

All  
Social  
Adminis-  
tration  
To The  
Com-  
munes

# The Fighting-call



All  
Social  
Economy  
To The  
Workers

INCORPORATING "FREEDOM" AND "ADVANCE"

VOL. I. No.4.

1ST FEBRUARY, 1937

ONE PENNY

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

### "They Shall Not Pass!"

They shall not pass! - E'en should they win the day,  
Their vict'ry turns to dust and ashes still;  
What tho' the tyrants should our bodies slay,  
The spirit free lives on and 'scapes their will.

It shall not be! Let them do what they may,

They shall not pass!

They shall not pass! - E'en should they win the day,  
When all have given their lives for liberty,  
Tyrants will know the price they have to pay  
T'enslave a people fighting to be free.

It shall not be! Let them do what they may,

They shall not pass!

They shall not pass! - E'en should they win the day,  
When men as yet unborn shall read the story,  
They'll judge 'twixt those who stood in Freedom's way,  
And us who died for her; whose is the glory.

It shall not be! - Let them do what they may,

They shall not pass!

What tho' with hireling hordes they burn and slay,  
And stone built fortresses before them fall,  
There's something stronger yet shall bar the way,  
Our firm resolve that still defies them all.

Therefore we cry, "Let them do what they may,

They shall not pass!"

—From the Catalan of Apelles Mastres.

**AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.  
ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS.  
LONG LIVE THE SPANISH REVOLUTIONS.**

### UNITED WORKERS OF THE WORLD

From the commencement of the barbarous uprising of the fascist hordes against the people of Spain the so-called democratic governments of the world have put into execution all the miserable resources of "diplomacy" to cover up their real position.

The socialist government of Leon Blum was the first to hold up its hands in abject fear of the Hitler bogey. "Ah, non, c'est la guerre . . ." it cried with quivering lips. And not only did they launch the iniquitous "non-intervention" pact in undisguised collaboration with the imperialist designs of Mussolini and Hitler in Spanish territory, but they permitted as well the most infamous and insidious slander of the heroic Spanish people by the truculent capitalist press, notably *Le Matin* and *Gringoire*.

Great Britain, in consideration of her vital interests as represented by the huge investments of the "city" in German and Italian loans, as well as by the substantial capital in fascist territory in Spain, was more consistent in her overt sympathy for the fascists.

—The United States of America, the great champion of freedom and democracy, apart from sensational headlines in the yellow press, has been silent. This may seem strange, but the Spanish civil war is no longer a "story" to the American public. Unfortunately for them, the American press correspondents are unable to report thousands of massacres and the destruction of entire cities for the gratification of their readers.

But there is one country to which we are deeply and especially grateful. Asking for nothing in return, for no compensation of any kind, but inspired by the desire to help their Spanish brothers, **Mexico, from**



the very first, has given ample evidence of her complete solidarity with the Spanish proletarian cause.

And just as Mexico gave freely, even that of which she had need herself, so also have the workers and the true idealists of the world, in ever-increasing numbers, given their very lives in support of the Spanish Revolution. The emigrants of Italy and Germany came first. They came, with indescribable enthusiasm, to fight the scavengers who had driven them from their own homes. Then came the French, Belgian, Polish, Czech and English comrades—all who could—the true revolutionists of the world, eager and ready to give their lives so that the workers' cause might triumph over greed, cruelty and avarice. They came to play their part in a war to the death with fascism. Veterans of the world war who had vowed never to take up arms again, and who knew better than anyone else the horrors and terrors of modern warfare, did not hesitate to shoulder rifles once more. But the inspiration which moved them was a determination to crush once and for all the infernal war machine directed against the people of Spain.

On every war front in Spain the international groups have written glorious pages of history. Their courage and their discipline have been the admiration and the emulation of their Spanish comrades. And to the enemy they have been an exasperation and a cause for consternation.

On November 7th, the fascist press of Spain and the press and radio of Germany and Italy announced in big headlines the triumphant entry into Madrid of the traitor Franco, and his mercenary army. The church-bells went mad, thousands of masses were celebrated, and tens of thousands of bottles of champagne were drunk in thanks to the deity who protects the cause of international capitalism.

But the deity refused to be compromised and lo and behold! the barbarous hordes were driven back from the gates of Madrid. And now, nearly two months later, the defenders of the holy faith, of Allah and Christ, voice their fury with reference to the international elements. According to an official dispatch from Burgos, it is the men of the F.A.I. and the international columns that are responsible for the frustration of the fascists.

We do not wish this to be a panegyric. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. do not ask for applause of the heroic actions of their own militants and they give no praise to their equally valiant comrades on the firing line.

The aim of our common struggle is the triumph of freedom's cause. And to hasten our victory and to make way for the triumph of the workers of all the world, we cry out again and again for solidarity.

#### FASCIST "CIVILIZATION."

Some idea of the extent of the horrible destruction of human life by Franco's foreign mercenaries can be obtained from the statistics just published by the Mayor of Madrid. It is estimated that up to the present time the number of victims caused by aerial and machine-gun bombardment on Madrid is 2,092, of which 389 were killed and 1,703 wounded. These figures cannot do more than indicate the real horror suffered by the heroic people of Madrid. Amongst the wounded there are, of course, a large number who have since died, and the figure given does not include the victims of the criminal bombardment of school children. Neither does it include those who have lost their lives in assisting the victims.

The worst destruction was caused by the two bombardments of October 30th and November 4th. On the first occasion there were 57 people killed and 255 wounded; eight of these very seriously. These statistics are provided by the hospitals to which the victims were taken and therefore cannot include people who have suffered minor injuries.

**It has been, of course, the houses of the workers which have suffered most from the brutal attacks of the fascists.**

It is stated that several classes of bombs have been used; bombs of one and two hundred kilograms, and on one occasion even of five hundred kilos; incendiary bombs and bombs loaded with small shot. It is not very difficult to imagine the destruction caused by these fearful carriers of death. The effect of a five hundred kg. bomb on a small worker's house is easy to picture. Eye witnesses say that the large massively built houses suffer comparatively little damage, but the smaller buildings are razed to the ground.

And Franco is not content with destroying lives and homes. From Andujar in Andalusia, that land of peaceful olive groves, come reports that as the workers who would gather the olives have fled from the terror of fascist rule and have been murdered, the rebel hordes are burning the olivars. And olive trees take many years to come to full maturity. A man would plant an olivar so that his grandchildren would gather the fruits. This is the "civilization" of international fascism. **The throwing away of years of patient labour: the wanton destruction of the true riches of a beautiful country.**

#### SPAIN UNDER FASCIST TERROR.

From time to time reports are received from people who have lived in the parts of Spain occupied by the fascists; each one is another proof of the awful terror we are fighting to overcome.

From Casablanca comes news of the arrival of a fishing boat, the "Manoliko" with its crew of fourteen. They have fled from Huelva and give a graphic description of life now in this beautiful old Andalusian city—a life of continued terror, outrages and of crime.

The reign of terror in Andalusia, they say, has been intensified since the landing of contingents of Italians and Germans, who, they say, behave exactly, as if Andalusia were an uncivilized colony. It is useless to apply to the so-called Spanish authorities as they refuse to give redress for the outrages committed daily by the foreign fascists.

An American journalist, Smith Watson, lived for two months in the fascist zone. He declares that the situation has deteriorated considerably. There is lack of supplies to support the large numbers of foreign forces who arrived during November and December, and the **workers in the rearguard have rebelled openly.** He is of the opinion that the rebels cannot resist a long campaign. Soon their demoralization will reach its limits; and proof of the imminence of this is seen in the **almost daily desertions to the government's side.**

EVERY WEDNESDAY AT 8 p.m.

The Libertarian Group meets for discussion at the Trade Union Club, 22 New Oxford Street, London, W.C.1. You are invited.



**MUSSOLINI LAUGHS AT NON-INTERVENTION.**

How long will the democratic press continue to put its faith in the word of fascist dictators? Mussolini is now openly laughing at the Non-Intervention Pact, which has served him so well. In the *Roma Fascista* there appeared a short time ago the following paragraph:—

"The comedy of non-intervention has ended. **As far as we are concerned it has never commenced.** Fascism is lining up anew. Struggle and vanquish. Franco is the chief of the revolution and **we are ideally, spiritually and materially with him,** with arms in hand in the fighting lines together with him, with his legionaries. We are fighting and conquering in Spain as we have fought and conquered on all the fronts to which the Duce has sent us. There must be no illusion! No compromise is possible now!"

This then is the attitude of the man with whom Great Britain has just concluded another agreement. Does she hope he will keep his word, or doesn't she care? This is the man whom the democratic powers hope to persuade to withdraw his support from Franco. Is it possible that they can be deceived into thinking that he will keep his word now, when he has never kept it in the past?

In the very moment of signing the "gentlemen's agreement" with England, Mussolini's troops were landing on the Spanish soil which he was promising to respect.

And now delays once again. While Britain considers at her leisure the replies from Germany and Italy to her note, while Anthony Eden and his fellow ministers "examine projects of control of the Spanish coast," Junker planes are dropping bombs on the people of Madrid, international fascism is mustering all its forces in a last desperate attempt to break down the superhuman resistance of our militia and the brave fighters of the International Brigade.

**Workers, you have the fate of your comrades in Spain in your hands. Do not fail them.**

**THE C.N.T. IN MADRID.**

Since the commencement of the fascist insurrection, the C.N.T. have made every sacrifice—moral and material—in order to establish unity between the workers. But in spite of our public appeals, through the press and at the meetings of our most trustworthy militants, the political sections turned a deaf ear to our insistent call for unity and have exposed Madrid, on various occasions, to grave danger. In the bitter struggle at the door of Madrid, the unity of the workers of the U.G.T. and C.N.T. was sealed through the common desire to triumph over the enemy.

Despite this, the manœuvres against the revolutionary spirit of the C.N.T. continue. At this moment, when fascism is attacking desperately the proletariat, defending the Spanish capital, this strange conduct in high political spheres continues. It would seem that they do not look with favour on the idea that the workers united can be the bearers of the regenerating ideas that are to redeem Spain. They are afraid of the solidarity of the proletariat which displaces the political theories of: "In division there is strength."

But at Madrid, viewing the panorama of destruction by the enemies of the Spanish capital, the anti-fascist militia are demonstrating to the world that the Spanish people will triumph over fascism.

**FRENCH DELEGATION'S REPORT**

Before leaving Spain, the French Workers' Delegation, composed of comrades of the C.G.T.S.R. and the C.G.T. thanked the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the Regional Committee of Catalonia, and the Local Federation of Barcelona, for the fraternal reception accorded them while in Spain, and in doing so made the following statement:—

"We have seen all that we wished to see; we have visited freely all the workshops; we have spoken to the workers and have received from them, and from their responsible committees, true and interesting information.

"Even though it is proved that not yet everywhere is the realisation complete, nevertheless one gets the firm impression that the same good will inspires the workers in all parts of Spain. They are determined to find adequate solutions to the vast problems brought about by the social transformation, to make the revolution complete, to unify the basic efforts and to construct a new society of equality and fraternity. **They are determined to establish Libertarian Communism as it operates in the villages of Aragon; to collectivise all industries as in Catalonia and Levante, and to exercise syndical control of the production of the capitalist enterprises,** most of which are foreign property.

"The same good will exists among the workers in the factories, workshops, and among the peasantry. And their common aim is to triumph economically as well as militarily.

"We are convinced that the Spanish proletariat will succeed in achieving its double aim. The results already obtained during five months of fierce struggle guarantee this.

"The French Delegation will give the truth, the whole truth about revolutionary Spain, and will inform the people of France regarding the activities in Spain, and **will do all in our power to remove the criminal blockade imposed on revolutionary Spain.**

"The French Delegation will do its duty. By all its means, by writers, by the spoken word. The Spanish workers and their organisations can rest assured of that.

"Again we want to assure the C.N.T., the F.A.I., the Regional Committee of Catalonia, the Local Federation of Barcelona, and all those who assisted and supported us in our task, of our absolute solidarity.

"We are sure that we speak in the name of the French workers when we say that they will help their Spanish brothers to smash fascism and to establish a free society, free from exploitation, a society in which comfort and liberty will truly be for all.

"Long live the C.N.T.-F.A.I.!"

"Long live the Spanish Revolution!"

"Long live the International Revolution!"

**JUST SO! NATIONALIZATION MEANS CONTINUED EXPLOITATION**

Mr. C. R. Attlee, leader of the Labour Party, in a speech at a luncheon of the British Railway Stockholders' Union:—

"We should like to make your securities more secure. We should like to turn you into holders of shares in the community rather than the railway companies—and that is what we intend to do.

"I think you will find that a Labour Government will give you proper compensation."



### STUDENTS FIGHT FASCISM.

Until the 19th of July the National Federation of Catalan Students was a markedly reactionary body. But when the Catalan people rose against the attempted military **coup** and freed themselves, it was impossible for the students to stand by and look on. They realised that if Franco were allowed to conquer Spain, **it would mean the end of their intellectual liberty.** It would mean that their studies would be dictated by some ignorant military chief, that **there would be no freedom of speech** and that they would be forced to bow the knee to the fanatical demi-god of national fascism. The knew that that must not be.

The young President of the Federation, José Roca, on July 23rd took action and put the Federation at the disposal of the Generality, calling upon all members to collaborate with him in the revolutionary work of Catalonia.

An enthusiastic meeting was held on August 5th and the Federation commenced its admirable work in the rearguard. First of all they formed themselves into Brigades which covered every type of useful public service: the technical students made themselves responsible for fortification works, the drawing up of plans, etc.; the medical students established contact with the Ministry of Health; all the women students undertook to make jerseys, stockings, underclothes, etc., in their homes, and so on.

In addition to these Brigades the Federation has organized a factory in the Industrial University, where the students work untiringly making pullovers and other articles of clothing. Nearly two thousand kilograms of wool was obtained by the Committee of the Federation for distribution to student workers in their homes and in the factory.

In Santa Fe del Montsony the students have opened a colony where nearly 75 children evacuated from Madrid are cared for by student nurses and taught by student teachers. The colony has the support of the Ministers of Social Assistance, of Culture, of Supplies, and the municipalities around Santa Fe have given their co-operation.

The young workers for the revolution are also publishing a newspaper called *Nosaltros*. (This is the familiar form of "ourselves" and it is interesting to note that among the anti-fascist fighters the familiar form of speech has almost entirely replaced the old formal mode of address.) Also, in the little vestibule of their offices one finds slogans like the following:—

"No one can be idle. Everyone to the Brigades of the F.E.N.C.I."

"Union of all the youth to win the war."

"All our activity, all our forces to one end: Win the war!"

A hundred students affiliated to the Federation applied for entrance to the Popular School of Instruction in War. Many of them have finished their studies and are ready to go to the front at a moment's notice.

Four medical corps have gone to the front, where, under the fire of the fascists, they attended to the wounded at the risk of their own lives. They are the first to be in the front lines when needed and rush to the assistance of their wounded comrades.

It is impossible to cover in a short article all the work that is being done by the students of Catalonia. In politics, the eleven thousand members of the

Federation have been affiliated to the Bloc Escolar Nacionalista (National Scholars' Organisation) and the Grupos de Estudiantes Marxistas (Marxist Student Groups). They are also united with the young workers of the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers) to help solve the problems of the workers. In regard to cultural work, the Federation is in close collaboration with the Committee of United Schools.

Besides those who actually serve at the front, military service is rendered by the students in the form of constructing fortifications and refuges in case of air raids.

The Federation is undoubtedly a model organization. The work of all its members is voluntary, and they have one single purpose—to conquer fascism. Six students have already lost their lives on the Aragon front, and the death of their comrades will be avenged by these others who work so untiringly and enthusiastically to free their country from fascist terror.

### THE CERRO ROJO PRISONERS

La "Pasionaria," Dolores Ibarruri, Communist member of the Cortes, yesterday visited the prisoners made when the government took Cerro Reja (Madrid Front) and spoke to them as follows:

"Brothers, you have been deceived by a miserable caste which had three fundamental pillars: the Army, the Church, and the wealthy. I know that you were afraid of us because we were represented to you as barbarians and assassins. Do not be afraid! Your lives are as sacred as ours; your well-being is as important as our own. Be tranquil and appreciate the difference between them and us. If the prisoners had been from our side they would have been shot at once by the enemy. On the contrary, you, who arrived full of misery, will soon see yourselves free and changed in spirit. Not only will we respect your lives, but we shall take good care of you."

At this point she was interrupted by the prisoners who broke into cheers for the Republic, for General Miaja and for "La Pasionaria."

"You come to a new life," "La Pasionaria" went on, "Now you can compare the enormous difference which exists between the camp you have left and ours. You are workers and you have been the victim of a military which did not honour its promiss. They tell you that the "Reds" are assassins and you see that that is not the truth. Here, you are the sons of the people and your lives will be respected. We will give you your clothing and food. This is the Republic which they call "Red" and which is in reality nothing more than a truly democratic Republic, firmly supported by all civilised peoples."

The prisoners, for the most part Galicians, gave "La Pasionaria" and her companions an enthusiastic ovation, repeating their cheers for the Republic and the Popular Front.

"In comparison with civilisation, the jungle is safe. America, perhaps because it is the most civilised country, is the most dangerous to live in."

Mr. MARTIN JOHNSON, *Explorer*.





Vol. I. No. 4] FEBRUARY, 1937. [One Penny

Published in confederacy by Freedom Group, 106 Conningham Road, London, W.2., and Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, 31 Rosehall Street, Glasgow, C.4.

### "PERFIDIOUS ALBION"

The callous attitude of the British government towards the life and death struggle of the workers in Spain, is clearly revealed in the recent "Gentleman's Agreement," with the Italian butcher, Mussolini, and, incidentally, the horrible betrayal of the Abyssinians is officially condoned. The remainder of the native troops in that unhappy country can now be exterminated by the Italian murderers, and instead of being called patriots, these unfortunate warriors will be termed traitors or rebels. Their fate is no longer the concern of our alleged civilised "statesmen."

Both immediately before, and since signing this agreement, the Italians have landed scores of thousands of troops at Cadiz, etc. Many thousands of Germans have also been landed on the coast of Spain, and in consequence, Malaga is now threatened with the same murderous bombardment as has destroyed so many valuable lives in Madrid. In fact, a representative British daily has stated that **Malaga with its 400,000 inhabitants is doomed.** This same paper, on Oct. 6, said that in Madrid, all seemed over bar the **shooting.** We trust their present prophesy is equally incorrect. Nevertheless thousands of men, women and children, will inevitably lose their lives in Madrid and at Malaga in the next few weeks, and for this the British Government bears a terrible responsibility.

The alleged labour "constitutionalists" are even more responsible. They have failed from the first to realise the full import of this attempt by international Fascism to strangle all progress in Europe.

The Spanish Government satisfies the legal requirements according to orthodox International legal standards, yet the murderous fascist are encouraged to blockade, bomb and invade. The alleged lovers of "Democracy," not content with refusing to sell coal, oil and the weapons for defence; not content with the No Arms for Spain Bill; and the backstairs discussion of the despicable plan to immobilise the gold of the Spanish Government; the British Government have actually resurrected and illegally applied a defunct Foreign Enlistment Act. The Fascist openly land and arm conscripts, and Britain threatens worker volunteers with imprisonment! Why? All but the politically blind can see that the "Status Quo" clause in the "Gentlemen's Agreement" gives the game away. Hitler

and Mussolini openly declare they will not tolerate any form of Socialism in Spain, and the British government, as openly as it dares, supports them. Hands off Morocco; hands off the Mediterranean, but the Spanish workers must not be allowed to overthrow their feudal and clerical tyrants!

It is understandable that British capitalism should act thus; but what about the British labour movement? Must we wait until Spain has followed Italy and Germany? From the palest pink to the deepest red, we are all involved in this death struggle between Fascism and Progress. Here is something which should unite us, both from the standpoint of idealism and self preservation. The Fascists **act** while the parliamentarians benumb themselves with **talk.** Workers of Britain, organised and unorganised, bestir yourselves before it is too late. If the Government will not listen to the appeal of humanity; if they will not listen to their own slogan of democracy, let them hear the voice of the people, the might of the workers! The threat of a General Strike would make them yield quicker than lobbying in the House of Commons! The workers of Spain are doing their part; let we the workers of Britain do ours!

The Spanish workers require money, food, clothing, arms, and perhaps volunteers; let us do our best to supply all they require.

### CAPTURE OF GERMAN SERGEANT.

From the sector of Los Rosas on the Madrid front comes news of the taking of five prisoners, one of them a sergeant, by the government forces. An armoured car overturned and our soldiers rushed to it and took the men prisoners. They appeared not to be very frightened, and later on seemed even to be grateful to the accident which had freed them from the fascist forces.

The sergeant stated that in the University City sector **the rebels had suffered eight thousand losses.** He added that on the first day of attack their troops were comprised of three lines, the Moors of Tabor de Larraix, Terceros and Civil Guard being in the vanguard. The second line was composed of regular forces, and the third line of falangists and Andalusian forces.

After the first day, however, they were driven back by the International Column at Boadilla and were obliged to obtain reinforcements. These consisted of German troops from Saville. As we know, these also have suffered tremendous losses.

### MEXICAN PEOPLE WANT TO HELP SPAIN.

The Mexican Aid Committee for Spanish Anti-fascism has published a manifesto asking for the aid of the Mexican government in favour of the legal government of Spain. It says:—

"At this time, when the menace of German militarism and Spanish fascism hangs over Spain it is essential that all the free peoples of the world rally to its support. Although the democratic European nations may hesitate, Mexico whose love of liberty is known the world over, must hasten to the aid of Spain, offering men, arms and money to vanquish her enemies—the enemies of liberty and civilization.



**ODYSSEY OF A FASCIST REFUGE**

Bilbao. 20. On the fronts of the Basque Country the rain, the fog, and the cold do not permit much activity but they are very favourable for the desertion of soldiers from the fascist ranks. In fact, a corporal and six soldiers passed over to our lines to-day from the battalion of San Marcial which is stationed in Burgos. They escaped from Villarreal, where they had arrived the 2nd of this month.

Of these fugitives four are Galician, one Asturian and the other Valencian. This last soldier was musically inclined and had been a member of the "American Circus" which had played several times in Bilbao. He had joined the company in Santander, but the establishment broke up, and with the other artistes, he embarked for Valencia. A few miles out from the coast of Gijon, they were surprised by a pirate ship which conducted them to El Ferrol.

They were obliged to work for the Spanish Phalangists at a private house in La Coruna.

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**HITLER'S AIR FORCE IN SPAIN.**

Valencia. 20. According to notices which have arrived from the enemy camp, it is known that the losses suffered by the German Air Force in the Spanish civil war are of great importance. Altogether Germany has lost in Spain over 120 aeroplanes, and at least 245 pilots have died.

**WHAT FASCISM MEANS.**

If Franco and his fascist international backers are allowed to have their way there will be no workers in Spain. Only a few days ago a report was received in Valencia of the shooting of 7,000 workers for belonging to local trade unions. When the Junker planes fly over Madrid it is the houses of the workers they destroy. The Spanish worker believes in liberty of thought, and liberty of thought is a crime which Franco punishes by death. No, Franco is but the tool of international fascism and the fascist powers, if they are allowed to conquer Spain, will set up the same regime of terror as they have done in Italy and Germany. Those who refuse to submit to tyranny will be murdered or thrown into concentration camps. That is what Franco means when he speaks of "authority."

WANTED—250 comrades to subscribe one penny, or forty comrades 6d each week to a fund for the purpose of opening premises in the centre of Glasgow, so that we may sell Socialist and Anarchist literature of all shades and opinions. Send your donation to the secretary or treasurer, A.P.C.F., c/o Pioneer Library, 31 Roschall Street,

The part of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in  
**THE SPANISH REVOLUTION.**

Lecture by

**EMMA GOLDMAN**  
(C.N.T.-F.A.I., just over from Spain)

THE CITY HALL, CANDLERIGGS,

—on—

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about the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the struggle in Spain.

**DIRECT ACTION****The Withering Away of Wm. Gallacher.**

To-day the worker in industry is merely a living tool. He has no voice in the conduct of the industry his labour sustains. He has no voice in determining the purposes for which industry is carried on. He is on a level with the inanimate machine he works, or the raw material which he changes into finished product. Indeed, has not a well-known reconstructionist said: "Labour is our most precious raw material."

It is against this industrial degradation that the workers are beginning to struggle. They are realising that the right to vote for Parliament, once in five years, is of little value compared with the right to vote on the way industry should be carried on.

**THE ROAD TO INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.**

The problem of attaining Self-Government can only be solved by the development of the workers' power in industry. It cannot be solved by the workers remaining passive and expecting an assembly of political supermen to change the world for them. No great social change has ever been brought about by people, who desired to see that change, being content merely to express pious opinions on the matter. A drastic social change, such as the taking of industry from the control of the Capitalists and placing it in the control of the workers, demands that the workers



shall exercise initiative, and assume responsibilities, in the every day struggle with the functionaries of the employing class in the workshop. It is by organising the workers' power of numbers, in the place where that power can be applied most successfully, namely, in industry, that we will be able to break the power of the employers and their puppet Government, and acquire the power to control the industrial forces of the country in the interests of the working class.

It is a matter for lamentation amongst many Trade Unionists that the officials are losing touch with the rank and file. **This we believe is due as much to the structure of the industrial organisations as it is to the personal failings of the officials.**

The elevation of a man from the workshop to a Trade Union office results not merely in a **change of working environment which weakens his fighting powers**, but also in a change to a **new social environment** which goes to weaken him still further. The accession to one of the higher posts in the Trade Union world enables the fortunate official to escape from his working class surroundings and enter that of the lower middle class. **As he is no more proof than any other man against the influence of his environment**, he soon acquires the outlook of the typical denizen of Suburbia. The tumult of the industrial battle-field seems a trifle distant and unreal to him in his new surroundings.

As the social struggle grows keener the Capitalist State is compelled to drop its mask of impartiality, and appear in its true character as an instrument of class domination.

It will be useless for the workers to merely express indignation at these measures and console themselves with the fact that they can get their revenge on the politicians responsible at the next election. In the meantime a golden opportunity is lost, and if certain Capitalist politicians are driven from public life, the Capitalist bureaucracy in charge of the administrative side of the State machinery remains. The workers have therefore got to create organisation to counter the State organisation of Capitalism.

We do not believe it is possible to any great extent to win control by wringing step by step concessions from the Capitalists.

**Even the most devoted adherent of political action would never dream of suggesting that the House of Commons was the foundation of society. Everyone knows that it is merely a part of the super-structure, and whatever changes may take place in its personnel, and however desirous they might be to aid a revolution, the revolution can only be brought about by a form of organisation that will place the control of the product in the hands of the workers themselves.**

It was never so necessary as it is now for the workers' movement to submit itself to the most ruthless self-criticism.

Who do you think wrote the above? None other than W. Gallacher, M.P., with the aid of J. R. Campbell, in a pamphlet entitled "Direct Action," which was written in 1919, before the Social-Democratic Bolshevik dictators, Lenin and Trotsky, called for a new International. But, with the formation of the Third International, Willie from Paisley

and Private Campbell, at the behest of their paymasters in Moscow, reversed their positions and, instead of the Trade Union Bureaucratic machine being a hindrance to Revolutionary endeavour, it was now to become a stepping stone to Revolution. Communists were to rally to the Trade Unions.

Parliament was no longer of little value, no longer a breeding ground for careerists. It now became the battleground of the Class War. "No longer did a change of personnel still leave the State machine in the hands of a Capitalist Bureaucratic administration," but we were to capture it by votes in order to destroy it. We were to form a United Front, not with the Anti-Parliamentarians or the Socialist Labour Party, but a United Front with the Labour Party. We were to return a Labour Government, some of whom would be Communists who had permeated the Labour Party. No longer was Industry the seat of power. No longer were the Workers' Committees to be the Instruments of Revolution. No longer was power to be placed in the hands of the Workers. **The Party was to be the instrument of revolution!** Well, the last 16 years has seen the successes of the **Party**—Bob Williams—Frank Hodges—Walton Newbold—The great betrayal of 1926, when the **Party** forgot the call of the Russian Revolution, "All power to the Soviets," "All power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils." The call now was, "All power to the T.U.C.," to the Thomases and Citrines. The Party instructed its members to vote for the MacDonalds and Snowdens.

To-day, when the British ruling class takes sides with Franco, Gallacher shouts, "Down with the National Government." A call that might be popular, and would be likely to win elections. But this call will not create a mass demand for the overthrow of Capitalism. In practice this call dissipates the worker's natural revulsion to his oppression.

Sixteen years of the **Party Role**, and where are we to-day? A great national daily, 130 members in official jobs in the Trade Unions, and the call is only "Down with the National Government." If our Gallachers had remained true to Workers' Committees, to Direct Action, to General Strike, the workers to-day would be taking the initiative, and, in the present Revolutionary situation, instead of merely sending funds to help our Spanish Comrades they would give solidarity in a far more concrete form. It is not too late yet. (We don't expect Gallacher to go back to his early teachings, he has gone too far on the road of compromise). We appeal to those who have no official jobs in the Party, to the rank and file. Don't make the mistake the C.P. made in Germany, don't wait for orders from Moscow (orders which never come), but take the initiative yourselves, form genuine United Fronts with the rank and file of other organisations in your local districts, go back to the demands of Gallacher in 1919, demand direct action, demand general strike, along with the Anarchists, Anti-Parliamentarians and other Revolutionary Socialists, who advocate these methods. Take to the workshops and not the talking shop. Make the issue, not the party, but the working class. Work for a United Front, not a United Front of political parties on the backs of the workers and dictating to them, but a United Front of the workers themselves, fighting as the workers fought and are still fighting in Spain.

F. LEECH.



## INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF ANARCHIST DEFENCE—BRUSSELS.

### Stalin still persecutes Anarchists.

The "military" necessities of the terrible struggle now raging in Spain have dictated to the libertarians of the whole world a sort of armistice, yet **the Russian government in no way shows reciprocity.**

But let no one deceive himself that that means that anarchists, either in the present or still less in the future, contemplate any transitions with dictatorial powers which they abhor as deeply as fascism, apart from purely military contingencies.

To-day, however, we should consider ourselves guilty towards the international working class if we did not raise the alarm before a situation becoming more and more intolerable.

The new "democratic" constitution of the Russian state was voted to power on November last. Everything is organised there in the most meticulous manner, and the individual has just to obey his tutors who think for him, so that the enormous state machine may function automatically.

The right to inheritance is solemnly re-established, but the prison doors remain hermetically sealed. **Siberia continues to be populated by deportees.** At intervals the silence of the prison corridors is broken by the sounds of sinister shooting. The echo of massacres and persecutions which comes to us causes us to shudder with indignation.

But we are still more terrified by what we do not know, by what never traverses the clandestine walls, but what we nevertheless conjecture. . . .

The putting into operation of the new Russian constitution has not even suggested a measure of clemency, nor of justice, like the amnesty. Thus is a regime judged.

Let us cite a single case well known to us: Otello Gaggi:—

Everything has been said on the odyssey of this libertarian and political refugee. The delegates of the anti-fascist militia on the Aragon front addressed a telegram to Stalin last October, asking him that the revolutionary Gaggi, as well as Sandmirski, Ghezzi and others be authorized to start for Spain, where **they wanted to take their places alongside of their comrades in arms.**

Now, in reply to these generous petitions, comrade Gaggi communicates from Semipalatinsk to the effect that the Moscow government has suppressed the monthly subsidy of 50 roubles to which all deportees without work have a right. At Semipalatinsk it is impossible for deportees to get work.

Italian deportees, under a climate certainly pleasanter than that of Siberia, get 5 lire per day.

Parcels of second-hand clothing sent from America and England to Gaggi have been returned to the senders, with expenses.

It appears that second-hand goods are not accepted in Russia, and the taxes upon new goods make their delivery almost impossible.

**Three volumes of the works of Malatesta sent (registered) to Gaggi were confiscated, and we could go on further. . . .**

It is not a matter for vain lament, what Gaggi is suffering has been endured by thousands of other revolutionaries. If we have chosen this case, it is with the aim of characterizing an actual situation which exceeds all the limits of the odious, and **we have ample documentary proof in support.**

We make revolutionary opposition on principle

against a dictatorship, because we are the natural enemies of all dictatorships, party or class.

We think that all revolution which does not assure a minimum of liberty of criticism and experimentation is condemned to disappear in tyranny.

Our Spanish brothers give a luminous example of this at the present, while facing more imperious dangers than those the Russian Revolution encountered.

For the Russian people whom we have always loved and defended; to save the spirit of the world revolution; for a little justice, it is necessary that the first gesture of appeasement come from Russia.

Amnesty for all condemned and political deportees!

Liberty for all revolutionaries of whatever shade of opinion to hasten to Spain and to fight at their brothers' side for the triumph of the world revolution.

Pro The C.J.D.A.

International Committee of Anarchist Defence.

HEM DAY, *Secretary.*

### TROTSKY PURSUED BY THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

Expelled from France two years ago under the pressure of the soviet ambassador, Trotsky believed he had found a refuge in Norway, where the democrats reigned as masters. But however developed bourgeois democracy may appear to be, it has its limits exactly prescribed by capitalist interest.

Norwegian socialists have decided that the right of asylum has no further standing when it has to deal with an uncorruptible enemy of the bourgeois regime.

They were certainly assisted in their decision by the Soviet Union, which employed unprecedented diplomatic and economic reprisals. The G.P.U. if it has not actually by its own hands shipped Trotsky off upon the open sea on a cargo-boat, has without any doubt collaborated materially in this criminal transportation.

The act is so much the more serious as it is realized by the collaborator of several nations; indeed we may say all nations, since none of them recognizes the right of asylum for Trotsky. Let us recall again that **a special article was proposed to the S.D.N. (League of Nations) excluding Trotsky from all countries under the pretext of suppressing terrorism.**

A few hundreds of revolutionary militants in the world risk raising their heads against the hopes of the imperialists by reviving class war propaganda.

In persecuting Trotsky so much the counter-revolutionary states attack the Marxist minority, which endures in spite of all blows, calumny, and corruption.

World-wide imperialism, on the eve of another blood-bath, wishes to destroy the revolutionary ferment.

To all who fight under the flag of proletarian internationalism and revolutionary defeatism, a warning! The suppression which sweeps down upon Trotsky threatens us all.

**The hour has come to sweep away our illusions on bourgeois democracy, the U.S.S.R. opportunist organizations, all of which are factors of our weakness and disintegration.**

A re-assembling of militants on a revolutionary policy without ambiguity and compromise ought to be our reply to the threat of imperialistic repression, and the expression of our solidarity with Trotsky.

"L'Internationale," No. 25.

Although publishing above, we reserve our right to criticise the Trotskyites insofar as they are afflicted with the desire for party power themselves.