

SAVE SPAIN. ACT!

RADIO SPEECHES BY ETHEL MacDONALD

GLASGOW, 1st MAY, 1937.

ONE PENNY.

(The BILLSHILL SPEAKER, from March 12 to April 16 inclusive, published Ethel MacDonald's speeches over the radio from Barcelona. In all, our excellent Lanarkshire contemporary, whilst not endorsing Comrade E. MacDonald's remarks, published seven of her radio speeches. These we reprint, since they cover a wide field. The diary from her pen which also appeared in the SPEAKER, is one of adventure and personality, and is not reprinted meantime.)

Constant nightly speaking over the radio compels the speaker to borrow thought from here and there, and especially illustrations and fact records. It is necessary to add, therefore, that the "Example of the Asturias" and "Socialist Thought" speeches are adapted. The other speeches are original. This remark applies also to Comrade MacDonald's speech on the Volunteer Ban, published in REGENERATION for February 19th last.—Ed.)

THE VOICE OF FREEDOM.

The English language is held by those who speak it to be the great language of freedom. Democrats forget that Charles I. and other upholders of tyranny and the divine right of kings and centralised State oppression, George III. and such like, used the English tongue. They think only of John Hampden, of Milton, of Richard Carlisle, of George Washington, not as a slave-dealer but as a challenger of British Monarchy, of Thomas Paine, the venturesome needleman, of Abraham Lincoln, at Gettysburg, Emerson, Lloyd Garrison, James Russell Lowell, etc. Yes, martyrs for freedom and pioneers of liberty, equality and democracy, have spoken and written in English. To all who believe, therefore, the best of the English tongue; who hear in it the ringing accents of the martyrs and not the callous cynical tones of the persecutor and the judge, I address myself. I ask you again to make it the language of freedom. Let it vie with the Spanish tongue and the tongue of one-time revolutionary France. Let it speak to Fascism, to Hitler, to Mussolini, and to Franco. Let the voice of the people of England, the voice of strangled freedom, be heard.

FASCISM CHECKED.

Comrades, Workers, I ask you to consider the great battle of the Spanish people. Parliamentarism placed the military fascists in military power, hesitated to give effect to constitutional reformist demands. The common people of Spain armed, sometimes battled with only their bare fists, and walked heroically to their deaths, to vanquish fascism. The ill-equipped and betrayed people were winning. So Fascist Portugal, Fascist Italy, Fascist Germany, stepped in. At first they warred secretly, against the Spanish Government, against the duly elected government of Spain, against Syndicalism expressing the will of the people, as the democracy of Spain fell back on Syndicalism. They warred secretly whilst France and Britain, especially Britain, played at democracy. Played at democracy, spoke non-intervention, and behind non-intervention, assisted Fascism and Franco. Non-intervention blockaded loyal Spain and assisted Franco in the Mediterranean, and assisted Franco in the Mediterranean, assisted him at Gibraltar, at Ceuta, at Tangier. Non-intervention gave Franco a base at Lisbon. And still the workers of Spain won. Despite the governments of the world, despite the apathy of British

labour, the workers of Spain won. They checked Fascism. They rolled back the tide of Fascism. Franco marched his Moors on Madrid, his Christian Mahommedan Moors, with their Sacred Hearts, and still the workers won!

Remember that, fellow-workers of Britain and of the English-speaking races. The Germans camped outside Madrid. The Italians camped outside Madrid. German planes, Italian planes bombed the city. And still Madrid held out. Durutti died. And still Madrid remained firm and Catalonia built and rebuilt the world, developed industrial administration, developed workers' control.

REVOLUTION AND INSOLENT FASCISM.

This was not the French Revolution, ending in Bourbonism or capitalist republicanism. This was not the Russian Revolution, isolated and demoralised by a



Europe turned to Fascism. This was the Spanish Revolution, challenged into existence by the menace and mendacity of insolent fascism: the struggle of the workers of heroic Spain, of Catalonia, rising to suppress fascism, to bring hope to the workers of the world, to destroy Hitler, Mussolini and Franco.

Comrades, you recall the Versailles Treaty. You recall the occupation of Germany. You recall the Black troops imposed on Germany. You recall the protests, the protests of Germany, and of all that was best in Britain, in France, in America. If it was wrong to impose Black troops on Germany, is it not wrong to use Black troops in Spain? Yet Germany and Italy rejoice in these troops. Franco uses them; and Britain makes no protest. You, English workers, protested against using these troops in Germany. Why not protest against using them in Spain? Why not organise, demonstrate, strike against your government standing by and passively, if not actively, aiding Franco and his Black troops. WITHOUT YOUR BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S CONSENT THESE TROOPS COULD NEVER HAVE BEEN BROUGHT ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN. Without your apathy the Moorish troops would never have entered Spain. English-speaking workers, why are you sleeping whilst your Spanish brothers and sisters and comrades are being murdered? Where are your traditions? Speak! Act! Answer with word and answer with deed. Your brothers call. Your class comrades call. Workers of Britain, answer now! Act—and overthrow fascism. Emancipate Europe, the

world. End class society now.

THE VOLUNTEER FARCE.

What farce is this? English volunteers turned back from France. Germany will stop volunteers. Italy will stop volunteers. Did Germany ever send volunteers to France? Did Italy? Not volunteers, but conscripts. And Germany and Italy are to send no more volunteers! No more volunteers, provided England recalls the volunteers who have joined the workers of Spain. Provided France recalls the volunteer. The volunteers must come back, and the conscripts—they will remain!

Are you, English-speaking workers, prepared to let this tragic farce which means the rape of Spain, go on? Are you prepared to lend yourselves to this mockery? Are you willing to be fooled longer in this fashion?

If you are men and women, if you sense the class struggle, you will permit no ban on volunteers. Spain does not want British volunteers. Spain wants action—action by the great democracy—in every democratic country—action at home—to defeat Fascism, to aid the struggle of anti-fascist Spain. Spain demands the historic loyalty to their own class-interests of the British proletariat. Workers, act!

The Spanish workers are holding the pass. They cannot hold it for ever. Will you not rally to their assistance? Will you not defeat fascism? If the workers of Britain act, and act now, Franco is beaten, Franco will be swept into oblivion. The victory of the Spanish democracy means the end of fascism in Italy and Germany. Madrid calls. Barcelona calls. Your past calls. Workers of Britain, act!

FROM CIVIL WAR

To World Conflagration

It cannot be disputed that the struggle taking place in Spain has created dissension in the most unexpected circles. It is not merely the fact that a civil war is being conducted that causes this disagreement, but it is due, in no small measure, to the brutality and ferocity with which this war is operated on the part of the fascists. And there is also no doubt that most persons who move in diplomatic circles are quite aware of the implications contained in the struggle. In the capitalist press, Spain is still a front page sensation. Not merely because of the heroism that the proletariat of Spain is showing in face of the onslaught by Germany and Italy, but because they know that from this civil war there is the possibility of a world conflagration ensuing that will have no equal in history.

A Glasgow newspaper says in a special article devoted to Spain that "Even yet, Anglo-French pressure has resulted only in provisional acceptance by Portugal of the Non-Intervention Agreement which bids fair to be an official success now that Germany and Italy have succeeded in arming Franco to the teeth and landing thousands of trained 'volunteers' and the rebels seem to be gaining ground."

NON-INTERVENTION A CLASS WAR.

It is obvious that the British capitalist press has no illusions about the matter.

Non-intervention is merely a tactic of the European class war against the workers. The workers' organisations in Spain have proclaimed this from the very beginning. The Spanish press has stated this daily. Non-intervention is but the cloak that conceals the most decided intervention in the affairs of Spain by the forces of capitalism throughout the world. The capitalist press is aware of this. The workers of the world must be aware of it also. Why then this inaction on the part of the international proletariat? So sure are the capitalists of breaking down the workers' resistance in Spain that no effort is made now to hide their designs.

SIR PETER MITCHELL.

Another interesting example is given by the statement of Sir Peter Mitchell, who has lately returned to England after having been in residence near Malaga, and who was detained by the forces of Franco when they took Malaga. He was only released on the intervention of the British Government.

Sir Peter states: "I am on forced parole. I am released on the understanding that I would say nothing of what has been happening in Spain."

And why the secrecy? If Franco had been received as stated by other sections of the capitalist press with tears of joy on the part of the population, why should this man who must have witnessed what took place be pledged to secrecy? If Fascism brought a new state of affairs to Malaga, why should not every person be free to give honour to Fascism? But the world knows that secrecy is demanded because if one should tell what they witnessed it would bring about the indignation of the whole world. One is asked not the terror that is taking place in the territories controlled by the fascists is so horrible that even the capitalist press would squirm. Malaga is a place of suffering and torment. And Fascism does not wish that the truth be told. On the other hand there have been hundreds and thousands of representatives who have come to Spain to see what was actually taking place. In no instance has the Spanish Government demanded secrecy as the payment of their departure. For the legitimate forces in Spain have nothing to hide. All that is done is for the world to see. And for the world to follow.

The Dean of Rochester and Chichester, the Reverend Henry Carter of the Methodist Church, and Mr P. Bartlett of the Society of Friends visited Spain from January 29th to February 9th. They visited Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid. What did they say? Their report was issued on February 16th. They say:— (Miss MacDonald here read the report of various members of the delegation.)

These representatives were not asked to come. But they visited freely and their report speaks for itself. What have the supporters of Franco to say to this? These gentlemen may be opposed to us on many points. We are opposed to them on a great deal. They represent that for which we have nothing in common. But that is their report.

FRANCO OPPOSED TO DEMOCRACY.

That Franco is opposed to the interests of democracy should be apparent to every worker from the articles broadcasted in the capitalist press with splash headings. In huge print, they state, "Alfonso Praises Franco. Congratulations on Malaga's Capture."

And beneath these headings can be read, "General Franco, the Spanish rebel leader, at Salamanca received a telegram from Rome conveying to him the enthusiastic congratulations of ex-King Alfonso of Spain on the capture of Malaga."

General Franco has replied with thanks. Enthusiastic congratulation for the massacre of thousands of workers, men, women, and children. What callousness. But how typical of the ruling class. How typical of those who consider the workers merely as machines, as cannon fodder and not as human beings with the rights to lives and to enjoy all that life can offer. But Alfonso is putting his eggs in the wrong basket. Not only Spain has no use for Alfonso, but Franco has no use for Alfonso. The ex-King will never return. His day has passed. He should reconcile himself to this and attempt to instil a little decency, a little human understanding into his heart. But that would be asking too much.

Spain has made the issue clear. And it has brought a sword to many Christian hearts.

SPAIN AND TRADE UNIONISM

There is no doubt that the magnificent struggle of the Spanish workers challenges the entire theory and historical interpretation of parliamentary socialism. The civil war is a living proof of the futility and worthlessness of parliamentary democracy as a medium of social change. For many years now the workers have been fed on the idea that with the right persons in control with alleged working-class leaders arranging the affairs of the nations, social change, a betterment of conditions leading finally to complete emancipation would come about. That this conception has been accepted by the proletariat is witnessed by the growth of parliamentary Socialism since and even before the last world war. The influence and power of the organised workers' movements in Britain and America, with the reformism and supposed gradualism, are merely further demonstrations of the impossibility of this way to a change of society. The more mighty the strength of these social-democratic organisations became, the further has been the distance placed to the betterment of the conditions of the workers. Despite its pretensions, parliamentary Socialism has proved one of the greatest impositions and betrayals in the history of working-class struggle. With each advance made in organisational development, the more removed became the workers from participation in the affairs of that organisation. The Trades Union movement in Britain is a perfect example of this. So thorough is the organisation that there is no possibility of the workers in any way changing it. But this is inevitable when the aim is organisation of the workers instead of organisation by the workers. True organisation is the workers, each in his industry taking a living part in the management and affairs of that industry.

THE OUTCOME OF THE VERSAILLES TREATY.

These so-called leaders of the workers' movement have no shame. They faced the war struggle with their stupid little adventurism and discussed learnedly the Kautsky theory, that Germany alone was responsible for the war, and as learnedly decided that that was not true. The period that should have been used to rouse the workers in their respective countries to active anti-militarist organisation was wasted in talking, talking that served no other purpose than to deceive the pro-

letariat and set them on a false trail. Although we may deride these worthless discussions to-day, at that time it was considered to be a most important question and the politicians thought it had to be embodied in the Versailles Treaty. The Versailles Treaty which created the military psychology in German.

After the Russian Revolution, the question lost its importance because there appeared across Europe the spectre of class uprising. With the Russian Revolution the world began to visualise world revolution. And such could have taken place. But Germany, the land of social democracy, the country that dominated socialist thought right up to the outbreak of the war, and having a tremendous influence on world socialism even after the Russian Revolution turned to fascism. Had Germany become revolutionary in 1918, had the struggle of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg triumphed, it would have been the beginning of world revolution. The time was then. But Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered by the representatives of the social democracy they had pioneered. Capitalism in Germany won the first hand in the game and very quickly after came Nazism. German fascism triumphed and now that fascism seeks to conquer the whole world.

And the politicians who had discussed so learnedly the Versailles Treaty suddenly discovered that the Versailles Treaty, and perhaps even the war itself, belonged to the accidents of history and were but phases of cataclysmic social changes, the seeds of which were laid long before. The seeds which were laid when the exploitation of man by man commenced and which have their first flowering in Spain to-day.

THE DEATH OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

All that has followed the parliamentary social democratic betrayal in Germany were expressions of the eternal class struggle. The civil war in Spain, the greatest event in history and intervention in that struggle is the class struggle at bursting point. And the struggle in Spain, whilst following upon the betrayals of the social democratic movement throughout the world, gives the lie to the defenders of social democracy to-day. Spain proves that parliamentarism was and is a failure. Spain proves that Anti-Parliamentarism is right. Spain proves that revolution can only triumph through organisation by the workers. The struggle of the Spanish workers, when history is written correctly at a later date, will show how stupid were the attacks on the barricade, on direct action by the representatives of social democracy. Spain will prove the parliamentary presumption of the careerists who betrayed the struggle in Germany, and of those who seek to betray the struggle to-day by mouthing reformist platitudes against the reality of the struggle. Spain is the reality, the living demonstration of the power of the proletariat, the living truth of the force of direct action. Had the workers of Spain left their affairs in the hands of their government when the uprising took place on July 19th, had they been silenced by the voices of those who ask them to wait, had they not grasped the opportunity for the application of the theories they had worked out in common collaboration inside their workers' syndicates. Spain would now be another Fascist State. If the Spanish workers had failed at the critical moment, fascism would now have another victim.

But the workers of Spain rose to the occasion. Their experience of the worthlessness of intermediaries, their understanding of the cause of the German betrayal, through the constant propaganda of the Anarchist comrades all went towards the triumph of the workers' cause. When fascism showed its hand the proletariat had the answer ready. It answered by direct action, the method that can never fail.

The Spanish struggle re-interprets history. It is the applied theory of reality, a practical demonstration of the soundness of anti-parliamentarism. It clearly

demonstrates that there is but one way truly—the way of direct action. And that but one class can make the change—the working-class. Social democracy has lived too long. It is said Spain has killed it. And now it is merely necessary that the corrupted body be buried.

THE UNITED FRONT

I want to address myself to all those who in Britain and America—I put Britain first because I come from Britain and because one must mention some place first—are supporting the United Front campaign that is now being developed. That campaign, destined to cover up the real treachery of parliamentarism, is a campaign of petty political reform, which leaves their fundamental wage-slavery unrelieved, leaves their ready open victimisation and preparedness for war unaltered, but does promise soothing syrup for an hour, and it does divert attention from the Spanish struggle. Of course Spain is mentioned with a flourish in the speeches. At the mere mention of Spain is applauded. But as the applause dies down, the effort for Spain is evaporated. But here in Spain the carnage of Labour continues. I want you to consider what parliamentarism and opportunism mean.

In 1914 there was the great war. I refer to the events from knowledge of the contemporary Socialist and Labour literature I have read. The war discovered a few thousand men in Britain who refused to serve, who refused to believe that it was a war for democracy and who believed that they had nothing in common with war between nations. There were resisters in other countries, and when the United States of America entered the conflict there was a non-conscription movement there just as there was in Britain. Partly supporting these war resisters, arose a parliamentary movement urging an early peace by treaty, urging the end of secret diplomacy, urging the parliamentary or popular control of all democracy. Only a very few said peace did not matter, unless it was the peace of revolution.

The war ended in 1918. The parliamentary democrats, the enemies of secret treaties, progressed to public importance and then to office. You all know what happened. The Labour movement in Britain was wasted. Its enthusiasm passed. In office it continued the Conservative foreign policy of one hundred years, it built in second diplomacy, it revelled in intrigue; and finally, the great leader of open diplomacy became Heaven's gift to the Tory National Government. Parliamentarism destroyed Socialism.

In Russia, before the Armistice, Czarism passed. Kerensky passed. Bolshevism triumphed. But have you ever considered the period during which Anarchy prevailed in Soviet Russia, during which Syndicalism existed, during which Machno was defending the revolution as well as Trotsky? The period when comrades spoke of the Soviet power and not the Soviet Government. The period during which Lenin repudiated the age-long slanders of the anarchists, adapted himself to the language of direct action, and cried "All power to the Soviets." Then came diplomacy. The treaty of Best-Litovsk, the diplomatic status of the Soviet Government, the invasion of the workshops, the new economic policy, trade delegation, ambassadors, communications with royalties, inspection of foreign armies, the jailing of anarchists and Bolsheviks, more new economic policy, recognition of foreign debts, Socialism in one country, meaning entrenched neo-bureaucratic capitalism in one country, recognition of and extensive trading with the fascist nations, and now the desire to sabotage the Spanish Revolution. In Britain and America, the parliamentary United Front are urging a parliamentary democracy in Spain as opposed to the Workers' Industrial Republic. Parliamentarism, Statism, destroyed the workers struggle in Britain, betrayed the General Strike, and would betray now the workers' struggle in Spain, pioneered and saved by

direct action, by syndicalism, by anarchism.

Comrades, reflect, before it is too late. I ask you to consider how Communist diplomacy in Russia recognised Chiang-Kai-Chek just before he drowned the Communist movement in China in a bath of blood. I ask you to recall what happened in Italy. In 1920, Malatesta was publishing his great daily paper, syndicalism and anarchism were active, great strikes were occurring, but the parliamentary communists, inspired by Zinoviev, withheld support. The solidarity and power of the workers were sabotaged. Two years later, Fascism moved into power.

The anarchists and syndicalists do not strive for power. Lenin and Zinoviev wished to destroy Sovietism for Communist Party dominion. Zinoviev realised his dream. Its fulfilment was perfect. For the dream of Zinoviev realised was Zinoviev's own execution.

The Spanish workers' struggle would rouse you from your sleep, rouse you to the horror of reality, rouse you to a realisation of the blood and crime and hopeless miser of capitalism. With closed fists only the anarchists and syndicalists of Spain first walked down the enemy, Fascism. Comrades, we want your solidarity, we want your emancipation and our emancipation. The Red and Black Flag calls—calls to the renunciation of the desolating pestilence of authority, calls to action and to freedom. Comrades, brothers, fellow-workers, we, your comrades and brothers and sisters in Spain call. We are struggling, but we are beleaguered. We will conquer, even though it be death. With your marching to our aid, we can conquer and live. Our soil is fertilised with the blood of our heroic proletarian dead. How many more must fall before you rally? Comrades—Think. Act. Rally.

We end with the Spanish Salud, which means "Greetings." We want that word to pass into all languages, a word full of blood and struggle. The greeting of comrades, comrades in struggle. The word of the Spanish Revolution. Comrades, Salud.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE ASTURIAS

The slogan, U.H.P. (Unite Sons of the Proletariat), has definitely become historical. In that Red October of 1934 the union of the proletariat in the Asturias demonstrated to the whole world the force contained in these obscure masses in the mines and factories who desire their emancipation. When the repressed fury of the reactionary class was vented upon the flesh of the workers, their call still rung out, across land and sea, "The Revolution has not been lost; it has only been postponed!" Such was the strength and power of the workers' alliance in that epoch written with their own blood.

In this mining province of Northern Spain, the workers' organisations had been united by Workers' Alliances for over a year, with socialists, anarchists and later, communists participating. Strengthened by this Workers' Alliance, and resolutely determined to end the system of exploitation, the workers of Asturias armed themselves. A general strike was called on October 5th. The next morning the workers of the Asturias were ready and prepared for action. Fighting commenced in the streets of Oviedo between the civil guards and the shock troops, and the city was placed in the hands of the militarists. The workers in Oviedo knew that they could not master the city unless they obtained the assistance of the miners. The miners came in their thousands at the call of the workers of Oviedo, and, attacking the strategic centres of the Government forces, they overwhelmed them. The troops of the government tried to attack but it was hopeless, and they were driven back by the Asturian miners, and many were taken prisoner. The workers' flag flew over nearly all of the province and Oviedo, the chief town, became a workers' commune.

It was at this moment that the workers realised that they were isolated. Insurrection in the rest of Spain had either not taken place or had been suppressed. As the government rallied its forces in the other parts of Spain, it turned its attention to the Asturias, sending warships which bombed the coastal towns, aeroplanes which rained down bombs, and troops, including the Moorish and Foreign Legions, which commenced to slaughter the workers.

The leaders of the workers thought that it was folly to waste time on a cause that was already lost. We recall the words of one of these who addressed the men with these words: "We must separate, but not before having signed the pact of unity which has carried us through these days crowned with glory. May the working-class of Spain and the world see in us what is the strength of a united working class."

General Lopez Ochoa, who until then had kept the 3rd Battalion of the Foreign Legion and Moorish troops in reserve, let them loose, and the massacre of the population began in earnest. This was intended to give an example to the rest of Spain as to what would take place in any further risings occurred.

The resistance of the workers was completely broken, but it was impossible to conceal the extent of the butchery that had taken place amongst the proletariat. The massacre of the workers of the Asturias became known in all the world. General Lopez Ochoa was arrested and legal procedure was taken against others when the injured workers had recovered sufficiently to make their protests at the treatment they had received from the hands of the militarists. We can be sure that the reaction to their treatment, in no small measure, assisted in the bringing about of the present revolution.

The miners of Asturias are uncontrollable. Nothing can daunt their revolutionary ardour and their magnificent courage in the face of tyranny and oppression. They feel the workers' cause and are prepared to fight until the last.

HOW THEY TOOK GIJON.

Their courage is demonstrated by the manner in which they took Gijon from the rebels during the present civil war. We quote from a person who saw what took place. He says: "A detachment of Asturian miners, specially trained in throwing dynamite bombs from a short distance, were sent from the Oviedo front. A last chance was given to the rebels, but the ultimatum remained unanswered. Then on Friday morning the final attack was launched. At noon the Asturian miners entered into action. They approached to the outer walls of the barracks and threw their dynamite bombs through the holes which the shells had pierced. Five of them were killed, partly by the explosion of their own bombs. But the effect was terrific. . . . Within a few minutes the whole main building was ablaze. Other Asturian miners and militiamen followed and threw petrol bottles into the place. . . ."

A few weeks ago the workers of Asturias realised the reactment of their gesture of October, 1934. One alliance, the reaffirmation of the glorious alliance, was expressed through a solemn pact between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. And it is these united workers who are placing their own fighters, as wedges, in the struggle that is taking place to-day in the very heart of the Asturias, in Oviedo.

When there are some who resist the authentic voice of the workers, when there are some who do not respond to the invitations extended by the Federation and when there are some who emerge with slogans of struggle that come from the museum of parliamentary democracy, then it is that the voice of the Asturian proletariat issues its call and administers the necessary rap to bring about the unity of all the workers in the Iberian Peninsula.

Why do we want workers' alliance? Why do we desire a pact between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.? We want these in order to win the war and secure the conquests of the revolution! There is no other way. There can be no vacillations and no arresting transitory period.

There is only one truth which rings out as clearly as the call of the Austrian proletariat: The Revolutionary Workers' Alliance!

The workers who gave their best men in October, 1934, those who have been responsible for making the slogan, "United Sons of the Proletariat," international, those who stood up and fought the friends and inquisitors in that memorable October and who are, in the whole of Asturias and in other parts of Spain, struggling on the battlefields with their marvellous weapon, dynamite, these are the ones who have understood the solution. These are the ones who understood what is necessary for the proletarian cause. And with the same decision and earnestness which they put into all their actions, they immediately made operative that which they considered was their duty: the alliance between proletarian brothers.

And when the pact was reaffirmed in the document at Gijon, the happy news passed through all the battlefields, it ran from town to town, from heart to heart, whilst at the same time their arms were in action. And what happened after that? After that came the attack, the brilliant attack of our miners and the world hung, once more, on each step and each gesture of the men of Asturias.

And so it will be in all Spain. The salvation of the proletariat is in the workers' alliance, in revolutionary union, in a pact between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. This is not the kind of unity that is proclaimed at meetings and in newspapers, and then forgotten about. To-day it must become fact. Unity between the two syndicates must be born. There must be unity for a common object, for a common activity, for the co-ordination in all the aspects of the struggle and for the reconstruction of society.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE ASTURIAS.

That is what the Asturias has done. And this has just been realised in Aragon. This is what all Catalonia and indeed all Spain wants. Understanding the proposals as made by the C.N.T. for unity, this unity is desired by all the workers. The proletariat wishes to follow in the footsteps of the workers of Asturias. And so they must understand that it is necessary that they rise above the feeble barriers of lack of understanding or the manoeuvres of the leaders. Nothing must be permitted to come between the unity of the proletariat. On the proletariat depends the victory against Fascism. Unity shall come in our assemblies, then in the two syndicates, through the various committees and from there to the various regions and the whole of anti-fascist Spain. The workers of the Asturias have given the lead. The rest of Spain will follow their example.

SOCIALIST THOUGHT

Within the Socialist movement there are many schools of thought. Indeed they are so numerous that it would require a great deal of time and study to have a complete understanding of all the differences of approach and method that are responsible for the existence of various parties and groups within the movement. But this separation of the movement is not a cause for despair. The average person very often expresses the opinion that this continuous disagreement is a bad thing and that all socialists should be united in one party. There is a fair amount of truth in this, but it is beyond dispute that agreement between all socialists would be fatal to the movement. Due to varying circumstances and experiences, each person has his own particular understanding of the struggle. Disagreement is inevitable and desirable. Disagreement leads to discussion and discussion leads to agreement on most unsuspected points. Discussion often leads to unity. And certainly discussion gives understanding and increases our knowledge. Without differences of opinion,

progress would not be possible. Total agreement would be equivalent to stagnation. And although it may appear on the surface that socialists of all shades and colours are continually arguing among themselves and can reach no common agreement, it cannot be disputed that they are all united in their common objective: the desire for social change.

And it is only when this point is reached that real disagreement exists. For in the working-class movement there are two fundamental varying approaches, two fundamental sections. These are the reformist and revolutionary sections. The tactics of these two are so widely separated that no unity is possible. Unity is necessary at critical periods and critical periods are revolutionary periods. At a critical time in the history of working-class struggle, those of the proletariat who formerly were reformist become revolutionary and they wipe aside the reformist elements that would hold them back. This is inevitable. Until the last moment the majority of the workers place their hopes in parliament and leaders and when that moment comes and they find that these are unable to solve the existing economic problems, they turn to direct action. No matter what are the traditions and despite the process of restraint to which they have been subjected, at the hour of crisis, the worker uses his last and only useful weapon—direct action.

Within the last year Spain has had two definitely critical periods, definitely revolutionary periods. But in one time, the revolutionary situation was faced with reformist weapons and so failed. And at the other, the situation was confronted with revolutionary weapons: and the revolutionary methods brought victory.

THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH STRUGGLE.

Let us try and see what actually took place. The Spanish conflicts led in 1931, to the fall of the monarchy and to the establishment of a bourgeois democratic regime. The agrarian reform bound up with this political change was inadequate, and incapable of meeting the needs of the country population. The indemnities to be paid to the landowners for relinquished domains were set so high that the burden upon the peasants was not mitigated at all. In many localities the peasants took possession of the large estates; but even though these expropriations were in part later legalised by the government, still at the same time the peasants were subjected to new burdens which were no more bearable than the old lease obligations. The Zamora republic was not inclined to proceed against the interests of the land owners, as also in the political field it did not dare to suppress the reaction. The reactionary forces assembled again and organised further advances. The Fascist "Accion Popular" of Gil Robles unfolded a wide propaganda which was able to win influence even among the impoverished and deluded peasants. In view of the continuing social unrest, brought about through the isolated but ever occurring manifestations of the workers and of a part of the farm population, the bourgeoisie once more formed a closer union with the reactionary forces. The elections of 1933 had again put the reactionaries in charge of the government, which now proceeded more harshly against the workers and the rebellious peasants. The restless humour of the country was reflected in the rapid alteration of the governments: from Azana to Lerroux and Martinez Barrio, and then to Lerroux and Gil Robles. The uprisings in Asturias in October 1934 formed the climax of the proletarian endeavours to make use of the revolutionary currents for proletarian ends to strike the decisive blow at the reaction. The uprising remained isolated and was suppressed, though the attempt to establish social peace was still by no means successful. The acutely revolutionary situation led to a number of government crises in conformity with the reorientations of the different classes and groups, and which pointed to new and greater conflicts to come.

Here was the necessary revolutionary

situation. But the elections at the beginning of 1936 witnessed a new coalition of the liberal bourgeoisie with the parliamentary labour parties and led to the forming of the popular front government. This new government promised to put through a series of reforms such as are advocated by liberalism in general, and a better agrarian reform with partial land distribution. But as to be expected, the new government failed to put into operation its promises and the expropriation of the land by the peasants continued as did the workers' strikes in the towns. But the failure to make this strike action united defeated the period of revolution that existed in February.

Despite the results of the elections and considering the operations of the government the reaction did not consider itself beaten. The popular front government, which, of course, was made up only of bourgeois-liberalistic elements was unable to govern, as would have been necessary, either against the workers or against the reaction for the machinery of State remained in the hands of the right. The workers attempted to broaden the movement against the reaction into one against exploitation in general; a situation which left the government no choice but to look for new compromise solutions, which were, however, neither able to restrain the workers nor to prevent the fascist movement from assembling its forces for new thrust Workers' strikes continued. The government, although assisted by the labour parties, was not able to put an end to this movement. And it did not have the courage to purge the administrative system and the military apparatus of the reactionary elements, for, firstly, it might have had to bring this apparatus into action against the workers and, secondly, it did not wish in any way to offer any provocation to the reaction. And this procrastination of the government strengthened the fascist forces. A revolutionary situation was fast approaching and the government were incapable of doing anything. Reaction was quickly revealing its hand. The government remained paralysed.

Shortly after this occurred, in alliance with the Fascist formations and the Church the uprising of the army against the government. The Liberal government was given no opportunity to capitulate. The fascist attack, by reason of its extent and fierceness, precluded any seeking after compromise solutions. It was only directed against a government which, by its previous policy, seemed liable to become the prisoner of the labour movement, and which was left with no choice but to defend itself against the fascist opposition. Had it been sure that the uprising would not affect them in any way, there is no doubt that the government would have refused to give even the assistance which it did to the workers. And the fascists, knowing the weakness of the government, thought the victory would be quick.

THE RESISTANCE OF THE WORKERS.

But they underestimated the power of resistance of the workers who united together for a decisive counter-attack. The army to which the Fascist organisations were closely linked, rebelled in all parts of Spain, but with few exceptions was quickly suppressed in those areas where a strong workers' movement existed. As moderate as was the popular front government prior to the uprising, with equal moderation it wanted the uprising suppressed.

And the labour parties belonging to the popular front were in sympathy with this moderation. But the workers, who felt all too keenly on their own bodies the lack of moderation by the fascists would not submit to this. The moment had arrived. Because they knew what faced them, they themselves were compelled to become immoderate. The counter-revolt of the workers had behind it all the strength of the propaganda conducted so untiringly for many years by the Spanish Anarchists. Spanish anarchism has a long history. The labour organisations which were formed in 1869, and influenced by Bakunin soon won great influence both in the industrially

more developed parts of the peninsula, and mainly in Catalonia, as well as in the most backward parts among the farm workers of Andalusia. The organisations that rose at a later period were never able to combat in any effective manner the influence of the early anarchist movement. And it was under the influence of these teachers that the workers took their stand against fascism. Gone completely was any belief in the genuineness of the government. The workers and peasants realised that it was they who had to make the defence, they realised that if they did not struggle against the reaction themselves, they would be betrayed and the reaction would triumph. The National Confederation of Labour had always been in opposition to the Popular Front Government although they had participated in the elections for the sake of freeing the 30,000 political prisoners, but was quite prepared to accept unity with the other workers' organisations. But it always refused to have any unity with political parties. For the C.N.T. had always maintained that the revolution must come from below, from the workers themselves by their spontaneous action. This was proved to be true on July 19th. It was due to the direct action of the workers themselves that fascism is having such difficulty. All the experience of the past, of the strikes, all the reformist governments have had their culmination in the action of the Spanish proletariat on July 19th, when taking arms in hand, they flung themselves into the conflict. No more reformism, no more parliamentary debacles. Their day had passed. The time had arrived for action. And this time the workers of Spain took advantage of the situation. And now all eyes are turned to Spain. Spain has become an international question.

THE ISSUES IN SPAIN

From the commencement of the propagation of the ideas of Socialism, the struggle between the proletariat and capitalism has become more vehement each day. Strikes, lock-outs and revolutions have increased. This age-long battle between the poor and rich has its point of culmination in the social revolution that has been unchained by the Spanish workers as an answer to the treacherous and murderous intentions of international fascism. A great deal has been said and written regarding this revolution and also, much slander has been made against the working-class forces in Spain. This slander does not come only from the bourgeois and capitalist elements, nor is it issued only in the capitalist elements, nor is it issued only in the capitalist press. Slander is to be expected from this class of society. Whenever a struggle assumes a proletarian character, it is the signal for a huge campaign of calumny by the enemies of the working class. And so we are not surprised. They are merely fulfilling their duty to their own interests. But the slander against the workers of Spain has also come from the so-called Socialist and Communist elements, from their press. But if we examine the matter we will find that this does not cause us much surprise either. Experience has taught us that this is their correct role: to slander and misrepresent the workers' cause. Why?

Throughout the whole history of the workers' movement, we have abundant proof of the continuous treachery and betrayal that has been perpetrated on the proletarian cause by the Socialist and Communist parliamentarians. And Spain is no exception. Here, too, facts prove that they have fulfilled their life-long role. What have we in Spain? In Spain we have the common people struggling for their liberty. A struggle is taking place in Spain that should have the assistance of all decent minded men and women in every part of the world. And at least, this struggle should have the assistance of all those who call themselves Socialists. That much is to be expected. But what do we find? There is no united action to

assist the proletariat of Spain in their struggle. There is no general solidarity of the workers' movement throughout the world. Instead we have a united front of the Socialist and Communist parties with democracy, that is with capitalism.

The struggle in Spain is maintained by the Anarchists and without the Anarchists the war would have been lost for the workers before this. And it is because of this fact, that the Socialists, or those who call themselves Socialists, refuse to have anything to do with the Spanish Revolution. It is true that these persons organise collections for the poor children of Madrid who have lost their parents as a result of barbarous bombardments, and it is true that these persons are collecting clothes and food and dispatching the same to Madrid. But that is all. The Spanish conflict is regarded as a case for charity, something on the same footing as the

was only on the surface. They are capitalists in excelis. And they would have no hesitation in seeing the whole Spanish population, men, women and children murdered, if they felt that as a result, anarchism would be destroyed. And that is the extent of their socialism.

But the Spanish workers are not alone. The Spanish people know that there are thousands and millions of comrades who feel their cause as their own, and who want to do all that they can to assist in the triumph of the workers of Spain, who wish to give their assistance to the struggle that the Spanish workers are conducting against international Fascism and capitalist democracy. The Spanish workers know that the Anarchists of the world are with them. Though these might be few in number, there is no doubt that it is their work that will convince finally the millions of the world pro-

national capitalists and landowners who with the assistance of the Church exploited the proletariat. The Mexican people, by extending the hand of friendship to the Spanish people, prove that they have not forgotten their own slavery. And they have shown their understanding in a manner which puts to shame all other people. For Mexico is revolutionary. The voice of the Mexican people is the voice of Spain in America. The revolutionary history of Mexico is the revolutionary history of all peoples. It is the history of the struggle between exploited and exploiters; between masters and slaves, between the persecutors and the men and women who hunger after justice. And so the Mexican proletariat, the Mexican nation, mighty in its young revolutionary society, takes its stand by the side of the Spanish people without first asking if the Spanish people have ideals and aspirations other than the people of Mexico. We in Spain look upon the Mexican people as our brothers and sisters because they did not desert us in our hour of need.

The example set by Mexico must be followed. You can count upon the assistance of the workers in Mexico and also you can depend upon the solidarity of the Spanish comrades in your struggle against Fascism and capitalism. For there is no doubt as to our ultimate victory. Our victory is sure because the Spanish proletariat has the will to conquer. The almost superhuman determination of the workers on July 19th when with their comrades of the F.A.I. they destroyed, without any preparation, the whole fascist army in Catalonia will be repeated on the fronts of Aragon and Andalusia. For five months, Madrid, the brave capital of the revolution, has demonstrated that it is invincible. Madrid, the destroyed capital of Spain, the heart of the proletarian world is still beating. And it will continue to beat even should the last house be destroyed by the criminal hordes of invaders. It may be that thousands of more workers will fall in the process of this bloody struggle against international Fascism; it may be that more women and children will be torn to pieces by bombs, but from these dead and from the ruins of Madrid, from out of the fields of Andalusia and the Asturias, fertilised by the blood of the heroic proletariat, will arise a new Spain of the proletariat, the Spain of free Socialism. And this new Spain will stretch out its hand to the far away Mexican people and will form with Mexico the vanguard of the proletarian army that will destroy capitalism throughout the world.

Surely your leaders have proven to you sufficiently that they are unwilling to fight against Fascism. The leaders of the proletariat handed over Italy and Germany to fascism. They betrayed the proletariat of these countries because they detest the thought of revolution, they detest the revolution itself as they would detest a pestilence. And they will hand the proletariat of the other countries over to fascism, too, when the time comes.



poor of the Salvation Army. This is typical of the social-democrats. It exposes them clearly as pretty bourgeoisie with hearts that beat warmly for the poor starving children of Madrid. But speak about the revolution and they gooseflesh all over. To them revolution is illegal and unlawful and as good law abiding citizens and subjects, they refuse to have any association with it. This is the treachery that is perpetuated on the working-class by these individuals and parties. They claim to be socialists and with that label attached to them, they seduce the working-class. In reality, they are but poor miserable little capitalists who consider that their interests are much safer in the hands of a Hitler or of a Mussolini than in the hands of the proletariat. They feel that they have something to lose with the coming of Socialism and so they resist it with all their might whilst superficially they make a pretence to being for the workers. And so they are willing to give their petty assistance to the victims of the Spanish war because they feel that by doing so they will not lose anything, they will not suffer any inconvenience or hardship. But at the first breath of suspicion that the help were for the Anarchists, immediately their assistance would be brought to an end. If they thought that by their deeds of charity they were helping the cause of Anarchism, very soon we would find that their love for humanity

of the right and justice of the Spanish workers to defend their liberty against all persons who attempt to endanger it. And even to defend their liberty against those politicians of the Left who, like the brave heroes they were, stayed at home on the 19th of July and left the resistance to the military attack of the rebel army of the Anarchists of the F.A.I.

THE EXAMPLE OF MEXICO.

But there are others, millions of others, who from the commencement of Spanish struggle have definitely chosen to be on the side of the Spanish revolutionists. We refer to the people of Mexico, our brothers by blood, birth and language. Mexico, the land which is geographically so far from us but which is so near to us in Spain from sentiment and understanding. Mexico, the country which, with no political axe to grind, without making any conditions, has offered and given to Spain all that which it had to offer and to give. Mexico asks only one thing from the Spanish people. And what is that Mexico asks? She asks that we will prove ourselves worthy of being helped.

The people of Mexico themselves have been hardened in the struggle against oppression and exploitation by the inter-

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