

All
Social
Adminis-
tration
To The
Com-
munes

The Fighting-call



All
Social
Economy
To The
Workers

INCORPORATING "FREEDOM" AND "ADVANCE"

VOL. I. No.3.

DECEMBER, 1936

ONE PENNY

BULLETIN OF INFORMATION OF THE National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.)

From Reaction to Revolution

To write history is one thing, to make it—another. In Spain, particularly in Cataluña, one does not write history to-day. But the transformations taking place in this part of Spain in social life represent inexhaustible material for future historians.

Theories are grey, but life is manyfold and full of colour. Life is not determined by theories. Theories are determined by life.

The present events in Spain are teaching us this lesson. Here the revolutionary uprising started in a similar way as in Germany in 1920. The generals in Spain began their pronunciamiento on July 19th, 1936, in the same manner as Kapp and Ludendorff had staged their putsch. The German people suppressed the military insurrection even more rapidly than the Spaniards did. But the consequences were different. In Germany no strong will to Anarchism existed. In Spain, fighting is still going on in the battlefields of Aragon, Andalusia, in the Basque provinces, and in Castille. But everywhere the anti-Fascist militias are advancing; they are not only greeted as liberators from political oppression, but also as creators of a new social life. Large landed estates are being expropriated; peasants and tenants are organised in syndicates. Agricultural machines are at the disposal of every farmer, and agricultural products are sold through a common committee. Prices are determined by workers and peasants together. The workers are taking over the factories in Cataluña. The industries are administered by the workers and technicians and controlled by the syndicates.

Workers and peasants, the population of cities and of the country, are working together, united in their common will to conquer Fascism.

To-day in Spain, particularly in Cataluña, an astonishingly rapid transformation of social life is taking place. The country is speedily advancing towards Socialisation and Libertarian Communism. This transformation is being carried on parallel with the anti-Fascist fight. It is a natural development, practical, without much friction and absolutely free from any kind of dictatorship. The people themselves are doing all and have done all. No room for theories, whether Marxian or others. Not the economists are determining the laws of the new life. New theories may be worked out later. New necessities are dictating the new forms of life.

The capitalist enterprisers were united with the Fascist generals. They abandoned the country, taking with them their wealth. After the general strike ended, life had to function again. Who could conduct the street cars better than the conductors? Who could better direct the railways than the railway worker? Who knew more about the construction of motors—the shareholder who abandoned the country, or the worker, the technician, the engineer, who stayed?

This question was not difficult to answer. So it came about that the syndicate of the C.N.T. workers took over the street cars, autobusses, and the Metro of Barcelona. The railway workers of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. took possession of the railroad and transports, while the metal workers' syndicates of the C.N.T. set the large Hispano-Suiza works and

all other metal factories and workshops in motion.

This socialisation, in connection with the expropriation, will introduce justice and equality into the economic and social relations of the people. The shareholders, whose presence in capitalist society had contributed to the discontent and misery of the working classes, have ceased to exist. There are no more Stock Exchange speculators. Money is only a means for exchange. Private capitalism can no longer continue its parasitic activity. The bourgeoisie has disappeared from the social stage. State obligations are still in existence, but the possibilities of the privileged class are being replaced more and more by economic equality and social justice.

Theatres and cinemas in Barcelona have been taken over by the syndicates of the C.N.T. Their former proprietors can co-operate in the work, but must be contented with the same wage as their employees. Authors, actors and composers have placed themselves at the side of the workers. Anarcho-syndicalists and Socialist workers are solving the school problem together. They are creating a new basis for the education of the people. Profit will no longer be the moving force. The workers' organisations are the guiding factors. They control everything.

To co-ordinate all collectivised agricultural and industrial enterprises, the Economic Council was created. This body controls the entire economic life of Cataluña. It has to provide financial means to continue the war against Fascism. It must provide raw material, and create new industries, which have become necessary because of the embargo foreign countries have practically imposed against Spain. The Economic Council has provided 50 million pesetas to cover the expenses of the fight against Fascism.

All the new public organisations are not results of Parliamentary resolutions. They have been created outside of the existing Government. The latter only had to recognise and incorporate these new organs. The syndicalist C.N.T. has taken the initiative. Parliamentarism has ceased to exist. The bourgeoisie no longer plays a leading part in organising society. Dividends are no longer paid, nor are interests or coupons. The people themselves are directing society and the economy of the country according to the necessities of the present moment.

Social life goes on. Everything continues, not only as well as before, but better. The defenders of the capitalistic system should come to Cataluña. There they would realise that trams are running as punctual as before, that trams and buses are circulating in the city even though there are no longer directors with a salary of 50,000 pesetas a year. They would see that work in the factories is more intense. Schools have been established, and all are doing their best to grant to all the education denied them by the former masters of the country, the priests, militarists and capitalists. A popular university has been created with the co-operation of all intellectual efforts. Artists and scientists have put themselves with great enthusiasm at the service of the new order, established by the anti-Fascist people without regard to party politics or ideologies.

Is this Anarchism? Not yet. There is still much misery. There is still much ignorance and

analphabets. The evils of despotism and oppression of past years must still be fought. But a people that has destroyed a great military power with such heroism, that has thrown itself with such idealism into the fight for its freedom, such a people will soon arrive at a new cultural standard, and take its place at the side of all the other liberated nations of the world.

The battle against reaction began in the July days of 1936, and it goes on towards Revolution and Anarchism. What is past will never return. The new realities in Cataluña are succeeding, and will, no doubt, also succeed in the whole of Spain. May the workers and anti-Fascists of Europe be on guard that this splendid beginning of a new life may not be butchered by international Fascism.

MANIFESTO OF THE C.N.T. TO ALL THEIR SYNDICATES IN SPAIN.

Since the representatives of our organisation have entered the Government of the Republic, we will motivate our attitude.

From the very beginning of the fight we have been convinced that our success depends entirely on the realisation of the unified front of the whole proletariat. It has been the leading motive of our organisation to co-ordinate our forces with those of the other anti-Fascist efforts of the country. The prolongation of the war and the development of the Revolution required direct participation of the C.N.T. in the political and administrative direction of the country. In this way alone, we felt, the suppression of Fascism and the economic reconstruction of the rear could be guaranteed. We proposed to all organisations and parties the creation of an organism co-ordinating all efforts: The Council of Defence, in which Anarcho-syndicalists, Marxists and Republicans could be equally represented. The chief political parties did not agree to this proposal, though all other anti-Fascist circles agreed with our point of view. True, the C.N.T., being numerically and morally the most important party in Cataluña, we might have proceeded without any regard to the narrow and stubborn stand of the Madrid Government. But, in doing so, we would have added grist to the Fascist mill. The C.N.T. decided, therefore, to enter four Ministries of the Government of the Republic, in the firm conviction that we will save the cause of anti-Fascism and the Revolution. This not only for Spain, but for the workers of all countries.

We call upon our members and syndicates in the whole of Spain to co-ordinate their efforts and to mobilise all their forces to defend and support Madrid, and to finally triumph at all fronts in Spain. May the participation of the C.N.T. in the Government initiate a new phase towards victory over Fascism.—*The National Committee of the C.N.T.*

It is reported that Comrade Durruti has been killed. He has given his life, the most anyone can give for the cause of Freedom. A Comrade pregnant with Revolutionary enthusiasm has gone. His death reminds us of the cry of Sacco as he went to the electric chair on a framed up charge:—

“Long live Anarchy!”

Thousands of others now take up that cry.

Constructive Work

The collectivisation movement in Cataluña had led to the socialisation of many enterprises which have branches in all parts of Spain. Thus, the department store "El Aguila," with 17 branches in Spain, of which several are in the anti-Fascist part of the country (Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid, Bilbao, Murcia, etc.). They have organised themselves in "El Aguila, Workers' Union of the C.N.T." This has taken place in the first weeks of the anti-Fascist fight. Each one of these branches is directed by a technical and an administrative committee, consisting of workers and employees. The sales in the Barcelona branch have gone up to three times as much as before. Prices have been lowered, and all superfluous expenses for capitalist parasites have been eliminated. Unified wages have been established.

THE COMRADES OF THE BARCELONA UNDERGROUND REPORT ABOUT THEIR WORK.

Six days after July 19th—during which the normal workings of the underground had been interrupted—we began to function again. The former directors of the company had disappeared, so we took their places. We accepted the control of our enterprise by the Generalidad, under the condition that they should not meddle with the administration of our work. We discharged 56 high employees; 20 employees remained. Their wages were lowered. The members of the new direction are receiving the same workers' wages as before. The Committee members attend to their office work in the mornings and assemble in a conference in the afternoon. All underground workers are members of the C.N.T., the 15 U.G.T. workers having declared their wish to join the C.N.T. Spies, who were formerly employed in the works, have been eliminated. In a general meeting, attended by all members of all sections of the enterprise, the norms for the continuation of work were discussed. All departments have been newly organised, and all wages unified. Expenses have been reduced to a minimum. The train service is being reorganised. New carriages are being built in the workshops. A library for the workers has been created, for which 500 pesetas a month are provided. In a newly established reunion-hall, technical courses and cultural conferences will be held. We hope to achieve a unified administration of all transport enterprises of the city by the municipality of Barcelona, and to reform the tariff after a common plan.

Militia Yes! Militarisation No!

"Solidaridad Obrera" writes:

The decree for the militarisation of the Catalan militias—following the same lines as the directions of the War Ministry in Madrid—has been published in the Press. We have examined these directions, and noticed that there exists a tendency to limit the possibilities of the Revolution, and to press the new efforts, born of the Revolution, into the same old forms which have caused the military putsch on July 19th. We all without exception understand the necessity of banishing private moods and irresponsibilities from the ranks of our militia and to create

a firm basis of responsibility of the individual to the community. We agree that severe measures must be taken against those who abandon the duties they have undertaken. But it is a regrettable mistake if the decree—until a new law-code has been created—puts the old military code into effect again. In this, the decree lacks a sense of reality, lacks understanding. For many anti-Fascists of libertarian tendencies, the Revolution is not yet a completed fact. A certain lukewarm kind of mentality is still—unconsciously perhaps—demanding the re-establishment of all that has been destroyed in the revolutionary events of July 19th. We can organise the revolution, we can avoid excesses, we can check the impatience and let the constructive spirit of the masses slowly penetrate. But we can not deprive the war we are waging of its revolutionary character. We are ready to accept every effective means of warfare that will strengthen the fighting cadres and introduce revolutionary discipline. But the military code, the old hierarchies, the whole impotent military machine of the former army, will not help us to victory. New values must take their place. Such methods, as decreed, will only discourage the masses, will only lessen their enthusiasm. The militarisation of the militia, the mobilisation of the proletariat, of the entire anti-Fascist population, can not and must not mean the resurrection of the old army. We need a strong feeling for responsibility in the command and among our militias. We need discipline as the best guarantee for victory, and energetic measures against all those who don't fulfil their duties! This is the revolutionary law of our conscience. All this can be said in a few words, which mean a thousand times more than all military codes of the whole world.

Extract from letter from Emma Goldman.

"A few days ago I visited the Durruti Column at the Aragon front. Among many other interesting places, I visited Pina del Ebro, a small village only 200 kilometres from the Fascist lines. As this place was frequently bombarded, the comrades were a little afraid to let me go there. But I went all the same and was deeply impressed by the wonderful spirit that reigns among the inhabitants as well as among the militias, quartered in the village.

Durruti himself is an outstanding personality, perhaps the most outstanding I have met during my stay here. His people adore him. One can well understand it. He leads them by the charm of his personality, by his fraternal spirit of solidarity and by his immense energy. He is not their leader, he is a militia man, is one of them. He said to me: "It would be sad, had I to command my comrades like a general. I live with them. I eat with them and sleep in the same quarters. I march with my comrades in the attacks and I stay with them in the defence." I had a chance to verify this. The morning after my arrival at the front, Durruti was engaged in battle with his column. They had made an attack. They advanced some kilometers, forcing the enemy to retreat. They captured war material the fascists left behind. Durruti led this action, not as a general, but as a simple comrade. Yes, Durruti is not only an outstanding personality, he is first of all a true and consistent Anarchist."

Impressions of An Irish Republican In Spain

I came out to Barcelona as administrator of the second British Red Cross Unit. Two nurses and myself came on in advance to find a site for the hospital of the Unit somewhere on the Teruel front.

Unfortunately, the Unit has been cancelled, all except four ambulances which are now en route somewhere between Paris and Barcelona. Some of these ambulances are to go, I believe, to the first Unit at Grañen. Till they arrive, in any case, I am left with no one to administrate and nothing to do, so a friend in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has asked me to write my impressions for broadcast or the Press.

My first and deepest impression is that of the natural nobility of the Catalan people. I got that impression as early as Port Bou, where we had to spend six hours waiting for the Barcelona train. A bright sun was shining which tempted me to bathe in the bay. After undressing, I left my coat, with some eighty English pounds in the pocket, on the rocks close to a frequented path, with a sense of its perfect safety. Half-an-hour in Cataluña and a few conversations in my faulty Spanish had made me feel I was among friends, who appreciated the effort of the British workers and intelligentsia to help their cause. I would not have dared to risk such a large sum of money unguarded at any English watering place. Here I felt it was guarded by the revolutionary solidarity of Cataluña and even of the international solidarity of the working class of which Cataluña is now the bulwark.

This impression of revolutionary honour and revolutionary order has been maintained by all I have seen and experienced during the week I have been in Barcelona. On one occasion, after a trying morning rushing round after the necessary passes to go on to Valencia—that was before the cancellation of the Unit, and I wanted to go on to the front to find a place for our hospital as soon as possible—I inadvertently paid my taxi driver four pesetas more than his fare. He brought it back to me, remarking, "Eso sobra." This happened as I was entering the door of the Regional Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the headquarters of those terrible Anarchists of whose misdeeds we read so much in the capitalist Press now. I am not going to enter into controversy, philosophic or political. I simply record my experiences, without fear or favour. It is a fact that the Barcelona churches were burnt, and many of them, where roof and walls are still standing, are used to house medical or commissariat stores instead of, as previously, being used by the Fascists as fortresses. I suspect their present function is nearer the purpose of a religion based by its Founder on the love of God and the Neighbour. However that may be, **the destruction of the churches has not destroyed love and honesty in Spain.** If they are not based on the love of God, they are based on brotherliness, selflessness and self-respect, which have to be experienced to be believed. Never, till I came to revolutionary Barcelona, had I seen waiters and even shoeblacks refuse a tip. Here the refusal of anything in excess of the exact bill or fee is as invariable as the courtesy with which it is done. This very courtesy makes one feel mean for having offered it, a benighted bourgeois, auto-

matically continuing bourgeois habits and unable to grasp the self-respect of the workers now they are so largely in control. My first day taught me my lesson. I never offend now.

You will have heard, no doubt, about the Dublin Rising of 1916. That rising is now thought of as a purely national one, of which the aims went no further than the national independence of Ireland. It is conveniently forgotten that not only was the manifesto published by the "bourgeois" leaders conceived in a spirit of extreme liberal democracy, but, associated with the bourgeois leaders was **James Connolly**, the international Socialist, who some regard as the greatest revolutionary fighter and organiser of his day. In command of the Irish Citizen Army, which I had drilled, he made common cause with the Republican separatists against the common Imperial enemy. It is said he threatened to come out with the Citizen Army alone, if the bourgeois Republicans shirked the issue.

It was then the middle of the Great War. The rising was ruthlessly suppressed by England, and sixteen of the leaders were executed. Connolly himself, badly wounded in the Dublin Post Office, which was shelled to ruins by a British gunboat, was strapped in a chair and shot by a firing-squad before he recovered.

Here, in Cataluña, the union of working class and nation starts off under better auspices than were possible in Ireland. In Cataluña the internal Socialist reconstruction goes hand in hand with the armed fight against Spanish and international Fascism. You are in advance of us in dealing with the Clerico-Fascist menace. Again and again in Ireland the revolutionary Republican movement comes a bit of the way towards Socialism, and scurries back in terror when the Roman Catholic Church looses its artificial thunder of condemnation and excommunication.

I come of an Ulster Protestant family. There is a saying in Ulster (the north-east province of Ireland):—"Rome is a lamb in adversity, a snake in equality, and a lion in prosperity." I am glad that in Cataluña you have made Rome into a lamb. In Ireland, Rome is still a lion, or rather a wolf in sheep's clothing. The priests inflame the mob and then pretend to deplore the mob-violence which they have instigated. Last Easter Sunday, I had myself to fight for three kilometres against the Catholic actionists, who attacked us on the streets as we were marching to honour the memory of the Republican dead who fell in Easter week, 1916. The pious hooligans actually came inside the cemetery and tore up the grave rails to attack us.

In Ireland, as in Spain, it was the priests who started methods of fire and sword against the people. Yet they complain bitterly when their own weapons are turned against themselves.

Comrades of Cataluña! In your hour of trial, when you hold the barricades not only for yourselves but for us all, I greet you with the voice of revolutionary Ireland, smothered awhile but destined to regain its strength. I hold myself honoured to be among you, to serve if I can in whatever capacity I can be most useful.

J. R. WHITE.



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The Baby Killers

In the last war the British Press could not find language vile enough to describe the "brutes" as "Baby Killers," etc., and as a result of their pseudo humanitarian appeals thousands of British youths flung themselves against their equally inflamed and misguided German comrades, to their mutual destruction. Imperialism remains and partly as a result of the vindictive Versailles Treaty which followed, Militarism is to-day more rampant than ever, and another holocaust impending.

The International Armament King, which made huge profits before and during the war, has since supplied for profit aeroplane engines, bombs and shells to Mussolini, Hitler and Japan, which may be used in the near future against the very workers who manufactured them. Hitler and Mussolini have given their utmost aid and recognition to Franco and his brutal campaign of murder, pillage and destruction in Spain. In Madrid the killing of non-combatants, mostly women and children, has occurred on such a ghastly and unprecedented scale that all decent world opinion has been revolted. This baby-killing is the crowning infamy in Franco's murderous torture and slaughter of tens of thousands of workers at Badajoz, Seville, Saragossa, Irun, Palma, etc.

Yet the purchase of weapons of defence is refused by our alleged humanitarian Government, which by diplomatic pressure has caused the French Government to adopt a similarly suicidal policy. "Beligerent rights" are refused to progressive Spain, and at the same time, behind the scenes, the demand is being made to concede "beligerent rights" to Franco. The British reactionaries are awaiting the first pretext to actually recognise the Burgos murderers, because they in turn recognise the sacred gods of rent, interest and profit, which are threatened with extinction.

A Bill is to be passed to prevent British ships transporting arms for the succour of the Spanish people, though the Fascist Powers are co-operating with Franco on land, on sea and in the air, bombing towns and sinking food ships. Barcelona and Minorca, especially, are in imminent danger of an dastardly attack and blockade, illegal according to all decent standards of law or ethics.

How long is the British Labour movement going to tolerate this crime against the workers of Spain? Abyssinia was betrayed by Sanctions' talk. Spain is being betrayed by "Non-Intervention" talk. The Spanish Government does not

ask for intervention or money. It only asks the right to buy the weapons of defence. Bevin and Co. promised to demand the removal of the embargo and to "allow no monkey business." Despite the desire of the French Socialists to supply these necessary arms, the British government stands in the way and is even tightening up the restrictions.

Workers, Comrades, ceaselessly expose the callousness, hypocrisy and cowardice of our "Statesmen" and "Leaders." Agitate, demonstrate and urge protest strikes to destroy this infamous embargo.

Every hour of delay means further corpses and mangled bodies of children and women, as well as the heroic combatants in Spain. They are fighting as the rest of the European workers should be fighting for economic freedom against International Capitalism and Fascism to make the dawn of Socialism nearer, not for themselves alone, but for the workers of the whole world.

Fascist Tyranny

Alfajarin is a little town of 3,000 inhabitants, 18km. from Zaragoza. Due to the presence of considerable Fascist forces and the Guardia Civil in possession of all the arms, the workers were unable to present any serious resistance to the enemies. From the very beginning of the uprising this town had been under the most cruel domination of the falangistas and the clergy. The more active members of workers' and political organisations of the Left were assassinated in cold blood. In one instance a group of 18 men, condemned to be shot, when facing the firing squad shouted bravely: "Long live the C.N.T.!" The falangistas dropped their guns and attacked these defenceless workers with knives, torturing them mercilessly until they died. In other cases of executions by the firing squad, some of the victims were found the next morning still in agony, and these were buried with the others without even receiving the grace of a shot of mercy.

All the inhabitants had been classified in accordance to their ideas and activities before the Revolution. Of these over 150 men and women have been shot. Others, such as schoolmasters, doctors and professional men of liberal ideas are forced to labour in the construction of an aeroplane-field, their feet in chains. The ordinary labourers are compelled to work for the falangistas without pay, and receive only the poorest army rations of food.

A constant terror reigns in the town. Women and children are continuously menaced. In fact, the whole peaceful population is subjected to the most ruthless oppression. The women have had their hair cut off, leaving only a little lock at the front to which is attached a ribbon of monarchist colours. Everybody must wear the sacred heart pinned to his dress. The children learn only the catechism, and men and women are forced to attend church, where priests preach the necessity of exterminating all those contaminated with Socialistic and Anarchistic doctrines. Old women are forced to clean the streets, and in the instance of two who refused to do so and dared to protest, were immediately shot by the Guardia Civil. When the alcalde (Mayor) passes through the town, the inhabitants must greet him with the Fascist salute and say: "Arriba España."

We have this report from one who had escaped from the town and tells of the leading part played by the clergy in this inquisition the inhabitants are submitted to and what is called "Examen de Consciencia." They visit the houses of the poor after sleeping hours, wake up the women and try to force them into confession of having read sinful books on free love or Communism and Anarchism. If they manage to extract a confession from these simple creatures they are denounced the next day and punished as if they were guilty of some heinous crime. The priests are all military officers in rank, and not only do they help in terrorising the populace but spread the wildest reports concerning our militia. They tell the people that they have seen with their own eyes, across the River Ebro, how the militia cut off the breasts of women, and cut young girls in two, hanging the parts on the street corners. They also threaten to kill off all the inhabitants should there be any danger of the militias taking the town. At the same time they threaten to kill off the children in order to exterminate the race of Anarchists and Communists.

In addition to all this, the Fascists do not hesitate to use the whole town as military protection. Unlike our militia, who are on the firing line, the Fascists expose the inhabitants to the danger of bombardment. At night they themselves retire to safe quarters in the rear of the town while the inhabitants must keep all lights going. The report of this brutal treatment by the defenders of Jesus was given us by one who had escaped from the town and had come over to our encampment.

Extracts from the "Spanish Revolution" Organ of the P.O.U.M.—28th October, 1936.

Victor Serge, the great revolutionary and well known writer, has written to assure the P.O.U.M. that from the depths of Siberia and the prisons of the Soviet Union, all the oppositionists in the U.S.S.R., whether anarchists, trade unionists or trotskysts, are with us with all their hearts. Victor Serge knows the ideas and desires of the October revolutionaries, with whom he was imprisoned some months ago, and he feels he is fulfilling a duty in telling us that, if they could do so, many of them would be in our ranks to-day.

Stalinist Vandalism At Madrid

The counter-revolutionary excesses of the Stalinists have attained a new level in their raiding and destruction of the Madrid headquarters of the Juventud Comunista Iberica (the P.O.U.M. Youth Section). This unbelievable provocation took place last Wednesday, October 21st, when a band of about 40 armed Stalinist youths forced their way into our offices where they broke our furniture and tore down our flags.

As a result of this and of a complaint lodged by our party with the Minister of Justice and of the sympathy shown in the press, already 30 Stalinist youths have sought admission into our organisation. Furthermore, the Executive Committee of the Anarchist Youth called upon our leaders suggesting a common action of the two youth organisations against Stalinist provocation.

SPAIN AND RUSSIA

Federica Montseny writes in *Tierra Y Libertad*:

"In Spain the Anarchists will not be treated as they are in Russia." When Fascism is destroyed, the Revolution, carried out by the people, will be real. In Cataluña, for instance, there is not the slightest chance left to re-establish private property, because all archives and property-titles have been burnt, and all proprietors who have not lost their lives have left their property in the hands of the workers' organisations.

In Cataluña the Revolution is already a fact. The land has been collectivised. In the villages, Supply Committees are organising the exchange of products from village to village, from district to district, from region to region. Thus the use of money has become almost superfluous. The activity of the Anarchists has been so fertile that no one would even dare to suggest a similar treatment meted out to our comrades in Soviet Russia. There, too, the Anarchists tried to realise their ideas, as for instance, in the Ukraina, where libertarian communism had been attempted. But, lacking numeric strength, they were excluded from the responsible direction of the Revolution, though they fought on every front as well as in the rear. After the establishment of the Red dictatorship, the Army and Cheka, created to fight the enemy, were used against the Anarchists, who were pursued with fire and sword.

But we here in Cataluña have done practical work, we have participated in everything, we are everywhere. Thus we have brought about a Revolution in Spain. We have machine-guns, rifles and cannons. . . . We are ready to fight, to construct, to realise the demands of the people. We want the unity of all anti-Fascists, but at the same time we demand respect for those who are fighting, and we are opposing political manœuvres. May the others give in like we do. Situations are different everywhere. If in Cataluña to-day a syndicate proclaims a slogan, it is already carried out. This form of economic construction is one of the fundamentals of our fight against Fascism. The people themselves, and only the people, determine the rhythm of our fight. Never will the Anarchists in Spain be made to suffer as they have been and are in Russia.

RADIO.

Listen-in to Barcelona.

on 42-88 and 222-55 metres

Daily between 10.30 and 11 p.m., Sundays 9.30 p.m.

Wednesdays 11-11.30 p.m.

THE MESSAGE IN THE BOMB.

A bomb crashes down on Madrid but fails to explode. Experts examine it. The bomb was a dud, filled with sand instead of explosives.

Out of the sand falls this note, written in Italian "Your Italian brothers do not want to kill you."

News Chronicle—26/11/26.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto."

DON'T STAGNATE. THINK AND ENCOURAGE THINKING.

CIRCULATE THE FIGHTING CALL.

THE YELLOW PRESS

The Soviet Press and the Events in Spain.

The Soviet Press in Russia has not a word to say about the activities of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. and the anarchists in general. It speaks only of the activity of the government. Without a doubt our *Solidarid Obrera* and other Spanish periodicals are received and read in the governmental administrative departments and in the editorial offices of the newspapers. They are well informed of what is happening.

The Soviet Press distorts, perverts and juggles with its reports with a shamelessness surpassing that of the bourgeois Press.

It is thus that they doctor the news for the Russian workers in order to conceal the truth from them.

From the News Bulletin of the C.N.T., A.I.T. and F.A.I.—August 14th.

GUY ALDRED AND OURSELVES

Guy Aldred has indulged in calumnious and slanderous attacks on our integrity. We challenged him to debate the matter before a socialist audience and in a public hall. He has declined. In view of his refusal, his statements can be taken for what they are worth.—A.P.C.F.

! COWARDS AND TRAITORS

The British Labour and Trade Union Parties are timidly mending their Ways.

It took the executives of the British Labour party, Parliamentary Labour party and General Councils of the Trade Unions a long time to realise the inhuman side of neutrality, directed against the anti-fascist forces in Spain. During this period the fascist gang were supplied with large quantities of modern armament and money. They were enabled to butcher not only many of our brave militia in action, but also thousands of men women and children of the civil population.

It was bad enough for democratic Governments to sponsor such a one sided stand as neutrality. But it was well nigh an act of treachery of the British Labour leaders to back their Governments in such a cruel procedure. But we said: Better late than never: True three valuable and decisive months have been lost. Still it is a comfort to learn that the leaders of organised socialist workers have at last come to their senses. They are at last realising that neutrality in regard to our anti-fascist battle is a delusion and a snare.

According to the *Manchester Guardian* of October 29th, the executives of the Labour party, Parliamentary Labour party and the General Councils of the Trade Unions decided to call for the removal of the embargo on exports of munition to the anti-fascist Government. The text of the decision reads:—

“Having considered the proceedings of the joint meeting of the Bureau of the Labour and Socialist International and the executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Paris on October 26th 1936, this joint meeting representing the British Labour movement declares, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Plymouth Trade Unions Congress and the confer-

ence of the Labour party at Edinburgh, that the right of the constitutionally elected government of Spain to secure, in accordance with the practice of international law, the means necessary to uphold its authority and to enforce law and order in Spanish territory, must be re-established.

In view of the fact that the non-intervention agreement has proved ineffective in its operation, this joint conference calls upon the British Government, acting in collaboration with the French Government, immediately to take the initiative in promoting an international arrangement which will completely restore to democratic Spain full commercial right, including the purchase of munitions, and thus enable the Spanish people to bring their heroic struggle for liberty and democracy to a victorious conclusion.

The two internationals call upon the Labour and Socialist organisations to co-ordinate their own activities to prevent as far as possible the dispatch of supplies to the Spanish rebels.”

The question how these Labour bodies mean “to prevent as far as possible the dispatch of supplies to the Spanish rebels.” The only logical way would be to call upon the members of the Trade Unions to refuse to load ships in ports. Unfortunately the Trade Unions have tied their own hands by their lack of stamina in the General Strike of 26. This having resulted in the Trade Unions Act, the General Council of the T.U.C. would now be exposed to severe penalties. It is not likely they would show more courage in the face of this law against direct action on the part of the workers than they have before, in other words the decision against further supplies to France will probably remain an empty shell. Still it is heartening to see that British Labour is at last coming to see the folly of backing their Government in the matter of neutrality. Had they shown some of the solidarity with the heroic people in Spain three months ago, Franco and his fellow butchers might no longer be a menace to Spain and the rest of the world.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

The First International and the I.W.M.A.

Amidst the roar of battle, two symbols have stood out as an inspiration, not only to destroy the old and vile, but to construct and build the new, the society of to-morrow, and those symbols have been the F.A.I. and the C.N.T., without them the Beast of Fascism would have marched triumphant throughout Spain. These organisations are the real upholders of the 1st International, they have kept alive from the 'seventies the Federalist ideas of Bakounine and Malatesta, and have kept the Trade Unions of the Latin countries, on a strict class-conscious basis, recognising the fundamental fact, that there can be no peace between the workers, and their exploiters, ever maintaining a revolutionary anti-militaristic front, the only logical position a true internationalist can take. They have kept their movement clean from the intrigues of the careerist and parliamentary adventurers. The Social-Democrats emasculated the 2nd International, driving out the really live elements, the Anarchists and the Syndicalists, making of it a parliamentary

machine, a means whereby the leaders could climb on to backs of the workers to cabinet positions, titles and upper middle-class privileges. They fought all Direct Action, they fought the idea of the General Strike against war, and when war did come they promptly lined up with the master-class and were busy on recruiting platforms. They advocated class-co-operation and do so to-day they with their advocacy of legal constitutional action, are responsible for the demoralisation of the workers, the distrust and indifference of so many of our class they have betrayed so often, both here and on the Continent, they are the main cause of the spread of Fascism. This criticism applies equally so to the alleged 3rd International, for whilst the second can with some show of honesty, claim that they are representatives of Trade-Unions (plus bloc-votes, plus corruption, and wire-pulling) the "Third" can make no such claim, for they are without exception puppets, paid by Moscow, simply to obey their "Master's Voice." The Spanish struggle has placed the 1st International in its proper perspective, and shown the workers of the world that it is the Anarchists and the Syndicalists who are the practical revolutionists. Not being mentally hide-bound by abstract theory and pseudo-science they can immediately organise the workers to take possession of the Means of Life. Above all we want our Bolshevick comrades to see, that in revolutionary Spain, that there is Freedom, the initiative of the soldier-worker is not killed. Everyone is free to form an opinion of his own, on how the revolutionary struggle should be carried on. Such criticism is welcomed and encouraged. Dictatorship is left to the Fascists, and it is only one of the many factors, that will destroy them. The I.W.M.A. is for all practical purposes the 1st International, has 22 countries affiliated to it, bound by no other ties than that of solidarity, it is fundamentally anti-nationalist and therefore anti-militaristic, though not pacifist, the real rebel is never a soldier, but a fighter for Freedom, rejecting Red Armies as he would any other.

It is anti-capitalist, because it is Communist, meaning by that term, not what is generally accepted, not a system of State-ownership, when the workers are still wage-slaves, and who have no individual liberty. Communism as we understand it, and for which the I.W.M.A. fights, is a system of social-organisation, in which all have free access to the Means of Life, where money has been abolished, and all the deep problems over which the Marxists waste so much time, is solved simply by its abolition, only in such a system can there be social justice and freedom.

We realise that this task must be the work of the toilers, the basic principle of the 1st International was:—"That the emancipation of the workers, must be the work of the workers themselves."

The time is now ripe for a strong movement along these lines here in Britain, now in every workshop the workers are grumbling at the action of their officials. To bore from within will bring nothing in our life-time. We want something done now, and that can only be done by joining up with the International Working Men's Association, recognising the 1st International, as the first and only true International, for it is the only one that is anti-national, that claims Humanity is good enough for all.

M. Kavanagh.

An Interview with Durruti about the Militarisation of the Militia.

The view of Durruti on this important problem is very interesting. Much is talked about it in the international Press, and as a consequence of great ignorance it is usually mixed with criticism of the Anarchist attitude. The Anarchist Durruti is one of the most well known and most capable troupleaders of the anti-Fascist war. He has just left for the endangered front in central Spain with his perfectly organised columns.

Question: "Is it true that the regulations of the old military hierarchy have been re-established?"

Answer: "No. This is not the case. The men of a certain age have been mobilised and a unified command has been achieved. The sort of discipline good enough for street battles is of course not sufficient in a long and grave war against a perfectly equipped modern army. These things had to be improved."

Question: "What does the stronger discipline consist of?"

Answer: "Up to date we used to have a great number of different troupe units of which each one had their own leader and own effectives, that changed from one day to the other. Ammunitions, supplies, relief, different attitudes towards the inhabitants of the country, very often even a different conception of war altogether, all this was not sufficiently unified and could not continue. We have already improved many things, and many more will still have to be improved."

Question: "And the charges, ranks, forms of saluting, punishments and rewards?"

Answer: "All this we do not need. We are Anarchists."

Question: "But has not the old military code been put into effect again by the Madrid decree?"

Answer: "This decree has had bad consequences. It absolutely lacked any sense of reality. For many anti-Fascists of bourgeois-liberal ideas, the Revolution of July 19th is not yet a social fact, but a phase of transformation between two periods of 'normality.' Between this conception and the spirit of the fighting militias there is a wide gap. We are inclined to be generous. But we know that one of these conceptions will have to give way to the other."

Question: "Don't you think the militarisation might endanger the Revolution, should the war go on very much longer?"

Answer: "Yes, certainly. That is why we must win the war soon!"

LECTURES.

Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

BOILERMAKERS HALL

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Questions.—Discussion.—Literature.
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