

WORKERS' FREE PRESS

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On Penny.

DURRUTI: MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

Recently, revolutionary Barcelona was mourning the death of its best son. The Anarchist Buenaventura Durruti fell at the Madrid front. The whole Spanish people is stricken with grief over the loss of Durruti. Not only the million members of revolutionary workers of the Confederation, but all those fighting with them against the fascist generals, are mourning Durruti. He was the purest expression of the Spanish Libertarian masses. Hundreds of thousands looked up to him with love and confidence, men who were his bitterest enemies for years, bowed before his hearse.

During these months of struggle against fascism, Buenaventura Durruti had become the hero of the whole people. His greatness consisted in his being the most brotherly, the most perfect comrade. And this was the secret of his unlimited power over all those who came into touch with him. He had led the life of a fighter. Durruti was born on July 14th, 1896 in Leon, one of nine children. His father was a railway worker. The children were brought up in an atmosphere of Libertarian and Socialist ideas. One of Durruti's brothers fell during the October-Revolution in Asturias, one is fighting at the Madrid front. All the others have been executed by the fascists on enemy territory.

The child Buenaventura, in spite of his bodily strength, used to dislike rough games. Fourteen years old, Durruti started to work as a mechanic in the railway workshops of Leon. After the suppression of the railway workers strike in 1917, he had to leave the country. For three years he worked in Paris as a mechanic.

In 1920, he returned to Spain. In San Sebastian he was introduced to an Anarchist circle. The comrade Buenacasa, then President of the National Committee of the C.N.F. induced him to come to Barcelona at a time when all activity had been brutally suppressed. Governor Martinez Anido and the chief of the police, Arlegui tortured and murdered the militant Anarchists of Catalonia.

The one instrumental in bringing about the repression, and the terror was Dato President of the ministry. Durruti and Ascaso decided to do away with him. While every revolutionary labour organisation was closed and the activities of the workers yellow unions were given every opportunity. In fact they had been organised for the purpose of breaking the backbone of the real workers syndicates. Strangely enough, and yet not so strange for the reactionary part always played by the church in Spain, it was Cardinal Soldevila of Saragossa, who fathered the strike breaking unions. He supported them heavily. He could well afford it, because he derived vast dividends from numerous gambling places established at fashionable Hotels and Casinos. In point of fact, he was one of the largest share-holders in the company. Ascaso and Durruti made an end of this so called holy man, who in the name of the one who had driven the money-changers from the temple, did not hesitate to act as one himself, and to use his ill-gotten wealth to crush the efforts of the workers for more human social conditions.

After they had lived illegally in Belgium and in Germany, Durruti and Ascaso at last granted a stay. During all this time, they took active part in the revolutionary preparations of Macia, Gassol and others, always keeping in view the interests of the revolutionary worker of Spain. At the time Russia offered them a refuge, but under such conditions, the Anarchists could not possibly accept.

April 15th, 1931, Durruti, together with his friend Ascaso returned to Spain. They hoped to have a chance at last of living peacefully and working together with their comrades to spread their libertarian ideas, and to reorganise the Anarcho-sindicalist movement. But shortly after the revolt of Figols in January 1932, Durruti was arrested again. Together with other Anarchists, he was deported to Africa for many months by the Republican Government. His child was just two months old when he was torn away from his family.

From 1933 to 1935 Durruti was continuously hounded by the Republican police. He worked in a factory and belonged to the Textile workers Syndicate of Barcelona. He spoke in meetings and took part in organisational work. Again and again he was arrested and spent most of his time in prison. For months on end the Catalan Left-Government kept him under arrest for no reason whatever.

On July, 1936, not yet recovered from an operation he stood on the barricades. At his side fell his dear comrade Ascaso. Durruti organised the large Anarchist columns for the fronts in Aragon. Eight days after the putsch in Barcelona was liquidated, he went at the head of the volunteers to the front. When Madrid was threatened he marched with some thousands of his Catalan Anarchists to the endangered city. This heroic action revived thousands of workers and inspired them anew to go on with the fight.

November 20th, he was slain, he fell as one of the gallant soldiers of the anti-fascist war. November 22nd, his body was brought back to Barcelona, accompanied by his closest comrades. It lay in state until the following morning, thousands of people passing the column.

His ideas, his aims were always to serve the C.N.T. and F.A.I. He was a Syndicalist, he was an Anarchist. He believed in personal risk. He never imposed the same on others. He merely appealed to the dignity and responsibility of the individual. He believed in the liberation of the workers by their union and by direct economic action.

The headquarters of the Durruti Column in Bujaraloz has issued the following Manifesto:—

Revenge! Our friend, our brother Durruti fell in Madrid, his heart filled with goodness and his rifle in his strong worker's hand.

In our ranks no one is more than the other. But the one who has won our love is considered superior to all others. And no one was better loved, no one more loving than our Durruti. We do not weep over his death. But our eyes are hazy, our fists will remain closed as long as a single enemy remains alive.

We went out to defend our libertarian ideal, we have fought for a better life our hearts filled with human desire.

Today we have our slogan; Revenge!

We have become brothers in our column through Durruti. We shall fraternize to avenge him. We have fought like men. Now we shall fight ferociously.

Comrades of the Durruti Column / Brothers / Let us avenge his broken life. We must carry his name through fascist Spain and it shall mean death to our enemies.—Excerpts from a C.N.T.-F.A.I. pamphlet.

DURRUTI ON DISCIPLINE.—

A few words about the question of the moment — discipline. — Many talk of it but few hit the mark. For me, discipline, is nothing more than respect for one's own and other's responsibility. I am against barrack-room discipline which leads to brutality, hatred and automatism. Just as little do I believe in that falsely conceived freedom, which can't bear the necessities of war and is usually the refuge of cowards. In our own organisation, the C.N.T., the very best discipline prevails, in as much as the members of the Confederation accept and carry out the decisions of the Committees of the comrades to whom they have entrusted the conduct of affairs. In war the elected delegates must be obeyed, otherwise operations cannot be carried out. In dealing with slackers, we take them to task and by dint of appeal to self-love generally succeed in turning them into good comrades. I am well satisfied with the comrades who follow me and I believe they have the same feeling about me. They lack nothing. They have enough to eat, plenty to read and they have revolutionary discussions. No one idles; constant work on entrenchments goes on.

WITH THE WORKERS' MILITIAS IN SPAIN

BY CHARLES DORAN

On 10th January last I accompanied a small party of men (later known as the I.L.P. Contingent) to Spain. I had travelled all night on Saturday (9th) from Glasgow and on reaching London eventually met those who were to be my companions-in-arms in a "foreign" country which was then in the throes of what is euphemistically called a civil war but which was really a class war in full blast.

We had a "good press" owing to the fact that the British Government was moving very quickly in its efforts to make our departure illegal.

In this they failed as we "beat them to it" for the Spanish-Franco frontier by about 2 hours. It was full-speed right from the time of leaving London.

We had quite an ovation on the journey through France—most people giving us the "Red Salute"—right from Dieppe to Paris and from Paris to the Spanish Border which we crossed in dramatic fashion, always in anticipation of being stopped.

Nothing can adequately describe the thrill arising from, at last, setting foot (metaphorically of course, since we were in a 'bus) in that country then so much in the news. To come in contact at last with that People who had shewn such a splendid example and had given such an inspiring lead to all who were suffering under oppression.

We shall always remember Spain as the country which energetically took up the Fascist challenge and by its sustained gallantry, against great odds, stimulated enthusiasm and quickened pulses among the best and most generous elements in all lands which claim to be civilised.

The memory of it will sustain us in the long dark days that lie ahead.

This brave and proud people decided it were best to die in struggle than live in inertia.

ARRIVAL IN BARCELONA.

We duly arrived in Barcelona, which by the way is a large sea-port as big as Glasgow, but far more grand-looking with its wide thoroughfares and noble buildings, looking perpetually clean.

The workers, through their Trade Unions, were in control of practically all the means of life—railways, ships, horse and motor transport, workshops of various kinds, hotels, cafes, cinemas and shops.

This was the Revolution whose first phase had started in 1931 with the deposition of the Royal power and the curbing of the Autocracies of church and landed aristocracy. We asked ourselves; could the workers hold the Power without a European revolution or some strong, tangible demonstration of outside (active) sympathy? Remembering the world of apathy and indifference which we had left, we felt none too sure that Capitalism and Landlordism (in Catalonia) could be so easily beaten.

Apart from the splendid efforts of a few, the world's workers did nothing, and by their callous indifference enabled their Governments to trample on International Law whereby the legal Spanish Government was denied its sovereign rights in the matter of purchasing arms for the upholding of its lawful authority against the rebel generals who were financed and whole-heartedly supported by every reactionary element in the world. The farce of Non-Intervention was once more staged, having had a previous run, successful, too, in Abyssinia, where Mussolini was thereby enabled to murder a Nation. He (Mussolini) and Hitler were enabled to half-strangle another nation (Spain) by the same tricky means initiated by Britain and France on the pretence of localising the war and thereby preserving European and world peace.

Russia joined in this trickery on both occasions and in terms of

limited Sanctions against the aggressor, doubled her oil supplies to Mussolini, what time the "Stalintern" was campaigning in favour of Abyssinia!

In the Spanish case, Russia delayed helping the Spanish people for 2½ months and preaching "Back to Bourgeois Democracy," helped to liquidate the Workers' Revolution in that country.

The sequel to this was seen in the spectacle of the armed Communist Party in Barcelona in May last fighting on the opposite Barricades to the workers—C.N.T.-F.A.I., P.O.U.M., and U.G.T. They (C.P.) through the power of money, of which the C.P. of G.B. seems to possess a lot, got control of the Political Police—that middle-class weapon which the C.P. of Spain claims to have raised up in opposition to the Workers' Patrols!

Now Russia is being put in the pillory by those very (Democratic) nations on whose behalf and for whose support in a possible war, they were prepared to maintain and sustain Bourgeois Democracy as an alternative to Fascism. Even Bourgeois Democracy in Spain is likely to pay a heavy price for the efforts of the Democratic (sic) states to defend (in a negative sense) Democracy in that country.

WITH THE P.O.U.M. AT ARAGON.

The I.L.P. Contingent, after a short period of training (?) in Lenin Barracks (controlled by the P.O.U.M.), in which there was only one rifle and it was broken, so we didn't get much practical knowledge of rifle work there, left for the Front. Where were all those rifles and ammunition which the C.P. were sure the P.O.U.M. possessed in abundance?

Little or no action of noticeable importance took place on Huesca sector of the Aragon Front for 2 or 3 months of our presence there. Why? Simply because we hadn't the necessary arms with which to deploy our forces against the enemy in front. The enemy behind (whose British representative about a week ago, admitted in a debate with Brockway [I.L.P.] that the P.O.U.M. troops at Aragon were kept unarmed as a measure of safety—to whom?—were threatening our rear by trying to stampee the people against us on the grounds that we were Franco's Fifth column. The Bourgeois Government, of course, feared the Social Revolution more so than Francoism.

MAY DAYS IN BARCELONA.

On 26th April we (i.e.) I.L.P. Contingent, roughly 30 strong, arrived back in Barcelona after 4 months' continuous duty in the Line.

Quickly we noticed the changed atmosphere. When there before (in January) we rarely saw a Bourgeois—apparently they had disguised themselves in workers' overalls. In fact I heard it said that overalls at that time were prohibitive in price owing to the enormous demand. Then the workers' militias were lionised by everyone. Workers' Revolutionary banners, badges and symbols were encountered everywhere. Barcelona breathed proletarianism. Then May came, and with it the Counter-revolutionary onslaught by the Government, or, as it is called in Catalonia, Generalitat. The criminal assault upon the workers was wholeheartedly supported by the C.P. of Spain, and justified by them by a tremendous barrage of lies, innuendoes, mutilated quotations, and the raising of the inevitable Trotsky bogey. The whole of the Stalintern seems to tremble at the name Trotsky.

FACTS ABOUT ASSASSINATIONS.

Sese (Chief of the U.G.T.) rode in a motor car with several others during the May fighting. The C.P. of Spain headquarters was in the Hotel Colon facing Place de Catalunya. (For purposes of strict accuracy it may be well to state that the C.P. of Spain was known in Barcelona by the letters "P.S.U.C."—United Socialist Party of Catalonia.) The P.S.U.C., in company with Assault Guards, occupied the Hotel Colon and from its many windows kept up a murderous fire upon the Workers' Barricades. Sese had been appointed to the Government, and on his

way to take up his position, he rode past the Hotel Colon (going in an opposite direction). A burst of machine-gun fire entered the back of the car and Sese was struck and killed.

Anarchists at a barricade near at hand captured the car and its occupants. Sese was already dead. The 4 or 5 comrades who were with him were made prisoners of the Anarchists. They were released at the termination of hostilities, and before leaving, signed a voluntary statement certifying that Sese was killed accidentally by a bullet fired from Hotel Colon! These comrades had not, up to July, as far as my knowledge went, repudiate their signed statements. This, however, didn't stop the C.P. from giving it out broadcast that the Anarchist "uncontrollables" had deliberately assassinated Sese. The purpose of this lie was to smash the Unity which had been developed between the Anarchists, the P.O.U.M. and the rank and file of the U.G.T. during the struggle in May. It didn't succeed, however, as the U.G.T., at first disposed to be neutral if not actually hostile to us, soon "got wise" to the reactionary role of the Stalinists in Spain.

Then again, the famous Italian Anti-Fascist Professor, Berneri, and his comrade were arrested by armed P.S.U.C. and police. They never reached the Jail. Both were picked up dead near it by ambulance men.

Whilst the Pro-Stalinist Minister of Justice was assuring the relatives that they were alive and well in jail, the victims had already lain 48 hours in the mortuary! —both terribly mutilated. Neither had taken part in the so-called "Up-Rising" as they were isolated owing to the suddenness of the Government's stroke.

The unhappy sequel to all this was that the Reaction triumphed, followed by a White Terror against P.O.U.M. and isolated sections of C.N.T. All left-wing press was closed down or heavily censored. The Bourgeoisie came abroad arrogantly and openly, no longer disguised as Workers.

Food and other commodities, which up to then had been short, now appeared in abundance. "West-Endism" manifested itself in the full light of day, and night. All revolutionary banners, except C.N.T.-F.A.I. flag at headquarters), badges and symbols disappeared. The Red Flag gave way to the national flags of Spain and Catalonia. Workers moved about no longer with cheerful gaiety but with frowns on their brows. The Bourgeoisie looked sleek and sure of itself. Shopkeepers no longer gave the Red Salute. Barrel organs no longer played the "International" or "Hijos del Pueblo." Patriotic airs and jazz took over.

In the banning of Revolutionary Banners, poetic justice overtook the Stalinists. Their flag was also the flag of the P.O.U.M. So, it being now a seditious symbol, it was not flown from Stalin headquarters! In fact, after May Days, I didn't see the Soviet Flag anywhere in Barcelona.

In conclusion, I may state that I had to sneak out of Britain to get to Spain in January. In July following, I had to sneak out of Spain to get to Britain. This was the experience of not alone members of the P.O.U.M. but also of members of the International Brigade. Thus does the "Stalintern" play the diplomatic game of Capitalist-Imperialism, thinking thereby that the so-called Democratic nations will defend Soviet Russia against Fascist attack! It only needs to be said in this connection that Soviet Russia is now being isolated by Britain and France! So much for Bourgeois Democracy.

CONCLUSION.

The Social Revolution is temporarily lost in Spain through the causes outlined here; but only temporarily, as the Spanish People, wedded as they are to Freedom now, will not for long lie beaten.

They will rise again, even against a triumphant Franco, and perhaps next time, the workers of Europe will respond in a manner that will ensure the speedy end of Capitalism in that country.

PHILOSOPHICAL MUSINGS ON ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM

BY WILLIAM M'GURN—A REPLY TO CHAS. DORAN.

Auguste Comte illuminated the intellectual history of mankind by dividing it into three Periods—the Theological, the Metaphysical, and the Positive or Scientific. These periods represent the mental infancy, youth and manhood of the race. Comrade Doran's article, "Philosophical Musings on Anti-Parliamentarism," shows that he has not yet quite outstripped the second period. His entire article is superficial. Nowhere does he produce proof of his contentions. He assumes his premises to be correct and argues accordingly. Quite a Jesuit touch about that! Take this example. "It (the A.P.C.F.) died after a short period of seeming vitality" because "it was unable to fit itself into reality—the struggle for bread and kindred things which, unfortunately are of paramount importance in the daily lives of the millions whose minds are not preoccupied with contemplation of the ultimate truth and logic of anti-parliamentary philosophy." Quite so! A.P.C.F. members are not interested in the daily struggle for bread; they are a class apart from the rest of the workers!—yet somehow or another they find their way with monotonous regularity to the Bureau and the Parish too, and still mingle with the millions, etc. Or does Doran imply that if the millions' minds were preoccupied with the ultimate truth, etc., the struggle for bare existence would not exist? And why ultimate truth and logic anyway? If Doran's assumption is correct, that our philosophy is at variance with all reality, then it has neither truth, ultimate or intimate, and is certainly not logical. Thus, the first point in the discussion, that we "placed no value on Doran's reasoning power on fundamental questions" is on the way to proof. We are next told that we are not materialist reasoners, that we are subjectivist in our attitude to the political conflict, and that we start in error by believing that the workers are ready, not alone for Social Revolution but even for an Anarchist form of society! Now, I challenge Doran to produce from any responsible A.P.C.F. source, or if he cares, from the "Herald of Revolt," "The Spur," "Commune," or "Council," any support for his most absurd assumption! On the contrary, we have laid it down as a maxim "that the Class Struggle is primarily a political struggle, which takes place on the industrial field; leads to the Class War, which is a war for power, in which, if the workers succeed, will liberate the forces of production. With these forces at their command, the workers can then apply themselves to the task of building Socialism." What we have to fear, "Pace Comrade Doran," is the slowness of the tempo at which the change will take place, rather than its rapidity. Yes, comrade Doran, we are subjectivist, as the ruling class will find to their objective dismay. "Who are right" asks Bakunin, "the Idealists or Materialists?" He then answers the question by asserting and proving that the Materialist is right. I, who love Bakunin's powerful essays, (see "God and the State"), am dubbed an Idealist. Why? Socialism carried to anything like a logical conclusion, is thoroughly materialistic. But says our critic, does not the A.P.C.F. have a high ideal, and, to that extent be idealist? That is what comes from using terms that are improperly understood. The question of whether we are Idealist or Materialist is no more determined by our having ideals than it would be by our possession of prayer books or wearing the old school tie. In philosophy the materialist is one who believes that matter is antecedent and superior to the Idea, while the idealist believes the opposite, that matter is subse-

quent and subordinate to the idea. On that definition of the position we take our stand. The materialist is undoubtedly right. But we also know that economic conditions (press they ever so hard on the proletariat) are of themselves powerless to make them move in the Socialist direction. In other words, they must have the fertilising influence of the "Idea" of Socialism constantly before them. In propagating the Idea, the A.P.C.F. performs a useful function in the working class movement. "Meantime," says Doran, "Capitalism is here (we have noticed it ourselves) and the workers are at work building the War Machine which will ultimately demolish themselves."—or the Ruling Class! We are then told that the working class are not looking for emancipation; that they are looking for jobs, tea, sugar, in fact for a series of grocery stores and Christmas gifts from State and landlord, which the stony-hearted tyrants always refuse, thus compelling the workers to fight or quit. And if they only fight hard enough, and display some solidarity, a revolutionary situation would arise, and the fight would pass beyond its reform boundary and become a struggle for Power. Yes; these are the objective conditions which lead to Revolution. To all of which, comrade Doran says Yes and No. Since he has discovered that while misery is the common lot of the workers, it is "variable and inconstant in its pressure." They are not interested in Socialism, for reasons.—Well, ye ken, the chap down the stair gets three quid a week, and the man but and ben, two-ten. Will that stop the Revolution? It's enough to start one! Doran sneers at us for calling on the workers to boycott the Ballot-box. But boycotting the Ballot-box is only a tactic in the struggle, by which we seek to help the workers develop their own organs of expression, instead of leaving their fate to politicians, be they Maxtons or Gallachers. In any case, when the Working Class take real action there will be a complete boycott of all capitalist institutions. The Workers' Councils will supersede them. "Poor innocents"—are we really? and if we are is not comrade Doran exploiting that innocence in order to obtain a platform? As to what form the Councils will take, I being Idealist, would suggest that the Workers will determine that question for themselves.

One thing is, however, certain. They will not arise unless there is an upsurge of feeling by the workers. Their creation by any other method would only result in the formation of more propaganda groups.

In conclusion, I want to thank comrade Doran for his attempt to brighten the movement. Too long has it lacked that touch of comic relief beloved by the proletarians whose lives are as dull as ditch water, and about as muddy. Indeed, had Charles Doran's moniker not adorned the page I could have easily been persuaded that "Philosophical Musings" had been penned by Charles Chaplin. Keep it up, good comrade, and most assuredly that wider platform will be forthcoming. In fact, you can go on the stage. I suggest that you team up with Maxton and present a sketch entitled: "The Sentimentalists,"—A Parliamentary House. To get admission, One Vote.

LITERATURE YOU SHOULD READ:

- "INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE," (Chicago).
- "THE CLASS STRUGGLE," (New York), 10 cents.
- "SPAIN and the WORLD," (Anti-Fascist Fortnightly, 2d).
- "THE SPANISH REVOLUTION," (U.S.A.)
- "VANGUARD," (U.S.A.)
- "THE NEW LEADER," (I.L.P., weekly, 1d.)
- "CONTROVERSY," 3d., (Published by C. A. Smith).

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

held alternately by the A.P.C.F. and the U.S.M.
SUNDAY EVENINGS, 7-30 p.m.—Abstainers' Hall, Forbes Place, Paisley.

CAPITALISM'S THREE CARD TRICK.

BY ALEX. S. KNOX.

A worker is employed by a large foundry company. On the Friday of each week, the "boss" goes to the bank, and draws money to pay the workers for their labour-power. This is termed "wages," but does not correspond to the value the workers have added to the product; for after the cost of raw materials, overhead charges, etc., has been met, a PROFIT is realised on the sale of the products. This profit factor, is unearned—from the workers' viewpoint. However, the worker cannot explain that, and is content to take his wages home to his wife.

This worthy immediately hands out the wages to the factor (for rent), the butcher, grocer, etc., for food. These in turn put the money received back into the bank.

On the following Friday, the "boss" of the foundry again sends to the bank; again he draws out the money to give Henry Dubb his pay.

Henry again passes it to his wife; the good lady passes it to the sundry shopkeeper; and again those traders put it back into the bank!

The process carries on from Friday to Friday; from year to year; from generation to generation—ad infinitum!

Henry is sometimes puzzled as to who pays the bankers, etc., but not being interested in the economics of the system, just dismisses the problem and carries on at the slavery in the foundry, in the comfortable feeling that he is "lucky" to be working! After all there are millions throughout the world unemployed! As the American says; a "quick-one" has been put across him; but, well, the "three-card trick" is—a 'quick one.'

EPITAPH TO A RENEGADE.

BY MALCOLM GARDNER.

He reigned supreme in office,

With his hireling bunch of knaves,
Planning schemes to crush the worker in the dust.

For the empty pomp of office,

He became the bosses' slave,
And for a price betrayed the workers' trust.

What is the lesson we must learn,

From traitors such as he,
That Labour's own strong arm alone,

Can e're set Labour free.—

The Editor wishes to acknowledge the comradely assistance and letters of encouragement received from many sources, re. the publication of the "Workers' Free Press." At the same time we must state that a certain minimum sale is necessary if we are to continue in existence. Volunteers for this work would be greatly appreciated.

Organisations or branches can be supplied at 8d per doz. copies; or special terms for quantities.

Lack of finance has prevented the publication of a November issue, and the paying of a tribute to the memory of John McLean. An anniversary article, with an appraisal of the present situation in Russia; not to mention the important questions of Spain and China, should also have appeared. Considering our difficulties, contributors would oblige by making their articles as short and succinct as possible, and by writing clearly on one side of the paper only. From those interested, but lacking the confidence to write, we would welcome dated newspaper cuttings, or translations from all sources.

"TRUE AND FALSE SOCIETY."

(A Lecture delivered by Wm. Morris.)—Continued from October issue.

Now a few words as to the course of events that have brought us to the society of the present day. In periods almost before the dawn of continuous history the early progressive races from which we are descended were divided into clans or families, who held their wealth, such as it was, in common within the clan, while all outside the clan was hostile, and wealth not belonging to the clan was looked upon as the prize of war. There was consequently continual fighting of clan with clan, and at first all enemies taken in war were slain. But after a while, as man progressed and got defter with his hands, and learned how to make more effective tools, it began to be found out that, so working, could do more than merely sustain himself; and then some of the prisoners of war, instead of being slain on the field, were made slaves of; they had become valuable for work, like horses. Out of the work they produced their masters or owners gave them sustenance enough to live on, and took the rest for themselves. Time passed, and the complexity of society grew; the early barbarism passed through many stages into the ancient civilisations, of which Greece and Rome were the great representatives; but this civilisation was still founded on slave labour. Most of its wealth was created by men who could be sold in the market like cattle. But as the old civilisations began to decay, this slave labour began to be unprofitable; the countries comprised in the Roman Empire were disturbed by constant war; the governments, both central and provincial, became mere tax-gathering machines, and grew so greedy that that things became unbearable. Society became a mere pretext for tax-gathering, and fell to pieces, and chattel slavery fell with it, since under these circumstances slaves were no longer valuable.

Then came another change. A new society was formed, partly out of the tribes of the barbarians who had invaded the Roman Empire, and partly out of the fragments of that empire itself; the feudal system arose, bearing with it new ideas, which I have not time to deal with here. Suffice it to say that in its early days mere chattel slavery gave place to serfdom. Powerful men, privileged men, had not forgotten that men can produce more by a day's labour than will keep them alive for a day; so now they settled their labourers on certain portions of land, stocked their land with them, in fact, and on these lands they had leave to live as well as they might on the condition that they should work a certain part of their time on the land which belonged to their lords. The average condition of these serfs was better than that of the chattel slaves. They could not be bought and sold personally, they were a part of the manor on which they lived, and they had as a class a tendency to become tenants by various processes. In one way or another these serfs got gradually emancipated, and during a transitional period, lasting through the two last centuries of the Middle Ages, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the labour classes were in a far better position than they had been before, and in some ways than they have been since; suffering more from spasmodic arbitrary violence than from chronic legal oppression. The transition from this period to our own days is one of the most interesting chapters of history; but it is impossible for me to touch on it here. All I can say is that the emancipated serfs formed one of the elements that went to make up our present middle class, and that a new class of workers grew up beneath them, men who were not owned by anyone, who were bound by no legal ties to such and such a manor, who might earn what livelihood they could for themselves under certain conditions, which I will presently try to lay before you, and which are most important to be considered; for this new class of so-called free labourers has become our modern working class.

Now it will be clear to you, surely, how much and how grievously

both the classical period, with its chattel slavery, and the feudal system, with its serfdom, fell short of the society which we have set before us as reasonably successful. In each of them there was a class obviously freed from the necessity of labour, by means of the degradation of another class which laboured excessively and reaped but a small reward for its excessive labour. Surely there was something radically wrong with these two societies. From the fact that labour is necessary for man's life on earth, and that nature yields her abundance to labour only, one would be inclined to deduce the probability that he who worked most would be best off. But in these slave and serf societies the reverse was the case: the man of leisureless toil lived miserably, the man who did nothing useful lived abundantly. Then, again, as to our third test, was there no waste of labour? Yes, indeed, there was waste most grievous. I have said that the slave-owner or the lord of the manor did nothing useful, yet he did something; he was bound to do something, for he was often energetic, gifted, full of character; he made war ceaselessly, consuming thereby the wealth which his slaves or his serfs created, and forcing them to work the more grievously. Here was waste enough, and lack of organisation of labour.

Well, all this people find no great difficulty in seeing, and few would like, publicly at least, to confess a regret for these conditions of labour, although, in private, some men, less hypocritical or more logical than the bulk of reactionists, admit that they consider the society of cultivated men and chattel slaves the best possible for weak human nature. Yet though we can see what has been, we cannot so easily see what is; and I admit that it is especially hard for people in our civilisation, with its general freedom from the ruder forms of violence, its orderly routine life, and, in short, all that tremendous organisation whose very perfection of continuity prevents us from noticing it—I say it is hard for people under the quiet order and external stability of modern society to note that much the same thing is going on in the relations of employers to the employed as went on under the slave society of Athens or under the self-sustained baronage of the thirteenth century.

For I assert that with us, as with the older societies, those who work hardest fare the worst; those who produce the least get the most; while as to the waste of labour that goes on, the waste of times past is as nothing compared with what is wasted to-day.

I must now justify this view of mine, and, if possible, get you to agree with it by pointing out how society at the present day is constituted.

Now, as always, there are only two things essential to the production of wealth, labour and raw material. Everyone can labour who is not sick or in nonage, therefore everyone, except those, if he can get at raw material, can produce wealth; but without that raw material he cannot produce anything—anything, that is, that man can live upon; and if he does no labour he must live at the cost of those that do; unless, therefore, everyone can get at the raw material and instruments of production, the community in general will be burdened by the expense of so many useless mouths, and the sum of its wealth will be less than it ought to be. But in our civilised society to-day, the raw material and the instruments of production are monopolised by a comparatively small number of persons, who will not allow the general population to use them for the production of wealth unless they pay them tribute for doing so; and since they are able to exact this tribute, they themselves are able to live without producing, and consequently are a burden on society. Nor are these monopolists content with exacting a bare livelihood from the producers, as mere vagabonds and petty thieves do; they are able to get from the producers in all cases an abundant livelihood, including most of the enjoyments and advantages of civilisation, and in many cases a position of such power that they are practically independent of the community and almost out of reach of its laws, although, indeed, the greater part of those laws were made for the purpose of upholding this monopoly;

A FRENCHMAN ON ANTI-GERMANISM.

When I was exploited in the Renault factories, I did not consider it my duty to drive against Monsieur Andre Citroen the resentment of my fellow-workers. Otherwise the wage-slaves of the Citroen chain-gang should have to proclaim Monsieur Louis Renault their own Public Enemy Number One, and every victim should solidarize with his own hangman. According to my mind the task of the worker living in France or England is not to join the scalp-dance of anti-German propaganda, but to over-throw the Capitalist system of the nation they are living in. Is it not the only way to prevent the German workers from forgetting the home enemy and marching with Hitler against the French and English Imperialism?

When I was amongst German comrades, struggling in Hitler Germany I did not care to agitate against French capitalism. It was a tough enough job to do the play with Hitler police and to undermine everything supporting his regime. We got acquainted with the Gestapo jails my wife and I, we managed to hold our tongue. Back in France, we kept holding it, thinking it would be rather sloppy to make a fuss about "Hitler Terror," as if anybody seriously hurting the ruling interests should not have to face Third Degree enquiry, cellar imprisonment, and death, however "Democratic" or "Fascist" the land may be. The only difference is that in Italy, Germany or Russia, very few things seem to be "harmless" to the ruling class, according to the horrible failure of Capitalism.

Now I am trying to help our German comrades by doing the French mititarnism and capitalism as much harm that I am able to. As for circulating illegal papers amongst the German masses, this is, to my opinion, one of the most futile things to do. Nobody knows better than the average German worker how much he is starving and lacking of personal freedom. Anti-Nazi information is running through the whole country even quicker than the Nazi-papers can do. Therefore German emigrants have more to do than playing with toy-papers, the possession of which may cost the life of a man.—A. Prudhammeaux.

ARMISTICE DAY.—Some Women Remember.

We WILL keep faith with those who died in vain;
We'll send no other man to death or pain,
We WILL keep faith with those we sent to kill;
No man for us his brother's blood shall spill,
We WILL keep faith with those whom we deceived,
Who fought for peace and right, as they believed.
We WILL keep faith - and thus we keep our vow -
Young men, we bid you fight for freedom now
Come fight the money-lords that bid you fight!
We WILL join you—'tis at last for right,
Fight not with thieves at other thieves' behest;
Deal first with home-bred robbers, then the rest.
Then, though the whole world on our heads should fall,
Let us but help you, and we'll fight them all!—H.B.S.L.

To such a pass has the Spanish Revolution come, that again, as in February, 1936, must be raised the insistent demand:

AMNESTIA!

A manifesto of PRISONERS at BARCELONA.

We anti-fascist prisoners see every day from our prison how black aviation is destroying the homes of our workers. P.O.U.M. prisoners for 4 months, guilty of no crime, we have to endure in helpless immobility the further torture of the destruction of our homes and dear ones by fascist aviation.

This torture must cease. This persecution of anti-fascist workers must end. We denounce the danger represented by suppression which has no other aim than that of fortifying the positions of the enemy. It is necessary to react against this state of things. While anti fascists fill our prisons, fascist groups are organising on the rear-guard and on the fronts of battle. The daily spectacle of fascists who were condemned to death or long terms of imprisonment are now being set at liberty, while workers acquitted by the tribunals are held by the police can be tolerated no longer.

Without any accusation against us other than revolutionary activity, we have stifled our suffering consumed by our helplessness within the four walls of a prison cell, knowing that fascist arms have destroyed our women and children, as if that was not enough, we had to share the prison with fascists who cheer Franco frantically when his cowardly aviation showers death on Barcelona. Enough of this repression of Revolutionary workers! The Anti-fascists of the 19th July must be on the street uniting their efforts in the fight against spies and ambushes of the front and rear.

Anti-fascist unity which can lead to victory will not be realized so long as thousands of revolutionary workers are in prison.

Liberty for the anti-fascist prisoners!

Unity to crush fascism!

The P.O.U.M. prisoners.

Barcelona (Modele)