

SPANISH WORKERS BULLETIN

(INFORMACION DE LA C.N.T.—F.A.I.)



ALL SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION
TO THE COMMUNES]

Published in confederacy by

[ALL SOCIAL ECONOMY
TO THE WORKERS

Freedom Group, London and Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, Glasgow

Vol. I No.1

October 1936

One penny

SOLIDARITY

Address by EMMA GOLDMAN to the Spanish comrades at a mass-meeting attended by ten thousand people in Barcelona, Sept. 1936.

Comrades,

I greet you in the name of our comrades in England, the United States and Canada. We, outside of Spain, have already been given a new impetus by your great courage in the battle you are making against Fascism and for our ideas. And all of us are determined to aid you to the last drop of our blood and with all our energies until you have triumphed in your grand and wonderful aim.

I realise, as do all the comrades in Europe and the States, that you must first concentrate your efforts to drive out of Spain the base sinister forces that are threatening your liberty and that are holding the people in many countries by the throat. In freeing Spain from this devastating scourge you will also break the back-bone from Fascism in the rest of the world. Your splendid battle is therefore of universal scope and magnitude. I know only too well the fortitude needed, the concentration, and the tremendous power of

endurance to bring such a task as yours to victory. But also I know that you have all these qualifications and that you will succeed.

I am in your midst only a few days. But thanks to the solidarity and co-operation of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., I have already been placed in a position to learn that over and above your struggle to crush Fascism you are laying great stress on the constructive side of your battle. The factories I visited and the houses you have requisitioned for your great task are in perfect condition and order as if there had been no pitched battles with our enemies in Barcelona. Work and life has continued under your supervision perhaps much better than under the old owners. You have thereby proven that our grand teacher, Michael Bakunin was right when he said that the spirit of destruction is also the spirit of construction. And you have done more. You have branded as

villainous the misrepresentations and accomplishments must be defended to charges in many papers that Anarchism is a chaotic theory, that it has no program, that it is only bent on wreck and ruin. In the face of danger and death you are demonstrating that Anarchism is the most constructive social philosophy worth living, fighting and, if need be, dying for.

You comrades of Barcelona and Catalonia in general are giving a shining example to the workers of the rest of the world that you fully understand the meaning of revolution. For you have learned through past mistakes that unless the revolutionary forces succeed in feeding, clothing and sheltering the people during the revolutionary period, the revolution is doomed to ruin. For its strength and its security lie not in the State, or in the political power of parties but in the constructive efforts during the fighting period. Your marvellous experiment will and must succeed. But whether it it does or fails, you are planting new roots deeply in the soil of Spain, in the hearts and minds of your people and in the hearts and minds of the oppressed all over the world.

I have come to you as to my own. For your ideal has been my ideal for forty-five years and it will remain to my last breath. My one desire is to be a part great or small in the grandiose battle you are making!

Long live the C.N.T.!

Long live the F.A.I.!

Long live your fight for the emancipation and liberation of humanity!

UNITY

In Defence of the Revolution.

Regional and National Committees of defence can alone constitute the genuine representation of the people in arms. To act in accordance with reality is the principal factor for attaining a definite triumph. All

accomplishments must be defended to make impossible any retrocession. Only in fulfilment of these premises will the people attain all they propose for themselves.

The 19th of July marked the end of a regime. And if only in obedience to the instinct of preservation, the past can not and should not return. Of all the legal apparatus existing before the 19th of July there remained only a nominal government which no longer governed anyone. We recognise the faithful conduct of those who fulfilled their duties, but if the Fascists had found no more resistance than that of the loyal forces, it would not have cost them very much to triumph in the whole of Spain.

The workers were the first to shut off the reactionaries, and it is still the workers who are reconquering at the cost of their life all that which the legal representation of the Spanish people had to abandon.

The 19th of July marked the breaking down of the entire legal apparatus of Spain. The people have to reconquer the right to life, and in the reconstruction most suited to its needs all the means must be in its own hands. These means reside in the specifically revolutionary organisms constituted by all the sectors which make up the anti-Fascist front.

If all these sectors are agreed on the necessity of a new social and economical structure of Spain to follow immediately the triumph over Fascism, there is not the same coincidence as to the premises of this new structure. Every sector has its own conceptions which it naturally desires to prevail. This aspiration, humanly comprehensible, results unwise and even dangerous in application. It is necessary that our struggle continues without the danger of any sector wishing to fortify its particular position, and thus create an obstacle towards the free administration of a victory attained by all. In the same way that the workers of all

distinct social and economic tendencies are fighting together for a common object, so must be constituted among the workers organisations in the rear, the same unity of expression and action.

In Cataluna, where divergencies of tendencies are as marked as in the rest of Spain, or even more so, this problem has been solved in the constitution of organisms genuinely revolutionary; incorporating all the various sectors, without sacrifice of their distinctive personality. The anti-Fascist committees of war and revolutionary order and the committees of supplies and the Economic Council all demonstrate how it is possible to maintain a collective unity, without creating any privilege of class or sector. This example of Cataluna should merit the reflection of the rest of Spain. In these moments none can assume the exclusive representation of the Spanish people.

It took a long time to dissolve the Giral government. Its composition did not correspond to the social movement of the country. The Revolution has to find its expression in responsible leadership. Politicians of Giral's type can never represent the necessity of the present situation. The new Government also does not correspond to the real situation of the country, but can be looked at as a small progress towards the demands of the proletariat. It has to be considered only as a government of war. It has to lead the fight against Fascism. It could, however, do the great common cause much harm if the Socialists and Communists would take advantage of the situation to establish themselves in party positions. Alongside of Socialists and Communists there are bourgeois parties. These fractions no longer carry representation. The revolutionary wave which characterises the present moment must break with all outworn forms of life in Spain. Political bureaucracy, that has created so much hate in the history of Spain, has to disappear. A Revolutionary Coun-

cil, with the participation of all organisations of the city — and country — proletariat in the place of the Government would be really a step forward, and would be the only true expression of the present situation.

The declaration of Caballero makes it clear that the Government will put all its energy into the war against Fascism. This is its only mission. It must recognise the unselfish revolutionary attitude of the C.N.T., which, though refusing participation in the Cabinet, will co-operate with the Government in every way. The imperious necessity of the present hour is the construction of new bases of social and economic life. This work will have to be done with the help of new organisms, free from the defects of the old bourgeois institutions. The hour we live in belongs entirely to the proletariat. The new Government does not express this, but we wish, nevertheless, its complete success in its effective measures of war against Fascism.

The National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) have maintained and continue to maintain the necessity of constituting Regional Committees of Defence of the Revolution vinculated in a National Committee. Such revolutionary organism will have the immediate advantage of guaranteeing the interest of all those taking part in the struggle and maintain the unity of action in front and rear. The distinct regions would still maintain a sufficient independence in order to attend the problems of immediate and urgent necessity.

This position the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have sustained before and since the constitution of the actual Government. We have no reason to rectify our position; on the contrary, our conviction is daily strengthened that the Spanish Revolution can not be represented by anyone but by itself and exclusively for itself through organisms emerged from its struggle.

The C.N.T. and F.A.I., whose import-

ance as a determining factor has been recognised by all, has given sufficient proofs of its spirit of comprehension and tolerance. It has therefore sufficient moral authority to request from others the same consideration of reciprocity.

Let us organise our victory, without egoism, without mistrusts, and later let the people determine the road to follow. The Committees of the defence of the Revolution, replacing all that is archaic and all that has failed, will be the pilot of the revolutionary movement and the guarantee of the approaching day of its triumph.

REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN.

Extracts from an article by the well-known Marxist, Robert Louson, in *La Révolution Proletarienne*.)

Political Power.—"Now it is the workers who command!" They were the first words we heard in an hotel in the little French town. Burg Madam. And this should have characterised the position on the other side of the frontier. Yes, his phrase expresses in a wonderful way the situation in Catalonia, as it strikes you from the first moment you cross the frontier, and becomes more and more clear to you as you acquaint yourself with all that goes on there. No matter, whether in a small place of two or three thousand inhabitants, or in the big town of Barcelona with its population of one and a half million, that is the basic fact everywhere; and we are assured that it prevails over all Catalonia,—but in Catalonia only.

As soon as you cross the frontier you are stopped by armed men. Who are they? Workers. They are militia, i.e., workers dressed in their usual attire, but armed with rifles or revolvers, and each one bears an armband with an inscription of his function, and the authority he represents, together with the initials C.N.T. and

F.A.I. in red and black. It is they to whom you have to apply with your declaration and papers, and they—with the greatest courtesy but also most firmly—decide that you cannot come into Spain, or send you before **The Committee.**

The Committee consist of a group of men sitting in a neighbouring village and exercising fullest authority. It is this Committee that arranges all the usual municipal functions; and which also formed the local militia, armed them and provided with board and lodging. It is this Committee that closed the Fascist stores. It is this Committee that permits people to enter or leave the town, makes the necessary requisitions, takes charge of the churches and transforms them into "Popular Institutions."

This Committee comprises representatives of all organisations participating in the "Popular Front"—from the Catalonian Bourgeois organisation to the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.), and, although each organisation has an equal number of delegates, the influence of the various delegates is correlated to the power of its organisation. Well, as the workers' organisations, or, rather the great C.N.T. with its closely allied F.A.I. is the strongest, it follows that their influence is uppermost. It is the C.N.T. that provides almost the whole of the militia; it is the militant C.N.T. members who are at the head of the militia; the members of C.N.T., all armed, who keep order in the streets, at the railway station and at the frontier. It is therefore quite natural that the president of this Committee, in whose signature lies the full executive power, can be no other but a worker. Indeed he is a militant member of the C.N.T. who only the other day came out of prison, where he was kept since the October days and who still bears on his body traces of the tortures he suffered during the two years incarceration at the hands of the

executioners.

The situation in Barcelona is exactly the same. As soon as you enter, you are convinced that the workers are in control there. The whole town assumed the appearance of workers. It is a strange phenomena of adaption. The working class puts its stamp, more or less, on the whole, or nearly the whole populace. In the bourgeois régime the middle class people try to follow the styles of the leaders of fashion, both in dress as in speech, they try to imitate their bourgeois rulers, even a proletarian worker, as he gets out of the workers' quarter, tries to assume a bourgeois appearance.

Thus, as the controllers in Barcelona are the working class, everybody in every part of the town—whether in the centre or in the workers' quarters, or the petty bourgeois "Rambla" or in the aristocratic Paseo de Gracia—appears to be a worker now, no more are any bourgeois to be found. What became of them? To be sure, some have left the town, others are hiding in their abodes, but most of them, I believe, are going about their usual daily business, only — unless you observe them very closely,—you cannot tell who they are, because of their disguise. The great bourgeoisie assumed the appearance of the middle-class, the middle-class took on the appearance of a small citizen, and the latter that of a proletariat.

But where the transformation is particularly noticeable is in the police force. In every city of the capitalist world the police agent appears (if not drunk) in the role of a "gentleman," adorned in a carefully buttoned-up uniform, looking pompous and proud like an ambassador, he tries to play his part in maintaining the authority of the class he is appointed to protect. And the "Guardos d' Asoltos" (storm troops) of Barcelona, who are really similar to the French police agents, have been, until the 19th July, no exception in this respect.

But to-day, what a change!

As defenders and protectors of the regular government, the "Guardia d' Asoltos" fought side by side with the workers and the Anarchists against the Fascist army during the historic day of the 19th July, which decided the fate of Barcelona and thereby also the fate of the whole of Spain. From that moment onwards they refused to function as "Guardos d' Asoltos," as policemen, but decided to become militia men.

That is the position now. Barcelona is an industrial town, governed and controlled by the working class, and particularly by the most powerful workers' organisation of Catalonia—the C.N.T. The "Generalite," i.e., the regular government of Catalonia, is, in fact, only so by name, and behind them the C.N.T., together with the other workers' organisations in the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist militia, exercise the chief authority.

At the present moment the State is in reality the National Labour Confederation together with the Iberian Anarchist Federation; they have the fullest control, particularly over the army and police, the latter bearing now the name of the "Commission for Investigations."

Plans of the Bourgeoisie. Will the situation last? It is evident that the bourgeois classes, although at present under the absolute rule of the workers, do not thereby cease to exist. By the "bourgeois," I do not mean, naturally, the wealthy Fascists, but the petty middle-classes and tradesmen who make up the bulk of the general populace of Catalonia around its President, Companys. Well, this class of people are, apparently anxious to get back power, i.e., that the power now possessed by the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militia should be handed over to the legal government and its ministers.

A manoeuvre intended to prepare the way for the legal bourgeois govern-

ment to retain the power in its hand was made a few days ago. The manoeuvre consisted in changing the ministers and was carried out with the co-operation of the Communist party.

The Catalonian Government, as is well known, is comprised exclusively of bourgeois elements, representatives of the various bourgeois parties. Such a government could not take the place of power of the working class. To attempt that with some chance of success, it had to assume some colour of labour and Socialism.

This is what they attempted to do. The Communist party, which makes no secret of the fact that it strives only for a bourgeois Democratic Republic, nothing else, allied itself with the "Union Socialista" and the Catalonian Socialist Federation, and under the adopted title of the "United Socialist Party of Catalonia (P.S.U.C.) joined the Communist International.

No sooner was the party formed when an announcement was made that the Catalonian Ministry resigned, and that a new Cabinet was formed in which were taken in some representatives of the P.S.U.C. to act side by side with the old bourgeois representatives. Thus Catalonia had a "bourgeois-labour" government, which intended to overthrow the workers' government. But this manoeuvre failed, as the three P.S.U.C. ministers soon resigned.

The Militia Problem. This, however, has only been a preparatory manoeuvre. The decisive role will be found in the question of the militia. For why has the worker of Barcelona already the power in his hand? Because he is armed; because he forms the only armed force.

On the morning of the 19th of July, the whole army of Barcelona rose in rebellion. All branches: cavalry, infantry and artillery; all, but the crews of three aeroplanes as well as the police. In the evening of the same day the rising was completely suppressed. Who was it that conquered the Fascist army? The united force of all the

workers, the aviators and the storm troops. It must be mentioned that the fliers were not exactly loyal to the government and that many of them joined in the fight for the C.N.T., not for the government. The storm troops, too, have been carried away by the enthusiasm and courage shown by their brothers and fellow workers during the day that they joined up with the C.N.T. to a man. Besides, the workers formed the great mass from whom so many fighters could be drawn in the fight against Fascism. The workers thus forming the armed forces soon became, simply, **the Force.**

But in order that the workers should remain the Force it is inevitable they should remain armed. Hence they organised themselves in the militia. According to the official title it is called "Anti-Fascist" Militia, but in reality it is the **workers' militia**—organised by and for the workers, without uniforms, without barracks, but who give their services in a most wonderfully regular and conscientious manner. Technically they are instructed by corporals and soldiers, but are commanded by workers and militia.

The people's power, the proletarian power, which is now a fact in Barcelona depends very closely on the retention of the popular armed force and the militia.

In his book, "Government and Revolution," Lenin strongly emphasises the fact that the success of the revolution is inseparable from the institution of the people and its arms, just as the bourgeois State is closely united with the institute of the army. The army, i.e., the bourgeois State; the militia—the proletarian revolution. "**Militia, Yes! Soldiers, No!**" say the Anarchists. That is very comprehensive. On this basic question, therefore,—army or militia—the fate of the Social Revolution will be, nay, is already being reflected; in the Social Revolution just begun.

Some days ago the "Generalidad," i.e., the Catalonian Government,

issued a decree to disarm all those who are not enrolled in the Anti-Fascist Militia. On the 4th August, the government called up three classes of recruits with the intention of placing them in barracks and be put under the usual regime of soldiers. The C.N.T., however, soon realised the danger.

"Under no conditions should you give up your arms!" was the reply issued by the C.N.T. in regard to the first point of the decree. As regards the second point, the C.N.T. summoned the young recruits to a large demonstration and advised them to join the militia. "People's Militia, yes! Soldiers in barracks and with uniforms—No!" printed the "Solidaridad Obrero" in huge letters over the declaration of the Regional Committee of the C.N.T.

NON-INTERVENTION

LEADERS BLACKLEG

Peace and Security.

In "The London Times" we read that there are at present at Croydon six aeroplanes which are reported to have been bought in London on behalf of the Spanish Government before the embargo came into effect. The delivery has been formally prohibited by the British Government.

On the other hand, we read in the French Press of the regular deliveries by Germany, Italy, and Poland, and other countries to the Spanish insurgents. In Poland, at the port of Westerplatte, war material was loaded on the English steamer Santa Maria, the German steamer Kamerun, and the Polish steamer Lwow. The cargo consisted of heavy machine-guns, bomb-lancers, armoured cars, aeroplanes, and a large quantity of munitions. The steamers were routed for Morocco and the munitions destined for the insurgents.

The 26th of August the German boats Dora Ahrens and Viborg, the

English boat Majorea, and the Polish boat Hell loaded cases containing munitions and dismantled tanks. The cargo was loaded by Polish soldiers. The official destination of same was Rotterdam, but there is no doubt that the cargo's real destination was for the Fascist insurgents.

In Italy the steamship Principessa Marfaldia left the port of La Spezia loaded with munitions for the insurgents, also from Genoa a tank steamer charged with Benzol for the rebels. Two ships left Naples with a number of aeroplanes for the apparent destination of Seville.

At Tetuan five German aeroplanes have just arrived. The war buildings of the rebels are supplied with coal by German warships.

At Tangier, the rebel General Franco has been able to make an excellent base for supplies at this international territory. Through his friendly relations with the Italian Ambassador, the Italian warships have been able to disembark a large number of machine-guns and grenades in the Moroccan bay of Al Aucemas, and the same night this material was transported by military trucks to Ceuta. On the 26th of August 20,000 litres of petrol were delivered from Tangier to Spanish Morocco.

Thanks to these foreign supports, the insurgents are enabled to continue their criminal action against the Spanish populace.

At Plymouth, at the Trade Union's Congress, Sir Walter Citrine declares: "We must take into consideration the practical aspects of the problem and determine which is the best way of helping our Spanish comrades in their struggle for liberty and democracy. The French Government has arrived at the conclusion that if they were to supply the Spanish Government with the arms it needs, a war would probably break out in Europe. We knew that Hitler and Mussolini have been supplying the rebels. That is why the French project of non-intervention has been supported by the British Govern-

ment. It was necessary in order to prevent war.

"I know perfectly well that resolutions and words have no effect on Hitler and Mussolini. The only efficient remedy would be to blockade the coasts of the Spanish peninsula. This might have involved naval and military operations. Was it possible for us to engage the British Socialist movement in such an adventure? We could not do it; there was only non-intervention; any other attitude would have been too dangerous."

Following this declaration, we regret to note that the proposal of supplying the Spanish Government with arms was not voted by the Trade Union's Congress. It is hardly possible for us in Spain to make any comment. Only a few simple questions present themselves. If England, and it seems also France, fear the engendering of war by supplying the legitimate Government of Spain, what of Germany, Italy and Portugal? What is the imponderable factor which permits these Fascist nations to continue in the violations of the non-intervention pact without even the thought of the fear of engendering war?

Is it possible that the mighty British Empire and our powerful socialistic neighbour France can be so pusillanimous, or is it possible that their material resources are so low that they dare not at least back up their convictions and do as much as the Fascist Powers are doing for the insurgents? We refuse to believe any such hypothesis. There remains only one other explanation — namely, the powerful opposition to the will of the Trade Unions and Labour Party of England, as well as to the Socialist Government of France, by the combined interests of the military heads and magnates of finance.

But, even to the military strategists of England and France and to the imperial capitalists of both countries, a Fascist victory in Spain would be nothing short of disaster.



A REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE.

The crisis through which our Spanish comrades are passing demands that we in this country review our position. In Spain the revolutionary struggle has acted as a cleansing fire, destroying apathy, meanness, and the artificial ideological barriers between workers of different unions and parties, and welding them into a compact unified mass fighting shoulder to shoulder against the Moors, Legionaires and Fascists.

It is time that in this country all personal and party pettiness was abandoned and a real united front shown to the common enemy—international capitalism and fascism.

It is true that complete unity will only come at a moment of internal crisis, but the daily murder of our comrades in Spain is surely crisis enough to necessitate at least an alliance between revolutionary socialist organisations, on the basis of autonomy for each participating body.

"THE FIGHTING CALL."

"The Fighting Call" is a concrete example of the efficacy of such an alliance. It is the joint production of the Freedom Group, London, and the A.P.C.F., Glasgow, and will be followed up by similar combined efforts. The Freedom group, especially on the Spanish question, is prepared to extend this principle to kindred organisations, while the A.P.C.F. is, in Glasgow offering to enter a revolutionary alliance with similar propaganda bodies. The Freedom group, founded 50 years ago by Kropotkin, has held out the hand of comradeship to the A.P.C.F.

and this joint paper is the result of the confederacy.

SUPPORT THE SPANISH WORKERS!

The counter-revolutionaries in Spain are still being plentifully supplied with the weapons of murder, while a virtual blockade of the loyalist forces exists. The immediate need is, by means of widespread publicity, to force the raising of this embargo, so that the Spanish people can destroy the mercenaries of the fascists.

In addition, the sending of a few expert instructors may be asked for by our comrades in Spain. To cope with this it is necessary to hold an intensive campaign to raise funds to be spent in any way our Spanish comrades request.

They are giving their lives, let us give to the utmost of our ability.

The need is urgent! Let us agitate, propagate, and in addition give all we can to this fund. For Spain's need, let us each give according to our ability.

THE ISSUE

Rudolph Rocker's Message to the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

Brothers:

The whole liberal minded world is looking on with fervent interest at your heroic fight against the Fascist danger and the military clerical reaction. The events taking place in your country are not important for Spain alone. Your struggles are going far beyond the frontiers of Spain, and find an echo in all countries of the world.

A new bloodthirsty tyranny is to-day overshadowing Europe. It threatens to destroy all liberal conquests of the last centuries and leads back to the obscurity of barbarous times. Fascism, supported by the powers of international reaction, has lifted its ugly head in Spain to establish its power in

another land. That is why the fate of Spain is the fate of all Europe. Since if German Fascism was able to subdue millions of organised workers without finding any resistance, it believed to be able to repeat this also in Spain.

But your heroic struggle has shown the world that in your country the traditions of the old International of Bakunin and Pi y Margall are still alive and that a working people will not submit, will not give up its freedom to a horde of hangmen and cowardly bandits.

The attempt to establish Fascism in Spain has shown clearly to the world how Fascism has to be fought.

Just as the leaders of Italian and German Fascism, the leaders of the Spanish Fascism have told foreign representatives that only their love of the Spanish people and patria have induced them to take up arms against the danger of Marxism and Communism.

General Mola said in an interview to an American journalist that the present struggle in Spain is very much like the struggle against Napoleon. This comparison shows the spiritual poverty of Spanish Fascism.

In the national war against Napoleon, the Spanish nation took up arms against the French conqueror.

In the present civil war a horde of military bandits uses Moroccan soldiers, brought to Spain to vanquish, with their help, the Spanish people in its own blood.

Fascism has turned nationalism into a political religion. The Spanish insurgents have declared civil war on the people, employing mercenary troops. It is proved that the insurrection of the Spanish generals against the republic had been in preparation a long time, with the moral and financial help of foreign powers. Spanish officers visited Berlin and Rome before the insurrection. The "Nazi" documents, seized by our anarchist comrades in Barcelona, contain the best proof of how Hitler worked in Spain to assist

the reactionaries of the country.

It is not for the first time that Spanish reactionaries have sought foreign aid to break the resistance of the people. In 1825 they demanded the assistance of the "Holy Alliance," which sent a French army of 60,000 men, entering Spain under the command of the Duke of Angulema, to free Ferdinand VIII. of his revolutionary enemies. This war resulted in the subjection of Spain; the best men were killed with vile brutality. Inquisition returned to the country. In 1874, English and German ships, supported the Spanish reaction, giving General Pavia a chance to destroy the first Spanish republic. To-day the Fascism of other countries, the Foreign Legion, and the Moors are supposed to destroy Spain, and—according to the wish of General Franco—kill half of its population in order to establish a dictatorship.

The heroic resistance of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have saved Barcelona and Catalonia from the bloodthirsty militarists. If Goded had succeeded in Barcelona, the whole of Spain would have been open to Fascist military terror. What the Spanish people and the Spanish proletariat could have expected from these bandits in case of their triumph can be seen in the example of Badajoz.

The criminal bandits of Fascism will give no quarter. The Spanish people must fight for life or death.

Europe's immediate future is at stake. A victory of Fascism in Spain would be the grave of liberty and social justice.

Comrades of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., men and women of all social movements, the eyes of the world are set on you to-day. Be brave in your struggle against Fascism. Create a new social order in your country and protect it against every and any danger of a new reaction.

Down with dictatorship!
Long live social justice
Long live liberal communism!

WORKER'S CONTROL

From Anti-Fascist Committee,
C.N.T., F.A.I., A.I.T. Daily.
Barcelona, 1st September.

There are problems the solution of which the Revolution can postpone. But not so the problem of food supply. Immediately following action on the barricades, it is necessary to arrange for the provisioning of combatants and the whole population. Our comrades of the revolutionary alliance in agreement with the Generalidad of Catalonia, immediately undertook this task. To-day the "Comité de Abastos" (Committee of Supplies) is installed at the entrance to the Via Layetana. A continuous coming and going of cars, of lorries loaded with victuals, bread, meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, cereals, or with clothing: shirts, waistcoats, the blue and khaki militia overalls called granatas, informs the passer-by that here a necessary work of the revolution is being accomplished.

On the first floor behind glazed partitions and wickets carefully distinguished by clear placards, workers are busy attending to the enormous public in need of permits—tickets of all sorts to obtain food and other necessary supplies. The responsible comrades of the Committee of Supplies furnish us with the following details of the functioning of the Committee.

ORGANISATION OF THE COMMITTEE.

How and when was the Committee of Supplies organised? At the earliest moment the Syndicat de Alimentation (C.N.T.) and the Municipality took charge of the question of victualling.

On 22nd July a service of canteens was created. Then on the 24th, the Regional Committee of the Catalan militia organised the "Committee of Supplies" with three delegates of the C.N.T., three of U.G.T., two of the F.A.I., two of the Esquerra (Catalonian

Left Republicans), one from the Union de Rabassaires (small tenant peasantry), one from the P.O.U.M., and one of the Municipality. The Committee set boldly to work. It opened shops. It assured the service of the hospitals, the Barcelona militia, the militia at the front, assistance to the old people. In the school canteens, unoccupied at this season of the year, it installed provisional canteens (which to-day, the resumption of normal life assisting, are in course of being done away with). The Committee gave orders to avoid individual acts of requisition. It exerted itself to co-ordinate all the work of provisioning. And to that end it drew up complete statistics of merchandise in the warehouses, enquiring particularly into its source of origin.

The Committee controls internal trade. It obliges the retailers to give the particulars of their orders and also of previous orders in order to avoid profiteering. The municipal police of Barcelona has given strict instructions to suppress all attempts at speculation. Fines have been imposed, shops closed, permissions for sale withdrawn.

In accord with the Generalidad we intervened from the first in the marketing of cereals. The Generalidad itself controls external trade.

What are your relations with the Co-operatives? We have protected and encouraged already existing co-operative organisations. In addition we have founded new co-operatives, a co-operative for the manufacture of condensed milk and one for food pastes, amongst others which have profited by machinery at a standstill.

Have not other Committees been set up to lighten the burden which falls on the Committee of Supplies? Certainly. On 13th August a Committee of Information was formed for clothing and equipment and at the same date one of information for food supply. The representatives of the co-operative societies and of the trade syndical organisations respectively concerned,

compose these committees. Without this help, we should not have been able to cope with the task. For to all that which is enumerated above we must add as one of our heaviest duties, the care of providing the militia with their equipment, knapsacks, camping and individual utensils, leather belts, straps, etc. Co-operatives are working for us, but besides this the whole industrial organisation is at our disposal.

BOOKKEEPING OF THE COMMITTEE.

Another comrade gives us information on the accountancy of the Committee.

How do you do your bookkeeping? Exactly like a great house of commerce. We keep a register simultaneously of orders from shopkeepers, militia committees and syndical and political organisations. We have a register likewise of invoices and we carry them over to the current accounts of the traders. For payments to be made, for sums to be received, we proceed in agreement, as the case may be, with the Municipality of Barcelona, the Generalidad of Catalonia, or the other municipalities. For instance we have payments to make for Barcelona, we give notice to the municipality which gives us the requisite sum. Vice versa receipts are paid into the municipality. Examine for yourself our account books. Each municipality, each militia committee has its own.

Can one get any idea as to the quantities of victuals and clothing that the Committee has already distributed? That is only possible with regard to supplies sent to the front. Here is a detailed note up to 28th August. You see we have sent out 53,604 pairs of canvas shoes, 31,061 overalls, 36,424 shirts and 14,758 vests.

What expenditure is met by the Generalidad of Catalonia? Only war expenditure.

Exactly how do you proceed when load of victuals arrives? We buy what we require and for the rest we direct

the seller to the wholesalers of the town.

Does the Committee of Supplies concern itself with Catalonia exclusively? No! Besides Catalonia it is concerned with Aragon, the provinces of Valencia, Murcia, Alicante, Jaen, the Balearic Islands.

How many workers has the Committee? About 500. But I cannot supply more exact figures, so that only 500 people have accomplished this considerable task of which one sees the results in the restaurants and food shops where there is absolutely no lack of anything; in the shops which are supplying the needs of the people. It is magnificent, comrade.

Yes! We have worked well. Perhaps we have not done all we would have wished but we have the satisfaction of knowing we have done all we could do.

To-day the army in Spain is replaced by the militia of the revolution, by the producers who are conquering, with arms in their hands, their liberty and the recognition of their right to live In order to fight they have no need to submit themselves to a formal discipline nor to a passive obedience imposed by arrogant chiefs in gold braid. It is enough for them to be inspired by the belief in justice and by the certainty of victory over the obscure forces which endeavour to bar their way towards their emancipation.

Inspired by this faith and strong in this certainty the militia fight freely at the front, only obeying useful and necessary orders given fraternally, which come to them from their comrades who are more competent and experienced in military technique. It is by their devotion to the revolution and not by their rank that our comrades commend themselves to the confidence of the columns of fighters whose direction they have taken on themselves.

L'Espagne Anti-Fasciste.

30th August:

INTERNATIONAL FASCISM

The Problem of Portugal.

About a week ago news reached us of the proposal by the English Government to create an International Committee for the purpose of investigating the conduct of Portugal, in relation to the Spanish insurrection. To our knowledge this proposal has not yet been realised, and we wonder the reason for the delay.

There is no question that of the nations which have given direct or indirect material support to the rebels none have distinguished themselves as much as Portugal. Their military caste have fraternised from the beginning with the bandit generals of Spain, almost to the point of identification in the military conspiracy against the Spanish republic.

To-day Portugal is a regular beehive of Fascist conspiracy against Spain. The Press, Radio, clubs, money, material help of all kinds are destined exclusively for the Spanish Fascists. The first meeting of the so-called "National Junta," now constituted in Burgos, was originally formed by Sanjurjo, Calvo Sotelo, Gil Robles and Franco on Portuguese soil. It is there that the monstrous crime of the Fascist war was engendered.

All this shamelessness without the slightest disguise has awakened the attention even of England, which as political tutor of Portugal has been obliged to give it several heedings and warnings. But not even the friendly voice of England is listened to, and England has had to decide the constitution of an International Committee to investigate the conduct of the Portuguese.

The committee formed by signatories of the neutrality pact for its control and proper execution, Portugal has not yet adhered to. The reason is simple and evident, even to the common observer. Italy and Germany have no

objection to this International Committee of Control so long as they can continue to deliver the most effective elements of modern warfare to Portugal. Italy and Germany are thus juridically free of any violation of the neutrality pact. The arms, once in Portugal, obtain easy access to the bandit generals, and, in this way, France and England endeavour to maintain peace in Europe. The thing is so preposterous that we can hardly believe the facts. When will all this vile diplomacy and reptile strategies of the nations of Europe cease?

We are glad to learn that the people of Portugal themselves have taken a hand, and we hope that the Revolution already begun by elements of the Portuguese Navy will not be long in throwing over their base dictators and with it end the scourge of the Fascist oppression in our peninsula. In the meantime we dare hope that England will bring its direct influence to bear on the Portuguese conspirators to end their shameless open intervention in support of the insurgent generals of Spain.

German Neutrality in Spain.

In the governmental spheres of France, England and other democratic countries, the slogan of neutrality has been launched in everything related to the civil war in Spain.

As soon as the French Government approved the thesis of neutrality, all sales of armaments to Spain were immediately prohibited. In this way, the only neighbouring country which could supply us quickly with arms has shut its doors and through neutrality deprives us of our best possibility of acquiring the material we need to fight the Fascists.

In the meantime the Fascist nations, Germany and Italy, continue to supply war material to the rebels. The aeroplanes which bombarded our hospital ship off the coast of Palma were Italian, the planes landed in Cadiz are German, and the enemy planes flying over the Aragon front are recent

arrivals from abroad.

On the 26th of August, the Hitler Government issued a note to the Press declaring its adhesion to the thesis of neutrality, and decreed as well the confiscation of all war material destined for Spain. After four weeks of supplying large quantities of arms to the rebels, Hitler comes out for non-intervention in the interior affairs of Spain. We do not believe in the sincerity of the Hitler note, because we know the reason for his declaration. We know it and Hitler knows it. Here is a bit of evidence for our opinion.

When foreign ships arrived in Barcelona to evacuate their subjects, we were informed and noticed ourselves that not only foreigners but Spaniards as well were taken on board. The anti-Fascist militia did not interfere much, in the desire to avoid any molestation of foreigners, but in one case a control group of the C.N.T. halted a suspicious looking subject, and upon identification proved to be one Joseph Wirtz, a German subject and agent of the German Consular Service in Spain. He had two sauf conduits issued by the German Consulate, stating that Wirtz is under its orders for urgent service, especially with reference to the housing of German subjects arriving from other towns, and for their passage arrangements on outgoing steamers. We possess photo-statics of these documents for our records, to demonstrate that the German subject Wirtz is an official and responsible agent of and under the direct protection of the German Consulate.

Having tried to escape when halted, Wirtz was searched, and as a result disclosed two original lists and a type-written copy of the passengers embarked on a German ship the 18th of August, a postcard written by the Italian Vice-Consul, and a number of letters addressed to Spaniards already safe and content aboard the German ship. Further documents of very compromising nature and well known to the German Consulate were also in

the possession of Wirtz. We believe that Hitler, when informed of these documents found on Wirtz, and now in our hands, must have discovered the only way out of the compromising situation, in the convenient formula of **non-intervention** in the interior affairs of Spain. It is all so simple: upon definite proof of intervention he declares that he will not intervene. Further explanations are thus made quite unnecessary.

A partial list of the Spanish passengers embarked as German citizens was published in our Press, and foreign correspondents visiting our offices took copies along with them. Fully 90 per cent. of these disguised German citizens were prominent Fascists. The Bishop of Vich, priests, bankers, nobility, and others who had accounts to square with justice. Some left on a "special permit," the nature of which is known only to the German Consulate and to ourselves.

We will cite one letter, found on Wirtz, addressed to Frau Traute Lippmann, Martin Lutherstrasse 43, Berlin:—"In the last minute and thanks to special connections, I have been able to leave with the last group of refugees. But this is not all: the most important is that I have been able to leave on a German passport, because as a Spanish subject I had no right to leave the country."

In the face of this, can the Germans still allege they have been concerned only with the protection of their own subjects, and not intervened in Spanish internal affairs? Wirtz himself freely admitted, before witnesses, having embarked Spaniards, after furnishing them with all necessary documents.

The Italian Consulate is also not foreign to the job of saving Spanish Fascists. Only much cleverer than the Germans, for instead of saving prominent Fascists, he declares himself concerned with the protection of "nuns." Here is a letter addressed by Mauricio de Srobel di Campocigno, Vice-Consul of His Majesty the King of Italy, to

Wirtz, agent of the German Consulate: "We would be greatly thankful to you if you could help Mr. Pascual in an important matter. For the last few weeks, Mr. Pascual has been aiding us in the Christian work of saving the nuns.—With our heartiest appreciation, and friendly greetings. (Signed) Mauricio de Srobel di Campocigno, Vice-Consul of Italy in Barcelona."

This short letter, which is now in our possession, demonstrates sufficiently the Italian collaboration with the Germans and their intervention in the interior affairs of our land.

The reactionaries of Spain and abroad talk of the cruelties of the militia. In evidence of same, we wish to declare that Wirtz has neither been shot nor beaten, but under Government orders has been set entirely free in the city, and advised simply to clear out of Spain and not meddle further in our internal affairs. After this, can reactionaries still say that we do not respect the lives of foreigners?

And to friendly nations: Will they still observe neutrality while our barbarous foes continue to receive aid from Fascist lands in their criminal war against the free Spanish people? Are we to believe that democratic lands refuse to see the grave danger to their own safety under the universal menace of ruthless imperial Fascism? We appreciate the constant adhesions of sympathy from free people all over the world. But we must have also their active support. Our will is firm; our strength is the strength of a free born people, who after centuries of oppression have with a mighty effort thrown off our chains. We will fight to the last man for a new life, a life of dignity and freedom. Our victory is certain, even at the cost of supreme sacrifices. We appeal to all the free people of the world to lessen our sacrifices by giving us all the material help they are well able to, in our supreme common cause against the sadists of the life blood of the people.

The C.N.T. and F.A.I. and the Internationalism of the Worker.

What are the reasons for the interest the different circles in Europe show in the present events in Spain? It is easy to understand the interest of the great masses of workers. The internationalism of the worker is not dead for those whose interests are so closely connected with the great world-struggle towards the realisation of a new free society; of a society free from suppression and exploitation; for those there exist no frontiers. In France the workers are keenly searching the Press for news of the Spanish Revolution. The oppressed masses in Germany and Italy are anxious to obtain news of the real situation in Spain.

All workers of the world sympathise with the anti-Fascist Spain. A great number of foreigners have come to Spain to enlist in the ranks of the militia. The workers of other countries are lending their moral and financial support to the Spanish proletariat. The workers of the world know that the victory of the Iberian proletariat is their own victory.

But the interest the capitalistic nations show in Spain have other reasons, other aims. . . . The events in Spain, even though they interest us most passionately, must not let us forget that we are on the eve of a new international conflict, having become unavoidable through the development of imperialism throughout the whole world. The greedy desire for power of capitalism is the gravest danger of the moment.

Two blocks have crystallised out of this conflict of interests, two systems, ready to fight each other for a new distribution of the world, a new distribution of colonial wealth which would be as vile as the present. For this war of imperialism is already prepared; war material, military organisation, technical perfection in armaments and knowledge of the enemy positions.

To-day we are in the phase of the last preparations. Everybody looks for

alliances, everybody tries to surpass the progress of his future enemies.

Spain has been for some time, and not without reason, object of international attention. Should the future conflict break out in the Mediterranean the Iberian peninsula would be of great strategical importance: as a base for air forces and for the Navy. For the control of North Africa, the entrance of Spain in one or the other of those coalitions would be of immense advantage. It is for this reason that the imperialistic France, under the pretext of humanitarian interests and pretending defence of the Spanish proletariat, shows sympathy to the Madrid government. It is for the same reason that Italy and Germany support the Fascists in Burgos.

There is no doubt as to the defeat of the Generals and no chance of Spain's falling under the control of Italy or Germany. But the danger rests of Spain being put at the service of other capitalistic Powers, grouped around France and Russia. The Spanish advocates of this alliance, the Communist party, Caballero, and his affiliations have already expressed themselves to this effect. France looks at Spain only as a battlefield of the Fascist and democratic capitalistic Powers. The question to-day is: Will the Spanish workers direct their heroic struggle in their own or in the interest of foreign imperialistic powers?

A demagogic propaganda is intended to win the fighting Spanish proletariat for imperialistic interests. In all honesty, we must admit that the war-psychosis has been thoroughly prepared in order that the anti-militaristic propaganda in France should meet with great difficulties, as is demonstrated by the nationalistic tendency of the French Communists. The Spanish Marxists seem ready to follow the same example. This situation creates an immense responsibility for the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. An independent proletarian revolutionary position has to oppose the one or the other imperialistic thesis. The

~~front of the proletarian Revolution must oppose all capitalistic combinations who combat either with economical forces or with effective modern armament.~~ There are several factors which will make the realisation of our international end easier: the absolute anti-war attitude of the Spanish worker and the fact that hatred against other nations does not exist in Spain.

The National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) are the organisations which represent to-day proletarian internationalism and fight all imperialistic interests without distinction. Above all nations in latent conflict between each other, above all the nations involved in treacherous intrigues prepared by so-called leaders sold out to imperialistic interests, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. represent to-day the revolutionary proletariat conscious and confident of its own strength; and will fight for its own cause and for the true internationalism of the worker.

Workers of the World: Workers of Europe: Don't trust those internationalists who are paid by imperialistic groups and have long given up the idea of proletarian social revolution. Look at Spain: Look at Spanish Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. They march forward on the road of social revolutionary internationalism, which must become the road of all the workers of Europe. To avoid a terrible slaughter of European workers: Proletariat of all the countries: Unite. The enemy is in your own land. Fight as the Spanish workers fight, under the slogan of direct action, against militarism and Fascism, against every exploitation and oppression in all countries.

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Published in Confederacy by The Freedom Group, 106 Conningham Road, London, W.12, and The Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, Glasgow, and printed by Voluntary Labour at 31 Rosehall Street, Glasgow.