GIUSEPPE PINELLI (right of picture, with beard)
ANARCHIST MILITANT RAILWAYMAN FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM
of the Milan Anarchist Black Cross

MURDERED BY THE MILAN POLICE Whilst IN CUSTODY
DURING THE POGROM AGAINST THE LEFT IN MILAN BY THE
SARAGAT GOVERNMENT

FACTS: After the bombs in the Milan Bank, Dr. Calabressi,
head of police, IMMEDIATELY said it was the anarchists who
were responsible THOUGH NO INVESTIGATION HAD YET BEEN MADE.
He sends us a report on the general situation of political prisoners in Spain.

The political prisoners of Spain are in Soria, Jaen and Palencia, he informs us. Also, the newest jails are in Segovia and Zamora and in fact there are fifty priests serving political sentences in the latter prison.

At Soria and Segovia, the prisoners are known as penitentiaries, and the prisoners divided into groups according to whether they can communicate with each other or not. Every attempt is made to sort out those still capable of rebel actions against the prison authorities from the others.

The worst offenders - that is to say, the least docile - are then confined in small cells, where they must spend all hours of the day, some about 154 metres square. Twenty men share this space, lavatory included. The effect upon the prisoners may be imagined, especially when it is added that for group B nine men share the same space and this is by no means under-crowded.

The political prisoners in Spain receive worse treatment than ordinary prisoners, for they are not sent to the special penitentiary centres.

Visits are difficult in Soria, far from main urban centres, and are allowed only once a week. Regular hours of visiting are not maintained, so that special journeys made by families may be in vain or forced then to stay several days in the town.

(Continued on page 6)
A declaration of solidarity with the Italian Black Cross in Milan.

FASCIST PROVOCATION & POLICE MURDER

To readers of this bulletin the Anarchist Black Cross will be familiar. It was re-formed after many years, following the London Conference in 1967. One comrade just released from prison had one set of ideas for aiding Spanish prisoners; another had a different idea. They got together, and some practical success has been achieved. In Milan, our opposite number was formed. In fact, the Black Cross has not confined itself to aiding political prisoners, but to aiding practical activists against tyranny. Accordingly, it has become one of the most effective of the international anarchist organisations.

In Milan, Giuseppe Pinelli, a railwayman, was one of those deeply involved in the militant activities of the group "Ponte della Ghiolfa" and the Milan Black Cross. Because of these activities he has become well known to the police, the Milan Questura.

Pinelli was arrested and taken into custody. He was interrogated and intimidated ceaselessly as he had been in the past; this went on incessantly for several days. Finally, he is said to have "jumped to his death". Now the police murdered him is not known. He may have been thrown out of the window deliberately, or the lack of sleep and constant ill-treatment may have made him dizzy. But they did.

Had it been a "great liberal" the world's press would have made a great case of it. A professor or a lawyer like Masaryk being thrown out of the window by the police would have "stirred the conscience". But an Anarchist worker was not able to do so. Why was the Milan Questura so determined to get Pinelli out of the way? They knew they could rely on the tame press not to make too much fuss. And they have been made to look complete fools by the Milan Anarchists in their recent activities.

One example was the successful kidnapping of Isu Elias, the Spanish Vice-Counsel in Milan, who was held as ransom for the life of Jorge Gumill Valls, a comrade of the PJI in Spain in 1962. The six comrades who were arrested following this affair were given minimal sentences of two months (which they had already served) and walked from the trial free men. Another example of successful libertarian activity was the kidnapping in Rome of Mgr Marcoe Ussia, ecclesiastical counsellor to the Spanish Embassy in May, on May 1st 1966 (from this action the 'May the First' group took its name).

There were also a series of bombings carried out effectively and carefully by the "Marius Jacob" Group. These got under the skin of the Italian police. It should be noted that careful attention was always paid to the fact that although banks, police stations, churches (including the Vatican), military establishments, large capitalist offices and embassies have been "plasticated" and the subject of patrol bombs, as a result of action by the anarchist groups, AT NO TIME HAS ANY DANGER TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC been evident and the bombs have always been set to explode when no innocent people were present.

In each case - as in the case of the Spanish Bank in London - the explosion took place late in the evening and with a very short fuse - which in this case barely gave the person concerned time to get away before it exploded.

This is in deliberate contrast to nationalist or fascist bomb attacks which logically follow the pattern of national war and cause the maximum damage to human life.

For the use of terrorism by the libertarians is to avoid taking human life except in very specifically deserving cases - this is not a moral question but a tactical one! (Sometimes indeed anarchists have gone too far in this respect - one paper)

(Cont. on page 4)
recalls that an Italian anarchist failed to shoot Mussolini because at the crucial moment he was surrounded by children — and this does indeed produce an exercise in ethics, but none but the anarchists would have considered it during terrorist activity.

Terrorism as an effective weapon of revolutionaries has a number of facets; one of which is intimidation and it is not the job of revolutionaries to intimidate ordinary people — this is the task of both nationalist and fascist terrorists — the job of the libertarian revolutionary is to attack the State, Capitalism and all its ramifications... the nationalist or the fascist (who may not be synonymous in other respects) must emulate the national army and strike indiscriminately at "the enemy".

THE FAIR  The bombs flung at the Milan Fair had obviously no connection with those attacks made by the Anarchists in recent years. It was later shown by the Observer — carrying out a major news scoop on its own and succeeding in exposing the plot where the Milan police had "failed" — that this was the work of neo-fascists. It should be recalled that Tirolese (Austrian) Nationalists as well as Crook Fascists are all also involved in terrorist actions of their own type. But although any common-sense person could tell that the bombs in the Fair were NOT the work of Anarchists AND THE OBSERVER, A LONDON PAPER, WAS ABLE TO PROVE CONCLUSIVELY IT WAS THE WORK OF FASCISTS, six anarchists were held for long periods awaiting trial FOR NO OTHER OFFENCE THAN THEIR OPINIONS. They were released only when this was forced into the light of day but have yet to face trial.

This matter made things very uncomfortable for the Milan Secret Police. It should be remarked, by the way, that of the two bombs — one at the fair and one at the station — caused no loss of life. But the circumstances in which they exploded pointed to fascists. No fact whatever pointed to the accused.

Our four comrades
Ellane Vingellone
Giovanni Corradini
Paulo Fasciolli
Paulo Braso

were arrested two days after the explosion. By December all six of those finally involved were out on bail. A little while after they were a number of explosions in Milan and Rome. In particular, there was an explosion at the Banca dell'Agricoltura, where a bomb exploded at 4.30 in the afternoon, killing 14 people and wounding 30. The bomb was in the main concourse of the Bank. Another bomb, in the nearby Banca Commerciale weighing nearly a stone in weight, was discovered.

THE BOMB AT THE BANK  Like a flash on the road to Damascus all the pomoci in high places immediately "knew" this was the work of the anarchists. In ten minutes after the explosion, a high official of the Milan Questura, Dr Calabroli, announced that this was the work of the "left" and immediately obtained search warrants and raided known militants. Later, he was reprimanded by his superiors for having made his announcement too early. He had let the cat out of the bag. He knew who to blame before he saw what had happened. BUT THIS DID NOT PREVENT THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, DR SARACAT, SAYING "THIS MUST BE THE WORK OF THE ANARCHISTS AND THE WORKERS CONTROL PEOPLE". The "workers control people" reference is significant.

The following morning it was announced that a "high official" of the Milan Questura would go to Switzerland to follow up a story in a Swiss newspaper that this had been the work of fascists, both Italian and Greek. BUT THE NEWS AGENCIES OF THE WORLD WERE BLAMING THE ANARCHISTS.

The Observer had already obtained the memo of Greek Military Intelligence to initiate a reign of terror if Greece were expelled from the Council of Europe. Dr. Calabroli dismissed this as "pompous cock and took it on himself to visit a number of other countries to implicate more and different people. The Greek Government significantly undertook a series of
explanations firmly placing the blame on an "anarchist conspiracy" throughout Europe including Greece. The attitude of the Greek Government is understandable: it wants a "colonel" type government in Italy that would make life more secure for a certain minority and prevent the present isolation of Greece. For this reason it has not only backed fascist movements but corrupted the police on lines similar to that carried out by the old Tsarist police in France and England. The police are ever obligingly ready to find scapegoats.

Some anarchists, in good faith, and others (also with a certain degree of self-identification) dissociated themselves from the "22nd March" group more or less with the words "If it was them, it wasn't us". We reiterate emphatically that no anarchist and no member of the 22nd March group, neither of the accused anarchists nor the accused Pietro Valpreda or any of his comrades in the 22nd March group had any part in these actions. The Milan Quaterns must, however, answer for its crimes. A group of Italian Government officials have been planning with Czech Military Intelligence, and Milan was a rehearsal for a shabby coup they planned. So far as we are concerned we are not prepared to be the fall guys or stooges of government or power interests. Pinelli's death can be vouched for and torture can be proved. The reprisals, intimidation and murder by the ruling class must be answered in the only language which they understand. The persons responsible for the齐业-Fvolution in Milan must answer for their crimes.

Stuart Christie.

A 58 year old comrade has been charged in Rome with causing malicious damage to a chapel. He is Delio Ricchini. In his defence he has pointed out that he did no more than 16th Century Pope Sixtus V who smashed a crucifix attributed with miraculous powers....

IN PROTEST AGAINST THE ITALIAN REACTION

Fifty French Anarchists invaded the Italian Embassy on October 18th... whilst the comrades of the Italian Anarchist Black Cross covered the city of Milan with placards (this was prior to the Bank affair).....

Miano Vincelli has been described by the bourgeois Press as the "la Pasionaria" of the anarchist movement (also, among Spaniards the original "la Pasionaria" has become known as "la Pasionaria")... Pickets were organised outside the Palace of "Justice" in Milan and in the Galeria where, as a result, the carabinieri had to close the gates.

In October, young Anarchists went on hunger strike outside the Palace of "Justice" in Venice, and the same curiously-named institution was picketed in Turin, Bologna, Genoa, Canossa, Pistoia, Piacenza and Leghorn.

Denunciations of the Fascist attentates have resulted in: 30,000 leaflets, five different posters, 40 arrests on demonstrations, the collection of thousands of signatures. Slogans were painted on walls including the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Rome - causing the bright remark by Ponce-President Saragat that "the explosions in Milan must have been the work of the Left for the Right would not have decorated the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier!!"

Other international demonstrations against Italy are expected.

IN AID OF THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Lucy Parsons Posters ....... 5/-
post free. Produced by Solidarity Chicago.

Signed copies of THE FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY by S. Christie & A. Walters available for any advance on the 22/- (incl. 1/- post)...whole amount to go to A.B.C. Funds.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA 2/6d. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BONNOT GANG 2/6d. "1649" 2/6d. dupl pamphlets in aid of the A.B.C.

The prison of Segovia is similar to that of Soria although the prisoners confined there are regarded as more amenable to discipline in general. Jaen, although regarded as an "open prison" from which prisoners should be allowed to go out to work, operates in the same way as a "closed prison". The politicals have however been transferred to Soria. At Zaragoza, where as mentioned there are an exceptional number of priests, there are again similar restrictions though it has been accommodated for ecclesiastical practice.

One must mention the worst situation in Teruel, which is the place of incarceration for juvenile offenders, but which is the place to which all the pimps and male prostitutes, and other sexual offenders including homosexuals are sent. At the present time there are six militants of the E.T.A. and ten young "acnatas" (Anarchist youth) politicals. One wonders how the Catholic moralists of this country can justify this manifestation of Catholic Spain.

HUNGER STRIKES The political prisoners of Spain are not taking any imposed humiliations lying down. Time and again they have brought their situation to the attention not only of the authorities who tend to ignore their own laws but by mailed letters to the attention of world opinion. The regime is sensitive at last to the exposures that have appeared in the world press since the official line is to maintain that they are "liberalising".

The prisoners have time again reinforced their just demands by hunger strikes. At Soria, the fast hunger strike which took place on the 29th May, was punished by 75 days in the "hole". Among the 53 prisoners in the "prison commune" who took part ranging from the CNT to the Basque ETA and including the mafiosi, was 24 year old Davi Urbanc, Anarchist militant, who received 115 days.

RELEASES Yet in addition to the release of Miguel Garcia Garcia, other Anarchist fighters are out. Juan Busquets Verges, sentenced at the same time, has also been released. It is true that Garcia Garcia and Busquets have both served their time of 20 years, but in "normal" circumstances the expiry of sentence in Spain does not mean (as in other countries) automatic release but the prisoner must wait for "clemency" from the dictator. Even the ordinary criminal may wait long periods while the bureaucratic machinery hols up the release. In the case of politicals, it is planned (and understandable) police, on the part of the despotic regime to keep them there and not to "grant" such clemency unless they are obliged to do so. But actions of resistance to the Spanish regime abroad as well as at home and even such international gestures of solidarity such as sending FOCO parcels show the authorities that the prisoners are not forgotten by the world. That is why so many have come out on the June date. THEY HAVE NOT CAPITULATED TO COME OUT. They have not even pretended to surrender to the conqueror.
The prisoners who have come out of Spanish jails come out ruined in health but with heads unbowed. This in itself is the most devastating criticism the regime of General Franco has received. In addition to those already mentioned, we also welcome the release of many members of the F.I.J.I. (anarchist youth organisation of the Civil War period which has become the activist centre of the Spanish resistance) — including Alicia Har Sin, who was sentenced to three years for her alleged part in the kidnaping of an American military officer as a hostage for political prisoners, and who refused parole on an impossibly high "counter-ransom" from her comrades. Out too is Canete sentenced to three years at the same time.

Both Garcia Garcia and Busquets have been under sentence of death. Busquets escaped twice, and on the second escape broke his knee cap but was refused treatment in the prison hospital as a "punishment" — there (seventeen years after his capture) he met Stuart Christie and made contact, which has lasted, with the British movement.

Luis Eic remains in the notorious Segovia Prison.

(Continued on Page Eight)

FACTS

Twenty Milan lawyers (of radical and socialist leanings) have formed a Defence Committee against Repression... Journalists have formed a similar one, among them well known journalists such as Giorgio Bocca of Il Giorno. As a result many newspapers are expressing strong doubts about the culpability of Valpreda and the Zinc March Group.

The Italian Government has been very upset with the revelations in the London "Observer" which suggest, they claim, that President Saragat himself was involved in "creating a climate of repression".

On 18th December three anarchists in Grenoble (France) were arrested for writing on the walls: ITALY POLICE PROVOCATION... anarchists are not assassins of the people.

Forty-eight hours elapsed before they were charged.... two weeks before they were released on bail .... now they await trial. This is not an exceptional case — France is drifting towards the Police State.

In BORDEAUX there are five comrades in prison for throwing Molotov cocktails in the May 68 events... in LYONS three comrades are in preventive detention since May 68... in PARIS numerous comrades are in prison... in AIX-EN-PROVENCE two workers (an anarchist and a Maoist) were sentenced to two months after a clash with the police.

We must show solidarity with these comrades.
in storybook country and setting, a delight for the tourist but hell for modern men confined inside. The mediæval fortress has no proper sanitation nor was it constructed for the 20th century physique. As a punishment for the letters smuggled out and drawing attention to the prison, the prison authorities have (as they did in the case of García García and others) given Edo special punishment – HOSPITAL TREATMENT BEING REFUSED. He has a cyst in the kidney but is refused treatment.

IT IS TIME THE WORLD'S DOCTORS PAID SOME ATTENTION TO THE STATE OF SPANISH PRISONS. REFUSAL OF MEDICAL TREATMENT AS A PUNISHMENT is an inhuman treatment. If prison doctors thought that as a result of this, Spanish medical qualifications were not recognised elsewhere in the world, they would stand up to the prison governors. It should also be pointed out that this punishment is a relic of the Inquisition and that – with a word or two – the Pope (who woos at events like Biafra he cannot control) could stop it. The chaplain is a key figure in Spanish prisons.

Liberalisation? Is the general release of political prisoners, or the permission to allow known revolutionaries whose sentences have expired to go home, part of "liberalisation" in Spain? How are those labelled blackened with the crime of supporting Franco who would like us to think so. This is not the opinion of the Spanish workers, nor of the students, now emerging as a body of opinion. For instance, 18 year old Francisco Tabau, a teenage anarchist, was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment a month ago (to be confirmed by court martial). He was found with leaflets, propaganda and sticks of dynamite, and it was alleged he tried to blow up a fashionable brothel (described in some press reports as a "night club"), at which certain high officials were to be present. This is only one of many instances which makes it certain that more will go back to prison before the regime is defeated.

What the present trend proves is that not only Generalissimo Francisco is suffering from advanced Parkinson's Disease, but the whole FRANCO REGIME is dying on its feet, shaking with the palsy and rotten to the core. It is faced with the dilemma of Napoleon the Third – how can a dictator "liberalise" even if he wants to, when at the first sign of liberalisation opposition will be able to organise itself more openly and conveniently? What would be the result of recognising trade unions but the re-establishment of fighting industrial associations; what the result of free speech but opposition newspapers; what the result of freedom of association but the re-creation of the workers' movement? Franco's regime rested solely upon CONQUEST and upon conquest it flourished. It cannot provide for what comes next. There will be an attempt to follow the tragedy of Franco with a bit of light relief – in history, said Heine, comedy always comes after tragedy... the knockabout farce of a Bourbon restoration will be played, with Juan Carlos in the leading role and the full cast from 1814. We
GLASGOW POLICE  

The killing of two policemen and the original of another caused nationwide concern. Immediately the Scottish police made political capital of it. They demanded that the police be armed at all times. Already the Scottish police are more prone to the use of arms than elsewhere.

The English and Welsh police disclaimed the call. In London, after all, it is easier for arms to be obtained illegally. But a wave of protest followed the police... surely the police need arms when brutal cop-killers are about? Four men have so far been arrested. At the moment of writing, the Press has not seen fit to disclose that two of them are ex-policemen and that the background to the case is not only burglary but anger at certain internal police matters which resulted in discharges from the force.

FASCIST TERRORISM  

So much seems to come our way - and we have so smelt a readership to acquaint with the facts - that the sooner we get our new mag out the better. There is another case going on in London at the moment, where a British ex-army captain is being committed for trial on charges of plotting to blow up Israeli airships, synagogues etc. In the only report of the case which has not received major publicity, the police dug up the background - the accused had pamphlets referring to holyity, a newspaper called the Fascist, an anti-nazi纽 pamphlet, the U.S. "Common Sense" and details of the connection between the persons concerned and the Belgian Congo - which has attracted this type of fascist mercenary - which also, as we know, turns up in the guise of private detective agencies, as the squatters discovered.

What however makes this poignant is the fact that it has all to do with the EL FATAH COMMANDOS - the gentlemen concerned went to Cairo and contacted El Fatah, and went visiting the El Fatah guerrillas on the Israeli border. They were apparently recruited by a man called "Omar Sharif" (not the bridge player, but the "Socialist"). THIS IS PRECISELY THE BANNER IN WHICH THE MINI-INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, CONSISTING OF MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM TOOK PART IN THE GORILLA ACTIVITY IN PALESTINE.

The London "Observer" commented that the I.S. volunteers fall out with the local guerrillas over their political beliefs and attitudes. We wondered why and guessed this was the reason. The volunteers to serve with El Fatah were, incidentally, recruited by an Israeli and former member of the right-wing Heruth.

The proteskyists have acclaimed the role of El Fatah and the chants of "Mussar, Mussar" by the guerrillas. We wonder if the rank-and-file I.S. and trots know the filthy roster in which they are asked to walk? When pointing out that at one meeting in London, the Marxists had...
Alan Barlow Released

Alan Barlow is out after serving his sentence for the blowing up of the front of the Banco Español in London....

Welcome back, Alan.

Seanan Liberation

Funds are urgently needed for the Spanish Liberation Council now being supported by the Anarchist Black Cross. Activists are more than ever in need of support.

We know bread is in short supply and everyone is clamouring for a piece but this work really is important and there is no way of passing the hat round inside Spain.

Organise something now to raise the cash necessary for action in and for Spanish Liberation...

ABC - 10 Gilbert Place,

The Floodgates of Anarchy

pub. Kahn & Avril 21/-
hardback - ready in a week or so.

To those comrades who couldn't wait to see what the book by Christie & Meltzer would be like we sent dustjackets ..... "What a total beautiful far out surprise ... shit, the whole thing flipped us all onto another level. GREAT!" came one letter and on another level was the comment "The blurp alone was the first thing on anarchism I'd read for years without being ashamed of". Even the hard headed literary agent - who knew nothing of anarchism before - enthused at the way the book was written.

Reviews in this Bulletin may not be considered impartial so make sure you get a copy... that your bookshop stocks it...and order it from the public library too.

(original publishing date of Jan 14th put off a few weeks).

(from previous column)

that I.M.G. goes back to L.S.S.

and that L.S. declares itself ideologically bankrupt.

-- A. Meltzer.
venture to suggest it will not be a very long run. But the serious business will take place while the play goes on, and that is who is to emerge as the power behind or in place of the Puppet King.

Already the hard-faced men who made good under Franco are emerging. Deals are taking place. The newfound unity between the Catholic "Democrats" and the Communist Party is going to stake all on winning — for a "constitutional" society with clerical domination and without American bases — the deal is not entirely unknown nor will it be the first of its kind between two powers neither of whom possesses an atom of principle.

The military may stake a new claim — the hardline Falangist movement is almost certain to want to shoot it out with the rest of the Franco movement — the "Chinese" Communists have their following, too. But who is to help the libertarian movement which has always fought against dictatorship over the workers and always put forward the principle of free determination for the people themselves? Who but the libertarian movement of the world? If we give no aid now, we should remain forever silent. Now is the crucial moment, as much — and in some ways even more — than it was in 1936. The Spanish Anarchist movement cannot now mount a mass offensive in Spain. For this reason it is all the more urgent to assist the individual attempts at blocking the path to power against all comers....the last bars that are thrown at the dying fascist bull to make in it go down in torment will certainly dishearten those who seek power in its place.

S.Christie & A.Meltzer.

THE ALEXANDER HERMAN AID FUND pioneers in the work of the Black Cross has sent two donations of £25.00 to the SPANISH LIBERATION FUND operated by the ABC on behalf of Spanish activists, and two of £10.00 towards the Bulletin. (This in fact covers our expenses for 1970 so that all we receive in 1970 goes towards the work of aiding prisoners or activists). The Fund, run from Chicago, has also been sending parcels to prisoners in Spain.

All proceeds received by the Anarchist Black Cross during January and February will go to the Spanish Liberation Fund. Aid for the Italian Black Cross can be sent direct — if sent to us please earmark sum as being for the comrades in Milan.

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

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS — please note present address

10 GILBERT PLACE LONDON W.C.1.

Page 1.

(third change but mail being forwarded from our previous addresses).
The above cartoon is part of a suggested series for a strip cartoon - Adventures of Anarik. It was prepared by members of the Milan Black Cross for this number, and used by agreement as the back cover cartoon of The Floggates of Anarchy.

FACTS ABOUT MILAN: The British press announced that arrests were made of "the extremists" - the two major parties (it omits the ones who were exempt were the Communist Party and the Christian Democrats (inheritors of Mussolini). The Socialist flits from one to the other.

"SIX HUNDRED EXTREMISTS RIGHT AND LEFT WERE ARRESTED" - yes, indeed! 588 "left" (anarchists, Peking-line communists, workers' control movement, and other anti-parliamentarian bodies) and TWELVE fascists! They were arrested, searched, examined; a few taken into custody and charged. ONE ANARCHIST WAS MURDERED BY THE POLICE. Why so few fascists? The police were afraid to find the persons responsible, since this might incriminate themselves."