

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Is Catalonia Negotiating A Separate Peace With Franco?

We very often wonder at the brazen lies of the Nazi and Fascist press. Do they really serve their purpose? Is the public so gullible as to swallow the crude fabrications of the official Nazi press which do not even stand the test of the most elementary common sense.

Nazi fabrications, however, are masterly works of artful propaganda compared to the official lies now emanating from the Stalinist controlled sources of information on Spanish events. Thus we read in the New York Times of August 28th that the Central government is seriously concerned with the move for a separate peace made by the Catalonian Government and that it is sending its own troops (the International Brigades) to thwart such an attempt. (Like all official dispatches it is inspired by the Communist controlled agencies.)

But who is the Catalonian government? Only two weeks ago we read about the curbing of the autonomous power of the Catalonian government, about its "coordination" in the general plan of things as shaped now by the Moscow agents. How can a government that is shorn of its powers of military and financial control, of any sort of independence in diplomatic relationships, negotiate a separate peace?

And who controls this government? Who was the one that pro-

voiced the political crisis with the view of ousting the C.N.T.? Who arrested the P.O.U.M. leaders without even notifying the official government agencies?

That the Moscow agents now run the Catalonian government, just as they control the puppet government of Negrin, is now known to everyone who has given himself the trouble of reading the daily dispatches from Spain. The P.S.U.C. (Stalinist outfit in Catalonia) is all powerful in Catalonia. The thousands of political prisoners, the assassinations the fascization of political life, the attack upon collectives, the demoralization of the Aragonian Militia, all that testifies to the all-prevailing influence of this Moscow-controlled Party. Who then has the authority to negotiate a separate peace in Catalonia?

The Esquerra (Liberal Republicans)? They have no armed force in the province to back up any move of that sort. It is the P.S.U.C. that is flirting with this idea. Against whom then are the International Brigades sent in order to frustrate such moves?

True, the present leader of the P.S.U.C., Comorera, was an ardent separatist only two years ago, demanding the separation of Catalonia from the rest of Spain at any cost. But Comorera's convictions have become proverbial in Spain. His separation (Continued on page four)

ARAGON FREE COUNCIL DISSOLVED BY ORDER OF VALENCIA GOVERNMENT ITS PRESIDENT, ASCASO, IMPRISONED ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES

A Landmark of Counter-Revolutionary Triumph

We already wrote of the furious drive instituted against the Aragon Council by the Moscow agents and their bourgeois allies. The Aragon Council was the only bright spot in the ever darkening picture presented now by the revolution on the down-grade. It retained its truly anti-Fascist character representing every section of the anti-Fascist camp in Aragon. Although the latter province is predominantly anarchist in its sentiments, the Council gave equal representation to other non-anarchist forces of the anti-Fascist camp.

There was no censorship in Aragon. Newspapers in Aragon came out without the ugly and ever increasing blotches gradually whitening down the freedom of Spanish press. Jails were reserved for Fascists and not for revolutionists. Meetings were held without any interference of the new Che-Ka police. And a range as it sounds in present day Spain, even anniversary meetings to commemor-

ate the revolution of July 19 were held officially throughout the province. Unlike Catalonia WHERE THE MOSCOW AGENTS NOW IN CONTROL OF THE PROVINCE FORBADE ANY ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS OF JULY 19, Aragon had a number of such meetings at which the revolutionary message and significance of July 19 was emphasized anew.

And what is, perhaps, even more important: the collectives were not baited and held under continuous threats of the semi-Fascist elements operating through the governmental agencies.

An oasis of freedom and revolutionary hope? One does not have to know much about the nature of Moscow Fascism in order to realize that no such oasis can be tolerated by its forces. The Aragon Council, and especially its President—one of the most intrepid militants of the anarchist movement—Joachim Ascaso, became the target of a vicious campaign of slanders on the part of the counter-revolution. And in measure that the latter was gaining supremacy in Catalonia, actual steps were undertaken to

eliminate the last stronghold of revolutionary power. The calculated and pre-meditated demoralization of the Aragon troops was one of the steps. The disarming of Catalonian workers and peasants—another step of that nature.

(Continued on page two)

"MYSTERIOUS" FIRES IN STALINIST BARRACKS ARE NO MYSTERY TO WORKERS

A fire broke out on July 13th in the Karl Marx Barracks (Communist). The firemen who extinguished it reported that a great quantity of explosives were stored there: hand grenades, rifles, rifle bullets, mortars, machine guns, rifle machine guns, etc.

Is it not rather suspicious that all the C.N.T.-F.A.I. locals are searched, where they find only books; while locals where so much explosive material are to be found are not searched at all?

11,000 assault guards have been brought to Barcelona from the fronts, with all their rifles, machine guns, cannons and tanks. Why do we want so many men in the rear if nothing is happening, and even more, if we are now drafting men for the front? (C.N.T.-F.A.I. Information Bulletin.)

(Continued on page two)

REACTIONARY CHURCHES REOPENING IN SPAIN

On the 24th of August we received a cablegram from Barcelona, bearing this cryptic legend: "First mass celebrated yesterday Barcelona everything quiet."

A few weeks ago, when the international press throughout the world announced that the official representative of Francisco Franco in the Holy City had supplanted the erstwhile representative of the Valencia Government, much favorable editorial comment appeared in the press here and abroad, ostensibly calculated to lessen the prevailing opinion against the atrocities committed by Franco and his bosom friends. The spectre of Guernica, the slaughter of Malaga, Irun and Bilbao will gradually diminish in horror just in proportion as the blessings of the Holy Father are poured out upon Franco's head. Well, it is bad enough that the moral depravity of the Roman Catholic Church is still as base as ever—that the Burgos Government had received its soothing unction—bad enough indeed, but quite logically to be expected. Fellow criminals will naturally seek out each other's company!

The Basques, good Catholics that they are, have been delivered into Franco's hands, the Falangists are fierce, fanatical fighters for the Catholic faith, perhaps the only really sincere supporters of Franco among the countless tens of thousands of mercenaries operating under his banner; and a very large element of the bourgeois population in that section of Spain that has fallen to Franco, are predominantly Catholic. That the Pope did not officially recognize Franco long since is more surprising than the fact that he is recognizing him now. It was the inevitable and proper thing to do. The Roman Catholic Church and the murder of men, women and children are historical counterparts.

But the recognition of the Roman Catholic Church by the Government of Valencia puts the final stamp of moral leprosy upon the men of which it is composed. It is a better barometer of the character of that government than all the acts of reprisal and betrayal it has committed since its cowardly retreat from Madrid last fall.

There is, after all is said and done, something mysterious

about the connivance of the Communists in this latest move of the government to re-establish the operation of the Roman Catholic Church. Opium in Russia can scarcely be anything else but opium in Spain, but they know exactly what they are doing and why they are doing it. The inner political atmosphere of Russia so reeks of degeneration that its outer policies must needs bring it deeper into the mire of corruption with which Moscow, London and Paris find themselves surrounded. None will ever know the extent of the countless dead who perished in Russia for the brazen crime of owning a horse, yet members of the same political organization that once slaughtered the kulaks there, now deify the Caciques in Spain and take from the peasants the land the Revolution gave them. Naturally, this pleases those little village tyrants, so, having back their land, now they want back their priests who will certainly bless the communists for their noble, bloody deeds.

Little else remains to be done, save make the deal with Franco (Continued on page three)

Libertarian Youth of Valencia Province on The Upgrade

At the beginning of March (1937) the Libertarian Youth organization of the Valencia organization had only 10,000 members. Now it has 35,000 members and it keeps on growing rapidly.

Four months of active propaganda made it the leading youth organization of that province. Next in influence comes the Unified Socialist Youth, which at the present time is faced with inner problems of a very acute nature.*

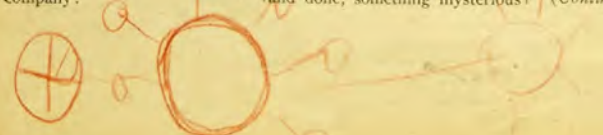
*Ed. Note. The Valencia United Socialist Youth Organization is backing Largo Caballero in his fight against Communist domination.

Because of its left orientation the Valencia Socialist Youth is bitterly assailed by the Central Executive Committee of the Unified Socialist Youth captured by the Stalinists at the very beginning of the revolution.

In Valencia alone there are 38 centers of young Libertarians with a membership of 6,500.

Their activity in selling magazines and publications in the streets and meetings is very great. In two months they sold 60,000 books. Numerous rationalist schools (of the Francisco Ferrer type) were created under the leadership of those organizations. And apart from educational facilities every local has now physical training courses and gymnasias.

Shortage in paper prevents them from publishing a newspaper of their own. But instead they have a page in the daily anarchist papers (F.A.I.) *Nosotros* and *Fragua Social*. Another C.N.T. daily in Valencia publishes much of the material of the Libertarian Youth organizations.



SPANISH REVOLUTION

ORATORY IN BARCELONA

BARCELONA MASSES CELEBRATE UNITY PACT

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

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SOLIDARITY OF WORKING CLASS CAN SAVE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Neither the verbal protests of the "Socialist Call" nor the belated warnings of the "Nation" against dictatorship in Loyalist Spain, will do much to halt the ever-increasing persecutions of anti-Fascist revolutionists in Spain. The Russian-controlled Negrin government has no mind to put an end to their tyranny in Spain any more than the C.P. is ready to give over its power to the working class in Russia. In fact the resistance of the Spanish working-class to any dictatorial power, whether it be that of Franco or Stalin, has merely goaded the Spanish agents of the G.P.U. into a murderous frenzy. The alliance between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. has not been to their liking. "Mundo Obrero," Spanish organ of the C.P. raved and ranted against it and the censors were driven into intense activity immediately after its conclusion. Nor was the meeting of the Provincial Federations of the Spanish Socialist Party (representing its rank and file), which condemned the national committee of the S.P. for its attempt to manoeuvre an amalgamation with the Communist Party and branded it as lacking "personality and authority," conducive to the good temper of the aspiring politicians of Spain.

Appeals will hardly be of service to the Spanish people, victims of German and Italian ambitions and English, French and Russian imperialist treachery. The illusions have been shattered. We must proceed to action, independent action not subject to the betrayals of a government or of a political party hungry for power.

The "North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy" is a creature of the Communist Party and has as its purpose to gain prestige for each successively more reactionary government that Russia creates in Spain. The financial contributions that it receives from its well-meaning but misinformed supporters, are sent (the part that gets there) to those who attacked the workers in Barcelona in May 1937, who assassinated Berneri, Nin, Martinez and hundreds of other militants. Money must be sent to the true anti-Fascists of Spain, not to those who persecute them. What then should be the attitude of any self-respecting anti-Fascist toward the North American Committee?

If the "Socialist Call" and the "Nation" are serious in their protest, if they realize the danger to freedom inherent in the policy of the Negrin government, controlled by the Communist Party, they must immediately, before it is too late, call for proper action. They must forget their politics and realize that humanity and civilization are at stake.

A call for direct action on the part of the working class must be made at once. The actions of the English sailors and I.W.W. seamen in refusing to transport goods to Fascist-controlled ports in Spain should serve as examples for all American labor. No materials of any sort should be manufactured for or shipped to any but the loyalist ports in Spain. Labor must demand—nay, COMPEL—the end of false "neutrality," of hypocritical, treacherous, "non-intervention." It must use its strongest weapons to wipe off the face of the Spanish peninsula the filth and mire of international diplomatic intrigue that is smothering and threatens to engulf the Spanish people. For this, organized labor must use those weapons which constitute its strength—the boycott, the strike, the general strike!

This is the only program that the international working class can follow in order to save the cause of anti-Fascism in Spain. The Russian revolution was assisted by the unflinching solidarity of the workers in many countries who resorted to direct action to help their Russian brothers. Why cannot the Spanish Revolution be saved by similar help?

Workers of the world, your Spanish brothers need your solidarity to-day more than ever, for they are fighting your battle as well as their own. Now is the time to act!

A GIFT COPY OF THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION" IS AN APPEAL FOR YOU TO SUBSCRIBE.

From "Tierra y Libertad" we reprint the following extracts from the speeches delivered to an overflow audience at the immense Olympia in Barcelona. The meeting was sponsored by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

"We are here to crush Fascism. There can be no differences. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that all the economy, both of Catalonia and of the rest of Spain, must be managed by the working class—the essential background of victory. If the creative urge of the working class is not heeded, you may rest assured that the national economy will suffer collapse and finally sink. . . ."

Francisco Esgleas, Former Minister of Defense for Catalonia.

"Revolutionary Spain will not return to the past. . . . Spain has planned out its revolution, and nations under such circumstances have their hesitant and heroic phases. . . . When some people think that the temperature falters because of the prolongation of the struggle, they then try to throttle the revolution: but they are mistaken. . . . The proletariat will sweep away all the obstacles in its path. . . . will destroy capitalism and advance straight forward to the establishment of the society of free producers. . . ."

Ramon Liarte.

Do not forget that in Spain there are two U.G.T.'s. There is the one of the small businessman, the storekeeper, the owner and the industrialist. The U.G.T. of the small shopkeepers who formerly belonged to the "LIGA" (that very reactionary political party of the rich—O.D.) and who are now in the U.G.T. because it is necessary to join one of the two existing unions, and, of course, the spirit of the class of such as Senor Esteve, who says to himself: 'I must join a union. Otherwise I could not sell my goods. Alright then, I'll join the U.G.T. where I am better understood.' This is the U.G.T. of Catalonia.

"We must rise against the conservative spirit of the small owners and businessmen in the U.G.T.

"And then there is the other U.G.T. The U.G.T. of Spain, which is incorporated in the revolutionary movement of Spain, authentically socialist, recognizing class responsibility, which has collectivized and is a part of the great socializations. The U.G.T. of the workers who know that the hour has struck for the proletariat and that the opportunity must be taken advantage of and that it is necessary to join the sister union. The U.G.T. of the Federation of the Land Workers: we count on that U.G.T. The members of that U.G.T. do not whisper in the bread lines and the factories and shops—'Do not pay any attention to the C.N.T.' That is the one that will build up, together with us, the Federalism. That is the one that constitutes the bulwark against Fascism. That is the one which,

together with the C.N.T. will build up a new Spain.

"Spain is a free country. Our freedom cannot be alienated by any country in the world, much less by Rome, or Berlin or even Moscow.

"It is not only the anarchists who protest against the attempted interference by the various 'friend' and 'enemy' countries in the affairs of Spain. A large section of the socialists feel the same way about it. Pascual Tomas, general vice-secretary of the U.G.T., attacked that policy in a vigorous recent speech in Castellon, saying in part: 'There are some who must wait until the white dove of the "slogan" or the "line" arrives. And such as these are good for our cause. We declare that we are immensely obliged to Russia who defends herself by defending us. No one knows of the extent of this help better than we. . . . However, and despite all that, we must issue the warning that no one should try to make capital out of that help with the purpose of trying to impose upon us acceptance of given tactics and doctrines.' Always internationalists, we will defend our independence as a nation and in order to be able to do it with authority, we ask some measure of respect on the part of others, because Spain is of age and quite competent to have her own thoughts and ideas without having to import those thoughts and ideas from elsewhere."

Federica Montseny.

(Translated by O. D.)

It might not here be amiss to make editorial comment on the firm manner of speech indicated by the foregoing excerpts of some of the speakers at this meeting. Where else in the whole world might anarchists and anarchist sympathizers be expected to speak firmly and

openly, than in Barcelona? And yet, it was right there in Barcelona that some of the greatest and most wanton crimes of the communists have been, and are being, committed against the revolution. Communists do not fear fine speeches, they make them themselves on occasion, such as the one of Hernandez in his attack upon Caballero as War Minister. It was a fine, splendid piece of oratory—an incisive, biting and devastating attack upon a former friend and ally—but it was a tissue of lies, a cauldron of hypocrisy, a masterful diatribe against a tool in the communist factory of intrigue that could no longer be used.

The purpose of the meeting at the Olympia was to celebrate the ratification of the pact of unity of the two revolutionary organizations still gasping for breath in Spain. It is our hope that this unity will accomplish its purpose and that it will see, before too late, the folly of conceding one after another of the demands of a straw-man government which is being used by Moscow wherewith to sustain life in her fetid body through her unholy alliance with Britain and France. These latter two nations are gradually, but certainly strangling the most ambitious attempt ever made at constructive social revolution, in all the time of man. That Soviet Russia is capable of such duplicity were enough to make all decent people want to wash their hands of any contact with her, for wherever Stalin's policies are, there resides incipient destruction.

Aragon Council Dissolved

(Continued from page one)

Once brought to an end, those measures enabled the Stalinist counter-revolution to put its hand on the Aragon Council. Now we learn that the latter has been dissolved and that its President, comrade Ascaso has been placed under arrest. There is serious apprehension in the revolutionary circles that comrade Ascaso may share the fate of Andreas Nin and numerous other revolutionists who "vanish" in the dungeons of the Chè-Ka.

The government of Aragon has been reorganized. The Council has been dissolved and power has been vested in a governor sent from Valencia—a Madrid lawyer of semi-Fascist sympathies. The workers' organizations and even political parties of Aragon have already been eliminated from any participation in the government of this revolutionary province.

Their place was taken by a host of commissars, bureaucrats sent from Valencia, most of them former members of conservative parties but now faithful members of the Communist Party.

Another notch in the temporary triumph of the Stalinist counter-revolution! Another warning to all genuinely revolutionary elements as to the danger of any "united fronts" with a fascisized Party working under the misleading name of a Communist Party! And another "memento" to the Spanish workers and peasants of Spain whose mounting hatred for the Moscow agents and the counter-revolutionary forces headed by them is so fierce as to need a restraining hand in order to keep it in readiness for the inevitable day of reckoning which, according to many observers is rapidly approaching in Spain.

Stalinists-Bourgeoisie Plan Totalitarian Party in Order to Combat Unity of C.N.T.-U.G.T.

The irresistible urge of the Spanish workers toward united revolutionary action culminating in the recently concluded pact between the two economic organizations of the working class—the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist confederation of labor) and the U.G.T. (Socialist trade unions) is now being opposed by a move engineered by the Moscow agents to unify all the political parties under the domination of the Communist Party.

The Fascist implications of this move are so obvious that even Louis Fisher, whose special mission is to "sell" the Stalinist policies in Spain to the liberal public opinion of America, found it hard to reconcile it with the alleged democratic aims of the Negrin government.

"The Caballero Socialists," he informs us, "may be outlawed within three months. The Anarchists are being eliminated as an active factor. There would remain the bourgeois Republicans whose role is a minor one, the Communists and the Negrin-Prieto Socialists. The Communist Party is conducting an intense, unrelenting, whirlwind campaign for the fusion of the Communists and Socialists (of the right wing). If successful, this would mean an enlarged organization under Communist domination even if it joined the Second International. And,"

our author ends somewhat ruefully, "this totalitarian monopoly of power by a single party would threaten the democracy which exists today in Spain."

The democracy existing today in Spain is of a dubious nature. It is being rapidly whittled away by the growing power of the Stalinist agents. But the little there remains is the height of libertarian achievements compared to what awaits the country in case the Moscow agents succeed in their nefarious plan of imposing the rule of a single Party of Marxist Unity which will become as much a tool of the Fascist plans of the Moscow government as the infamous P.S.U.C. of Catalonia, a party formed by way of merging the Socialist and Communist elements of that province. Comorera, the leader of the P.S.U.C., was a socialist before the formation of that party and now there is no one who had sold himself so completely to the Soviet government as this erstwhile Catalonian national-socialist. Negrin, Prieto and their ilk are made of the same stuff. They have no support among the proletarian membership of the Socialist Party. They represent the petty-bourgeois and careerist element in that Party and it is this element that shows the greatest admiration for the Communist Party and its Fas-

cist methods. Their thin veneer of democratic liberalism is rapidly falling off under the impact of revolutionary realities and now they stand ready to be "co-ordinated," in the name of democracy, into such an eminently "democratic" organization as the contemplated Unified Party of Marxist Unity. And that the latter will be "co-ordinated" into the general policies of the Fascized Third International even press agents of the Louis Fisher kind find it difficult to deny.

Here is the course of this co-ordination as visualized by the CNT, anarcho-syndicalist daily in Madrid.

"The Socialist Party will be offered the General Secretaryship of this Unified Party but under condition that the Communist Party will choose the person for that post.

"Arguments of all sorts will be used to keep out the workers' organizations from sharing power with political parties. Only those parties will be admitted to power who obtained the electoral victory of February 16th (1936).

"And while power is exercised under such conditions attempts will be made to reduce the influence of the Republican parties. And on the other hand, the leading positions in the Party of Marxist Unity will be gradually captured by the Communist elements. That achieved, the question will be raised of crushing all dissenting opinion. (See Louis Fisher's prediction of the wiping out of the Caballero socialists.)

"The following step will be to place before the Party of Marxist Unity the question of international affiliations. The most prominent members of the Second International will be dubbed 'social-fascist' and the 'revolutionary' course of the Third International will be exalted above everything else."

And what will happen after this Party, which, endowed with the sole monopoly of a totalitarian agency, will have become affiliated with the Third International, is so clear that the paper does not find it even necessary to discuss.

Revolutionary Spain will join the happy family of all totalitarian dictatorships and the difference between Franco and the Valencia government will be effaced so completely as to make feasible the plan of the English imperialists reported by Ludwig Lore in his column "Behind the Cables." The plan as is known, consists in ending the civil war in Spain by some sort of a peace between Franco and the Valencia government.

And the dictatorship of the Moscow dominated totalitarian

TERMS OF UNITY PACT

While the Stalinists hypocritically prate about "unity" (with the bourgeoisie) they do their best to knife real labor unity. The epoch-making unity pact between the two great trade union bodies in Spain is indeed a bone in Stalin's throat. We give herewith a translation of the document made public at Valencia on the 29th of July in connection with the alliance formed and the terms agreed upon between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.:

1. Mutual non-aggression promises. The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. renounce in their propaganda, press and platform work, the making of any sort of criticisms, attacks, etc., of any violent nature against any of the postulates of either union. The doctrinal differences that separate each organization are always to be examined objectively, taking into consideration our cordial syndical doctrines, as defended by both unions.

2. Neither the C.N.T. nor the U.G.T. will recognize nor give belligerent rights to any labor organization that operates beyond the discipline of of the C.N.T. or the U.G.T.

3. Freedom of organization. The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. bind themselves to absolutely respect the freedom of the workers to join either union. In the work centers, in the fields, shops, factories and mills, the union book of either the C.N.T. or the U.G.T. shall be accepted as evidence that the bearer is a union man.

4. Both organizations bind themselves not to admit into their midst any individual who has been expelled because of some immoral act or for the breaking of some decision of a sister union.

5. It is also agreed that no unions that have been suspended from either the C.N.T. or the U.G.T. should be admitted into either other union without first conferring with the union of which the applicant was formerly a member.

6. It shall be considered as a violation of this pact, subject to immediate punishment, for any coersions to be attempted with the idea of compelling workers or local unions to join either of the organizations with which they are not identified.

7. The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. bind themselves to take the necessary punitive measures against their individual members or locals who systematically refuse to carry out the agreements made by both organizations.

8. In order to make these indispensable principles of mutual respect possible as a basis for the establishment and development of further objectives, the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. agree to appoint a National Liaison Committee made up of three representatives of each organization. The purpose of this committee shall be:

Party of Marxist Unity—if such a dictatorship will ever succeed in winning out in revolutionary Spain—will be badly in need of such a peace.

(a) To meet at least once each week.

(b) To faithfully carry out the foregoing outlined provisions.

(c) To create in every geographical location, liaison committees between the local and national committees. These local liaison committees shall function merely to carry out the decisions of the National Committee and convey to the National Committee all suggestions which may be made by the local committees dealing with the problems on hand.

(d) To discuss such problems as circumstances may bring about which are not covered by the program of action nor in the joint decisions of the two national organizations.

9. Disputes or disagreements arising in any locality shall be solved by National Liaison Committee.

10. The National Liaison Committee shall propose to the executive committees of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. the penalties (sanctions) to be imposed upon the locals failing to carry out the decisions of the National Liaison Committee.

11. All agreements or decisions to be made shall, in order to be valid, be signed by the National organisms of the two central organizations.

12. The National Liaison Committee shall propose to the Executive Committee of the C.N.T. and the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. all resolutions, which, in their opinion, should be adopted in the solution of all problems that arise. Responsibility for the carrying out of those decisions shall rest with the National Committee of the C.N.T. and the Executive Committee of the U.G.T., complying with the decisions adopted by the National Liaison Committee.

—National Committee of the C.N.T.
—Executive Committee of the U.G.T.

CATHOLIC CHURCHES REOPEN

(Continued from page one)

that has been rumours ever since Comorera began his frequent jaunts to France, there to confer with Dencas, Casanovas and the rest of the Fascist spies hiding out, biding their time to return to Spain as Casanovas has already done. If this can be successfully engineered, the Valencia Government will capitulate, the communists will be safe in that their party is now filled to overflowing with good Catholic, bourgeois business men, and the last remaining act in the drama of Spain will be the massacre of the population in a final drive by Franco.

The return of the tyrant church is a political move that shows the fine hand of artistic intrigue. It will quash the popular opposition of Western civilization, white-wash the crimes of the church for 20 centuries and permit her priests to return to their caches of gold, reopen their sporting establishments, resume business, place blessings upon the head of the exploiters of the Spanish people and bring a government the Fates have

smiled upon for but a day, before the bar of respectability, from whence it may bow its way from the stage with grace and safety. Another prevarication of history, for which we must humbly thank the Communist Party, without whom the counter-revolution in Spain would never have lived to be weaned.

So now, the citadel of ignorance is to have another lease of life—the heroic work of the scientists and the revolutionists, for the moment is undone. But can a work like that of Ascaso and Durruti be undone? Will another monster of Saragossa rise up, swath himself in a black drape and, in the name of the gentle Jesus, partake of the profits of prostitution—ah, but that were just an incident in the daily rounds of a business built upon prostitution; but its role is known and it can no longer hide in the dark places. It must brazen its presence leaning upon the arm of its protector, this time, the Communist Party disguised as Valencia: Two shameless culprits against a people being bled white by soldiers of the Cross and Crescent for a few Spanish pesetas.

PICTURE ALBUMS

We still have a number of copies of each of the two albums we have received from Spain. One is a collection of 31 beautifully reprinted water-color paintings of scenes of the first days of the Spanish Revolution. The artist, Sim, painted these pictures from actual life. This unusual collection published by the C.N.T. in Spain sells for only two dollars (\$2.00).

The other album depicts the history of the Spanish War and Revolution in photographs. These photos, taken on the spot, are indeed a beautiful tribute to the heroic struggle of the Spanish proletariat. The album sells for only 75c.

Order your album now from the U.L.O., Jack White, 45 W. 17th Street, New York.

Facts and Figures

CATALAN CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN SPANISH WAR TOLD BY "N. Y. POST" COLUMNIST

But Lore Forgets That Revolution Made Accomplishments Possible

In his daily column "Behind the Cables" in the *New York Post* of August 31st, Ludwig Lore discusses the rumors that Catalonia is negotiating a separate peace with Franco. (Note: see article on page one of this issue of *Spanish Revolution*, dealing with same question). Mr. Lore spikes these rumors by pointing out the extent of the aid Catalonia gave and is giving to anti-Fascist Spain. How Catalonia was enabled to give such assistance, Mr. Lore, characteristically, fails to explain. But his recital of facts is sufficiently interesting to warrant our reprinting them. He says:

What are the facts? The Aragon front, 4,025 square kilometers of treeless, roadless, waterless mountain country, has been held almost exclusively by the Catalans since the beginning of the civil war. The towns of Barbastro and Casp, which are held by the Catalans, are located at a comparatively long distance from the geographic frontiers of Catalonia. This territory forms a rectangle with a total area of 23,000 square kilometers. Besides freeing their own territory, with a total area of 32,196 square kilometers, the Catalans have freed an area of 27,000 square kilometers of Aragon territory. They have, in other words, driven the Spanish and foreign Fascists out of a total area of 59,196 square kilometers, at the price of their blood and enormous material resources.

But Catalonia did far more. She smashed Fascism in Barcelona, Tarragona, Girona, Lleida, Barbastro, Casp and Valencia. She sent a military expedition to Majorca, which—against the better judgment of the Catalans—was withdrawn by the Madrid Government after several victories. The Catalans laid siege to Huesca, Teruel and Jaca in Aragon. They held 75,000 Catalan soldiers on the Aragon front.

On the central war front 35,000 Catalan combatants fought before Guadalajara and Brihuega. Catalonia buried 15,000 of her sons on the central front. There are Catalan soldiers also at Jaen and Pozoblanco and at Motril on the Granada front.

Catalonia feeds, clothes and gives schooling to 450,000 war refugees

from other regions of Spain. During the last ten days more than 300,000 refugees came alone from the north and more are still coming. Catalonia will soon have to take care of 1,000,000 refugees. More than 50 per cent of the hospital population of Catalonia are non-Catalans.

Barcelona provides the loyalists with the largest part of their war necessities. Catalonia had not a single factory during the dark days of the monarchy. Practically out of nothing she developed, in less than a year, a war industry that is one of the outstanding achievements of the civil war. Today 283 factories are busy day and night turning out all sorts of war material, from hand grenades to machine guns, from explosives to airplanes.

Catalonia is doing a job which, when the history of this bloody crime of international Fascism is written, will fill many pages with the story of her heroism and self-sacrifice.

Who are these Catalans that "smashed Fascism in Barcelona"? Who formed the militia columns that cleaned Catalonia of Fascism and then "freed an area of 27,000 square kilometers in Aragon"? Where did the 75,000 troops that have held the Aragon front successfully since the beginning of the war come from?

Mr. Lore knows the answers as well as we do. However, we are not averse to refreshing his memory. Every eyewitness without exception, tells the story of the street battles in Barcelona on July 17, 18th and 19th, 1936, in which the supremely heroic workers of the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist F.A.I. and C.N.T. successfully stormed the rebel military barracks, almost barehanded. Everyone knows that the militia columns who swept thru Catalonia and Aragon consisted overwhelmingly of these libertarian workers and peasants who fought Fascism so that they could achieve their life-long hope: a free society ruled by the peasants and workers. Ludwig Lore knows that

when the anarchist Durruti column triumphed over the Fascist mercenaries in town after town, they made sure that the tremendous estates, owned for the most part by Fascist landlords, would not be left idle—they helped the peasants form collective farms. They had the good sense not to leave the factories and shops in the hands of their untrustworthy bourgeois owners and therefore helped the workers socialize the factories. Nay, even more—they realized that the rest of Spain was also sorely in need of arms, so many factories were spontaneously transformed into munitions plants by the workers organizations. Even today the vast majority of the "283 factories" producing munitions are socialized under the C.N.T. or joint C.N.T.-U.G.T. control. And the very government whose life was saved by the revolutionists turned around and sabotaged the saviors of Spain.

Where does Catalonia get the food, clothing and teachers with which it "feeds, clothes and gives schooling to 450,000 (by now almost 1,000,000—ed.) war refugees from other regions of Spain"? Precisely from the collective farms (which have voluntarily donated millions of pesetas worth of food to refugees and to the militia), from the completely socialized textile industry of Catalonia (whose factories, its former owners, mostly Fascists, had abandoned) and in the new rationalist schools formed by the Teachers Unions of the C.N.T. and U.G.T.

Let us not forget that the "15,000 of her sons" that Catalonia "buried"—on the central front—were libertarians, revolutionary sons of the working class.

But it was those very same anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist workers upon whom Mr. Lore on another occasion dared to blame the possible triumph of Fascism. And, when on May 3rd-7th these revolutionary workers of Barcelona spontaneously resisted the Stalinist inspired and conducted attempt to physically suppress them and the achievements whose results Mr. Lore so admires, then he again accused the workers of playing into the hands of the Fascists!

Mr. Lore is being informed of Stalinist plans to negotiate a separate peace with Franco. He should tell that to his readers. The cause of anti-Fascism can, indeed, be better served by telling the whole truth than by half truths.

Campaign to Aid Spanish

Victims Must Be Intensified

More than ever must we gather our energies and forces together to assist the Spanish revolutionists. Not only must we help to relieve the sufferings received at the hands of the Fascist bandits but we must also provide for those imprisoned by the Stalin agents in Spain. Victims and families of the victims of the Fascists and the counter-revolutionary "anti-Fascists" call upon us to help them. All the money that we receive is sent to the genuine revolutionary anti-Fascist organizations of Spain. It is not given to the accompaniment of loud shouts and demands for vainglorious recognition. But it reaches the needy victims intact. The summer months and the accompanying decline in activity is over. We urge that all comrades immediately start their work of propaganda and collecting money. Send funds to I. Radinowsky, c-o U.L.O., 45 W. 17th Street, N. Y. C.

Is Catalonia Negotiating a Separate Peace with Franco?

(Continued from page one)

ratism, just like his present allegiance to Moscow was only a phase in the career of a successful politician. And as to his recent negotiations with Deneas, an outspoken separatist and open agent of Mussolini, they had the blessings of Moscow and were undertaken only with the view of putting God's fear into the anarchists by threatening to give Mussolini full scope in his contemplated landing on the Catalan coast.

The Anarchists took the hint and now there is no more room for any further "negotiations" of that sort.

There is no puzzle, however, in the latest dispatch from Spain if read with other similar information telling of uprisings and fighting going on in Barcelona. The rising tide of popular indignation is forcing

the hand of the counter-revolution. The Stalinists and their counter-revolutionary allies realize that their superior strategic position is only very temporary in its nature. They want to make the best of it by provoking conflicts. They talk more and more openly about the liquidation of the Anarchist movement.

And it is toward this criminal adventure that they are working now by an attempt to reshuffle the troops. "Loyal" troops are sent into Aragon and Catalonia under the pretext that someone is negotiating a separate peace. And once that process of reshuffling is fought to an end, we may see the beginning of a tragedy long ago contemplated by the Moscow rulers and leading everything in sheer criminality and darkest betrayal of the Spanish proletariat.

RESERVE THESE DATES

October 9th and 10th:—Conference of organizations and individuals supporting the United Libertarian Organizations. On the evening of the 9th there will be a social and get-together.

November 20th:—Annual dance and entertainment for benefit of the *Spanish Revolution*. More details will follow later.

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STREET MEETINGS

The small committee which has undertaken weekly street meetings on Spain continues to work under difficulties that seem unfair, particularly in view of the importance of counteracting the falsehoods and concerted efforts to crush our comrades, making of Spain another Russia under the yoke of a totalitarian state where all semblance of freedom is crushed.

Instead of having but one meeting each week, we really should be holding one every night in different parts of the city.

At present, and until we get more forces together, we hold street meetings every Tuesday night beginning at about 7 o'clock at the corner of Fourteenth Street and Irving Place, New York. For weeks individuals have pleaded that they did not know where the meetings were being held, nor when. Now they know. Let's have a big turnout at the next meeting!

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Civil Government . . . is in reality instituted for the defence of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all.
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(1723-1790)

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Mediation? . . .

Can it bring the War to an end

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

After an attempt at humanizing the war in Spain, which seemed to consist in a request to the Madrid Government to liberate all fascists held in the Madrid prisons, as apparently they were not fascists (Mr. Eden knowing with more precision who were the dangerous elements still at large in Madrid) the latest intentions are to bring about an understanding between the two fighting forces.

The Women's International League, in a letter about Spain to the Prime Minister, urges that it is the duty of the League Council to try to make peace. The Council might take the following measures:—

(1) Offer to the Spanish Government a Refugee Commissioner, to be sent at once to advise and organise the evacuation of civilians from the war zone, to organise refugee relief, and to use every opportunity to mitigate the suffering of the people.

(2) Strengthening the non-intervention agreement by the establishment of impartial and non-Governmental Commissions of supervision, and by including in the agreement the prohibition of man-power from other countries.

(3) Offer of mediation to the combatants with a view to declaring an armistice, coupled with the offer of impartial advisers to go to Spain to inform the League upon the fulfilment of the truce, and to help the Spanish authorities, if it is possible, in carrying out negotiations for a peace settlement. We feel that the opportunity for friendly aid and the need for information would both occur if the fighting stopped, and that, while it would be most important to avoid the intervention of foreign Governments in the affairs of Spain, the presence of impartial Commissioners of the League might prevent a fresh outbreak of hostilities and further a just settlement. The co-operation of United States citizens in such a scheme might well be used.

The first point would be of immense utility, though it does not go far enough. Already many thousands of women and children have been evacuated from Madrid, but that fact does not make them immune from danger. Most of them have been found homes in Valencia and Catalonia; that is not sufficient. The large and well equipped Italian forces centred in the Balearic Islands are waiting the moment to attack the big towns along the coast. They will bomb from the air and shell from the sea and land. What security have those innocent women and children?

To suggest a neutral zone to Franco seems equally useless. It would only offer a better target for his airmen, who, like their brothers in Abyssinia, mercilessly bombarded to bits the Red Cross Units which had gone out there to minimise the suffering of the wounded.

There is only one solution to that question. The peoples of democratic countries should take it upon themselves to offer refuge to those unfortunate people until the end of the war. This concrete proposal will undoubtedly meet with opposition in conservative and, probably, socialist-patriotic circles, who think the matter is no concern of ours, but that something can be done is shown by the work done by France and Mexico in caring for the children and orphans of Spanish workers.

STRENGTHENING NON-INTERVENTION.

The second measure is useless. By strengthening the non-intervention agreement one can only understand it to mean that the loyalists will have further restrictions imposed on them, such as the prohibition to send food,

or to use British ships for that purpose!

Non-intervention has been a failure—even Mr. Eden has recently remarked on its futility—and the establishment of impartial Commissions is out of the question, as far as Portugal is concerned (this measure was suggested by Russia some time ago and blankly rejected by Portugal), and Italy and Germany would always find means of smuggling arms into the country if necessary. Another reason why non-intervention is of no use at this juncture is that Franco has all the arms he requires.

MEDIATION.

The third measure suggested, mediation, is equally useless. It is not a solution to the problems presented by the present crisis for two reasons which have been made apparent during the last few days.

The first is that Italy and Germany will not agree. Their answers to the French note are almost negative. The object of the Germans' attack is the Anarchists. It has taken exactly five months for Germany to realise that there is no Communist "menace" in Spain; the new "menace" is the Anarchists. Italy refuses to allow anarchism to reign in Catalonia, so that we can be certain that in the event of Germany and Italy agreeing to the mediation proposals, at the bottom they will still be behind the Rebel forces, and the fatal results that non-intervention had on the Loyalists will now be repeated with even worse consequences.

The second reason why we consider the measure as unsatisfactory, despite the fact that we, more than any one else, desire to see the end of this bloody battle, is that mediation will merely serve to bring a temporary check to the war only to let it rage more violently afterwards.

The Anarchist programme of this year was that Spain should be divided into autonomous regions, which regions would be determined according to local influence. Let us suppose that this were accepted now by Franco. Is it conceivable that he would be true to his word? Events of the past months have shown that he would not. When the Popular Front registered its election victory, Franco, Mola and other Generals were allowed to retain their posts as heads of the armed forces, and they swore allegiance to the new Government. No sooner had they done so than they were conspiring to overthrow by force those very people who had spared their lives (we say "spared," as under a vindictive Government they would have been shot for their responsibility for the massacre of the workers in the Asturias in 1934).

Now, should Navarro, for instance, be under the influence of a fascist dictatorship, is it not obvious that within a month they would be conspiring with Germany and Italy to supply them with arms to smash the other zones, where the people, free and happy, were carrying on their work of reconstruction on new, ideological lines?

No, the war in Spain must be fought to an end. If the Government of this country is anxious to give help to bring it to an end as rapidly as possible, they have but one course

(continued in next column)

No Passaran!



(continued from preceding column)

to follow: the removal of the arms embargo on the legal Government of Spain and the imposition of an embargo on the Rebels (which will be assured by patrolling Spanish waters with the mighty fleets of France, Russia and England).

It has even been suggested that elections should be held. These, if fairly carried out, would show the vast majority of Spain to be anti-Fascist. But then the elections held in Fascist Italy, with an armed black-shirt standing by the ballot box, are still too fresh in our minds to believe that in the districts controlled by Franco's forces the same methods will not be applied. We should then learn that all these areas voted 100 per cent. for Franco, though incidents behind the lines show clearly that there are risings taking place regularly in territory under Fascist domination (despite the fact that thousands of workers have been butchered in Seville, Badajoz, Saragossa, La Linea and elsewhere).

Mr. Eden's speech at Bradford is significant. It gives one the impression that Fascist bluff is to be met with a stern reply, and not by submission as in the past. Whilst we can hope for little help being given to the loyal forces, yet we can hope that less help will be given to Franco. And that is already much, judging by the pro-Fascist attitude of the present Government and of the head of the Non-Intervention Committee in London.

Now is the right moment for concerted action by the people of this country. Not through representatives of their unions or by their M.P.s, but by their own action.

Let us remember that the amelioration in the working conditions of the workers in France was obtained by their own efforts!

Let us remember also that the 30,000 political prisoners in Spain were set free by the concerted efforts of the people who stormed the jails, and not by order of the democratic Popular Front Government!

All men and women who feel strongly for their fellow-beings fighting for the liberty of the world at large, should do their share as thoroughly as they can.

Agitate—Propagate the ideas of Freedom—and give material help to the victims of Fascism!

LAY EDUCATION

The Mother in the New Society

The mother first and then the elementary schoolmaster must be the builders of new generations. Now if we wish them to develop in accordance with the progress of civilized people and to make up a noble society, just and free, we must free the mother from all religious belief and choose the master, taking care that he possesses the necessary qualifications and ability for a rational instruction.

Catholic education during its domination, of many years' standing has enslaved woman in a most definite manner, and when she has borne her children, she has followed the archaic, damaging and dull education with which the Church overwhelmed her and which, owing to her ignorance, was interpreted by her as an act of faith. As a result it was impossible to make her understand anything else, and to convince her of her mistake.

Emancipation of women, then, is the first step to be taken by workers' organizations in order to begin the child's education from early infancy.

When we shall have crushed the fascist hordes, and overwhelmed for ever reaction supported by the Clergy and Militarism, the two privileged classes which lived in great luxury, at the expense of the sweated working class; when we will have succeeded in re-establishing peace in our dearly beloved country, stained so often with the blood of free and altruistic men, and when calm will be once more restored in the homes of the workers, it will be their duty, those men who have given all and have saved Spain from a detestable and criminal fascism, to dedicate their activity and knowledge to the making of mothers who are educators.

The Governments of the Republic, who for the past five years have not had the time to pay attention to this matter, and have remained undecided on the question of the Separation of the Church and the State, and who have allowed reactionaries to direct the armed forces, must now change their policy, and give the mothers all attention so that they shall become cultured and progressed; so that they may be aware of the position they hold in society, and the duty they have towards the education of the beings they bring into the world.

(Solidaridad Obrera)

UNDER FASCIST RULE

Reign of Terror in the Canary Islands

We receive the following information from Francisco Miranda Diaz, a captain in the merchant navy and president of the Union of Captains and Officials of the Navy at Palmas, who escaped from the Canary Islands in the Norwegian ship "Bajawar":

"During the early days of the movement, as soon as the workers' resistance had been crushed, German fascist agents arrived in the Canaries to organise militias and the fascist repression, which reached great heights of cruelty. The Communist deputy, Eduardo Suaroz Morales, and Egea, the delegate of the Civil Governor in the northern zone of Gran Canaria, a Socialist militant, were assassinated. Many workers were shot. A soldier, member of a firing squad, who refused to shoot, was killed by an infantry lieutenant. Marfil, the Health Commissioner, was also shot. In a single week, 36 peasants were shot in one district alone.

"Five male nurses, belonging to the Military Hospital, who were accused of having been found in possession of a bomb, were thrown into the sea from the Teide Road, at a place called Mar Fea, with a sack over their heads and a boulder tied to their feet. One of the bodies was found days later by a fisherman, who brought it to the Concentration Camp. The Trade Union headquarters, Cultural Centres and Masonic Lodges were taken by assault and destroyed. All their furniture was seized and removed. Membership lists were captured, thanks to which a violent persecution began throughout the Island.

"The state of the working class is one of famine under a reign of terror. It is impossible to offer help to the widows and orphans of the men who have been assassinated by the fascists without being immediately taken to a concentration camp as a member of the International Red Aid.

"In Tenerife the following are some of the many victims of fascism who have been shot: Pedro Schwartz, the Mayor of the town; Santiago Alberto, head of the Unified Youth Movement; Varquez Moros, the governor, and his secretary; San Fiol, president of the Republican Union. Two workers were beaten to death in the Vigilance Commission Building."

SPAIN and the— WORLD

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Volunteers.

The question of volunteers fighting in Spain has been brought up once more, this time with more vigour, and perhaps with the possibility of reaching some agreement whereby once again the Loyalist forces will be handicapped in their struggle against Franco and his mercenaries.

We must view this matter with care and restraint and not do as the Labour Party or the Trade Unionists, who fell into the trap over non-intervention in Spain. We must consider the question from two points of view. The first thing we must ask ourselves is, who are the volunteers fighting for the Loyalists, and who are the "volunteers" fighting for Franco?

Those fighting in the workers' columns are men fighting for an ideal which is dear to them. Many of these men have had to leave their native land because Fascism prevented them from enjoying the few liberties which we in democratic countries can still enjoy. These include workers and intellectuals alike; men of political ideas as opposed as Communism and Anarchism. They have come to Spain to contribute their share towards the preservation of human dignity above Fascist rascality. They have come of their own accord, guided by one thought: a Free and happy Spain.

MOORS AND FOREIGN LEGIONNAIRES

The men fighting for Franco consist in the main of Moors and Foreign Legionnaires, whilst recently there has been an influx of Italian and German "volunteers." So much so, that Mr. Eden is becoming alarmed. For this reason he is drafting out plans which will prevent volunteers from entering Spain. But has he the courage to openly declare that the men fighting for Franco are volunteers? The "Manchester Guardian" (16/12/36) reveals that these men are merely conscripts. The greater majority have been forced into taking part. The Diplomatic Correspondent writes:

Relatives of men who have been dispatched to Spain from Germany have been instructed to send their letters unopened to the Berlin post offices C 2, W 10, and N.O. 55, whence the letters are forwarded.

The relatives have not been told that these men have gone overseas. The men are instructed to inform their relatives that they have been drafted to a secret destination for a course of training which is to last sixteen weeks. The letters to the men serving with the German Flying Corps in Spain are forwarded via post office W 10. Letters to men in the tank and anti-aircraft corps go via C 2 and N.O. 55.

Meanwhile parents of Germans serving in Spain have begun to receive official notification that their sons have been "fatally injured during manoeuvres" ("bei einer Übung").

GERMAN VOLUNTEER DESERTERS

Other newspapers mention the fact that many of the so-called German volunteers have deserted *en masse* and are now with the anti-Fascist forces.

Eye-witnesses in Seville have repeatedly stated that Italian soldiers parade in the streets in uniform. Then there is the incident when Italian fighting aeroplanes crashed in French Morocco. The pilots were members of the Italian Air Force.

This, therefore, is the difference to be found in the definitions by Germany and Italy and the Spanish Loyalists with regard to "volunteers." We must defend those men and women who have gone of their own accord, to fight for something which is both noble and just, from being dragged to the depths of Italian and German official conscription, which is just another example of Fascist methods.

(continued at foot of next column)

Social Aspirations and Achievements of the Spanish Peasant.

THE AUTONOMY OF THE PEASANTS AN UNDENIABLE FACT.

Co-operation with the Town Workers.

After primitive stages, mankind mainly developed two types of economic and social life. The peasant tilled his land, the artisan worked with his tools, the merchant provided for the distribution of the surplus products of either, and local communities, villages and townships, self-governing, were the organs and centres of social life. The second type was agrarian, industrial, commercial, financial feudalism, based on the monopoly of all the means and organs of production and supported by armed power, from that of the feudal lord to that of the bureaucratic centralized State which by legal fictions was made all-powerful and irresponsible after the model of the divinities of every religion. Both types are defective, as the second constitutes manifestly the abuse of power arising from power itself, and the first one could not really take root and fatally lapsed and merged in the second. Side by side with the owners of means of production arose increasing masses of the disinherited, possessing only their labour power, and these were and are forced to do the real work for the profit of the privileged minority. Hence social discontent, despair, revolt and attempts at social emancipation on the large scale running from reforms to revolution.

The Aim of True Socialists

Every country, inevitably, gave birth to its own ideas, forms, tactics, and features of the social struggle, and from these and the general character and disposition of the inhabitants arise also differentiated types of social aspirations and ideals. No one feels more international good will towards all people than a true Socialist, but if he is also a free man and a logical thinker, he understands that his task cannot be to universalise his own local form of socialism, but must be to help people everywhere to realise their own social ideals and to overcome the great obstacles which reaction is raising everywhere and more than ever before. Only in later times, after much experience, the most valuable forms of Socialism may spread from region to region; to begin by unification would only mean to introduce internal strife in an army which has a most dangerous enemy before it. Unfortunately this has already been done, and for generations back, owing to the self-centredness of learned dogmatists, the fanaticism of casuists and the thought-

(continued from preceding column)

ITALIAN COUNTER-ACTION

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, in the "News-Chronicle" (16/12/36) discusses the possibilities of further men being sent to the Rebel forces. Whilst saying that the International Column will shortly be doubled in numbers, it is believed that this increase in Loyalist volunteers "would be met by further Italian reinforcements for General Franco, though there are thought to be limits to the risks the Italian Government would be prepared to take.

"As for the Germans, it is doubtful whether they are willing to carry their assistance in man power much further.

"Though Berlin has notoriously little money to spare, yet it is reported from one quarter that the Nazis have so far spent the very substantial sum of 200,000,000 marks in support of the rebels."

The banning of Volunteers will be the final betrayal of the Spanish people. We have allowed the Government of this democratic country to deny arms to the legally elected Government of Spain; we have allowed the Government of this country to pass a Bill preventing English merchant ships from transporting arms to Spain . . . and now there is the suggestion that men and women who wish to go to Spain of their own accord should be prevented from doing so. Besides being an aggression on individual liberty, it will have the psychological effect of both spurring on Mussolini and Hitler in a supreme effort to win and at the same time acting as a setback to the Spanish people, who see in the *International Column* the solidarity of the World in their struggle for Liberty.

lessness of many well intentioned people who believed that what was good for them must needs be good for everyone else. All the secular follies and passions of religious sect wars and nationalist hate-mongering were thus introduced into what ought to have been the most liberal, generous, intellectual and ethical effort, welding together the progressive forces of humanity in the great struggle for social justice.

Such preliminary remarks are not unnecessary, unfortunately, before discussing the special features of the new social developments in Spain. The reason is that such conditions as we have just described produced among advanced thinkers also so much misunderstanding concerning the events since July last. Nor was such a misunderstanding lessened by inaccurate information gathered from sources tainted with bias.

Marx and the Spanish Workers

Let those who are interested in Marx, remember what Marx did on such an occasion. In the midst of European reaction (the Spanish progressive upheaval of 1854 inaugurated the revolutionary year 1854-55) Marx was greatly struck by this unforeseen event, and he dedicated himself to the study of Spanish political history for many years back, producing a remarkable series of articles, of late reproduced in book form. That was a scholar's action. This interest was not maintained, and Marx became a victim to his one-sided conception of history, which made him believe that a country belated in modern industrial machinery must also be a country which did not count in intellect and in sentiment. Spain as a factor in Socialism did not interest him. The London General Council of the International was utterly inactive with regard to Spain, and (a curious detail culled from its minutes) only when on January 31st, 1871, Marx happened to look at *La Revolution Social*, a new anarchist organ, printed on red paper, issued in Palma (Majorca), he was struck by seeing such ideas as those of Bakunin propagated even on the then remote island, and Engels was appointed secretary for Spain at that same meeting of the Council. Engels in his very first letter sent to the secretary of the Spanish Federal Council (February 13th) pleads for a Spanish political Workers' Party after the model of German social democracy, and such propositions were one portion of Paul Lafargue's (the son-in-law of Marx) activities in Spain since Christmas, 1871. The other portion was the unearthing and public denunciation (by names) of the secret inner structure of the Spanish International, of the *Alianza*, a nucleus of vital importance for the protection of a public body exposed to every form of persecution. Such action was neither scholarly nor loyal, but that of a fanatic and a foreign invader who wished to break the spirit of the Spanish organization and force it under the yoke of his personal ideas. From this, over sixty years of strife arose, which was only mitigated in October, 1934, when workers of authoritarian and libertarian convictions fought side by side in Asturias, and will be further bridged over in the present months of direct danger, when the monster of Authority in its most hideous form is martyring the whole nation.

The Fate of the Spanish Peasants

Since the sixteenth century Spain became, above all, a country of agrarian misery, since the peasants' toil and the affluence of gold from conquered America kept the aristocracy and the mercantile class in luxury, which meant regular employment to the town workers. In the eighteenth century the land question was more thoroughly investigated in Spain than in any other country, and in the early nineteenth century, propositions like those of Henry George were already before the public. But nothing was done, as the rich absentee landlords were at the same time the Court aristocracy and their younger sons the military officers, the high civil ser-

vants, etc. The peasants and labourers very soon saw that nobody was willing to help them, and they began to rely upon their own efforts exclusively. Neither the clergy, nor the politicians, had a hold on them, as they saw through their selfish aims.

The Influence of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

They had and have a wonderful trust in their final emancipation, and they feel attracted by large and generous ideas such as advanced organizations profess. So they successively put hope and trust in the Federal Republic, in the International, in the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the *Comunismo libertario*, as some ninety years ago many were fascinated already by Cabet's Icarian Communism. Cabet's book had been translated, and was especially read in Andalusia or read to Andalusian peasants. Here some may think of the large percentage of analphabets in Spain, but let them remember two facts. The effects of analphabetism are greatly counteracted by public or private reading to large groups; this is done in workshops during work, and the revolutionary papers and tracts are often read before secret gatherings in secluded places in town and country. One of the reasons for analphabetism is the management of schools by priests, to whom the parents will not hand over their children. There is much self-education in adult age, and, whenever possible, radical independent schools are founded; all this long before Francisco Ferrer, who devoted so much effort in this work and who had particularly in view the education of pupils who would be teachers in such rationalist schools.

Separation From Town Workers

The peasants, then, in very large parts of Spain were utterly separated from and treated as enemies by the large landowners and the State, whilst many of them, by local groups or sections, formed advanced bodies for local agitation and kept ready to join in general revolutionary actions, more exactly perhaps, to rise themselves for their direct social aims, whenever general movements, insurrections, a revolution made this feasible. As a rule it might be said that they kept their own counsel, but were quite aware, for a century, that the rebels of the towns, the workers rising for the Federal Republic, the International or the *comunismo libertario* were their only friends and the landlords, bourgeois, the State and all its tools, from the notary to the gendarme, their enemies. In some parts the peasants were kept as under a state of siege and the *guardia civil* and eventually the military forces took action against them as constantly, methodically and cruelly as ever did the Royal Irish Constabulary and the "Black and tans" in Ireland—that Ireland from which fascist volunteers are said to have gone to join the general's work of crushing the Spanish people! These peasants and labourers were starving in spite of the richest harvests which their toil had produced. They were often prohibited from leaving the villages and even their houses and hovels after dark, as the landowners were always afraid of vindictive acts, sabotage and incendiaryism.

Peasants Take Matters Into Their Own Hands; "Invisible Expropriation"

Living thus under the high pressure of hard work, periodical starvation and hopes placed in generous ideals and bold men preparing to fight for them, these peasants got to know exactly what they wanted, if only the armed resistance of their oppressors was weakened or broken and freedom, equality and solidarity would hold their own. Neither the great Enquiry in the eighteenth century, nor the attempts at legislation during the present Republic of 1931 were of any good to them, but as that Republic had at least nominally relaxed a little the reins of power, the peasants began at last to take matters into their own hands. There was what is called "the

invisible expropriation," that is, in a way both straight, open and matter of fact, and silent and inconspicuous, many hardships to which they formerly submitted, were repudiated, many useful, but forbidden things were done now by everybody; *unanimous friendly co-operation* was the weapon of such *collective disobedience*. I know that the enemy remained ready to counteract such tactics by still greater ferocity and on some occasions horrible massacres took place, but the peasants also learned to hit back and in general the power of silent defiance, of collective disobedience was not broken and so almost all became inspired with new hopes. When all the village with every agricultural implement marched out to seize the land lying idle belonging to distant landlords, and put them to proper use, nothing could be done against such direct action and the whole country felt relieved to see the agrarian problem at last tackled in a direct way.

Revolts in Catalonia Andalusia and Aragon

In these years the miners also made bold bids for freedom as at Figolo in the Catalonian mountains, and, as workers and peasants in Spain had always been friends—not ruinously estranged and hostile as in many other countries,—the *Free Commune (municipio libre)*, putting in practice *Free Communism (comunismo libertario)* became the common ideal of all producers and their direct aim whenever the armed forces of repression were driven or defeated, be it only for a few days. Memorable attempts were made in the beginning of 1932 and 1933 and towards the end of 1933 in Catalonia, Andalusia and Aragon. What was done on these occasions, and what was said and explained by those who worked in this cause and stood up for it, permits one to state that the new social forms implied neither direct unlimited communism, nor any dictatorial sovietism, but simply the most practical local disposal of the existing resources, labour, materials, commodities, minerals and the land, in the interest of all who were friends and ready and able to work, with the further aim of establishing equitable relations with similar free units near and far, to make possible a fuller economic and social life.

Popular Front Victory Stops Progress

All this happened but a few years back and was never forgotten nor was the reactionary interval (end of 1933 to end of 1935) likely to alter people's opinions. What really held their hands was the electoral victory of the popular front in February, 1936: then, contrary to what the reactionists pretend, the peasants and the people in general did very little of their own, and some really expected that something might be achieved now by large reforms accepted by common consent. Those who did not share this belief, the anarchists, did very little to contradict it in these months up to July last. All the popular elements, then, were ready to give the reformists a chance—and it is against this peaceful situation, not against any revolutionary attempts or plans, that the treacherous assault of the military and other conspirators of July 17th was directed.

The Results of the Revolution:

Co-operation and Freedom

When this had happened, then, of course, as may be guessed from what has been said here, the peasants were ready to act whenever they could, and in the full spirit of the aspirations described here. What they did and are doing, then, is neither haphazard riotous excess, nor is it the effects of excitement by outside agitators, but is really the fulfilment of many up-to-date well-reasoned hopes and expectations. In Andalusia their hopes were frustrated as the treacherous forces when they had quelled the resistance of the practically unarmed workers, immediately were sent to the townships and villages, Carmona and so many others, where they systematically killed the combatants and subdued the survivors. We hear so very little from all these parts because they have become shambles, a cemetery, with unarmed men working as slaves or hidden in desert wildernesses. When the curtain is drawn from the enslaved part of Spain, the world will shudder to

(continued at foot of col. 1, p. 3)

The Social Revolution in Spain

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF CATALONIA

Collectivization of Industry and Commerce

A new proposal for the first stage of the new economy was submitted by Juan P. Fabregas, Councillor of the Generality, representing the C.N.T. The plan was first proposed to the Generality Council and this proposal was followed by a detailed report, which was covered in two sessions at the National Palace at Montjuich on Saturday night and Sunday, December 5th and 6th respectively.

The huge and luxurious palace, brilliantly illuminated, its balconies hung with banners bearing the arms of the different Catalan provinces, was filled to overflowing. It is estimated that at each session between fifteen and twenty thousand people attended, invited by special request cards which had been distributed in all syndicates, factories and other institutions.

The following speakers addressed the audience and gave a detailed account of the new economy plan: Jose Gimenez, of the Junta of Syndical Control in Economy of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.; E. Ruiz Ponsseti, Council of Economy, from the U.G.T.; Juan P. Fabregas, Councillor of Economy in the Generality of Catalonia of the C.N.T. and Luis Companys, President of Catalonia, presided at this meeting.

Thousands of workers gathered for the first time in history to listen to the plans for a new structure of economy. Each of the orators explicitly declared that he could not speak in the name of his organisation unless he spoke with clarity and conviction, and announced that the new plan is the most practical for the achievement of victory over the fascists and the security of the revolutionary social and economic life.

(continued from p. 2, col. 5)

see the ruin and murder done there. But in *Free Spain* the new work of the peasants must be called wonderful.

They had a unique chance to set things right without outside interference. Unifications is but a morbid growth, only autonomy is creative and they enjoyed it. Local wrongs require local remedies. They straightened things out as best they could, weeded out the unsocial elements and made whatever new beginnings can be made under the merciless pressure of an invader close by. The young go to fight, the old and the women do the work, a rifle to hand too, for not a few of them have joined the militia. The landless took the land of the big owners who either left or who are now content with a smaller bit of ground. A maximum of co-operation and a large enjoyment of individual freedom can be easily combined, as such experience shows; the basic principles of unification and superior command are done away with. Town and country workers, and peasants, men of different degrees of education—all are friends, if only there is a will, commonsense and a good cause. All these exist in *Free Spain* and are flourishing, and will develop in enslaved Spain, when the surviving victims of the nameless crime of Treason, Greed and Fascism, can breathe freely once more.

Is not this example of the Spanish peasants of value to all progressive elements? Almost everywhere the peasants, labourers and farmers are the stronghold of reaction, hating the towns and deeply separated from the workers. Why is this so? It is because as men, they resent subjection and will not be the dupes of a unification which would leave them in an inferior position: they want autonomy which alone guarantees an equitable standard of equality. This has been achieved in Spain, unobserved or nearly so, by political economists, but it is a practical fact, nevertheless, and here also lies a lesson for those who have at heart the liberation of the world from the authoritarian, the fascist incubus.

X.X.X.

Barcelona, December 16th.

TRIBUTE TO DURRUTI

Impressive Scenes in Barcelona

Cyril Connolly, in an article on Barcelona in the *New Statesman & Nation* describes the scenes at Durruti's funeral.

"Why did half a million people turn out in the rain on this occasion, marching in silence twenty-five abreast, climbing up trees, crowding the windows to see this man's coffin carried on its six-hour journey by the pall-bearers? Why did the car bringing his body from Madrid have to speed through the villages in the small hours to avoid the lorry loads of waiting flowers which there would be no time to fetch? It seemed that if one could get the answer, penetrating beneath the verbose eulogies, one would understand something of the Spanish revolution."

Of the man, he writes:

"Durruti was one of the first to realise the importance of attacking, and led a column up to Aragon. He proved a natural organiser and his column, on the front of Bujaroloz, became famous as the perfect example of 'organised discipline', that is to say, of a kind of 'honour system' by which the anarchists, who detest militarism and disapprove of all orders and words of command, were able to establish a sort of natural obedience to his wishes. He lived the same life as his men, accessible to all, going barefoot till all had received boots, and only differentiated from them by the possession of a pair of field-glasses.

"He was put in command of the Catalan reinforcements sent to Madrid and was killed on his way back by car from the front by a bullet in the spine, fired from behind, from the upper window of a deserted villa. His last words were 'se me para el corazon,' though he had previously said that he could never regret dying now, for he had lived, in the last three months, through what had been the dream of every revolutionary for centuries. He was a rugged, lion-like man, possessed of natural intelligence and reckless courage, capable of complete devotion to his ideals of 'madre anarquia' and to the people who shared them, and an equally untiring energy in using direct action against the capitalists who didn't. His gift of leadership made him an extreme danger to the Fascists (who had already shot his mother) and his death made him a revolutionary martyr, a symbol to all the parties of the Left of the sacrifices they would have to make and the privations they would have to undergo. His mammoth funeral ('no king could have a better,' said an anarchist to me) was not only a tribute to him but an act of defiance to the enemy."

AN INVITATION

The receipt of a copy of "SPAIN AND THE WORLD" is an invitation to subscribe. Though the services of the Editors are given free, postage and printing expenses must be paid regularly. Subscription for 13 issues 2/6 or 0.60\$ post free. Subscription for 26 issues 4/6 or 1.00\$ post free.



Loyalists Advancing on the Castille Front

Who are the Anarchists in Spain?

MORE TRIBUTES BY PROMINENT MEN

Anarchists Putting Theory Into Practice

(continued from previous issue)

Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, distinguished scientist, Fellow of the Royal Society, was in Malaga at the time when the British Press was circulating atrocity stories; incidents which apparently took place there. Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell wrote a long letter to the *Times* describing the situation as he saw it at that time. He describes the way the Rebels were shooting prominent people in the parts captured by them, though the Loyalists never shot their prisoners. "But as the fortunes of the Government wavered,"—he writes "as Moorish troops poured in from Africa, as munitions and armaments and trained officers poured in from Fascist Powers, and as it became clear that not even moral support was coming from England and France, the Civil Government of the town became weaker and control passed more and more to the Left, the Trade Union Communist (U.G.T.) and the anarchist syndicalist group (F.A.I., C.N.T.) took the most active part in affairs. Both sets organised militia; the former were more active in trying to regulate supplies and unemployment and in housing refugees. The latter specialised in arranging new hospitals for wounded soldiers and in propaganda for the future. The former attempted to bribe men into the militia by promising them permanent service in the standing Army when the war was over. The latter were bitterly opposed to all standing Armies and even their leaders refused the rank of officers in the militia. The former thought chiefly of raising wages at the expense of what they supposed to be the capitalist fund. The latter were trying to organise a new Spain based on creative work of all kinds. Among the latter I made the acquaintance of some of the most constructive idealists I have ever met, some of them miners and carpenters, others of knowledge and culture."

Carlo Rosselli, ex-Professor in Economics at the University of Genoa, and director of the Liberal newspaper, GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTA, writes of the anarchists in the following terms, in an article dealing with the situation in Catalonia: "Catalonia comprises a large section of the Spanish population, half the country's wealth and three-quarters of its industries. In three months Catalonia has been able to substitute a new social system in the place of a tottering regime. This is due, above all, to the anarchists who have shown a remarkable spirit of moderation, of achievement and organisation. . . . Anarcho-Syndicalism, which has always been misrepresented and abused, displays formidable constructive powers. Santillan, the anarchist, recently spoke to me about the reconstruction of a powerful war industry. And, in fact, we have been able to appreciate the utility of this industrial mobilisation at the front itself. We

went to fight with just a shirt on our backs and a pair of bathing shoes on our feet. And now, we are slowly becoming a well equipped Army.

I am not an anarchist; but I deem it my duty in the face of justice to state quite frankly my opinion on the true nature of Catalan anarchism, too often represented as a purely critical, destructive, ever criminal force. Catalan anarchism is, apart from everything else, a strong current in the western workers' movement. The Libertarian-Communists of Catalonia are the "voluntaries" to whom social life in its entirety is not the result of a mechanised development of productive forces, but the result of creative willingness, and the struggle of the masses. Their starting point is the individual. According to them the revolution must have the services of the individual as the starting point, as the instrument and as the aim. No bureaucratic laws, but free association of free men.

A kind of "libertarian humanism," such is the essence of Catalan anarchism which is a movement steeped in culture. Culture is its passion. Its greatest martyr was a teacher, a pedagogue: Francisco Ferrer. The "allegiant anarchists"; Durruti, Ascaso, Jover, Oliver founded in Paris a library at the time when they were being hunted in Catalonia like thieves.

I remained 75 days at the front with anarchists, and I admire them.

The Catalan anarchists are the heroic vanguard of the Western Revolution. With them has been born a new world, and it is a great joy to be able to serve it.

You, doctrinal Revolutionaries of Madrid, men of the IIInd and IIIInd Internationals, reformists, and you who are mixed up in it! When it concerns anarchism, think of the 19th and 20th of July in Barcelona: do not forget that one of the ablest fascist Generals, namely Godet, had scientifically prepared for some time, the shattering attack on Catalonia. The strategic points were occupied beforehand by 40,000 men. Theoretically, Barcelona had fallen. . . .

The fate of Spain is in the hands of Catalonia. Authoritarian Socialism and Communism look on with anguish at this phenomenon which goes beyond their written formulae. . . .

(to be continued)

Revolutionary Economy At Valjunquera

This village, like many others, had fallen into apathy and listlessness, and it proved no easy task to arouse it from its lethargy. Nevertheless a collective group was formed by some 200 peasants. Much opposition has made itself felt through Fascist or semi-Fascist elements in their midst, but the association continues with unabated vigour in spite of everything.

The village receives its light supply from Castellote. There is no telephone system, but by the time of going to press it will already have been installed, since, now that red-tape formalities have been abolished, other villages in the region will give one day's work to provide the village with telephonic communication, as has already been the case elsewhere.

The village lacks water, which has to be obtained about a quarter of a mile away. Here the Revolution is also bringing about a great transformation. In a short space of time Valjunquera will have an abundant supply of drinking water and will be able to irrigate the extent of land it requires.

There is no mill, but on the other hand eleven hydraulic presses are employed for the extraction of olive oil; also a factory for treating the residual products, with which it is hoped to manufacture soap. Crops are intended for export; oil, wheat, barley; wool and coal; vegetables, wine, milk, etc.

There has previously been an attempt to bring about the failure of the collectivist system. Let all see to it that there is no repetition. We have already stated publicly that any obstacle, any sabotage aimed against the militant Revolution, shall be dearly paid for by the Revolution's enemies. (*Espagne Antifasciste*).

Defenders of Liberty



Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

Universe—Vernon Bartlett—Generalitat de Catalunya—Sunday Times—Manchester Guardian

The "Universe," undoubtedly worried at having to rectify continually atrocity stories, by which Archbishops who are alive and well are said to have been murdered (see our first issue), has now launched a campaign disproving the atrocities which the Protestant newspaper accuses the Rebels of having committed on Protestant priests! We have never heard of unity in the Church, but we thought that in this crisis Popular Front tactics might have been adopted against those supposed "rapers of nuns" and "vandals"—labelled the "Reds." However, not so, and we can but hope that they will continue slandering one another for evermore and not have the time to interfere with politics of which they show the grossest ignorance.

The Truth Always Meets Opposition
Vernon Bartlett in the December issue of his "WORLD REVIEW" writes in the editorial that

"I have not, I am thankful to say, ever committed a major crime or in any other way made myself a subject of controversy on the front pages of the newspapers. But I have begun to realise a little how unpleasant it must be to become an unpopular villain. As the result of writing or broadcasting about what I actually saw in Spain, and not about what people expected me to see, I have become the recipient of letters which could hardly be more bitter, reproachful or insulting if I had murdered my grandmother and left her poor body in a cabin trunk at Waterloo Station.

"And why? Because I could not accept the view held by their writers that everybody on the government side in Spain was a murderer, a torturer, a Communist paid by Moscow and all the rest of it.

"We raise a United Cry against the Oppression of the Workers"

This is the title given to the appeal, published by the "Universe" (19th Dec.) and signed by some 4 Archbishops and 13 Bishops. It includes the words of the late Pope Leo XIII who said that "Wealth has been concentrated in the hands of the few and too many have become proletarians." The whole appeal is based on this statement. Now, perhaps we can give a little information which might be included as a foot-note, and should bear the title "Let us praise what we preach," followed by this list:

Nearly £500,000 were found in the Bishop's palace in Madrid and handed over to the Government ("Sunday Times" 25/8/36)—16 million pesetas were found in the palace of the Bishop of Vich. A total of 30,000,000 pesetas were confiscated in Catalonia alone ("Manchester Guardian" 5/8/36).

The "Little Sisters of the Poor" in Madrid left 100 million pesetas behind them when they left Madrid.

Is it surprising therefore that most sensible people cannot take these humanitarian declarations very seriously? The fact is that there are many Catholics fighting against the Official Catholic Army supported by a great majority of Moors.

The Company of Jesus and the National Economy

The Generalitat de Catalunya publishes a very interesting document in one of their Bulletins. It reads as follows:

The wealth of the Company of Jesus in Spain before the 19th of July was enormous. They had about six thousand million pesetas invested in the national economy. It was the Jesuits, who held the largest shares in Spanish railways, trams, gas, electricity, and maritime transport. They speculated in real estate in most of the larger towns and manoeuvred the stock exchange in favour of their own interests. The bank and telephone services were under their control. Indeed in the latter they had a representative, the Marquis of Urguijo, a famous banker, while another of their agents, Ruiz Senén, was on the board of about 40 powerful companies. The Company of Jesus had its claws in most of the heavy industry of the country in this way. The economy was in their hands and the remaining money belonging to Spain was controlled by various other religious orders, bishops and other powerful dignitaries. It was these powerful economic and social forces which were mobilized to prevent the dissolution of the religious orders.

Certain orders, after gigantic combats, were dissolved, but their investments, not only remained intact but continued to accumulate capital. The Jesuits were willing to play at martyrdom and many of them accordingly set off abroad taking their gold with them whenever they could, which was another way of picking the Republic's pockets. But many of them managed to stay on by joining other orders which had adapted themselves to certain local conditions, or else by acting in a private way . . . but they continued to keep their influence alive by teaching children and bringing them up.

All is Well! Broken heart found!
To be pieced together again!

The "Universe" publishes information which they esteem will bring 'joy' to readers. We reproduce it, both because of its entertainment value and because it shows our readers what these people, who have controlled the brain of children in Spain for so many years, must have taught them, if this incident is sufficient to bring joy.

"Great joy is being expressed at the news that the heart on the great statue which surmounted the national shrine of the Sacred Heart on the Hill of the Angels outside Madrid has been found among the debris left after the Reds had destroyed the monument. It is in three pieces—one with the cross and flames, the other forming the heart itself, broken in the middle. The finder passed the pieces

(continued at foot of next column)

International
Solidarity for the
Spanish Workers.

THE NEED FOR YOUR
IMMEDIATE HELP

RUMANIA

The clerks and shop assistants of Bucharest have resolved to contribute a day's wages for the Spanish Republicans. In spite of the enormous difficulties placed in the way of aid to Spain—the Government arrests collectors, confiscations of funds, etc.—the working population have taken up this initiative with great enthusiasm and self-sacrifice.

URUGUAY

The solidarity of all workers, democrats and progressive thinkers, with the Spanish Republican Government and the Spanish people fighting against fascism, is already bringing practical results. Since the end of November a Women's Committee has been working here, under the presidency of Dr. Paulina Luisi, for the support of democratic Spain. Collections of funds have been initiated on a large scale by the members of this Committee, in aid of the victims of fascism in Spain. A great solidarity campaign of the women of Montevideo for Republican Spain is being organised. District Committee branches have been formed in various parts of Montevideo, garments are being made for the Spanish fighters, etc. The collection of warm clothing has brought in excellent results.

Since the end of October the National Committee for the Defence of the Spanish Democratic Republic has published a review, "Espana Democratica," which is carrying on an energetic campaign against the allies of the Spanish fascists, and utilises word and picture to enlighten the public opinion of Uruguay on events in Spain. The National Committee has already published a large number of leaflets for the defence of Spanish democracy.

CANADA

The Spanish delegation, composed of Marcellino Domingo, Mrs. Palencia, and the priest, Luis Sarasola, has concluded its great tour in Canada. It has held meetings in both the east and west of Canada, and has gathered enthusiastic crowds. In Vancouver, Winnipeg, Windsor, and Hamilton, they were given a hearty welcome by official reception Committees. In Winnipeg no fewer than 7,000 persons, headed by the Reception Committee with the mayor, John Queen, came to the railway station and accorded the delegation an enthusiastic welcome. At all the meetings, held in these places and later in Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Victoria, etc., men and women of many different opinions promised to give their utmost aid to Republican Spain. The collections taken at all meetings, and swelled by contributions of wedding rings, bracelets and other valuables, have yielded over 5,000 dollars.

These are but few of the manifestations of solidarity for the Spanish workers.

The toll of the war in human lives and the destruction of houses and property has left women and children destitute. The hospitals are full of men and women who are incapacitated for life. They must not be allowed to die of starvation because of the lack of solidarity on your parts.

Send your donations NOW to our Fund. All monies will be forwarded to the Committees in Spain and officially acknowledged.

Address your donations to:—
SPAIN AND THE WORLD,
Temporary Offices:
207, GOSWELL ROAD,
LONDON, E.C.1.

(continued from preceding column)

on to Don. Rodrigo Penalosa who commands the battalion now guarding the hill. He sent them to his aunt who is preserving it zealously in her private oratory in Zamora. The broken relic is kept on a table loaded with flowers. Mass has been celebrated on this table . . . This is followed by a description as to how it will be put together again, and the ceremony that will follow it.

And all this for a piece of bronze or brass . . . and yet they are not shocked or horrified at the sight of men blown to pieces in the name of God. These are left to rot in the roads, or scooped into a hole in the ground like ordure.

LIBERTARIAN.

LOVERS OF
LIBERTY'BEHIND THE SPANISH
BARRICADES.'

by John Langdon Davies, published
by Secker & Warburg, 12/6.

At a first glance "Behind the Spanish Barricades" gives one the impression of having been written in a light vein, almost with that typically English attitude that "It could only happen in Spain." In reality, hidden beneath this apparent superficiality and indifference is a deep understanding of the Spanish situation and the mentality of the brave Spanish people fighting behind those barricades.

There is no attempt by the author to make a political study out of his book, though he declares quite definitely that he is an anti-Fascist, and in the preface he appeals for a clear understanding of the Spanish War viewed from the people's angle. "To the many readers who quite sincerely believe in the insincerities of our philo-fascist press I say, 'I beg of you to believe it possible that you have been misled. Read and imagine things in terms of human men and women; of simple folk, insulted and injured, whose hope of an end to the Dark Ages has been destroyed by rebellion subsidised from abroad. If you saw your family doomed to the conditions of the Spanish peasantry and workers, would you need Moscow gold to make you cling to the little you had and fight for a little more? Remember all that you have heard of the age-long tyrannies of Spain; do you realise that a victory for the Rebels means their reposition on the remnant left alive?'"

A Sentiment Born With The People

But by his innumerable pictures of individuals, so well described in their detail, and of scenes that take place every day in Spain, there comes to the fore an important characteristic in the Spaniard's nature: his unbounded love of Liberty, and as a result an individuality which, to our mind, we should all envy. John Strachey, writing in the *Left Book News*, suggested that it was a pity that "into the new born working class movement of that date (1860's) had strayed the brilliant, erratic, disastrous Russian aristocrat, Michel Bakunin. He became far more influential in Spain than the Marxists. He split the International and set a great section of the Spanish working-class movement in the rigid anarchist mould." I have quoted this passage by Strachey because Mr. Langdon-Davies' book shows without any doubt that anarchism is not the result of extensive propaganda as that of the Church or the Communist party, but is a sentiment born with the people. And even more, during this period, the Spanish people are able to show themselves as they really are: lovers of freedom. We are able to read the sheer sentimentality of the militiamen besieging the Alcazar. Authorities have often repeated that Toledo should not have fallen, had no mercy been shown for the besieged women and children. The author describes how, when, at long last, it has been decided to blow up the Alcazar, owing to the arrival of Franco's Moors, "One morning the commander of the militia (he writes), bareheaded, his arms crossed over his chest, walked out into the centre of the Plaza de Zocodover . . . down the avenue of death to the gates of the Alcazar. At the gate the rebels blindfolded him and led him in. He had come to plead with them. Very soon they were going to blow the whole fortress into the air. In the name of humanity let them send out the women and children. They should be given safe conduct, and be fed and looked after." These are the men whom our gutter press describes as the barbarians, the rapers of innocent nuns, and so on!

A Collectivized Village

Mr. Langdon-Davies gives us an admirable picture of the village of Selva, which, like many other villages, is "collectivized."

"Port de la Selva is a little fishing village in a fold of the Pyrenees. The beauty of its white buildings reflected in a bay of ultramarine may be taken for granted. What is more important is that behind all the beauty, the picturesqueness, the tourist-value, there shelters less than the normal amount of social injustice. Port de la Selva is a fishing village practically owned by the Fishermen's Co-operative. The fishermen own the tools of their trade, not only their nets and

their boats, but the curing factory, the stores and storehouses, the refrigeration plant, the shops where daily necessities are bought, the olive oil refinery, the olive groves, the transport lorries to take the fish to Barcelona, the café, the hotel, the theatre and assembly rooms, everything that they need and use. They have insurance against death, accident, loss of boats, and the other dangers of their trade.

Instead of having to work in boats belonging to middlemen, of having to sell their catch to middlemen on the quay, of having to buy their goods on the "open" market, they have organised an industry which at best can never bring a fortune, which normally gives its workers the barest of subsistences, into something reasonably secure.

The rules of the Cultural and Recreative Section of the Society "Posito Pescador" of Port de la Selva contain several interesting things. Thus Article 5 gives a list of people who do not have to pay a subscription to the section, the first being—"Women who have a common life in the same dwelling as a man who is a subscriber"; the second—"Women who are over sixty or who live in a dwelling where there is no man over fifteen." . . .

. . . To sit in the Café at Port de la Selva is to sit in an atmosphere of free men, and no one can understand Spain if he excludes from his idea of Spain, this reality. For there is something very Spanish about Port de la Selva and its co-operation, the spontaneous local experimenting in the art of living together. It is something that must remain utterly incomprehensible to those who are condemned to live in a dormitory on the outskirts of London or New York, who are content therefore on Spain's hour of agony to think of it as a country full of reds in the pay of Moscow." Besides this village, the author describes the customs of peasants in Aragon; their clothes, their dwellings which "defy description save that they are like the illustrations to some German fairy tale."

The Communists in this country have often spoken of the reluctance of the Anarchists to co-operate with the other parties in fighting Fascism. It is true that there had been some reluctance, but the manner in which the Anarchists were treated all along clearly explains this attitude. The Catalan rising in 1934 was quickly suppressed because the Government refused to arm the men, because to put arms in the hands of the F.A.I. and C.N.T. was to "put power into the hands of criminal pistoleros." In fact, even in July, 1936, the Catalan Government refused to arm the people, as the President stated to the author in an interview. All this suspicion for men whose ideals are of the highest and noblest order, could only result in equal suspicion on their parts, and as a result a tendency to keep apart from other political movements.

What It Meant To Us

The last chapter is entitled "What it means to us," and is a brilliant attack on Mr. J. L. Garvin, who, like many of his reactionary colleagues, sees everything in terms of "class war anarchy," and in the fall of Madrid a "Moscow defeat." The author clearly discusses all these points, accompanying his arguments with facts, a thing which is lacking in Mr. Garvin's articles.

He concludes his excellent book with these defiant words directed to those men and women in this country who are witnessing this human struggle with complacency and apathy: "We turn in humility to the humble folk of Spain, republicans, socialists, communists, syndicalists, anarchists, who are groping in horror with their bare hands to save the light from flickering out. We turn in anger to those in England who want the light to die, and we cry in words to which Spain has given a new meaning, No Passaran; they Shall Not Pass This Way."

We have given Mr. Langdon-Davies' book a long review, but have succeeded in touching on but a few of the amazing things witnessed by him during these few months. We hope, though, that we have brought "Behind the Spanish Barricades" to the notice of our readers as one of the finest books written as yet on the Spanish Civil War, and that at the same time we shall have rendered homage to those brave men and women fighting for their Liberty, and ours as well, as we feel sure the author of "Behind the Spanish Barricades" wishes us to do. V.R.

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