

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

"I have a great sympathy for the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement in general, and especially for the Movement in Spain, although I do not share their point of view. It has played an important part in the history of Spain. The unity of the workers in Spain cannot be considered as such without the inclusion of the Anarchists."

LOUIS DE BROUCKERE,
(President, Socialist International.)

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The Apathy Of The International Proletariat Has Sealed The Fate Of The Asturians. Continued Apathy Will Be The Death Sentence Of The Brave Defenders Of Madrid And Aragon : The Pioneers Of A True Civilisation

A Declaration By The F.A.I.

WE consider it our duty to explain the true situation in Spain to the Anarchists in other countries. The pressure of time, the continuous absorption of our energies in the immediate and urgent problems of the civil war and of the revolution that is now under way has prevented us from establishing the necessary contact with the Anarchists throughout the world, in order to avoid many of the errors and to oppose the many misinterpretations of the Spanish problems.

The seriousness of the situation will not escape any of our comrades abroad. The Spanish proletariat is maintaining a war against three nations who are invading Spain and supporting Franco's cause with arms and men.

The Holy War of the absolute Monarchs against the French Revolution, and of the capitalist countries against the Russian Revolution is being repeated, improved and intensified against Spain and the Spanish proletariat.

In spite of the heroism of the people, in spite of the combatants, in spite of the superhuman efforts already made, the attack of the fascist countries against Spain, tolerated and even approved by the cowardice and the interests of the European democracies, seriously threaten our cause. Let us add to that the contemptible behaviour of the socialists and communists, the silent torpedoing of the Revolution by the bourgeois republicans in defense of their class interests, and we can have an approximate idea of the gravity of the situation in which anti-fascist Spain finds itself at the present time. We do not say "desperate" because we know the inexhaustible energies of our people, the tenacious combative spirit of our men, which permits, even today, the Rio Tinto Miners and the Gallician Fishermen to carry on the armed struggle in the very heart of fascist Spain, risking their lives a thousand times a day.

We know, however, that if the world proletariat, including all the socialist tendencies, do not consider the cause of Spain as the crucial cause of liberty, of progress, and of the improvement of human conditions all over the world, we may be reduced. Once again, therefore, we address ourselves to our comrades in all nations, to the Anarchists, and simply to all men of free conscience, asking them to do everything possible to rouse morale, to arouse the working masses in order to compel the so-called democratic countries to oppose Italian and German imperialism, barefaced invaders of our unfortunate land.

The Refugees In Catalonia

Danger and Hardships

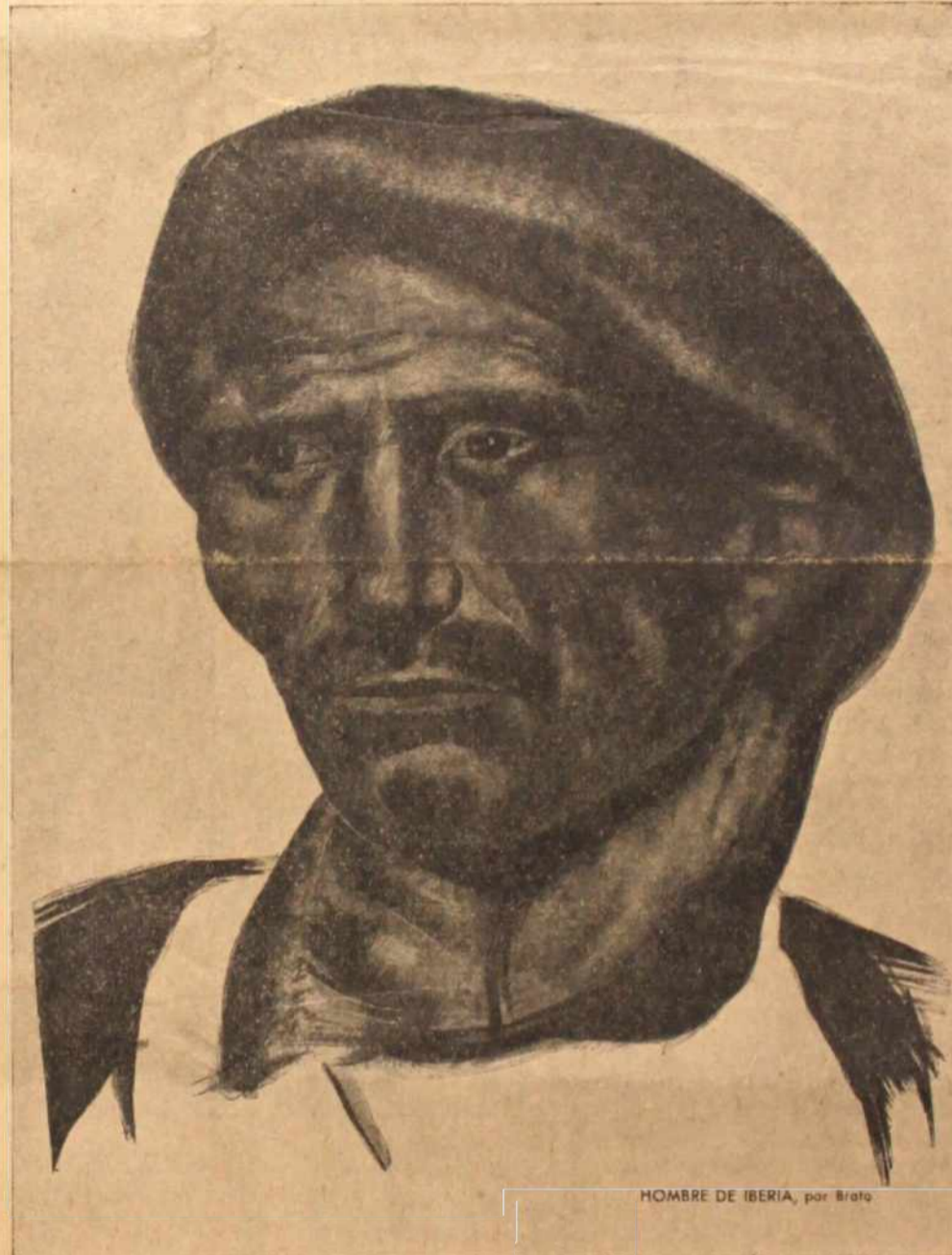
The article of which we give extracts below is written by two British doctors who have just returned from making a careful survey of the medical conditions of the refugees in Catalonia. It is printed in the *New Statesman and Nation* of October 23rd, 1937.

"It has repeatedly been said that Catalonia has been too concerned with her own affairs to take her full share in the war. If those inclined to disparage her co-operation could see the burden she has shouldered they would tell a different tale. Into this one province have been concentrated refugees from every part of Spain, whilst an unending stream of women, children, and wounded pour in from the Asturias,

and fresh evacuations from Madrid and France are in immediate prospect. The refugees have come in three main waves—from the South (Andalusia and Murcia), those from Malaga having been many days on the road and bringing nothing with them except their children and the clothes they wore; from Madrid, and, since the end of August, in an overwhelming new influx from Gijon. Many of these last have fled from San Sebastian to Bilbao, from Bilbao to Santander, from Santander to Gijon, and now have escaped by boat to Bordeaux, where they are fed, locked into trains, and carried to Puigcerda.

The dangers and hardships en-

(Continued on page 3)



HOMBRE DE IBERIA, por Brato

WE appeal to the whole world, the proletariat of Europe, which is watching in anguish, its great heart gripped by what is, and what is yet to be the tragedy of Asturias, which, isolated from the

IN THE BLOOD OF ALL THE MARTYRS OF OCTOBER, WITH ALL ITS PASSION AND THIRST FOR REVENGE.

If the democracies abandon us, if the USSR and international Social-

The Great Asturian Tragedy

rest of the Peninsula, is fated to be destroyed, razed to the ground, annihilated by the fascist horde unless international solidarity comes to the rescue.

We know that the world is dozing, that the old heart of Europe is hardly stirring. But we are addressing the Anarchists, defenders of all just causes, eternal fighters for liberty and justice. ASTURIAS CANNOT PERISH, BECAUSE ASTURIAS IS THE REVOLUTION. IT IS THE LIVING SYMBOL OF OUR STRUGGLE AND THE CRUCIBLE FROM WHICH THE RESISTANCE AGAINST FASCISM CAN ARISE, MOULDED AS IT IS

ism and Communism don't know how to help us as they should, the Anarchists must overcome this fault, and not give itself over to a sterile criticism and a lack of good judgment. They must perform a constructive, generous, fruitful work that can save heroic Asturias, Spain and all of Europe.

Comrades of the entire world! Help Asturias! Agitate, appeal to the conscience of all mankind, send the food to Asturias that the brave miners, the indomitable Asturias proletariat, are asking for in order to continue their resistance as long as will be necessary. Get the mouldy machinery of the trade uni-

on organisations, ruined by reformism, moving, so that all the workers of France, England, North America, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, agitate, act, force their so-called liberal and democratic governments to prevent, by all possible means, the monstrous destruction of Asturias.

This is the primary, the most urgent work. If Asturias falls into the hands of fascism, the slaughter will surpass everything that has gone before. Men will die by the thousands; there will be no such thing as clemency or hope. Asturias is October, and October is the Revolution, anti-fascist unity, tenacious resistance against fascism.

The workers, the fighters at the front and in the rear of Spain, those who fight death defiantly day after day, under the explosions of the howitzers and the clamour of the bombardments, have their eyes and their hopes fixed on you, comrades of all countries.

If we triumph, comrade Anarchists throughout the world, the radius of influence of universal Anarchism will be saved in spite of everything, re-invigorated, extended. If we are conquered, everything goes down with us, Europe sinks into a night of slavery, of misery, of retrocession to the monstrous machine of the State and converted into its most docile instrument. Let us save ourselves together, let us fight together for our salvation and let us discuss our errors tomorrow,

if we have made them; or yours, if we prove to be on the right road. For the World Social Revolution! For Victory over Fascism! For the integral emancipation of the workers! For Anarchism!

THE PENINSULA COMMITTEE OF THE FAL

J. Gualtier Boissière, one of the select group of Independent French journalists has written the following significant words.

"...Political passions to-day are so ardent that certain fanatics reach the stage where they prefer a lie to the truth, if the truth, through their fault, is found in the enemy camp. I refuse to accept these methods, because it seems to me so easy to distinguish between the true fact and the interpretation which a false mind can give."

After Fourteen Months Of Free Spain

(Continued from previous issue)

Freedom, then, to the awakening and beginning practice of which in the age of the Renaissance, the fifteenth century, all that modern civilization has achieved is due, was never so much consciously neglected, defiled, wantonly assaulted in spirit and physically, than in the period since 1918 and now some of the results are palpably before us. To Lenin it was a bourgeois notion; in the Slave States of the other dictators it is a crime; in the latest book of Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg, the richest communist author, just when he tries to attract the attention of readers by some pages on the anarchist Durruti, anarchist ideas are described as a thing of the past, a subject dead and gone upon which the author does not care to waste words. Anti-fascism promoted by people like these, is necessarily a sinister farce, just calculated to draw naive humanitarians into the communist nets. Other nets are laid by the communist Pretender, the exiled dictator, Trotsky, a king who must "come into his own again," the "King over the water" so to speak. Ever so many humanitarians, advanced socialists and syndicalists also, who look supercritically at things in Spain, feel their heart bleeding over certain men and things in Russia and Spain, from Radek to Nin, from the Trotskyists in Russia and everywhere to the POUM. Did any of these ever repudiate the claim for dictatorship, nominally of the proletariat, practically, as everybody knows, of the exiled dictator and his party, those who massacred the Kronstadt rebels of 1921 and who are hungry for bloody vengeance on the present rulers of Russia? When these men and their deadly enemies at Moscow, both claim to fight for freedom in Spain, there is danger ahead indeed for the best of all good causes of modern times.

"Non-Intervention" indeed! — it prevented Spain from buying materials in the open market; it forced dealings with Russia upon her and left her alone a prey to the invasion by the two fascist Empires; it leaves her alone still when all the masks have now fallen—it is difficult to say which of the large States played the meanest role in this game of mutual treason . . . Thus China was deserted in 1931, when Manchuria was invaded, thus Ethiopia in 1935, Spain in 1936, China once more in 1937 . . . Is Fascism permitted indeed to lay hands upon everything? When we see arrangements made like those at Nyon, is this all humbug and petty fogging once more? Piracy in the harbour of Brest, France, was the reply when the ink of the Nyon signatures had hardly dried, when Dr. Negrin in Geneva had just pilloried one of the main malefactors, Italy.

Spain holds her head up and continues fighting. Some brave men have gone to help and do so still; their reduced numbers mark the low tide of the world's free men in these hard times. But cannot all this induce the liberal and humane elements of so many countries to recover some good sense, to cease to behave as if they also, like the statesmen and many other interested factors, were at heart one with fascism and paving its way, just "saving their face" by some hypocritical meanderings? Must so many good causes, founded by honourable men, whilst they are being deserted, also be disgraced and dishonoured by their present upholders? Pacifism is good and the more "integral," the better, but when some subtly change this into "voluntary serfdom," non-resistance to crime which means complicity, the cup is full and these unworthy persons must be told frankly to pass over to the enemy, cringing before the stronger who will wipe his feet upon their backs—let them cross the line and be seen no longer. Faith to principles is well and the more libertarian they are, the better. But when really changed conditions and new situations occur, to tie comrades down to unalterable principles which would lead to unpractical or ruinous actions, is absurd and to insult and try to destroy their good names on such occasions, is mean, miserable and

treacherous. This remark refers to the criticism from far abroad on the deplorable events of May in Barcelona. Local passionate disagreements may be inevitable in face of unpenetrable intrigues or brutal provocations, but their remedy is usually found on the very spot within the shortest time. Those who pour oil on these flames from abroad, squalling on "principles," backing in the sun of rightful rectitude, merit but contempt and ought to be told this. Dictatorship-mongers like the P.O.U.M. have the right to hold their own opinions, but when they propose to realize their aims, to impose steps leading to dictatorship, they become public enemies and can but be treated as such in the freest of all free communities. When after their failures Trotskyists everywhere almost monopolize the sympathies of a certain advanced public, this is not what ought to be and shows just how inveterate the authoritarian evil is among men who are generally considered friends of the cause of freedom in Spain.

Thus there is something left to do for very many of those who believe that they are the salt of the earth in humanitarian and libertarian matters. Their vagaries, tactlessness, partialities, selfishness and worse are dreadful. Their hearts are not really with us, with the Spanish cause, with Freedom. They like better their own dogmatism, to indulge in ungenerous polemics, to enjoy some spiritual solidarity with the interesting Old Pretender, the brilliant economic juggler called Leon Trotsky. They feel with good instinct that people in Spain, however polite, have a small opinion of their criticism and advice or, rather, have too much work on hand to take notice of them, and this nettles them. But if no other argument touches them, the uselessness of their efforts which cannot do any good and produces only harm, ought to induce them to stop their idle doings.

They do not understand to what degree the situation has changed by the length and the increased proportions of this deadly struggle. If allowed to settle their own quarrels, the Spanish, Catalan and Basque populations in 1936 would have crushed their age old enemies, the military caste the priests and the ruthless exploiters in town and country, and federated autonomous regions would have shown manifold applications of social fair play and progressive efforts. Then the fascist powers interfered violently and the great Western powers deprived Spain of most of the means to defend itself efficiently. This made it imperative to buy in the Russian market and then, by treacherous lies, all the guilt of bolshevism was heaped on the shoulders of Spain. Since then the fascist powers are at work to destroy the British and French interests in the whole Iberian region and adjoining sea and African neighbourhood and this is intolerable to the Western powers. So they are bound to look for a solution which safeguards their interest and their prestige. It is not to their interest to leave a free hand to Russia and the bolshevist effort is useless. A general libertarian solution may not be possible either, just at present, though many libertarian institutions in Catalonia and Aragon are bound to stay and may spread with unexpected fervour to the South and West when these now enslaved territories are liberated. To join the war, then, is, as it always was, the task which inspires everything. C.N.T. and F.A.I. see this and do their very best towards it in spite of so many nefarious provocations. The fascist fiends abroad are, to all appearance, unless abysmal treachery is at work—are slowly being driven to the wall with the choice before them to fight now when they may only mean to bluff, or to stand back and climb down, a task which no doubt many powers would make easy for them—but there must not be a complete draw. Here the good sense of disinterested people must come in; if such people are left at all or are not all absorbed by slobbering over poor Trotsky and his henchmen. May men like Robert Louzon in France and other sympathisers of

the better type take notice of that; the world has lived for twenty years on some neat phrases of Romain Rolland who says very little on Spain—and that is not enough, by far.

Tua res agitur—it is your own cause: these words are more patent now to the ear of the masses of every non-enslaved country than they were fourteen months ago. Unfettered fascism is ruffing a-mok now on the open seas and in ports and inland as the murder of the brothers Rosselli, the Brest piracy and heaps of unexplained or hushed up crimes in France and other peaceful countries, show clearer every day. In reality the war of Progress, however moderate, against Fascism—spoliation, ruin and death—is raging already. Fascism may be cowed now and drizzle away or it may be forced now to fight under conditions which are less advantageous to it as every day passes along. One feels that it begins to lose the choice of an initiative of its own. Let us beware of optimism, but also of being unworthy of coming great hours. Progressive realisations may happen in small proportions and then they may be thoroughgoing, harmonious, individualized and relatively perfect. At other times they



sweep large territories, continents, carrying away the minds of all who are capable of evolving. In the latter case they cannot be expected to be as thoroughgoing as in the former, but they clear the ground provisionally for further work. Such a hurricane may be due next to reinvigorate the minds and hopes of people who, too long, have put their trust in institutions which promise protection and security to them—the employers or the State. Now all this is collapsing; unemployment is stronger than the mercy of predatory bands, Fascist Piracy, and the ordinary man has become their slave, mentally and physically. This worldwide evil is meeting by and by with worldwide resistance and those are happy to whom youth and vigour shall permit to be in the forefront of that struggle, as all in Free Spain, old and young, are already.

The old order dies hard and capitalism, political socialism, bolshevism, fascism, all components of it, are making a hard stand. None the less Progress and Freedom, Intellect and Ethics, the communion of Beauty and Solidarity are going to win and there will be no rest on earth until this is achieved—or death and ashes may cover a bomb-destroyed globe with some dishevelled savages lingering in underground cavities as fore-sketched in certain dismal forecasts of human folly. The choice lies with all who can feel, think and do.

X.X.X.

September 21st, 1937.

Ascaso Speaks

"WE ARE TO-DAY THE SAME ANARCHISTS AND REVOLUTIONISTS AS WE WERE YESTERDAY"

"Tell me, first of all, the reasons given and the accusations formulated for your arrest."

"The arrest surprised me," he said. "Nevertheless, it is obvious they wished to get me out of the way at the moment of the dissolution of the Council, fearing rightly, that I would wish and would be able to oppose with every means, an arbitrary and impudent act, even against the C.N.T., who I represented. The charge of misappropriating funds was so low that while it served for my arrest, it could not be sustained a moment by those who intended to destroy me morally and physically. As you see, after 38 days' detention, they have been obliged to set me free—though perhaps only provisionally."

"Had you grasped the fact that Aragon, because it affords so good an example of accomplished collectivisation, was a difficult pill for the Fascist-Anti-Fascists to swallow?"

Revolution and we are today the same Anarchists and Revolutionists as we were yesterday. I shall say still more to you, in order that you may know the refined Jesuitry of the politicians. Although I was called urgently to Valencia with the assurance that we would arrive at agreement, the Division commanded by the sinister Communist Lister was marching on Caspe, and I was arrested at the gates of Valencia, after having conferred with the Ministers. I am certain that if I had been able to return to Caspe, no Lister would have been able to dissolve our Council, all the Confederalist Divisions being at our disposal."

"Now, after the dissolution of the Collectives, do you think that the seed already planted, will bear good fruit?"

"Certainly, and you already know that Aragon is always with us, our influence is growing, and is still greater than it was—so much so that the Government Authorities feel that they have no grip—although they permitted the shameless theft and spoliation of all the reserves built up out of the common work—"

"According to you, the Aragon experiment—a most complete realisation in the libertarian sense—can be put into operation and extended to other localities, provinces and nations?"

"Why not? Figure for yourself that we possess in Aragon only the least fertile and the poorest parts—but that has not prevented us from producing and manufacturing more than mere necessities. Why could other more developed regions, possessing more modern equipment, not apply the same systems and methods, to realise the same objective, expressed by the maxim: "Each for all, all for each, without god or master? Is it not the masses themselves who, aware that they have no necessity for being exploited, know how to find for themselves the way to their well-being. The accomplishments already achieved are entirely due to the masses, and our Council has only, so to speak, approved the work already done."

"Now, tell me how will the war and the Revolution finish up?"

"You are now asking me to turn prophet—and you know that's not easy. However we can risk a guess and if our experience serves for anything, I conclude that the more we remain revolutionary and determined to hold on to the conquests already made, the greater will be the possibility of winning the war."

"That means that the smaller the concessions we make, the less ground we cede, the more our movement will be able to develop and count as a determining factor."

"Exactly, and I shall be clearer still in saying that it is time to finish with concessions and *laissez-faire*. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. for love of unity, for anti-fascist loyalty, for a mistaken spirit of solidarity, have ceded too much and sacrificed too much. And this has not even helped those who had faith in compromise and collaboration. They have received nothing in return but ingratitude, treachery and persecution. At this time, it is necessary to have firmness—and confidence in ourselves. There is no other way to go. And those who think to the contrary, lead us to suicide and defeat."

"After such categorical statements, I have nothing else to ask you—because I am so much in agreement with you. Finally, tell me, if it is not indiscreet, what do you plan to do?"

"You find me in the midst of books and papers. I am preparing a book which will soon be off the Presses dealing with the new Aragon and our work—which should be universally known. After that, I shall return to the ranks, at the front, with my comrades in the Aragon offensive, hoping that our militia and I, with them, will soon re-enter a freed and avenged Saragossa."

D. L.

(Le Reveil — Il Risveglio)

... AND THE WORLD

American Letter

Harry KELLY

THE U.S. has for long been looked upon as a land of milk and honey or a place where gold is found in the streets by anyone energetic enough to look for it. It is true that living standards are above most European countries, perhaps all of them, although the Scandinavian nations run us a close second and have nothing like the poverty and degradation we have for a large section of our population.

On October 1st the final report of the New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration appeared in the daily papers and it made startling reading. The report states that a total of five million New Yorkers have been supported by one form of relief or another since November 1st, 1931. That means two out of every five persons in the State. The cost to the State during that time amounted to one billion, one hundred and fifty-five million and at least one hundred million more spent direct by the Federal Government by what is known as the Works Progressive Administration. In short one and one-quarter billion dollars spent on actual direct relief or on what is called "made work." and all because of the profit motive which one prominent liberal daily called "the energizer of civilization." This is how it works.

About eighteen months ago and during a time when the city of New York with its population of seven million out of a total of twelve million for the entire state was spending from fifteen to eighteen millions a month to support its unemployed and their families numbering around a million persons the writer was in Florida for a few weeks and learned the following facts.

In area Florida is about the size of Italy and its climate is similar to part of that country as it is to Palestine, but instead of having forty-odd million inhabitants, it has only one and one half million. The newspapers were printing articles and resolutions from various Chambers of Commerce and Boards of Trade, urging that an intensive drive be made to increase the population of the State—one paper was frank enough to point out that they needed more people to help pay the expenses—"double the population within five years" was the slogan. My interest increased when I learned that good citrus, truck and woodland on a concrete state highway and with five miles of lake front (such was offered to me) 14 miles out of the beautiful city of Orlando for four dollars an acre—yes four dollars an acre. So much so I made the following suggestion to several persons, among them the father-in-law of the Mayor of the little college town where I was staying; perhaps they could get some of the unemployed in New York City to come and help develop the state, for as I pointed out, it seemed a pity that so much money should be spent without producing anything but under-nourished and demoralized people, but perhaps those I spoke with were not the right people, for the suggestion failed to register.

Trying a new track in a letter sent to the leading daily paper of Miami, I pointed out that each day brought new stories of how Hitler and his comrades in plunder were engaged in robbing the Jews of Germany and trying to starve them out of the country of their birth, so why shouldn't Florida offer them land and tools to increase the population, enrich the country and gain the benefits of their intelligence, skill and culture? The Managing Editor seemed impressed and wrote saying he would submit the matter to the Editor. The latter was probably too busy trying to stop certain forms of gambling in favour

of other, for he failed to reply.

By this time my head was bloody but unbowed, and this time I suggested that some person or persons having influence with the man who seems to do the thinking for Italy, might point out that for half the cost of the Ethiopian War he could buy the State of Florida and transplant the entire population of Italy there, where they could grow oranges, grape fruit, pineapples and celery, to say nothing of making good Italian wine with far less effort than on the rocky slopes of their native land. The climate is warm and congenial, the sun bright and with marvellous curative qualities, while the beaches at Daytona and Miami, are among the finest in the world.

My eloquence was in vain and my logic sound the suggestion seemed so startling, it was positively understandable, so Florida is still underpopulated, the New York unemployed are still under-nourished, improperly housed and insufficiently clothed. The Jews of Germany continue to be robbed, persecuted and starved, because there is no place for them in Nazi Ger-

many and lack of vision on the part of their coreligionists and Babbitts of Florida, to understand simple questions of logic when they are bound up with humanity. The former Socialist Dictator of Italy would not in the nature of things, be interested, because such a plan would obviate all the bunk of rebuilding a Roman Empire, and he would be unable to pose as the arch foe of Bolshevism, if the population emigrated to Florida.

As an addendum to the above, it is worthy of note that the process of redistributing the wealth of the U.S. goes on at such a rapid rate that one hundred (100) new millionaires have been created during the past four years, and we still have some eight million unemployed!

* * *

A few weeks ago the Hierarchy of the Spanish Catholic Church, issued a statement consisting of more than 10,000 words defending and supporting the Fascists of Spain, and which appeared in most of the daily papers of this country. It was answered first by Prof. James T. Shotwell, noted scholar and historian, and to-day, October 4th, appears another one signed by 150 leading scholars, churchmen and laymen of the U.S. which is sure to have important repercussions throughout the nation in favour of the loyalists of Spain.

Terrorism In Palestine

"Democracy" at Work

The tragic events in Palestine have provided yet another happy hunting ground for Mussolini.

The Press announces that Arab notabilities in Lybia have sent a message to Mussolini reaffirming their solidarity with the Arabs in Palestine. This message naturally comes as a result of Mussolini's fine words when he called himself the "defender of Islam." On the other hand Alfred Roke, a member of the Arab Higher Committee declared to Arthur Koestler, News Chronicle special correspondent that he was expressing the opinion of the Committee, including the Mufti, when he said "We know that Italy regards the Arab question only as a card in a bigger game. She aims at annoying Britain until the conquest of Abyssinia is recognised."

However, apart from once more exposing Mussolini as the opportunist par excellence, the events in Palestine once more shows that all Imperialisms, whether they be democratic or totalitarian are ruthless.

Mussolini brought "civilization and Christianity" to Abyssinia with bombing aeroplanes and mustard gas. An attempt was made on Graziani's life. It was followed by the wholesale destruction by fire and bombs of human lives and the huts in which the natives lived. The British Government regretted that such methods should be adopted. The British Government also disagreed with Germany's methods of reprisals by shelling Almeria, over the Deutschland incident.

And yet the British Government does not deprecate such action on the North West Frontier, or in Palestine.

As a result of the destruction of various aerodromes, General Wavill, Commander in Chief of the British Forces in Palestine ordered the destruction of houses belonging to "Arab extremists, suspected of having been involved in these acts of incendiarism."

Le Temps reports that an order from Jerusalem states that "amongst the punitive measures taken by the authorities in order

to put an end to the wave of terrorism which has broken out in the country, the houses in regions where arms have been stolen are to be "branded" in equal numbers to the number of arms stolen. For one rifle stolen, one house will be blown up, for one rifle handed back one house will be exempted.

By order of the authorities and to repress the latest acts of terrorism, twenty houses were dynamited today in different villages suspected of having sheltered rebels."

Further, Le Temps (October 20) states that a telegram from Jerusalem reports that "as reprisals against the attacks launched by Arabs in Damaria, on Monday, where members of the police force were obliged to give up their arms and ammunition, a detachment of British troops, aided by police authorities, the following morning dynamited three houses in the town." It should be noted that the police had only been obliged to give up their arms, and were not killed by the Arabs. So that this incident should not be repeated, the British mercenaries blow up three houses. And the National Press talks of Democracy! And British Ministers talk of the "ruthless" tactics of Mussolini and the "Reds" in Spain!

V. R.

ULTIMATUM TO MINORCA

William Forrest writes in the "News-Chronicle," Oct. 25:

Mahon (Minorca), Sunday. MINORCA, the little island in the Mediterranean, which has remained loyal to the Spanish Republic since the beginning of the war, has been summoned by Franco to surrender.

Rebel airmen, having crossed the narrow strait from Majorca yesterday, showered leaflets on the loyal island, announcing the end of "Red Asturias," and adding:

"The soldiers of Generalissimo Franco, who have defeated the most desperate warriors of Marxism, are now ready to fall like an avalanche on the other Red fronts, which are already shaking.

"The blow which they will deal to the Red hordes will be the final one. 'Minorca! The end of the war is near. Lose no time. An end to your suffering. Surrender before it is too late.'"

The Persecution Of The Church In Germany

BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE CHURCH ITSELF

It would be a mistake to show indignation at the recent measures taken against the Catholic Church in Germany. What is taking place is merely a settlement of accounts amongst birds of a feather and which can neither interest, sadden or hearten us. It is not the first occasion that the Church, despite its degradation, its cringing attitude in the face of a dictatorship, should find itself rebuffed by it. The Church desires nothing more than to serve Fascism on condition that the latter bestows on it certain privileges. The Church strikes a bargain, but when it feels that it has been "let down" it then bemoans itself. But these wailings are not protests on true opposition. The Catholic newspaper "Corrispondenza" as long ago as March, 1933 stated that: "If in the first place, the German episcopate, taking a stand, as was its duty, above all party politics, has denounced the mistakes of the movement, without firstly contesting its noble intentions and desire to work towards a National renaissance, it has meanwhile, during the rise of Hitlerism, scrupulously and consciously of the issue, avoided all tension which would have only resulted in tragic consequence, not only for political leaders, but also for Church interests."

To avoid this tension, the clergy became the apologists of Hitler, as evidenced by Cardinal Faulhaber during the annexation of the Sarr. They intrigued on behalf of the regime, such as the clerical Von Papen, and have removed, as soon as they were promulgated, ecclesiastic interdictions against Nazis. However, after so much evidence of devotion, certain ecclesiasts find themselves obliged to protest. At

the beginning of January 1937 a Pastoral letter signed by 3 Cardinals, 3 Archbishops and 17 Bishops, demand for the Church, the liberty guaranteed by the agreement between the Reich and the Vatican, in exchange for its complete collaboration in the struggle against the Bolshevists. This protest followed closely that of the Bishops of Cologne and Munich, since the persecution against Catholics is becoming more and more acute. "The German faith movement" encouraged by the government tends to eliminate Catholics from education and to oblige parents to withdraw their children from professional schools.

The Vatican which had encouraged the German bishops to rally around Hitler "saviour of European civilization," now sees itself thwarted. The newspaper of the "German Faith Movement" writes that if Germany wishes to live, the crosses must fall. The government approves of this statement, taking its youth from the influence of the Church and incorporating it in the "Hitler Jugend." Lately Hitler shows himself as being definitely against the German bishops, and recently the catholic women teachers' organisation has been dissolved by the Minister of National education. This organisation was one of the most important German groups of professional Catholics, its existence had been vouched for by the agreement between the Reich and the Holy See. These disagreements between the Church and Fascism are of no importance to us, since it is merely a question of rivalry. They have too many interests in common.

M.L.B.

THE REFUGEES IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page 1, column 2) tailed, not only by the shortage of food and overcrowding, but also by the mixing of such different populations, are immediately obvious.

There is a universal shortage of food, blankets, shoes, and soap. Except for some of the Asturians who have managed to bring bundles with them, hardly any of the refugees have even a change of clothes. Since some of the colonies (the housing varies from fine private houses downward) are lodged in derelict old buildings which are neither rain nor wind-proof, and since many of the Southerners have only cotton clothes, the winter in the North threatens the utmost privation. By far the most urgent necessity, however, is milk. One colony of 225 refugees, of which 135 were children, had had four cows all of which had died from tuberculosis. At the time we visited, there were four tins of condensed milk a day to provide for the whole colony. In another, there had been two litres the previous day to divide amongst 74 children. Bread is almost equally scarce; in Barcelona, women may wait for four or five hours in the queue only to find that the supply is exhausted. In a Northern colony, we found that the children under 13 were given one slice a day, but others only got a slice four days a week.

The refugees arriving at Barcelona were sent to one of five large receiving-houses, where they stayed for one or more days. The two largest, the Luis Companys and the Kropotkin, had been a theological college and a girls' reformatory respectively, and could each house between one and two thousand. Their running, which was being done admirably, in one case by a hotel manager, had been detailed to the restaurant syndicate of the C.N.T. The kitchens were up to

date, showers had been installed, and there were isolation rooms and a dispensary. Again, however, there was the same pressing lack of food and blankets. After a short stay, refugees were drafted from here to the villages.

On our third day in Barcelona (October 1st) we realised one reason why refugees are not being concentrated in Barcelona and the coast towns. Fourteen planes carried out a bombardment of Barceloneta, the fisherman's quarter, a place of no military importance. An infants' school was hit. The number of dead was over a hundred, fifty-six of them children. Two lorries carried away the bodies. In the evening we went down to the Hospital Clinico, where some of them had been taken. In the mortuary over forty bodies, which could be recognised as such, had been laid out. Almost all were women and children. Alongside stood two baskets of limbs and entrails which no human ingenuity could piece together. Against this, familiarity with the face of death was no defence. Here a three-year-old had had his shirt burnt to his arm-pits, leaving his little bare behind half torn away. Here a girl of about eleven, who may well have had a certain grace four hours ago, was hideously sprayed, a flap of scalp grotesquely hiding one long-lashed eye. A little boy's right arm ended jaggedly below the shoulder, and another arm from a child perhaps two years younger had been laid in its place. Many were still grey from the dust from which they had been dug, except where a trickle of foam had cleared a channel from the nose or mouth.

AUDREY RUSSELL
RICHARD ELLIS

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A Review
Friendly and Unfriendly
Of Press Views

FRANCO OR MUSSOLINI ON THE NORTHERN FRONT?

Referring to the report published in the *Sunday Times*, the *Universe* (October 22nd), states that:

"The experience of the anonymous correspondent of the *Sunday Times* who is described in the current issue of that paper as "an experienced observer" may be gauged by the fact that he states that "the Italian army has been leading the attack in the North." He does not know the truth of the matter, that the attack in the North has been led by Navarran troops and that over 80 per cent. of the whole Nationalist force was Spanish. For the main thrust through the mountains on Santander the Spanish troops were altogether responsible."

On the other hand, the Italian (and consequently Fascist) newspaper "*Il Popolo*" (27th August), covers its front page with a headline which reads: "SANTANDER. Glorious Italian victory." This is followed by a further headline which reads: "Franco exalts the courage and experience of our Legionnaires . . ." There is no mention of Navarran troops as the *Universe* wishes its readers to believe. They were possibly celebrating Mass or drinking to the health of their Christian representative, Generalissimo Franco.

CHRISTIAN MATERIALISM.

A correspondent once wrote to us, following the publication of an article "The Churches Must not be Re-opened," that he disagreed entirely with us, and asked, why should not a man lead a contemplative life if he so wished. By chance I came across a cutting from an Italian clerical newspaper "*La Scintilla*" which shows what too much contemplation can do! The newspaper complained that the number of *Holy Communion*s held was insignificant, and to solve the crisis it suggested that: "If the 32 million Italians, who are of the right age to take Communion, were to go to Communion every day, a total of 12 billion Communion would be held each year. Each host (consecrated wafer) weighing 10 grams, would thus bring the total consumption to 110,000 quintals of flour. But how much more work and less unemployment such an increase in wheat production this would entail, and what an advantage even if only one duly considers the material point of view."

All that is now necessary is to make Communion compulsory, and—why not?—increase the weight of the hosts so as to further decrease unemployment!

COMMUNIST CONTROLLED PRESS.

The *Daily Worker* (London, 18th October), comments on the Friend's House debate between Fenner Brockway and Mr. Langdon-Davies. According to them Fenner Brockway "spoke with ingenuity and sometimes with passion on anything under the sun" other than the subject, whilst Mr. Davies "spoke well and clearly, and kept to the subject of debate." So much so, that Mr. Davies spent most of the time attacking the C.N.T.—F.A.I. and our comrades on the Aragon Front, whilst the subject of the debate should have been "that the suppression of P.O.U.M. was essential to the Spanish anti-Fascist cause!"

In common with the Fascist Press, the Communists are not even allowed to report meetings in their true light.

I wonder what Mr. Langdon-Davies and the *Daily Worker* have to say about the liberation of militants of the P.O.U.M. So far they have been conspicuous by their silence.

NORWEGIAN SEAMEN OPPOSE FASCISM.

One reads in the *Industrial Worker* (16th October), the following: "Mobile, Ala., Oct. 8th.

Seventeen seamen of the Norwegian motorship "Wind," went to jail because they refused to sail for Japan with a cargo of scrap iron loaded here.

T. A. Provence, Norwegian Vice-Consul, said the seamen would be held until he receives further orders from Norway. The seamen range in age from 18 to 20."

This is yet one more example of solidarity shown for fellow-workers by merchant seamen. It should be an example to those who have not yet expressed their solidarity towards our Spanish comrades, and who are still allowing their ships to transport raw materials and supplies to Franco's forces.

GAD, SIR!

Le Temps (October 20th), gives a report of the speech delivered by Mr. O. Pirow, Minister of National Defense of the Union of South Africa, when he spoke at Klerksdorp in the Transvaal. He said "If ever you are asked to join up and take up arms under the pretext that the agreement which exists between England and ourselves, would oblige us to take part in a war, I give you permission, speaking as Minister of Defense, to refuse to obey. Personally, I should be amongst the first to join the rebels in such an eventuality. Never will we order anyone to fight beyond the frontiers of the Union." What will all the Colonel Blimps say? What has Mr. Strong Empire Beaverbrook to put forward as an explanation for this anti-Imperialist speech?

LIBERTARIAN.

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Books

Mussolini's Designs on Majorca

DOCUMENTS FROM THE ITALIAN CONSULATE IN BARCELONA

Our comrade Camillo Berneri has provided us in his book "*Mussolini a la Conquesta oelle Baleari*"** with important documentation, proving that Mussolini had long been dreaming of the conquest of the Balearic Islands. These documents have been found in the archives of the Italian Consulate at Barcelona. Berneri took possession of them, analysed them carefully and gave many reproductions. Berneri wished to provide a sequel to his book and had collected documentation concerning Mussolini's recent intervention in the Balearic Islands, but was assassinated before he was able to complete his task.

It is clearly apparent from these documents that the conquest of the Balearic Islands did not begin after the Franco rising, but had been the constant concern of the Italian authorities since the coming of Fascism:—

"Since 1920 the Adriatic is no longer 'a modest gulf' for the 'imperialistic megalomania' of 'Mussolini aspiring to the conquest of 'a vast sea,' the Mediterranean, in which live possibilities for 'Italian expansion are very strong, ('Popolo d' Italia, November 13th, 1920). The destiny of the Mediterranean has become of the 'myths of Mussolini's mystic creed' and one of the tenets of the 'imperialistic policy of Italian 'Fascism. Spain appeared to 'Mussolinian imperialism as a 'country to colonise.'"

But as De Santillan points out in his preface "*The political situation in Europe did not allow him to invade openly the Iberian Peninsula as he had invaded Abyssinia. The opposition of the great powers would have been insurmountable.*" And so Mussolini prepared for the conquest well beforehand, by means of the press and diplomacy, so as to be ready when the opportunity arose.

It was the press whose task it was since 1924, to popularise Mussolini's imperial dream; to quote Berneri again:—

"As in colonial conquests, first 'comes the explorer, then the missionary, then the soldier and finally the trader. To-day between the missionary and the soldier comes the officious journalist."

Then followed the cruises which, as the council general at Barcelona pointed out to the Foreign Minister, were important as much from the military as from the political point of view. The military aspect was important for it allowed the ships to become accustomed to Balearic waters. Of political value too, for these cruises, often of an official or propagandist nature, reawakened in Italians their passion for the sea, "an essential element in national power" and was calculated to arouse amongst the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands, a feeling of sympathy and admiration for the Italian Empire.

So as to increase such prestige in the eyes of the Spanish peoples, Mussolini not only had recourse to cruises, but also to frequent visits by naval and aerial squadrons. According to the instructions and reports exchanged between the Italian authorities it is clearly shown that the fascist government was anxious to dazzle the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands. The means employed to attract the Majorcans are various; *avanguardia* after being present at a *corrida* placing flowers at the statue of Jaime I; Italo Balbo forced to interrupt his flight on account of bad weather, stops with his six hydroplanes in the bay of Colonia de Campos del Puerto, sleeps in a humble fisherman's cottage, shakes hands with the Civil Guards, leaving amongst the fishermen and guards a memory which touched and flattered them: neither were

visits on board, military parades, *thé dansants*, etc., omitted.

The results of such demonstrations, the slightest sympathy shown for the Italians are triumphantly noted by the Majorcan consular agents, just as the indifference of a handful of Italians, resident at Majorca, did not fail to concern the Italian Government.

This work of military conquest did not always have the results Mussolini would have wished. The political manoeuvres of England, France and Germany, often clouded his imperialistic dream.

The French trouble him with their diplomacy; they are incorrigibly charming persons who know how to retain cordial relations, paying for *thé dansants*, making presents of yachts, and distributing military honours. The Germans have splendid uniforms, the English excellent military bands, the Japanese deal successfully with the Catalan language "All such activities are highly displeasing to the Rome observers." The result is that the activities of foreign powers in the Balearics are greatly increased not only in the economic or political spheres, but also as regards the movements of troops and ships. Spanish policy receives not the slightest attention. Detailed reports are published in all newspapers, pointing out the creation of naval and air bases, and many documents show that Majorca is especially the object of Italian military espionage.

It is equally apparent from information received that the Spanish authorities have pretended to ignore Italian scheming in the Balearic Islands and have encouraged it by their indifference.

Even the parties of the Left did not realise the danger. The Italian consul at Barcelona describes the republican press as "a kindly, tamed lion" and this same press is profuse in its praise of Italian officers and sailors.

There is no cause for surprise therefore if at the time of the fascist *putsch* on July 19th, the governor refused to arm the workers' organisations of the C.N.T. and U.G.T., and if the twenty-two day strike served only to increase the severity of the repressive measures.**

The lengthy work of penetration carried out by Mussolini was beginning to bear fruit. M.L.

NOTES.

*An Italian edition of this book has been published as well as two in Spanish. The book is shortly to appear in French. We hope to be able to give shortly an English edition.

**In four months 5,250 were shot at Palma, Majorca; the castles are full of prisoners and the convents have had to be utilised.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Each Publication received will be acknowledged once in our columns.

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI, Anarchist Weekly in Italian. Price 5c. Box 1, Sta. 18, Newark, N.J., U.S.A.

CAMPO! CNT Weekly in Spanish. Price 15c. 32-34 Av. B. Durruti, Barcelona, Spain.

COMBAT SYDICALISTE, Weekly in French. Price 50c. 108 Quai Jemmapes, Paris (10), France.

ESPAGNE NOUVELLE, Anti-fascist Fortnightly in French. Price 50c. 10 rue Emile-Jamais, Nimes, (Gard), France.

ETHIOPIA TIMES, Anti-fascist Weekly. 3 Charteris Rd., Woodford Green, Essex.

GUERRA DI CLASSE, Anarchist Weekly in Italian. Price 30c. Casa CNT-FAI, 32-34 via B. Durruti, Barcelona, Spain.

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ADMISSION BY PROGRAMME may be obtained by post from: SONIA V. EDELMAN, 47 Meadway, N.W.11, or R. BARR, 18 Castledown Road, W.14, and Workers' Friend, 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End, E.1.

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organised by the
ANARCHO-SYDICALIST UNION
163, Jubilee Street, London, E.1
will be held at

FOOD REFORM RESTAURANT,
Furnival St., High Holborn, W.C.1
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on
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"Anarchist Communism and Trade Unionism"

SPEAKER:

J. A. MURRAY

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A MEETING of the LONDON FREEDOM GROUP in Commemoration of the Chicago Martyrs will be held at the **Emily Davison Room,** 144 High Holborn, London, W.C., on **Friday, November 12th** at 7.30 p.m. — **ADMISSION FREE.**

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187. London: W. 1/-.
188. Los Angeles: per Dr. H. Holtz £7.

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