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 paramilitaries 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, Felsenheim, 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 Darmstadt. Three days later, armed police arrested Kexel and Tillman at the Dorset home of well known fascist paramilitary Ian Souter Clarence. Odfried Hepp, also a guest at the Souter home, had been lucky enough to be out when the police made their raid, and is still on the run.

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 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 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 at 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 Hoffman brag about the December 1980 murders of Silvio Turini and Hoffman and his girlfriend Franziska Birkmann were subsequently convicted for the killings.

After his return to Germany, Hamburger was chosen by VSBD leader Buse 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 VSBD 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-guns, pistols, a rifle, pistols, smoke bombs, and tear gas cartridges. Busse himself, from whose home police had seized 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 VSBD 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 Buse and five other members of the VSBD began in Munich on 23 January this year, on charges of membership of a terrorist organisation, possession of arms and explosives, and attempted robbery. It is expected to last until September.

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

The English Connection

That Odfrid 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 Clature has long been associated with Column 88, and through his own Eidelee group, holds regular paramilitary 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 fascist 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 France, and there was a mass exodus from Italy of fascist activists running for cover.

Unreadably, Ian Souter Clature has remained tight-lipped about his involvement with Kexel, Tillman, and Hepp. The ease with which Hepp came into Britain makes it likely that Kexel, and perhaps Sordi, would be able to flee again without too much difficulty. In any case, the incessant friendship networks on which "the new Odessa" is based would assure him of a safe haven if he should choose to lie low for a while longer. Up until now, the British end of this international network has lagged behind in the "violence" stakes. The likes of Ian Souter Clature 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 Herrenalb 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 Gerhard (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 (Pilada 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 unashakably."

"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 postcard to the Bundestag, claiming 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 Auslandsvertreterbefreiung (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 9IL, Dorset.

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 neutralising 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 we 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 stringent excoriation 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 it's 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 complex technology, and the benefits which are derived from modernisation at the cost of the world's advanced technology, and nationalised industries deprive the privileged of a source of profit. Worse
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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 Kexel and Tillman can be traced out again without too much difficulty. In any case, the incessant friendship networks on which the 'new Odesa' is based would assure him of a safe haven, so long as he chooses to live low-key. 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.

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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 military-industrial complex. "Market forces" are no longer sufficient to ensure the development of complex 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 dependency 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 interned 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 coupled with greater integration of state and private
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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 overtly policing role. Out of 52 police forces in the UK, 24 now have Special Patrol Groups which combine the police's traditional policing role with that of the army. An additional 29 forces are involved in some form of collaboration with the army's Special Forces. Operation Corporate has been described as the militarization of the police, and its role in anti-riot operations now have Special Patrol Groups which combine both roles. Out of 42 police forces in the UK, 24 now have Special Patrol Groups which combine the police's traditional policing role with that of the army. An additional 29 forces are involved in some form of collaboration with the army's Special Forces. The 1980s, however, are an age of police-military co-operation, with a growing number of police forces developing their own riot control and anti-terrorist capabilities. Many police units are now permanently equipped for riot control, with others such as the Metropolitan Police and the Greater Manchester Police having their own specialist units. The police have also purchased plastic bullets and CS gas, and one force has even purchased a police helicopter for use in riot control operations.

The dynamic behind the emerging police role for the military has been the growth of a collaborative relationship between the two forces, a relationship that has been strengthened by the use of military technologies in police work. The police have been using military equipment, including surveillance and communication systems, to improve their ability to monitor and control crowds. The police have also been using military tactics, such as the use of tear gas and pepper spray, to control demonstrations and protests.

The police have also been using military technologies to monitor and control the activities of political and social groups. The police have used electronic monitoring devices, such as GPS tracking devices, to monitor the activities of political activists and protesters. The police have also used surveillance cameras, including those mounted on police helicopters, to monitor the activities of political groups and activists.

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capital.

The most disconcerting trend within the state structure is the militarization of the police, and its consequences — the drawing of the army into an overdue policing role. Out of 52 police forces in the UK, 24 now have Special Patrol Groups which combine traditional policing roles with paramilitary ones. Other specialist units have been formed, including Police Support Units, containing more than 11,000 specially trained personnel. The Atomic Energy Authority Constabulary, set up by Tony Benn and given draconian powers, 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. Computerized communications, command and control systems utilized by the police were first developed within a military framework.

The dynamic behind the emerging policing role for the military was outlined by a spokesperson for the Israeli Foreign Office that I think is not clear from this article. The idea behind such schemes being to accustom the public to the concept of a state of emergency, we should also attempt to create local networks of workers which cut across trade, factory and political boundaries. These groups might initially form themselves as examples of how to go about an 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 for new forms of direct action which would go beyond the framework of the unions, we should be made aware of just which powers 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 newsheets 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 be more radical, potentially taking on the more informal forms of direct industrial action, and attempting to challenge the social basis of production. One basis for this might be the failure of the alternative community plans — on the lines of the Lucas Aerospace plan, but involving whole communities rather than single factories or combines.
coloured by phone-tap information and informer's reports. It consists almost entirely of libellous untruths about a group of 'target individuals' – the 'ABC' (American, British, and Communist) – whose activities were allegedly directed by Philip Agee and Mark Hen- ball, and several of their acquaintances. In certain respects, the material clearly led MI5 to believe that very few of the 'target individuals' were directly involved in any overt activities. Amongst the suspects named were Philip Agee and Mark Henball, and several of their acquaintances. In certain respects, the material clearly led MI5 to believe that very few of the 'target individuals' were directly involved in any overt activities.

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Footnotes:
(1) Besides having served as advisor to the British Military Volunteer Force while stationed in Sarajevo as a UN peace-keeper to the Serbs, Biafra, and Southern Africa, former Tory MP. (2) R.D. Clague, 'The East West Dilemma: an anti-communist rag sold for free to all MPs,' and director of the Foreign Affairs Research Institute (FARI). From a small beginning in 1966, by 1968 FAIRI had established an interna- tional conference which received a message of goodwill from President Reagan. FAIRI acts as an umbrella group for the Coalition for Peace through Security (CPS), located in the office above FAIRI at 27-23 Whitehall, which has also housed Freed- om Communications International (yet another nihilist anti-communist set-up). The CPS is headed by Stewart-Smith, the director. Freedom Affairs Publishing Co. is a major publisher of right-wing books in England. The East West Institute/FAIRI maintains close links with the British, Dutch, and American Intelligence.

(2) Gerry Gable, 'Kelly's the KGB man...'; the Irving burglary case with Gable in 1963, Mann Carpel, was jilted for 2½ years in April 1961 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 defense lawyer, Leonard Krikel, claimed on Carpel's behalf that his client had helped the Special Branch in the past in the Midlands and Birmingham.


(4) Searchlight, No. 96, June 1983.
Gable wrote: "The arrest of Campbell/Berry and Asbury has caused a civil disturbance, but according to my top level security sources, they inform me in strict 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, has done four years detailed research into the whole structure of the British/French security services... It is this sort of information that is used by 'top-level security sources'." 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 improbable sources, one of which is Mr. Gable. In 1977, this input of data was so-called "Gable's information" and included information from genuine anti-fascists. In our research, we have used this information to add more authenticity to our work, providing evidence of infiltration, manipulation, and cover-ups that have not been adequately investigated by the media or other organizations. The information was passed on to us by a member of the British/French security services, who has been working with us since 1977. The information we received included reports of infiltration attempts by British/French security services into the Labour Party, International Socialists, and other left-wing groups during the Ladywood bye-election. Searchlight subsequently obtained a list of names associated with the Labour Party, including several prominent figures, which were then fed to Gable for further investigation. The information gathered included details of infiltration attempts by the Labour Party, International Socialists, and other left-wing groups during the Ladywood bye-election. Searchlight subsequently obtained a list of names associated with the Labour Party, including several prominent figures, which were then fed to Gable for further investigation.

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In the last few words of the memo, Gable wrote: "I have now given the names of people to be checked at the top level. The most important are Kelly and others, and also for further checks here." The feed-back never came of course, because the whole story was really just black propaganda.

Other Sources

Among the raw data gathered by Mr. Gable, there were documents related to the activities of the British/French security services. These documents included top-secret information, which was used to identify infiltration attempts by the Labour Party, International Socialists, and other left-wing groups during the Ladywood bye-election. Searchlight subsequently obtained a list of names associated with the Labour Party, including several prominent figures, which were then fed to Gable for further investigation.

Conclusion

The information gathered by Mr. Gable, along with other sources, has provided evidence of infiltration attempts by the Labour Party, International Socialists, and other left-wing groups during the Ladywood bye-election. Searchlight subsequently obtained a list of names associated with the Labour Party, including several prominent figures, which were then fed to Gable for further investigation.

Footnotes:

(1) Searchlight, No. 96, June 1983.

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


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

The Longest War — Northern Ireland and the IRA by Kevin Kelly. Zed Press. £6

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 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 British government collapse 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 disaster in that part of the UK. In addition, with the paranoia common to governments a newly liberated Ireland might even, fraternize 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 Ballymurphy 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 British state and loyalist ascendance 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.

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

Introduction by Sean MacBride

Simply told, and with an impact made by the fact that this 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 prisoners) raises deeper issues than just the routine matter of band-wagon jumping applicable to the working class in the UK. Thus, left. "All prisoners are political prisoners" we say — but clearly some can be more political (or politically) than others. Prison is an environment in which all values and allegiances become absolute. But the cliche of 'not sitting on the fence' can best be avoided by balancing knowledge of these 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 topical and legalistic, and it is a pity that no more one 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 exalted to the status of legend. This small record of his thoughts and struggles rescues the man.

Henry Black

Police racism are based on the racial enmity 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, giving 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 combating racism — I agree but I do not believe this book will help in either respect.

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

Iris Mills

The Vatican Connection.


The story of intrigue and villainy told in this book, which is based on true events, including the previous investigations of a New York police 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 arrest of a leading Vatican official, Paul Marcinkus, who was behind a commission to produce $100 million dollars worth of forged securities to be used as collateral for a loan to the Vatican Bank. The details of such an immense scale that its carrying through must be considered prodigious organisational achievement, especially having regard for the restrictions of secrecy that...
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 wanted or had forgotten, on topics like the founding of Sinn Fein or the Birmingham pub bombings.

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The story of intrigue and villainy.

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

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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 Scarran'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.

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The story of intrigue and villainy told in this book, which is based on detailed research carried out by 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 arrest and imprisonment of the Vatican official, Paul Marcinkus, who was behind a commission to prod-
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 one 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 the 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 point of view of the investigating detective. He pursued "his investigation in London no longer has a complete set of all the Electoral Registers in England and Wales."

Interspersed among the investigatory material, there are a number of sections dealing with such subjects as: "False Identities" and "Identification," 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 it's lackey's is, if anything, increasing, and de-information by the experts (for experts invariably use 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 proceed with charges against the Vatican, and specifically some of the administration was moving ever deeper into the swamp of Watergate. The Roman Catholic Church 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 it 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 £5.00 including postage])

Gerry Gable's admonishment to "... leave it to the experts" in Sexton'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 about how to investigate Individuals, Organisations, Companies, and State structures etc. with first hand comments on the problems involved. "As an introduction as to how online people can find and use information, and as a primer on the investigative techniques and methods 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 that 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).

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Speaking of Anarchy: anyone taking more than four copies for street-selling, etc., now gets a generous 40% discount. That means you keep 20p of each sale. Why not offer it to someone you know so that 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 the electoral Registers in England and Wales).

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"False Identities" and "infiltration", as well as advice on surveillance, (either 'by' or 'against' you) which could be extremely helpful to us at any stage. A chapter entitled "Anti-nazis - some points on Anarchist Organis-ation" (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 des-information by the experts who have vested interests and their interests are not ours - (See 'Sniper Column, this issue).

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Dear Anarchy,

I am very impressed. Many thanks for sending me a copy of Dear Comrades, sort of thing from time to time but it is better to slip it to him, rather than to have him sweet directed, 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.

In the block I was stripped naked and left in a bare cell with an open window between two stalwart warders, a spotlight shining in my face all day, and the walls of my cell were covered with excrement in the course of his work. Consequently they tend to belie what the police had taken a hand in it. Ugly fights blinding me I forgot what it was. No further punishment followed and I was released and carried back to my cell. On the last occasion I asked him what my case was all about. Seeming rather embarrassed he explained he had enjoyed talking to me, as had his colleagues. "However", he went on, "you are an idiot 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 Islwyn and Wales were the prison doctors. Extremes conservative, extreme eccentrics, as Old Lagg 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 anger or pity. Those who sent me unconstitutionally destroyed in the course of his career.

Insanity exists on a spectrum with obvious dementia at one end and unusual behaviour at the other. Rightly, it is the unusual behaviour end, which is curbed. I do not question the motive for being held in Anarchist States everywhere. Few people come into direct contact with mental illness and I am not in a position to believe what they are told by high-status professionals; the opportunities for social control should be obvious. Insanity is nowadays "as far as the States are concerned; the task of revolutionaries and anarchists is to do without it. It is an invention of the political system in order to legitimate the situation. In growing in our exhausted social systems nowadays is a secular form of the medieval heresy for whereas all refusals to allow supernumerary garbage to be disposed of. The loss of state sovereignty as a measure of social control were met with the accusations of diabolism. Few. The next morning I was held forcibly between two stalwart warders, a spotlight shining in my face all day, and the walls of my cell were covered with excrement in the course of his work.

This, however, is just a minor point. In all seriousness how can "Terrorism" change the face of revolutionary politics in Britain? It does 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, communism are all 'tools' which are just as 'legitimate' or illegitimate' as the other. Sometimesthe Nazis even attacked, for different reasons, the same targets. Sometimes the Nazis even use a 'Revolutionary' label.

What about the spectrum of politics? By my view totally irrelevant to the advanced capitalim which we in Britain are living. We must understand, or at least try to understand contemporary politics. Alternative political systems 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 end of the political spectrum, the extreme right-wing, the other, with our political and historical understanding, we must surely realise that 'Terrorism' tactics are doomed to fail. Here, now. We need to examine, to react to society with a more 'modernist' analysis, explanation. I do not question the motives of anarchists that adopt 'Terrorism' just, as I have said, their understanding of the situation the cat will always win. How, I ask you, does this change the consciousness of the British working class? I say it is not.

The media would in a short time to be able to turn any latent sympathy into a aggressive and alienated masses into a reaction favouring the strengthening of the system. They have always succeeded in getting people to believe that evidence that they will fall in the immediate future, is there? A 'home-grown' terrorist campaign would not create a situation whereby a political violence against the State, its System is based, among other things, on their one-dimensional idea.

If we accept the reality of resistance, terrorism must be prepared for all that it brings. Violence is intolerable. "We can only be upheld, whoever possible, but I do not see how it can in the future. Violence has never solved anything. In fact, it does more harm than good. A 'homemade' policy can 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 the text, 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 police". Breaking up a policeman who may not even realise what he is doing is stupid. Policemen are only people in uniform. Of course the uniform gives them power they should not have. "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 them. They are a genuine, spontaneous release of anger, organised acts of violence against the State, as planned 'executions' just cannot be accepted. The fact that it is not popular is irrelevant. The 2nd June Movement joined the Marxian-Leninist bloc, but they are more concerned with spreading revolution than remaining true to their principles.

The whole of your magazine seems to emit a mood of violence. One writer at least has a very strong reputation for being an expert in this field. It is true to their principles.

If Pigs could fly

Dear Anarchy,

I am writing concerning the attitude of your magazine to political violence, which I find very misguided andunderline.

"It we accept the reality of resistance, terror must be prepared for all that it brings. Violence is intolerable. We can only be upheld, whoever possible, but I do not see how it can in the future. Violence has never solved anything. In fact, it does more harm than good. A 'homemade' policy can only be used in immediate defence where there is no other alternative."
Dear Anarchy,

I am very impressed. '£5. One of my brothers likes to see this including, Albert's review. So I want to a second copy of this issue and then two AB I have just received issue No.35 of style Anarchy.

what aspects of prisoners' rights they are would find most constructive and useful Walton Gaol Liverpool- My case is coming to trial I went on hunger strike. After "ten days I was dragged into one of them- jumped a foot or so in the was nothing to sit on. Running forward The next morning I was held forcibly case coming to trial I went on hunger When I got my complaint before a and until I got my complaint before a Judge in no way would they pay out on a easillose the most dangerous men I met in I do not consider a halfway as far as the States are concerned; the direct contact with mental illness and consequently they tend to believewhat they are told by high-status professionals; opposites not only received a pension 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 moaned 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 content from one of them in astonishment: "Him? To the block?"

In the block I was stripped naked and left in a bare cell with light shining through which blew a chill April Breeze. An hour later two warders had never seen hurt open the cell door and rushed in. I was seated cross-legged since there was nowhere else to sit on. Running forward one of them jumped a foot or so in the air and landed on my left thigh. I was not afraid of the warders. I was able to believe what they told me. I was not afraid of the mental illness. I was afraid of the mentally ill...

Dear Anarchy,

I welcomed Jack McArdle's article. Reflections on the Economy of Political Violence. I am in agreement with the contents but because it may open a long-ovewhen the cat will attack. 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 organized opposition of the population to fall back on or to utilize. Even the RAF had a student-anarchist society base to emerge and operate from in its initial phase. No one else has been transformed by violence, nor can it be artificially created. There is no evidence to support the idea that increased state repression against 'terrorists' will galvanize the masses, alter their consciousness. It did not in Germany with the RAF, one can see how it can in the future.

There is an almost total lack of debate in the anarchist movement. Pacifism, syndicalism, uniform are in my view totally irrelevant to the advanced capitalism which we in Britain are entering. We must understand, at least try to understand contemporary capitalism and its ramifications in total. This is the main task of revolutionaries and anarchists today. How can we begin to 'treat' if we only have a blinkered understanding of this society and its crisis? As anarchists, with our political and historical understanding, we must surely realize that 'Terrorist' tactics are doomed to failure, here and now. We need to examine, to react to society with a more 'modernist' analysis. I do not question the motives of anarchists that adopt 'Terrorist' just, as I have said, their understanding is not correct. "Counter-revolutionary" just misguided. Anarchists should suggest that before we seek to change the world, we should have their legs broken. If this is a serious suggestion then you can sink no lower. The whole point of a 'revolutionary' action (property do 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 Horowitz article "Pigs could fly". I think this author should have his legs broken. If this is a serious suggestion then you can sink no lower. The whole point of a 'revolutionary' action (property do this with explosives is both expensive and irresponsible), but violence against another human being, except where absolutely necessary, is pointless.

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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 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 an 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 end just as libertarian as ours. Only common sense, the facts of life, human nature and so on, force them to restrict their libertarian 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 anarchists ones.

That is, of course, your confused 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 to 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 Economic 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 shootouts 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 organically impotent.

In stating our aim as "not the struggle for anarchism at 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 remain about the past or wax lyrical about a distant Utopia which they do not have reason need bring any nearer. We recognize 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 "underworld terminology" is fair comment: "Anarchist's sniping" into a fetish and cause Anarchists to be drugged through the mud (page 26).

Shouldn't anarchist criticisms 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 conflict 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, NI

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

EMMA GOLDMAN

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

impatient

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(Birmingham)

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 collaboration..." and referring to "the ridiculous scenes of the pacifists at Greenham Common being dragged through the mud" (page 26).

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