

Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross

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Vol. I. No. 8.

June 1970

Price 6d - sub
voluntary

- " It is not necessary for you to tell me that violence breeds violence. We of the people have known this longer than you have, and for my part I know it ten years ago when nobody came dashing down from Washington to tell Diaz that to let the peasants live on grass would breed violence; or that shooting down those who asked for a few pence more a week would breed violence; or that feeding the lice on prisoners from one decade to another would surely breed violence.
- " Now when you see the workers with winchesters in their hands you hasten to explain to us uneducated men that this will only breed more violence, and you say and I know that history proves you right. Only I would like to know where we should be if we threw away our guns and stood out there hat in hand bowing before the landlords and officers like we did before the revolution. My friends can answer for themselves - you know as well as I do where I should be - three feet under after dancing six feet over.
- " And you also know that men who are here have only to stop fighting and they will go to feed worms in the grave or lice in the jails or at the best go back to slavery, and this thought sometimes makes men more fierce than is their nature. But they are not barbarians, as you think. Oh, I know, when you come here with cameras, you salute me as if I were the President and address me out of my degree as General, but when you are in New York, in your offices, with your drinks and your women, then you write to tell the world I am the most savage barbarian of them all. Isn't that so? But I am not so stupid as you think, and know just as well as if I had studied history that fighting provokes more fighting, and blood, blood.
- " You tell me (President) Wilson deploras violence but I am not such a fool as to ask you if in that case (General) Pershing has gone to work in the fields. I understand the futility of violence better than this Wilson, for I was flogged and saw my brothers starve and be shot down when he lived in a big house with servants and was told he was a Christian. If I had not known this as a boy I might have been so great a criminal as to join the state army and by now be one of Carranza's generals, whom nobody tells violence is unvirtuous.
- " Enough, we know violence breeds violence, what I would like to know is how peace may breed peace? For my part I think when there are no masters and no slaves, when there are governments issuing orders indeed and churches decrees, but nobody obeying them, when all who wish land and liberty may have it, and those who want to oppress have no arms, then and then only, peace will breed peace. "

- Emiliano ZAPATA

THE BULLETIN OF THE
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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Giro Account No. 51 172 0009

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copies 6d. Vol. I. No. 8.

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Law and Order

As we go to press, Britain is seized by a general election... and one of its orgasms has been the issue of 'law and order'. The Right Wing is normally concerned with saying it is opposed to State intervention... but every time it gets a scare, it seems that it DOES believe in State intervention after all. The government need not interfere in this and that.... but the police should get out their truncheons and start hitting quick. By this they mean that they recognise the evils of government but want them only to apply against the working class (plus the students, nowadays).

In the 1945 election, Mr. Churchill foresaw the need of "a Gestapo" if the Labour Party won. He was, of course, perfectly right; only it was working all the time and was just as essential to the Tories. Indeed, in this election, Mr. Hogg is battling like mad for a bigger and better Gestapo, on behalf of the Tory Party.

Are we justified in referring

to a Gestapo in Britain? A judge recently thinks we are not. A Gestapo "carries out political decisions", he says. How many decisions of the government would be carried out if it were not for the pigs to enforce them? Without the police, government might as well turn itself into a debating society - of a slightly less intellectual kind than normal.

In Scotland Yard there is a Fraud Squad, a Vice Squad, a Murder Squad, a department (outside the Yard) for Military Intelligence; there is a Burglary Squad and a Political Squad. Only when it comes to the latter, the national vice of hypocrisy insists we change the name. It is called Special Branch. What is Special? That it is political.

It serves the government of the day. But in its private, political capacity. Rightly, ministers, or at any rate the Prime Minister (for his colleagues may become victims) should be surcharged with the expense of their private police force. For Harold Wilson, for instance, deliberately increased Special Branch by 60 members when he knew his personal popularity was waning and when he deemed "extremist" activity was damaging to his electoral prospects. Yet the taxpayer paid, including "extremists".

This is the type of question Ministers find it hard to answer - indeed, do not answer. Under Grim Jim Callaghan, the new 'Callaghan's Law' as we have dubbed it, means that police officers may object to bail on the grounds that they disapprove of a person's politics. No previous Home Secretary conceded this. Callaghan thinks it is O.K. But undergoing his ritual appearance to the public on a platform, he will not want to say so.

Many Tories will object to Russian Communism. Ask them if they will exclude Russia from Interpol.... and if so, where do they draw the line - Spain? Greece? We would be interested to hear even a coherent answer.

The election of Heath or Wilson will make no difference whatsoever to the question of freedom. All the election provides, however, is ten minutes to ask a question about it.

THE BOMBING OF THE IBERIA AIRLINES

The story behind it

For some time the FIRST OF MAY GROUP have been carrying out strong and sharp attacks upon the Franco regime. These activities have greatly disturbed the Spanish police, which turned to Interpol for assistance. The French Government already had a working agreement - by which Franco was to control French Rightists operating from Madrid and French Democracy would repress Spanish Lefists operating from Paris.

The Spanish Press sought a "personal devil" on whom to blame all the "crimes" of the anarchist resistance, and elected Octavio Alberola. Every twinge that Franco gets is blamed upon Octavio. The police of no country have as yet learned that anarchists have no leaders, that their groups are independent, and that they do not have the need for conspiratorial conferences. Consequently, everybody is watching Alberola.

The kidnapping of Garrigues

One of the libertarian groups in Spain (we are not so sure it was the 1st of May Group, but the Spanish Press claim it was) decided as a protest to kidnap Emilio Garrigues y Diaz-Cañabete, ambassador to UNESCO. It was his brother Mgr. M. Garrigues, who (as ambassador to the Vatican) was previously kidnapped as a hostage for the lives of various comrades, and later released when they were spared. In accordance with usual (perhaps quixotic) practice, the group concerned had made a previous statement that they would carry out such a kidnapping. They may have thought the police would protect the other Garrigues. Be that as it may, the police were waiting and arrested four comrades who made the attempt in Paris.

In March, then, as Garrigues was going to his apartments, four "persons of Iberian appearance" (according to the Press) were waiting with a pistol, chloroform etc. but were placed in custody. They stated "We wished to put pressure on the Franco government to release our comrades". These men had come from Spain (it was said in one report they had "parachuted" into France, which is absurd).

The police therefore knew that there would certainly be a renewed attempt to put pressure on the Franco government. For if this attempt failed, the logic of the Franco regime would be to increase pressure on prisoners when Emilio's kidnapping was frustrated, just as they relieved it when brother Antonio's was successful.

How, we do not know, but Interpol learned that the "big show" would be for May the First. (Perhaps an association of ideas with the May the first group). Further, they had picked up the words "Latin Commandos" - whatever that means - who would make the attempt on Iberia Lines that day.

These attacks are "highly dangerous to passengers", you think? Then we wonder why THE PUBLIC WAS NOT WARNED? Instead, high ranking police officers from New Scotland Yard visited Mr. Stuart Christie, telling him they knew of the plans of the "Latin Commandos" and "would he tell them to cool it".

They felt sure he would know the persons concerned - after all, he had spent several years amongst them. And unlike the Italian police (our colleagues in Interpol) who let off bombs themselves and blow up innocent people, in order to discredit the Left.... unlike the French police (our colleagues in Interpol) who employ agents provocateurs... unlike the Spanish police (who shoot first and find you're trying to escape after... also our colleagues in Interpol) the British Police genuinely desires to "cool it" and apparently do not disdain the help of ordinary members of the public.

(Continued overleaf)

(Continued from overleaf).

What is the Truth about the
First of May Group?

The biggest joke for several centuries is on Interpol. When Philip II of Spain drove the Dutch out of occupied Holland, the fleet took refuge in English ports. Elizabeth I. typically subsequently sold them out and obliged them to leave refuge in England.... they sailed back into a Dutch port and from then on could not be dislodged.... Philip II was driven out instead.... LET US HOPE HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.... for the French authorities have made it so difficult for the First of May Group to operate inside France that it has lock stock and barrel re-established itself in a Spanish city.... where it can rely upon solid support. That is why Interpol cannot find them and why Scotland Yard expected the Black Cross to act as its post office!

Iberia Nothing happened on the 1st of May, it happened a week later. Nor was Scotland Yard taken unawares. The reason the public were not notified was because Iberia Airlines did not wish to lose revenue. A sad commentary on travel ethics?

On Sunday May 10th - just when Iberia was opening up its links with Communist Poland as part of the Moscow-Madrid line-up - there were attacks on Spanish aircraft in London, Amsterdam, Geneva, Frankfurt... in each case the aerodrome was warned beforehand, so that there would be no loss of life.

In view of the various speculation in the Press, how do we know anarchists were responsible? Elementary: in the first place, there was deliberately no damage to life, only to property. The word "terrorist" covers both the anarchist and the nationalist. But the nationalist fights against PEOPLES. The anarchist fights GOVERNMENTS. The attack on the Israeli school bus blowing up a number of schoolchildren was obviously not done by anarchists; but by Arab Nationalists (allies of Moscow, Mao & Trotskyism). This is nationalism. The attacks on the aircraft, which have involved a subsequent million and a half pounds sterling in security precautions and damaged Iberia tourism beyond belief (despite official denials, hundreds of cancellations came in one day) were not done by nationalists. Furthermore, the police do not even understand their own lousy job. On the same day, in London, the terrorists "SIGNED THEIR NAMES" by also bombing certain county courts and banks. Who could it be that would do such a thing? Would Basque Nationalists also take a shot at the county court on the way home? Come, come... would Trotskyists? They might want the proletarianisation of the court! As for the C.P. - just celebrating its rapprochement with the Iberia Airlines so that people can fly direct from a Spanish prison to a Polish one - well, the small coverage in the Morning Star stated as its headline "Bomb blast plane saved by late passenger" and made no comment on why it could have happened.

Do We Support this type of Action?

Apparently there are certain people who believe that the Black Cross believes in "going round blowing things up". Our *raison d'être* is in fact merely to help, by what are perfectly legal means - at least in this country - those who are accused of such actions as that involved in the present instance. For we understand that the real criminals are the present military government in Spain. That the Resistance has been obliged to adopt such an extreme measure to draw the attention of the world to the plight of the prisoners in Spain - the forefront of the Resistance - is not (as some journalists have suggested) a measure of desperation. It was obviously planned to cause the minimum of inconvenience to the public, with no casualties, and the maximum blow at the pockets of the State airline.

(Continued on page 7)

Will it be this summer

SPECIAL BRANCH v THE BLACK CROSS

to replace the Springbok Tour ?

In a review of 'Floodgates' Mr Allexander comments that the Special Branch have, it seems, transferred their 'comic opera' activities from the CP to the Anarchists. An apt term; but it is less funny when it is for real and the actors really die off. Nobody could better Adolf Hitler's impersonation of Charlie Chaplin, but it stopped being funny around the first act.

INTERPOL It seems that for no apparent reason, save that 'Spain' is an emotive catchword, the Black Cross receives more than its share of attention from Special Branch. Perhaps the esteemed Spanish colleagues of Interpol have something to do with this.

But it rankled with the Home Secretary when the Tories said "the anarchists had won a victory" over the cancellation of the South African cricket tour. In fact, some anarchists may have been concerned, but it all smacked too much of cross, mitre and academic toga for most. Anyway, Grim Jim gave out the directive "STOP THE ANARCHISTS FROM CAUSING TROUBLE DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD". It could cost votes! (Will some kind Tory see to it that police expenses mentioned in this article get charged to Labour's election fund?)

THE YARD The Yard went to it! But what to do? Ah, yes, there is the Black Cross, and that tearaway Stuart Christie must be up to something..... Find out what it is and tell them to stop.

But first there was a hiatus. They had already (as mentioned in this issue) barged in on his place of work to question him about

the 'Latin Commandos' who were going to attack the airlines (before it happened). This is a bad precedent. Others could be intimidated if police came to their place of work. More, they complained he had not let them know where he was living. I know of no law that says one should notify one's change of address.

I therefore raised this matter with the Home Secretary and even now there is an inquiry into it, as yet unsettled. So maybe they were reluctant to go to his workplace..... so

ELEVEN POLICE

in TWO CARS AND ONE

MOTOR CYCLE

"hid" outside and gave him a "Bonnie and Clyde" chase home (he managed to lose them).

NEXT DAY FIFTEEN POLICE

including two motor cyclists repeated the performance.

He disappeared under their noses on the floor of a work-mate's car.

By this time 36 gas-fitters were amazed spectators of the scene. Again the third day close watch was kept on the depot.... with panda cars, squad cars, motorbikes.... fortunately, Grim Jim is Home Secretary not Winston Churchill or one presumes he would have brought out the Brigade of Guards.

WHAT FOR?

Everyone -

though few of

them shared Stuart's views - entered into the fun. If the pigs would dance, they'd call them a tune. They were led to wait outside the wrong houses, kept waiting outside pubs...and what was the point of it all? Someone actually asked a pipe-puffing inspector. "A lot of people would be glad to get this amount of protection" he said wisely. "The Prime Minister only has one detective guarding him."

We do not quite accept this explanation yet the possibility
(Continued overleaf)

THE MURDER OF
PINELLI

According to THE TIMES (25th May) members of the Italian Parliament are asking why inquiries are being dropped into the death of Giuseppe Pinelli, the anarchist who "fell" from a window of police headquarters in Milan during "interrogation".

The socialist paper "Avanti" says that Pinelli was found with a karate bruise on his neck. (The Socialist Party is part of the coalition).

Pietro Valpreda, also held in connection with the "bombings" in Milan, is still held in prison, presumably awaiting trial. But after months of investigation not an atom of proof can be found. Nor will it ever be. For the Milan Police know that the bombings were done by Fascists with whom they are in collaboration. They dare not release Valpreda, for he may be a witness as to the murder of Pinelli. His life too is in danger.

WHAT WE CAN DO We invite trade unionists in this country, not

only anarchists but others with libertarian socialist ideas generally, and members of the labour movement, to

join us in a PINELLI MEMORIAL COMMITTEE. For had Pinelli been a professor or a lawyer, his own would have looked after him. Prof. Einstein was helped to escape from Germany. Good. But the professors never looked after the unknown. They lawyers were furious when Masaryk was thrown from a window by the Czech police. But 'international opinion' could not care less, it seems, about a railwayman like Pinelli.

It is for us in this country to urge on railwaymen here to make a determined protest to the Italian Government over the murder of Pinelli. One blow for his memory from the organised railway workers can stagger Milan tourism. The withdrawal of railway service until the culprits are punished would be a reasonable, fair demand. Let the workers look after one of their own!

Dr Marcello Guida, head of the Milan police, says Pinelli committed suicide. He is a liar. Whom is he shielding? Railwaymen and trade unionists generally, must ask this question loudly.

Special Branch v. Black Cross.
(From page 5)

that they only wanted to find out where he lived seems equally improbable. There are, surely, simpler ways than all that.... e.g. asking. Could it be.... but no, that is an un-English thought... they wanted to provoke something? Or could it be that they were told to do SOMETHING and what in the name of Christ COULD they do? Shall we ever know?

It has been a great laugh-in, especially for the gas fitters who have all enjoyed the joke and not less for Stuart who I sometimes feel does not go out of his way to avoid putting the police in a Keystone Kops situation. Comic Opera this is thought to be in the tranquil pages of the 'Ethical Record' and so it is, indeed.... only the comedy starts to go sour when you remember what happened to the secretary of the Black Cross in Milan, our comrade Pinelli. What did these people's respected, esteemed colleagues in Interpol do to him? The joke was over..... But it can't happen here! When do such things happen here? When for that matter do you find a cavalcade of political police driving around your factory and following you home? Very seldom. But there's always a first time for everything.....

A. Meltzer.

NOTES OF THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

The last Bulletin appeared in June. We are sorry for this long delay, due to the overwhelming amount of work now falling on our small committee.

Apart from the preparation of the Bulletin there are a great many matters claiming our attention, quite apart from our other activities.

The London Committee has now decided that in future Miguel Garcia Garcia - who has now secured asylum in this country - will act as International Secretary; Stuart Christie will be Defence Secretary; and Albert Meltzer will act as Correspondence Secretary and edit the bulletin.

The Spanish exile movement in London - Movimiento Libertario - has now set up a PRISONERS COMMITTEE and we will co-operate with them in support of prisoners in Spain. Aid on behalf of those in Franco's jails may go either direct, to us, or to the "Comite pro Presos".

ON THE 20th JUNE there will be a concert at the CONWAY HALL held by the Pro-Presos Committee organised by 'Mujeres Libres'.

The Black Cross is operating the SPANISH LIBERATION FUND to subsidise the activist groups in Spain. Money received will be sent direct to aid the resistance groups and will not be accounted for. Resistance activities are entering a new phase of vital struggle when every blow counts and the Liberation Movement needs every penny it can get without having its hands tied. For this reason, we are keeping this aspect of our support quite separate from the matter of aid for prisoners.

CLOTHES & CAST-OFF APPAREL CAN BE USED BY THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS: Write to us and we will arrange collection or state where

it can be posted. What can be used will be sent to Spain; what cannot be used will be sold to defray expenses of sending.

Italian-speaking readers are invited to obtain the Croce Nera Anarchica, from circolo Ponte della Ghisolfi, Piazzale Lugano No. 31, 20158 MILANO Italy.

The bombing of the Iberia Airlines
(From page 4)

We should not even be surprised to find that these "dangerous terrorists" have apologised to the pilots for the apparent jeopardy in which they would appear to have been placed, and the undoubted jeopardy in which they would be placed if harassment and persecution made the 'terrorists' really desperate.

Such a gesture would be in keeping. For the enemy is not the "nation" and the pilots are not the object of attack, nor the passengers, but the Spanish State itself, first, last and all the time.

It does not need a Sherlock Holmes to work all this out, although it would appear to be beyond the combined efforts of the British Press and of Interpol.

Will such action sooner or later result in a serious incident? We must admit we are afraid it will, but nobody will ask our permission on the matter as to whether to continue or not. We can only think, however, of the genocide practised by Franco over thirty years. The governments of the world have not cared, and the police forces have united to help keep the regime in power - sometimes (as in the case of Britain) even when this was against their own national interests, simply because they preferred the Genocide State to the possibility of social revolution. We think of half a million of our own comrades murdered, no less than other members of the working-class opposition. And of those - separated from us not by time, but only by distance - serving five, ten, twenty, years imprisonment. Somebody will have to pay the reckoning.

a. b. c.

On April 9th, senor Alfredo Sanchez Bella, Minister of Information, told the Cortes that there will be no "rushing into democracy". It would maintain freedom of the press "within the limits of the law" but there was no room for a "return to chaos". The true face of Spanish military rule is seen when people like Bella insist there will be no return even to limited democracy.....

The Pope visiting Sicily was met not by praying Catholics but by Anarchists who jeered at him and told him to give some of his wealth to the poor. Taunted, the Pope said the Church was "doing what it could ...but was not rich". The police waded in to put over the Christian message... workers and students answered with stones, some of which narrowly missed His Holiness (a miracle?) Afterwards, the Pope said the Press greatly overplayed the incident. There were many Catholics in Sicily who were pleased to see him.

A Greek boy put a bomb in the Greek Embassy in London which did not go off. Sentencing him to nine years, the judge said how terrible etc. and it would be a warning.. But a few days later, two young Basques who had done the same at the Spanish Embassy got a six months suspended sentence and went free... But the Greek boy had got scared and "blamed the organisation" to exculpate himself, saying he was "terrorised". So the judge was not?

An anonymous correspondent asks us (apparently under a misapprehension as to our opinions about the Communist Party whom he refers to as 'your friends' — after that, enemies you don't need!) why we do not undertake some help for the political prisoners in Russia.

There is a simple answer. Since 1939 it has been impossible to make any contact with the Russian prisoners. A mass clamp down on their contacts with outside probably meant mass liquidation.

The old Anarchist Red Cross which originally campaigned for victims of Tsarism, was reconstituted after the Bolshevik counter-revolution to aid anarchist prisoners in Russia. Other organisations working for political prisoners would only give help to the Socialists (British Labour, incidentally, never even cared twopence for the Russian Socialists; most of the help came from American Russian and Jewish sources). Up to 1935, money and food was sent to Russian Anarchist prisoners by the Relief Fund. Then the big freeze began, until all contact was terminated in 1939.

CHINESE POLITICAL PRISONERS

A comrade writes: "Your idea about a demonstration for the Chinese Anarchists in prison is not really good since at the present time, so far as our knowledge goes, all of our prisoners have been released, other than about four who are serving sentences for terrorism. We do not think a demonstration would help them and they may be prejudiced by it since their sentences come up for review. This picture may seem idyllic compared with ten years ago when hundreds were in prison for their beliefs. But the Government prefers the tack of humiliation which it calls rehabilitation.... dissidents are reclassified and sent to work in trades considered less skilled or essential than their own."

This situation is — when one thinks of it — not much different from this country where the militant may find himself, by economic pressure rather than state decree — in the same position. Release of the anarchists and others is one aspect of the inner war now raging in China. It should not be mistaken for liberalism.

then proceed to eat it.

TOLSTOY.

ORTHODOX Christianity taught that God is triple, that besides this triple god there is a queen of Heaven and that besides this queen there are various saints whose corpses have decayed and that besides these saints there are icons of one of the triple gods and of the queen of heaven; and that the most important thing in life is the pap which the priests makes of the wine and the white bread which after prayers have been whispered over it becomes the flesh and blood of one of the triple Gods. They

Meetings held by Miguel Garcia Garcia.

Miguel Garcia Garcia opened his campaign on behalf of the SPANISH PRISONERS with a meeting at Freedom Press Hall, Whitechapel. Speaking to some sixty or seventy, mostly anarchists, he outlined in brief the story of Spanish Resistance since 1939, facts of which most foreign newspapers have been concealing. He detailed the plight of the Spanish prisoners, which at one time was equal to anything in Hitler's concentration camps, and the present situation.

In fact, under the Spanish constitution, the law of "conditional liberty" would serve to release almost all the long-term political prisoners, and this has been laid down as a right, not a concession. But since the authorities know whom it will benefit, they are not applying their own law. Thus, pressure from abroad even if only in the form of polite petitions asking them to kindly respect their own laws, would have an effect. For this reason, letters of petition had been prepared. At the present time, with the regime coming to its end, these petitions might have an effect and were worth trying.

Answering questions, both Stuart Christie and Miguel Garcia pointed out that the pressure of activist groups by creating a certain tension, had got the situation to where the authorities were prepared to let prisoners go. Many had been released. In one case, the local feeling, the continuous complaints, the threats and the action from outside, no less than the constant complaints inside (encouraged by this feeling) had brought one prison governor to a nervous breakdown. It was in these circumstances that Franco would let prisoners free. Albert Meltzer likened the situation to the last days of Hitler, when Nazi SS men were searching desperately for a Jew to help so that he could testify later as to how kind they were.

Garcia, answering a question that all that was needed was aid to prisoners and that other action was futile,

said that no prisoner would ever take that view. It was good to get tobacco, fruit, pills and so on - which he had got and was grateful for. But every one of them preferred liberty, or failing that for the struggle for liberty to go on. They all felt conscious they were in the forefront of the fight against the regime.

The Trotskyist-I.S. Spanish Workers Defence Committee asked for collaboration. He pointed out that they were so out of touch with the struggle in Spain that, in their bulletin, the only prisoners they listed were those of members of the Communist Party. We did not oppose help for C.P. prisoners. But it should be remembered that in prison they excluded all other politicals from the benefits they received from outside. E.T.A. (Basques), Maoists and Libertarians all co-operated in sharing their benefits from outside. Not so the C.P. who preferred to mix, as Stuart Christie reminded us, with dissident Christian-Democrats (their allies in the Comisiones Obreras) and ex-Falangists. If any Trotskyists found themselves in a Spanish prison, they would find they would have - for sheer self-protection - to turn to the Anarchists or Maoists, though their ideology apparently obliged them to collect for the Moscow-liners.

THE MEETING was followed by another, given at the Conway Hall to members of the Humanist and Ethical movements, in which Stuart Christie and Miguel Garcia

(Continued from Overleaf)

took part in a dialogue concerning the fate of prisoners in Spain. Miguel later travelled to Liverpool where he addressed (in Spanish) the 100 strong Hispanic Society of the University, both on the general position of Spanish Anarchism and on the present situation in Spanish Resistance and jails.

The Society, composed of Spanish students and English students of Spanish, was extremely interested in this enlightening talk. Whilst in Liverpool, Miguel met several members of the Liverpool group, and went on to York - giving another speech (in English) to the York Group, on the day after the conference organised by the group. He then travelled down to Loughborough College of Technology, where the active anarchist group had organised another meeting of some 60 or 70 people. Albert Meltzer gave the historical background of the Libertarian movement; a local ex-member of the International Brigade also spoke; and Miguel continued with his talk on the resistance and the situation today. He was asked if, at this present time, the actual assassination of Franco would make any difference. He said it would not. It had been attempted several times. Naturally, anarchist groups did not come to ask permission of a "central headquarters" as to whether they should undertake such a venture or not. But he thought most would agree that the time for this had now passed. Franco was dying, in any case. There were many people around him who would take over, quite apart from the question of restoring the monarchy when he went, which most people took as a joke. The only thing that counted now was revolution.

CAN YOU UNDERSTAND THIS PUBLICATION?

A review of "The Floodgates of Anarchy" in BEAVER (journal of the L.S.E. Students Union) says: "It is really worth reading to discover what anarchism is about. It is much better in this respect than (for example) the "Anarchist Black Cross" and might even be used as a handbook for understanding such publications!"

We are left baffled. Is this journal so difficult to understand? What must the Beaver reviewer make of some issues of "Anarchy"?

A MESSAGE TO READERS

I understand from Luis Edo that the situation in Sevoai Segovia Prison is as bad as ever. It is this prison that I said - in the letter smuggled out from Spain at the time (and published in the 'Times' and 'Guardian') was like the Tower of London - a mediaeval fortress not suited to modern conditions. Cold, insanitary, cramped, it is in the most picturesque part of Spain and looks most attractive to tourists.

He is being punished for the attempted kidnapping of Garrigues and has lost all his remission. With the affair he could have nothing to do as he was in prison.

Another comrade, one of the 'acratas' (the anarchist student movement) who is held in Soria, Jaime Porzas Villema, has been accused of trying, with a member of E.T.A., to escape. He was punished by 51 days in solitary punishment (the legal maximum is 40).

MIGUEL GARCIA GARCIA

LOOKING BACK AFTER

TWENTY YEARS and

SPANISH POLITICAL

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the sample letter to the Minister of Justice - free - are available from Miguel Garcia Garcia.

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THE STRUGGLE IN FRANCO'S JAILS

(For new readers: M.G.G. served 20 years in full in a Spanish prison; S.C. $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of a 20 year sentence. This article is based on the information supplied by them).

An International Congress of Criminology will soon be held. Spain proposes to show how advanced is its penal system. The Black Cross will endeavour to bring former prisoners to give the lie to the apologists of the regime. But for us, the position of prisoners in Spain is not solely one of humanitarian consideration. The military regime tries to normalise itself by introducing laws which will appear to be in conformity with those of civilian-governed countries, if harsher; but it cannot obey those laws, because unless there is the severest, most condign punishment for the crime of opposing the regime, the government would be overthrown in a matter of weeks.

Thus, even the most elementary ideas of industrial bargaining, without which capitalism finds it hard to continue, become criminal offences, and capitalism lags behind. For social betterment, the worker finds himself up against the penal laws at once - and for this very reason, the political prisoner is not in Spain - as too often in England - shoved aside, a victim of the class struggle, but forgotten by all. He is in the very forefront of the struggle.

Political Status. The British Government does not recognise political prisoners, feeling that, if it did, it would need to give them favoured treatment. The conscientious objectors of W.W.I. went to Dartmoor. Or De Valera, for instance, was treated like any ordinary criminal. "You talk about Ireland, but for all I know, you had arms to rob a bank," a warder is said to have told him in reply to the request for special treatment. This, however, is completely contrary to the official mentality in Spain today, for the political prisoner is given that status to receive worse treatment than the criminal. A man like Sabator, for instance, in the course of strenuous guerrilla fighting, carried out many armed robberies of banks and other institutions. But he never made a poseta from it himself. Everything went to

the movement. This would, had he not been shot on capture, have told against him, as it did against others. To be labelled "political" is far worse. A parallel comes to mind: a German comrade told me that he owed his life to the fact that the commandant at the concentration camp to which he was sent, did not understand the category "anarchist" and thought it meant "bandit" as explained in his (Nazi) dictionary. The comrade thought quick, and agreed this was so. He became classified as a "criminal" and was out after two years - as a "political" he would have died.

The politicals are not to be reasoned with or rehabilitated, officials have stated, they are there to be crushed. For this reason, they may not work at useful trades (such as they are) within the prison, but are given cleaning jobs and the like. Stuart Christie as a British subject was an exception; he was allowed to work (in the printshop, as a medical orderly, and to study) solely because of the fact that in the case of a foreigner the authorities could not break their own laws. For unlike a Hitler who sweeps through the laws he finds awkward, the Cortes will go through the farce of liberalising laws, for the benefit of foreign jurists and criminologists, knowing that these will not be kept if they prove to be inconvenient to the authorities.

Prison Struggle. Thus the people in prison, who in a sense take up the cudgels for the struggle outside, are a perpetual challenge to the regime. Their attitudes are of interest. The libertarian movement takes a unique attitude which even the Basque ETA, with whom they co-operate on most anti-jailer actions, cannot agree. For them, the political prisoner may seek the same privileges as other prisoners, but they do not regard him as a cut above the others. For them, all who behave themselves honourably according to the prisoners (continued overleaf)

(From Overleaf).

ethic, are victims of capitalism. They do not seek privileges above others. For them, too, the major struggle is that for LIBERTY. They fight for remission and also plan escapes. In this they have found the closest allies in ETA (the new Basque movement, nearer to Welsh nationalism than the 'Irish nationalism' of the old Basque civil war movement). It is a strange alliance - the ETA with its quota of priests, the anti-clerical FAI - but it has been better than the CNT-FAI has ever had with the Marxist parties (other than the Asturian Socialists) who have always been false friends or like the CP open enemies.

Communist Party. While the Peking-line Communists have supported the struggle for remission all along, and to some extent the bids for escape (which some legalist Socialists have regarded as contradictory calls), the C.P. has until recently only demanded better conditions. Now its prisoners have become indignant at being looked on as pawns or perhaps some sort of seminary in which, when young members of the Comisiones Obreras are sent by the authorities, the veterans may instruct them in the ways of Moscow communism. The successes of the CNT-FAI and ETA, and the solidarity between those movements and the Maoists, have induced the C.P. to take a more militant line for the present. Though it remains as sectarian as ever and has no wish to associate with the other left politicals. In the Comisiones Obreras, after all, the C.P. is finding a profitable alliance with the Catholic Left.

The Acratas One of the most significant facts of Spanish politics has been the student uprising, which has been close on that of France and elsewhere. The acratista movement is composed of young students who have come to anarchist ideas almost independently of the past. It has been difficult for the older movement to understand it, since the old CNT-FAI was almost solidly proletarian. The students (especially in Spain, with no educational opportunities for the workers) have come from bourgeois families, who were formerly either

Freemasons and Republicans at best, or even Catholics and Nationalists. The children have disowned the sins of the fathers and rebelled against them. The CNT-FAI in exile still finds it hard to understand this phenomenon, but not so in Spain, because of the unity which has been forged in prison.

(This will be continued in our next issue).

Significant of the fact that the struggle goes on in Spain.... every day there are news of fresh arrests, and the latest tells of four anarchist comrades grabbed by the Civil Guard in Madrid, among them the well-known anarchist Cipriano Damiano.

The veteran militant of the Spanish exile movement, one of the great organisers of resistance from abroad, and one of our earliest supports in the Black X, PASCUAL, has died in Paris. A miner, he has finally succumbed to silicosis. His loss will be greatly felt at this time.

The comrades in Milan propose holding a mass march in funeral procession in honour of Pinelli murdered by the Italian police. An independent enquiry will be held by the committee investigating his murder.

"The authors' plea is for a free society in which all structures of authority will be abolished forever...." Birmingham Post. "This very interesting book has the distinction of being well written..lucid and patiently informative..." Sheffield Morning Telegraph. "Stuart Christie is alive and well and hunting the 'hounds'" - Hamilton Advertiser. "...extremely important and interesting...anyone who wants to know what anarchism is about would do well to start here..." Sunday Times; "enjoyable, refreshingly frank and thought-provoking.." Ethical Record; "impressive & always interesting" Times Literary Supp.

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