

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Whilst the English "Democratic Government" lends a helping hand to Franco, Fascist aeroplanes discharge their bombs on the civilian population; on schools, killing 50 children and wounding hundreds during one raid on Lérida; and on workers' homes in Barcelona and Barbastro.

It is time British workers lost all faith in "Democratic Governments" which have at all times in history opposed with force or by diplomatic juggling the emancipation of the working classes.

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## The Virtual Recognition of Franco by The British Government — Prelude to Open support — Must be Signal For an Awakening of The Latent Forces of The International Proletariat on Behalf of Free Spain

### Factors Leading to Situation in Spain To-day

#### OUR RESPONSIBILITY

THE situation in Spain, as a result of the successful outcome of the international Fascist attack on the Basque Front, is more than serious. It is a tragedy which will be followed later by the wholesale massacre of the population in the remaining portion of Spain loyal to the anti-fascist cause. This population does not only consist of the armed militiamen and their families, but also the hundreds of thousands of refugees who have fled from their villages and towns as these fell into the hands of Franco's hordes.

Thus, an analysis of the causes of the present situation is not mere academic ranting or, as a Spanish Communist leader once described as "the work of historians in the future," but a vital necessity if any effort is to be made to save the Spanish people and the cause of international anti-Fascism.

The causes can be briefly enumerated as follows:

1. Insufficiency of arms, as well as the inefficient distribution of the arms available, e.g. the Basque and Aragon fronts.

2. The betrayal by the so-called Democratic Governments and above all the general apathy of the international proletariat.

3. The total inability of the Spanish Government to clean loyal territory of Franco's "Fifth Column."

4. The forced rise in strength and Governmental power of the Communist Party and the creation of the Negrin Government, which in its attempts to obtain the sympathy of the great Powers, makes promises to destroy the truly revolutionary elements and their conquests in the Social Revolution.

The remaining points can be easily placed under one of the above heads.

As far as we, who are far from the Spanish battlefield, are concerned, our responsibility lies in the first two points. No-one can deny that the setbacks suffered by the Spanish people have been due to an obvious lack of arms. The manpower, the hundreds of thousands of men prepared to sacrifice their lives for an ideal, they are not lacking. The Spanish people do not need Moors, Italians, or German Fascist mercenaries to fight for their cause. But a people cannot fight a regular army with courage and enthusiasm alone. The arms they required were actually denied them by the Democracies.

but the people (and it is the people who should constitute a Democracy and not a Cabinet) had not the strength, or they did not feel the cause of Spain sufficiently strongly, to force their Governments to accord their wishes. Thus, until there is a conscious international proletariat, popular movements are bound to fail even if only for a short period of time.

The inefficient distribution of arms is not in reality due to inefficiency but rather to a natural antipathy for the revolutionary workers on the part of the bourgeois Government. In the same way as at the outbreak of the Civil War, the Madrid Government hesitated before arming the people, similarly the Valencia Government has hesitated for a year before sending arms to the Aragon Front which has been held in the main by comrades of the CNT-FAI. Now that some arms have been sent there progress has been made. If this had been done earlier the Basque country and the heroic Asturian miners would not have been already doomed to destruction. For this the Communist Party and the Negrin Government (another name for the Communist Party) are to be held responsible. Mr. Langdon-Davies, the Communist Party mouth-piece, recently openly stated in a public debate with Mr. Fenner Brockway (I.L.P.), that arms were withheld from the Aragon front because it was feared that the Anarchists at the front would use them in the rearguard! Further, it should be remembered that the Communist Party had an important share in the leadership of the Basque and Santander Government. Now after the disastrous results in the North the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has issued a document which reads:

*"A severe policy was lacking in the North. The long months of calm on those fronts were not used to organise and train the army, nor to seriously fortify their positions; they did not clean out the higher ranks; they did not utilise the full resources of their industry, nor prepare the population to bear the sacrifices of war. They did not carry out a policy of satisfying the desires and aspirations of the workers and peasants in Euskadi and Santander, allowing the property owners and the huge industrialists to remain in contact with the rebels; they dampened the ardour of the heroic fighters. A decaying liberalism guaranteed immunity to the 'fifth column'; a*

*mistaken idea of the effectiveness of propaganda and popular agitation, prohibiting public meetings, loosened the ties between the rulers and the Popular Front on the one hand, and the more active ranks of the people on the other, and prevented that rousing of the spirit, fervour and enthusiasm of the citizens necessary to rush forward to the heroic defence of the city."*

This is an admission which must not be easily forgotten. For here the Communist Party have in fact criticised their own policy! They have made the same criticisms as our comrades in Spain and in our Press have been making for months. For that they have been called "counter-revolutionists."

The Communists admit that their policy so far (and it has been their policy) has been a ruinous one and guaranteed immunity to the "fifth column." Their existence, and the opportunities offered their organisation to carry out its nefarious work, is one of the greatest enemies to the Spanish workers' cause. This problem has been dealt with elsewhere in this issue, and therefore need not be further discussed here.

#### STRENGTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Party in Spain has risen from an insignificant organization to one which is able to dominate the Negrin Government. This unnatural state of affairs has been explained on numerous occasions. So long as Loyalist Spain will have to rely on Russia for its limited supply of arms, Communist strength will continue. Despite all efforts to create a war industry in Catalonia, our comrades have not succeeded in supplying all the needs of the war fronts, to counteract the enormous supplies coming for Franco from Italy and Germany.

We need hardly comment on the Negrin Government's attitude toward the true revolutionists. The results are suicidal. The conquests of the Revolution are being taken away from those who have won them through the sacrifice of their brothers and comrades. Dr. Borkenau who can hardly be accused of being biased in his book "The Spanish Cockpit" writes: "The policy of the Communist Party goes directly against the interests of the masses. The peasant does not get a clear promise as to more land but he does get requisitions. What is he likely to feel? The worker gets neither socialization nor increased wages. But he does (Continued at foot of next column)



Fascism can be crushed only by a militant working class!

## FASCIST TERRORISM IN GALICIA

### Eye-Witness Account of Conditions in Corunna

THE following extract from Solidaridad Obrera (15th October) is information supplied to that newspaper by comrades who have managed to escape from Coruna.

The only arm which the workers possessed against fascism was opposition by general strikes. It was general in the whole of Coruna. This naturally disconcerted the fascist authorities. And they decided to lay hands on a few of the responsible elements in the syndicalist movement, in order to oblige them to give orders for the resumption of work. Among others were arrested comrades of the Construction Branch Venancio Seoane, Cipriano Albite and Jaime Rodriguez. The military governor himself tried to oblige them to sign a fascist manifesto, advising the submission of the workers.

Naturally our comrades refused to sign.

*get increased prices. What is he likely to feel? The housewives do not get more cash in hand, but markets are uncontrolled and there is no card rationing system either."*

Neither are the continual attacks on the collectives, the dissolution of the Council of Aragon and the arrest or execution of the militants of workers organizations the way to bring about unity in Spain.

V. R.

This brought upon them the fury of their torturers who inaugurated a criminal onslaught which since then has been used frequently. Their victims were taken to a field which lies behind the prison. Once there, they riddled their legs with bullets. Then, they left them to bleed to death. After a day had passed, they returned to finish them off with revolver shots. In other words, an execution which lasts twenty-four hours.

#### More Crimes

It would be an impossible task to refer to all the crimes perpetrated by the Fascists in Coruna. However, we ask our informer to limit himself to the more important cases.

—I remember comrade Boedo of the Stone-cutter's Syndicate (Sindicato de Canteros), of his son and son-in-law, who were shot at the same time as the French socialists, the brothers France, Vebee and Jaures; of comrade Cesáreo, of the Boat-makers' Syndicate, who was also shot.

This comrade was arrested and taken through the Calle Real, handcuffed and with an unloaded pistol in his hands. After having been made the subject of mockery by those murderers, he was taken to a prison where they tried to cut

(Continued on page 2)

America

## DEPORTATION OF ANTI-FASCISTS

Sallitto &amp; Ferrero

ACCORDING to a telegram by the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference from Washington, D.C., a protest against the threatened deportation of Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto, two legal residents of the United States, has been delivered to the Secretary of Labor personally by a delegation headed by Mrs. Louis F. Post and composed of Mrs. A. J. McKelway, former Washington president of the National League of Women Voters; Allan Davis; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph McKenzie; Katherine Aubrey, a grand-daughter of Secretary of State Forsyth and Mercer G. Johnston, Distinguished Service Cross and Croix de Guerre.

The protest, which calls for the cancellation of the deportation orders against Ferrero and Sallitto, has been signed by one hundred prominent writers and professors. Asserting that ours is a democratic form of government where the right to free thought, free speech, and free assembly is guaranteed to the people by the Constitution, and that the violation of civil rights by foreign tyrants is despised by our people and our press, the protests asks: "Why, then does our government prosecute and find it justifiable to banish people from the United States on charges purely political, not involving the commission of any evet act?"

Stating that Sallitto, a legal resident of the United States for 16 years and father of an American-born child whose mother is deceased, has been ordered deported on un-

founded charges of being a member of an "organziation which believes in, advises, advocates... the overthrow of the United States by force and violence"; that Ferrero, also a legal resident for 31 years, is being deported for his past association with a philosophical anarchist publication long out of existence; and that neither of these men has committed any crime during their long residence in the country.

"Deportation is a cruel punishment, and it would be doubly cruel to deport these two anti-Fascists to Italy. The privilege of voluntary departure accorded in cases of this nature does not solve the problem because of the impossibility of securing permission to enter a country other than Italy."

[Ferrero and Sallitto were arrested in Oakland, California, in April 1934. Their cases have been appealed a number of times and are now waiting final disposition by the Department of Labour. Meanwhile the two men are at liberty under bail bond posted by the Dressmakers' joint Board of New York. If deported to Italy, as anti-Fascists, the two men might face either long imprisonment or possible death.

Mrs. Louis F. Post stated that while her husband was Assistant Secretary of Labour the then Secretary William B. Wilson had occasion to state that "no matter what the Law might say, he would never deport an alien to a country where his life would be endangered."]

## FASCISM IN GALICIA

(Continued From Previous Page)

off his hands. Later he was transferred to Guitiris, where he was shot. Once the criminals had withdrawn some distance, a peasant, who had witnessed the execution, seeing that the victim still showed signs of life, approached with the intention of picking him up. This humanitarian gesture annoyed the murderers to such an extent, that, retracing their steps they fired on the peasant point blank, and at the same time finished off our unfortunate comrade Cesáreo.

### The Fate of Comrade Villaverde

These facts are in themselves sufficient in order to understand the moral countenance of the traitors sold to invading fascism. But now, we draw the attention of our informant to the fate of well known comrades such as Villaverde for instance.

Comrade Villaverde was arrested and remained in prison for three months. Because of his popularity the fascists tried to win him over. But time passed and Villaverde remained the man he had always been. One day he was

finally given an option: either join the Spanish Falange or die. Villaverde did not hesitate in his choice, preferring to die rather than betray his ideals. The next day he was found dead on the main road.

### The Case of the Deputy, Rupilanchas

The case of the detention and death of the Socialist Deputy, Rupilanchas is another proof of the methods of the terrorists of fascism.

The Governor, Arellano, had given an order, according to which, those who hid any antifascists who were being hunted down by the police would suffer the same fate as those for whom the police were searching. And this was what happened in the case of Rupilanchas. A doctor, by the name of Manuel Fernández was keeping him in hiding in his house. Franco's agents were informed of this and went to arrest him. At that moment the doctor was holding a consultation. The police respected no one. Even the patients were arrested. And a few were shot along with the Deputy, Rupilanchas and the doctor.

# The Past, Present and Future OF THE SPANISH PEASANT

WHEN the fascists rose in rebellion against the existing republican government, the rural workers understood that at last their hour for moral and economic recovery had come. And the response of these slaves of the soil gave the reactionary gentry with liberal pretensions the greatest surprise; their astonishment was the greater because they expected the ignorant peasants to give themselves over immediately to destruction, to sacking and to the abandonment of the means of production; they were surprised by the order and the sense of responsibility with which the peasants faced their economic problems from the very beginning.

We have reiterated many times that the fields, in the hands of tenants and the caciques, were completely abandoned. We have the most ample proof of the deficient agricultural production in Spain while the caciques were masters. Nothing better than statistics to prove the point: the following was produced annually on 50 million hectares of land: cereals, 4,000 million pesetas; fruits, 1,500 million pesetas; roots and tubers, 1,000 million pesetas; pasture and woodland, 600 million pesetas; olives,

600 million pesetas; vegetables, 500 million pesetas; fodder, 350 million pesetas; beetroot and nurseries, 250 million pesetas.

Total, 9,600 million pesetas.

All of this miserable production was not enough to cover the ministerial calculations, which was doing everything to drown the just demonstrations of the agricultural producers in blood. But, apart from the fact that the peasantry had a great account to settle with the rural bourgeoisie, they knew what responsibilities they shouldered at these times, and surpassed the previous agricultural production, as the statistics published by the Ministry of Agriculture show, preparing a great many thousands of hectares for cultivation; reorganising the agricultural resources in such a way that even the technicians were astonished at the prosperous course of superproduction that the land was achieving in the hands of the peasant Unions.

All this economic and cultural reorganisation that the peasant was carrying through day and night represented great sacrifices for the peasant organisations, who bore them a cheerful stoicism, understanding what such austerity could signify for our future freedom.

### SOLIDARITY WITH THEIR BROTHERS IN THE TRENCHES

Setting the revolutionary economy on new roads, the peasants understood that one of the most effective arms in fighting fascism, was to make sure that the comrades on the fronts lacked no food. They therefore began to contribute millions and millions of kilos of food of every sort, their caravans cheerfully carrying bread to their fighting brothers, who were giving their blood for the freedom of the oppressed.

Among the towns of Levante that contributed very much, we can cite, Alfafar, Catarroja, Silla; all of the towns of the Sueca region, of the Gandia region, of the Jativa region, of the Foos region, of the Utiel region. How many more could be named for having demonstrated their spirit of solidarity with all their suffering brothers!

### ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN THE FIELDS

Behind this unanimous act of mutual aid with our heroic fighters for liberty, is the other in the fields of production, where the iron will of the peasants makes up for the lack of economic assistance on the part of those who are trying to torpedo all just and human initiative. Thus, in the midst of all refusals of aid, and without resources, they had to face their agricultural problems. Only their enthusiasm for the Revolution and the antifascist cause helped them to overcome their difficult obstacles.

### THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE

But reaction, cloaked as antifascist and working through political and trade union channels, cannot permit the collectivist example to continue functioning in the small rural towns. This instinct, cultivated by a love for the conditions under the cacique system, drives them to fight against the peasantry, after having wormed their way into responsible positions in official circles, by denouncing men as enemies of the regime, who, whether they be republicans, socialists or anarchists, show by their actions that they love liberty and the soil of Spain.

But even while this is going on, the will of the peasantry is creating a new Spain of work and culture that will take care of the needs of the coming generations.

(Bolletín de Información)

## WHAT FOREIGN AID IS COSTING FRANCO

FROM San Juan de Luz it is officially learned that the Italian and German authorities have presented Franco with hardly sentimental accounts, made up in Lire and Marks, for war material and military assistance given to the fascist forces in Spain. Neither Italy nor Germany expect to be paid in cash but they prefer to be repaid in raw materials, which they require and cannot obtain in other countries.

One knows that General Franco's debt to Italy has been calculated at 3,000 million lire—and an agreement has been drawn up whereby these consignments of raw materials will be sent once a year over a period of twenty years. Already a company has been formed with headquarters in Salamanca, which negotiates the transactions with Italy. It is called the S.A.F.N.I. (Sociedad Anónima Financiera Nacional Italiana). According to the agreement, 300,000 tons of the following products will be sent annually to Italy: pyrites, iron ore, copper and wool.

The details of the German agreement are not known at present, but it can be taken for granted that the supplies are not as large as those to be sent to Italy. Actually, Germany requires the same raw materials as Italy, and in Salamanca a company is being formed with exactly the same scope as the Italian one.

(Solidaridad Obrera).

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# What Franco Is Defending

MUCH has been said regarding agrarian reform in Spain for a long time. So long as Spain was a feudal country, the greatest part of the land was in the hands of the counts, dukes and marquises, while the overwhelming majority of the people had nothing and were forced to sell their strength to the land owners.

With the advent of the Republic they spoke even more persistently of the need for agrarian reform, but it never passed beyond the stage of empty talk. Marcelino Domingo, Minister of Agriculture, created Commissions without end, but the practical results seemed to favour the commissioners rather than those who had to work on the soil. Although nothing was done during the period of the republic, it was seen that sooner or later the people would demand the reform, but, instead of by legal means, they would

resort to other methods. The fascists anticipated this popular action and decided to defend themselves. Since July 19th, all the Spanish people are on one side of the trenches, and the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie on the other, if not actually in the trenches, at least spiritually.

The majority of those who are helping Franco are dukes, marquises, and counts. We reproduce a list of Spanish grandees who are with Franco, hoping that he will save their land for them:

(2.47 acres per hectare)

Duke de Medinaceli .....	79,146 hectares
Duke de Peñaranda .....	51,015 "
Duke de Villahermosa .....	47,203 "
Duke de Alba .....	34,455 "
Marquis de Romana .....	29,096 "
Marquis de Comillas .....	23,719 "

Duke de Fernán Nuñez .....	17,732 "
Duke de Arlón .....	17,666 "
Duke de Infantado .....	17,171 "
Count de Romanones .....	15,132 "
Count de Torres Arias .....	13,644 "
Count de Sástago .....	12,629 "
Marquis de Mirabell .....	12,570 "
Duke de Lerma .....	11,879 "
Marquis del Riscal .....	9,310 "
Duke de Alburquerque .....	9,077 "
Count de Elda .....	8,323 "
Duke de Tamames .....	7,921 "
Marquis de Viana .....	7,166 "
Count de Narros .....	6,736 "
Count de Mora .....	6,503 "
Duke de Sotomayor .....	5,243 "
Duchess de Plasencia .....	5,243 "
Count del Real .....	5,142 "
Duke de Alcudia .....	5,080 "
Marquis de Arlenzo .....	5,065 "

Problems of the Revolution

# Franco's "Fifth Column"

## The Inactivity of the Government

ONE of the problems that has faced Loyal Spain since July 19th, has been the ever increasing work carried on by Franco's Fifth column.

This, as we shall show, is not because it has been impossible to round up those fascist organizations, but simply because the Government has been more anxious to arrest the militants of the CNT-FAI and POUM and destroy the achievements of the workers in town and village; in factory and on the land.

Franco's Fifth column has been used as a political speculation by the Communist Party. With the pretext of cleaning up loyalist territory of Fascists, true anti-fascists are in the prisons whilst Franco's agents' activities continue. Thus Santander and Gijon fell before Franco's troops reached these cities. Thus when on one occasion the fascists bombed Barcelona, the anti-aircraft guns did not respond ... because they were manned by fascists. They were afterwards arrested and shot, but not until the bombers had been able to destroy so many innocent lives.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, Patrullas de Control were formed, their function being to hunt out Franco's sympathisers. This they did with enthusiasm, and although they must have made some mistakes, they were succeeding in their work. These "patrullas" are now illegal, and the task has been undertaken by the Civic Guards and we presume the Communist Party.

It has been common practice amongst the enemies of the CNT-FAI to accuse this body of being the hiding place for fascists, owing to the ease with which one can become a member of the CNT. Actually, the conditions imposed by the CNT for membership of that organization are more stringent than in any other. A comrade, before receiving his CNT card, must have been presented by two comrades, each of whom has been an active member for not less than four years.

To show that they could prove the accusations (that the CNT was harbouring fascists) were unfounded, the CNT proposed the formation of Investigating Committees of the Anti-Fascist Front which would root out the undesirables in the various organizations. This has not been generally accepted by those who are so ready to attack our comrades, though committees have been formed. We cited in an earlier issue of "Spain and the World" (No. 19) the case of the Province of Albacete in which the committee found 1,637 undesirables hiding in the UGT and 686 in the various political parties while only 489 were found in the CNT ranks.

Recently fascist organizations have been discovered in Madrid, Barcelona and elsewhere and arrests have been effected. Further the Generals responsible for the fall of Malaga are under arrest and will shortly face their trial. Naturally, the Communist Party takes the credit for this. The London "Daily Worker" (October 22nd) states that their arrests have followed as a result of demands by the Communist Party! It is forgotten of course that the Anarchist Press in Spain demanded that Prieto, the Minister of Defence, should hold an enquiry into the responsibility for the fall of Malaga. As "Solidaridad Obrera" (October 22nd) states, "All the press first asked, then demanded the formation of a court of enquiry. It was necessary, not only to take action against the criminals but also necessary to give a full account to the people of the result of the enquiry." This enquiry which, as a result of irrefutable evidence, should have been held in February last, when Malaga fell, has been left to one side until late October!

The Communist Party was more anxious to attack our organizations than attend to the vital work of cleaning up the fascist organizations. A further example of this has been brought to our notice. For-

tunately the fascist organization was finally suppressed. The information, supplied by the Propaganda section of the CNT-FAI in Barcelona is a faithful report of the facts. Whoever wants to consult further the statements to be made, can check what is said.

"A short time ago, when the Communist Party had drawn up a plan of the counter-revolution and wanted to carry out reprisals against the Anarchist masses, the Bureau of said Party made insinuations of this sort. The responsible Comites of the CNT and the FAI published some letters in all the Spanish Press, with which they stopped the falsehoods of the Communist Party Bureau. Lately, the Communists wanted to launch this sort of calumny again, and the National Committee published an open letter to all the Spanish people showing clearly with whom and how the CNT is collaborating, in spite of suffering reprisals from the so-called "Popular Front."

The General Director of Security published a note lately in which he speaks of the arrest of a number of right wing people and of the preparation of a movement that was to take place on July 15th. The fascists wanted to provoke disturbances in the rear so that when the Valencia Government's Delegation would be in Geneva, it would find itself in the worst possible condition.

The Government took the necessary measures: it arrested a number of the participants and is looking for the rest. Once the necessary measures had been taken, the CNT published some concrete facts that had led to the exposure of the plot that was being prepared.

1. On September 4th, the CNT learned that a fascist uprising was being prepared and denounced the preparations and manoeuvres of the hidden fascists and their agents.

2. On the 7th of the same month, the CNT informed one of the outstanding authorities in the Assault Guards in Valencia of the manoeuvres and preparations of the "fifth column."

3. On the 9th, the CNT informed the General War Commissariat concerning these facts, of which they had been in complete ignorance.

4. On the 13th, fearing that the Government would not adopt quick enough or proper measures such as the case required, the National Committee of the CNT interviewed the under-secretary of the Army, informing him of what they knew concerning the fascist plan.

Just as on all the other occasions in which our militants made opportune denunciations, they offered the support and unconditional aid of the Organisations and of all its militancy, in order to crush the revolt in the event of it breaking out, in spite of all the measures taken by the Government.

We will close by pointing out the machiavellianism of the Communists and of those who take advantage of every opportunity to spread discord and lack of confidence by declaring that the CNT as an organisation can collaborate with the "fifth column" in order to provoke the collapse of the rear and the loss of the war."

Other centres of activity for Franco's Fifth column are the French Embassies in Loyal Spain. "C.N.T." of Madrid (25th September) publishes an article on this subject. "In one of the Embassies in this city are to be found, according to numerous statements and abundant witnesses, the headquarters of the 'Fifth column.' In many others the enemies of the people meet to prepare their blow against them. There are sufficient proofs for us to declare, without a shadow

of doubt, that the Embassies in Madrid, for the greater part, are meeting places or centres of a fascist network of spies. Now everyone will understand the significance of proposals made to us by South American states at Geneva in return for their vote. What they intended to obtain, what they really expected, was that the 'Fifth column' should enjoy full liberty of movement in Madrid and that their documents of espionage, the plans of our headquarters and trenches, the data concerning our organization and our army and armed strength, all the details necessary in order to carry out an attack on Madrid with probabilities of success, should be handed over to the fascists in Franco's military headquarters ... the problem of the Embassies remains. To the Government of the Republic we say that it does not serve our purpose to continue diplomatic relations which afford us no material or moral benefits, but which contribute, in no uncertain manner, in helping the forces allied to our enemies. Either these Embassies open their doors wide so that the Republican authorities may investigate, and remove the enemy elements which are sheltered there, or failing which, the Embassies must be closed and their diplomatic representatives deported."

Fragua Social, organ of the CNT in Valencia also makes it quite clear that they will not tolerate this inactivity on the part of the Government. They write (October 28th) "the so-called 'Fifth column' is continuing its work of provocation and active betrayal in favour of the foreign armies which with their war machinery are ravaging our territory. The impunity with which Fascists operate in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia and elsewhere is one of the causes of deepest bitterness for those who are carrying on the struggle for the People at the front and in the rearguard. In Madrid the traitors continue to be hidden in the Embassies. This problem, the gravity of which was emphasized by the President of the Council himself in a speech in Parliament, is becoming ever more serious. Despite this, the 'Fifth column' is not being attacked as it should be by the Government. It must be rounded up without consideration or hesitation ..."

We have translated the two opinions from the Anarchist Press, as proof that our comrades far from being in league with the 'fifth column,' as has been suggested, are among the very few organizations which have offered resistance, and has called for action, to suppress this fascist organization.

When the Communist Party and the Government will have understood this and will turn their attention to the menace of the Fifth column in the rearguard, then will it be possible to pursue a serious campaign against International fascism on all fronts in Spain.

V. R.

# May Days Recalled

## INTERVIEW WITH A. SOUCHY

[We are translating the following interview with comrade Augustin Souchy, though many will think that it is hardly worth discussing the May days once more. Since, however, we were able to publish Souchy's article on the May Days ("Spain and the World" Supplement to No. 14) we think that the comrades who read this account will be interested to read now Souchy's impressions when time and events have either proved the C.N.T.'s action, last May, correct or mistaken. We are not adding any comment to comrade Souchy's conclusions.—Eds.]

"I have read the French translation of your book on *The May incidents*, a calm and objective account of what we lived through in those days. Would you please tell me now were you for or against the cessation of fire?"

From the sentimental point of view, faced by the brutal fact of premeditated provocation, I should have preferred the struggle to have continued, since my indignation, against the instigators of such a sanguinary tragedy, was still very strong in my soul, but taking into consideration other material facts, I was already thinking that if we were to be the masters of Barcelona and Catalonia once again it would not naturally follow that we would have the support of the rest of Spain.

Thus, I thought and still think, that if it was easy to have a predominating force for a certain period, it was not so easy to hold out against a world of enemies who fight us and wish our death. It is not an exaggeration to say that our triumph would have caused conflicts in the rest of loyalist Spain, weakening the front with incalculable result.

Then according to you the CNT was right to stop the war at all costs?

I am completely convinced of it, since the end of hostilities was a relief to all. When this fratricidal massacre ended, we hoped for a united front, fraternally renewed with peace and tolerance between all anti-fascist sections. Unfortunately things turned out completely different. Other factors intervened, manoeuvres of irreconcilable political parties. The very instigators of the revolt (referring to the PSUC) noticing and realising the failure of their "coup" and having lost a hand, stirred up the crisis, in Valencia, and ranged themselves against the same Caballero who did not sufficiently adhere to the injunctions of Stalin. One must not forget that peace in Barcelona was prepared and put into action by the Caballero government and the CNT sending here battalions of soldiers lead by an anarchist comrade, head of the ex confederal column "Tierra y Libertad." I am telling you this to show that the reaction against us CNT-FAI began with the advent to power of Negrin by order and on behalf of Moscow as soon as our representatives had been eliminated from the former government. Nevertheless, even if, generally speaking, political power has been lost, what counts is the collectivities which

have remained faithful to our cause, even after leaving Valencia. Our adversaries are now aware of their inferior status in the field of social economics and in the face of the problems of reconstruction.

Therefore after looking at the facts there is nothing to regret in the attitude of our comrades of the CNT in Catalonia, when one thinks of the development of our ideas in Castile and the centre of Spain of which I am able to speak with authority, having seen it with my own eyes when recently on tour with Emma Goldman and Federica Montseny. Our ideas are well accepted by the masses who interest themselves in our aims. Libertarian youth, moreover, is in the majority throughout Castile in the face of other political youth formations. The C.N.T. itself is by far superior to the U.G.T. even in Madrid, which, previously to July 19th was the chief stronghold of social democracy. (As regards these statements also I make bold not to be in agreement on many points with Souchy's optimism, and if clearly and surely we have gained ground in the whole of Spain, allowing ourselves to be disarmed, bearing every repression, never replying to calumnies and insults except by the most christian resignation, imposing on ourselves all sacrifices, all this, in our opinion means weakening the revolution and proves that in May that back of the counter-revolution should have been broken; in this way perhaps we should not have had to explain of its existence to-day. Either one has strength and makes use of it, for offence or defence, or one is a mere number, a herd, a mass, a passive multitude, in agreement with those who may speak to it, submitting to any regimentation, but useless for action, for its historical mission, the revolution for complete emancipation. This if not a lost cause, will certainly be delayed.)

It is well that you should tell me nothing has been lost, but are you not aware that the greatest benefit has been lost — liberty? How do you explain and how do you justify the fact that the C.N.T. silently allows that the Valencia rulers hold us in prison, and arrest every day our finest militant comrades. Are you not aware of the fact that there exist thousands upon thousands of prisoners, arrested precisely after the events in May?

I see this and feel as you do that it is a real disgrace that revolutionaries, proved antifascists should be held prisoners, especially comrades who came from abroad at the beginning of the conflict in order to defend the cause, but what is to be done?

The C.N.T. has had to resort to many measures to obtain the freedom of their comrades, but without any satisfactory result. I am well aware (this has been discussed by the Committee of the C.N.T.) that there is one way to protest, a general strike, if only for one hour. But any well prepared provocation might lead once more to the events in May and ever-widening scissions, all to the advantage of Franco and Fascism.

Therefore, while we have every reason to complain of a hateful persecution, for the sake of essential anti-fascist unity, we must bear the sacrifice.

With this conclusion ends the conversation of Comrade Souchy.

Barcelona, 10-10-37.

## Fascist Or Anarchist ?

When recently a certain Luisi Tamburini was arrested in Paris for bomb outrages, the English Press labelled him "Anarchist Terrorist." This we denied, with facts. Now, in the *Manchester Guardian* (November 4th) one reads:

"It was learned in Paris last night, states an Exchange message, that Signor Ghiardini, the Italian Vice-Consul at Port Vendres, near Franco-Spanish frontier, left France on Tuesday, having been recalled by his Government. It is reported that he attempted to persuade the French authorities to release the Italian terrorist Tamurini, who was recently arrested in France.

It is curious the way the truth eventually leaks out, even if only in a small "Exchange message"!

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**THE SPANISH COCKPIT**  
by Franz Borkenau  
(Faber & Faber, 12/6)

The author in his preface makes a statement which promises well for the informative value of his book. He considers that the sociologist "if he is not able at least partly to overcome the limitation of party views, and make some attempt to see the whole in its complexity where parties cannot see more than a part, then he had better leave his job and take up the work of a professional party organizer or party journalist . . ."

Dr. Borkenau divides his book into five sections. The historical background, from the period of the Old Monarchy to the Second Republic; A diary on Revolution; the second journey; the Battle of Guadalajara and finally his conclusions.

The two diaries are a mass of detailed information which create a well defined impression of the conditions existing at the time of his visits.

Dr. Borkenau's summing up of the various organizations and parties is interesting.

According to the author one cannot apply the same meaning to the term Fascism in Spain as say in Germany or Italy. Whereas in these regimes Fascism means "a dictator who is recognised as the leader; a one party system; the "totalitarian state" in the sense that the regime dictates not only in matters of politics in the proper sense, but in every aspect of public and private life . . . Fascism is the most powerful agent of 'modernization' that we know of."

The author argues that these features have not a counterpart in the Franco regime. Franco owes his position to the fact that the other claimants are dead. Neither has Franco a party behind him. The Falange and Carlists are merely using him for their own ends. The former which is the Fascist party proper is in deep disagreement with Franco, and they do not call him the chief or leader but merely the "generalissimo."

**BOOKS**  
**THE SPANISH COCKPIT**

By Dr. Franz Borkenau

With regard to the Loyalist camp, Dr. Borkenau draws the conclusion that "Similarly, in Spain the domination of the proletariat did not come about because a limited stratum of anarchists, and a still more limited stratum of Trotskyists, dreamt of it (the communists had already ceased to dream of it), but because when the whole army rose in rebellion only the workers were able to defend the large majority of the people against army, Church, and large land-owners. Every single step of the revolution, then, has not been brought about but the success of some sort of propaganda, by the spreading of some sort of abstract convictions, but by urgent necessities of the moment. In general, it is defeats which drive a revolution to Left—not, as is generally believed, successes . . ." and he cites other cases in history to support this claim.

The basic weakness of the Anarchists is that they do not understand that "Centralization and discipline are elements of modern life, most needed in moments of acute crisis." But as the author rightly remarks, had they been able to overcome this "weakness," they would not have been Spanish Anarchists, "the specific representations of the reluctance of the masses to adapt themselves to centralism and discipline."

With regard to the changes introduced by the communists separately, the author considers that some were "reasonable and inevitable." On the other hand he notes that "The Policy of the Communist Party goes directly against the interest and claims of the masses."

The communists did not just object to sweeping socialization; they objected to almost every form of socialization "and besides" opposed any definite policy for the distribution of large landed estates . . ."

The transformation of the C.P.'s policy is interesting. "Before Russia interfered the communists said: 'This is not a proletarian, it

is a bourgeois revolution." After Russian intervention the slogan became "This is no revolution at all, it is simply the defence of the legal Government."

A further reflection, which has been repeated more than once in "Spain and the World" is noted in this interesting book:

"Had the Spaniards been able to create a revolutionary movement strong enough to beat a counter-revolution armed with European arms, then Russian help would have been superfluous, then things would have taken another turn, then socialists and anarchists would have gradually merged into one single revolutionary party, backed by spontaneous enthusiasm of both workers and peasants; they would have won the war, and created a new order of things, less dictatorial, more humane and more progressive than the present Russian régime."

Dr. Borkenau was arrested some three times during his stay in Spain and was well advised to leave when he still had the opportunity to do so. And yet he bore no malice. He regretted leaving the Spain of July 1936 . . . even the Spain of 1937. He is not the only foreigner who has been fascinated by the primitive, un-Europeanised Spanish people.

"In this lure exerted by Spain upon so very many foreigners — and the author of this book is emphatically among those who have been deeply attracted — is implied the concession unconscious very often, it is true, that after all something seems to be wrong with our own European civilization and that the "backward," stagnant, and inefficient Spaniard can well compete, in the field of human values, with the efficient, practical, and progressive European. The one seems predestined to last, unmovable, throughout the cataclysms of the surrounding world, and to outlive national usurpers and foreign conquerors; the other, progressive, may progress towards his own destruction." v. r.

**ORPHANS' FUND**

- XIth LIST  
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  - 190. London: Per Miss Sidonie Goossens, £10/3/0.
  - 191. London: E. Man 2/3.
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**MEETING**

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will be held at the **EMILY DAVISON ROOM, 144 High Holborn, W.C.** (top floor)

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Comrades, turn up and demonstrate in memory of that great fighter for Justice and Liberty!

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**BOOKS RECEIVED**

- BEHIND THE SPANISH BARRICADES**, by John Langdon Davies (Secker & Warburg 12/6).
- SPANISH FRONT**, by Carlos Prieto (Nelson, 2/6).
- THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN**, by Ramon Sender. Translated by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell (Faber & Faber, 12/6).
- SEVEN RED SUNDAYS**, by Ramon Sender. Translated by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell (Faber & Faber)
- RED SPANISH NOTEBOOK**, by Mary Low and Juan Brea (Secker & Warburg, 5/-).

Catholics at this very hour, proud of their fine tradition, remain ever faithful to it and above all political opinions."

And the good Catholics will eagerly "lap up" these fine words. They will forget about the Concordat between the Vatican and Mussolini, or that Catholic Bishops blessed the Fascist troops which invaded and ravaged Ethiopia. They will forget that Franco is backed by the Spanish Catholic Church (and the Vatican) and that his "love for his neighbour" means the extermination of the Spanish workers. And during the Great War the pulpits became recruiting platforms.

True Socialism is the practical application of "love for one's neighbour" and the "bringing together of nations," yet the body which opposes Socialism most of all is the Church!

**PROVOCATION FOLLOWS PROVOCATION**

With the obvious intention of exciting public opinion against the Anarchists, a very feeble attempt on Comorera's life has been staged in Barcelona by the enemies of the CNT-FAL.

The would-be assassins placed their terrible bomb in a gutter outside Comorera's apartment and connected it to a fuse 500 yards long, which ended up in a car-load of conspirators!

Just as Senor Comorera was stepping into his house there was a **TREMENDOUS EXPLOSION**...and practically no damage was done! Naturally few people take this "attempt" very seriously. "Solidaridad Obrera," organ of the CNT also considered the whole thing ridiculous and consequently published in one of its issues an article entitled "Enough of these Jokes." For treating this "attempt" as a joke "Solidaridad Obrera" has been suspended for 10 days.

**WILLING SLAVES WELL PAID**

The blood feast continues in Russia. Among those to face trial shortly is Bela Kun to be remembered for his role in the Hungarian revolution. It was he, also, who actively helped to crush the Makhnovists. The willing tool will be most likely rewarded with the firing squad.

Another good Stalin agent is M. Antanov Ovsenko. He has the credit of playing a large part in the May provocations in Catalonia and of being a first class liar as far as our comrades were concerned. His master was so pleased with him that he recalled him to Moscow and appointed him to the Commissaire of Justice. It was M. Stalin's little joke; it was the only way to lure him back to Moscow.

He has already been deposed and replaced by M. Dimitrov. As for M. Antonov Ovsenko . . . well, it will not be surprising to learn that he will be in the next batch to be tried and shot for sabotage or as a spy.

LIBERTARIAN.

**PAMPHLETS**

**BOLLETIN de INFORMACION No. 51**  
(English Edition)

**CNT-AIT-FAI**

This valuable issue has been published in pamphlet form by the Anarchist-Communist Federation of Glasgow and is obtainable from R. Barr 18 Castle-town Rd., London W.14, and F. Leech, 287 Netherton Road, Glasgow, W.3. Price 2d. post free.

**ANARCHISM: IS IT POSSIBLE?**

by William Farrer

Price 2d.

W. Farrer, 22 Sale St., London, W.2.

**BOOKS**

Just Reprinted!

**NOW AND AFTER**

The ABC of Communist Anarchism

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Alexander Berkman

With a Preface by Emma Goldman  
Cloth, 297 Pages. Price 4/-, postage 6d.

**AFTER THE REVOLUTION**

Economic Reconstruction in Spain Today

By D. A. de Santillan

Translated from the Spanish by Louis Frank  
Cloth, 127 Pages, Price 4/- Postage 4d.

Both the above books can be obtained from Freedom Press, Whiteway Colony, Stroud, Glos.

**OUR BALANCE SHEET**

**SUBSCRIPTIONS:**  
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**A Review**

**Friendly and Unfriendly**

Of Press Views

**HOW THE FRONT POPULAIRE TREATS ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEES**

THE treatment accorded to anti-fascist refugees who try to seek liberty and work in France (they are under the impression that a Front Populaire Government is more democratic than their own "totalitarian" rulers) becomes every day more distressing and disgusting. The latest incident reported in the French Press is yet another example of the lack of respect for those escaping from the iron grips of Italian Fascism. One reads: "On opening the doors of a sealed wagon containing cases of lemons, customs officers at the station of Modane were surprised to find three men stretched out on the floor."

"Invited to explain the reason for their being there they recounted—after having asked for a drink—their misadventure."

"Anxious to escape from Mussolini's cruel regime the three men, Privitera, Scandino and Samuelli, had entered the wagon which was leaving Italy for France. The train departed on its way to our country. It was a goods train.

The second day, the three men tried to leave their hiding place, and discovered that the wagon was sealed.

The prisoners opened the cases: they contained nothing but lemons. For six days the unhappy fugitives suffered hunger and thirst.

**THEIR SACRIFICE WAS IN VAIN, HOWEVER, AS THE FRONTIER POLICE DEPORTED THEM TO THEIR COUNTRY.**

**"THE CHURCH DESIRES PEACE" SAYS CARDINAL VERDIER**

For the "National Peace Day" in France (November 7th) Cardinal Verdier addressed the French committee of the universal peace gathering in the following terms: "The Church is always happy to repeat its love for peace.

It never forgets that the first commandment which it received from its founder is the principle of Love; the Love of God and Love for one's neighbour. A desire for peace; the support of all movements and institutions which by legitimate means, wish to bring nations together, and ask God to rid us of the horrible spectre of war. In one word to love Peace with all one's soul and to pray unceasingly that it will be preserved, such is the tradition of the Church.