

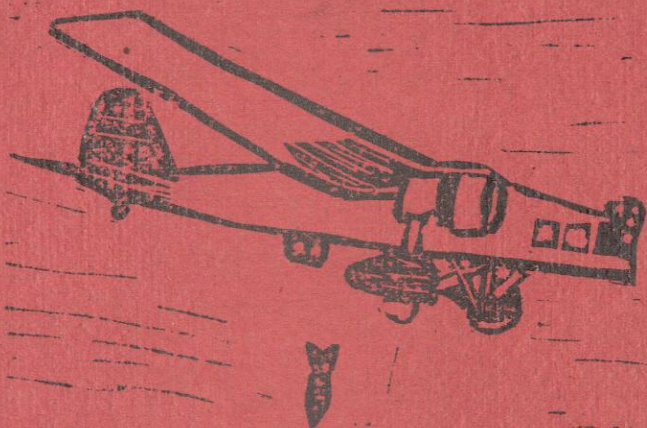
WORKERS' FREE PRESS

Nos. 7-8.

March—April, 1938.

One Penny

BLOOM of CIVILISATION



MURDER IN SPAIN!

Over a million lives have been lost in Spain since 19th July, and as many men, women and children have been injured, maimed and starved. Almost every day foreign Fascist planes bomb open towns like Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona, Tarragona, etc, and these murderous attacks have resulted in an unparalleled slaughter and butchery mostly of non-combatants.

Can we afford to be indifferent to this cold blooded mass murder of fellow human beings? Franco's insurrection, has from its inception been openly financed by the Fascist powers who have in defiance of all international law supplied munitions, rifles, guns, grenades, machine guns, artillery, tanks, aeroplanes and now submarines, armed trawlers etc. The League of Nations, under Britain and France has betrayed Spain just as it betrayed China (fearing it might become sovietised); and Ab-

FREE PRESS



Against Capitalism, sow the seeds of revolt!

Nos: 7-8: MARCH—APRIL, 1938: One Penny:

THE BLOOM OF CIVILISATION !

With characteristic brutal frankness, Vittorio Mussolin, the Italian dictator's eldest son, in his book: "Flying Over Ethiopian Mountain Ranges," says:

"Everything was fun . . . I remember one group of horsemen gave me the impression of a budding rose as bombs fell in their midst. It was exceptionally good fun, and they were easy to hit as we were not too high up and they offered a perfect target."

Vittorio regrets that the bombardment of Adowa "failed to give any satisfaction owing to the fact that there were only small huts which flattened out without raising smoke or flames as American film bombing scenes do."

The bombing of the Adi-Abo zone apparently compensated him for this for he writes:

"The greatest joy of the entire campaign was when we were ordered to bomb this zone with incendiary bombs. This was fine. It had a tragic, but beautiful effect. The best fun of all was trying to hit a large

hut which stood in the middle. I had to fly over it three times to make it. The third time I succeeded and saw it burn, with leaping Ethiopians trying to escape."

Further sadistic comments by Vittoria are:

"War is a magnificent sport, most beautiful, most complete."

"Such sport (bombing Adowa) is truly supreme, as the danger (against unarmed natives!) excites your senses."

Our artist, comrade S. G., has endeavoured to depict on front page of cover, the mangled human remains that compose the petals of the "budding rose" referred to by the unworthy scion of an unworthy father.

Since then these damnable bombings have taken place to China, where Japan is taking a leaf out of the book of the murderer of Matteotti, the Roselli brothers, etc.

Republican Spain, which concerns us most, as its revolutionary potentialities are the greatest, is now suffering from the most diabolical and concerted aerial bombardments ever experienced, and these raids are carried out by Germans and Italians in bombers from their respective countries. These have been supplied to puppet Franco, who has placed it on record that he is PREPARED TO DESTROY HALF OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE IN ORDER TO CONTROL THE OTHER HALF!

With similar fascist callousness, the drunken General Quiapo de Llano has stated—and he means it—"WE HAVE STRUCK THE WORD PITY OUT OF OUR DICTIONARY."

During a recent murderous raid on Barcelona, squadrons of Italian airplanes dropped leaflets as well as bombs, and these stated:

"Nothing can stop the victorious march of the Nationalist forces. NO HELP WILL COME TO YOU FROM ABROAD" They called upon the citizens, described impertinently as "rebels," to surrender.

The workers of Barcelona, for reply, shook their fists in typical revolutionary salute.

Fists, however, even when armed with rifles, are no adequate objective reply to these murderers of the air!

What our comrades require is not the pious or hypo-

critical "horror and disgust" evinced by Premier Neville Chamberlain, but ARMS and MUNITIONS; and above all ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS AND AEROPLANES!

But Chamberlain says: "Don't burn your fingers." "Keep out of Spain." "A Franco victory is for us not a matter of urgency or danger!"

In the middle of February, Eden, in the House of Commons, at the time when the bombing of Barcelona first became prominent, DECLINED TO MODIFY THE "NON-INTERVENTION" AGREEMENT even to the extent of ALLOWING LOYAL SPAIN TO IMPORT ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS! And no one created a scene!

Workers, if the Fascists and pro-fascists have struck the word pity from their dictionary; if our masters are more concerned about maintaining capitalism in general—even at the expense of their own empire—surely you have not expunged the words pity, common-sense, SOLIDARITY, SELF-PRESERVATION, from the international language of the working class.

Have you forgotten the slogans:

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS; YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN!

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

If you have not forgotten, then rally to the defence of the Spanish workers before they have suffered the fate of the Paris Commune, of Badahoz and of Seville.

The Spanish people do not ask you to burn your fingers. They do not ask for arms for nothing; they will pay. They do not ask you to fight for them; they have men enough, if they had arms enough. They only ask you, since Hitler and Mussolini are propping up the workers' hangman, Franco, to allow them the same right to arms. He is the rebel; they are the constitutional government. Therefore help them by demanding

STRIKE THE SHACKLES FROM SPAIN.

ARMS FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS!

SMASH THE BOGUS NON-INTERVENTION PACT.

At the same time, demand that the Spanish govt RELEASE THE C.N.T. and P.O.U.M. PRISONERS!

[Reprinted from "Barcelona Bulletin", published in May, 1937, by Guy A. Aldred and Wm. C. McDougall.]

WIN THE WAR!—BUT ALSO THE REVOLUTION!!

It is not without some humility that we venture to enter the arena of Spanish Working class politics, because the solidarity shown by the British and French workers has been deplorably short of the direct aid that could have been given. We have allowed our governments to impose every conceivable restriction on our Spanish comrades. The bogus and criminal non-intervention agreement has held up the defensive weapons that could have prevented such atrocities as Badajoz, Malaga, Durango and Guernica. Yet Fascist planes fly almost nightly direct from Germany and Italy to the aid of Franco!

The problems of the Spanish workers must be solved by the Spanish workers themselves

Never-the-less, we must take sides and rally to the support of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M.

To Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, Churchill, but also to Russia, we must say "No interference in Spain."

No dictatorship or Cheka in Spain. Thanks to the inspiration of the Anarchists, there should be in Spain, unlike Russia, no dictatorship over the workers.

We do not support "adventurism" or the minority "putch," but where the workers are in a clear majority, as in Barcelona, there is no argument for sabotaging the revolution yet the Stalinists have betrayed the slogan of "All Power to the Workers!" "All Power to the Soviet!" is also a forgotten cry and instead, they shout: "Support the democratic republic!"

The Stalinists use the arguments of Kerensky, and abuse the P.O.U.M. and the Anarchists just as that capitalist lackey abused Lenin and Trotsky! Do they forget that their god Lenin said, even before the October revolution: "Take the whole

power without the bourgeoisie; for you have a majority on the Soviets." Later he stressed the importance of winning the workers "over to the side of Soviet power against parliamentarism, to the side of proletarian dictatorship against bourgeois democracy." In the fight against Korniloff, he emphasised that they were fighting, not for but only with Kerensky, who was to be overthrown immediately the workers were ready!

For preaching these very same ideas to-day, the P.O.U.M. is described as an agent of Fascism—just as Lenin and Trotsky were described by Kerensky as the agents of the Kaiser!

Trotsky aimed to capture the key points in Petrograd, and to defend them with the workers' red guard. To-day, the Stalinists of Spain conspire to compel the evacuation of the key points—Barcelona telephone exchange, etc.—and their control to pass to the Spanish Kerenskys!

They shout: "Disarm the rear"—the workers—and "All power to Valencia"—the bulwark of Spanish Capitalism!

All support to the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M. who say, with Durutti: "Milicias, yes! Soldiers, No!" Don't disarm the revolutionary workers! Disarm the bourgeois elements where they are against the revolution! Safeguard the revolution!

Hail Syndicalist (Soviet) Catalonia! All power to the revolutionary workers of Spain!

Andre Nin is right: ask the assemblies of the workers of Catalonia for a mandate for the revolution. If a united front of all the workers will give the C.N.T.-F.A.I.—P.O.U.M., this mandate, the U.G.T. can scarcely hold out for Capitalism. If they do, they must be dominated by outside—Stalinist—influences. Let them ponder the fate of the Italian and German workers. Let them think of the Anarchists and Trotskyists in Russian jails. Let them, with us, say: "Hands off Spain! Hands off revolutionary Catalonia!"

SEEING THINGS IN RUSSIA!

"Vile traitor, confess! You also are a Trotskyist!"



Block copied from original by S.G.

An Italian paper accuses Stalin facetiously of being a Trotskyist; but another Italian paper says he is now secretly a fascist bent on destroying the last of the old Bolsheviks and Leninists in Russia.

The judicial murder of Kamenev, etc., in the last "trial," and now Rykov, Bucharin, etc., makes the latter suggestion more feasible than the former.

Now it is intended to bring against the POUM one of those infamous and scandalous criminal processes. Nin, Gorkin, Andrade, Bonet, David Rei, Arquer, old fighters in the workers' movement, to which they have sacrificed the best of their lives, will be vulgarly accused of being spies of Hitler, Mussolini or Franco. Documents and papers of all classes will be brought forward to testify against our comrades. They will try to create an atmosphere of scandal and confusion in order to procure their condemnation and death. What is the object of these manoeuvres? What do they seek with these false accusations? What is being prepared underhand against the POUM and the workers' revolutionary movement? Is it that they intend the surrender of Bilbao and an armistice with the fascists? Is it that they intend to impose the embrace of Vergara on the part of France, England and Russia? Is it that they wish to smother the working class and to avoid the triumph of the proletariat?

Dogs. Murderers! All your accusations against the POUM and against its heroic militants are absolutely lacking in courage. But however carefully you may have prepared the cri-

Stirring Manifesto from the P.O.U.M.
Translated by Ethel MacDonald.

Reprinted from the last issue of "Advance," and inserted as a temporary fill up, due to lack of funds.

minal process, we will expose the fraud. SPAIN IS NOT RUSSIA. The falsified documents and papers that you present will have no useful purpose. The workers know us, over and above all, all of us. Though you disguise your hands as cowards do, and make the police intervene, we know who it is that pulls the strings. It is the ambassadors and consulates of the USSR that wish to convert Spain into a colony; it is the men of the Communist Party and the PSUC; it is the traitors to the working class, the enemies of the proletarian Revolution, the agents of French capitalism and English imperialism who fear the Spanish revolutionary movement awakening the workers of their own countries.

You bring false proofs. We bring our untouched conduct and our class programme. The workers know us above all. Nin, Arquer, Coll, Gorkin, Bonet, Andrade are names that speak for themselves. They run through the period of the Monarchy and of Martinez Anido, builders of the Republic, insurrectionists of the 6th of October: they are met with in the Black two years, fighters on the 19th July and, lastly during the May Days. We have a very clean history. The factory workers, the peasants and the fighters will be

our best defenders. And to the outside world, they will not be spies in the pay of either Hitler or Mussolini—as they basely misrepresent us. Those who will defend us will be the workers of the Italian Maximalist Party, those of the German SAP, all of them in exile; the workers of the ILP; the workers of all the revolutionary fractions; those that will defend us and will be our guarantee.

You will need to make more proofs and more false testimonies, you need to throw more mud against our comrades in order to soil us with yours.

Life nor liberty do not matter to us. We are convinced communists for years, and nothing nor no one obtained our silence. We are implacable. Not for our defence is it necessary, but to accuse and denounce the manoeuvres against the working class that are being realised. In the factory and the field, in the front and in the prison our conduct will be the same, and our voice will rise to the ears of the working class.

You can detain us. You can invent all the processes imaginable. You can shoot us all. But whilst militants of the POUM exist there will be someone to accuse you; there will be someone to direct the workers in the way of revolution and victory.

POUM. Barcelona, 19th June, 1937.

ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM:

FACT; NOT MUSING.

To the Editor, "Workers' Free Press,—

DEAR COMRADE,

I have read with surprise Comrade T. L. Anderson's reply to Comrade M'Gurn in your last issue. Personally, I endorse every word that Comrade M'Gurn wrote and I considered his reply to Charles Doran unanswerable. It is possible that the comparison with which M'Gurn closed his article could have been omitted from the standpoint of taste. The omission would have strengthened the expression, but the inclusion does not detract from its logic.

I do not see how the columns of an Anti-Parliamentary organ came to be taken up so much with what is only a defence of the I.L.P. position.

If Doran was a number of years in the A.P.C.F., and then joined the I.L.P. and became definitely a parliamentarian, that may be exciting news for the I.L.P., but surely it is of no consequence to Anti-Parliamentarians. If Doran could remain an Anti-Parliamentarian, as he says, for 15 years, and then suddenly becomes a parliamentarian,

all the things he says about the Anti-Parliamentarians may be true, but surely it only means that, for 15 years, Doran was hopelessly wrong, hopelessly muddled, hopelessly divorced from the class struggle. If the Anti-Parliamentarians are stiff-shirts to-day, and were then, Doran must have been a stiff-shirt as well. Are we to believe that, in his sudden change, he has found the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth now? There is no evidence that he has, and the attack on the Anti-Parliamentary position merely rises from Doran's desire to square his conduct with his conscience.

It is no part of my intention to defend the A.P.C.F. position since I left it. In my opinion, the CNT-FAI interlude was an error, due to enthusiasm for the Spanish struggle, that was misplaced. But when Doran and Anderson, M'Gurn, not denying, declare that the A.P.C.F. "died after a short period of seeming vitality," they are writing arrant nonsense. The A.P.C.F. continued the work of Groups formed in London in 1906, and represents continuous, unsubsidised propaganda in Glasgow, and throughout Scotland, since 1912. *The A.P.C.F. died when Social Democracy, I.L.P. treachery, C.P. corruption, and the rot of Parliamentary failure and careerism, killed the Labour Movement. The A.P.C.F. died because its work of critical opposition to parliamentarism has achieved its purpose. The A.P.C.F. died when poverty destroyed the workers' struggle.*

In the main, the work of the A.P.C.F. on the political field is accomplished. But it has to turn to positive revolutionary work on the industrial field to build a revolutionary syndicalist and industrial direct actionist expression.

When Doran and Anderson sneer at the Anti-Parliamentarians for having no practical program, they forget that the parliamentarians have achieved nothing for the workers. Further, whilst Anti-Parliamentarism is opposed to reformism industrially and politically, there is nothing in Anti-Parliamentarian teaching to suggest that the workers should complacently submit to oppression. Quite the contrary. Anti-Parliamentarism preaches action and implies resistance to aggression.

I do not want to quarrel with Comrade Anderson. Personally, I am very friendly towards him. But I say his present attitude is wrong. I declare that M'Gurn is sound and his defence of Anti-Parliamentarism is unanswerable, not merely in logic but in fact, not in theory but in life, in struggle, and in practical experience.

Comrades Anderson and Doran are merely walking in John M'Govern's footsteps. They may or may not arrive

slips and contracts or other business forms it may be disguised, it is not business at all but slavery. Wage workers are wage slaves.

It should be clear that we sell our ability to work to those who own the machines and the natural resources, the things in general on which and with which we must work if we are to work at all. If we owned these things ourselves we would have no occasion to offer our lives for sale. Our class made these things for another class for whom our fathers worked, for whom we work, and for whose children our children will work, unless we, the last slave class on earth, organise as a class to abolish slavery forever.

That we are wage slaves is not a figure of speech; it is a statement of fact. A slave is one who must work for another, producing what he is told to produce, and turning the product over to the master. That is what the chattel slaves did for their living. That is what the serfs did for theirs. That is precisely what we do.

The mere fact that we can switch from employer to employer does not stop us from being slaves. The helots of ancient Sparta, like us, were the property not of any industrial master but the general property of the master class. To one or the other of the owners of industry we must go and seek work. That a member of our class now and then becomes an employer does not alter the fact; slaves have risen to the rank of master before.

The fact that we can quit, be fired and join the unemployed is sometimes called freedom of contract. This freedom is granted us because it costs less to put up signs "Men Wanted" than it would be to capture us, ship us, stable us, breed us or buy us. We are doing the work that others have set us to do; working the hours that they have set us to work, or sitting at home twiddling our thumbs because they have told us to twiddle our thumbs; being their slaves in all things except in so far as our unions have set us free. Any man may be enslaved, but he who

is willingly a slave, and who willingly sells his children into slavery, is no man at all. The I.W.W. could not maintain its self-respect if it were not a revolutionary Union seeking to free the last slave class on earth. Just as the worker is compelled out of self-respect to join a union to stop others from setting their price upon his very life, so too must the union recognise that this entire business of offering human life for sale at so much per hour is a disgraceful business, and set out to abolish it. This can be done only by taking possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolishing the wage system.

To wrest every possible concession from capitalism to boost wages; to establish better working conditions; to regulate hours to absorb the unemployed and convert their great mass from a dead weight pressing down on the wages of the unemployed into a mighty force for the betterment of both, and eventually to throw this crazy system of maliciously planned want into the ashcan of history and replace it with labour's planned economy of abundance—all this will take a labour movement built for effectiveness; built to rally round every available force; built as the I.W.W. alone is built.

Almost everything that unorganised workers do is something that harms them. Their very eagerness for a job lowers wages. Their speed and hurry on the job brings both it and them to an early end. Their scrimping and saving lowers living standards. Almost everything from their hurry to work in the morning to their winding the alarm clock at night, though done with the intent of increasing their income, assuring their security and raising their social position, is something that works to decrease their income, endanger that security and lower that social position. Our rulers through their schools have taught us to hate other people because of different religion, tongues, and breed. Why have they done this? Because they want to divide us.

A product of a capitalist public school system begins life at sixteen and from then on the newspapers control his mentality. His intelligence outside of a trade he may

learn is limited to a knowledge of horse racing, dog racing, stars of football, boxing champs, wrestling mugs, and other idols of sports based on the physical. He also knows a few screen idols.

Mentally he is a flop. He doesn't think for himself; the affairs of his country do not worry him nor does he know what government is all about. He is perfectly satisfied with three squares a day, and his big aim in life is to get on a pension list.

On election day he goes to the polls a blindfolded mental blank absolutely ignorant of political or economic issues, and casts his vote for the best mud-slinger.

When defrauded he hasn't the guts to squak, and if gyped out of house and home brags about being able to take it on the chin.

He belongs to the famous British working class; meat for every sort of racketeer—just a plain sucker, and he doesn't know it. Who the hell wants to be an average honest decent British worker under capitalism?

So our duty as revolutionary Socialists is first to fight the ignorance of our own class before we can hope to make any real headway at all. Every member of our own class should try to raise his own intelligence in order to avoid fighting among ourselves. Our present ignorance is shown by the fact that we supply soldiers and sailors to our rulers for their armies and navies. We make ammunition for our masters and manufacture chains and build jails for ourselves. Never do our masters and rulers fight their own battles. They leave the dirty work for us to do, and they will occupy their privileged position in society only so long as we keep them there. Don't forget they will run like so many scared rats from a burning ship the moment we raise our heads and say: "WE've had enough: Down with you." Shall we wait for heroes, leaders and misleaders to bring us salvation? No, our leaders are here. The Revolutionary Workers of the World!

ORDER "LIVING MARXISM" NOW!

(6d).—Organ of the International Council Communists.

yssinia to prevent fascist Italy's collapse.

Had the Spanish rebellion been by the workers against a reactionary government, the workers and not the government would have been sabotaged. To cover up this treachery our government induced France to initiate that criminal farce called "Non Intervention" and risked their own Imperial interests in the Mediterranean rather than tolerate a workers' victory in Spain. Had arms been allowed to the gallant defenders at Irun, Bajahoz and Malaga, Franco would have been defeated long ago and millions of lives saved. Bilbao, Gijon and the Asturias would still have been in Republican territory; a greater security, therefore, for the French workers and ourselves.

Whilst the Rebels received aid by arms and camouflaged German and Italian conscripts Britain stopped the flow of volunteers from this country and France whilst making no attempt to stop the landing of Fascist troops.

British ships were next prevented from carrying arms, and trade in food-stuffs was harrassed and ships "advised" not to relieve the Basques or Asturians.

Refugees were callously allowed to drown in sight of the British Navy! Now the exchange of agents is to pave the way for de facto recognition of Franco, and when the latter makes a pretence of evacuating a few troops, he will be conceded belligerent rights; the right to starve loyalists by a merciless blockade, carried out by Italian and German warships and submarines. These submarines are now in the Mediterranean. Our pro-fascist government is still insisting on the closing of the French frontier, whilst Franco gets supplies at seaports under his control to continue the murder of Spain's heroic working-class defenders.

Workers! No arms for Franco!

No loans (arms) for Italy or Germany; so long as they are fascist.

Open the French frontier. Smash Fascism while there is yet time!