

BLACK FLAG

organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol. IV No. 12 December 1976 15p

A HAPPY NEW YEAR TO ALL OUR READERS -- PLEASE REMEMBER YOUR COMRADES BEHIND BARS!

(cover by Columba Longmore, Curragh Military Prison, Eire)



**THE UNIFORM MAY
BE DIFFERENT BUT
THE FACE IS
ALWAYS THE
SAME**

NEWS OF THE MURRAYS APPEAL: The Dublin Supreme Court sentenced Noel Murray to life imprisonment and ordered a re-trial for Marie, to be held in the same no jury Special Criminal Court, on the original charges of Capital Murder. Continued support and solidarity with the Murrays is vital. The London Murray Defence Group are holding a public meeting Friday 14 January (7pm), Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London WC1. We urge all to attend.

Black Flag Vol. IV No.12 Dec. '76
 Printed & Pub. by Black Flag Grp.,
 Subs. £3.00 per 12 issues (home)
 Canada, Australia, N. Zealand
 (air mail) £6.00 (U.S. \$13.00)
 Black Flag, Over The Water,
 Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL

CNT APPEAL

The National Committee of the CNT in Spain has issued a world-wide appeal to all comrades and sympathisers asking for contributions towards re-establishing the confederal newspaper "CNT." The C.P., Socialists, Social Democrats etc., all have enormous resources at their disposal for the publishing of their own papers and the myth-making which follows. The CNT however, has no government or "contributions" from sympathetic companies to fall back on. Its financial support rests entirely with those militants who are prepared to support it morally, physically and FINANCIALLY! At this crucial moment in time they need our help badly and it is up to us to ensure that we give them what we can -- and more!

Miguel Garcia writes: One of the Anarchist fighters in Spain who became legendary in his lifetime as organiser of the post-war guerrilla resistance in Pontevedra, has just died in Vigo (August). Jose Luis Quintas Figueroa was a member of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT from his youth. Early in 1936, some armed Falangist attacked the workers in Galicia; the anarchists were ready for them, and in the ensuing battle Luis Collazo, leader of the Galicia Falange, was killed and Quintas wounded. He was taken to hospital, from which he escaped on the 20th July to join the fighters in the civil war. In 1939 he continued the fight inside Spain.

Eventually Quintas was captured and charged with the murder of Collazo; condemned to death but commuted to 21 years which he served in the prison of Santana.

He was buried in the civil cemetery of Pereiro -- the coffin covered with a defiant flag of the CNT local and followed by relatives, friends and militants.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Paschal Grousset (1845-1909), member of the Paris Commune -- afterwards transported to New Caledonia -- escaped to England and, after the amnesty, returned to France as an Independent Socialist deputy. What newspaper did he edit from exile which transformed French life, traditional values and even physical condition?

2. When, in 1843, McNaghten killed Sir Robert Peel's secretary, it was alleged he

Provisional List of Libertarian Prisoners still in Spanish Jails.

In the Carcel Modelo of Barcelona are Emilio Barbera Guiu, Jorge Cananellas Ronsell, Fernando Melallino Serrano. Under the October Amnesty, Vicente Iglesias Romero has been released. In the prison of Granada are Jose Juan Martinez Ginez, Cristona Valenzuela Marcos.

In Alicante, remains Fernando Carballo Blanco, whose case is one of the worst, 25 years in prison and still 18 years to serve. he has surely suffered more than one can expect of anyone.

Cartagena: Jose Luis Pons Llovet is in Cartagena.

In the demonstration for the Murrays in Madrid on 2nd October, and in the protests against the economic measures of the government, on the 12th November, were arrested:--

Madrid: Alejandro Nicolas Novaguer, Valentin Antonio Gil Opez, Amadeo Sagar Ortea, (all detained over the CNT Murray demonstrations against the Irish Embassy.)

In Malaga: Francisco Tomas Lopez de las Huertas, Aurelio Palma, Francisco Jimenez Ruiz, and in Murcia, ten comrades, not yet named.

They urgently need support. A prisoners aid committee has been set up in Madrid with which the Anarchist Black Cross is in contact.

SOLIDARITY APPEAL

General Defense Committee (IWW), Local 4, in Agana, Guam, is asking for a steady flow of contributions that will go to the aid of our imprisoned comrades in the Philippines. Thousands languish in the "detention centres" of the Marcos dictatorship. Their crimes: opposing Marcos and his fascist "New Society." One need only read the daily new papers and weekly news magazines to know that the torture of class-war prisoners is practiced every day. Local 4 hopes to provide more concrete information in the future. But for now -- we need your help!

Make your cheques and money orders payable to "G.D.C., Local 4," and indicated that they are earmarked for aid to our Filipino fellow workers. Mail them to G.D.C., P.O. Box 864, Agana, Guam, 96910, USA.

intended to kill the Prime Minister himself. Though McNaghten was found to be not responsible for his actions, which political tendency was accused of incitement?

3. When Peel did die, who did Queen Victoria blame at the time at least?

4. During the revolution in Paris of 1848, the crowds saw "General" Chateaurenard in the Boulevard du Temple, and carried him off triumphantly to the Hotel de Ville, to make him governor of Paris. But he was not a

BACK IN THE USSR . . .

The inhuman treatment of thousands of people still continues. Vladimir Bukovsky (33) has now spent one third of his life in prison. Since 1972 he has been in Vladimir prison, noted for its severity, and has contracted a rheumatic heart, a liver complaint and an eye infection as a result of his treatment. He is kept on a minimum diet, despite the objections of the prison doctor, and is confined in an unventilated cell.

Dr. Semyon Gluzman (28) refused a post at a psychiatric hospital where dissident mathematician Leonoid Plyushch (now released) was detained. He wrote a critique of the official diagnosis, for which he was sentenced to 7 years. While in prison with Bukovsky, at camp VS 389/35 they wrote a Manual on Psychiatry for Dissidents, for which the authorities have threatened a new trial. Other dissidents suffering at the hands of Russian psychiatrists at present include Zinoviy Krasivsky and Anatole Ponomaryov.

According to Amnesty International there are 330 prisons and concentration camps in the USSR for political prisoners alone. Many of these are Ukrainians such as historian Valentyn Moroz, journalist Sviatoslav Karavansky, lawyer Lev Lukyanenko, artist Stefania Shabatura and poetess Iryna Stasiv Kalynets, all of whom are serving sentences ranging from eight to fourteen years. Contact:--

Committee for Defence of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the USSR, 49 Linden Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, London W2 4HG.

Campaign Against Psychiatric Abuses, c/o Dr. Lawrence Ratna, Napsbury Hospital, St. Albans, Herts.

HURRY HURRY! BOOK NOW!

The A.B.C. will be organizing the **British Premiere** of two films by the anarchist Pacific Street Film Collective: **Martin Sostre** and **Red Squad**. This is a unique opportunity to see two excellent anarchist films so if you wish either to see it in London or arrange to have it shown in your town let us know as soon as possible.

P.P. ZAHL Letters of support to:-- Rochusstr. 350, 5000 Köln 30, Germany.

military officer at all. What was he?

5. For the first time in the history of the Russian Empire, and never repeated since, on February 1st 1918 and for nearly a fortnight thereafter, there were no political prisoners, no State massacres, no deportations, no oppression, no State theft. True or false?

6. When it came down to it, which party in the USA did Karl Marx support?

(answers on page 15)

TERRORISM

From the bashing that "terrorism" gets in the press one would think it has superseded the nuclear war as the major danger facing the human race. The word has changed its meaning drastically but even in the current meaning, one would have thought it a lesser evil to war, especially on the levels it can reach these days. Yet journalists who are silent about napalm bombings in warfare can work themselves up, over drinks, to a fine display of written invective against "terrorist attacks" – which happen to involve fewer casualties than drunken driving. It is always the retail department of murder that is condemned, never the wholesale.

"Terrorism" was a charge first used against the Anarchists when it meant precisely the opposite of what it does today. (Like the term "petty bourgeois" when used by the Marxists!) Certain States used indiscriminate terror against their populations, or part of the population. Against the mass terrorism, anarchists – in Russia, Nihilists and Social Revolutionaries too (not the same thing, **despite** the ill-informed impression to the contrary) – used individual terrorism against specified individuals identified with that mass terrorism.

This infringed the "monopoly" which every State likes to take for itself – nobody considers there is anything untoward in a man or woman being executed for actual crimes committed, when it is done legally and in the course of State "justice" (except on grounds of compassion and even then they think there should be some alternative punishment). The attack by these individuals at the risk or sacrifice of their own lives, on murderers who happen to be in positions of State, and unreachable, some of whose crimes exceeded those of any possible illegal criminal, created horror in the press of the time. "Terrorism" as the word's now used is of a totally different nature.

National terrorists oppose one nation

to another. They consider their nation is at war with another nation. It is purely a matter of which side you're on as to whether the French Resistance is called "terrorist" (the Germans called it such, the Allies didn't). Precisely the same reasoning applies to the Irish or the Arabs. They are indiscriminate in their attacks because they are nationalist – as long as they "hit the enemy" it does not matter to them what their position in society is. They differ from national armies such as the British, German, Russian, American, only in status. The difference is not moral but legal. Their nations are not legally recognised. They are not legal armies. The point of law is sometimes obscure, but it is a lawyer's definition nevertheless.

Anarchist resistance has always been highly discriminate. But it is incredible that it gets the "bad name" by the press incredible, if it were not so obviously deliberate. The West German Government regards its greatest heroes as those generals who "saved Germany's name" by one attack on Hitler. They are posthumously granted legal status but they were at the time "terrorists." But they were vicious, repressive, in peace and war, and turned on Hitler because he was losing. The German anarchists made three attacks on Hitler, the Italian anarchists four or five on Mussolini, the Spanish anarchists one on Hitler and Franco together and numerous on Franco. That is why they are called "terrorists" and even anarchists don't say too much about these attempts because they feel it gives them a bad name!

The Spanish Anarchist movement a case history in the misapplication of the term "terrorism." Automatically all writers reach for the word as avidly as a pay packet. From the first it had to fight back against State terrorism which came down even against the barest notion of trade union organisation. They were therefore regarded as terrorists. Even under the Republic there was

a special armed police to fight the workers' organisation – and when the workers fought back it was "terrorism." But when the armed forces of the State rose up against the Republic itself, this was never regarded as terrorism (even by its enemies). For the first time, too, Spanish anarcho-syndicalism was not "terrorist!" – the struggle 1936-9 was "legal." But because it did not surrender in 1939, but carried on the struggle after legal recognition was withdrawn, it became "terrorist" once again. But not immediately. For six years it escaped internationally, though not at home, that definition. The rest of the world was at war and anti-Fascism in Spain was somehow respectable... not that it did it any good. Immediately after 1945, for carrying on the same struggle in the same fashion, it was labelled "terrorist" once more!

The mass murders by the State under General Franco after the civil war were never regarded by the world as "terrorist". Only people who made an effort to resist were that.

It is clear that the definition of a terrorist is, someone carrying on armed struggle without benefit of a recognised power, unless it is politically convenient to do otherwise.

Nobody can, from a libertarian standard, defend nationalistic attacks any more than war. By the same standard, it is a surrender to conformity as base as support of war, to join in the attacks on "anarchists" as "terrorists." The usual reason is the belief that police repression follows not only an actual Anarchist resistance, but on any "terrorism" of any nature, not by anarchists at all – because the press labels them as such. It is a false notion since it suggests that fascists and capitalists are incapable of making attacks on working people without just cause, that only "action" by the people provokes such attacks.

'Anarcho Patriots of Black Flag'

Us? Indeed, according to World Revolution (no. 8) published by a mysterious Uruguayan businessman who finances several publications in different languages, giving no real addresses, other than a post box and unknown to our contacts in Montevideo.

Do we wave the Union Jack, toast the Queen, call for measures to strengthen the economy? Do we even advocate nationalism? No, his beef is that we reproduced an article *attacking* nationalism, from Fifth Estate! The

way Fifth Estate published it, it seemed pretty good. But "World Revolution" says crossly it was originally written by them, and "important sections" were left out, which would have made it a different article altogether. Lenin *approved* of national struggles in some circumstances and they can show us his works to prove it.

Not having seen the original, we can't comment. But the "anarcho-patriots" is a curious reference; the writer, signing himself C.D. Ward,

condemns us as patriots because we support the Resistance against Franco. There should have been no resistance: trade unionism (which he thinks is identical with the CNT) is counter-revolutionary. "terrorism" is "petty bourgeois" (favourite Marxist cant) – imagine, in the present day sense, of the word chartered accountants, top civil servants, technologists, businessmen carrying out "terrorism!" (All members of "World Revolution" incidentally, come in this category).

(cont. over)

ROON'N'ABOUT

WORM IN THE WOOD

The film "The Messenger" has been re-titled to avoid offending Moslem susceptibilities lest the old camel driver himself be thought to be represented by an actor, though "Green Pastures" long since, though after a tussle, got away with God himself appearing in person. God however, like the Pope, has no battalions.

The interesting part about Mohammed (whatever the film may say) is his implacable hatred of idolatry. Why? At least, as Carlyle pointed out "there was a kind of lasting merit" in the idolator's worship, recognition of a beauty in nature. He did not really think the image his own hands had made was God; but only an emblem of what he thought was God, and the most vigorous Puritan had his Confession of Faith or his representation of divine things, or — we might add — his Koran, or indeed his State — for an idol. "All idolatry is comparative and the worst Idolatry only *more* idolatrous," he observed.

But by the time Mohammed came along people no longer believed in Idolatry; they kept it up without faith, without belief, because it was the correct thing to do. The worm had already got into the wood, and it was an abomination to anyone who thought freely. Luther was much the same as Mohammed — nobody in his day believed in the power of a printed piece of paper to revoke sins — he regarded the Indulgences which were bought and sold in his day as idolatrous and flung them in the fire. He got the sympathy of the people around his precisely because they had come to the conclusion it was all humbug too and had never previously dared not to openly conform.

Where there is no longer faith, and the forms are kept up persistently beyond measure, there will be an immense revolt. This is happening again in our times though no "great man" is available to be given the credit for it (academics have a stab: "it all started with the Beatles" . . . Marcuse, they murmur, Haight-Ashbury. . .) The immense edifice of humbug built up carefully over years is crumbling. Nobody believes in the established beliefs any longer yet they are still treated as sacred, both in Church and State.

PUNCH UP

The molars not having played up recently, there has been no occasion to visit the dentist — hence this column's belated notice of *Punch* for Sept. 3 1975 — devoted to "The Anarchists" as seen by the editor William Davis and contributor E.S. Turner. A gentlemanly piss-take in the refined style of "Punch" which actually

succeeds in being funny in parts:—

If we all live in a state of anarchy, shall we not be vulnerable to a take-over by Soviet Russia? Or even Uganda?

Not if we create such a state of affairs that nobody would want to take us over. Try to visualise Britain as one enormous pop festival which has run out of flea powder, or a loose confederation of bitchy communes, with absolutely no gold reserves.

Britain's real anarchists, says Punch, "meet in pubs and publish underground papers with titles like Black Flag, Freedom and Heatwave . . ." (Thanks for the plug, but "underground?" And at the risk of admitting ignorance, what's "Heatwave?") It even has some good points "today student protest has fizzled out (they are all too busy writing job applications) but parents have begun to show an unexpected taste for revolution." But how it does its best to present a false picture, but no one can be so lacking in a sense of humour as to say so, by bringing in the hippy flower people image, and "people like Paul Foot and Eric Heffer and Vanessa" as if they had something to do with it too, and lumping it as anarchy.

What is anarchy? Tell me that. As practised today anarchy is occupying somebody else's house, with a common law wife, a colour television set and a couple of Alsatian dogs, and drawing social security. Thousands are finding it a rewarding way of life.

(Note how he brackets the common law wife with the TV and the dogs).

I am sure Mr. Turner knows people from his social circles who live in the way caricatured here, but that doesn't happen to be anarchy nor the anarchists. Arabella Churchill in her luxury squat, or the society set in their 'communes' weekend hippying it, aren't even a caricature of anarchists, any more than Foot, Heffer and Vanessa. One doesn't mind a good piss-take of anarchism, but let it be of the real thing. Which he does in parts —

Would I have to string up bailiffs from lamp-posts? I am not very good at knots.

All anarchists are expected to have certain basic skills.

Good, though still not up to the old *Punch*'s best, this was the magazine that created the original stock caricature of the anarchist with the bullfighter's hat and Sandeman's Port cape, in which he hid the smoking bomb — but then, *Punch* isn't what it was, they say in the clubs . . . the Sandeman's figure idea was so effective it lives on in journalistic imagination (the public has advanced beyond it) as a serious factual description.

Anarcho Patriots (cont.)

There is some confusion in their minds as to the degree of support the post-war Resistance got from abroad. The answer: Nil.

The policy of "World Revolution" is Herman Gorten unconsciously crossed with Erich von *Danniken*. They are doing the usual middle class trick of picking up working class ideas and using them in an elitist fashion. Adopting wholesale chunks of "Workers Dreadnought" — a fighting anti-parliamentary communist paper in its day (but the group later, finding itself isolated, turned to whole hearted support of the Emperor of Ethiopia, the paper becoming "New Times & Ethiopia News") — they adopt the theories of Herman Gorten: Workers councils are the sole basis for organisation comprising the whole proletariat at the place of work — which of course happened at the time of the German Revolution of 1918, times of revolution elsewhere, but which does not allow for the struggle to proceed during the times of apathy.

Von *Danniken* is the man who believes that spacemen came to this planet to put intelligence into some beings and having done the job, somewhat inadequately, flew back. "World Revolution" rather fancies itself in this role, seeking to "intervene" in working class struggles with which it has no connection and no knowledge, but, instead of putting itself as the vanguard party like the other 57 varieties of trotskysm, regards itself as an intellectual vanguard that aims at disappearing when it has sparked "the workers" off. It cannot bear to admit that there are somewhat more revolutionary theories about.

Up to date on Conway Hall: At the widely-advertised (especially by opponents of fascism) meeting of the National Party on Friday 15th Oct and AGM of the National Front on Saturday — only sixty people turned up for the NP meeting (and thirty observers from the NCCL, Conway Hall, pigs etc) to the smell of amyl nitrate sprayed on the wall; some 400 turned up at the AGM of the Front while at least 400 police barricaded the Square against some 400 demonstrators.

Peter Cadogan — who has used his position as secretary to allow the use of the Hall for fascist demonstrations and won the right for these two meetings to go ahead by 8-7 on the Committee — then decided, because of an offensive NF racist poster at the foyer meeting, to prosecute under the Race Relations Act, and to ban them for 18 months (when they might change their views?) But his honeymoon with the NP is to go on, in the name of the 'non-violent Centre'.

UNDESIRABLE SCUM

During the visit of King Juan Carlos in Paris eleven comrades were taken from their homes and deported, without any accusation being made, to the island of Belle-Ile-en-Mer. All lost wages and some lost jobs as a result. The press stated they were 'Basques'; in fact, they were all libertarians and included Jose Morato, Octavio Alberola, Carlos Andreu, Alicia Mur, Gonzalvo Sanchis, Manuel Ortiz, Jose Ferrandiz, Jose Nunez, Juan Busquets, Jose Castro and Lucio Urtubia. M. Poniatowski, Minister of the Interior, in his concern for the royal ponce, did not mind detaining Sanchis, a veteran of the French Resistance as well as the Spanish, or Busquets — whom the Spanish Government has jailed for twenty years already.

The French police are fond of this indiscriminate type of round-up, used in slightly civilised countries only in time of war when "enemy" nationals are rounded up in great swoops like herds

of cattle in Texas. Whenever visiting Heads of State come to France — even though they're looked on as criminals by the average person, sometimes even regarded as criminals by the State itself though judgment is suspended for diplomatic reasons — the Minister of the Interior, suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he thinks that the world between the Rhine and the Pyrenees is his private domain, orders a mass arrest of "undesirables".

Excusing the mass arrests in conditions of appalling neglect, which followed the outbreak of World War II and was a feature of the "phoney war," one French journalist said it was "the scum of the earth" that had been interned. (Koestler has described what this "scum" consisted in his book of that name: it was the cream of European anti-fascism). In peace time however the deportations of "undesirables" from Paris whenever some mass murderer has turned up, have been

to Corsica. This has the merit of being a pleasant island, and if people lost jobs or homes, they at least had a free holiday. Now the Minister of the Interior has chosen a bleak island in the Atlantic. It is, after all, not a rest-cure but a punishment. But for what? For opposing tyranny? A crime in *his* eyes, no doubt, but the specific crime it was suggested they might commit they were not given the chance to do.

Will nothing cure the Minister of the Interior of this habit? We can suggest advertising the fact sufficiently. If Corsica or Brittany found themselves known to prospective tourists as the place where people are sent as a punishment, they would soon be putting pressure on Paris to stop a practice which exists nowhere else in the Common Market, and which, they may have noticed, is not practised in London even when all the crowned and top-hatted heads of State turn up to drive through the streets in open coaches.

POLAND

A Workers Defence Committee (WDC) which includes a number of prominent intellectuals has now been established in several Polish towns including Warsaw, Milanowek and Poznan. Although the only published contact addresses are those of intellectuals who are protected to some extent by their reputation (people such as writer Andrzejewski, economist Edward Lipinski and historian Jacek Kuron) many workers are directly involved.

The WDC has started publishing 'open' bulletins which detail the extent of government repression following the June strikes, describes the type of assistance given by the Committee, and appeals for further aid.

At present the WDC is in touch with 144 people who were involved in the disturbances at the Ursus agricultural machinery factory, and is providing regular assistance to 89 families, although its resources do not allow it to reach the hoped for level of 50% — 80% lost earnings. Rumours that 258 Ursus workers have been sacked are unconfirmed, but there are grounds to believe that the figure of dismissals could be as high as 1,000. Over 60 people involved in the Ursus disturbances have been sentenced to up to 3 months imprisonment and more are awaiting trial.

Of the 144 dismissals that the WDC has been able to confirm, only 14 people have been re-instated. So far more than 205,000 zlotys have been paid out to strikers and their families by the Committee, and legal costs

amounting to 134,000 zt. have yet to be paid (until 1st week October).

At Radom, scene of some of the worst riots, during which at least two people were killed while erecting barricades, 114 cases of reprisals have been discovered by the WDC, but only 53 families are in receipt of periodic aid and there is no regular contact with the rest. Of those 53 only one person claims not to have been beaten during police "enquiries."

Seven people have been sent to prison hospitals, and at least 75 people have been sentenced.

44 of the known cases have resulted in prison sentences of more than two years. These include:—

Zigmund Zabrowski — 10 years prison, 10 years loss of civil rights, after prison to be placed in a "Centre for social redemption" for an undetermined period.

Ryszard Gnidzien — 9 years prison, 7 years loss of civil rights, again to be placed in a "centre for social redemption"

Tadeusz Mitaz — 8 years prison.

Wojciech Mitak (aged 18) — 6 years prison.

Stanislaw Gosha — 5 years prison.

Henryk Bednarczyk — 4 years prison.

No-one knows what "centres for social redemption" are; this is the first time they have been heard of.

Reports indicate that a concentration camp for political prisoners has been constructed near Radom, although many of those arrested were transferred to Biatystock prison, 300 Km East of Radom.

Although the situation at Radom is worse than elsewhere, more people have been re-employed, although in different factories, or divisions within the factories and their earnings are reduced.

Security forces have attempted to wreck the work of the WDC both by issuing fake bulletins in its name and by intimidating people into refusing to co-operate with the WDC, as well as by harassing Committee members: these harassments have included the detention of Miroslav Chojeki, in Radom, without a warrant, subjecting him to an investigation lasting throughout the night. Raiding his Warsaw flat. Arresting and detaining people who have attended the trials of striking workers.

In Poznan, one WDC member was detained for organising an illegal collection and in Warsaw, Committee members have been abducted at night by police, who threatened to kill one person before leaving him in a wood some distance from the city, and threatening to have others dismissed from their work.

The Committee seeks support for its work and an end to the State's reprisals, and has appealed for assistance. The current situation is probably too "sensitive" to send financial help from abroad, but medical aids and articles of clothing should be O.K. These should be sent to:—

J. Andrzejewski,
Warsaw

Swierczewskiego 53 m.4.

and if possible sent by *recorded delivery*.

Meanwhile letters demanding the release of the imprisoned workers and an end to all reprisals can be sent to:—

The Consulate General of the Polish People's Republic,
19, Weymouth St., London W.1.
(01-580 4324).

To our knowledge defence committees have been set up in North America and in France. *Freedom* reported recently

THE CURSE OF SCOTLAND

In one of the more outlandish pieces of wartime propaganda Alice Duer Miller's poem 'The White Cliffs of Dover' made quite a sensation for its glowing praise of England written as if coming from a critical American. The comic *piece de resistance* — although it wasn't thought so then — was the part where she saw people queuing in the drizzling rain to pay their taxes which she thought was the sublimest manifestation of patriotism.

In reality however, nationalism doesn't take such forms. No Englishman enthuses over his wonderful civil service and how, under constitutional government, the trains run on time. No Scotsman regrets that he cannot be compelled to serve his prison sentence in Barlinnie rather than an effete open prison further south. No Welshman feels that he should fill up his tax forms in Cymric, but one can't be sarcastic, some intellectuals have gone so far as to do that, but one wonders if they intend to declare all their earnings if they can get away with it — even in Welsh.

Nationalism is a smokescreen put out by the State. Nobody can worship the State because it is an impersonal thing, a means of exploitation, a form of repression which may be greater or lesser, but it is always there; it is concentrated disciplinary force, no more to be loved than the public hangman. The public traditionally hated the latter so they were always provided with some form of emotional appeal to which they could respond. The British have flogged the Monarchy to death to do it whereas the Americans are content with a few yards of bunting and tickertape as a tribal ju-ju; but these things are only figureheads and the emotional charisma of the modern state — once the divine right, by conquest, was dead and damned — has been the national idea.

The belief in the State as a country, even as a person, is what has given Statism an emotion, which is expressed as nationalism. People will give their lives to the nation when they are notoriously reluctant to pay a few shillings in customs duties to the State, which is precisely the same thing. The aristocracy were always willing to risk their lives for 'the country' but engaged in tax swindles in case death duties cost their descendants too much.

After 1914 the imperial notion of patriotism was as stale as last week's beer. It had been pushed too far. Against the rising challenge of socialism, the fascists revived the idea of the glorification of nationalism — in Germany, a mystic idea bound up with race. This racialism of Germany's has come in for plenty of hammering, but since Stalinism and social-democracy have made the very

notion of socialism stink, the nationalist idea has revived. It has an alternative to class struggle. Whatever its form, it is reactionary not so much because of what it is as because it is a parasite around the State, a poison ivy that makes the prison walls of the barrack State look attractive.

In England, the disillusion with the Labour Party has given birth to one form of racialism which has made great strides in the National Front; in Scotland the Scottish National Party exploits the same feeling. It is noticeable the National Front does not make much headway in Wales or Scotland where there are credible nationalistic alternatives to such crude racialism as is peddled by the NF; but it comes to much the same thing.

However, the nationalists in Scotland and Wales are not necessarily totalitarian — any more than state socialism is necessarily so — it merely creates the atmosphere for totalitarianism if the State needs it by fostering a national identification which overrides class interests and feelings of liberty.

The press is quick to boost nationalist movements. Note how in Spain, the anarcho-sindicalist CNT is played down and ignored, though it has formed the bulk of the Resistance, but the actions of a few students, if nationalist, get immediate coverage. It is a sick joke among those who know anything of the Resistance in Spain to read in the Press for instance that Salvador Puig Antich, executed by *garrote-vil* two years ago, was a 'Catalan nationalist' simply because he was a Catalan. The separatist Catalans before the civil war formed a government not as reactionary as that which exists in Spain today, but enough to find itself in constant guerrilla warfare with the workers against whom it formed Assault Guards to suppress the CNT unions. Now, when journalists see banners in Catalan, they assume they are 'Catalan nationalists.'

The alternative to nationalism is not imperialism. Because one 'nation' rules another, one does not have to choose one or the other. No doubt the average Scottish football fan going down to Euston for a Wembley match resents English domination, but it isn't expressed by the dossers, English through and through, who he sees trying to catch a sleep between police harassments. There are as many 'Scots' south of the imaginary line that runs from Berwick on Tweed to the Solway Firth as north of it and no God-given right has conferred that section of it above to Winnie Ewing, or to Jim Callaghan to pass it over. The Canadian Cabinet, imagining it owns everything north of the 49th Parallel and south of Alaska, has seen it fit to prevent

me from entering, as did the German Government recently when I was invited to speak at an anti-Francoist rally recently. The hero of B. Traven's book *The Death Ship*, puts the question and answers it most succinctly:

"Why passports? Why immigration restrictions? Why not let human beings go where they wish to go. North Pole or South Pole, Russia or Turkey, the States or Bolivia? Human beings must be kept under control. They cannot. They cannot fly like insects around the world into which they were born without being asked. Human beings must be brought under control, under passports, under finger-printing regulations. For what reason? Only to show the omnipotence of the State and of the holy servant of the State, the bureaucrat. Bureaucracy has come to stay. It has been the great and almighty ruler of the world. It has come to stay to whip human beings into discipline and make them numbers within the State. With foot-printing of babies it has begun; the next stage will be the branding of registration numbers upon the back, properly filed, so that no mistake can be made as to the true nationality of the insect. A wall has made China what she is today. The walls all nations have built up since the war for democracy will have the same effect. Expanding markets and making large profits are a religion. It is the oldest religion perhaps, for it has the best trained priests and it has the most beautiful churches; yes, sir." (*The Death Ship*, Panther Books, first published in Germany 1926.)

The alternative is federalism. A useful word, which can easily be lifted — as has been the clear expression Workers Control to adapt to something which it doesn't mean. But what I mean by federalism is the unification of communities independent of the State, as opposed to the unification of peoples within in. Here in the Orkney Islands we have no more to be gained by rule from Edinburgh as from London, or Strasbourg, Paris, New York or Wick. You might as well allow the Danes to redeem their pledge and give us back on a lapsed pawnbroker's ticket. People, places and communities were in the past swapped around as wedding gifts by rulers, taken or forgotten, only the acceptance of rule and oppression has determined the tradition of keeping them where they are.

In the federal idea every community that naturally formed an independent community would be self-governing; each community would be like the free cities of the Middle Ages, they would be no bigger than was necessary for each of them to be able to enable all in them to participate in their running.

STOKE NEWINGTON 5



Hilary Creek (left) and Anna Mendelson (right) were sentenced with James Greenfield and John Barker in 1972; Jake Prescott had already been sentenced. They got ten years imprisonment for alleged participation in the activities of the Angry Brigade. They are still in jail. But all are persons of good character, and incidentally were recommended to leniency by the jury. Had they not been political prisoners they would certainly be on parole by now. But the Home Office flatly denies that there is any such thing as a political prisoner in Britain. It wants to have it both ways. It denies the category if there is the question of special privilege, which incidentally is wanted by no political prisoner (except Irish republicans and loyalists, who claim the status for obvious national reasons). But it refuses to move people off the "high security" classification for political considerations, and

parole for these five has been ruled out year after year both because they are on the high security classification and because of possible repercussions from morons like ex-MP Harold Soref, or backwoodmen of the type still gracing the benches of the Commons.

Jake Prescott (he has been in the longest), has never ceased to struggle for what he believes, even in jail. During the recent roof top riot in Hull prison, which was sparked off by a prisoner being beaten up by four warders, a photograph (shown here) of demonstrating prisoners on the roof of Hull jail shows Prescott standing third from left.

Recent "revelations" that a large number of prison officers support the National Front seem to have shocked the liberal-minded. Who do they suppose would have the mentality to become a prison officer in the first place?



POLAND (Cont.).

that members of the French Anarchist Federation and the Spanish CNT organised a demonstration outside the Polish Embassy in Paris in conjunction with other organisations including the Ligue Ouvriere Revolutionaire de France et de Pologne. Further information regarding the sending of financial help to the WDC and about ways of increasing the pressure on the Polish authorities will appear in Black Flag soon.

STOP PRESS!!

We have just received news that Anna Mendelson has been released from prison. We hope to have more news in our next issue.

THE CURSE OF SCOTLAND (Cont.)

Their co-ordination would not depend on ancient treaties or national affinities or the nearest powerful neighbour they would unite, internationally not nation by nation, but directly to whatever international combination appealed to them.

There is no reason why a majority of votes obtained on a dubious commitment should bind people who detest the policies involved. The coercion of the minority by a majority solely obtained through parliamentary chicanery is seen at its worst and most insoluble in Ireland where nobody can devise a system but federalism where there won't be a disaffected minority somewhere — it is only a question of which.

The breaking up of Europe into regional communities loosely federated may seem utopian in view of the power of the States involved. But this is to worship power. In fact, if such regions arise they can sap away at the pillars of power much as the national idea is doing, but with far greater potency.

What is the basis of a region as opposed to a nation? Self-interest; self-sufficiency, the clear possibility of workers' control; the sense of community; the possibility of circumventing rule from above. There is no real need to bring race or colour or nation into it. One can preserve the folk traditions and progress, one can *only* preserve folk-traditions and progress when one is not subordinated to a national centre. If, however the S.N.P., has its way, the fostering of reactionary and backward looking attitudes will soon prove to be a more effective Curse of Scotland than any playing card ever was.

Stuart Christie

MURRAYS: POLICE STEAL FUNDS

On the 28th day of the trial of Noel and Marie Murray, the judge sent for them in the cells. He asked them if they wanted to say anything, pointing out that they could give evidence, call witnesses, make a statement under oath, or address the court. The following dialogue is taken from the court transcripts (June 8, 1976)

Noel Murray: "I feel that since these proceedings started over six months ago, no attempt has been made at any stage to give us a fair trial. For the first three weeks we sat here listening while Mr. Stenson's counsel was verbally abused by Mr. (inaudible) and while you three people bent and twisted all your own rules in order to suit the prosecution. You did not attempt at any time even to give the appearance of a fair trial. When Mr. Stenson's case was adjourned you should have given us a new trial as evidence in regard to Mr. Stenson's case was prejudicial to us. You refused to give us that new trial and since then we have refused to take any part in defending ourselves on these proceedings. Now, I don't propose to put forward any witnesses but there are a few points which I would like to make in relation to some of the evidence, or so-called evidence, that the prosecution Counsel have put forward here now.

How, in this case you have accepted two statements, one of them made by my wife under duress and one of them alleged to have been made by me but in fact made by two police officers, Inspector Ryan and Detective Guard Finn. At no time did I acknowledge this statement as my own. The prosecution have said that or attempted to show that a large sum of money found in a suitcase in my home was stolen money. They have failed to prove that it was stolen. It was not stolen. This money in fact is part of the funds of the anarchist movement. It was donated by different individuals and groups principally for the relief of prisoners. It was to be distributed through our relief organisation, the Anarchist Black Cross. Now, I intend to claim back every penny of this money. It's not stolen money and I want it back for the Anarchist Black Cross.

Now the prosecution have also attempted to prove that a .455 calibre pistol found in my home was the weapon with which Guard Reynolds was killed. Again, they have failed to do this. It was not the weapon. According to the evidence in fact Guard Reynolds was shot by a .45 calibre, not a .455 calibre. The bullet removed from Guard Reynolds body could not be identified as having

come from the gun in my home. The spent cartridge cases found in St. Anne's Park differed very considerably from a spent cartridge — or from the live cartridge found in my home. The State Analyst in his evidence tried to say that the differences here were only minimal but in fact they are very large differences. He has also said that he considers that these cartridges found in my house and the spent cases found in St. Anne's Park could have come from the same batch. He did not tell you how many of these shells would be in one batch. Also the State Analyst has taken certain items found at my home in Grangemore Estate and instead of making an objective analysis of these he has, by his own admission, taken them and endeavoured to establish a connection between those articles found at my home and articles found in St. Anne's Park and articles found in Dunlaoghaire. I put it to you that if he had tried to establish a connection between these articles found in my home and articles found several miles away and make this he could have established a connection there also.

Now, the prosecution, as I have said before, have tried to establish that money found in the house was stolen. I think it has been proved fairly conclusively here that there is no way in which any of the money which the Bank clerks identified here could be identified as having been stolen or even as coming from the Bank at any time close to the time of the bank robbery. It could have come up to a year beforehand. It could have come after the robbery.

Now throughout these proceedings the police officers — many of the police officers have given evidence under oath which was completely fabricated, completely false. I did not attempt to call witnesses to refute their evidence. I could not have done so under any circumstances because when you are being held and interrogated in a police station with possibly several dozen police officers present it's not possible to have anybody there to observe what's going on. If I called one hundred witnesses here to give evidence, none of them could refute what any of these police officers have said in the absence of independent witnesses and these police officers have committed perjury. They're not going to change their evidence under any circumstances. They're not going to risk imprisonment by telling the truth.

Now, you have not attempted to facilitate us at all. You would not facilitate me by allowing me to change

even one word in the oath. You would not allow me to substitute the word "tribunal" for the word "court" and I pointed out to you that I considered these proceedings not to be a trial and I don't consider this to be a Court. When I don't consider it to be a Court I could not conscientiously call it a Court while taking the oath. I was prepared to swear that everything I had said in relation to the statement and comments alleged to have been made by me and that everything I said in relation to these things was true. You would not allow me to swear to this. I don't consider that I have had a fair trial and therefore I don't propose to call any evidence whatsoever. In my defence, if I am given a fair trial at any stage, I will put forward evidence and I will have questions for all witnesses.

Judge: Does that conclude all you want to say? Mrs. Murray what's your attitude to the alternatives which are put before you?

Marie Murray: I don't consider this to be a Court. I don't think I am getting a trial. There's quite a lot I could say in my own defence if I were convinced I was getting a trial. If I ever do get a trial I shall be prepared to give evidence under oath. I shall have witnesses to call. I shall have most witnesses cross-examined.

As things stand, my position — well, I have already summarised my defence on the 28 April by pleading not guilty to the charges but I think since the prosecution have produced so much evidence I think it's proper that I should comment on this evidence which has been made public. Now, all the evidence put forward by the prosecution is circumstantial evidence. The case against us rests on the interpretation of this evidence. Several witnesses have been called — the staff in St. Anne's Park on the 11th. None of these people have given descriptions which fit us. None of these people have identified either of us as having been in the Bank of Ireland in Killester or in St. Anne's Park on the 11th September. The death of Guard Reynolds was not witnessed by anyone. Now all the other circumstantial evidence put forward — the gun found in our home can not be identified as the gun used to shoot Guard Reynolds; the bullet taken from Guard Reynolds; the spent cartridge case, as Noel has said, they cannot be said definitely to have come from the weapon in our home, which is natural enough because they didn't come from the weapon found in our home. As for certain other items, the odds and ends that the State Analyst

established these connections between the house in Grangemore, St. Anne's Park and so on as he said himself he examined these not with the objectivity of a scientist but with a view to establishing connections. Most of these items are common — they are mass produced items. There are certainly explanations for these items. There is an explanation for everything that has been produced in evidence, but since I am not getting a trial I don't think it's the business of this tribunal what my defence is. I don't propose to explain anything here.

Now, the only thing — or the only things in fact which of all the evidence put forward by the prosecution all that connects us to the Bank raid in Killester, the death of Guard Reynolds, are our own statements. Now, I still contend that these statements should not have been admitted because they were taken under duress, in my case mental, in Noel's case physical. But they were admitted. But the circumstances of these statements — the circumstances they were taken in cast grave doubts on the credibility of these statements — like Noel's. Noel was in custody for between eighteen and nineteen hours — or should I say before he was alleged to have made a statement. He had spoken to me several hours before. It was common knowledge in Harcourt Terrace Station what was contained in my statement. Nothing could be easier than to write out a statement embodying in broad details what was contained in mine and this, I am convinced is what happened.



(Marie Murray)

Neither would it proper to let this carry on go on without drawing — once again, drawing attention to the conduct of the Garda Siochana throughout the time we were held in custody in Garda stations. The fact that everything they said has been believed by you three gentlemen on the bench, believed without question, well, it's no wonder they carry on as they do because they know right well they shall get away with it. Now it's common knowledge to any

reasonable, intelligent person with eyes in their head that all these allegations of brutality etc in police stations — there's some foundation to them. Yet time and time again in this building before this tribunal and in other proper courts the Gardai are cleared of allegations of brutality. Mr. Pringle has said we have made very serious allegations against the Guards. Well, they're making bloody serious allegations against us. The only difference is what we say is in fact true. Now, quite a number of these Gardai, they don't even have basic manners. Just briefly



(Noel Murray)

to run through what happened on the 11th September. We went into our home. We were removed at gun point. I am quite convinced some of those men should not have a gun in their hand. One man with a sub-machine gun was trembling. He should not be trusted with such a weapon. All through the day putting pressure on us — in my case

what they would do to Noel if I didn't make a statement. I made a statement which is untrue. I suppose I laid it on a bit thick, over-dramatising and so on but I wanted to be believed that day for Noel's sake. Noel was beaten up. Ronan Stenson was beaten up. In Harcourt Terrace — I was brought there to see Noel about six o'clock. Why was I kept there until after 2.00? Because they were determined to find out the name of the fourth person involved. I did not name him. And

the fact, if I named people it would be further evidence that I was involved in the bank raid. In Harcourt Terrace, they still — they kept questioning me. Inspector Ryan and other Guards who haven't been called as witnesses. They named several people to me — friends, acquaintances, relatives. They suggested, Inspector Ryan in particular, that the reason I would not give them the name was because I was having a relationship with this person who was obviously more important to me than my husband. But it did not end with that. They called me a whore. They also



said if I didn't give them this name they would bring us this point in Court, that in fact Noel was not involved, that I was protecting someone else. All this carry on, personal insults and so on. Not a word of this has come forward. They deny it and they will deny it, as Noel says, so long as they know they will get away with it. They will deny it and they're getting away with it. In general it's absolutely scandalous the way the Guards do carry on. This point of consulting their notes which were made at the time — could a man drive a car and take notes, for example? During the time I was held, on one occasion only was any writing done in my presence. That was the statement that has been produced. They have all said they made notes at the time. This is a lie. In fact I believe from the statements that I have read in the book that a conference was held. A number of Gardai got round a table and made out their contemptuous notes, probably a couple of days after.

Now, Inspector Finlay also was involved. Well, I think he has given his evidence very well. I would say he deserves to be nominated for an Academy award on the way he has given his evidence. He also issued threats, one in particular on the morning of the 9th in the Bridewell. He wanted me to make a statement on another or other bank robberies. I declined to do so. He told me that if I made a statement on this matter he could see that a capital murder charge would not be brought against Noel. He could see to it that we would not appear before the Special Criminal Court that day. I still refused to make a statement. He said,

(continued on p. 10)

P.P. ZAHL

P.P. Zahl was born in 1944 in the small university town of Freiburg in Breisgau. Anarchist printer, author and poet, he was found guilty of printing a poster with the inscription "Freedom For All Political Prisoners" during the period in 1971 when the witch-hunt against the Red Army Fraction, the Socialist Patients Collective (Heidelberg), and other "criminal anarchists" was reaching its peak. The court imposed a fine of several hundred marks, but the State Attorney objected to this, and in a second appeal obtained a sentence of six months imprisonment.

Even before this P.P. Zahl had become nervous and angry at the constant and often quite obvious police watch kept on him, and his wife had to seek treatment at a clinic for nervous complaints. Zahl then decided to evade his prison sentence, partly because he wanted to see his children occasionally, and partly because he felt the sentence was unjust.

In 1972, after a period underground, he was discovered by the police, defended himself and tried to escape. In the process he was badly injured; his left arm was badly shot and a bullet passed straight through his right arm. As he tried to get away he fired a number of warning shots into the ground between himself and

the police, who continued to fire at him. But one policeman, who dashed forward unexpectedly, was wounded by a shot. Zahl was arrested and, after two years solitary confinement, brought before the court. He was accused of attempted murder — a charge which was rejected by the six jurors, on the grounds that he had ample opportunity to shoot at the police from where he was hidden but had chosen to fire warning shots into the ground, and only as a last resort. Chief Attorney Fritz Bauer had already commented on this charge in 1967: "If someone is hit with a truncheon by a policeman, disarms the officer and hits back, then they should be prepared for a charge of attempted murder." Although the charge of attempted murder was rejected, Zahl was found guilty of violently resisting judicial authority and injuring a policeman, and was sentenced to four years imprisonment on 24 May 1974. The period of detention before the trial, 1972-1974 was to be included; and so he should have been released in 1976 at the latest.

Shortly after his sentence, he was visited by a member of the secret police, (Verfassungsschutz) who brought him cigarettes, stating that everyone knew that Herr Zahl was not, of course, a terrorist, and it was obvious from his writings. If he showed a little under-

standing for the fact that the "Verfassungsschutz" was also against violence, then he could receive an immediate reduction in the sentence, on medical grounds — the injured arm — which otherwise would not be forthcoming. Zahl thanked him for the cigarette, but refused the offer, saying that it was against his principles to work for either a Western or an Eastern secret police. Thereupon it was put to him that he should consider the offer carefully — or perhaps he would never come out of jail at all.

Zahl did not change his mind. In 1976 he was brought before the court again. The Federal Attorney had protested against the dismissal of the charge of attempted murder, and — without new evidence or enquiry — a second trial was undertaken for the same crime.

In the meantime the law in West Germany had changed to the disadvantage of the accused: instead of six jurors there were not only two, who could be overruled (outvoted) by the three judges. Zahl was found guilty of attempted murder, not as the original accusation had stated, of ONE policeman, but now of TWO. On 12th March 1976 the judge proclaimed that he could sentence Zahl to a period between 7 and 15 years imprisonment and continued, "the full limits of the law must be exhausted in this case, as Zahl is an enemy of the State and it is necessary to provide a special deterrent." **THIS SENTENCE HAS NOW BEEN CONFIRMED BY THE COURT OF APPEAL.**

THE MURRAYS

as I believe he also said to Noel, that he could spread the word in any prison in the country that Noel in particular, or me, was an informer — had, as he said, squealed, and that in any prison in the country Noel could be dead within a week. Again this has all been denied. But I know because I was there. I have no reason to tell lies. All in all the conduct of the Gardai is nothing short of torture. They are quite skillful in the techniques they use. In some cases they seem to feel that physical assault will break people, will persuade people to make statements, other cases they try the psychological approach. But whatever they do their methods are just as effective as any medieval torturers' use of the rack and I should say that this unholy inquisition in this building is the fit culmination of their efforts.

While I was questioning the admissibility of my statement on the grounds that it was not voluntary I mentioned that all the evidence had not been

produced. I say this again. I don't expect it to be produced here because it's in the hands of the Gardai. They will not even play straight with the State prosecutors but there is still missing the written statement of Ronan Stenson. All the witnesses haven't been called. By that I mean Gardai who were involved in questioning. If that's the correct term for all the insulting that went on in Harcourt Terrace. All these people haven't been called. Again, I don't expect them to be because they don't admit being there. So all the evidence has not been produced or has not been given to the prosecution.

Now, I can only say, I agree with Noel, the whole conduct of this trial has been unfair — has been prejudicial. It is not a fair trial. It is not a trial. This is not a Court. We don't expect to get justice. The laws involved — they're not our laws — they're the laws of the state — now, if the servants of the state cannot keep their own laws we cannot expect fair play or justice.

Judge: Is that all you want to say, Mrs. Murray?

Marie: Yes.

Judge: Now will you kindly tell me whether you want to stay in court while the Counsel for the prosecution is

summing up the case, after which you will be given an opportunity to say anything more that you wish to say. Do you want to stay in Court or do you want to be taken down? Are you prepared to be quiet in Court while Mr. Macdonald is addressing the Court Marie: If this was a Court, I would stay. This is not a Court. There is no point in us staying.

Judge: What do you say Mr. Murray?

Noel: I don't consider this to be a Court. I do not want to stay.

Judge: Very well you can both be taken down."

We did not have prior cognizance of the fact that the case against Noel and Marie rested on such flimsy evidence. In the fight for a re-trial, it is of vital importance that all comrades in Ireland who contributed to the Anarchist Black Cross via Noel contact us. This money donated for the relief of prisoners has been stolen by the Irish Government. There is, needless to say, not much hope of recovering it. But we propose to initiate civil action in the courts in an attempt to do so, in order that this may lead to a re-trial of the criminal case.

Albert Meltzer,
for the Anarchist Black Cross.

PRESUMPTION OF GUILT

On Monday, March 20, 1972, four men received a total of eighty-one years imprisonment. They had been found guilty at the High Court in Glasgow of a series of armed bank robberies and other offences. It was no wonder that some women jurors wept and the court gallery seemed stunned. Only one of the four had any criminal record yet they were receiving sentences much stiffer than that handed out to murderers and hardened criminals. Two years before Howard Wilson had shot dead two policemen and severely wounded another, sentence twenty-five years. William McPherson, Ian Doran and Mathew Lygate received respectively 26, 25 and 24 year sentences. No one had been shot or killed, no one even seriously injured. One may well ask why Lord Dunpark was so intent in stamping out what he termed, "A frightening pattern of criminal conduct."

There were many aspects of the case which remain strange and contradictory, the men might never have been caught had it not been for an anonymous tip-off, the identification of Mathew Lygate was extremely suspect as they had been masked and were picked out "merely by their stature." Indeed one key witness claimed he picked out Lygate, yet claimed he had not seen him before although they both had flats in the same tenement at 271 Albert Drive. The same witness was in great financial difficulty before the trial yet was doing very well in business and property shortly after it. Lawson found guilty on only one of the bank raids was picked out by an elderly witness who could not tell whether he had a gun or a stick outside the bank and yet could identify him although masked from over a hundred yards away.

When following the anonymous tip-off the police had raided the bookshop in Paisley Road, they found guns and money but both Lygate and Lawson denied taking part in the robberies. For political reasons they supported bank robberies as part of the urban guerrilla activity of the 'class-war'. Although masks had been found in the flat shared by Lygate and Lawson in Albert Drive, Lygate claimed they had been planted.

Other features of the case seemed equally disquieting; Stephen Niven, a twenty-one year old male model, had joined the Workers' Party of Scotland and then some nine months before the robberies had informed Chief-Inspector Robert Claney, head of the Edinburgh C.I.D., that the Party were thinking of "knocking off banks." Nothing was done at the time and there was much criticism after the trial about the lack

of rapport between the Edinburgh and Glasgow Police. Later developments lend a different interpretation. Nine months later Alexander Watt, a former student and secretary of the Dundee branch of the W.P.S., gave himself up to the police as having taken part in one of the bank raids, the one belonging to the Savings Bank of Scotland at Paisley Road West. Although Watt admitted presenting a sawn-off shotgun at seven of the employees, he was given a sentence of months rather than years. Claiming to have taken a religious kick Watt surrendered himself voluntarily although there was nothing to link him with the crime. One may well ask was Niven and/or Watt agent provocateurs and if indeed guilty, were Lygate and Lawson led into their crimes?

Another puzzling aspect has been the conduct of the founder and spokesman for the Workers' Party of Scotland, Mr. Tom Murray. An ex-CP member, Murray built up a Marxist/Leninist Party on Maoist lines. It was supposed to be based on the ideas of John MacLean, revolutionary of the Red-Clydsdale era and was described as being "more communist than the Communist Party and more nationalist than the S.N.P." More importantly it was a vanguard party set up at providing the necessary leadership for a working class revolution. It was a small party of never more than about thirty members with about half a dozen activists. It was highly structured and disciplined. Control was exercised from the top downwards. Murray was the theoretician, Mathew Lygate his most promising disciple. From his early days Mathew Lygate progressed a lot, became more knowledgeable about politics, stood as a Parliamentary candidate, visited revolutionary conferences and became chairman of the W.P.S. Murray remained in the background, he made the decisions but other people carried them out. It was impossible for any important decisions to be made without his consenting to it or at least being aware of it. Lygate resigned from the party before the verdict and afterwards the party through Murray, repudiated his course of activity. Since the trial the W.P.S. and Tom Murray have done nothing for Mathew Lygate.

More than four years have passed. Colin Lawson has been released. Mathew Lygate moved from Perth to Peterhead is working as a tailor and painting portraits. He has done several terms in solitary and his spirit remains unbroken. As he shouted defiantly at his trial, "Long Live the

Working Class Revolution." Jail cannot break Mathew Lygate. Let us consider his case.

Lygate's sentence was as severe as it was because of its political implications. There are no "political crimes" in Great Britain but there seem to be political sentences! Mathew Lygate during the last days of his trial dismissed his counsel, not because of their lack of competence but because they had deliberately played down the political aspects of the trial. Lygate was determined that if he was to be sent down, which indeed seemed inevitable, that he would use the dock as a political platform. He justified the robbing of banks because they were agencies of class exploitation and oppression, he justified bank robberies as a form of violence that aimed at reversing the greater form of violence practised by the state against the working class and leading to bad housing conditions, ill health and unemployment. He mentioned unemployment as resulting in men being forced into the army and being forced into violence against the people of Northern Ireland. These arguments Lord Dunpark only understood dimly but it was enough for him to grasp that Matt stood for the reversal of the society that Lord Dunpark represented. Matt indeed echoed the words of his mentor, John Maclean, who in a similar situation had said "I stand here not as the accused but the accuser of Capitalism dripping red with blood." Matt had put it that the time would come when it would not be himself that would be in the dock but the class now passing sentence, represented by Lord Dunpark. "The roles of this court will be reversed, when the workers will sit on the bench and those people who have judged me now will be judged."

Lord Dunpark replied, "I don't look forward to those days with any longing." Indeed it would be a strange class attitude to adopt if he did.

Reading accounts of the trial leaves one in little doubt that had Matt played by the accepted rules of the crime game he would not have for the sentence he did. Had he abjectly accepted "it was a fair cop" and pleaded contrition then he might have done as well as Watt.

But he dismissed his counsel, claimed the charges were a frame-up and attacked the very foundations of bourgeois society the banks, the police force and the courts of justice. As a brave man he is paying the penalty, shut up like an animal in a cell and subjected to solitary.

If one believes him guilty some might not condone his course of action but might still think he got rather a raw deal.

(cont. back page)

SOVIETISATION

SOVIETISATION —

The imposition on foreign countries of communist party regimes through the direct or indirect intervention of the USSR. In the Hitler-Stalin period of 1939-41, the method was direct conquest by the Red Army, rapidly followed by extermination or deportation to Siberia of all opposition, real or imagined, including the local communist parties. This occurred in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Karelian Finland, the Bukovina, Bessarabia of Rumania, and eastern Poland. In the endphase and aftermath of World War II, satellite communist regimes were established in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and in North Korea. Despite slight local variations, the pattern of Sovietisation in all the Eastern European countries was remarkably similar.

After the arrival of the Red Army, accompanied by native communists who had been trained in the USSR (known as the 'Muscovites'), the first step everywhere was the establishment of broad coalition governments of various left-wing and centre parties, in which the communists rarely predominated. Invariably, however, the communists immediately took control of the Ministry of the Interior, the Security Police, the Army General Staff and the publicity machine. During the second stage, the coalition parties, with a mass following (generally peasant parties), were driven into opposition by active persecution and replaced by parties under covert communist control. This stage ended with the arrest and execution or flight of popular non-communist leaders. The third stage began with the liquidation of the social democratic parties through enforced fusion with the communists. As with the peasant parties, those who resisted were liquidated or driven into exile. During the fourth stage, which began at the time of Tito's conflict with Stalin, the communist parties themselves were purged of leading 'home communists' who, in contrast to the 'Muscovites', had spent the war in their own countries fighting the Nazis and Fascists. Suspected of reluctance to act as simple Soviet agents, they were accused of 'nationalist' and 'Titoist' deviations and some of the most prominent among them, including the Hungarian, Laszlo Rajk, and the Bulgarian, Traicho Kostov, were executed

after sensational Show Trials which branded them as agents of the US CIA.

Contrary to various left-liberal and Trotskyist claims, Stalin did not invent the Sovietisation technique. The fundamentals had been used effectively by the Bolsheviks during the period of civil war 1918-21 to consolidate control in Russia, Ukraine, Caucases, Turkestan, Siberia and the Far East. The strategy of coalition temporarily with other leftists, followed rapidly by their liquidation, had been used in the most vicious manner possible against the left-Socialist Revolutionaries, the anarchist south Ukraine and Menshevik Georgia (the left SR's had been government partners in 1917-18, the Makhno anarchist forces of the Ukraine were treaty allies and actually saved the Soviets in the dark year of 1919, and Menshevik Georgia was recognised as an independent state only months before the Soviet invasion). Direct intervention had failed in the Baltic, Finland 1918, Poland 1920, and South Azerbaijan 1921, while the isolated regime of Bela Kun was toppled in Hungary 1919 (as independent worker councils were crushed in Munich and Hamburg-Kiel and factory occupations and general strikes floundered in Italy, USA, Canada and elsewhere). But a fake Far Eastern Republic in China 1920-22, supposedly independent, was used to meet US requirements for a forced-Japanese withdrawal from Siberia east of Lake Baikal, only to be absorbed soon after into the Soviet Union. A more long-lived fraud, the so-called Tannu-Tuva People's Republic, existed on paper from 1921 to 1944, when it was incorporated as an autonomous satellite of the USSR.

The first satellite regime of any durability was the Mongolian People's Republic, declared as such in 1924 after three years of Soviet occupation. The North Korean regime of Kim il-Sung followed this model in 1945 but became independent as a result of the Korean War see-saw. A series of pro-Soviet regimes were installed through the 1930s and 40s in Sinkiang, ostensibly a province of China. Long-range intervention in Spain in 1936-39 succeeded in subverting the government and crushing the social revolution, but lost the war to the Fascists. Following WWII, the Soviets were pressured to withdraw from Finland (but retaining a stranglehold on the government), from eastern

Yugoslavia (as Tito's partisans were successful in establishing an Independent Red regime), eastern Austria (as late as 1955), to abandon their repeat satellite in Iranian Kurdistan, Azerbaijan (1941-46), renounce communist guerrillas in Greece, and order communist forces in Italy and France to disarm and enter capitalist coalition governments. Porkkaia (Finn) evacuated 1956.

In return the Soviet Union was granted the Japanese Kuriles and Sakhalin, a huge chunk of eastern Poland and Prussia and continued suzerainty over the Baltic Republics and the Ukraine (where a nationalist guerrilla force was crushed by 1950). Stalin turned Manchuria and Sinkiang back over to Nationalist China, but the areas were soon retaken by Mao's peasant army which established the People's Republic of China in 1949. Russian facilities in Yugoslavia were lost when the Comintern expelled Titoist Yugoslavia in 1948, but were merely shifted over to Albania, where Communist leader Enver Hoxha had managed to dislodge the Yugoslav dominance which had assured the victory of Hoxha in 1945. Yet these Adriatic naval facilities were again lost by the Soviets when in 1960 Albania broke with Khrushchev and aligned with rebel Peking.

Revolts in East Germany (1953), Poland (1956, 1970, 1976) and Revolution in Hungary (1956) were either crushed or subverted, Liberal-Communist democratisation in Czechoslovakia (1968) met an identical fate.

Similar techniques have been used successfully in China and Tibet, N. & S. Vietnam, Cuba, S. Yemen, French Congo, Cambodia, Laos, Angola and Somalia.

Communist power-sharing failed in Chile (1938-44), Italy, France and Finland (1944-48), Ghana (1964-66), Kerala (1957-59), 60s Egypt, Iceland (1973-74), Portugal (1974-75).

And disastrously in Spain (1939), Greece (1944), Iran (1954), Guatemala (1954), Congo (1965), Dominican Republic (1965), Indonesia (1965), Sudan (1971), Bolivia (1971), Chile (1973).

Despite earlier reverses, situation still fluid in India, Guyana, Italy and Finland.

(I. W. W. Toronto)

G.J.

MURRAY DEFENCE GROUP
155 Church Road, Celbridge,
Co. Kildare, Eire



Reviews

"L'Anarchisme espagnol" "Action révolutionnaire internationale 1961-1975"
Octavio Alberola — Ariane Gransac,
Paris, Bourgeois, 1976, 264pp, p/b.

This book has been published in two editions in two languages in one year, Spanish and French. The latter edition, French, has been corrected in some minor details and for this reason this review deals with that particular one. It is useful that this volume should appear at this particular moment when, following the death of the Caudillo and with the introduction of a certain amount of liberalisation, the enthusiasm of a particular section of the bourgeoisie would seem to wish to wash out all memory of the dictatorship.

In fact it is over fifteen years since Francoism turned an honest face to the world when, in 1962, the regime chose to imprison and not simply to stamp out the Asturian strikers militarily.

The great quality of this book is that it demonstrates not only that the anarchist anti-franquist struggle did not end with the defeat of the civil war, but that each struggle throughout the world adopts the use of violent outrage: "We tend to believe that the will of the majority is the general will, the will of all. We count on the fact that minorities will all await their hour peaceably, in the hope that they too will attain majority status. However, it is not always so. There are those who use our so-called perfect democracy as an idol, a perfect idol if you wish, corrupted to the point of banishing all hope by the economic and social bureaucracy . . ." (p. 197).

State oppression is so strong that any questioning of the establishment, authority, or the accepted way of life brings down a swift repression: the hippies, *los marginales*, *samizdat* writers, *los juligans* (Hooligans), and homosexuals are the sacrificial lambs in both the East and West.

Alberola and Gransac also give a brief but profound description of the bureaucratisation of a sector of the Spanish anarchist movement while the militants were committed to total struggle. Who today gives any importance to the declarations of the CNT against Francisco Sabate? Who remembers another CNT declaration condemning an anarchist kidnapping? "If, in fact, some members of the CNT are the authors of the kidnapping they have done so without the agreement of the Intercontinental Secretariat, and as far as we are concerned the entire affair is a purely negative operation." (p. 120).

However, in practice anarchism was able to prove its efficiency and if

This title is presently being translated into English and will be published by Cienfuegos Press at a future date

Francoism (and the Communist Party) was able to expect the disappearance of a dangerous enemy in 1960, with the death of Sabate, from 1961 onwards there were attempts, both within and outside the CNT, to organise a violent anarchist response to the repression. The minimum repression of the 1962 strikes clearly indicate that the regime was moving towards democratisation and the consumer society in which the Communist Party would (directly or indirectly) play a role of limiting and gagging the masses and, therefore, faced with the hierarchy of exploitation the only alternative would be the hierarchy of the traditional left.

The only ones to defend the future of anarchism were generally those anarchist groups involved with the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (F.I.J.L.). In the same year of 1962 the F.I.J.L., began to organise a series of *attentats* against symbolic buildings of the regime and Spanish tourist agencies with the double aim of giving impulse to the class struggle (already under way with the strikes) and also reducing the number of tourists bringing important foreign currency to the coffers of the regime.

This campaign caused a great deal of fear within the regime and the number of arrests and penalties inflicted on anarchists grew in proportion: Jorge Cunill Valls sentenced to death in 1962; Delgado and Granados garrotted in 1963, sentences of between 15 and 30 years imprisonment (such as with Christie and Carballo). But the most spectacular aspect was the series of "Ideological" kidnappings which first began following the death sentence imposed on Jorge Cunill Valls. The statement issued by the "International Federation of Libertarian Youth" said: "Our object was to draw the attention of the world to the sad fate of three libertarians recently arrested in Barcelona and to prevent the execution of Jorge Cunill Valls. We return Sr. Elias to his family as promised to demonstrate that our methods are vastly different to those employed by the Franquist regime." (p.64). Later there was the kidnapping of Ussia, the ecclesiastical counselor of the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican, which was claimed by the First of May Group (developed out of the F.I.J.L.) and which led to the already quoted statement from the CNT. After holding him for ten days the First of May Group freed the priest amid the expected clamour of the world press "hoping that the present Spanish government - which so often proclaims its Christianity will demonstrate its good will rapidly by granting freedom to those Spanish democrats who do not enjoy it today." (p.121).

That is all very well, but what need was there to prove the lack of freedom or democracy in Spain? If anything was clear in politics it was that the Franco regime was, even for its own allies, a mockery of legality. And in Spain, among the workers, if the right to strike was that much easier there was still no lack of torturers for the organisers, and nobody really held out any false illusions. The mistake made by the F.I.J.L., and the First of May Group was without doubt not adapting to the combativity of the moment, such as was later seen in the actions of the M.I.L. and the 'acratas' who organised bank robberies to finance future actions.

This lack of reflection gives the book an air of mere description of actions in Spain and elsewhere with little or no discussion on possible similarities or differences between the Palestinian groups, the R.A.F., the G.A.R.I. etc. Also, it seems that the violence organised by the militants and the spontaneous action of the workers, in Spain and throughout the world, is artificially separated, but this may simply be a problem of style.

Let us hope that the authors will give us another book on the study and reflection of present day violence and the different tactics. It will be the indispensable complement to the present volume.

Frank Mintz.

Maspero have just published a new, updated and corrected edition of Frank Mintz's scholarly and definitive work on Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution. Copies can be obtained through C.P. Bookservice. (price not yet known).

Marxism and a Free Society by Marcus Graham. "An Anarchist reply to Isaac Deutscher's address on 'Socialist Man' with particular reference to the Minutes of the First International and the sabotaging of the Hague Congress by the Marx clique" (20p + 10p p+p).

What passes off as Marxism today is so grotesque, so notoriously totalitarian and dictatorial, that many thinking Marxists are harking back to a "Golden Age" of Marxism, to Marx himself . . . There is, they declare, a humanism to Marx, an alternative to Stalinist and post-Stalinist dictatorship, or to the grim aspects of Maoism and its imitations. They pass over Lenin with some reluctance, not wishing to admit that there is anything wrong with the deified Lenin, but finding it hard to differentiate between what was built in the Soviet Union and how it developed. The excuse that it was merely the "bureaucracy" that it was only a leadership that went wrong and a civil service that extended itself, becomes increasingly thin. So Marxists turn back to Marx, who hated anything Russian anyway, and

REVIEWS cont.

try to show that he at least wanted only a true socialism with a humanist face and what has happened to Marxist socialism since has been a distortion and a caricature of Marx. Foremost among these apologists was Isaac Deutscher whose address "On Socialist Man" was first heard at the second annual Socialist Scholars Conference in New York in 1966 and which has been republished numerous times by various Trotskyist bodies throughout the world.

But is Deutscher speaking the truth, or is he merely trying to whitewash the prison walls? Was Marx as blameless as he claims? Did Marxism ever have the human face he would like to put on it, like a mask? Marcus Graham, in this short pamphlet, published by Simian Publications, makes a trenchant analysis of Deutscher's claims for Marx and asserts positively that all the failures of Leninism, Stalinism, Maoism as well as reformism, stem from Marx's tactics. Little is known about the struggle within the First International. Marx has become deified over half the world; Bakunin is treated as a clown or a devil who dares to cross swords with the Almighty. Marcus Graham's pamphlet is a timely reminder that there is quite another side to what is generally accepted as history as well as a sharp rejoinder to Isaac Deutscher's apology for the founder of State Socialism.

BLACK FLAG ANARCHO-QUIZ BOOK

(250 Questions and Answers on the high-ways and by-ways of Anarchism) by Albert Meltzer (95p + 15p p+p).

What is an Anarchist? What part has Anarchism played in the class struggle? What relevance has it in history? How does it affect the major issues of today and yesterday? To a large extent, to a small extent, not at all?

From the light-hearted quiz conducted by Albert Meltzer, known to the readers of Black Flag as one of the wisest as well as one of the wittiest of libertarian writers, it is possible to answer the fore-going questions, though some of the most devoted aficionados of the series (which has been running for a number of years in Black Flag) protest that they would be lost without turning to the answers - pithy and provocative, but always illuminating. This is the lazy person's way of reading up on the history of anarchism and its related off-shoots, by question and answer, readable and humorous, full of little-known facts and out-of-the-way anecdotes, the pills of knowledge being handed out like sweets.

The superbly comic illustrations by Phil Ruff help to make it the ideal Yuletide present - just the sort of thing to hand to a socialist friend who's given you the Big Red Diary and deserves some-

thing in return Get a few of them, they are always a standby present and, apart from anything else, including inspiring you to enter for "Mastermind", it is hoped to finance the postage bill of the Anarchist Black Cross which tries to give solidarity to libertarian prisoners all over the world, for the coming year, out of the profits of sale.

Both the above titles are available from Simian Publications, "Over the Water," Sanday, Orkney KW17 2BL

Cienfuegos Press Sustaining Subscription

Dear Readers of Cienfuegos Press and Simian publications,

First of all we would like to thank you for having supported our publishing programme so far by buying our titles and ordering them through your local libraries. We would now like to propose a method whereby you can help us expand that programme dramatically and, at the same time, take advantage of a bargain offer.

The problem is - as we have often reported - lack of capital (at least that is what our Bank Manager keeps telling us). In addition to our publications side we are trying to supplement our turnover by providing a general book-service and this is slowly catching on, but the problem remains the same - no money with which to build up a good stock. This means we are having to develop the bookservice a bit slower than we intended, but please don't let that stop you ordering all your books from us. The more orders we receive from you the quicker we build up our selection of titles and increase our efficiency in dealing with your orders.

We don't know any friendly Merchant Bankers, rich anarchists (are there any?) so the only way left to us to raise sufficient money to develop our many publishing projects (apart from sales, contributions from regular supporters who believe in what we are doing, bank robberies, fraud and extortion) is to offer you a yearly* £6.00 (\$12.00) Sustaining Subscription to Cienfuegos Press and Simian Publications for which you will receive the following:

- a copy of every book published by Cienfuegos Press in 1977;
- a copy of every pamphlet published by Simian in the same period;
- the Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature;
- a 10% discount on all books carried by or ordered through the Cienfuegos Press Bookservice. (*Life Subscription £25.00 \$50.00).

Just to show you that you won't be supporting a pig in a poke as it were, here is a list of just some of the titles we have lined up for the coming year (there are others, but we don't want to go into that just yet . . .)

Erich Muehsam : A Portrait and Bibliography (pamphlet), The Face of Spanish Anarchism (book), Land and Liberty! Ricardo Flores Magon (book), An

Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry, Marcus Graham (book), The Guillotine at Work, Maximoff (book), Vol. I The Anarchist Encyclopaedia, A Bibliography (this title will be available in p/b only to Cienfuegos Press subscribers, the main edition will be h/b), Anarchism in Japan, Victor Garcia (book), Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution, Frank Mintz (book), Spanish Anarchism and Revolutionary Action, Alberola & Gransac (book), The End of Anarchism, L. Galleani (book), The Battle of Calthorpe Street, J.M. Alexander (pamphlet). (We will be reprinting and updating all out of print pamphlets this coming year as well including the long-awaited Soldiers' Councils in World War II by Albert Meltzer) - plus a few other exciting surprises in the near future.

This is your chance to help us develop an *anarchist* presence in publishing and at the same time add a good number of what one reader describes as "spine tingling" anarchist titles to your bookshelves at the knock-down price of £6.00, a year. We can't say with any exactitude how many books we'll be able to get out in the year, but they'll certainly be worth a lot more than £6.00.

S.C.

Titles in print to December 1976:
The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book compiled by Albert Meltzer, 95p;
Marxism and a Free Society, Marcus Graham, 20p; The Russian Tragedy, Alexander Berkman, £1.50; The Anarchists in London 1935-1955, Albert Meltzer, £1.00; The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement, ed. A. Meltzer, £1.35; Man! An Anthology of Anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries, ed. Marcus Graham, £3.25 p/b, £7.00 h/b; Sabate Guerrilla Extraordinary, Antonio Tellez, £2.35; The Wilhelmshaven Revolt, Icarus, 45p; Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas, Berneri, 30p; The Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature, 1976, 30p.

For details of our mail order bookservice send s.a.e. for latest stock list. (The Art of Anarchy by Flavio Costantini is now out of print).

New Titles Available from Cienfuegos Press Bookservice:

"This Soldier Still At War" John Bryan, £4.95 plus 25p p+p. The highly sympathetic story of Joe Remiro and the S.L.A. "The Story of the Irish Citizen Army," Sean O'Casey, £1.00; "On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage," Veblen, 45p; "Castaways of Plenty," W.E. Hawkins, 90p (A parable of our times); "The Soul of Man Under Socialism," Oscar Wilde, 60p; "A Dream of John Ball," Wm. Morris, 75p; "Facing the Chair," John Dos Passos, £1.20 (The Americanisation of Sacco and Vanzetti); "Civil War in West Virginia," Winthrop D. Lane £1.20p (The story of the industrial conflict in the coal mines); "Merrie England" Nunquam £1.20 "Illuminatus I: The Eye in the Pyramid, Shea and Wilson, 75p:
NOW AVAILABLE:
The Russian Tragedy, Alexander Berkman £1.50 + 25p p+p.
Coming Soon: The IWW: Its First Seventy Years (1905-1975), F. Thompson & Pat Murfin, £2.50p.

LETTERS

Dear Comrade,
Black Flag's reply to Steve's letter (Nov. 1976) raises more questions than it answers! How does one define a "class war victim"? In what fundamental way did the Scottish Maoists' activities challenge the Capitalist State? Is there a radical difference between authoritarian Marxists and Fascists? If so, what is it? Is it feasible for Anarchists to participate in revolutionary activities with authoritarian leftist groups or their members, who represent the complete antithesis of Anarchist Revolutionism? Should solidarity be expressed with Irish religious and sectarian murderers within the Loyalist Para-military organisations who are in prison? What form should our support take?

The issues which Steve explores in his letter have important implications for Anarchist theory and practice and his arguments cannot be refuted by the use of such emotive phrases as "class war victims," or by using automatic support for all political prisoners irrespective of their political orientation. Anarchism, both in its philosophy and praxis, is diametrically opposed to authoritarian movements of the Right and Left. History has shown that the Anarchist movement has suffered murderous repression at the hands of both Fascists and Communists. The Spanish Civil War is an excellent example of what happens to Anarchists when they confront centralised political power. Black Flag's approach on this question, whereby they intimate that we should solidarise with our 'imprisoned' political opponents is rather incongruous to say the least.

Any refusal to solidarise with Maoist or Communists, when they are imprisoned in no way implies acceptance of the tyrannical excesses of 'State Power.' State and Government is a bureaucratic, elitist excrescence which paralyses the impulse for human freedom and mutual aid. Black Flag obviously feels that it has to choose between the State or political prisoners. But if one defines

the situation differently, no such choice is necessary.

The irony in the present situation is that some of those political prisoners whom Black Flag aspires to support, (e.g. Scottish Maoists), are the exponents of a totalitarian system of State Power, which would liquidate any Anarchist opposition.

As Steve points out, it is important for Anarchists to consider the political views of any group of prisoners before extending their solidarity.

I have attempted to outline a theoretical perspective as a guide to our activities. This whole question should be analysed in a constructive fashion. Although we detest and feel contemptuous of the existing power structure, we cannot allow our judgement to be obscured by 'emotive' reactions to 'State Repression', (however understandable they may be in this area of extreme political sensitivity and subjectivity), as in the case under discussion.

Yours in friendship,

Barry W.

We welcome this discussion which has much more to do with basic issues of anarchist morality than (say) the perennial violence/non-violence theme.

It seems to us for instance, that it is beyond argument that we should support Irish political prisoners, whatever the religious or national banners. If in prison, would not these be our natural allies against prison authorities - many of whom are (equally naturally) members of the National Front?

It may be "incongruous" or "ironic" when anarchists give solidarity to people who would (if they had the chance) oppress them - but is it unworthy or inconsistent? One could equally argue (perfectly truthfully) authoritarians would be going round in a libertarian society free from any restraint whereas libertarians would have a hard time in an authoritarian society.

How can we advocate industrial solidarity bearing in mind the unpalatable, but nevertheless acknowledged fact, that a large number of industrial militants belong to authoritarian parties which in

most instances here today, take the lead in such matters, not libertarians - if we refrain from supporting prisoners whose "crimes" arise from such struggles? (Shrewsbury 10)

Could we give support, say to George Davies? - "innocent, OK," providing he's not a Marxist!

In taking part in any struggle, industrial, social, guerrilla, against oppression one cannot avoid the fact that even in the Communist countries some calling themselves one of the brands of Marxists, or Marxist-Leninists, will be allies - trustworthy or not. One can fight against their leadership; one cannot exclude workers from a working class struggle. The situation is quite different with Fascists (and in practice even someone disagreeing knows this full well).

The problem would go away if no workers supported authoritarian parties. Facing facts as they are, we think the attitude taken by the Anarchist Black Cross since its inception is correct. Nevertheless, this opens the way to some valuable discussion. We fully endorse Barry W.'s last paragraph.

TAINTED MONEY

We are porters and transport workers who use the same pub. In a try to start off a fascist party to compete with the National Front a City gent offered us £100 for our Christmas club to stage a racist incident. We decided to show what we think of him by accepting the money, doing nothing for it, and dividing it among the three most opposite causes. In sending you £35 for Black Flag we want to say that though we're not anarchists we all admire the way Albert's had a go for forty years, especially the fact that he didn't give up at the time of the so-called Angry Brigade trial.

F.A.C., J.B. C.S. Mick. Charlie.

BLACK EYE - the free anarchist paper for N. Manchester. Send sae to the Black Eye Print Collective, 30 Belmont Avenue, Clifton, Swinton, Manchester.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. "L'Education Physique" (edited from London under a pseudonym because of his 'notoriety' but published in France) introduced, or at any rate spread, English sporting ideas, and football and boxing to the school curriculum.

2. The Free Trade movement. Peel later said that Richard Cobden (whose statue may be found in London's Camden Town) had menaced him by calling him 'personally responsible' for the condition of the country and (said the Times), "He knew fully the threatening consequence to Sir Robert Peel's life."

3. Benjamin Disraeli (then leader of the young England radical tory faction), whose bitter attacks on Peel for deserting Protection and yielding to the Free Trade Movement ultimately brought him the eventual leadership of the Tories, but made the Queen feel he had "hastened poor Sir Robert's death."

4. Chateaubernard was in fact a third-rate singer at the Opera Nationale, who happened to be in his stage uniform when he looked out to see what all the fuss was about. He lasted as governor for a fortnight. Later, under the Second Empire, he became an official of the secret police.

5. Only equivocally true, alas. The thirteen days in question were lost to the calendar by switching from the Julian to the Gregorian system of reckoning and nothing at all happened between those dates.

6. Unquestionably, the Republican party.

The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz book is now on sale at 95p and obtainable from Cienfuegos Press Ltd., "Over The Water" Sanday, Orkney Isles, KW17 2BL. "A masterpiece of erudition"

- Professor Hagbard Celine

CANADA



Leonard Peltier is a 32-year old Sioux Indian from North Dakota, and is currently facing extradition proceedings in British Columbia. Leonard has been active for several years in Indian struggles, initiating self-help co-operative projects, and taking in some of the better publicised activities of the American Indian Movement, including the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee.

Last Spring, following an 18 day extradition hearing a Canadian court decided that Leonard should be returned to the United States to face charges of murdering two FBI agents during a June 26, 1975 shoot-out near the village of Oglala on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota. Now a defence committee has been set up in Vancouver, to help prepare an appeal against extradition. Leonard's case is that not only is he not guilty of the charges against him, but that the alleged offence was of a political nature.

If he is extradited to the United States his life could be in danger: one Indian was killed during the shoot-out, and Anna Mae Aquash was murdered in the aftermath of the FBI's manhunt. She died with a bullet in her head shortly after her arrest on a phoney gun charge. This threat to Leonard's life must have increased following the unprecedented acquittal of Dino Butler and Bob Robideau of all charges in connection with the Oglala shoot-out. An all white, mainly working class jury accepted that the defendants were in fact firing at the FBI agents, but that it was in self-defence.

The defence committee which has been set up has support from Indian people from various parts of Canada and the US, and is working with non-Indian supporters, including a legal collective of lawyers and law students. Typically it has met with an unco-operative and hostile attitude from the Canadian

authorities and police. Committee members have been detained at the border, subjected to rude and improper questioning and searches. During the extradition hearing Vancouver police carried out a campaign of arbitrary and random arrests of Indian people and raids on homes, while friends and supporters of Leonard were physically attacked in the courtroom and ejected by a special squad of deputies and police.

As part of its campaign the Defence Committee has published *Seven Eagles* to publicise the case and increase pressure on the Canadian authorities aiming at winning political asylum in Canada for Leonard. The information in *Seven Eagles* updates the special edition of *Indian Nation* which was published last April with details about the case and its background.

The Defence Committee address is:— Box 758, Station A, Vancouver B.C., Canada.

Letters of solidarity should be sent to Leonard at: Drawer "O", Okalla Prison, Burnaby, B.C., Canada.

Protests about his solitary confinement should be sent to Attorney General, Garde Gardom, Parliament Buildings, Victoria B.C. Canada, and demands that he be granted political asylum to: Ron Basford, Minister of Justice, House of Commons, Ottawa, Ontario.

British Columbia jails have a long history of brutality, and as a reaction to the intolerable conditions of forming prisoners unions. This new militancy is a distinct product of the 1970s, but prisoner agitation for better conditions has been continuing for much longer — there have been at least four major mass uprisings, since the early sixties, protesting about conditions of overcrowding, enforced idleness, warder brutality and lack of rehabilitation programmes. The February 1976 issue of *This Magazine* carried a detailed article on the formation of a Prisoners' Union Committee, and its work and its role during a sit in at Okalla prison in July 1975.

This sit in followed shortly after an incident in which three long term prisoners seized 15 hostages after one of them had been told by the Prison administration that he was to be placed in solitary confinement. One of the hostages was a prison classification officer, Mary Steinhauser, who had developed a strong friendship with one prisoner, Andy Bruce. It was probably that she would co-operate with the prisoners, eliminating the possibility of violence being used. The single demand made by the prisoners was a guaranteed safe passage to a communist country.

While the authorities went through the pretence of negotiating a deal, plans were made to storm the vault in which the prisoners and hostages were confined. On June 5, 1975, the British Columbia Penitentiary Tactical Squad stormed the

building, Mary Steinhauser was wounded by the first bullet, before being pushed out of the line of fire by Andy. She was getting to her feet shouting "Don't shoot him, my god, don't shoot him" when she was shot down and killed.

The authorities tried to claim that the prisoners had stabbed Mary and were responsible for her murder, but this claim was retracted when an examination of the body proved the cause of death to be gun shot wounds. A careful cover-up operation ensued which meant that much of the evidence at the Enquiry was held in camera, and no proper cross examination of witnesses was made. Andy Bruce was not allowed to testify.

The Prisoners' Union Committee have prepared a pamphlet detailing the history of state sanctioned brutality at the Penitentiary in New Westminster, B.C., and providing a clear insight into the events briefly outlined above, and the way in which the State has attempted to distort the events in an effort to cover its tracks. Andy Bruce, Dwight Lucas and Clair Wilson were originally charged with Mary's murder — but these charges have now been dropped, although they still face lesser ones.

Prisoners' Union Committee, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, Canada.

Presumption of Guilt (cont.)

There are others who might well believe that there are so many suspicions and contradictory elements in the story that Mathew Lygate was as he claimed himself, framed and then betrayed. Who indeed made the alleged phone call that led the police to the W.P.S. bookshop?

Anyway twenty-four years is a long time even for Jack the Ripper. Should he stay in Peterhead until AD 2000?

William McPherson, also a member of the W.P.S. was found guilty and sentenced to twenty-six years, reduced to twenty four on appeal. He was later involved in the Porterfield riot at Inverness prison and given an additional sentence. Ian Doran, who had been brought up in London, got sentenced to twenty-five years, (unlike the others he had no W.P.S. connection). Colin Lawson found guilty on one bank raid charge was given six years and has subsequently been released.

John Lygate, the father of Mathew Lygate and the prime mover in the campaign to have his son released, died on the 11th October this year after a debilitating illness and is sadly missed by all who knew him. He was a lifelong socialist and worked very hard in tenants groups and other community work. It was his wish that the campaign to have his son's sentence reduced should be continued by CP members, Maoists and Anarchists, and by all who had any doubt about the trial or were appalled by the severity of the sentence.