

# BLACK FLAG

organ of the

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol. IV No.14 15p



## THE MURRAYS

Noel Murray . . . to serve life in prison.

Marie Murray . . . to be retried.

The re-trial of Marie Murray is scheduled for April 25th. It will be preceded by world protests.

Why is the case of the Murrays important? Because the Irish Republic however anxious it is to preserve the democratic image which is its only stock-in-trade by which it has obtained world sympathy and with which it hopes to reconcile the whole country including a highly suspicious and hostile and well organised Northern minority, has shown it will go to any lengths to suppress active dissension.

Nothing prejudged the case against the Murrays more than the fact that they were Anarchists. Was the Irish State so hostile to the press image of anarchists -- did it fear as alien and unthinkable such things as individual attacks on rulers -- when this has been raised into a growth industry by Statists? Or was it concerned

that the struggle against Nationalism and the State, might introduce a new concept into Irish politics?

That is the reason why the Murrays have been subjected to an ordeal such as no one other convicted prisoner in that country has faced. That is why the Irish Government has been prepared to do the very things itself that at precisely the same moment it is accusing the British Government of. While the latter has been accepting merely the reproaches of the Republic at Strasbourg that it has tortured prisoners, the Republic has itself been doing not only the same thing, but trying them without jury or evidence into the bargain, and without the excuse of an immediate danger to security.

It can only be because they feel the danger is deeper than mere security.

The Murray Defence Committee Writes from Dublin

The Supreme Court in Dublin took more than 5 weeks to reach a verdict on the Murray case. The judges' decision by a majority decision, quashed the death sentence on Noel Murray on finding him Not Guilty of Capital Murder and sentenced him to life imprisonment. They decided again by a majority decision to order a re-trial for Marie Murray on the original charge on Capital Murder. They ruled that the Special Court were wrong to have convicted the Murrays of Capital Murder when it had clearly not been proven or even argued during their trial that the offence had been a Capital one. The majority of the Supreme Court also ruled that even if it was proved that Marie Murray had been found guilty of Capital Murder by the Supreme Court, Noel Murray would still not be guilty of the Capital Murder charge.

Cont. p.8

**BLACK FLAG Vol. IV. No. 14 1977**  
 Published by Black Flag Group & printed  
 by Anarchy Collective. Subs. £3.00 per  
 12 issues (home), Canada, Aus., N.Z. (air mail)  
 £6.00 (U.S. \$13.00) Black Flag, Over The  
 Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL.

**HOW WE'RE MAKING OUT**  
 1st Jan - 22nd March 1977

Printing	115.00	
Postage	81.65	
Stationery	15.50	
Salaries, fees &c	0.00	212.15
Sales & subs	84.87	
Donations*	49.32	
Subsidies	0.00	134.19
Loss so far this year	77.96	
Old deficit	1373.41	
Deficit c/fwd	£1451.37	

\* DONATIONS : Canada M.H. £3; USA Picnic  
 Italian comrades per R.F. £28.32; M.G. £13;  
 Gwent P.S. £3; Manchester R.M. £1; London  
 S.E. K.A.S. £1.

We're slipping! True, a lot of money is due  
 to come in from sales - but where are all  
 our home donations? We know there's a  
 lot of calls for solidarity on our readers but  
 don't forget the bulletin! If everybody who  
 receives it paid up their sub we should be  
 home and dry.

**PRISONERS/RESISTANCE FUND**

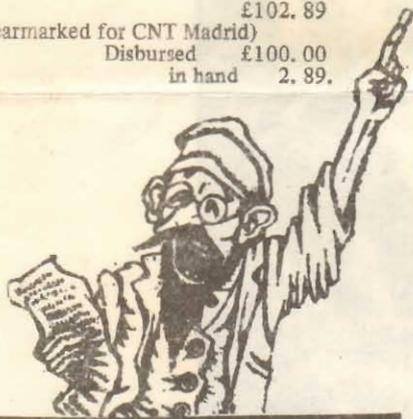
Guam (US) S.S. £18.41; Hants S.B. £10.50;  
 Swansea D.W. £5.50; Bristol C.C. £5.00;  
 London Printworkers £6.00

total -- £45.41  
 in hand 57.48

£102.89

(£10 earmarked for CNT Madrid)

Disbursed £100.00  
 in hand 2.89.



**ANARCHO-QUIZ**

1. Why (since in Spanish "yellow" has no significance of cowardly) are company-type or employer-directed unions in Spain called "yellow" unions?
2. What - according to Nazi "philosopher" Alfred Rosenberg - was the significance of the German Republican flag red-black-gold?
3. Who - in his book "The Gravediggers of Russia" (consisting of caricatures and doggerel verse) - did he include among the "real rulers of Russia" and describe as "the vilest woman going?"
4. What, according to dictator Juan Peron of the Argentine, was the major achievement of Justicialism (his word for Peronism), representing "long cherished hopes of workingmen?"
5. What three members of the British section of the I.W.W. were sentenced to ten, seven and five years, charged with trying to assassinate Prime Minister Lloyd George, and labour leader Arthur Henderson by darting a rare South American poison at them through blowpipes?

Answers on page 19

**DISASTER CORNER**

We must apologise to readers for the unusually long delay between this issue and the previous one. Disaster struck in the form of our IBM Composer breaking up on us. The part which had to be replaced is going to cost us £250 plus labour charges (£15.00 an hour for four days!!!). This is going to knock us back quite a bit so do please try to help by drumming up subscriptions for Cienfuegos Press.

**THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS ANARCHIST REVIEW (No.2)** is now on the streets at £1.00 plus 24p p+p. This amazing new contribution to anarchist publishing history will give you hours and hours of enjoyable reading. The next issue will probably run to 84 pages and is scheduled for September publication (1977). Every 12 issues we shall issue a cross-reference index and a de-luxe binder in which to keep each volume for easy reference.

(N.B. Every smart arse who makes a crack to us about the "Review" being known as *Golden Detonators* will be reported to the Philip Sansom Peace Foundation!)

(The C.P. Anarchist Review is free to all subscribers to C.P. - £6.00 a year brings you every title we publish in that year. A life sub. is £25.00/\$50.00 and means you don't have to worry about renewing your sub. every year!).

"...I have got a lot out of this last few hours of reading, even if the whole thing is as eccentric as you lot ever were. Best wishes for the next issue..."

Nicolas Walter

**OPEN ROAD No.2 (Spring '77)** is now out and up to the very high standards set by the first issue. No subscription rates are given, but the issue is priced at about 40p (+15 p p+p). B.F. readers are urged to buy a copy by writing to:-  
**THE OPEN ROAD,**  
 Box 6135, Station G,  
 Vancouver B.C. Canada.

Another imaginative paper well worth supporting is the Detroit based **FIFTH ESTATE**, 4403 Second, Detroit, MI 48201 (12 issues \$/5.00 inc. p+p).

**NEW FROM BLACK ROSE BOOKS**

**DURRUTI: The People Armed, Abel Paz** (translated by Nancy Macdonald), £3.00  
**The Cuban Revolution: A Critical Perspective, Sam Dolgoff, £3.00**  
 (We hope to have copies of the above two new titles within the next few weeks so please let us have your orders..)

**Don't Forget Folks!**

**The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book, 95p** (+ 10p p+p).  
**Marxism & a Free Society, Marcus Graham, 20p** (+10p p+p).  
**The Russian Tragedy, Alexander Berkman, £1.50** (20p p+p).  
**The Anarchists in London, Albert Meltzer, £1.00** (20p p+p).

**SUBSCRIBE NOW!**



**HERSCHEL GRYNZSPAN**  
 In Memoriam 1911-1942

In 1938 the Nazis deported a number of Stateless Jews to Poland, which refused to accept them. They were shuttled backwards and forwards across the border in conditions of great misery and humiliation, in the course of which the parents of Herschel Grynszpan died. He was living in Paris: he went to the Embassy and shot the attache Ernst vom Rath, a Nazi officer whom he mistook for the Ambassador. Had a similar action taken place a twelvemonth later he might have received the 'Croix de Guerre' - as it was he was a 'terrorist' and went to prison from which he was taken in due course by the Nazi occupying forces. Though not an anarchist, Anarchists were the only people to speak in his defence.

**HERSCHEL GRYNZSPAN**

*This Beautiful assassin is your friend  
 his action the delivery of love  
 with magnitude in the unblemish'd years  
 when hate and scorn and lust  
 are buried under the leaves of dread*

*He lifts his hand in calm despair.  
 The gesture loses its solitary grace  
 and violence is answered by violence  
 until the sluggish tinder of the world's indifference  
 is consumed, consumed to the end.*

*Anger is now action. The white flame of justice  
 will dance wildly over Europe's dark marshes  
 until the morning air is everywhere  
 and clear  
 as on the hills of Hellas.*

*This beautiful assassin is your friend  
 walking and whispering in the night beside you.  
 His voice is the voice that made you  
 listen to secrets in the night around you.  
 The light of worlds beyond your world  
 beguiled you with hope of a harmony  
 wilder than the anguish of our broken lives.  
 The wreckage of the day was hidden.*

*This beautiful assassin is my friend  
 because my heart is filled with the same fire.  
 We have sheltered under the same portico  
 listening to the silver voice of wisdom.*

*Our feet faltered among the fallen stones  
 where once the vandals passed  
 and we found  
 under a vivid screen of leaves  
 the blood still warm from a martyr's wound.*  
 Herbert Read

Michael Tippett's "A Child of Our Times", based on Grynszpan's brief moment of history, was composed in 1942 and recorded in 1958 by the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra and Choir. The original stereo (Argo DPA 571-1, two records £3.35) has just been re-issued. The oratorio was shown on BBC TV Good Friday.

**CORRECTION TO LAST ISSUE:-**

Aaron Rogat's obituary in the last issue read:

"when the social revolution took place in Russia the Bolsheviks managed to absorb the then editor of Freie Arbeiter Stimme, Dr. J.A. Merryson, although thought of as a revolutionist."

In fact the paragraph should have read:-

"the arisen social revolution in Russia which was greeted with joy by every loving person continued even when the Bolshevik party trickily absorbed the Soviets and instituted themselves as a government, following the ousting of the Kerensky one. Dr. J.A. Merryson, although known as a revisionist, realised that the revolution had been betrayed by the Bolsheviks and set out to expose them. . . ."

# THE STATE OF THE STATE

THE ECONOMISTS have as many differing and contradictory points of view as the theologians. But whereas theology is a dated and discredited science, economics is the up-and-coming belief (for years bright students who once studied theology as an easy cop-out have turned to political philosophy and economics instead). Not only is economics the new "queen of the sciences": the economists have succeeded in showing it down the throats of the people precisely as the theologians once did their dogmas.

When it comes to applying theology, the churches are empty. But night after night believers will lap up from the TV screen the most incredible superstitions about political economy. Nobody is so illiterate but they cannot repeat the new catechism — 'we're bound to get higher prices so long as people ask for higher wages' (even if in practice they add 'for anyone but ourselves' in precisely the same way the faithful used to add to the Commandments 'so long as you don't get found out' — believing in them still).

To refute the economic myth is like explaining sex to a schoolkid, but of a former generation. So far as the facts of life about economics are concerned, people are still looking behind gooseberry bushes.

The great National Saga centres around 'our' going bankrupt. What is wrong about going bankrupt? It means not paying one's debts and starting with a clean sheet. That was the German 'economic miracle', and the reason "you need to lose a war." For those who have nothing, bankruptcy does not matter a damn. It does mean sharing out one's assets among one's creditors — which is why the 'haves' fear it, unless they can cheat on it. Since the 'national' debts consist of such dubious assets as the imperial heritage and the concentration of finance capital in London, bankruptcy would be a welcome solution. The national assets are its working people, with their know-how and ability, but that remains even after bankruptcy.

The notion that prosperity consists of producing as much as possible, for as little as possible, in order that somebody outside the country shall possess it, may be sound economic sense to the people reaping the benefits from exports. It does not make much economic sense to others. Yet they repeat the platitudes of the media without realising their inconceded worthlessness.

Inflation is treated as if it were a great national disaster, like floods or earthquakes. Nobody at this point omits to mention Germany in 1923 and the famous suitcases full of million mark notes. (How long did that last? They could easily be overprinted 10 million or 100 million. The bulk, as such, was not the problem). Yet inflation only affects capitalist countries with a degree of freedom. It is a result of States

spending too much money on themselves while speculators gamble on the currency. It does not affect State Socialist countries in the same way — they can regulate the market — nor capitalist countries with a strong dictatorship (which can carry out punitive measures against currency profiteers).

The state of the "nation" is used as an excuse to spur on the workers here to work harder and get less. Such a spur is necessary under capitalism with democracy, whereas in the State Socialist or dictatorial capitalist countries other ideological spurs are used — patriotic invective, and so on. One can contrast the work-harder—build-socialism exhortations of, say, Mao's China, with the watch-out-we're-heading-for-disaster exhortations of Britain today. Both have the same aim. Only the wording is slightly different.

It was Harold Wilson's achievement to have coined anew the phrase "the social contract" to mean what we have always called the corporate state. That is to say, a State in which employers and labour cooperate for the common interest, as conceived by the State. But whereas in most corporate states this has been achieved only by a major assault against the workers, here in Britain it has been achieved by pervasive persuasion, a resented but accepted method of "resisting inflation". Thus it has not had to be accompanied by violence or major industrial repression. It has been achieved during a sham battle at the hustings. So far from being resisted, it is used as a Rallying-cry.

## Capital on Strike

Yet in one way the spinners of the economic myths are not wrong. The recurrent crisis of capitalism is caused by a constant strike, refusal to work, a desire for comfort and safety. They are only wrong in ascribing this sabotage of the 'general interest' to the working class, because of the political desire to use a myth to spur people into action.

Take a trip round the country. As you get out from any town or city, look at the belts of suburban homes. Go further and come to see the spacious homes set in woodlands and grassy surroundings. Travel around the coastal and spa type resorts, the moorland hideaways. *What in hell do these people do for a living?* They are sitting back nicely on their capital which they have withdrawn from investment. They are living on the accumulated wealth of past generations. Their work — if anything — is of a non-productive, light and often entertaining nature. Tens of thousands of people are employed basically in looking after them. Though they find it hard to get servants, yet tens of thousands of people are employed in looking after them — car mechanics, transport workers, tailors, postal and railway workers, shop assistants, policemen, clerks

and typists of all descriptions...

The actual people engaged on productive work in this country is extremely small. Yet it is to this small percentage that all the appeals to work harder are directed. It would clearly make not the slightest difference if the typist typed more letters, or did them faster; or the conductor punched more tickets; or if cars were driven a bit faster or everyone came fifteen minutes early to work. Work Harder for Britain campaigns are based on a fantasy, in which some office workers have Walter Mitty-like dreams of solving the economic ills — a Daily Express alternative to the sex obsessions of the Sun and the Mirror.

## Always the Same

It always comes down to the miners, the car workers, the dockers...these heavy industries apparently (according to the economic myth) carry the whole country on their shoulders, yet it is precisely they who get the whole stick for not working as hard as they might, or occasionally striking (where a large and important section of the capitalist class has gone on permanent strike).

One might suppose from the way the Saga is told in the media and repeated by the public that only the small fraction who are engaged in productive work are holding the "country" to ransom by not doing enough; and the vast majority who — whether they want to or not — are engaged in activity which has not the slightest sense or purpose except profit for somebody are suffering as a consequence.

Not only does the Saga offer a sugar-coating to privations and cuts by a patriotic gloss, sometimes toned down to a veneer of "understanding the difficulties with which we are faced". It conceals the economic revolution of our times in which a new class is rising to power. The capitalist, whose economy was based on profit rather than use, and whose existence was guaranteed by his ability to make profits, is no longer the key figure in the economy — though naturally, wealth must always guarantee a position in the new hierarchy unless (which is not the case now) it is in violent confrontation with the old.

With modern technology the worker is to be forced out of the key role in production — to be replaced by an automaton. But because wealth and power demand human power standing around serving and admiring, the number of pointless jobs, increases the more the productive jobs become redundant. There are more people keeping books and writing letters relating to production than there are actual producers.

In the modern era, we are in at the birth of a new revolution — of which fascism was only the violent birthpangs and State communism but one aspect. This could be the start of the new Dark Ages but for the fact that the impersonal State has the cult of death; its technology, unlike others we

## The Bible Speaks

There is yet another flurry of comment in the local press from concerned parents have become indoctrinated by the latest brainwashing religious cult "The Bible Speaks". They repeat repetitive phrases out of the bible, impervious to sense or meaning, regardless of the appositeness or not. They are subject to strong internal discipline and obedience without question, they give up their lives to their superiors.

Is there so much difference in this from any other cult? No, but it is the latest. What marks it out from any other religion? All have the same degree of discipline and alienation from reason and from human

# roon

contact when they are building up. Only when they are supremely confident (either that they won't be questioned, or — as in the case of the Church of England — that they can go on and on and nobody bothers a damn) is this type of discipline relaxed, and even so, the Roman Catholic Church finds it necessary to have some at least of the faithful in tight knit communities subject to rigid orders. But, unlike mainstream Christianity, The Bible Speaks is outside any Establishment.

It just so happens within our culture today that Christianity uses these techniques. It is not exclusive to Christianity. The materialistic religions of today, Marxist-Leninisms, uses precisely the same technique. Try and distinguish a Leninist Vanguard from The Bible Speaks! — "Jesus says..." "Lenin said..." irrelevant quotations taken out of context, dedication, a sense of purpose and blind hard-working obedience...leading to a rigid dogmatic dictatorship.

This is AUTHORITY. Its absence is ANARCHY. Which is the dirty word?



"Roses are blooming in Buchewald..."

One of those tunes that run through your head, the latest pop song "Don't cry for me, Argentina" ... left me humming though I wondered what it was all about (was Argentina a person? "the truth is I never left you"...). The mystery was cleared up when I discovered it's from a new musical about Evita Peron, "all through my wild days...I loved you...will you love me?"

Why stop there? How about a romantic song about the other Eva and her beloved Adolf, faithful unto death... or a romantic lilt about Francisco Franco... or a melody devoted to dear Uncle Joe? Come to think of it, there were a couple — but he was an ally at the time.

"We're off to fight for the freedom and might of dear old Japan" was not sung during World War II.

## Harold Wilson Prize for Sincerity

AT the funeral of Foreign Secretary, Anthony Crosland, the Prime Minister — among all the other tributes — said Tony Crosland's book *The Future of Socialism* was as "controversial and pungent" as he himself.

"Mr Callaghan felt Mr Crosland was really writing about himself when he said in the book: 'there should always remain a trace of the anarchist and the libertarian, and not too much of the prude and the prig.'"

But it seems a good deal of the hypocrite. How nice for statesmen to boast, mellowed by wine at a dinner, in the calm of a reasoned tribute or in the course of oratory, that there "should remain a trace of the anarchist". But when facing the law courts run by the State's servants, the worst they can brand you with is "the trace of the

anarchist" like the mark of Cain. The media do not then pass it off as a pleasant jocularity but as a confession of guilt.

## Statist Murders

In Black Flag (13) we cited the Moderate Conservative Christian terrorist Gerard Amanrich, diplomatic counsellor to the Government, who — after being brought back from Ambassadorship to the Vatican due to his now unfashionable Gaullism — murdered his wife, son and daughter. This was a political assassination: his motives were clearly stated to be the disappointment over his political plans and careerism. And "France" has said she will deal severely with terrorists.

Swiftly, swiftly however the examining magistrate has come to his conclusions. Bear in mind that in France even the admittedly innocent can wait two, five even ten years — perhaps all their lives — waiting for a decision to prosecute often for months or years in custody before acquittal or dismissal of the case. This came in three months. The examining magistrate has decided that there are to be *no criminal proceedings*. He apparently stopped short of recommending M. Amanrich for the Legion d'Honneur and awarding a contribution to pay the funeral expenses. Instead M. Amanrich, a self-confessed Statist, was asked to undergo psychiatric treatment.

## City votes Labour

Commented the London Evening Standard: "The City made it abundantly clear today it wants a Labour not a Tory government for the time being." Shares recovered dramatically from the setbacks when it was felt the Callaghan administration would fall. Why? "As one leading stockbroker put it 'We do not want an election until the unions have agreed on the next stage of pay policy. We simply do not know if the Tories could control the unions and that is why the City does not want an election now.'"

The position of a businessman is quite plain. They are natural Tories; they want to see their pals in office, in what they see as the national interest — that is to say, a government composed of people just like themselves. But in the light of their own, personal interests they want the Labour Government to carry on doing the Tories' job better than they are able to do it themselves.

It is the same with a worker, who sees, perhaps, the need for improving conditions — but decides to blackleg on a strike or work for less than someone else simply because of greed (or need) for money.

## High Living

For years the well-to-do have lived in tall, well-appointed apartment blocks — with nothing more sought after than the penthouse flat. This presented no 'social problems' for do-gooders to worry over until the working classes got their tower blocks.

Surprisingly a lot of people like living in high, clean buildings with light and air. This has baffled the liberal establishment, some of whom find the acme of perfection in Georgian houses (did they ever try living in the servants' basement — now styled the garden flat?)

It is pointed out how unsuitable high-rise buildings are for small children. This is true; but the problem only arises because councils made the "nuclear family" a prerequisite of having accommodation at all.

Chairman of GLC housing Tony Judge's remarks deserve a special mention as symptomatic of authoritarian mentality though impeccably correct. Condemning high rise buildings, he says that in future tower blocks should be reserved for *those who want to live in them*.

## Biba is alive and well and living in Brazil.

Barbara Hulanicki has shown up in Paris with a new fashion collection. Biba's however have gone to Brazil. Once they catered for trendy, sophisticated elegant, fashion-loving ladies shopping in the West End and Biba's Boutique was regarded as the acme of dress sense for the ostentatiously non-ostentatious. What the opinion of women with minds to more than clothes was, could be seen by the reaction of those who planted a bomb in the boutique. It was one of the many incidents originated by or attributed to the Angry Brigade.

Has Barbara learned anything? Only that Brazilian workers are much easier to exploit than British. In her workroom in Sao Paulo, we are told, she employs six where before she employed 50. They keep perfect time and do as much work as her old workroom — working from 8 to 6 — and earning less too. Laughingly she told a reporter that it "takes about as much time and effort" in the paperwork of getting clothes out of Brazil and into France "as actually making the clothes."

Barbara and her husband are planning to become millionaires.

# A Question of Power

I don't recall who made the assertion "Whatever the question, the answer is Power" but as a subject for debate it has its attractions. Applying the contention to Rhodesia (or Zimbabwe if you will) has its value.

Why is Smith still in control? Why did the Geneva talks fail? Why are the guerrillas not winning the war? The answer, comrades, is Power! Smith's got it — a lot of it behind him — and the Geneva talks failed because of the Power of the fighting force of Smith's army. The guerrillas are losing the fight because they are not very good at fighting — they ain't got the power.

Anarchists have very little power though we may have influence. In areas of the world where our presence is in the imagination alone, such as Southern Africa, we have that wonderful luxury of sitting back and telling the truth. Nearer to home, Spain for instance, the odd lie creeps in for the very best of reasons — we are there and lies are part of the war.

So let's tell the truth about Zimbabwe (or Rhodesia if you like). There are two gangs, the white gang who have very powerful world crooks behind them because there is a lot of loot at stake — or western civilisation some would say. The black gang is weaker but more numerous. They've got a talking group who play the word game and want to be in the Black Cabinet that has power and is a State on the map with other States. They've been bad at the word game, not because they can't talk but because of guns under the table and sharp card shooters. Thus there are several contenders for Mr. Big and when the talking stops and the big financial crooks are convinced the Black Power talkers can defend their loot one of them will be allowed to seize power or get elected or something.

The blacks also have gunmen. They are not very good either. In the background are other baddies who have an eye on the huge loot in the area — mainly to the South. These Reds are supplying arms and giving training — and they are playing a clever game. They had a real victory with Mozambique and Angola when the Yanks demonstrated they had fucking awful advisers on African affairs who didn't know what was what. The black gunmen are poor because the white gang have bigger guns and a well trained bunch of psychos who'll kill anything that moves if it doesn't touch the forelock and kneel right.

One result of the failure of the black gunmen is that the black talk men have been walked over and have been shown the door. I mean if they can't win the gun fight the white gang is going to keep their good life going longer — why not when you can shoot the guts out of the enemy?

Pissing in the corner is the British government. They have been pissing a great deal because there is nothing else to be done. Our gang, comrades, if you'll forgive the chauvinism, are shit scared of Smith. He doesn't play by the rules and should be in the wild west. But he's not. So piss, man, piss against the wall. It is going to do something aint it?

Anyway, our gang's got no power. The gunmen of our noble gang would not give Smith two fingers because he is a real white man. So... yes, you've guessed — piss and pretend.

How long, you say, are the African people of Zimbabwe going to be exploited and oppressed? Is the game to impress the Americans that the African bourgeoisie can manage their interests as well as the whites have? Thus peace and a slowly improving standard of living for the African people? For some this is the game and it has a grow-

ing number of Americans supporting it. It could win out in the end. Economic colonialism demands that either the whites get out or they knuckle under and work side by side with their fellow men. The whites in Rhodesia are such arrogant fascists that they'll not do that unless they have absolutely no alternative.

Or is the strategy — no, it's not a game — to achieve a social revolution in Southern Africa whereby the overthrow of white fascism is accompanied by the side-stepping of the bourgeois talkers. There are elements among the African revolutionaries fighting to free Zimbabwe who want to do this. They know that it is the war that is the heart of the matter, whether they win the fight on the battlefield. So why hand over the victory, won — when it is — with such tragic suffering and loss of young life — why hand over to Nkomo, Murozewa or any of the others? It is a good question.

Accompanied with this question is the requirement to achieve a revolutionary uprising throughout Zimbabwe involving the expropriation of property and the implementation of self-management throughout the economy. This need not be entire Africanisation, there will be small elements of the white working class to assist in this shift if the outcome is clearly to be a society in which the answer is power — workers' power. The transformation of Southern Africa by such revolutionary strategies would shake both the capitalist and State socialist worlds. It will not be allowed to happen without a hard struggle. But when the negotiation cannot take place because the power is with the people armed and in control of the economy, then the outside gang leaders will have to look round their shoulders at their own people.

So the anarchist has a dream. The impractical twit thinks it can really happen! Whether it will is a question... and the answer is power! **Jerry Westall**

## a modern parable

Consider the case of a boy mad about football...he collects relics of the game, watches it avidly on television, scours through old newspaper cuttings, could pass a TV quiz test on his knowledge of the history and practice of football...but never kicks a ball, because he despises amateurs...never trains, never plays, but thinks because of his accumulation of intellectual knowledge he will one day be picked to play for England!

Clever in his own way? No doubt. A football fanatic in one way? Without question. But his ambition will always remain a dream because he never con-

descends to get into the game itself.

Does this seem obvious? Then consider the case of some so-called revolutionaries (some? indeed the majority). They collect relics of the past, avidly study economics if Marxists or biographies if libertarians (thus one distinguishes them!) but they never get into the game.

Do they accept the fact that revolution will entail a degree of armed struggle? "We are not pacifists", they say, though not always. "But only when the masses spontaneously...when the people as a whole..." In the meantime if a few hobble-

dehoys imagining they belong to the National Front come along they send the "revolutionaries" flying (for are they not waiting for the working class "as a whole"?). Tell them they need to train for "the game". They will reply that people who do that are "elitists", they are leaving to others all the "patient work" while going in for "romanticism", "adventurism" and the like... Somehow one feels their ambitions, like those of the lad who aspires to an England cap and never kicks a ball, will remain a dream.

# UNOPENED PAGES OF WORKING CLASS HISTORY

One of the most tremendous fights ever put up by the working class occurred in South Africa in 1922. As with so many working class battles, it is virtually ignored by the historians. Facing a government notorious for mass-murder, 11,000 mine-workers went for broke: a "red syndicalist workers republic." A strikers' council of action organised workers commandoes, seized the city of Johannesburg, and hoisted the red flag. The South African government moved in with the army and air force, wresting back the city and bombing the strikers' quarters. 153 died, 850 were jailed for high treason, 18 workers were sentenced to death and four of them executed, along with two strike leaders declared as "suicides". The IWW South African Administration, the core of the resistance, was crushed.

It was the same as that meted out to the "bywoner" revolt of Boer 'poor whites' in 1914, the 163 Black squatters dead at Bulhoek in 1921 and the army-air force operation against rebel Hottentots in South West Africa in 1922, where 100 tribes people were murdered. But first we must deal with the question of why the history of these is so little known.

History is written and published by the bourgeoisie. The only contender in mass mis-information is the Communist Party and its bevy of Marxist-Leninist scholars. Bourgeois historians will let by a few facts, but to give the whole scope of working class rebellion might give too many people too many seditious ideas. The upper and middle classes must be reassured that they alone are earth-movers, thus the systematic denigration of the working class. Likewise, Communist historians see the Party as the motive force and do everything in their power to persuade the reader that Lenin, Trotsky or Stalin created the world in only ten days!

We know that the Bolsheviks came to control Russia, but how few know that it was anarcho-syndicalist workers and sailors who arrested Kerensky's cabinet in the Winter Palace assault, garrisoned Kronstad and led the Petrograd unions, held the southern front and organised (on the IWW Preamble) the Donetz miners? Or that the south Ukraine peasants collectivised

the land in 1917 and in the ranks of the Makhno anarchist guerrilla army saved the Soviets in 1919, only to be butchered by the Bolsheviks.

The Spartakus workers were massacred in Berlin in 1919, but how few know that leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were too busy forming a Communist Party to allow the workers to seize defensible positions in the city? Or that the real fight was going on in north-western Germany where left-socialist, anarchist and syndicalist workers had with rebel sailors, overthrown the Kaiser, stopped the war and liberated Hamburg, Bremen, Brunswick and Kiel for over two months and fought on for months more against advancing reactionary troops. We know that Franco, backed by Hitler and Mussolini, smashed the Spanish Republic, but how few know that the francoists were initially beaten in half of Spain by the workers of the CNT union, who went on to put a workers militia on the front while collectivising into anarcho-syndicalist locals the industry and agriculture of Catalonia and Aragon, only to be stabbed in the back by Liberal-Communist republican regime in Madrid? The Russians installed Kim Il-Sung as leader of North Korea in 1945, but who knows it was the anarchists who led the 1919-20 independence struggle against the Japanese, continued resistance through anarcho-syndicalist unions inside Korea and Japan, and those peasants forced to flee into Manchuria formed agricultural collectives and an anarchist guerrilla army, only to be shot in the back by the Communists in the 1930's. The Russians, seizing Bulgaria in 1944, installed a Communist dictatorship in 1948, but who has heard of the 20 years anti-fascist activity of the Bulgarian Anarcho-Communists and their industrial and agricultural CNT union, or that the underground continues to this very day against the Communists? Mao and his peasant army seized China in 1949, but who knows of the second Shanghai Commune of the late 1920's, which the Communists sabotaged because it was led by anarcho-syndicalist unions, or that the Communists had no industrial working class support, the anarcho-syndicalists

continued the resistance to the Japanese invaders, went down fighting against the new Red Mandarins in Changsa in 1950, or that the anarchist worker cells are still active today in Canton, Shanghai, Changsa and in the merchant marine...? Chiang Kai-Shek fled to Taiwan in 1950, freed by the Allies of Japanese rule, but who has heard of the 1910 Shi Lai An insurrection against the Japanese in which the peasants and workers flew the red and black triangular anarchist flag, defeated the occupiers and were brought to earth only when two Japanese Army corps were dispatched against them?

The list goes on and on. Closer to home: we know of Zapata and Villa in Mexico, but how many know that Zapata's right-hand man was an anarchist? Or that Baja California was a red flag commune for six months when Magon's anarchist workers and IWW volunteers defeated the Diaz Federal Army in two battles? Sandino and his Nicaraguan guerrillas fought the U.S. military for seven years (1927-33) and is eulogised by Castro, but how many know that the Sandistas flew the red and black flag, which Sandino brought from Mexico and his past in the anarcho-syndicalist and IWW strikes in Tampico, Mexico in the early '20's..?

Something is known of the IWW and its fight in the USA, but what of the IWW in Canada, Australia, Chile, Peru, Buenos Aires -- all mass movements. Or the tremendous struggle of the anarcho-syndicalist FORA in Argentina and the anarchist workers of Patagonia? Or the 1932 general strike of the anarcho-syndicalist CGT in Portugal? Or the anarchist rôle in the 1920 factory occupations in Italy? Or when the revolutionary syndicalist NSF seized Hammerfest, Norway, in 1921 and fought the army...?

Truly, our own history is that great Dark Continent which we must explore.

G. Jewell

*(We'll try to cover the history of the anarchist movements mentioned in comrade Jewell's article, in detail, in future issues of The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review).*

*New Publication: Aberdeen in the General Strike, A.P.P., 1977, 40p (inc. p+p).*

# INTERPOL

## The International Police Conspiracy

When a bomb exploded in the Paris headquarters of Interpol during the visit of Spanish King Juan Carlos to France last year the police and press expressed bewilderment. Not only had the French police (on orders from Madrid) removed Spanish exiles to a remote island in the Atlantic (see the December issue of Black Flag) in the hope of avoiding such protests — and thus were surprised that anyone else should take offence at Franco's heir being received by the French Government — but the singling out of Interpol for attack seemed to them a curious and seemingly unconnected choice of target. Interpol, they claimed had nothing to do with "politics", it was purely concerned with "criminal" activities. A curious piece of double-think. They were clearly puzzled that an organisation fighting "crime" should be chosen as the target for "political" protest.

Yet the authorities in France and throughout Europe long ago defined armed resistance as "criminal." We have no "political prisoners" claim the French and British Governments (referring to the GARI and Angry Brigade as having conducted purely "criminal" actions), and in West Germany there is only one — Rudolf Hess! — whilst those imprisoned for alleged connections with the Red Army Fraction and 2nd June Movement are said to belong to the "Baader-Meinhof terror gang" and thus, too, are lunatics and bandits. Interpol has snagged itself in a cleft-stick of its own making. When it comes under fire the reason must be "political" (and, "nothing to do with us") but when it

comes to taking part in the international police conspiracy they conveniently switch hats and "criminalise" anarchists and other revolutionary groups into their declared limits of interest. When is a bomb not a bomb? Interpol called the bombing "political" when it exploded, guess what they'll call it when they join in the hunt for the bombers . . .

You may be excused for thinking all this to be an excuse for semantics, but let me just add a little fuel on the fire. "MP URGES INTERPOL INQUIRY AFTER CIA REVELATIONS," this was a headline which appeared in the Guardian (15.3.77) over an article by David Pallister. The meat of it is that the British Home Secretary is coming under some pressure to set up an inquiry into Interpol's London bureau at Scotland Yard (where is to be found the organisation's anti-hi-jack HQ) after criticisms in the USA have revealed CIA involvement in Interpol's activities. Two Congressional hearings have been held to "scrutinise" Interpol's activities in America and a report published as a result in January said "There is absolutely no control over the distribution of information disseminated abroad through Interpol or US law enforcement agencies." According to the Guardian, almost half of the inquiries made to the US bureau of Interpol "did not give sufficient data on why the request was made, the type of criminal activity being investigated and whether the suspect concerned had been arrested or not. Most requests for information involved people with no criminal records."

Louis B. Simms (Interpol US

Bureau chief) denied Interpol's links with the CIA when he gave evidence before a Senate appropriations subcommittee in May 1975, saying "They (the CIA) are an intelligence agency. Therefore our paths do not cross because we are not an intelligence agency." Why then was a narcotics intelligence group set up at Interpol's headquarters in St. Cloud, near Paris, with the help of the CIA and US Treasury Department between 1972 and 1974? The CIA now admits possessing documents (which remain classified) that contain "deliberations regarding means by which Interpol collects intelligence abroad and describes intelligence sources and methods."

Here in London the British Government contributes £96,000 to Interpol's finances and accommodates the London bureau at Scotland Yard's headquarters, with a staff of 32, through the police vote, where the bureau chief is nominally Assistant Chief Commissioner (Crime) Jock Wilson. Scotland Yard are being understandably careful to minimise its role, describing it "simply as a post office for information on criminal matters." What they are not saying is to what extent London Interpol has access to Special Branch files or how exactly do they regard information on "terrorists" or "terrorist suspects" — "political" or "criminal?" Perhaps they too would make the same puzzled face if some "criminal" decided to deliver a "political" protest through their back window, in response to the police conspiracy against the people, and ask "why us?"

Henry Black.

---

## Who is to run Industry?

The British Leyland toolmakers' strike is something that may have a significance far beyond the present moment. It is not "just" about money; not even about differentials. It started off on the issue of measured day work, but the continued struggle over this issue has escalated to the question of *who is to run industry?*

The Government had to take over from private management because it was simply incompetent to continue running Leyland's, which could scarcely be closed down altogether without deliberately smashing the whole economy of Birmingham with all its minor workshops dependent on the running of the plant. But it is now shown that the Government is equally unable to run the plant. The same issues continue.

The present whipping boy of the media, the unions — have they taken

over? On the contrary, they have done their best to back up the Government. Scanlon got the bum's rush at his visit to the works because he was appealing for support for Government policies that are not one whit different from those of the private management. Then — in one of those minor misunderstandings that can alter history — an incorrectly heard interpellation from the floor caused Scanlon to think that someone was suggesting they might well break away from the union. Immediately he raged threats against anyone who dared do such a thing. It hadn't been suggested up to then, but immediately the toolmakers recognised both the validity of the suggestion and the mentality of the union leaders.

For the first time too, they had got the toolmakers together from other plants over the country. Not for the

first time, they realised that in a showdown the union leadership was against them: what they needed was not only a union to fight the management but a union to fight the union. And if all else failed to manage the plant — who was left but the workers themselves?

The council they formed was to all intents a general workers council.

Quick, eager, the minority political parties and groups offer themselves as an "advanced leadership". But the Leyland toolmakers were more advanced than they. They have learned how to dispense with political leadership. If not yet the "Anarchists" the press has portrayed them, the Leyland toolmakers have grasped the essentials. If they go on from there, this will be the turning point in the long road to free socialism.

### The Murrays cont. from front page:

There were two points in relation to this verdict which the Murray Defence Committee in Dublin felt were significant. The first was that the Special Court in Dublin obviously did not care that no argument was put forward to prove the charge of Capital Murder, and having found the Murrays guilty of murdering a policeman did not know the Law sufficiently to realise that Noel Murray could not have been found guilty of Capital Murder anyway.

The second point we felt was significant was that the Supreme Court took such a long time to reach the verdict — exceptionally long as the case was only argued on 2 points of law. We feel the reason for this was (1) because the case has become a case for international concern and thousands of people throughout the world were waiting for the verdict of the Supreme Court. (2) there were international legal observers present at the Court hearing, invited by the Murray Defence Committee. We believe that if there had not been such widespread international interest in the Murray Case that it would not have been treated with such importance by the Supreme Court.

### MARIE'S RE-TRIAL

The first demand raised by the Murray Defence Committee in relation to a re-trial for Marie Murray was that it should be a trial by jury and not a re-trial by the same judges in the same Special Criminal Court. We also demanded that in view of the fact that not only the Murray's case but two other verdicts relating to murder charge convictions by the Special Criminal Court had been reversed by higher courts and the defendants released, that the Special Criminal Court was obviously incompetent and biased. We therefore demanded a re-trial for Noel Murray by jury as well.

With Ronan Stenson's release it has become clear that the whole circumstances surrounding his case and the Murrays' is under such doubt that we have since changed the demands of the Committee to one of **RELEASING THE MURRAYS**.

Marie's case did not come up again for hearing until the end of January and a date for her trial to commence in the SPECIAL COURT was set for April 26th. Shortly before she appeared in court the personnel (judges) in the Special Court was changed and three new judges were appointed. During the period from the Supreme Court decision on the 9th December until a few weeks ago we were completely out of contact with Marie Murray. She was moved to Limerick Prison in the south-west of Ireland where she has been allowed only one visit from Noel Murray's elderly parents. She has been allowed no letters or contact with anyone else. We therefore were unable to find out any details of what Marie intended doing in regard to her trial. This situation has meant that because of her complete isolation from the outside world it is nearly impossible for us to establish any information from her as regards her ideas and views on the whole situation. We have however heard indirectly from Marie who prefers

Limerick to the conditions in which she was being kept.

### RONAN STENSON'S TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL

The release of Ronan Stenson after he was found NOT GUILTY by the newly appointed Special Criminal Court judges is a great victory for the Murray Defence Committees throughout the world and all those who supported them. The political climate surrounding Stenson's trial is as follows:— There was only one single piece of evidence in the Book of Evidence presented by the State against Ronan Stenson, this was a statement claimed to have been voluntarily made by Ronan during interrogation at the time of his arrest in 1975. In April 1976 when he first went on trial Ronan Stenson gave evidence in Court that this statement had been taken from him under torture and his Defence Counsel claimed they had medical evidence to prove this was so. However Ronan collapsed during the trial and was granted a separate trial after doctors and psychiatrists had sworn him unfit to go ahead with the trial for several months. The Murray trial then proceeded against the wishes of the Murrays.

A simple legal point which could have cost Ronan Stenson his life or a long prison sentence, was thrown out by one set of Special Court judges as easily as it had been accepted by another set. Why was this? The Murray Defence Committee believes that if Stenson's case had continued the overwhelming legal evidence substantiating his claims of torture would have had to be accepted — even by the biased Special Criminal Court and his Statement would have been ruled inadmissible — NOT on the grounds of an ILL-LEGAL WARRANT (which might be an understandable legal technicality to some people) but on the grounds that he had been tortured. If this had happened then the allegations of Noel and Marie Murray of similar torture would have had to be considered and the case would have had to be re-opened.

An important point here is that Noel Murray was also arrested on a Bench Warrant which had been issued after he had not turned up in court a couple of years previously. He was not arrested on a proper warrant and the legal technicality which applied in Stenson's case also applies in Noel Murray's. There was also no other evidence against Noel Murray connecting him with the shooting of a policeman other than his STATEMENT which he claimed had been made under torture. Likewise in Marie Murray's case — the main evidence was her STATEMENT.

It is our opinion that the reason the Prosecution willingly admitted (which they did not do in the first trial) that Stenson had been held illegally and the reason the Special Court allowed the technicality to hold, was because the State did not want the full facts about the torture of the Murrays and Stenson to be revealed. They accepted a compromise of the "pound of flesh" and decided it was better to have two already convicted and then release Stenson rather than have his evidence force the re-opening of the Murray case. The reason the State and the Courts were afraid to risk this was because the Murray case a year previously was a case where little publicity had been given to the inconsistencies

surrounding the case and where unfortunately because of the massive media and police propaganda against them — no one would have believed they had been tortured. However, largely as a result of the massive counter propaganda carried out by the Murray Defence Committees throughout the world and in Ireland, the recent revelations of torture of republican prisoners, etc., the Stenson case became an acute embarrassment to the Government.

The release of Ronan Stenson has served to shatter the illusions of many liberals and legal people in the police and those who employ them. One of the PROSECUTING LAWYERS in the Murray and Stenson case, Aiden Brown SC, has spoken out publicly declaring his belief that torture is being used by the police in the 26 Counties. This alone is enough to cast doubt on the whole Murray Case.

### RONAN STENSON'S ACCOUNT OF HIS TORTURE BY THE POLICE

Since his release Ronan Stenson has joined the Murray Defence Committee in Dublin and has been active publicly in the campaign in defence of Marie Murray whose trial begins next month. His courage and dedication to fight the case of Noel and Marie Murray has defied even the savage revenge of those who tortured him. He has been intimidated and had his name taken by the police when putting up posters in Dublin and threatened with prosecution.

The following is a personal account of his arrest and interrogation which resulted in him suffering a severe illness and over a year in prison, until he was proven innocent:

*When the Gardai came to my bedroom I tried to put on my shoes but was grabbed by two of them and dragged from the room. I then tried to put on my glasses but these were knocked from my hand. I was told "You'll not need shoes or glasses where you are going". I was taken from the room and pushed down the stair. I was taken out and shoved in a car. They were all shouting at me: "you're the fucking gunman". "Take him up the mountains"... "Give him what he gave Reynolds".*

*I was taken in a side door of Rathmines Garda station and then taken upstairs. I was made stand against a wall with my arms and legs outstretched and was repeatedly punched in the back and on both sides. Any time I fell I was kicked and made to stand up again. On a number of occasions I was lifted from the floor by my hair and one of the four detectives would push me in the direction of another one who would then punch me in the stomach. When I fell I would be kicked until I got up or was dragged up, then I would be made to stand against either the wall or the door and would again be punched. My head was repeatedly banged against the wall.*

*Although when I had been arrested 2 weeks previously and questioned about the shooting of Garda Reynolds at Clontarf Garda Station, I had made a signed statement giving an account of my movements, I was again asked to give an account of my movements and did so. But they did not write down what I said on this occasion, they just kept on beating me. They took me to a storeroom at the back of the station where they continued using the same treatment — all the time trying to force me*

# REMEMBER HULL '76

The horrifying repression which followed the Hull prison demonstration last September should, we feel, be made known to as wide an audience as possible. It is with this in mind that we reprint the following account from PROP, the paper of the National Prisoners' Movement. Remember — it could be YOU on the receiving end of the events described below! There is always something you can do to help prevent it ever happening again....

(PROP — 1 year's subscription £1.00 from Dick Pooley, 10 Montrose Street, Hull, Yorkshire)

LAST SEPTEMBER, after months of having their complaints about conditions and about the behaviour of prison officers ignored, prisoners at Hull took matters into their own hands.

Several organisations, Prop amongst them, warned about the dangerous situation developing at Hull long before it happened and three organisations (RAP, CSP — "Working People" and UPAL "Up Against the Law") issued a press release in November 1975, calling for the immediate suspension of Governor Kearns and an independent inquiry into the running of the prison. This followed the receipt of a smuggled letter from Hull inmate concerning the ill-treatment of Blackie Saxton by Governor Kearns and his staff. (Blackie Saxton, still at Hull in September 1976 and at present in Lincoln prison, has just been sentenced to 720 days loss of remission).

The press release was ignored by the Home Office, by MP's and by the press and television — including many of the people who are now, after the event, seeking self-advertisement and, in some cases, money out of their "concern".

As in the case of the Parkhurst "riot" of 1969, there was plenty of forewarning of trouble. Not only was the Home Office in no doubt of the dangers, it clearly encouraged them to develop. And there is firm evidence — as at Parkhurst — of screws actually helping to marshal prisoners into a riot situation.

## A Previous Enquiry

Parkhurst was the subject of an inquiry led by Michael Gale, himself an ex-prison governor. This was set up in response to complaints by Parkhurst prisoners which had been smuggled out and subsequently published in the *Sunday People*. And the "riot" followed the Government's refusal to publish the findings of this inquiry — the Gale Report — which is generally understood by newspaper editors, MP's and others with lines of communication to the Home Office, to have largely substantiated the prisoners' complaints — including, specifically, the allegations of brutality made against Parkhurst officers.

The refusal to publish was followed by a sit-down demonstration in Parkhurst's recreation block. The protest was eventually broken up by concerted baton charges which seriously injured many prisoners. Even the judge at the trial which followed remarked on the "excessive use of riot sticks". Tony Blyth needed 42 stitches to his face and head and Frankie Fraser was to spend the next two years in hospital.

Today, eight years after the event, the Gale Report remains unpublished — and the injured men's legal action against 18 prison officers and two assistant governors is being hampered by lack of the background evidence which the Report would provide.

That is why prisoners and their families have been collecting signatures to a petition calling for the publication of the Report. That is why the Hull prisoners, in their roof-top protest, insisted on a PUBLIC enquiry into conditions at Hull.

## Cover Up

What they have been given — and what neither they nor we can accept — is an internal Home Office investigation by Mr Fowler, Chief Inspector of HM Prisons. This is even worse than the Parkhurst inquiry, which at least had a three man team. No doubt they want no leakages at all this time — just as they have changed their minds about taking the prisoners involved to an outside court where a slightly wayward judge might again complain about the "excessive use of riot sticks".

The attitude of the press, of some MP's, and of our "respectable" penal reform organisations seems to be that we must give the Home Office the benefit of the doubt as to their intentions to publish a report of the inquiry.

If prisoners are not represented at the inquiry there cannot be a proper investigation, let alone a report of one. If the Home Office had any good intent in the matter at all it would have opened the inquiry to public scrutiny. And it would have acceded to the demand that the 8 year old Gale Report be published. That, more than anything else, proves that neither the Home Office, nor the new Home Secretary, nor the Prime Minister — who was the Home Secretary who both commissioned and then concealed the Gale inquiry in the first place — intend to come clean about the running of British prisons.

The prisoners have demanded a public inquiry and PROP will do its utmost to see that they get one. We ask all those who have relatives and friends in prison to publicise that our determination in this respect matches that of the prisoners who stood together on the roof of Hull.

## Legal Help Available

We already have depositions from 20 prisoners some of which we publish (in extract) below. All of the depositions are being discussed by a legal panel of barristers and solicitors which will advise on the most effective use to be made of each. The

panel is co-operating with individual solicitors who are already acting for prisoners in different parts of the country.

Inevitably, the proximity of various forms of legal action and the preparations for a Public Inquiry will involve the withholding, for the time being, of some of the most interesting information in our hands. But in this, as in everything else, it is the prisoners' interests and wishes which will be the deciding factor.

**AGAINST HOME-OFFICE COVER-UPS AND PRISON BRUTALITY — FOR A PUBLIC INQUIRY INTO HULL '76 — PUBLISH THE GALE REPORT — PARKHURST '69**

## PRISONERS DEPOSITIONS:

### After the Riot Prisoner "A"

"It little matters what caused the riot at Hull Prison. All kinds of excuses have been given. Brutalities have been mentioned, and 'three just men' have disbelieved us. Not only that, they have punished us.

You have all read about the riot, you have your own views on the subject. Let me tell you what happened after the riot. Let me tell you what I saw, and what I know that the papers don't know.

We all came down Friday 3rd September, we all expected a good hiding, we had been threatened before we came down. We were searched and all our personal property taken from us. Then we were locked up, and, apart from a bowl of soup at 7 o'clock, the door remained locked. All I had in my cell was a mattress, two tatty and damp blankets and no windows. During the night, two screws banged on my door and told me what to expect when I was unlocked. They told me they were going to cripple me, take out my eyes, rip off my arms. They kept this up all night.

Breakfast 4th September. Before my turn came to go for breakfast I heard screams, smacks and some tormenting words from the screws: "Kiss my shoes", "Call me Sir", "Don't mark his face". This last from an S/O (Senior Officer).

I watched through my door a man dragged out of his cell, kicked and beaten and jam spread all over his face. Two screws saw me looking and screamed at me to get away from the door — one threatened to kill me. I stayed where I was. I had already made up my mind that one day I would write down what I saw happen.

My turn came for breakfast. I took my glasses off and went out of my cell. I was kicked from behind. One screw stood on my stockinged feet, and when I reached the serving table I received a bloody nose and tea thrown all over me, smacks and

digs from behind and then I went back to my cell with no breakfast.

Two minutes after being locked up a screw opened my door and gave me a cup of tea. I went to drink it and realised it had piss in it. I could smell it and one taste was enough for me to know how low they had gone to get their revenge. I could write pages of what I saw during the riot and after the riot. I saw a man attacked by three dogs. I had urine poured over me. I have been threatened, kicked and battered.

You may find this hard to believe. One day I will prove to you and all the outside world. I will name names and I will dig out men that I am sure will back me up.

I am glad you have taken an interest in how British prisons are run. As I've stated, I can and will write a more detailed thing about Hull prison.

#### The Final Straw Prisoner "B"

"I write this of my own free will. This, in brief, is some of the points leading up to the riot. It was stated the riot was due to the loss of one hour from Association — this is untrue, as is that of any other allegation or stated cause put forward by prison officials so far.

During the latter end of 1975 up to the time of the riot, inmates were subjected to a tightening programme in which they lost a good number of privileges, including the hour's Association. Most of these were petty, which could have been kept in force and did nothing for security and only served to annoy frustrated men who had had them for years. Example — not allowed football socks any more. Stupid, but a new ruling like so many more.

Inmates naturally grumbled but accepted the new rulings without any active protest. Then pressure was applied by officers. The prison officers at Hull, due to the loss of the inmate's association hour, were losing out on their overtime. A meeting was called by them and there was talk of work to rule because of the seven hours weekly loss. The Governor stepped in and all the work to rule plans ended there. So, like everywhere else, the underdog has to pay. The line of thought was simple — use the prisoners as levers for our cause.

So wherever possible in the cause of duty pressure was applied to the prisoners. When the new Chief and Governor came along and officers realised they would be backed up, without question, the real pressure was applied. After prolonged pressure, frustrated prisoners gave way to pent-up emotions after the final straw was broken — the beating up of a prisoner in the Segregation Unit.

About 100 prisoners went on to the Centre and demanded to see the inmate in question, or to be taken down to see him — that is, a couple of inmates to relay his well-being to the rest. These assurances were refused — an admittance of foul play was the logical conclusion drawn.

If the inmates had been allowed to see the man in question I don't think anything serious would have happened. True, the

man had been assaulted, but I think the men would have pressured for an inquiry in a peaceable manner. But prisoners not being looked upon as humans with any rights at all in any respects, as I say, permission to see the man was refused.

The riot started — how, I don't think was important with the exception of security outlook. Terms were asked for — which were granted — for the handing back of the prison.

#### Running the Gauntlet

On the Friday when inmates came down they were searched thoroughly. All items of personal belongings were taken from them and put in plastic bags and tied with string. Certain people were there watching the procedure to ensure all was well, and inmates were taken to cells and locked up. Later, a vast number of inmates were moved to other prisons leaving about 80 at Hull, of whom I was one.

The morning following the surrender we were unlocked one at a time for breakfast. Prison officers lined the corridors on both sides, one every couple of feet en route to where the meal, if it can be classed as that, was being served. Prisoners were punched, kicked and dragged to the place of breakfast and then back by officers while the superior officers stood by watching and shouting "Don't mark their faces".

During the next few days men were degraded in every way possible. Food and drink were doctored by urine and spittle — hard to believe, but true. Food was cut to the minimum. A lot of personal equipment was found to be broken since its safe arrival into the prison authorities' hands after the riot. We slept with only a blanket and mattress for the first ten days after with no showers or baths. Then we were given a shower, sheets and three extra blankets, but still no bed. We were finally given a bed about the third week.

In the course of time things improved until prisoners received their bare rights, but where possible the excuse of "we are under riot conditions" was used to get out of giving us anything extra.

The officers themselves behaved like undisciplined children running riot themselves, taking advantage of the present conditions to deal out punishment for past grievances or dislikes. Prisoners were placed on report for the smallest things in order for inmates to lose as much remission as possible. The Visiting Committee who tried men for the riot were nothing but a kangaroo court

We are not angels and don't pretend to be. But do we deserve this?"

#### The Thugs Prisoner "C"

"Events leading up to the riot — it started with young prison officers coming into Hull Prison and bringing local rules with them. When their overtime was stopped, we started to get an awful lot of aggravation (e.g. extra turn-overs, strip searches and lots of other petty things).

When a man (M. Clifford) was beaten up in the Segregation Unit things were brought to a head. About 60 inmates stood on the

Centre and asked the Deputy Governor if they could see the man to confirm what they had been told. The D. Governor said to hold on while he telephoned the Governor. He then said that the No.1 had said we had to go back to our cells. Well, I mean, you can't just say that to 60 men who are serving long sentences. Anyway, there was a concentrated rush to get on to A Wing, and that was the start of the riot.

Later, when every screw had fled, I saw M. Clifford. Both his eyes were discoloured and he had a long scratch on his face so this confirmed what we had been told (and so did Clifford). What started the stone-throwing was the screws. They sneaked back into the jail and caught Cox and Frank Lorraine on the Centre. Five screws started beating Cox about the head with riot sticks — there was an awful lot of blood running from his head. Frank Lorraine made it to the top landing before he was caught, and he got the same treatment. That's why the missiles were thrown on that occasion anyway.

When on the roof lots of men wanted to give themselves up anyway. John Oates climbed down the drainpipe after first shouting to the dog-handlers and telling them of his intentions. They said it was alright. When he reached the ground they released the dogs and consequently J. Oates was badly savaged (now in the prison hospital). This greatly deterred anyone else from giving themselves up.

Anyway, when it eventually came to an end and people went to their cells to collect their belongings — personal items — most got a shock. I know I did. My cell was like a refuse tip. I'll give you a brief insight. All my photos were torn up, my letters were in a pile in the centre of the floor mixed with excrement and urine, snooker cue in bits, running shoes soleless, some with sandals, bedspread in ten inch squares, radio and record player in little bits.

So I ended up with no property. My only possessions were a crucifix (later to disappear) and a bar of toilet soap which went as well. When we got to B Wing we were strip-searched and placed in bare cells. After 7 hours we were given a mattress and one blanket, no chamber pots — so it was either urinate on the floor or out of the window.

#### The Cornflake Saga

Now we come to what we call the "Cornflake Saga". In the morning when we were first opened up, we were told to slop out (empty pots). Most declined because they had nothing to slop out with — which did not deter the screws from dragging most from their cells to be punched and kicked by 40 or so screws lining the landing all the way to the recess and back to our cells. The Irish had a longer stay in the recess than most.

I was dragged from my cell by 4 screws whom I name as K. Burns, A. Wilson, P. Watson and S. Houston). I was punched and kicked to the recess and ran back to my cell wall. Breakfast was worse again.

I saw people being kicked, punched and spat on as they passed my cell. Here are a few of the names — C. Beaumont, G. Chatterton, M. Russell, S. Bailey, N. Simmons. These I saw through the cell door as I had a 10" wide spy hole in it. From my cell I saw M. Clifford being kicked on the floor. This happened regularly to him, G. Cunningham and B. Hughes.

My door was opened by M. Stevenson, the PTI, Burns and Wilson dragged me from my cell and Burns and Watson started to punch me. Burns and Wilson then held my arms while Stevenson punched punched me in the face (8 stitches). Then I was tripped and kicked along to where they served breakfast. I got up and picked some bread. The butter was placed on my arm, the jam on the back of my hand. I was given a bowl of cornflakes whilst Officer Ribby was urinating in the milk So, declining the milk, I turned to face Officer Houston who kicked the bowl from my hand. I was kicked back to my cell with a handful of jam.

Poor Nigel Simmons got 3 pots of urine over his head as did most of the Irish. I heard that the screws kept one cell full of chamber pots full of old urine — just for us — and THEY call us ANIMALS! Well, that was the breakfast.

Five days later we were given chamber pots and a bed each. We saw thousands of pounds worth of people's property burned — i.e. coffee tables, running shoes, radios, record players, records, guitars, hobbies, music boxes, paintings and all the things that were made for Xmas presents (as well as most of the fixtures and fittings in the jail). This was done on great fires on a piece of concrete next to B Wing. It took three wagons, belonging to ALLISONS of Hull, six trips loaded by a JCB to shift the ashes. That should tell you how many ashes and how much was burnt.

The Visiting Committee was just a kangaroo court. If all those that were charged and found guilty were taken to an outside court I bet there would be not more than half a dozen of them found guilty. Talk about a FIT UP. If the public could only see what these men do, these men who call us animals, these men who are protected by the Government's cloak of respect. Well, that's all I can think of and I hope it does some good — sorry so brief.

#### Provocation Prisoner "D"

"At the beginning of August the screws (officers) of Hull Prison started roaring to all and sundry about not getting enough overtime. They wanted a riot but got more than they bargained for.

First thing was putting men on report for petty things like pin-ups on the walls (TAKE them down), then turning a man's cell over (SEARCH) sometimes two or three times a week. Before it used to be one a month, if that. A screw, Mr. Houston, came up to me and other inmates and asked "Why don't you start a riot to help the screws because we are not allowed to strike?" The answer was do your own

dirty work if you've got the guts. No doubt other screws were doing the same anyway — you'll get an idea how it all started.

On Tuesday 31st August four screws beat up a man down in the Segregation Unit. His name is Marty Clifford. The names of the screws that did it I don't know. Anyway, they wouldn't let us see him. The attitude of the Governor and the Staff was "so what — go back to your cells — we can do what we like anyway". That was the last straw — all hell broke loose. There was a few screws broke the 3 minute mile — within 15 minutes there wasn't a screw in the nick.

They call us animals for sticking up for what is right. They have no scruples. One man wanted to give himself up, John Oates is his name — alright "Come down" said the pigs. They set three dogs loose on him — I believe he's in a hell of a mess. But the worst I have ever seen is the bastards screws looting cells, burning personal letters, photos, toys made for Xmas for the kids, laughing and reading our letters to each other. This was after we had given ourselves up on the word of a NO GOOD MP that all property would be honoured.

4th September all men have come down and are locked up, each man going for breakfast. 40 to 50 screws lining the landings kicking, spitting and rubbing jam in a man's face, throwing a bucket of urine over you — dinner time, all the food soaked in urine, no way are these people human. All my life I've been a villain but never would I pull strokes like these so-called human beings have done with these lads. I'll always be a villain. No way do I want to be a human being if this is how they carry on.

I will be willing to confront these people but what chance have I against the backing they have? But I will have my pound of flesh. Beatings will not be forgotten. Stevenson, Houston, Wilson, Murray to name a few.

#### Home Office Broke Promises Prisoner "G"

"I went into the Centre on the Tuesday night. My reason for being there was the fact that an inmate had been beaten up in the Segregation Unit. The officers involved were Harrison, Croll and Houston and the man in charge of the Seg. Unit S/O Robinson.

After spending some time there listening to the refusals of Assistant Governor Manning when asked by us to see the inmate. He also informed us that the Governor deemed not to meet us. I left the Centre shortly after. By the time I returned they had stopped movement and consequently I was banged up on the Tuesday night.

I entered the riot on the Wednesday and I proceeded to take full part in it. During the next couple of days two incidents stick in my mind. The first was one of the occasions I saw the inmate who had been beaten up. He had a large scratch on his cheek, several other grazes and general discolour-

ation consistent with bruising. His eyes were also discoloured. This could have been either caused by being hit around the eyes or damage to the nose or both. The other matter was with regard to an inmate who tried to surrender to the Dog Patrol. They set the dogs on him and then they took him behind a building and set upon him with batons.

Later on in the Riot we were visited by the Home Office mediator who made a statement with regard to matters once we came down off the roof. The points he made were as follows:

#### 1 No Brutality

#### 2 Allowed a Hot Bath

#### 3 Allowed a Hot Meal

As will be shown either he was lying or the staff totally disregarded his orders.

#### Screws on the Rampage

On the Friday we came down from the roof we were searched and all special effects taken from us — contrary to what the Home Office mediator had said. We were taken to B Wing and assigned a cell. The cell I was put in was swimming in urine. The officers thought this was a great joke. One officer named Wilson said "It looks as though there has been a leak — still, anything is good enough for you bastards".

This cell had nothing in it. No chair, no pot, no utensils or any of the cell furnishings one would normally find in a cell. When I asked about a pot I was told "Piss out the window" which I had to do for the next week or so to the consternation of the person below. Later that evening we were given a mattress and a blanket. The mattress had to be placed in the urine as it hadn't as yet dried out. In fact it was 2 to 3 weeks before we were allowed to mop out.

#### Food Swimming in Urine

The warm meal we got consisted of two sandwiches. In the evening we were given a bowl of soup swimming in urine. The lights were turned out to prevent people from seeing what they were eating.

In the next few days the food was invariably swimming in urine and generally tampered with. The tea at supper-time also had urine in it. That night we slept very little due to the constant harassment from the staff. Rattling chains, singing, switching lights on and off and general clattering and banging. We received this treatment for 2 or 3 weeks.

On being unlocked on the Saturday morning I was told to slop out and was harassed all the way to the recess. I had just started to relieve myself when I was pulled away from the urinal. I was informed that I had had long enough. Several officers gathered around in case of any argument. I returned to my cell and urinated out of the window. I didn't wash for 7 days and I wasn't allowed to clean my teeth for ten days.

When breakfast time arrived I had already heard scuffles and shouts, etc., so I knew what to expect when they came to my door. An officer named Burns grabbed

me by the hair. Another, Houston, grabbed me by the hair from the other side. Another, Riby, kicked me in the groin and I was then dragged down the Spur. The Spur was lined by numerous members of the staff who punched and kicked me as I was dragged to where the food was being served. As I put my plate out, it was knocked from my hand and a spoon-full of jam was daubed on my hand. Cornflakes were thrown in my general direction — I was then informed I had had my breakfast. All the while Burns and Houston were pulling my hair from either side. I was dragged back to my cell, kicked and punched by others lining the Spur.

Inmates were dealt with in similar vein on all the other Spurs. Many of them covered in urine thrown at them by the staff. Many of the number were sorted out for special treatment — the IRA men in particular. The staff attempted to make them crawl on their knees singing "God Save the Queen". Other members of the staff prominent in the party that did the beatings were Wilson, Watson, Cullen. They were led by Stevenson, the PTI. This in no way exonerated the rest of the staff who also played their part whilst lining the Spur.

The Senior Officers at this point in time were the only ones issued with keys so the beatings were sanctioned by the men in charge. In fact, in the following weeks it was obvious that the staff and the Governor were running the prison.

It was during these first few weeks that many personal effects were burned. Perfectly good radios were smashed and thrown on the fire. Many items that people had made in their spare time such as babies' soft toys were consigned to the fire as were letters and photographs, etc. When people enquired about these later they were told that they had been destroyed in the Riot. **BLATANT LIES.** Also, a great many items left by the front gate — stereo units, LP's, record players, etc.

#### Cover up

There also followed in those first few weeks harassment over visits and letters. Any mention of the Riot and the beatings etc. were stopped. The letters then had to be re-written with the offending pieces omitted. During visits staff were continually breathing down your neck preventing any kind of privacy. Also, trying to prevent any word of what had happened leaving the prison.

Finally, I would like to point out that had any of the above things happened in Chile or some other Dictatorship the present Government would have been up in arms, MP's would have been jumping up in the house condemning the mindless brutality. But these things didn't happen in some far off country or in some dictatorship. This happened here in a so-called enlightened country. But what has the Government done? **Condemned it? NO - they have suppressed the truth.**

This is why I have made this statement. Because it would have been futile to complain within the prison itself. Because the inmate beaten up in the Segregation Unit had done just that and had remission taken off him for his pains. This way the public will realise the type of people running the prisons and they are backed by a Government that is continuously mouthing platitudes about penal reform.

In the final analysis Hull 1976 was about an inmate being beaten up in the Segregation Unit. But it also brought to light the determined efforts of militant young prison officers. Determined to cause unrest on behalf of the overtime claim.

These militants are at work in every long term prison. Unless something is done about the petty aggravations, the needless harassment of long term prisoners, Hull '76 will not be the last Riot within the Prison System.

The warnings are already there — Wakefield, Albany".

#### **THE PRECEDING PAGES ONLY SKIM THE SURFACE OF WHAT HAPPENED IN HULL PRISON 1976 — ONLY A FULL PUBLIC INQUIRY CAN REVEAL THE TRUTH!**

*The following is a list of prisoners adjudicated for their part in the events at Hull Prison. Some of these men may have received additional sentences on subsequent charges. Others may have charges pending. There are also unconfirmed reports that one prisoner has lost 815 days loss of remission. Over 180 prisoners are believed to have been adjudicated so far.*

*NED BERRIGAN 13 months loss of remission and 7 months privileges; MARTIN CLIFFORD 390 days remission, 168 days privileges; BERTIE COSTER, 365 days remission (loss of privileges unknown); WALLY DOWNS 365 days remission, 6 months privileges; ALEX GOODMAN 590 days remission, 240 days privileges; BILLY GOULD 500 days remission, 500 days privileges; JAKE PRESCOTT 700 days remission, 8 months privileges; BLACKIE SAXTON 720 days remission, 252 days privileges; ROBERT SMITH 9 months remission, 5 months loss of privileges; BILLY STEWART 240 days remission, 112 days privileges.*

#### **REMEMBER HULL 1976!**

*Bars and burning lights sear our brains  
Showing us your immorality  
Your bland complacent smiling face  
We want to spit into your open gaping mouth  
So you can taste the bitterness and hate  
The slow worm of time slows on  
Making us pace its time in haste  
Making us crawl beneath its slimy body  
Forcing us to cry unclean  
This crooked roof distorts our face in pain  
This face you shall now see  
For all that's left to us you see  
Is hate  
Hate for the cold the damp and the rain  
Hate for the bodies twisted up in pain  
And for the homes we shall never see again  
R. Pooley (September 1976)*

## POLAND

Apart from the burning of the Communist Party headquarters in Radom and the widespread work stoppages, it has only come to light recently to what extent pitched class warfare occurred during the June incident. The Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners reports that while the local party headquarters was ablaze in Radom on June 25, workers threw up barricades and fought police, resulting in seventy-five police injuries and the deaths of two workers.

In the industrial city of Plock 1,500 people demonstrated with red flags singing the International. Numerous other plants walked out in sympathy in different Polish cities including the Zeran plant which makes Polski Fiat and employs 15,000 workers.

The demonstrations and walk-outs ended 24 hours later, three hours after the government rescinded the price raises. Two days later, however, the increases were re-imposed at about half the previous level.

After the government announcement, victory fires were lit in the streets with workers declaring a triumph. At this point the police intervened with bloody assaults, systematic beatings and tear gas. Subsequently four hundred workers were interrogated in Radom and after a farce of a trial, six workers were sentenced to terms of up to ten years in prison for "destroying socialist property." In Ursus, seven workers received three to five year terms.

About six hundred workers used the tractors they produced to derail the Porzan-Warsaw train line, while several hundred were held at the Radom plant, and 150 others at the Plock refinery. In several Polish cities the authorities have carried out massive arrests on the basis of photographs taken by the police, some of them from helicopters which circled the demonstrations.

One thousand more workers have been thrown out of the plants for three months during which time they cannot work. They will be allowed to return to work after that period only on the condition they accept a lower salary. In the "socialist" countries the government controls both the police and wage work, giving their repressive measures immense clout.

Polish authorities have denied the arrest of workers and demonstrators stating that "only people who profited from the events to commit offences against common law such as pillage, violence, sabotage of railways, etc." were tried. The public and foreign journalists were not admitted to the trials and the government stated that although the trials are public "it is up to the (court) tribunal to decide who will or will not be allowed into the hall."

The government controlled official Polish press has been showered with organised expressions of support for its policy of repression and compulsory demonstrations have been organised to support the Party. On June 28 workers in Warsaw were ordered to leave the

cont. p.19

to make a statement admitting involvement in the bank robbery at Killester and the shooting of a policeman afterwards. On the way to the storeroom they pulled off my shirt and sweater "for the purpose of searching me".

In the storeroom I was subjected to the same brutality. I was struck repeatedly on the arm with a hammer. After this I was beaten on the back with a rope and with my own belt. I was then taken to a cell downstairs, pushed into the cell, then kicked and struck several times by a uniformed guard with a baton.

There was a deliberate and organised attempt to prevent me seeing my solicitor or contacting any of my friends or relatives. Although I had been brought into the station at 11 a.m. and put in a cell at 12.45, taken out an hour later the Station Sergeant claimed that he had not been told about my presence in the station.

While I was in this cell I was questioned by uniformed guards who were outside the cell. They told me that they could not understand how I could be arrested if I had nothing to do with the robbery or shooting of Reynolds. Just before 2p.m. I was taken from the cell to an interview room. I heard the news headlines on the radio that a couple had been arrested in Raheny in connection with the shooting of Garda Reynolds. The detectives claimed that the couple were Noel and Marie Murray and that I should make a confession now about the bank robbery and the shooting of Reynolds.

I denied having any part in the affair. In the words of one of the detectives (admitted subsequently at my trial) "things then began to hot up". The detectives moved a table out of the way and surrounded me. I was pulled from the chair by my hair, was grabbed and thrown from one detective to another and repeatedly punched in the face, stomach, chest and back. I was punched every time I denied having any involvement in the robbery or shooting. This continued for some time. They only stopped to allow another detective to take my fingerprints.

I was then taken upstairs to the room I had been in when first taken to the station and was again subjected to the same type of treatment - made stand against the wall and door, punched in ribs, back, stomach, grabbed by the hair numerous times and swung around the room. Any time I fell I was kicked repeatedly until I got up and again made stand against the wall or door. I was kept in this room about two hours and then I was taken to the storeroom again.

From the time of my arrest I had continually asked the police to contact a solicitor for me and denied strenuously having any involvement in the robbery or shooting. I was told that I would not be seeing a solicitor until I had made a "confession".

In the storeroom they continued to beat me up. I was again made stand spreadeagled against the door and on several occasions the door was opened quickly from the outside hitting me in the face. On several occasions I was held by two detectives on either side, pushed forward and kicked in the groin. When I fell I was kicked in the back and dragged to my feet again, then kicked in the chest. The

same detective who had kicked me in the chest twisted my arm up my back and told me that it was his intention to break my arm.

About 6 p.m. I was taken from the storeroom to the office on the opposite side of the corridor. I was told to sit down at a table. One of the detectives told me that I was going to be charged with the bank robbery and read from some sheets of paper in front of him an account of what had taken place before, during and after the robbery. He told me that if I didn't sign this "confession" they would continue to beat me up and would continue all night and the next day if necessary. At this stage I was in such pain and confusion that I signed the document put in front of me. I felt I could not take any more.

About 10.30 p.m. I was taken to Harcourt Terrace Garda Station where I was brought to a room where I met Marie Murray. I told her what had happened. I was then moved to another room where I was interrogated again and told to try to persuade Noel Murray to sign a statement. I told them that Noel Murray was able to decide for himself whether to sign anything. For saying this I was beaten around the head. One of the detectives shouted at me "I suppose you don't believe in God?" I replied "no". I was then punched in the stomach and knocked to the floor. I was kicked by one of the detectives and dragged to my feet. I was then told the name of a man I knew and told to say that this man had been the driver of the getaway car. I told them that I had not been involved in any robbery and therefore I did not know the names of anyone connected with it. The detectives kept asking me: "Who was the driver?" and I repeatedly replied that I did not know.

I was then taken to another room where again I saw Marie Murray with a policeman and a detective. We were both given a name and asked if it was the driver of the getaway car in the bank robbery. We both replied that we did not know. I was then taken back to the other room and told to sit down. One of the detectives again mentioned the name of the person they claimed they knew was the driver of the car in the Killester bank robbery. Again I repeated that I did not know the answer to their questions. I was hit again and again across the face and they kept repeating the name of a man and telling me to say I knew he was the driver of the car. After a while one or two detectives came behind me and grabbed me by the ears and hair and lifted me off the chair. They then informed me they were going to kill me. By this stage I was only semi-conscious and I remember a detective producing something for me to sign which I did. These documents were never produced during my trial and the police have denied their very existence.

At about 3 a.m. I was brought to the Bridewell Garda Station and left in the cells until the morning. In the morning a solicitor arrived and began taking a statement from me about my arrest and interrogation. A few minutes after I was taken from the room to another where I saw Noel and Marie Murray. We were presented with charge sheets, then brought in separate cars to the Special Criminal Court where we were charged with bank robbery at Killester and the murder of Garda Reynolds.

## PRISON CONDITIONS OF NOEL AND MARIE MURRAY

Since the trial of Marie and Noel Murray by the Special Criminal Court and the announcement of their verdict, Marie has been moved from the women's section at Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, to Limerick Prison in the west of Ireland. There, she is detained in a high security wing for women political prisoners. She is allowed to mix with the other women political prisoners but her contact with the outside world is almost zero. She has had no visits since her transfer. The Department of Justice which grants permission for each individual visit has so far refused all requests to visit Marie. A number of the Murray Defence Committee have received letters of refusal with no explanation as to why they cannot visit her. They are not members of any political party and have no record of any prosecutions. The only persons with permission to visit are the parents of Noel Murray who live in Kildare near Dublin.

Noel Murray is being held in the Curragh military camp outside Dublin. This camp is reserved for men political prisoners, mainly those tried by the Special Criminal Court. Noel has been condemned to prison for life with particularly grim conditions attached which deny him the rights enjoyed by other long term prisoners. Recently he purchased a stereo record player by mail order (which prisoners may have in their cells). On its delivery at the prison, the authorities refused to allow him to have it.

The isolation of Marie Murray from visitors, friends and support make a good defence in her new trial very difficult. To make things worse every few months the media are fed stories of so-called "escape attempts", disputes between the women prisoners, etc., to convey the image of "aggressive, terrorist" women unlike ordinary women. In this way the authorities hope to justify the isolated and difficult conditions which the women have to endure. The Murray Defence Committee has had meetings with lawyers, priests and others in an attempt to improve prison conditions for the Murrays.

## ACTIVITIES OF THE MURRAY DEFENCE COMMITTEE

The Murray Defence Committee have been carrying out an intensive campaign of poster-ing, highlighting the torture and hanging issues concerning the Murray case. We are being prosecuted every time we are seen putting up posters and most of our members appear in court at regular intervals. We have published a report on the Supreme Court trial by the international lawyers who came to observe the trial. We have organised a public meeting "FROM TORTURE TO THE GALLOWS" for 6th April in Dublin and a march on Saturday 23rd April - the Saturday before Marie's trial is scheduled to start. We are organising a deputation of international lawyers, writers and political figures to be present during Marie's re-trial. For this we urgently need funds in order to pay air fares and accommodation where necessary. Finally, we regret the delay in forwarding an up to date report on the case, but it has been a slow task to build up the information we need at the present time.

**Marie MacMahon**

Secretary, Murray Defence Committee,  
155 Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare.

# SPAIN: C.N.T. MEETING



On Sunday 27th March the CNT held its first public meeting in the bullring at San Sebastian de los Reyes, a few miles from Madrid. It was reported in the BBC news, and the following day in the Guardian. There were, according to the conservative Spanish press, 25,000 people at the rally, which approximated to that of the Socialists and their allies (30,000) but this was a legal one of permitted parties. The London Guardian only allowed 8,000 people at the meeting — two-thirds having got lost in transmission. We doubt if only 8,000 could have breached a dent in the press refusal to admit the Spanish libertarian movement exists and has a proper name, Anarchist. The 'Times', surprised, said the 'long dormant' CNT had sprung to life — it might have recognised its 'spring to life' before had it not been for its obligatory rule that Anarchists in Spain have to be referred to as 'Nationalists' or 'Marxists' whereas Marxists or Nationalists elsewhere must be referred to as 'Anarchists' which had on this occasion to be abandoned.

Juan Gomez Casas and Luis Edo spoke.

Telegrams of congratulations were received from all over the world including one from ourselves on behalf of the Black Cross, Black Flag and Centro Iberico.

Afterwards a cavalcade of motor cyclists raced round Madrid — defiantly showing the red-and-black flag of the CNT and something the Guardian mysteriously referred to as the 'Jolly Roger.'

It should have realised what that signified: the Spanish equivalent of the Hell's Angels was defying the police and the Warriors of Christ the King (the fascist death squads): its identification with the libertarian moment rather than authoritarian symbols may have shocked some of the 'old brigade' but to us appears one of the most hopeful signs of the meeting.

The enthusiasm with which the CNT was treated is symbolic of the fact that Anarchism has never died in Spain . . . it is all the more urgent that our appeal for second-hand duplicators and allied equipment (see last issue) should succeed. All that is needed now is the means of communication. The response is already there.



GOMEZ CASAS, CNT NATIONAL SECRETARY (AT THE MICROPHONE), AND LUIS EDO (RIGHT) 27/3/77. SEE BACK COVER.

## A GRAVE LEGAL PROBLEM

How can the assets confiscated from the Spanish trade union be restored? This is a question asked by the daily paper "Nueva Rioja" one of the "official" union leaders. Needless to say, this would pose a grave legal problem. "How, for instance," he asked "Could one say guarantee that the CNT now represents the CNT of the thirties and that its militants of today are the heirs of the assets of that organisation — based solely on their ideological affinity with it?" Strangely enough, this never posed any "grave legal problems" during the years of fascist repression when it was enough for the word of a policeman a soldier or a Falangist to "guarantee" that a militant belonged to an illegal organisation!

But there are even graver "legal problems" than the assets confiscated by the Franco regime when it seized power in a military rebellion. As a Spanish TV interview put it — "Are we to say that everything that was placed in the custody of the CNT or the UGT during the civil war, for instance, a decision rubber-stamped by the government of the Republic, has now got to be restored? Nobody would seriously suggest that." What was being referred to was the collectivisation of industry. The workers were in control (not, as a matter of fact, the unions) and their occupation had been "rubber stamped". What was being asked is it necessary, in order to prove Spain to be a democracy, to restore workers' control? Nobody seriously suggesting it, indeed! It is now being cried out from the housetops. The very reason for the forty years Franco dictatorship was to wipe out workers' expropriation — the mortal sin against the values of capitalism (and State Socialism).

## A report in the Guardian states:

"The Government faces further bureaucratic problems in the dismantling process of Franco's National Movement. The Falangists' National Movement controls 35 daily newspapers. None of the provincial papers have a circulation of more than 50,000 but some of the papers formerly belonged to Republican and left wing organisations.

"They were seized by Franco and handed over to 'the national delegation of press and propaganda of the Falange.' For example, the Nueva Espana of Oviedo was previously the Republicans' Socialist daily Avance, and Solidaridad Nacional, of Barcelona was a trades union paper, Workers' Solidarity.

"It is possible that the Government will investigate the true ownership of these papers, and may consider restoring them to their owners and organisations dispossessed by Franco." (trades union) i.e. CNT; the paper is well known to anarchists by its Spanish title Solidaridad Obrera.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## BULGARIA

Christo Kolev (66) is a Bulgarian anarchist with a long history of intransigent personal opposition to the authoritarian regimes which have dominated Bulgaria's recent history. Between 1930 and 1944 (the pro-fascist era) he was tried 14 times for his part in the anti-fascist resistance movement. Since the CP came to power in 1944, he has spent over 10 years in prisons and labour camps.

Christo (who has been adopted as a "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International) was arrested in August 1971 after attending the funeral of Penko Teofilov (a fellow-member of the Anarchist Communist Federation of Bulgaria) at which he made a speech attacking authoritarian communism. He was "assigned residence"—a move the authorities can take without bringing charges which effectively restricts a person to only one town. He is now living in his native village of Balvan (near Velik Trnovo) where he has to report regularly to the police. Because of the restrictions placed on him he is not allowed to leave Balvan except in unusual circumstances, and as a result he rarely sees his mother, who is nearly 100 years old and living in financial hardship in Sofia.

*Letters of protest to:* The Bulgarian Embassy, 12 Queen's Gate Gardens, London, SW7.

*Letters of solidarity to:* CHRISTO KOLEV, Balvan (Velik Trnovo), BULGARIA' (source: Brand)

## UNITED STATES

### An alternative Press?

Jack Ford, 24 year old son of former president Ford was named in February as assistant to the publisher of *Rolling Stone* magazine, accelerating the process of political schizophrenia that haunts the paper. *Rolling Stone* has built up an anti-establishment image (in spite of advocating people to vote for Carter) mainly through the in-depth coverage of stories such as the Karen Silkwood case, although the reliance that *Rolling Stone* places on police sources during the course of its investigations (as far as its coverage of the SLA) continuously undermines its more radical efforts.

## SOUTH AMERICA

### Cry for us, Eva Peron

State repression still rages unchecked throughout the Southern American continent, and the situation remains confused. The military regimes (which often get the moral backing of so-called "libertarians" such as Milton Friedman) are resorting to desperate methods in an attempt to stamp out all opposition.

In Argentina last November six people were shot dead by security forces when they were discovered distributing pamphlets in the Las Quintas neighbourhood of La Plata. In the same month 10 police-

men, including the deputy police-chief, were injured by a bomb placed in the La Plata police HQ by part-time police clerk Alfredo Guillermo Martinez, who is now in hiding with his wife, Diana Wlichky. Police describe the couple vaguely as "neo-Peronist". Also last November at least 30 people were arrested in Santa Fe by police following house to house searches, which are going on continuously throughout the country.



● Norma Esther Arrostito

During December, Norma Esther Arrostito, a founder member of the outlawed Montoneros, was shot dead by military and armed civilians who cordoned-off a Buenos Aires suburb while she was visiting a relative.

General (self-styled President) Videla has been the target of three assassination attempts in the last 18 months, the most recent occurring in February of this year, when a bomb exploded under the runway of an airport from which he was taking off. In December a bomb-blast in a Defence Ministry department killed 11 people.

Last year a number of anarchist affinity groups composed of young workers and students formed a loose federation. About 20 of these young anarchists, including some Uruguayans are currently held in Argentinian jails. We hope to publish more on their plight soon.

In Uruguay, our correspondent informs us that Elena Quinteros De Diaz, a thirty year old teacher, is in police custody following an incident in which she had sought refuge in the Venezuelan Embassy, was dragged out by police after they had broken into the Embassy and become involved in fights with embassy staff. Elena, a libertarian, is believed to be a member of the clandestine anarchist organisation *Resistencia obrero estudiantil*, an organisation formed after the *Federacion Anarquista Uruguayana* was declared a prohibited organisation in 1970. Another anarchist group, the Popular Revolutionary Organisation (O.P.R. 33) has carried out a number of bomb attacks and expropriations, giving the money to the poor.

The latest wave of repression follows the gun-point detention of 12 (out of 36)

members of the anarchist *Comunidad del Sur* in Montevideo, which has resulted in the closure of the community's print-shop. The community's farm continues, although 7 more members of the commune have fled to the Argentine, where they have been detained without cause.

Aid for the community can be sent via the Black Cross.

*Addresses:* Argentinian Embassy, 9 Wilt-on Crescent, London SW1.

Uruguayan Embassy, 48 Lennox Gardens, London SW1.

## INDIAN INCOMMUNICADO

Constantino Lima, a 43 year old Aymara Indian from Bolivia, was arrested last June at his home and hasn't been heard from since. His "crime": attending the International Conference of Indigenous Peoples, the first world-wide gathering of representatives of the "Fourth World", held in 1975 in Port Alberni, B.C., Canada. Lima, a lawyer and glass-cutter, has been active on behalf of the Aymarans for more than 20 years; he has been arrested twice before by the Bolivian military regime, for a total of four years, and was brutally tortured (knees and ribs broken). His friends fear greatly for his life. They ask for letters demanding his release be sent to Colonel Juan Pereda Asbun, Ministro del Interior, La Paz, Bolivia, and to Bolivian embassies in all countries

(Source: Open Road)



*Argentinian soldiers carrying out house to house document checks and searches.*

**THE PICTURES OF THE MURRAYS ON PAGE ONE ARE AVAILABLE, PRICE 5P. EACH FROM THE LONDON DEFENCE GROUP, 29 GROSVENOR AVE. N5.**

## The State of the State cont.

know of in history, contains the seeds of destruction not just of itself but of the very earth we live on because of its super-efficiency added to the lack of the human element.

*Is it to be wondered at that Anarchism is anathema to the priests of the new cult?*

# THE GANG OF FOUR

The Chinese rulers have been engaged for months now in pumping stories about the Gang of Four into the ears of the world. Some of it is bizarre in the extreme: how Mrs. Mao nagged her poor old husband and played cards while he was dying (not an uncommon trait in those who marry for wealth or power!) How the good lady was really a very inferior cinema actress and could never have made it without the casting couch; how she aspired to become Empress of China and could have made it without the vigilance of the ever-watchful Party, and so on.

Behind these stories lies the harsh realities of what happens after the death of a dictator, and particularly one as shrewd in his lifetime as the late Mao Tse Tung.

Using the empty phrases of Marxist-Leninism, trading on the power in the hands of the Army, using the students as a formidable propaganda force, he imposed his will upon the working people in a manner which ended with his total enshrinement as philosopher god, Emperor in all but name, modestly claiming only that of Chairman.

Even after his death, the lesser mandarins who ruled in his shadow do not dare to attack him openly; the benign, smiling Buddha figure remains as philosopher god. But in his name they endeavour to destroy what he built up, and attack him viciously at one remove — they attack his wife as Dowager Empress in precisely those terms.

Like Napoleon I, Mao had allowed the minor figures to take the blame for the running of the country while he took the military glory. Where the faceless bureaucrats were successful, all praise went to him and everybody from engineers down to table tennis players had to chant the glories of Mao in giving them victory. Where, however, the shoe pinched; wherever there was suffering to be made in the wake of economic advance, or privations caused because of such grandiose national follies as the Cultural Revolution, the bureaucrats were held up to public humiliation and disgrace, held accountable for failure where they were never accountable for success.

In this miserable role they supported a comfortable existence, very similar to the Ministers of Napoleon. They swallowed it all in silence until Mao's death. Then they launched the counter-attack upon Mao's closest circle. It is no coincidence his widow is among the "Gang of Four" now held up for the same scorn as they too once received; in fear of their lives as the bureaucrats were once in fear; as objects of general derision and hatred, held out as scapegoats.

The new rulers of China are baffled by the Western Press referring to the victory of "Moderates" (trying to explain China in terms of Western European politics). In what way are they "moderate" or their opponents

"extreme?" Both want the same State tyranny, the same variant of State communism. Both have recited the folk-wisdom-for-backward-kids contained in Uncle Tse-tung's Red Book, they are incapable now of presenting a gang fight in ideological terms and presented it as a struggle for principles. The new rulers of China, the faceless mandarins who have achieved power, only say that the Gang of Four have no "popular support", are cannibals, rightwing deviants and liked sitting up playing poker until all hours. What do the Tory correspondents mean by talking about "moderation?" How is the "gang" to their "left?" The "gang" are not allowed to say anything, but if they could it would be in much the same terms.

## THE STRUGGLE IN FUKIEN

The struggle of the workers against the regime, glossed over by the Press in its determination to present everything in a Western European guise, has nothing to do with the struggle of the new faceless rulers to assume control as swiftly as possible and — if not able to destroy the old god, at least prove that it was really on their side all the time.

In January there was significant news from local radio in Fukien province opposite Taiwan, and for that reason susceptible to outside reporters, for only known Right Wing pressmen are allowed inside China, which feels its natural (anti-Russian) allies are Conservatives. There was "a serious counter-revolutionary incident in which some people put up reactionary posters and shot and killed revolutionaries." Translated into plain language, whether Chinese or English, that means there was a revolutionary struggle. We read in the press of "26 active counter-revolutionary criminals" being ordered to death. "Counter-revolutionary" can only mean revolutionary in the Chinese context: either they wanted to overthrow the regime or they did not. No reactionary believes in a revolution in China though they believe in armed intervention from outside. No outside government, not America or Russia, believe either in the revolution or armed intervention. They abandon China to its fate economically. They only want it contained. They might agree to seizing bits of territory if they could do so easily. But never would they give an atom of support to revolution against the regime. (Just as America does not want the enormous hazard of perhaps replacing State communism in Russia with a capitalist competitor of enormous potential). That is just Lenin-talk, with no serious application to modern times.

Then comes reports of executions in Peking, Shanghai, Canton and Putien and Chinchiang. Significantly, these are all towns and counties where the anarchist tradition is strong. "Military authorities have been sent to Chinchiang county to maintain order," reports the Press, which

jumps to the conclusion that all this is the reaction of "extremists" to the Gang of Four being suppressed by moderates. Yet five years ago these self same places revolted before; and the "gang" was firmly in the saddle. Here were held the so-called anarcho-syndicalist trials which we reported at the time; here were the demands for workers' councils rebuffed by the Party in the name of "discipline versus anarchy; order versus aggravated hooliganism." Now we are told by the press that they are showing "unrest on the death of Chairman Mao and the disgrace of the Gang of Four radicals!" The same three towns, the same two counties! What a coincidence!

We cannot affirm the nature of the revolt at the present time because our contacts have been disrupted. We can only take the messages emanating in the press and try to evaluate them. It can well be that Anarchism in China is once more raising its head in affirmation of an ideal that will yet prevent the many headed hydra of State tyranny in China, the Empire, the Republic and the collectivist State from growing yet another head when this one is cut off. A.M.

This year 1977, will see the victory of world people's revolution led by our Party beloved Chairman Hua. But this excellent news is kept out from the minds of the working people in Britain by the lie machine of the fascist state (press, radio, t.v.). This is to be expected of a dying class. They are helped in this criminal act, however, by the 'gang of four' in the imperialist heartlands: Reg Birch-Hardial Bains-Carol Reakes-Alan Evans who in concert with their masters keep the people in the dark about the coming victory of world people's revolution.

Beloved Chairman Hua Kuo-feng has said that "1977 will be a year in which we shall smash the 'gang of four' completely and go towards great order." Let us therefore stand in our place, march in step and greet the forthcoming great revolutionary event with concrete deeds in the spirit of "daring to storm heaven!"

A footnote explains:—

The worker aristocrat Reg Birch leads the so-called "Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)" and is a member of the notorious General Council of the discredited T.U.C. Hardial Bains is the bankrupt theoretician of the so-called "Communist Party of Canada (M-L)", the so-called "Communist Party of England (M-L)" and the so-called "Communist Party of Ireland (M-L)". The last two social fascist parties are led by the agents Carol Reakes and Alan Evans.

— Issued by the Mao Tse-tung Memorial Centre and the Workers' Institute of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought.

We decided not to let the 'social-fascists' hide the news of the great victory coming in 1977.

# BOOKS

**THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR**, Hugh Thomas, Pelican, 1976, £3.50 (1115pp).

If obliged to answer directly and brutally the question "Is Hugh Thomas's book worth reading?" I should say "Alas, yes!" because it's a mine of information. So saying, I don't want to appear anti-Hugh-Thomas on principle, for the reasons given by Vernon Richards: "plagiarist", "not serious" (*Anarchy*, No.5, 1961), "the most cynical book on the Civil War that I have read" (*Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, p.220), basing his assertions on comparisons between Thomas, Burnett Bolloten and Gerald Brenan.

Obviously, unlike these authors, Thomas wants to give a global, total account of the Civil War without dogmatism: "So in my book I sought to avoid polemics, to state

## Jokes and Flattery

I shall divide my remarks — making some slight comparisons with the Spanish version of the 1961 edition — between on the one hand a first reading and impressions (of course, it will be necessary to check every aspect, but my particular field of interest relates only to self-management during the Civil War) and on the other the anarchist movement as seen by Thomas.

What annoys me is the oddity of the criteria: the first page — with the pretence of literary style — focuses on the parliament, and all the first chapter, ending with "Will there be a revolution?" and "Could it be war?" (p.11), is in deep contradiction to the eleven following chapters which prove that the burden, the fate of social exploitation could only end with a violent confrontation, so that political life was only the tip of the iceberg the base of which was the people and anarchism.

This pressure, however, of people and anarchism, scarcely appears because as in the first edition Thomas presents a huge, vast volume of information but seems to

ation of the working-class, either in industry or in agriculture, are presented (pp. 23, 42, 80, 334, besides almost a whole new chapter, p.186); and that misery, over the centuries, explains the explosion of violence into immediate revolution. Against the Catholic clergy the hatred was all the greater because of all the hypocrisy. Why did anarchists in Barcelona open the graves in monasteries and convents? Because in them lay the corpses of pregnant women, of babies (not to mention the pornographic novels found in monks' cells). Again, it is certain that the slaughter of francoists in the republican zone was in revenge for the slaughter by francoists of their opponents in the occupied zone: many anarchists protested and protected, however, as Thomas more or less admits (pp.277,298).

It is quite amazing that there are more pages on violence than there are on self-management. And on violence while there are the usual tremendous stories which are accurate there are also some errors, such as calling Garcia Lorca "the greatest Spanish poet of the time": he was not — think of Felipe Leon, Cernuda, Guillen, Machado; or such as to end one paragraph (p.279) with the presumed liquidation of prisoners by anarchists and, two pages later, to end the chapter on violence with the execution of a general by francoists with the words "[He] knew how to die like a Spaniard. Many did" (p.281). Thus anarchists appear as sadists and Spaniards as heroes — special, extravagant people, since all these problems could not have occurred at home . . .

Another interesting point is the observation that Largo Caballero, leader of the socialists and the socialist trade unions, "had agreed to collaborate (even if briefly) with the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera as 'councillor of state'" (p.40). But that "briefly" was from October 1924 to the end of 1926, i.e. some two years. Also, Thomas points out the influence of Mussolini on francoism. Why does he not go deeper and see that at the beginning fascism attracted socialists like those in Italy (D'Aragona) and Spain because it was a way to nationalisation and co-management such as exists now in Germany and is in preparation in Britain. That was why the anarchists did not trust the socialists and why the socialist Prieto was ready to make a pact with Franco just like all the other bourgeois republicans.

The absence of ideological problematics from the book makes difficult the understanding of two basic elements at the start of the war: gold and weapons. For anarchists, self-management was at one and the same time the possession of the means of production and the possibility of transforming normal industry into munitions factories; the gold of the central bank was essential to buy arms or machinery to produce arms. For republicans, on the contrary, there was always an opportunity to make a pact with Franco in order to prevent what was the main goal, the revolution; so, the gold had to be kept intact.

## The Spanish Civil War

the facts as far as I could, with such serenity as I could muster, and, so far as possible, avoiding recriminations" (p.xvi). Compared with the the 1961 edition "The result is undoubtedly a new book" (pxviii). "I now think that the anarchists' ideas for the regeneration of society were more original, provided they were put into effect in a mixed society, than I thought in 1960" (p.xviii). "I also hope the reader will find that the economic and social side of the war has been treated better. . . ." (pxix).

For all these reasons I shall focus here on Thomas's study itself, while stating clearly that Chomsky's article — in fact a booklet — against Jackson's *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War in American Power and the New Mandarins* will be mainly my position.

First of all I have to criticise my own and almost all books written on Spain because they are the contributions of one person and the range, the complexity of the Civil War obliges in fact to collective writing. And Thomas's aim of giving life to the whole war is evidently impossible. Thomas may be blind, dazzle the reader with information on politics, leading figures, parties, economics, armies, battlefields; in fact by his individual method he is condemned to be superficial in some — and many — aspects, despite the great volume of pages so easily reached in a book of this sort. (For example, Broue and Temime's global story is 542 pages with print a little bigger than Thomas's; Peirats's *La CNT en La Revolucion Espanola*, three volumes, is 1178; the CP's *Guerra y Revolucion*, three volumes, is 895; a commercial edition from Geneva, *La Guerre d'Espagne*, three volumes, is about 740; and lastly Luis Romero's evocation of the first three days of war is 640).

dodge all synthesis about social problems. On the contrary, he emphasises with elephantine lightness that for him francoism and the republican side are the same: for violence, for foreign intervention, for economic organisation. If this were a truly international point of view, it would be pleasant: new hierarchy and demagoguery on both sides; the use of jingoism to produce cannon fodder for Franco, Largo Caballero or Negrin, and, indeed, Churchill: how Germans, Italians and Russians were testing new war materials as did the British in Palestine and the Soviet Union and the USA in Vietnam. But in 98% of cases Thomas remains on the level of a detective novel with a joke, some gossip and the supposed goofy tendencies of some Spaniard or group of Spaniards. In fact Thomas made and makes a hit because he understands that an easy description of the Spanish Civil War with a neutral "liberal" position will be read by all political tendencies and non-specialists. At the same time he flatters readers by limiting his focus on Spain: so they may think "We are lucky not to have all that", as if there were no clear trends towards racism and governmental violence in Great Britain — not to mention the Western and Eastern blocs....

## Treatment of Anarchism

For all these reasons it is interesting to see how Thomas deals with anarchism. The earliest mentions, as in the 1961 edition, are quite superficial and based on Brenan though without quoting him (pp16,19,23) — as Richards showed then; elsewhere Thomas gives abundant information, but so scattered and so devoid of any depth that the picture is far from clear.

Thus, the misery, difficulties and starv-

Finally, the republicans were so clever they gave it all to the Soviet Union to pay for future shipments of war materials!

Thomas's study neglects some important books on the Civil War, for example Fernanda Romeu on the economic background (1970); Cruells for the militias and Mallorca (1974 and 1971); Siemenov, Vietrov for Russia (1969, 1972). In the bibliography the worst neglect is that of English anarchist books: Richards's re-edition of 1972, Leval's translation (1975), the translation of Tellez's *Sabate* (1974). Also, Dolgoff's *Anarchist Collectives*, Gomez Casas, and Souchy are all listed in alphabetical order, but not with anarchist books.

Of course, all is not so confused; the biggest improvement is on self-management. Also, it is obvious that Thomas has made a real effort to update his study and has framed it stronger.

For instance, "had the government distributed arms, and ordered the civil governors to do so too, thus using the working class to defend the republic at the earliest opportunity, the rising might have been crushed" (p.220). And Thomas justifies this assertion by quoting the "indefatigable German historian of the anarchist movement, Max Nettlau": "Where a measure of autonomy existed. . . the people could and did get arms at the right time. Where autonomy did not exist, little or nothing could be done and the enemy thus — and only thus — gained a temporary advantage" (p.220).

Thomas, therefore, knows to evolve, sometimes. On the CP, its recruitment of non-communists and bourgeois is well presented (pp.522, 523, 646), as is Togliatti (pp. 650, 658, 709) who, I maintain, was one of those responsible for Berneri's murder. Thomas omits the quotation from *Pravda* of December 1936 about Trotskyites because it wasn't true. However, he maintains his impression of strong communist forces at the defence of Madrid; although he lists Mera's memoirs he seems not to have read them (about Mera, the note on p.788 from a francoist is quite stupid) and so his account of the battle of Guadalajara is incomplete.

Anarchist actions during the war are split into two by Thomas, one kind obtuse and hateful, the other somewhat tolerant and self-critical (more or less like Jekyll and Hyde).

#### Self-Management

On self-management, Thomas gives first a general survey which, as usual, ends badly: "Anarchist theory had not envisaged a situation in which they would gain power in some factories, but not destroy the state or their political opponents" (p.296). This is an interesting sentence, because many anarchists of reformist tendency said the same during the war (Montseny in September 1936, M.R. Vazquez in April 1937, etc.). But a bearded granddaddy called Bakunin wrote in 1870 (*Letter to a Frenchman*) on a situation very similar to Spain in 1936, not to mention Malatesta's anarchist programme of 1920.

What is more painful is when Thomas says seriously that the question arose of turning a lipstick factory over to arms production and that "the anarchists of Catalonia improvised" (p.297). Firstly, as Thomas demonstrates, Spain had possessed the impetus towards revolution for many years and, second, in many cases the anarchists had a plan and knew what to do, while the third, much more important, the workers were taking initiatives. In many cases, Thomas says "anarchists" when he dislikes one thing and "workers" when he points out a global idea; so do the trotskyists, as *Black Flag* pointed out on F. Morrow (March 1976, p.14).

Chapter 32 "The land—agrarian collectives — did they work?" is a very interesting example of Thomas's conception of writing. It is a summary of a study first published in 1966 and reprinted in Carr's book on Spain (1971). From 18 pages it has gone to 13 and instead of an internal study of the varieties of management we now have *less* material and the insertion of the testimony of a communist — Lister — who was charged with destroying the collectives in Aragon (pp. 723-5). And so the reader is led to take the communist vision of the failure of the collectives.

Wages in some collectives are presented but without it being said that the figures are of several and different times and different provinces. No interpretation is given. It is affirmed as evident that collective sendings of food did not reach the front and were "wasted," (p.564), but why are the united exports of oranges, lemons, etc., by anarchist and socialist trade unions not mentioned? Yet they were the main source of money for the republican state. The chapter ends with the opinion of Horacio Prieto criticising the merger of shops, but why not mention that Prieto was against self-management and spontaneity before and during the war? The question about rich collectives and poorer ones, and whether they would have practised solidarity, is pointless, because there was in general a great solidarity within and between the provinces. The final attack on J. Ascaso may be accounted to communist influence on Thomas and lacks proof. Nevertheless Thomas admits "it is evident that they [the collectives] articulated the enthusiasm of many poor, but dedicated, men and women." (p.565).

The presentation of the Iron Column (quoted from Bolloten) is very meagre. An effort is made for the May days of 1937 with a personal interpretation about the spontaneity of the fighting: "the communists would have taken more trouble, and taken more men from the front, if they had planned a coup in Barcelona." (p. 655). In fact, such an argument does not stand up to the evidence that only where there were communists were there clashes, as Cruells has demonstrated.

The book ends with a quote from the bourgeois Azana on "Peace, Pity and Pardon," and Fatherland, of course. It

is a pity that exploitation and class struggle keep on in Spain and all the world, making Spain only a stage in the vast Civil War between privileged people and their slaves — inside or outside the society of consumption.

Frank Mintz.

**Economic Genocide in Chile. Monetarist theory versus humanity.** Andre Gunder Frank, Spokesman, 95p.

I really wanted to read Geoff Brown's new book *Sabotage* (also just published by Spokesman), but at £8.95 I couldn't afford it, so I chose this substitute. It is written in the form of two open letters to Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman, who are among the foremost theorists of currently fashionable "monetarist" economics. Andre Gunder Frank is amply qualified to write such critical letters, as not only is he a brilliant marxist economist who worked in Allende's Chile, but he is a former pupil of Harberger and Friedman.

Strangely, Milton Friedman has gained the reputation of being a libertarian, and has taken to prophesying (in magazines such as *Encounter*) that the only alternative to dictatorship is monetarist economic policy. Of course, Friedman is not a libertarian in any sense of the word. He is an advocate of *laissez faire* economics and the encroachment of the market into every sphere of life. He makes no attempt to challenge the power and the authority of the state — in fact his ideas rely to a crucial extent upon the repressive nature of the state.

The Chicago 'school' to which both Friedman and Harberger belong, has had a growing influence in recent years, and in reading Frank's book I was struck by the similarity of the proposals now being put into effect in Chile, Brazil and Argentina, with those of the British government. Andre Frank provides a convincing, well-argued case, demonstrating that the monetarist theories of the Chicago school (eagerly adopted by Keith Joseph and other Tory party hacks) merely provide a legitimising ideology for large scale repression.

A few years ago Frank wrote an important and pioneering pamphlet, systematically demonstrating the role played by modern sociological theories of economic development in perpetuating the unequal distribution of power and wealth throughout the world (see *Sociology of Development*, Pluto Press, 1971, 20p). Here his incisive mind does an effective demolition job of monetarist economics which is useful because if a genuine libertarianism is ever to prevail (ie anarchism) then the pseudo libertarians need knocking on the head first.

I now look forward to the time when Andre Frank's sincere belief in social justice leads him to an understanding of how marxism, in the guise of a liberating ideology has provided the rationale and justification for the enslavement of entire nations. He may then undertake a critique of state socialist neo-imperialism which is every bit as devastating as this appeal for humanity in the face of barbarism. Paul Wilson

# LETTERS

Dear comrades,

I read *The Anarchists in London 1935-55* and thought it most instructive. The only thing I would point out was that Fay Stewart's name was in fact Fay Robertson; Stewart was a name she used while working in London — she was a nurse working in a military establishment, after all, and I think you should mention her real name now. She was my sister; I do appreciate the tribute paid to her work which I thought was forgotten.

As to the so-called review by Philip Sansom in *Freedom*, I thought it utterly disgusting. It twisted and turned round in an effort to slander and calumniate the author saying things that simply weren't there. What a liar the man is when he says that there is no one who goes back in the anarchist movement to 1935. I have been fed up with "Freedom" ever since I read the denunciations of the "Stoke Newington Eight"; I thought the apogee was reached when a banker's lady said in the Guardian that she had been an editor of an "anarchist" paper but they had never advocated things like the murder of Miss World! — as if our courageous sisters in the struggle had. You rightly attacked. Also, when I read in "Black Flag" about the achievements of the Spanish Resistance, with facts and photographs, dating back to 1945-1960, I ask myself why did we not read about this in "Freedom" at the time if it is supposed to be an anarchist paper. You should have started "Black Flag" a long time ago. We might have got somewhere.

Marjorie Carmichael

Dear comrades,

I was sick to hear about Jake losing so much remission. It's absolutely wrong that a bunch of middle-class shits can effectively sentence men to years extra in jail without those men having access to legal advice or representation. Visiting Committee hearings have rightly been called Star Chamber courts and I hope that in view of the events at Hull and the Islington Law Centre's interest we may at last see the present system of disciplinary committees called into question.

I've been interested by the controversy about support by anarchists for Mao-

ists, Marxists, etc. I feel that the Flag is taking the correct course in this matter. My own experiences of jail struggles is that it is irrelevant whether a man is a rapist or a murderer, a bank-robber or IRA soldier — all that matters is whether you can stand together over a particular issue.

It seems to me that to refuse support to those of a more authoritarian nature is damaging in two ways. Firstly, struggles around particular issues which exclude members of the working class who follow authoritarian parties just aren't going to get off the ground.

Secondly, how will it be possible to show such people the meaning and effectiveness of anarchism without struggling alongside them so that they can see and experience it. Anarchist action will surely be a more convincing argument than a library full of anarchist literature.

A Prisoner

Dear Editors,

My thanks for intelligently favourable review of my *Invergordon '31 How the men of the RN struck and won!* in Vol. IV, 13. But I protest at "A.M.'s" spiteful sentence in his penultimate paragraph. I made it quite clear that Fred Copeman became disillusioned with the CP even before the I.B. left Spain and that he was later expelled from the CP. He became a justifiably popular south London Labour Councillor but is now retired.

Moreover "A.M.'s" snide remark about "dirty work" in Spain is an insult to the hundreds who fought and died there. Copeman was there before the CP was involved, was wounded, was in action to the bitter end of the I.B. there. The British were too busy fighting fascists there — not anarchists.

Fraternally,

Barry Duncan.

*It was of course a mistake to say Fred Copeman was dead, since he appeared on TV recently, and that he was a Stalinist until death — our reviewer was misled by shouts at an International Brigade meeting that Copeman was dead, when he had in fact gone so far to the right. In a now traditional renunciation of a Stalinist past, he joined the TU bureaucracy, the Labour Party and M.R.A. (which would explain the disavowals) But "snide," "spiteful"? So far as we can tell, he never disavowed his actions in Spain — and is it enough to do so? Contrary to what Barry Duncan*

*thinks, the British Internationals were used in the suppression of the workers and no evocation of those who fell at the front can wipe out the manner in which they were manipulated by the political commissars, in which Copeman was prominent. Even so charismatic a figure as John Cornford lent himself to this manipulation — as his published letters make abundantly clear.*

Poland cont.

factory and assemble at a designated point. Upon arriving a roll call was taken, small flags and badges were distributed followed by a march to a near-by stadium where the lists of workers were again checked.

In speeches to the assembled workers, Party officials stressed order and discipline and, although planned to the last detail, the rallies elicited so little applause that the TV camera could get little of the footage they wanted.

In contrast, genuine expression of solidarity with the Radom strikers, who had suffered from the worst repression, spread throughout Poland. Szczecin workers found a train which was delivering timber to a furniture factory in Radom and wrote in enormous white letters on the side of the carriage: "People of Radom, the population of Szczecin is with you!" Vehicles with Radom licence plates were applauded in other towns and their drivers showered with gifts and questions.

The Committee in Defence of Soviet Political Prisoners is part of an international effort to free the class war victims of the repressive and bureaucratic Polish regime. The Committee has held forums in Toronto and is asking that protest letters be sent to the Polish Embassy, demanding the release of all arrested workers.

The Defence Committee may be reached at P.O. Box 130, Station M, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. They have published a brochure which contains much of the information printed here.

Wherever capital holds sway, the class struggle goes on unabated — even in totalitarian societies. Our support for these courageous men and women is essential.

From *Fifth Estate*.

Medical aid and articles of clothing can be sent to: (if possible by recorded delivery) J. Andrezejewski, Warsaw, Swierczewskiego 53 m.4  
Letters of protest can be sent to: Consulate General of the Polish People's Republic, 19 Weymouth Street, London, W1 (01 580 4324)

## Answers to Quiz

1. The Vatican colours were yellow and the Catholic unions were the most notorious company type unions prior to Franco's.
2. Rosenberg, who saw a "Jewish Conspiracy" in everything, except his own name, thought the flag (actually the traditional Republican colours since 1848) proved the existence of the "Red-Black-Gold Jewish International" — composed of the Comintern, the "Black" Anarcho-Syndicalist International, and the "Gold"

international of finance, which he ranked as equally important enemies of Nazism.

3. Emma Goldman, who must have thought the last phrase a compliment coming from him.

4. The re-naming of the National Department (Ministry) of Labour, the Secretariat of Labour and Welfare, on Nov. 27 1943 — which was (he said) "love crowning justice", and a tribute to Eva Peron whose "genius" directed such extraordinary achievements as "constructing wayfarers' homes, opening homes for the aged, erecting homes for children, kindergarten

playgrounds etc., building dwellings for workers" etc.

5. These incredible charges were brought in 1917 against middle-aged Mrs. Wheeldon, her son-in-law Arthur Mason and her two daughters (one of them being acquitted). They were framed by a police spy named Alex Gordon and convicted in an atmosphere of war-time hysteria. Mrs. Wheeldon had thought she was involved in an escape bid by conscientious objectors in an internment camp.

