinkered understanding of this society and its crisis? As anarchists, with our political and historical understanding, we must surely realise that 'Terrorist' tactics are doomed to failure, here, right now. We need to examine, to react to society with a more 'modernist' analysis, not explosions. I do not question the *motives* of anarchists that adopt 'Terrorism' just, as I have said, their 'understanding'. I do not label them 'Counter-revolutionary' just misguided, utterly misguided. I would suggest that before we seek to change the world, we change the anarchist 'movement'. When situations do arise, that we can take maximum advantage from, let us hope that some of us are around to make our contribution to a revolution, and not behind bars or demoralised. Understand the way this society is going, how in spite of its apparant crumbling it is emerging stronger, no matter *what* we do against it. Understand that open debate within our movement, *then* we may get somewhere.

"Alf"
(Hampstead)

if Pigs could fly...

Dear Anarchy,

I am writing concerning the attitude of your magazine to political violence. In the article by Jack McArdle he says "if we accept the reality of resistance, then we must be prepared for all that it implies". Of course activity should be encouraged wherever possible, but I do not accept that we should resort to violence. Violence has never solved anything. In fact, it does more harm than good and should only be used in *immediate* defence where there is no other alternative.

Jack McArdle then says, "The use of violence is not obligatory for those who seek to resist oppression, but neither can it be excluded". As any one who can read will see, this statement is totally contradictory. Obviously, illegality should be no barrier to action, but violence should. McArdle calls the 'Angry Brigade' irresponsible, and then advises us to "kick the filth to pieces". Beating up a policeman who may not even realise what he is doing is stupid. Policemen are only people in uniforms. Of course that uniform gives them power they should not have, but "kicking them to pieces" will just ensure that they are replaced in even larger numbers. Violence is self-perpetuating; the violence of the State will not go away because we use violence against it. Riots can be excused, where they are a genuine, spontaneous release of anger, but organised acts of violence against people (such as planned 'executions') just cannot be accepted. The fact that members of the 2nd June Movement joined the Marxist-Leninist RAF shows that these people are more concerned with committing violence than remaining true to their principles.

The whole of your magazine seems to emit a mood of violence. One writer now advises that those people who grass should have their legs broken. If this is a serious suggestion then you can sink no lower. There is nothing wrong with destruction of property (although doing this with explosives is both expensive and irresponsible), but violence against another human being, except where absolutely necessary, is pointless.

Before I go, I would like to comment on the Barry Prosser article in issue 34 (which, incidentally, was immeasurably better than number 35). The author says that Dorothy Prosser was "denied the right of personal revenge". Of course Prosser's murderers should be brought to justice, but surely revenge and justice are not quite the same thing.

A.Y.M.
(Streatham)

impotent

Dear Anarchy,
There is still a place for a theoretical philosophical magazine, which examines all issues (without arbitrary limitation) from an anarchist viewpoint, and continues discussion of the anarchist viewpoint itself. *Anarchy* has not performed these functions for some years, and now any hope that it might do so again seems lost, since the current editors apparently reject such concerns.

Issue 35 looked rather better than *Anarchy* usually does. Much of it was written in something like English, too — though it seems to me a strange sort of elitism that insists on underworld terminology, regardless of likely readership. Unfortunately, the improvements in appearance and language coincide with an alarming departure from the most basic libertarian principles.

Your statement of editorial policy says it all, in the first sentence. Your “aim is not the struggle for anarchism as an abstract ideal but a revolutionary struggle with the most libertarian character possible.” *Anarchy* is an ideal, which you may call “abstract” if you wish; certainly, it has yet to be realised to any significant degree. *Anarchism* is the belief in, and struggle towards, that ideal. All anarchist activity, including publishing, necessarily has to do with striving for that ideal. If I wish to read a ‘revolutionary’ magazine that doesn’t share my ideal, there are plenty of them, better produced and more readable than most anarchist ones.

And who is to decide what is as libertarian as “possible”? Most anarchists agree that means determine ends, while many Marxists will tell you that their authoritarian activity is a means to an ideal end just as libertarian as ours. Only common sense, the facts of life, human nature and so on, force them to restrict their libertarianism to what is “possible”. It’s arguable that, for anarchists, the “possible” simply doesn’t come into it, but in any case I wouldn’t trust you to judge what is possible, if only because of your other great editorial blunder.

That is, of course, your confessed double standard with regard to so-called personal politics. If you’re truly concerned with the possible, how can you afford to ignore those areas of activity in which all is possible? Sounds to me as if “as libertarian as possible” means “as libertarian as I can be without challenging my own authoritarian inclinations”. I’ll say no more about ‘personal politics’, for fear that it will prevent publication of this letter.

If only you’d applied similarly stringent criteria to your coverage of political violence! As it happens, I didn’t disagree entirely with the article on ‘The Economy of Political Violence’, but I was less

impressed by ‘Sniper’s’ sordid little piece on informers, and by your news section (the point of which you’ve yet to establish — you state only what you don’t intend by it), both of which reflect your peculiar obsession. Not wishing to be rash, I suggest nevertheless that shoot-outs and bombings play a relatively small part in the lives of most of your readers, and that you’re unlikely to change this in a hurry.

In the recent past, *Anarchy* has struck me as sloppy, foul-mouthed and inclined towards hysteria. Issue 35 was different — it was tight-lipped, mean calculatingly sensational, and appeared to be aimed at the orgasmically impotent.

DJC
(Birmingham)

teacher says

Anarchy:

In *Anarchy* 35 there is much defence of violent action, described as “resistance”, and a rejection of any criticism, even in other anarchist papers such as *Freedom*, with the comment: “Keep criticism constructive if you feel it necessary to criticise” (page three). At the same time there is a destructive criticism of non-violent action against nuclear weapons, beginning with the phrase, “Talking of collaborators...” and referring to “the ridiculous scenes of the pacifists at Greenham Common being dragged through the mud” (page 26).

Shouldn’t anarchist criticism of either violent or non-violent action always be constructive, and shouldn’t you set an example of the kind of criticism you want? Are non-violent activists any more collaborators than violent activists who copy the methods of the State and cause raids on all kinds of libertarian groups? Are scenes of committed pacifists being dragged through the mud any more ridiculous than those of committed anarchists trying to provoke futile confrontations with the authorities? In your “revolutionary struggle with the most libertarian character possible”, couldn’t you try to be consistent?

Nicolas Walter
88 Islington High St, London, N1

Anarchy Replies:

DJC — We are meant to be a journal of anarchist ideas and information of interest to Anarchists (not necessarily news just about Anarchists): hence our reporting of actions done by other groupings where they seem relevant. The *Sniper* column is a deliberately forthright commentary on matters which do not easily come within the bracket of being either ‘news’ or ‘features’. Some things need saying. If you comment on

a sordid subject (informers, for instance) you run the risk of sounding ‘sordid’ yourself. But unpleasant facts of life cannot always be dodged, even if you would prefer to be elsewhere “where all is possible...” The point about the use of “underworld terminology” is fair comment. Bad English, yes — but more a case of being sloppy than deliberately elitist.

In stating our aim as “not the struggle for anarchism as an abstract ideal but a revolutionary struggle with the most libertarian character possible”, we are drawing a clear line between ourselves and those in ‘the movement’ who would prefer to reminisce about the past or wax lyrical about a distant Utopia which they do nothing to bring any nearer. We recognise as comrades (whether they use the label ‘anarchist’ or not) anyone who by their activity helps to bring an anarchist society (surely that is the most libertarian one possible?) nearer. Without linking the ideal of personal liberation with the necessity of liberation for all, through a direct struggle against capitalism and imperialism, Anarchism sinks to the level of militant liberalism; and loses any justification for its existence as a sect, being of no practical use to anyone.

Nicolas Walter has “set an example” of being “consistent” over the past 20 years: by consistently denouncing as “violent” and “futile” anyone who dares challenge the “non-violent” myth in resisting the State, even to the point of attacking the Stoke Newington Eight defendants in the ‘Angry Brigade’ case (through the pages of *Freedom*) whilst they were actually standing trial. It is not the “violent activists” and “committed anarchists” who “cause raids” who we have got to watch out for, but the self-styled professors of Anarchism like Mr. Walter who turn the “non-violent action” of non-resistance (like sitting inert in country lay-byes) into a fetish and cause Anarchism to be diluted to the point of irrelevance; and in the name of non-sectarianism set themselves up as the most sectarian opponents of any move from bourgeois protest to social revolution. The day Mr. Walter starts to sing our praises is when we will really begin to worry!



“Compared with the wholesale violence of capital and government, political acts of violence are but a drop in the ocean.”



“The State is the altar of political freedom and, like the religious altar, it is maintained for the purpose of human sacrifice.”

EMMA GOLDMAN