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BULLETIN of the ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



"Historians who follow the traditional method, and believe in the direct participation of the divinity in human affairs, find the cause of an historical event in the expressed will of the people who have the power, but this conclusion is not confirmed by reason or experience. Reason shows that the expressed will of a historical personage -- his words -- forms but a part of the general activity that leads to such and such an event, say a war or revolution. Since we do not recognise the existence of a supernatural and miraculous force, we cannot possibly believe that the words of any person will result in the movement of millions of men. If we admit that words can be the cause of an event, history teaches us that on many occasions the will of historical personages has been expressed without any effect whatsoever, their orders disobeyed, and events brought to pass in direct opposition to their wishes. Unless we believe that divinity has any part in human affairs, we cannot regard power as the cause of historical events. Power, experience teaches us, is simply the relation that exists between the expressed will of a historical personage and the accomplishment of that will by others."

L. Tolstoy.

Vol. 1. No. 5.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS, 735 Fulham Road,
LONDON, S.W.6.

For the release of
all political prisoners;
the relief of class war victims;
and the overthrow of tyranny everywhere.

THE BULLETIN OF THE ANARCHIST

BLACK CROSS

Secretary:

Stuart Christie.

Vol. 1. No. 5. June 1969

Editorial of Bulletin:-

S. Christie & A. Meltzer.

Address: 735 Fulham Road,
LONDON S. W. 6

(Note present address).

(opposite Central Library).

Copies, 6d. Subscription: Voluntary.

A SPECIAL APPEAL

to all who consider themselves to be
revolutionaries

We were conscious that when we began the work of the ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS once more that we were tackling an immense task: we have to face innumerable problems all over the world and are obliged to try and specialise on particular issues. "Amnesty" already exists to help those imprisoned for conscience's sake or unjustly detained for their opinions. (Though we ask supporters of Amnesty and the NCCL to look into the case of Alan Barlow now in prison and refused bail solely because a police officer disliked his expressed opinions).

Our aim has been twofold: to help political prisoners, especially in Franco's Spain, who had fought to resist the Franco dictatorship; and to help the work of the Resistance Movement in Spain. We now realise that many, especially pacifists and humanitarians, who would have supported the former aim, have been reluctant to assist us because of the fear that funds would be used to assist the "violent" Resistance. For this reason we are dividing our work, and this decentralisation will help us to cut out overhead costs of postage etc. which become crippling; it will also show wider solidarity and enable parcels to get through.

In future we ask all sympathisers with those suffering in Spanish prisons to send parcels direct to Spain. (Elsewhere in this issue we give details of how to do so; current addresses may be had from us). We want to avoid becoming a "charity"; everybody knows charities are rackets, anyway. Send parcels direct, from individuals and groups, and let the prisoners know that they are not forgotten. Even our Quaker friends will admit that those suffering ten or twenty years in Spanish prisons for their resistance to Franco are not less worthy of support than those in prison merely by accident, who happen to have offended the dictatorship without doing anything about it, or those convicted of criminal offences, who were in it for the case. I myself was very grateful for a stream of parcels which came to me during three years in a Spanish jail, as a result of wide publicity which has not been given to many Resistance fighters, outside Spain, solely because they were Spaniards. Anarchists, socialists, Peking-line communists, and Basques, share their food and medical parcels from outside, in a prisoners' commune. There need be no sectarianism in sending aid and succour to the victims of Franco's penal laws, running the gamut from left catholic to anarcho-syndicalist (but excluding Christian Democrats, Moscow-liners and dissident Falangists, who are not in the commune). (Continued on page 3).

(Continued from page 2).

A special appeal

So far as the work of resistance to Franco is concerned, we are asking friends and sympathisers to help us send material aid to the activist groups. With this issue we are launching a special fund to enable us to finance directly the task of resistance against Franco. We have received many requests from militant groups, which we have been unable to do anything about, since up to now our funds have been low and earmarked for a special purpose. From now on, we ask our readers to take over the job of sending aid to prisoners; and such aid, coming locally, is more likely to get through and shows wider solidarity. The funds that we receive will go directly to actively supporting the groups that inside Spain and scattered elsewhere are about to make the breakthrough in the overthrow of the regime. The coming months are critical. Every open act of militant defiance now is a crack in the regime of the aging dictator. The issue now is no longer whether Franco CAN be overthrown, for what keeps him in power is solely the divided opinions as to what will happen next. The issue is : WHAT WILL FOLLOW ? Will it be a continuation of the dictatorship, perhaps in a worse form, perhaps under another party? Or will there be a breakthrough of the revolutionary forces? Every blow that is struck now against the Franco regime is a nail in its coffin, and also a warning to the next aspirant for power.

The Resistance Movement lacks everything. It has no means of collecting subscriptions; it cannot pass round the hat. It has for long been dependent on emigre groups, support which it has sometimes received and sometimes not. It needs duplicators and typewriters no less than it needs incendiaries and guns. Far be it from us to break the law by suggesting that funds should be collected in this country to buy explosives; but the best way to get these into Spain is not by hitch-hiking, and we would not like to see French Railways being tricked of their just due in rail tickets.

May I make a special appeal to the not inconsiderable number of people who consider themselves libertarians at little cost to themselves. Usually the same people fork up money they cannot really afford; as attend demonstrations and carry on militant work and devote their time to revolutionary activity. Meanwhile there are many who can easily afford to give large sums - who give such sums to phoney charities and liberal causes and devote none of their time to revolutionary activity - who like to think of themselves as libertarians because it eases their consciences. It may even help their careers as they casually drop the correct phrases into broadcast talks or newspaper articles or around the pop world or write the occasional learned, impartial comment on someone who spent their whole life in militant struggle. There is often little such people can do. But the struggle in Spain about to break out as fiercely as ever is your touchstone. If you fail now, at least have the grace to be silent henceforth.

What Spain needs today is AUDACITY, the audacity by which a conquered people gets up and strikes the ruling class such a blow that it will never again repeat the atrocity of Police State Rule. It does not lack the people prepared to take the initiative, at home and abroad; they are circumscribed by sheer lack of any funds not safely tucked away by bureaucrats, properly audited and never available. What the sympathisers with Spain lack is A CONCRETE PLAN OF ACTION. In the events that will take place in Spain within the next year, the possibility for action is there. Let us provide the sinews of battle.

STUART CHRISTIE.

NEWS FROM SPANISH PRISONS

One of the most remarkable incidents to have occurred in Spain recently (bearing in mind the power and influence of the Roman Catholic Church) has been the murder of señor Segundo Urteaga, in church, a case already calling to mind similarities with Thomas a Becket.

The police suspected Urteaga of complicity with the E.T.A. (the militant Basque movement which has taken over from the bourgeois Nationalist movement that dominated Basque politics for so long). He was a bellringer in Urabain (near Vitoria) and whilst in police custody was allowed to go to church to toll the bells for mass (presumably because he was the only capable bellringer). Whilst doing so, he was shot to death by the police.

Excuses vary from the standard "shot while trying to escape" -- the notorious 'ley de fuego' that goes back to Monarchist times -- to the allegation that he was chiming out a prepared code of warning. It is also alleged that the policeman who shot him "acted in self defence" though it is hard to see how a prisoner, taken from jail, could be armed.

Amongst other prisoners waiting for trial by court-martial are many R.C. priests of Basque origin; one wonders what the attitude of the Vatican would be if all this happened in Poland, for instance? Even at this last minute, the Church could disentangle itself from its guilty association with the Spanish regime if only to look after its own adherents.

SALAMANCA PRISON The city of Salamanca has long been renowned for its learning and its humanity. The University of Salamanca has a long and honourable tradition; even Franco was not able to ruin its reputation. Indeed, it was in the University that the Rector, the writer Unamuno, made the last public speech in Occupied Spain

Coming Events

Important.

FIRST BUSINESS MEETING of the ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS to discuss formation of a working party and to explain general aims and objects.

SATURDAY MAY 31st at 5 p.m.

at Freedom Press Offices,
Angel Alley (by Wimpey Bar next to
Whitechapel Art Gallery, nearest tube:
Aldgate East),
84b, Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1

Please do your best to attend.
No other notifications will be sent.

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER CAMP: Preliminary fund-raising social - evening of Sat. May 24th. at same address.

FESTIVAL ARTISTICO-CINEMATOGRAFICO: popular songs in Spanish with guitar; regional Spanish dances; film "Fury Over Spain" (Spanish Civil War). Presented by Juventudes Libertarias at the CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Sq. W.C.1. (nearest tube: Holborn) at 6 p.m. on 7th June. Anglo-Spanish rally.

COACH BINGE: Write L.F.A. c/o Freedom Press.

(Continued from previous column)

against the Franco dictatorship and tactics of terror (though the Civil War was still raging). Belatedly, Franco has his revenge on Salamanca. Henceforth it will be named with Dartmoor and Alcatraz, with Cayenne and Sing Sing, with Siberia and Buchenwald. The most important industry of indigenous enterprise -- PRISON BUILDING -- has erected a new political prison at Salamanca. It is expected that the politicals from Soria, Carabanchel and Burgos may be transferred there.

OCTOBER RELEASE DATES Many political prisoners are due for release in October. Among them are Juan Bosquet (who has been serving 20 years since he was arrested following the resistance of Sabator), and also Miguel Garcia Garcia (oldest serving political prisoner in Franco's jails, who has long since completed his original sentence).

(Continued overleaf)

sentence. Unlike the normal prison system, completion of sentence in Spain does not mean automatic release; all releases are "an act of clemency" on the part of the "Caudillo", and the prisoners may or may not be released on the due date; it is not unknown for them still to be waiting ten years afterwards until somebody in office condescends to release them under an "amnesty" (which is then announced abroad as a token of "liberalisation" of the regime).

THIS IS WHY IT IS URGENT THAT SPANISH PRISONERS ARE NOT FORGOTTEN ABROAD, AS THEY NORMALLY ARE. Anything that annoys and harrasses the regime, and lets the office-holders know that public opinion abroad is not entirely dead to the fact of political prisons, is of help to those inside to whom the end even of a twenty-year sentence does not necessarily mean release.

(And twenty years means twenty years; none of the politicals, other than a few foreigners, have had remission).

IN MEMORY OF THE MURDERED Juan P. has supplied the Black

Cross with a number of photographs of persons murdered by the Generalissimo's police. We hope as soon as funds are available to reproduce this as a broadsheet or poster (similar to the Makhnow one).

BANCO DE BILBAO, LIVERPOOL. There was a grand explosion

at the Banco de Bilbao offices in Liverpool recently. It was obviously a protest against Fascism and the Police State, by the nature of it, and in no way an attempt to break in. The Spanish Press reported it extensively; the British Press briefly if at all. Can it possibly be that the latter were less free to comment?

POLITICAL TRIALS Every day in the Spanish Press there are new arrests

reported, far too numerous to mention here and not always capable of verification as to the affiliations of the people concerned. The Police are clamping down on all manifestations of rebellion; and for the first time, the wave of arrests of "politicals" is not confined to the working-class, but to middle-class homes as well, especially students, a significant fact in class-conscious Spain. All groupings are

being sustained by help from abroad.

It is true that certain elements are gaining considerable ground - the C.P. for instance has regained all the ground it has lost since the Civil War, and is emerging as a strong party which is prepared to treat and deal with the Catholic Parties, and may enter into an alliance with "Christian Democracy" yet. It is no use people abroad deploring the growth of the Communists if they do not face up to the fact that it is due to the failure of support received by all other sections of the Spanish Resistance. It is difficult enough under a dictatorship to think differently; even more to act decidedly; and it is not possible to go round with a subscription-list as well. Those who get financial support from abroad are able to buy typewriters and duplicators and guns and all the rest of it.

FORTHCOMING
RELEASES

It has been learned that Alicia Mur Sin (arrested after the kidnapping of Mgr. Ussia as a hostage for political prisoners) is due for release at the end of September while another comrade, Cañete, should be released in June. Permission has been granted to a journalist from the Agence France Presse to visit Luis Edo in jail.

SPECIAL FUND

for Spanish Resistance

(see pp. 2 & 3)

DUBLIN: P.S. 5/-

LONDON: A.M. £1.

S.C. £1.

NEW YORK: V.R. \$3.00 = 25/-

(Most readers will only know of the Appeal with this issue)

SEND TO:

Stuart Christie,
735 Fulham Road,
London, S.W.6.

PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE:-

The Origins of the Anarchist Movement
in China, by "Internationalist"
(Preface, S.Christie) 2/6d.

The Truth about the Bonnot Gang, 2/6d.
1649, Jim Duke 2/6d.

NOTES AND NEWS OF THE ANARCHIST

BLACK CROSS

The Barlow-Carver Case. Although Carver has been released on bail, Barlow remains in custody, as the result one presumes of the expressed police objection to his political views. We are still pursuing this curious sidelight on police prejudice. We are all well aware it exists, but it is seldom stated in court. Readers of our last issue will have seen Meltzer's letter to the Home Secretary; the first reply was to ask by way of advice "The full christian names and name of the prison(s) in which they are imprisoned" (a fact apparently unknown then to the Home Office); on this being supplied and enquiries being made, the Home Office stated:-

"I am afraid that the question of bail is entirely a matter for the appropriate judicial authorities and it would be improper for the Home Secretary to intervene in either of these cases while they are pending before the court. "The Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis is responsible for the disciplinary control of members of his force and copies of your letters have been sent to him."

So far it has not been possible to interview the Commissioner to see what "disciplinary action" he has taken (bearing in mind the precedent of an officer being sacked for anti-fascist views since his partiality would have "encouraged the fascists to lawlessness"). We are pursuing the matter. Meanwhile somebody is in prison simply because a police officer dislikes his politics.

Define a police state in your own terms.

Activities of the Black X. Owing to certain other pressing commitments, both movement-wise and personal, the organisers have been unable to do much during May. We are also short of funds (sales at the Ball of posters and Coptic Press

pamphlets given to aid the A.B.C. only totalled some 12/6d. We have had one or two other postal orders to keep us going, but total received was only £2.0.0. We have now spent out all our cash, including the fact of selling 300 No.4. Bulletins. Hope that once No.5. is out it will pay for itself. It has been pointed out to us we are trying to do two different things in the Black X - one, raise money for political prisoners; two, aid resistance movements. Hence the need to decentralise. (See the editorial by Stuart Christie, and the eight points on Aid and Comfort to Spanish Prisoners).

Letters. "The bulletins are very good, I think; congratulations. Please find enclosed a derisory 5/- to help out." D.P. (Som.) (Far be it from us to deride 5/-).

"I feel very guilty only sending 1/- but at present, being unemployed, I find myself at the tender mercies of the Department of Social Security, who in their infinite generosity, present me with £5.8.6. gross per week, which they expect is sufficient to support my wife and myself. I hope you will, therefore, not think too badly of me and bear with me for the time being." H.C. (Leics). (Considering that there must be at least 100 readers earning £15 and up who haven't sent 1/- and who if they had would have enabled us to send off several parcels, why should we think badly?)

"Where did you find that magnificent photo of Makhno? (on the posters) It's about the best I've seen (there are some other good ones in Guerin's Ni Dieu ni Maitre and Maximoff's The Guillotine at Work." P.A.

(Can whoever lent it remind us?)

"I agree with what your group say and would like to hear more although I think the time for talking is nearly over and there should be more action!" S.T. (London)

"We are interested in your idea of forming a Black cross working party. We can spare some time to help with organising so please inform us of any developments." S.L. (Boxley). (Announcement of first meeting in this issue).

(Continued on page 6).

NOTES AND NEWS OF THE ANARCHIST
BLACK CROSS (Continued from
page 5).

THE BOLLETTINO DELLA CROCE NERA
ANARCHICA (Italian Black Cross
Bulletin) has now appeared. We
await copies from Milan. It will
contain many articles translated
from this Bulletin, and of course
we in turn will translate many
others from it.

A SPANISH Bulletin will also
appear shortly; those interested
should contact London.

We have heard from the Alexander
Berkman Aid Fund. The original
Anarchist Red Cross was re-organ-
ised by Alexander Berkman back in
1921 and its name changed to the
above. Boris Yelensky was its
secretary for many years, until he
retired to Florida; it is located
in Chicago, and its present sec-
retary (for the past ten years) is
Irving S. Abrams. (Glad to get
this right; correcting our mention
of it in a previous bulletin, which
was relying on a translation from
French).

The Alexander Berkman Aid Fund
has, incidentally, made regular
aid to Spain, Italy and Bulgarian
comrades, and is now sending aid
via ourselves to the relief of
comrades recently arrested in
Spain.

Mention of Alexander Berkman calls
to mind his co-worker over many
years for the Anarchist cause:
Emma Goldman. This month (June)
is the centenary of her birth.
She was the London representative
of the CNT/FAI during the Spanish
Civil War. Her book "Anarchism
& Other Essays" is to be re-
printed as a paperback by the
American firm, Doverbacks; also
"God & the State" (Bakunin);
"What is Property" (Proudhon);
"Memoirs of a Revolutionist"
(Kropotkin); "Anarcho-Syndicalism"
(Rocker).

A British publisher is to bring
out (shortly; we await details) a
new book on Anarchism, one of the
first original works on Anarchism
to be produced in this country
(written by Anarchists) for a long
time. So far as we can ascertain

(Continued in next column)

it is the first in the English
language on the particular aspect
of Anarchism with which it deals.
Title: "Black & Red: Anarchism in
relation to the class struggle".
It is written by the two editors
of this Bulletin and arises out of
their collaboration on the work of
the Black Cross.

Collection of funds for activity in
Spain: we are setting up an
International Commission with
centres in London, Milan, Paris
and probably Germany, so that cash
can be sent without too much passing
across frontiers. Details will be
made in each language bulletin.

NOTE This issue was held up as we
were awaiting an important
announcement regarding political
prisoners and Resistance in Spain. It
will now appear in our next issue.
ALSO IN OUR NEXT ISSUE will be an
article by Octavio Alberola, and
news coming out of Soria Prison. We
hope too by then to have news of the
seven comrades arrested in Milan.

IN VIEW OF THE DELAY in bringing out
the bulletin, most comrades will not
have had the opportunity of coming to
the meeting mentioned elsewhere in this
issue. Sorry. We will have another
meeting shortly and will send partic-
ulars to all who have or subsequently
do send a note saying they want to come.

s.c. & a.m.

A MEETING WILL BE
HELD AT HYDE PARK
Speakers' Corner, 3 p.m. 29th June.
(Sunday). A MARCH TO THE SPANISH
EMBASSY will then take place (around
3.30).

FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL
PRISONERS

Make this a major demonstration
against Franco's rule.

Organised by the Spanish Liberation
Council.

THE BILL OF RECKONING (Horace Walpole)

"Queen of Hungary, DEBTOR
to the human species...millions
"King of Prussia, ditto.....
"King of France, by his stewards, ditto
"King of Spain, many thousands.....
"Prince Ferdinand, some thousands....
"Czarina, only her own husband.....
"TOTAL: Half Europe. "
(18th century)

AID AND COMFORT TO SPANISH PRISONERS.

- 1) It is highly desirable, from the point of view of expressing solidarity, and also to ensure the acceptance by the authorities, as well as to avoid overhead costs, that the sending of parcels to prisoners be decentralised.
- 2) Please ask us for an address, and send the parcel yourself, whatever and whenever you can afford.
- 3) Food in Spanish prisons is plentiful and monotonous; excellent if you happen to like beans. Send canned foods that are ready to serve and do not need boiling or freezing. Especially welcome are medical supplies in the form of Vitamin Pills (again canned), Aspirins, Boiled Sweets and so on.
- 4) If not speaking Spanish, write in French preferably, or alternatively English.
- 5) If you hear from the authorities that a prisoner has 'gone away' or is 'unknown' or has 'refused' a parcel, PLEASE INFORM US. Such information is a vital guide. We have known prisoners to disappear or die mysteriously.
- 6) Don't be disheartened if a parcel 'goes astray'.
- 7) The Anarchists, Maoists and ETA prisoners have united in a prison commune, and share food parcels (the C.P. remains aloof and is known to prefer the dissident Falangists as company).
- 8) Don't indulge in abuse of the Caudillo in a letter inside a food parcel; the theory is that this is a great favour from him enabling a parcel to be sent. In the same way, at expiry of a sentence, it is his 'personal clemency' - a year or even ten years later - that releases the prisoner, not the date of expiry of the judicial sentence.