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SPANISH WORKERS BULLETIN

(INFORMACION DE LA C.N.T.—F.A.I.)

The Fighting-call



ALL SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION
TO THE COMMUNES]

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IN DEFENSE OF FREEDOM

Durruti, the well known Catalanian Anarchist and Troop Leader on the Aragon Front, gave his views to a representative of the newspaper "C.N.T." of which we quote the following.—

The enemy is now throwing all his resources into the attack on Madrid. But that doesn't mean that the enemy position has improved. On the contrary the pressure which we are exerting against the Fascists on the Catalanian and Levantine Fronts, is increasing daily. Do the Fascists what they will, Huesca, Sarragossa and Terruel will soon fall into our hands. **When this happens, the Fascists will have lost the war.** These three points are of great strategic value. With their fall, the whole enemy front from Calatayud to Burgos will collapse and his offensive action in the Sierras be greatly hindered.

Here we can put an army of 100,000 men into the field. Oviedo is in a

critical position and when the Asturias are free of Fascists, the Asturian comrades who fought so bravely in 1934, known what they owe to their brothers in Castile and Galicia. Granada and Cordova too are in desperate plight and the enemy hopes to save the situation by the capture of Madrid. Their whole mind is set on taking the Spanish Capital.

The resistance to Fascism cannot be organised by words but by the taking up of strong positions. The shovel and the axe are as valuable as the gun. Countless idlers and wastrels are living in Madrid. They must all be mobilised. Our strength on the Aragon Front consists above all in constructing new entrenchments immediately after each new advance however small. Our militiamen know well their cause depends on never retreating from any attack. **The comrades of my columns withstand every attack without flinching or yielding.**

The Central Sector must be fortified and Madrid placed completely on a war footing. Madrid must see to it that the forces of the enemy now being used against us on other fronts do not obtain any objective when thrown against Madrid.

I am well satisfied with my column. My comrades are well supplied with everything. When the hour comes, they fight and function like a good machine. I do not mean by that, that our militiamen are no longer men. No—our comrades at the front know why and for what they are fighting. They feel themselves Revolutionaries, they fight, not for empty phrases, not for the defence of a more or less promising legislature, but for the capture of the land, of the factories and workshops, of the means of transport, of daily bread, of the new culture. They know their lives depend on victory.

We are waging (as in my opinion, the circumstances demand) war and revolution. At one and the same time Revolutionary measures are being taken, not only in Barcelona and the Hinterland. They are also being carried out behind the firing line. Every village we capture begins to develop itself in a revolutionary manner. That is the finest thing of the war, whenever I think of it, I am deeply aware of my responsibility. From the very front line right back to Barcelona there are only fighters for our cause. Everyone works for the war and the Revolution. That is our strength.

A few words about the question of the moment—discipline. Many talk of it but few hit the mark. **For me, discipline is nothing more than respect for one's own and others' responsibility.** I am against barrack-room discipline which leads to brutality, hatred and automatism. Just as little do I believe in that falsely conceived freedom, which can't bear the necessities of war and is usually the refuge of cowards. In our organisation, the C.N.T., the very best discipline prevails, inasmuch as the members of the Confederation

accept and carry out the decisions of the Committees of the comrades to whom they have entrusted the conduct of affairs. In war the elected delegates must be obeyed, otherwise operations cannot be carried out. In dealing with slackers, we take them to task and by dint of appeal to self-love generally succeed in turning them into good comrades. I am well satisfied with the comrades who follow me and I believe they have the same feeling about me. They lack nothing. They have enough to eat, plenty to read and they have revolutionary discussions. No one idles; constant work on entrenchments goes on.

We will win the war, Comrades!

Militia Regulations of the C.N.T.

1. Every Militiaman must keep to the rules of the Battalion Committee and of the Hundred—and group Delegates?
1. The Militiaman cannot undertake any warlike operation on his own account and has to fulfil, without discussion, his allotted task, be it at the front or behind the lines.
3. Every Militiaman who does not observe the rules of the battalion, of the Hundred or of the Group will be called to account by his battalion.
4. Serious offences are: — Desertion, Leaving post of duty, Sabotage, Plundering and demoralising activities of word or deed.
5. The Militiaman is a Volunteer but once joined up, his work as Soldier of the Revolution, is to take his place and do his duty.
6. Anyone, outside of the Militia, acting on his own account will be considered a mutineer and liable to the punishments decreed by his Battalion.

(Extract from "Frente Libertario" or Freedom-Front, organ of the Confederate Militia.)

THE ARMED FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM SHOULD REMAIN NON-MILITARIST.

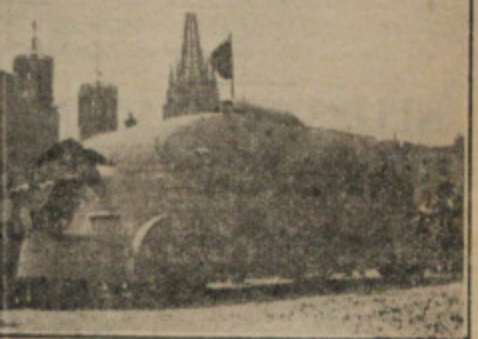
It appears more and more necessary to ask ourselves whether the militarism of the rebel generals will succeed in imposing its own form on the struggle of the Spanish revolutionaries, or whether, on the other hand, our comrades will succeed in disintegrating militarism by opposing to it methods of action which will result in the liquidation of the military front and the extension to all Spain of the social revolution.

The elements of success at the disposal of the Fascists are the following:—Abundance of material, draconian rigidity of discipline, a complete military organisation, and terrorism exercised over the populace by means of Fascist police formations. These elements of success are found valuable in the tactics of a war of positions, of a continuous front, with the transport of massed forces towards the points where the decisive action is to be fought.

On the popular side the elements of success are of a totally contrary order: Abundance of men, initiative and passionate fighting spirit amongst individuals and groups, the active sympathy of the working masses throughout the country, the economic weapon of the strike, and of sabotage in the regions occupied by the Fascists. These moral and physical forces, superior in themselves to those at the disposal of the enemy, can only be fully utilised in a conflict of surprise attacks, ambushes, and guerilla warfare spread at large over the whole country.

It is the determined will of certain political elements in the Spanish Popular Front to fight militarism by opposing to it a military technique of the same kind, by making war according to rule, with pitched battles of great army corps and concentration of military material, by decreeing compulsory mobilisation, by applying a strategic plan under single command—in short, by a more or less perfect copying of Fascism. We have published here the views of comrades

who have allowed themselves to be influenced by Bolshevism to the point of demanding a Red Army.



This attitude appears to us dangerous, from more than one point of view. We must not forget that the Red Army of the Bolsheviks was a peace-time creation, whereas the victory over reaction, internal and external, was the work of groups of "Partisans" with a method of fighting analogous to that of the Spanish guerillas. At the actual moment the essential problem is not to transform the Militia, an ensemble of partisans well adapted to guerilla warfare, into a Regular Army presenting the characteristics of a professional Army.

The problem is rather to improve the technique proper to Militia formations, and to supply each fighting unit with the appropriate weapons (automatics, hand and rifle grenades, etc.). To act otherwise would be to wait for the decisive stroke of a Napoleonic battle, all the means for which are yet to be created as far as the Spanish anti-Fascist camp is concerned. It would mean deferring the decision till the Greek Kalends, prolonging for ever the present position, and as might be the case, commit once more to the hands of chance a victory which would be a foregone conclusion if we knew how to use to the full our own proper weapons. Everything points to the belief that the decision in the struggle taking place in the four quarters of Spain will be a question of morale and not of strategy.

Let us beware of the self-interested manoeuvres of the temporisers and compromisers who are on the watch for the moment to betray the people by a reconciliation with the Fascist section of the middle class, with the sole aim of annihilating and stifling once for all the revolutionary impulse of the proletariat.

—From *L'Espagne Anti-fasciste*.

ALLIES OF FASCISM COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY PLOTS.

For long before the insurrection, reports from officers denouncing the plot that was being hatched had not been taken seriously by the Government,

which knew that the plot had long been in existence and did not believe in a menace whose realisation was so long delayed.

The ex-Deputy Antonio de la Villa had a conversation recently with Lieutenant Jose Loriga, of the colonial troops of Tetouan, now on the Republican side.

Loriga said the movement had its beginnings a long while back. Following the first Lerroux Government, the consequence of the elections of '33, the military began, especially in Africa, to establish relations with the garrisons in the towns.

At this time, they had not yet found the chief they needed. Then came the accession of Gil Robles to the Ministry of War, a function which permitted him to carry on better his pots with Franco and Goded.

The revolution in the Asturias facilitated these machinations still more. When Portela Valladares was named head of the Government the malcontents were on the point of making their "pronunciamento." But it was Gil Robles who, in agreement with Mola and Franco, opposed this, because the three bankers who were to finance the movement did not think it opportune, being, besides, in need of money for the elections. After the elections, these said "patrons" persuaded the military to employ other tactics. That is why it was agreed Mola should remain at Pampeluna and Franco at Tenerife.

The commandery of the Canaries, served, from its convenient position, as contact between Spain and Africa. The movement was openly organised in Tenerife. Franco flew several times to Las Palmas. There Fascist aviators awaited him and took him off secretly in their aeroplane.

Franco showed no haste to precipitate events. He regarded triumph as certain. The check received by the insurgents seems partly due to their precipitation produced by the death of Calvo Sotelo. It seems that the adhesion of the Navy was counted on in principle, but not at

all certain.

Headed by the forces raised in Seville by Gueyso de Llano, the objective was to land 6,000 men of the Tercio and the Regulars at Algeciras. From there the column would have advanced by Cadiz, Jerez, Seville and Cordova to Madrid, where it would have joined Mola's column from the North, composed of the rebel forces of Vizcaya, Vitoria, Burgos, Valladolid, and Segovia, and the column of Cabanellas organised at Saragossa and reinforced by the Catalan rebels Goded was to bring. At Madrid, in agreement with the desires of all the elements concerned, *Franco and Mola were to give an official character to their coup d'état by deposing Azaña on behalf of Sanjurjo*, who would have set up an exclusively military Government, including Goded, Fanjul, Mola, Hermosa, Villega, Barrera, Queipo de Llano, Cabanellas, and some others, and under the "presidency" of Franco.

These were the plans of the conspirators. They had thought of everything save of popular resistance and the check it was going to inflict on them.

—From *L'Espagne Antifasciste*.

Broadcast by Emma Goldman

Whom the Gods wish to Destroy They First Strike Mad.

This old proverb has proved true in more than one instance in human history. It also applies most forcibly to the political leaders of to-day. They maintain that neutrality to the heroic struggle of the Spanish masses will stave off a new world conflagration. Now it is only too true that political leaders and statesmen have seldom demonstrated clear thinking when confronted with calamitous issues. But, in their attitude towards the struggle in Spain, the Gods seem to have done their job more deliberately than before.

Were it only a question of a score of politicians one would have no cause for alarm. Unfortunately they are at the helm of the state, and their decisions—motivated by utter mental confusion

as well as criminal wilfulness will not only **not** prevent a new world carnage—they are actually hastening the new holocaust whose flames are likely to be more devastating than the last.

One might grant the politicians some modicum of reason had they taken a neutral stand against both contending forces in the civil war in Spain. It is the one-sidedness of their attitude which makes one question both the sanity and the integrity of the neutrality sponsors. Their stand is the more reprehensible because **the Spanish masses are the first to have risen against the Fascist foe** who has already taken root in a large part of Europe and if not stopped, will do so in the rest of the world.

Incidentally, it must be borne in mind that the workers of Spain are fighting the ill-conceived offspring of war and the statesmen peace have brought about. It is that which has given birth to that hideous human apparition that calls itself fascism. Instead of nipping the first sprouting in the bud, the post-war politicians and statesmen have kept up the flickering life-stream of fascism. They have nourished and strengthened the growth into a monstrosity whose ravenous appetite can only be satisfied by human flesh and whose lust for power knows no bounds. The foster-fathers of the ghastly creature have been a party to Mussolini's egolomania that had already reached insane proportions by the conquest of Ethiopia. What else but sanctions loudly proclaimed in words as the humanitarian and christian means to protect the rights of the Abyssinian people and never applied in deeds enabled Mussolini to conquer Abyssinia. The sanctionist helped this modern imitation of Caesar to more than he had bargained for. Not only has he Abyssinia, he also has all the political leaders of Europe in the palm of his hand and his iron grip on all Europe as well. The same has been done for the other child of the hideous fascist twins.

Hitler and his savage gang found their inroads in the utter madness of the so-called peace treaty and their best support in the criminal indifference on the part of all governments to his reign of terror and this alone gave National Socialism time and impetus to perfect the deadly military machine. Not only the Swastika but also Hitler's heavy boot is to be planted on the neck of Europe and Asia, as they have been planted on the neck of the entire hapless German people.

Also, politicians never forget or learn anything. Else they would realise that by their neutrality to the Spanish defence of liberty they are rendering Spanish fascism precisely the same service they have given to other Fascist powers. They are doing more, they are helping to create a formidable Fascist alliance, that, if successful, would fetter the spirit of freedom for many decades.

Curiously enough the loudest sponsors of neutrality proclaim that democracy must be maintained at all cost. Yet, they fail to see, that democracy was never in graver danger, and that **neutrality, if maintained much longer will stab democracy in the back.**

Does any intelligent man or woman imagine that the two star fascist lords are giving Franco and Mola such generous support in armaments and money out of love for them? Certainly they have been promised lucrative returns for the co-operation which is to enable the Spanish adventurers to drown the Spanish people in a sea of blood. Hitler and Mussolini whose ambitions are so modest want a mere bagatelle. Just the largest part of the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees as their bulwark and with their cannons directed on France. This would of course put Hitler and Mussolini in a world key-position. A conquered Spain would, therefore, mean the world dominion of Hitler and Mussolini.

Will France go back on her glorious revolutionary past by her tacit consent to such designs? Will England with

centuries of liberal tradition acquiesce to such degrading position? And if not, will that not mean a new world carnage?

In other words, the very thing the proclaimers of neutrality are hoping to prevent—will occur. Only the lack of logical perception can remain blind to its danger. Another thing would happen, if the anti-fascists were helped to cope with the fascist epidemic in Spain, that is poisoning all springs of life and health. **Fascism exterminated in Spain would mean the purified waters in the rest of Europe** and the end of Fascism in Europe would do away with the causes of war. The workers of the rest of the world and other liberty-loving groups inspired by the new social experiment of their brothers in Spain would be enabled to begin a new transformation of their own life.

It is about neutrality, as it is about people, who can stand by a burning building with women and children calling for help, without moving a muscle to come to their aid—or to see a drowning person desperately trying to reach shore. No words of condemnation could possibly express the universal contempt for such cowardly indifference. Fortunately there are not many such creatures. In times of fire, floods, storms at sea or the sight of any fellow-creature in distress, human nature usually is at its best. Men, in danger of their own lives and limbs, rush into burning houses, throw themselves into the foaming sea and bravely carry their brothers to safety.

Spain is in flames. The Fascist conflagration is spreading. Is it possible that the world outside will stand by and see the country laid in ashes by the fascist hordes?—or will thinking and justice-loving people muster up enough courage to break through the ban of neutrality and come to the rescue of the Spanish people who are fighting Fascism to the bitter end.

I have faith in humanity. I have infinite faith. I know the governments

come and go. But the intrinsic quality of human feeling and the sense of human justice remains for ever.

It is to these that the heroic people of Spain appeal for help, for the means to bring Fascism to its knees and save the world from the new impending holocaust neutrality is certain to bring in its wake.

SPAIN 1840-1936

THE COMPLICITY OF THE CHURCH OF SPAIN AND THE CORRUPTNESS OF ITS CLERGY.

The history of Spain (briefly described in another section of this pamphlet) shows only too clearly how the Church of Spain has always sided with the reactionaries in their repeated attempts to prevent the workers from emancipating and claiming the country and the land which is theirs. To-day the Church is merely repeating history. Unfortunately, there is a section of the Press in this country which, in an effort to counteract the spontaneous sympathy which most people felt for the Spanish workers in this struggle, has waged an "atrocities" campaign, printing daily pages of "atrocities" committed by anti-fascists against priests and nuns who, to use the Archbishop of Westminster's words, are "innocent of the fratricidal conflict which has been made the occasion of their persecution." Undoubtedly if one's only source of reference are those newspapers who, only a year ago, praised Mussolini's generosity in taking to Abyssinia a Fascist civilisation in the form of mustard gas and incendiary bombs, it is natural that the priests and nuns are innocent. But the atrocity stories are merely the work of journalists seeking copy for such papers as the "Daily Mail," and have been disproved elsewhere in this pamphlet. A further proof of the sensational nature of the "Daily Mail" is reflected in a statement made by the *Generalitat of Catalonia* which says that "the two special correspondents

of the 'Daily Mail' have completely repudiated the accounts of atrocities alleged to have been committed by Spanish Government troops which were published by the 'Daily Mail' as coming from these correspondents. Such stories are deliberately fabricated in an office which sees in Hitler and Mussolini the hope of humanity." On the other hand, it has been proved beyond any doubt that the Church is directly connected with the Revolution. Documents such as those found during the destruction of Sagrada Familia ("Manchester Guardian," 5/8/36) prove that the Church had been actively co-operating in the rebel "cause." If, therefore, many priests have been amongst the dead it is only because they were fighting or actively manifesting their sympathy with the rebels. But this is not a basis for assuming that the workers kill all priests and nuns at sight. For instance, the "Heraldo de Madrid" (21/8/36) recounts an incident in which a priest put himself in front of a Fascist firing squad which was about to execute several anti-Fascists, and who, when ordered by a Fascist to "Get out of the way, father," replied, "No, I prefer to die with my people." Further evidence is to be found in the number of religious men fighting with the anti-Fascists. As the "Daily Herald" leader of 27th August so rightly says, "Catholic priests have been killed not because they were Catholic priests but because they were in the rebel service." Eye-witnesses have repeatedly pointed out that the destruction of Churches have not been acts of vandalism but an act of self-defence against snipers posted in advantageous positions; churches have been used as ammunition dumps in many cases. (Dr. Montessori; Mr. G. Elvin).

The real cause for hatred against the Church is well described by a Roman Catholic priest broadcasting from Madrid. " . . . Propaganda cannot be blamed for creating mass opposition to the Church in Spain. No Church had greater means of propaganda than we had. There is no other remedy but to protest when millions of pesetas are

found in the palaces of the Bishops while the poor die of hunger. . . .

Nearly £500,000 was found in the Bishop's palace in Madrid and handed over to the Government ("Sunday Times," 25/8/36); 16 million pesetas were found in the palace of the Bishop of Vich. A total of 30,000,000 pesetas were confiscated in Catalonia alone ("Manchester Guardian," 5/8/36). Our correspondent writes:—"Much amusement was caused when it was found that the 'Little Sisters of the Poor' in Madrid, the poorest of the poor—only ex-King Alfonso pretends to be more destitute still—had nearly or quite a 100 million pesetas in paper money and shares. All the bishops, etc., had considerable sums carefully hidden. But little gold is found; when packing in a hurry, they generally took the gold, it appears, and left the paper money, which was certain to be depreciated.

"Solidaridad Obrera" (30/7/36) publishes the correspondence that took place between "innocent" nuns in Barcelona with equally pious ones in Bordeaux. The correspondence concerns the illegal export of money, and, besides using disguised language to avoid interception, these "innocent" women show that they are practical where money is concerned, more so with the money which has been given to them for acts of charity! For instance, in one letter from *la Sainte Marie des Anges* (20/6/36) to a Sister in Barcelona:—"If later on you send some Sisters to Perpignan or elsewhere, take care to give each one 400 or 500 pesetas. I say each one as if I meant that each one was travelling alone. If they declared to be together, I doubt whether they would be allowed to take with them 500 pesetas each. . . ."

We conclude this brief survey of the complicity and corruptness of the Church with a further letter from our correspondent in Spain. "Destruction often took place—he writes—unconsciously, when objects instead of being kept in museums or, at least, being made known to the public, mould away, neglected or ignored in inconspicuous

churches and convents. What was burned was just the conspicuous tinsel in churches which is of no value, the wooden benches and doors besides the educational implements, books of the most backward type, and the like; things of no value. Their household affairs were destroyed, as dignity forbade us to use the leavings of these people. But all accumulations of good food, mattresses and good linen were forthwith sent to the hospitals, which were overcrowded with the wounded. All this happened in a peaceful, charming way, and people stood by in friendly talk glad to be rid of these unsociable neighbours. The priests and nuns had left long ago, mostly in good order, sometimes a little hurriedly, which made people smile, glad to see the last of them. In this way such things happen in real life. . . . The horror stories should throughout be treated with contempt and irony: it is a blind to prepare for callousness and denial of sympathy when the real horrors are perpetrated by the traitors and their African hordes. . . . If the Generals win, the priests and nuns will be back in a minute, spick and span, and will have a good laugh at the usual English martyr stories."

The foregoing is an extract from a brochure, "The Struggle for Liberty in Spain, 1840-1936." Price 4d. This brochure should be read by everyone who is desirous of the facts regarding Spain. It can be obtained from Thos. Keell, White-way Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, England; The Freedom Group, London; or The A.P.C.F., Glasgow.

FREE EXCHANGE OF PRODUCTS BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

From *Ce quil faut dire*, Brussels.

"The peasants, as at Albalade de Cinca in Aragon did not wait for orders from above to organise their lives.

The region having been previously purged of fascists, clergy and reactionaries, they immediately took an inventory of all existing products and live stock. Everything in excess of the re-

quirements of the community was carried to the town and given over to the Committee of Exchange set up by our comrades from whence was delivered in exchange fish and other goods of which the peasants were in need.

This system of exchange of produce which our comrades are organising by means of committees set up for the purpose here, there and everywhere, is tending to become general, due partly to the shortage of money but also to the native libertarian instincts of the Spanish peasant."

FREE COMMUNISM AT GELSA.

Immediately following the taking of the town, as at Pina, the growth of free Communism began.

First, various committees were set up with a view to normalising economic life. The surrounding peasants showed themselves favourable to relying on the decisions of the said committees. As a first measure of precaution the town was purged and the mayor also deposed.

The committee for provisioning began to function and the effects rapidly made themselves felt. Since at Velilla del Ebro, on learning the news a great quantity of oil was offered in exchange for corn.

The peasants proposed to harvest the corn and place it in a store controlled by the committee of provisions—which should be the common granary. It was proceeded also to instal two auxiliary warehouses where all products of the first necessity should be deposited.

In order that everyone might have recourse to these stores, bills were posted up. The result was a success, besides foodstuffs, clothing was brought which made it possible to draw from reserves and prevent waste.

The gardens situated on the heights of Gelsa are fertile but lack water. A rich fascist had had constructed some time before, a dam to irrigate his own gardens, but had refused the requests of the peasants for a little water. On the expulsion of the fascists the

peasants wished to blow up the dam but were persuaded by the Committee it was better to use the water for themselves. They even decided to build a further dam that more water might be available.

L'Espagne Antifascista.



Vol. 1, No. 2. November, 1938

1d.

*"Hear a word, a word in season,
For the day is drawing nigh,
When the cause shall call upon us,
Some to live, and some to die."*

WM. MORRIS.

"OUR" COUNTRY.

A representative from the Spanish working class, Senor Gorkin, was refused permission to remain in "our" country this week and was searched like a dangerous criminal. Yet Burgos emissaries are allowed full freedom.

The Rhine is our frontier, according to Baldwin, who speaks for British Imperialism. But the real "frontier" of the British workers to-day is in Spain. If the workers there are defeated, we will soon feel the "Iron Heel" of Fascism in Great Britain.

As in Germany and Austria, even tame municipal reforms will be automatically wiped out.

The present U.A.B., which itself is incipient Fascism, would then have greater confidence in still further reducing relief to the German level.

On the other hand, if the Spanish workers succeed in their determination to smash Fascism and establish non-authoritarian Socialism, the struggle for emancipation will be made easier for the workers all over Europe.

The plan of International Fascism

is to smash the workers in one sector at a time. The German, Italian, Austrian movements have been destroyed. The workers of Spain are now being besieged in their own country. Hitler and Mussolini are awaiting the fall of Madrid to recognise the Burgos Government officially. Italy has even threatened Barcelona. In Gibraltar as well as at Whitehall British Imperialists have shown their antagonism to the workers of Spain.

Workers, the non-intervention farce is still in operation! Smash the embargo! The workers of Spain require weapons of defence to counter the forces of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini!

Workers, accept the challenge and rally to the Spanish Workers. Away with all sectionalism, partyism and careerism! Throw off all back-sliding and in difference! The Spanish Workers are dying for the International Working Class movement. Let us do our part, each in his own locality and according to his means and ability.

Demonstrate! Agitate! Strike! Smash the Embargo!

Down with Hitler, Mussolini and their Spanish and British imitators!

Long live the Spanish Workers!

Long live the World Proletariat!

The Journals "Freedom" and "Advance" will in future be merged and published under the title, "The Fighting Call."

We hope this advance will give a new impetus to Anarchist, Anti-Parliamentarian, and Working-class progress in the British Isles.

ARMS for SPAIN

If our experience in public and social life were insufficient to justify our abstention from politics, the speech of Leon Blum, the socialist head of the French Government would be enough to confirm our profound distrust of politicians.

We can not understand how as leader of the socialist party M. Blum could make the declarations he did, while the workers of Paris were loudly clamouring for the lifting of the embargo of arms for Spain.

Avions pour l'Espagne! Avions pour l'Espagne! shouted the proletariat of Paris. Leon Blum replied: "I have no evidence that to date there has been any single case of transgression by any of the signatory powers of the neutrality pact." . . . The 24 Italian aeroplanes arrived at Vigo, the presence of powerful German bombing planes over all our fronts, the German guns and bullets killing and maiming thousands of Spanish workers, the transport of the Foreign Legion and Moors by German transport planes to help the christian slaughter of the Spanish proletariat, the presence even of German and Italian pilots and instructors in the ranks of the insurgents, the horrible human sacrifices and total destruction of Irun through the armament supplied by Germany and Italy, all this is known to the whole world. But Leon Blum, he knows of "no single case of transgression by any of the signatory powers of the neutrality pact."

This paragon of the people of France goes on to say: "We must preserve peace and we must avoid at any cost an international war." Is it possible that this weather worn political leader does not realise that he is playing directly into the hands of Hitler and Mussolini? Is it possible that he does not realise that by the continuation of his passive fear of war, he is hastening the defeat of his own country, this notwithstanding his race for which he apologised? Is it possible that he does not realise that he is directly preparing a military fascist coup d'etat in France? M. Laval and M. Laroque and all the conservative press of France are rejoicing openly over the abject patriotism of M. Blum.

The workers of France must keep up their demand. Aeroplanes for Spain!

avions pour l'Espagne! And the workers of England and the workers of France must open their eyes to the present grave situation of danger in which they are placed. **There is no honesty where powerful private interests are at stake. There is no chance for even democracy when the fanatical hordes of fascism are threatening to fetter the working classes. It is a struggle to the end to free the world proletariat once and for all from the enslavement of the power of the lords of high finance.**

We are waiting for the workers of France and the workers of England to compel their governments to supply us with arms in defence of our common cause.

AN APPEAL TO THE WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

The intellectuals of all the democratic countries, the spokesmen of the proletariat, the powerful syndicalist leaders, the most distinguished political figures of France and England, all have repeatedly declared that the people of Spain are fighting for all the democrats of the world, that the defending forces of Spain are offering their lives generously in defence of all the free men of the world.

The workers of France and England are imbued with an intense sympathy for us. They have identified themselves with the cause of the Spanish proletariat.

But while the heroic defenders of Spain are laying down their lives for the idea, and the ideal of freedom, our sympathisers and fellow workers abroad quieten their conscience by sending us their messages of love. **Even the generous contribution of funds they send us, become a cruel irony in the face of the barriers the governments of friendly nations have set up to prevent our legitimate purchase of armament.** The agitation of braver and more decided workers organisations for aeroplanes and cannons for Spain is being

frustrated by the constituted powers of capitalism.

But the workers of the world must defeat the treacherous manoeuvres of capitalism under the guide of apostles of peace and security.

There is not a single convincing argument to prevent the supply of arms to the legally and democratically constituted government of Spain.

Outstanding conservatives of England and France have recognised the manifest dangers to the democrats of the world in the event of a fascist victory in Spain. With the mediterranean and the Atlantic routes under the domination of international fascism, the Pyrenees lined with fascist fortresses and heavy cannons pointing to France, what will remain of security and peace? Will England and France passively cede their colonial interests and African possessions to the hordes of fascism in order to avoid a new war? And in the logical sequence of events, will England and France bow to the ferocious will of Hitler and Mussolini, and accept the fascist rule, and with it the mediaeval ideology of slavery for the masses, all in the name of peace and security?

We anarchists and all the Spanish proletariat refuse to believe in the triumph of brute force over social and economic justice for the working classes of the world. We refuse to believe in the weakness of the workers organisations of France and England. We know their syndical and political strength. We believe the workers of England and France will realise the danger of the vile manoeuvres of imperialistic interests.

Workers of England! Show your solidarity with the workers of Spain, your comrades in arms, fighting your fight, the fight of all peoples against their oppressors.

Prevail upon your leaders, if they are not tools of big interests to make your unanimous protests known to your governments. **The embargo of arms for the workers of Spain must be**

lifted now and at once, to avoid the slaughter of the Spanish proletariat by German, Italian and Portuguese fascists, in open aggression against the Spanish people.

Long live the proletariat of Spain!
Long live the proletariat of the World!

WORKERS OF ENGLAND!

Five hundred years ago wars were as cruel and blood-thirsty as they are to-day. They were, however, much simpler and did not depend so much on technical consideration. To-day in Spain, two-thirds of the population have been engaged for nearly two months in fighting heroically with scarcity of arms against an enemy greatly inferior in numbers, but more than abundantly supplied with the most modern elements of warfare, supplied by the warring nations of Germany and Italy.

On the side of the people are the legions of men and youths of the staunch proletariat of Spain. Only yesterday workers of factories, peaceful peasants of the land, shop and office clerks. To-day a most heroic and mighty army of the popular militia. On the Aragon, Andalusian, Extremadura and Basque fronts, the aggressiveness and effectiveness in combat of the militias, the enthusiasm of the Spanish proletariat is to-day the admiration of the world, and the consternation of the fascist generals. Their regular troops are mostly kept in barracks in fear of wholesale desertion, and in going over to our militia. It is only with German and Italian aeroplanes, machine guns, the Foreign Legion of Africa and the Moors that the insurgents have been able to show any fight at all. Against these criminal forces the whole democratic world has been showering us with messages of sympathy and encouragement. In response to our insistent calls for material help, the workers of all friendly nations are at last beginning to bestir themselves towards definite action.

The Trade Unions of England, comprising 3,000,000 members represented in the Plymouth Congress, voted unanimously to give all the necessary help to the Spanish people. 15,000 people assembled in Trafalgar Square and initiated a subscription of £500 in behalf of our fighters. They also inaugurated an active campaign in favour of lifting the embargo of arms for Spain, following a similar decision of the brave miners of South Wales.

The co-operatives of London contribute £1000 to the Spanish syndicates.

In Belgium the World's Peace Congress ended with the cry of: **Arms for Spain!** as a guarantee for the world's peace, menaced by the support given to the Spanish traitors by international fascism.

The metallurgical industries of Paris declared a general strike in sympathy with the legitimate government of Spain and as protest against the French Government's attitude, which is endangered not only our defence, but the defence of the whole democratic civilisation of Europe. Other French syndicates and workers unions make similar resolutions and protests.

From across the ocean, Mexico has shown the beautiful example through her workers in munition plants who contributed two hours' wages every day in favour of their comrades in Spain. The railway workers contribute 5 per cent of their wages.

From Gibraltar, too, we hear of the friendly attitude of the English sailors for the cause of the Spanish people. And even the Musulmen of Morocco have shown us their sympathy by their avowal against the Ryfs whom the traitor Franco deceived with false promises.

And so all the workers of the world, all men of liberal sentiment are enthusiastically and unconditionally on the side of Spain in its fight against fascist vandalism. Only in Germany, Italy, and Portugal the voices of solidarity can not reach us, because in these lands the people are gagged and are reduced

to the conditions of bondage, by relentless henchmen.

In Spain we will never submit to pretorian rule. We will destroy to the root the military and clerical insurrection. In our task we are sustained by the universal support of all liberty-loving people. But to end the crimes and horrors perpetrated by the insurgents and to save the world from the barbarity of fascism, we appeal again for help of all kinds in the common defence of human dignity. The neutrality has merely created the crassest inequality. Unless it is removed or arms sent us over the heads of the governments, the enemy will conquer. And that shall never be so long as there is one able-bodied man or woman left in Spain.

It is your obligation men and women of England and France to come to our aid!

Arms for Spain! Arms for Freedom!
Arms for the Peace of the World!

Catalan Economic Council.

All the regions of Spain and many foreign countries are to-day watching the experiment of decisive importance that is being inaugurated in Spain. It consists in the reorganisation of the entire social and economical life, incorporating all the different tendencies. All mankind is seeking solutions of these urgent problems and the spirit of messianism, having always been the cause of human errors, enters again in these varying tendencies. We, the National Confederation of Labour, in these historic moments want to realise in social matters all that is possible through the progress of science and technique.

After the crash of the old economical order we have to cope with two principal problems. On the one hand we must fight the passive resistance of a mentality which could only subsist under a system of human ignorance. . . . On the other hand we must be consistent in advancing the Revolution

that it may articulate the demands of the proletariat for liberty.

We as representatives of the C.N.T. in the Economic Council consider it our most urgent duty to co-ordinate the definite innovations created by the people. Catalonia is innately a liberal land. Every attempt to establish a new social economic order contradicting the liberal feeling of our people, would create a conflict with reality, and it would prove impossible to subject the new Catalonia to standardised fixed concepts, manifest in certain reform tendencies. The Economic Council refuses the idea of a totalitarian state, nor will it accept the technocratic method of Roosevelt. Every revolutionary movement must be constructive and must be built on granite. For us this foundation must represent the ideas of freedom, social justice and human dignity.

[From a radio speech of our comrade Fabregas, representative of the C.N.T. in the Catalan Council.]

Resolutions covering the sale of products and the payment of work.

1. For the present period every agricultural product must have its sale or exchange value, which will be determined by the Economic Council. A peasant representative will assist the Council to this effect.
2. The exchange or sale of the products can be realised through money or other products.
3. The form of compensation for work will be determined freely in each community, according to the local circumstances and the wishes of the people.

Resolutions concerning the co-operation of different syndicates.

1. We believe in the necessity of of friendly relations between all agricultural organisations of Catalonia.
2. The syndicates of the C.N.T. may be welded together with other syndicates if they are independent politically and stand for the syndi-

calist reform. The Regional Agricultural Committee will work in this direction. The different communities can settle pacts or alliances according to local necessity.

Congress of the Catalan Agriculture Syndicates of the C.N.T.

This congress was held on September 5th and 6th in Barcelona. The syndicates of all Catalan regions were represented. The most important resolutions adopted were:—

1. Collectivisation of the land.—In behalf of the small proprietors and to encourage production, they will have the right to cultivate as much land as they are capable of without prejudice to the collective interest.
2. All expropriated estates will be controlled by the syndicate, the proceeds of the collective work to be distributed equally among the peasant.
3. The syndicate will control the the entire production including that of the small proprietors still cultivating their own land.
4. The syndicates of the different districts must keep in constant touch with each other and arrange the distribution of work.
5. It is the syndicates task to realise the total liberal socialistic order under the following conditions:—
 - (a) Where there is no danger of friction with the small proprietors, total collectivisation must be carried out.
 - (b) All big landed estates must be expropriated at once and together with confiscated land be collectivised in accordance with above resolutions.
 - (c) The syndicates must try to convince the small tenants and the small proprietors of the convenience of collectivisation. Large experiment farms must be established in all parts to introduce the benefits of modern technical progress. Electrification, irriga-

tion and the improve—ment of the soil must be achieved. These experimental farms are of great educational importance for the entire peasantry.

The application of these reforms must be adapted to the local circumstances with the greatest possible freedom towards the idea of federalism. [These resolutions were adopted by all Catalan regional federations of the C.N.T.]

At a mass meeting of the C.N.T. in Barcelona, Francisco Isgleas published the **Resolutions of the National Assembly of the C.N.T.**, recently celebrated in Madrid:—

Workers of Cataluna! Workers of Spain!

The fight against fascism has led us to the Social Revolution. This is not the moment for hesitation or wavering politics, but for concrete action and practical realisations.

In all sincerity we must state that the government of July 19th, indirectly had a hand in the military conspiracy. The government knew, just as we knew it, what was being prepared, and yet no arms were given to the people who demanded them. Had the workers been armed, the insurrection would not have spread, but suppressed from the very first moment by the sovereign will of the people. The government, not having armed the masses, failed in the struggle against fascism. A few days ago it resigned. Had it not resigned, fascism would have triumphed, because this government had neither the energy nor the capacity to repress the rebellion of the military fascists.

We shall destroy fascism. We would have destroyed it already, if international fascism were not supporting the insurgents. But we shall triumph in spite of international fascism and mercenary troops.

A new government has been appointed. But this new government

also does not possess the energy and capacity necessary to smash fascism. And fascism must be smashed immediately to shorten our struggle. To this end the C.N.T. has called a National Assembly in Madrid. All Spanish regions were represented. The Assembly examined the present situation in Spain and arrived at the conclusion that to triumph in the cruel and hard struggle against fascism, all efforts must be co-ordinated and the union of the proletariat must be maintained. The economic and social life of Spain must be reconstructed.

We have come to the conclusion that the new government does not correspond to the need of the people. We have laid before the U.G.T. and the government the following **Resolution of the Assembly**—

There is no possible solution without a more effective co-ordination of all efforts. The creation of an organism for such co-ordination and the economic re-construction of the rear guard. The proposal of constituting in Madrid a National Council integrated by representatives of all political sectors engaged in the fight against fascism. This Council would be formed by five delegates of the UGT, five of the CNT and four Republicans.

Local provincial, regional and national federalism in all aspects of political and economical administration, to replace the old Ayuntamientos (Municipal Governments), Diputaciones (Provincial Governments), and Gobiernos Civiles (Local Civil Governments).

The transformation of the government ministries converting them into departments.

The creation of popular militia to safeguard the public order.

The creation of war-militias with compulsory character. Simplification of commands, the creation of the single military direction and the constitution of a Popular Court and provisional Juridical Body.

The CNT has allowed the UGT and the Government 10 days to respond to

our proposal. Then the Assembly will meet again to fix the line to follow.

The CNT shows the people the way to victory. In Catalonia where all efforts were joined, immediate victory was achieved. The same attitude must be taken in the rest of Spain.

The life of the whole nation must be constructed on a federal basis and it is not advisable that an archaic government should continue in Madrid.

The National Assembly of the CNT has told Largo Caballero that a National Council of Defence must be created to replace the government. This is the only solution towards a rapid defeat of fascism.

We appreciate the co-operation with the armed government forces who are fighting at our side, but **we demand that the Military Bodies must be transformed into Popular Militias.**

The UGT and the government must accept this program of the CNT towards the construction of a new society. They must understand that the only way to beat down blood-thirsty fascism in Spain is the absolute union of the proletariat.

Note.—We invite correspondence of a healthy nature.

The Pen and the Chisel

From L'Espagne Libre.

THE ARTISTES AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The Union of Artists, Painters, Sculptors and Designers, affiliated to the C.N.T. has issued a manifesto from which the following extracts are taken.

To All Artists

We, artists, have formed ourselves into a trade union at the moment when all the forces of the modern world are in conflict to decide the direction human history shall take.

We propose to make a practical alliance of the pen and the chisel, in Catalonia, so that the genius of man shall receive no check in the hard battle in the midst of which we live—

The artist-rebel has up to now always

been treated as a parish, without hope if he refused to bow to humiliating servitude. The hour has come when he will reclaim his right to live in a society where he will be considered as a producer, not a parasite.

Art can never be mass production or collectivised. Its value will always lie in the artist's own individuality. But personal gifts confer on their possessor no right but that of being free to express himself in his work.

Once the privileges conferred on intelligence, talent or knowledge have been abolished, no artist, however great, will be able to consider himself the superior of the most humble worker nor entitled to claim special favours. **His talents will find their reward in the work itself.** The role of art in society is not to gratify a limited elite and afford it one more pretext for drawing social distinctions. It is middle class society that has introduced this conception of art for an elite in order to sanction its unjustifiable privileges.

The prime object of the unions of artists and intellectuals will therefore be an intense propaganda to spread culture among all men, till they succeed in making felt the need for all in the personal life of every one just as one feels the need of a bed, a table or a chair..

In the trade organisation of the artists and craftsmen, working groups of painters, sculptors, etc., will form and become specialised. As in an orchestra, each retaining his own individuality will collaborate in the function of a common aim in the fraternal atmosphere of the studio, as with the great artists of the middle ages and of the Renaissance.

In order that Bulletins from Spain can be published as received, moneys are urgently required. All donations should be forwarded to the Secretary, Freedom Group (Spanish Workers' Committee), 106 Cunningham Road, London, W.12., or to Treasurer, A.P.C.F., 31 Rosehall Street, Glasgow.

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