AND THE

For no reason whatsoever must those Fascist tyrants pass us. This is the watchword of the Front. To them we say: "You shall not pass!" To ourselves: "They shall not pass!"

- DURRUTI.

Vol. 1. No. 24.

LONDON, 24th NOVEMBER, 1937

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

STEPS TOWARD -

"Socialisation of all the means of production and of exchange. A struggle to the death against Fascism and its upholders. The cleaning up of the rear-guard

FIND it impossible to write about our comrade Buenaventura Durruti in a few words or even in a long article. The wound his cruel death has struck the Spanish Revolution, the Anti-Fascist struggle and all who knew and loved Durruti is still too raw to be able to detach oneself sufficiently to give an objective appraisement of his importance to the great events of 19th July and the gigantic work until his untimely end. Not that Durruti was the only outstanding personality in the valiant battle that nipped Fascism in the bud in Barcelona, and all of Catalonia. The great heroes of the battle are the Spanish masses. Herein lies the grandeur of the Spanish Rveolution. It rose from the very bowels of the Spanish earth. It was entirely imbued with the collective spirit of the Spanish masses. It is therefore difficult to treat individual figures as separate and distinct from the force that swept over Spain on the 19th July.

If then I nevertheless consider our comrade Durruti the very soul of the Spanish Revolution it is because he was Spain. He represented her strength, her gentleness as well as her rugged harshness so little understood by people outside of Spain. It was this in the make-up of our dead comrade which so impressed me when I met him at the Front he and his gallant comrades were defending with their bare hands but with a spirit that burned at red white heat. There I found Buenaventura Durruti on the eve of an offensive surrounded by scores of people coming to him with their problems and needs. To each one he gave sympathetic understanding, comradely direction and advice. Not once did he raise his voice or show impatience or chagrin. Buenaven-

DURRUTI



- VICTORY

.... The Army and Public Order to be controlled by the working-class. Continued activity of the "Patrullas de Control," defence committees and defence councils."

of another, and to meet everyone on his own ground, yet retaining his own personality. I believe it was this which helped to create the inner discipline so extraordinary among the brave militias who were the pioneers of the Anti-Fascist struggle. And not only discipline but confidence in the man and deep affection for him.

The last tribute paid Durruti by half a million people may not be an indication of the place he held in the minds and hearts of the masses. What proved more significant to me was to find the same admiration, the same love for our comrade a year after his death. One had but to mention the name to see faces transformed and people express the thought that the treacherous bullet that pierced Durruti's heart also struck the Revolution a frightful blow. Time on end I was assured that had Durruti lived the counterrevolutionary forces within Anti-Fascist Spain would not have raised their ugly head, nor would they have succeeded in destroying so much of the revolutionary gains of the CNT-FAL. Durruti would have swept Anti-Fascist Spain clean from all the reactionary and parasitic elements now restlessly trying to undermine the revolution.

I have already stated that in the stress and storm of Revolution the mass takes first importance. Yet we cannot get away from the fact that the individual too must play his part. And nothing decides the importance and significance of that part as the greatness of the personality that paves the way and illumines the path the masses take. In this sense alone can one adequately appraise Buenaventura Durruti, his passionate love of freedom, the fiery revolutionist, the undaunted fighter who gave his all to the liberation of his people.

EMMA GOLDMAN.



"Why did half a million people turn out in the rain on this occasion, marching in silence twenty-five abreast, climbing up trees, crowding the windows to see this man's coffin carried on its six-hour journey by the pall-bearers? It seemed that if one could get the answer penetrating the verbose eulogies, one would understand something of the Spanish revolution." (Cyril Connolly in "The New Statesman"

Sino-Japanese War and International Labour

Tokio, Nov. 1st, 1937

(From Our Own Correspondent)

- 1. WHEN the war broke out in China last July, the Japanese Government hastened to explain to the world that the aim of the military measures undertaken by her was strictly to be limited to the wiping out of the Red influences from China, which were held by Japan to be chiefly responsible for provoking the anti-Japanese senti ment among the Chinese people. sophistry of this declaration was apparent to any one who knew the recent developments in Sino-Japanese relations. The reason why such a gesture was made by Japan was to be sought in her desire to allay the alarm and anxiety of British Capital over its interests in China. (which would necessarily be at stake in the war), and to neutralise British opinion in favour of Japan. Japan calculated on limiting Britain's role to that of spectator in face of the Conflict and to reduce to the minimum the frictions with the latter, appealing directly to a strong current amongst the British conservatives, who had shown a willingness to keep on good terms with Japan if she would challenge U.S.S.R. in the Far East.
- 2. Undoubtedly Britain is the Power which has the largest interests and concessions in China. The traditional influence of British capital in China has, moreover, been on the steady increase of late, owing to its co-operation and close combination with the Kuomintung which represents the rising forces of the bourgeoisie of that enormous country. China is now undergoing a rapid process of National unification under the Nationalists and the power and authority of the Kuomintung has been considerably strengthened by adopting a reformed monetary system which, entering in the bloc of the pound sterling through the gold-exchange standard, unified all the issuance of the bank-note in the hand of the central authorities, finally undermining the economic bases of the feudal régime, making all the territory dependent on Nanking in financial matters, thus stripping off the semi-independent status from the provincial authorities. But in this regard it must be taken into account that, with the given development of Capitalism in China, and in face of the bad will of Japan which prefers a divided China to one unified, the success of this bold step has only been rendered possible by the credit and assistance given to it by British Capital. In consequence of it, behind the increased authority of the Nanking Government there is always seen the hand of British Capital backing it up for the sake of the expansion of its own interests. Japan could not, therefore, deal with China without reckoning on a quick repercussion on the part of Britain.
 - 3. Hitherto the influence of U.S.S.R.

- and the Comintern in China have acted precisely as disintegrating forces to the national unification under the Kuomintung. For example, Outer Mongolia became a Soviet Republic long before the independence of Manchoukuo and Sinkiang is virtually a protectorate of U.S.S.R., China's suzerainty on it becoming no more than nominal. The red army in the Chinese soviet districts has always been the bête noir to Chiang Kai-Shek. It is true that the Chinese communists have played a considerable part in fomenting and developing an anti-Japanese spirit amongst the masses. In this connection, however, it must be remembered that the self-confidence of the Chinese to stand up to Japan was strengthened more by the realisation of the national unity and the modernisation of her army than by the anti-imperialistic propaganda conducted by the communists. The value of the modernised army was proved by nothing but the victory of Chiang Kai-Shek over the Red army. And this modernisation of the army was achieved under the guidance of the German and Italian military advisers to Nanking. It is clear then that the part played by the Comintern in the national awakening of China is not so large as reputed to be.
- 4. The modern capitalist China is given a significant place in the international arena owing to the understanding established between the Kuomintung and British Capital. Her position is decided. to be that of an advance post in the Far East for Britain against the expansion of This special aspect cannot be overlooked in understanding the true nature of the present Sino-Japanese war. At present, however, there are ample reasons for Japan to avoid, as far as possible, a frontal clash with Britain in China, because of the possibility of a re-approachment of the latter with U.S.A. on the Pacific against her expansion and of her anxiety for the increased military strength of U.S.S.R. on the Continent. Hence a path for compromise was eagerly sought and, on the initiative of Japan, a negotiation was started in London to decide the respective sphere of influence of Japan and Britain in China, on the occasion of the last coronation of the British
- 5. It must be pointed out that the war was started at the time of this London parley. The immediate cause of it should, therefore, be attributed partially to the attitude of China which regarded the parley with a great suspicion from its start and desired earnestly its failure. As to the U.S.S.R., it is natural that it exhausted all possible means to bring the parley to failure, the success of which would undoubtedly be assured only at the expense of her position in the Far East,

by mobilising its agents and organs at home as well as abroad to discredit it and to create the inimical atmosphere about it all over the world. In any case, the negotiation in London was discontinued as soon as the gun began to roar around Peiping. Indeed it was senseless for Britain to continue the parley in face of Japan's military actions in China, which would condemn all the British interests there to the stake. Japan's avowed declaration of a holy war against the Red menace in China should be reconsidered in the light of this delicate international situation, in addition to that of her alliance with Germany against Communism. Whatever Japan may say about the nature of the present war, it is invariable that Britain would receive a mortal blow by it on her influence. The life-line of Britain in the Far East is at Nanking.

- 6. The present Sine-Japanese war has a peculiarity in that it is at the bottom a struggle between Japan and Britain over the Chinese resources and market, by means of the Chinese people. Of course, the part of the nationalistic excitement of the Chinese is great in it, but its importance is of that of an instrument in the long run. It seems that this characteristic of the present conflict is best grasped by U.S.S.R. which, while offering the anti-war treaty to Nanking and assuming an attitude of being ready to give a full support to China, is explaining, through its Ambassador Slavutsky to Tokyo, to Japan that the Soviet Government has no intention to make an intervention in China which is detrimental to Japan.
- 7. There exists now in Japan no communist movement in the form of the party, due to the repressive measures continued for many years. But it is a mistake to conclude from the absence of the official party that the Comintern has no influence in Japan. Backed by the tradition of the October Revolution, its influences are deeply rooted in the ideological consciousness of the Japanese proletariat. The best sellers of the socialistic literature are always those which are written by Russian authors and translated from Russian. Stalin is almost a demi-god in the eyes of many of the labour leaders and the socialists. Once on the floor of parliament, the labour deputies did not hesitate to claim the Soviet Union as their fatherland. Despite this tendency in favour of U.S.S.R., on the occasion of the present conflict the Socialist Masses Party, the third party in parliament, holding 37 seats, was second to none in approving the military measures taken by Japan in China without condition. This example was also followed by the Proletarian Party, which is commanded by such prominent communists as K. Arahata and M. Suzuki, and its only member of the Parliament, K. Kato. casted his vote for the war credit. The number is not small of those communists

- who asked to be enlisted in the army and sent to the front. The striking instance of them is shown by Prof. Sano and Nabeyama, the Chairman and Vice-chairman of the executive committee of the dissolved communist party, who, from the prison cells where they are serving the term of a life imprisonment, petitioned the Government to liberate them to be enlisted in the army at the front. It is too natural that, under such a leadership, no action and effort ever have been undertaken by Japanese Labour to prevent the war before and after its breaking-out. It should be said here that anarchosyndicalism was suppressed out of exis-
 - 8. The more the conflict goes forward, the more it will reveal its true character that it is a war born out of the antagonism and rivalry of the Japanese and British Capitalism over China. The enormous sacrifice and heavy burden endured by the Chinese masses in it is, after all, nothing but the obligation imposed on them by the British Capital and its ally in China to save their vested interests.
 - 9. It is urgent therefore, that this war should be stopped and with the minimum of sacrifice of the Chinese masses as well as of the Japanese. International Labour is hence in duty bound to be on guard against any attempt to prolong the war and to curb the internationl sympathy expressed for the Chinese people to run in such channels as to favour the safeguarding of British Capital at the expense and sacrifice of them. British Capital is demanding of the Chinese the maximum sacrifice in the name of national salvation. At the same time it is demanding of the world a full humanitarian support of the Chinese people in agony, in the disguise of defending peace. But we must not forget at any moment that when the powers of the Chinese are exhausted in resistance, then Britain would not hesitate to abandon them to their fate and to go on the side of Japan to reopen the negotiations discontinued in London in order to save its remaining interests. It is, therefore, an utter folly and crime to instigate the Chinese Masses, in the name of a national salvation, to pay more sacrifice for the sake of the interests of British Capital.
- 10. International Labour should solemnly record in its annals the bankruptcy of the Comintern on the occasion of the first trial since its foundation. It pursues a two-sided and reversed policy in Japan and China, irrespective of its open declaration in favour of a people's front agianst Japanese imperialism. Owing to its double-faced diplomacy, China is misled to expect an effective help to come from U.S.S.R., while Japan is assured to be at ease that U.S.S.R. will not intervene in China in a way detrimental to Japan. These promises are of such a nature that they are kept faithfully only for one which has a sufficient force to compel Stalin to keep his word. Woe to him who believes in Stalin without a necessary preparation. The followers of the Comintern are now preaching to the British workers that their unemployment is caused by the Japanese competition, casting aside all the principles and teachings of socialism. International Labour will not and cannot act as a puppet in the hand of this bankrupt and unprincipled Comintern any more.

women-compared with the women

of other countries—is principally due to two causes: to the Arabian influence and to the domination of the Catholic church. Four centuries of permanent

The backwardness of Spanish

Musulman reign have left in Spain, in their blood and on the arabesques of their mosques, the inhuman tradition to keep women locked up. And this custom is still deeply rooted in Spain, particularly in the regions of Andalusia, where the Arabs stayed longer, and where the climate suited the invadors. Until recently women have led a completely isolated life in this part of Spain. Only on rare occasions can one see a woman cross the street in an Andalusian city, and the reja, the famous Spanish barred windowsill which plays such a

The Transformation Of Spanish Women

typical part in the love traditions of young people, is the true symbol of the Spanish Woman's prison. And for this prison, there is always a ward. At first the father acts as the guardian of the precious purity of the maiden, later is is the husband, who, incorrigibly jealous, reduces his woman to a mere household object. Thus the much repeated refrain, so typically Spanish: "La mujer, la pierna quebrada y en casa" has become almost the expression of this state of affairs. This saying contains the whole history of masculine authority and female resignation.

On the other side, the Catholic church with its iron grip on the conscience, especially on the females, has subdued the intelligence of women, limiting it to activities of merely domestic nature.

With the fear of the punishment of hell and the constant cultivation of hypocrisy which suppressed all free impulses of morals and sex Spanish women were to be turned into insensitive and automatic beings. The Church succeeded as far as women of the higher and lower bourgeoisie were concerned. But not with the women of the working class. To proletarian women,

forged in the real sufferings of everyday life, no imaginative tortures could have avoided doubts arising as to the various punishments and rewards after death, nor the certainty of their right for emancipation.

We have to work hard to incorporate all the masses of indifferent women into the new vibrant feeling for emancipation.

Here in Spain, we have to start from the beginning. One of our most difficult tasks is to win affiliates for our ascendant movement. Much has been done already in this sense, from the improvised preparation of the most urgent tasks to the most audacious and responsible undertakings. In the hospitals, in factories, offices and even in the trenches, Spanish women are taking part in this magnificent and painful awakening.

Anti-fascist women throughout the world must recognize the greatness of this violent and rapid transformation their comrades are undergoing in the heroic revolutionary Spain.

MERCEDES.

[ED. NOTE: Mercedes is one of the moving forces in the Spanish Women's Organisations. She is also one of the Editors of the excellent newspaper "Mujeres Libres" (Free Women) of Barcelona and Madrid.]

Where Is The Spanish Proletariat Bound?

"In truth it will be most dangerous politics for us to try to close our eyes to the deplorable dissensions between republicans, socialists, communists, and libertarians which, according to all witnesses, are exercising a demoralising influence not only on the life of the civil population, but also on that of the army." Vandervelde, in the "Depêche de Toulouse" October 4tht, 1937, says, we have seen these "deplorable dissensions" begin and develop in the course of three successive sojourns in Spain since July 1936. Comrades everywhere have the tendency to dismiss these events as irritations and quarrels arising out of conflicts between personalities or organisations. That is unfortunately not true. The fall of the Caballero government, the ousting of the sydicalist organisations from power and the attacks directed against the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the return of M. Portela Valladores are all signs of a grave social war in the heart of the republic.

By what extraordinary course of events has Largo Caballero, the old warrior, general secretary of the U.G.T., leader of the left wing of the Socialist party, become a suspect who is forbidden to speak in public and whom they even tried to expel forcibly, with the aid of assault guards, from the chairmanship of the U.G.T.? Raised to the head of the government in the beginning of September 1936, by an irresistable pressure from the working class at a time when the republican parties were in total disorder, and at the moment when the workers waited for no decree, to socialise the means of production and exchange. At that moment Caballero represented the twofold will of the Spanish people, to crush the fascist rebellion and to raise a federalist socialist Spain.

Caballero, anxious to keep his government on the lines on which it had begun, was not long before he came into conflict with the Communist party. The Spanish Communist Party had redoubled its efforts against the bourgeois party and had made every use of the material support received from the U.S.S.R., to make their concepts prevail. It was the Communist Party that instigated the ministerial crisis of June 1937, which led to the foundation of the Negrin government. Since then it is these "dissensions" which are accused of having occasioned this. The Valencia correspondent of the "Depeche de Toulouse" M. Rieu Vernet, wrote on the eve of the meeting of the Cortes; "At bottom two groups are resolutely opposed to each other. The first is turned toward the democratic government and hopes to obtain their aid. The second is in harmony with the proletarian masses and demands their solidarity. On the one hand Caballero, supported by the majority of the U.G.T., in accord with the C.N.T., with whom they have concluded a part for unity of action, also approved by the P.O.U.M., which sees in the deepening and consolidation of the achievements of the revolution the hope of victory. On the other hand the bourgeois parties and the Communist Party (which according to the words of Irujo that we heard personally from him at Valencia) is situated at the extreme right of the Spanish Popular Front. These organisations, supported by the U.S.S.R., were willing to sacrifice the victories of the proletariat in the hope of a highly hypothetical support from the democratic Capitalists of France and England. In an important document, dated September, 1937, the socialist section of Madrid sets forth certain of its grievances. "For three months there existed a true anti-fascist unity of action, all the political parties and all the organisations of syndicalist workers collaborated directly in the conduct of the war and shared in its responsibilities. To-day this anti-fascist unity of action is broken and each day finds it further threatened. Whose is the fault? First, that of the Communist Party. "After having set out a whole charge against the C.P. the

Madrid group goes on; "We wish

also to note the disastrous international consequences of the political technique of the C.P. in Spain. Certain people have believed that to do away with the responsibilities and powers of the sydicalist organisations and of the socialist left wing, using as excuse the crisis in May, would stimulate the sympathy of the republican democracies of Europe and America toward the republican course. The contrary situation has been produced. The international situation has never been less favorable to us." The document concludes "victory belongs to all the anti-fascist forces or it belongs to none. To contribute to the separation or weakening of one part of those forces (the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M.) is to collaborate, whether consciously or not with the

Vandervelde declared, on the subject of this resolution, that it does not seem possible to doubt that this manifesto expressed the feelings strongly and widely held, not only in anarchist but also in socialist Syndicalist organisations. At the same time as the campaign against Caballero is being pursued the prisons are filled with militant revolutionaries. Priests are re-appearing in the churches, according to Clara Candianni in the "Depeche de Toulouse" 25/10/37. Portela Valladores, who in October, 1936, wrote a letter of homage to Franco and whose fortune was confiiscated by the Catalan Government, is received now with honour by the Valencia Government, and by a decree of the new Catalan Government, has had his possessions re-

An observer, who has no sympathy for the proletarian cause, M. Chaves Nogales, a friend of Alcala Zamora, former director of the newspaper "Ahora," was able to write in the "Depeche de Toulouse" of October 1st, 1937, the following lines which epitomise the tragic contradiction in the midst of which our Spanish brothers are fighting: "The Negrin Government which replaced that of Largo Caballero has definitely renounced all revolutionary aspirations. fighting to defend the democratic parliamentary bourgeois republic -supported weakly by the democracies of the whole world and strongly-one must admit-by the Government of Moscow . . . And it is, oddly enough, just Moscow which has to-day the least interest in the establishment of a Communist regime in Spain. The intractable nuclei of the F.A.I. and of the P.O.U.M. remain-and these are being liquidated gradually by the Government of Valencia. The true revolutionary leaders have given place to Republican Socialist chiefs-who, a year ago, risked being shot for their opportunism and their lack of revolutionary warmth."

The embargo on the sale of arms, passed on August 8th, 1936, has not allowed the proletariat—that is to say, the only truly anti-fascist force—to arm themselves as they should. The policy of nonintervention has not only had as its consequence the military victories of Franco, but has allowed the U.S.S.R. and the Spanish Communist party to put into operation in the anti-fascist camp a conservative policy which has destroyed proletarian unity. We do not forget that arms from Russia helped to save Madrid-but we assert that the Soviet aid has been counterbalanced by a sinister influence in the anti-fascist movement, resulting in the present state of disorder and schism-with its serious consequences for the Republic. Let us remember this truth that a people who cannot arm themselves freely are not entirely free. It necessarily endures unbearable restrictions.

To vanquish Franco, arms are necessary—but also necessary are Faith and Revolutionary Fraternity. There is now only one means—the last perhaps—which can restore to the Spanish proletarist its activity and the self-determination, indispensable to victory!—it is the opening of the Pyrenees and the complete and real solidarity of the French proletariat.

(Le Populaire, 11/11/37).

Interview.

Emma Goldman Speaks OF THE Spanish Workers Struggle

Our comrade Emma Goldman is once more with us. After an absence of some three months during which time she has travelled all over Anti-fascist Spain, she has returned to England to continue the work for the C.N.T.-F.A.I., only on a larger and wider scale.

We ask her to tell us which part of Spain struck her most of all.

-Without a doubt it is Madrid! I visited the trenches held by our comrades; we have 56,000 members of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. on this front, which in some places is about 100 metres from the Fascist lines. I talked to our brave militias and officers. I was amazed at the spirit. It was one of optimism as to the outcome of the struggle. One idea prevailed amongst these men: the destruction of Fascism. To give you an idea of this spontantous enthusiasm, I met a 15 year old boy of the C.N.T. in the front line. "Are you a recruit" I asked. He replied with pride in his voice "No, soy voluntario."

Did you find that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had gained ground in Madrid?

-Yes, and the test for it is the tremendous increase in the circulation of the Madrid C.N.T. and

sands of refugees pouring into Catalonia, Hospitalet has to feed 40,000 refugees of its own and continue to send supplies to Barcelona. It is most important to make known to the English workers the criminal libel in the charge that Catalonia is sabotaging Madrid.

Are the collectives still functioning, or are they being attacked and plundered by the Communists?

The attacks on the Collectives have greatly decreased since the collectives were legalized by the Negrin Government. This was found necessary not through any sympathy for the C.N.T., but simply because the government realizes that the collectives produce much more than they previously did under the old system. When the communists had a free hand they virtually destroyed whole villages and murdered or arrested the active comrades.

We suppose you visited some collectivized villages which you had visited during your first visit.

—Yes, I visited a number of them. I found them in a better condition than when I saw them last year. In many villages money has been definitely abolished. In one collective we were invited to eat with

rades because they are so obsessed with the idea that they were the first people in the world to repulse fascism, and that they will remain the last in the fight against Franco. I have no fear however of the final outcome. Our comrades have a really revolutionary spirit and they will return to their fundamentals once Fascism has been conquered. I have complete faith in them and in their ultimate victory. Neither do I doubt the final defeat of the Communists who have been playing such a treacherous part in the struggle. You must understand that Communism has no roots in Spain; it is an artificial creation prompted by the dependence of the anti-fascist war on Russian arms. Whatever numbers the Communists gained was due to their trick of swelling their ranks by the small middle class.

As regards the opposition to the C.N.T., there is opposition. I attended plenums of the Youth Movement and the F.A.I., and heard strong and bitter criticism of the national Committee. Yet the young comrades are as one with the C.N.T. in their determination to fight Franco and his hordes to the last man.

Can you give us some idea of the scientific and cultural progress being made in Revolutionary Spain?

-These are among the features of the Revolution that impressed me most. I saw, for instance, a large laboratory in Barcelona brought into existence by the comrades of the C.N.T. It embraces 12 departments of science. The chief research work is Agriculture and experiments are carried out on large estates. I have visited laboratories all over the world and can assure you that this laboratory can well be compared, on a smaller scale of course, with many such institutions outside of war ridden Spain. The laboratory in Barcelona is run by 12 comrades of the C.N.T. In Madrid also, despite ever present danger, I saw a tremendous amount of research work being carried on. It is of course impossible to do justice in an interview to the colossal constructive tasks undertaken by our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I hope to do so eventually in a series of articles.

And this is not all our comrade told us. We spent nearly four hours listening to her recount of what she had seen and heard. And by the enthusiastic and resolute tone of her voice we could feel that she was heart and soul with the Spanish workers in their struggle against International Fascism.

V.R.

London, 22nd November.



EMMA GOLDMAN,
A photo taken during her recent visit to Spain

the F.A.I. newspapers. Whereas the Communist papers have only a circulation of 26,000, the C.N.T. in Madrid alone has a circulation of 30,000 and in Castille, 100,000. When the censor suspended the Madrid daily "C.N.T." our comrades immediately printed "Frente Libertario" which in a very short time distributed 100,000 copies.

What are the general conditions in Madrid? Is there a great food shortage in the trenches?

—I would say that they are better than in Barcelona. Still, Madrid is far from having all it needs.

As you know, the Communist and Capitalist Press have been continually stating that Catalonia has not been doing its duty towards the rest of loyal Spain.—

—Well, what I have just said proves how false these statements are. And this is not all. Take for example, Hospitalet, a town about 30 kilometres from Barcelona, which I visited. The town has a population of 35,000. It was one of the largest and most successful vegetable and fruit growing centres. With the hundreds of thou-

them. Everything served, including the wine we drank, had been produced by our comrades themselves.

Though you noticed progress in the villages, do you think the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as a movement has made the same progress?

—Well, our comrades have definitely lost ground politically as we'l as strategically. They have been replaced in most cases by the communists. But I found that they had gained morally. The Spanish people realize that our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are the only people in Spain who are remitting nothing to stand in the way of winning the war against Fascism. They have consequently made many compromises.

What is your opinion, about this policy? You know, no doubt, that there are opposition groups, such as the Amigos de Durruti and Libertarian Youth, who are not in full agreement with the official line of the C.N.T.

—I have always been opposed to compromise and still am. But I can understand the Spanish comSUPPORT ...

SPAIN THE WORLD

and be sure of receiving your copy regularly by sending your subscription now.

13 issues 2/6, U.S.A. 60c. 26 issues 4/6, U.S.A. \$1

post free.

Books

Anarchism In Catalonia

A Journalist's Account

This book in the Revolution appeared last May and as the author himself remarks "books follow events, but do not have a resemblance to them," for "time does not respect even the interval between the work of the author and that of the printer." However it is of interest to mention this book which, by its vivid reporting, supplies much information and detailed observations in the Revolution in Catalonia.

The author has limited himself to talk of Catalonia for, "though in numerous governmental regions the Revolution has been more thorough than has been admitted, in Catalonia only, has it conquered. After the tragic decline of the Russian Revolution, it is the focussing point of a whole world which sees in Catalonia hope and a beginning."

Kaminsky spent several months in Catalonia; he has lived in Barcelona and been at the front, but according to him, the Revolution is taking place in the country and in the villages; a new world is being created spontaneously. Libertarian Communism which could not be created in towns because of the complexity of problems, unsolvable during the struggle against Fascism, was achieved almost to perfection in Catalan villages. The author gives examples of villages which he visited. Neither does he try to generalize from what he has seen for "each village is autonomous and organizes itself according to its own wishes. One searches in vain for single solutions or general rules." This diversity of method is not due to chance or to an incoherence of ideas. It is due to the fact that the Agrarian Revolution in Catalonia is not a political struggle in which the masses are led. Neither is it a peasants' revolt which is directed against the collector of taxes (receveur) or the country policeman (garde champêtre) : it is the Revolution which rises from the very hearts of the people. Besides, this Revolution is made up from the experience of centuries: churches were fired; priests killed; the bureaucracy, which only served as the oppressor, was abolished; they tried to do away with money. These experiments more than propaganda, have drawn them towards Libertarian Communism.

Speaking of Alcora where Libertarian Communism has been achieved, Kaminsky notes that: "one must not believe that this system corresponds to scientific theories. Libertarian Communism in Alcora is the work of peasants who ignore all economic laws . . . The form which they have given to their community corresponds in fact rather with the ideas of the early Christians than with the nations of our industrial eras."

Without denying the inclination, if one can thus express oneself, of the Catalan peasant to bring about Libertarian Communism one could not deny however, that those who have put the peasants on the road to the achievement of Libertarian Communism are the Anarchists. It seems to me, judging by the very example of Alcora which I shall quote below, that its organization has been influenced by the anarchists and that its simplicity however, reveals a sound principle.

"Each person receives that which he needs. From whom? From the Committee of course.

"It is, all the same, impossible to supply five thousand people through a single distributing centre. There are shops in Alcora in which one can provide for one's needs as before. But these shops are now only distributing centres. They belong to the whole village and their late owners make no profit out of them. Above all, one does not pay with money but with coupons. Even the barber shaves in exchange for a coupon The Committee is the pater familias. It possesses all, it directs everything and attends to everything. Every special request has to be submitted to it. It passes judgment only when agreement cannot be reached.

"It can be objected that the members of the Committee risk becoming bureaucrats or even Dictators. This fact has not escaped the attention of the peasants. They have therefore intimated that the Committee should be renewed frequently, so that each inhabitant will be on the Committee for a determined period of time."

The author points to the important role played by the Union of Rabassaires on the Peasant Revolution. "Their organization" he writes, "is the only one which has its origin exclusively in the country, and their ideas on tthe development of small landed property or of the co-operatives are as fertile as their knowledge of production and distribution of agricultural produce."

Kaminski has also given much space to an analysis of the political parties in Spain and in particular to an analysis of the Anarchist Movement. He searches for the reason why anarchist theories "have penetrated deeply in the non-organized masses and even into the ranks of other organizations.

"The answer," he writes, "is found in the fact that the ideas and, even more important, the tactics of Anarchism are wonderfully adapted to the character and conditions of livelihood of the Spanish Proletariat." Elsewhere he notes that Anarcho-Syndicalism "fits perfectly with the ideas of this proletariat which does not like theories but which is idealistic in a way which is almost religious, or, as has been defined, "messianic."

Kaminsky does not ignore the difficulties which the Anarchists have to overcome in Spain, and above all the opposition of the Communists "recruited" amongst the people who seek a roof under which to protect themselves rather than a basis for the struggle," and at the orders of Moscow. Now U.S.S.R. does not wish to give too much support to the Spanish Revolution because she is "menaced on two fronts, by the Germany of the Nazis and by Japan. Furthermore, she has been looking for allies for some time. She has found them up to a point, in France and the Little Entente and hopes to win over or at least to neutralize still more country. To this end she makes efforts to unite everywhere the Left and not to embitter to much the forces of the Right . . . '

The Anarchists have also to contend with the opposition of the bourgeoisie still existent in the Esquerra which wishes to take back from the militiamen executive power and to see them dragged before tribunals.

The situation since them has become worse, and we can but repeat the questions with which Kaminsky concludes his interesting book:

"Will the Fascists win and will Spain appear also amongst those countries reduced to serfdom, where all activity and human happiness, depend entirely on the wishes of a tyrant? . . . Or will the Revolution, alone, isolated without foreign aid, triumph over its enemies, in spite of the forces of united Fascism let loose against it, in spite of the saboteurs, the cowards and hesitators?'

THE P.O.U.M AND THE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

ONE of the subjects which most concerns Spain to-day is that of incorporation in the columns leaving for the front.

In its clandestine literature, as previously in its legal papers, the P.O.U.M., describes itself as the strongest bulwark against Franco. The comrades of the P.O.U.M. have given proofs of their will to fight, and continue to do so whilst persecution decimates each day the ranks of the Party, hounding the militants who have never ceased to occupy the most dangerous positions in battle. This is reality. But the Stalinists would not deserve their name if they admitted it. That such a comrade as Bleantarilla should die at the front, that another comrade Cullardes should be condemned to death, precisely for struggling against those not at the front, that does not interest them. What they require is to continue their campaign of calumny against the P.O.U.M. and its mili-

"Treball," the Stalinist organ in Barcelona, in its edition of the 28th, commenting on this problem, says, amongst other things: "The P.O.U.M.-it necessarily had to believe thus gives as its mot d'ordre that incorporation in the army must not be tolerated, and has shown itself once more as the faithful agent of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini."

Commenting on this untruth emitted by the Stalinists, Manana, the organ of Pestana, writes: -"Treball speaks of those not at the front and, as usual harps on the same string; if there are any not at the front, the fault lies with the P.O.U.M. Until the contrary is proved, all the evil happening in the world is the fault of the P.O.U.M.

But the "Publicitat" also, the organ of the Republican Right in Catalonia, although not defending the P.O.U.M. replies in its own way "men without ability, without constancy of ideals, have been placed in important positions, through party interests, in positions where

Eight Pages?

THE next issue of "Spain and the World" will be our First Anniversary Number. With all the material we have already received and will receive before going to press, besides a 2 page Book Supplement and numerous photographs at our disposal, the usual four pages will prove totally inadequate. It is our intention to publish the next issue of "Spain and the World" on eight pages. This must depend on the support we receive between now and then. Comrades will realise that an eight page issue entails more than twice the cost of our usual issue. We have no funds from which to draw and with this issue, the deficit has increased to something like £105 as compared with £95 last issue.

We avoid making appeals in our columns except when the continued publication of "Spain and the World" is threatened. If you believe that "Spain an dthe World" is serving a useful purpose and should continue, send your contribution or subscription if you have not yet sent it, and thus help us to wipe out the ever increasing defi-

Send your contributions and subscriptions now to:- The Editors, "Spain and the World," Whiteway Colony, Stroud, GLOS., England. THE EDITORS.

M.L.B.

SUPPORT "SPAIN and the WORLD" by sending your subscription

13 issues 2/6, U.S.A. \$0.60 post paid

26 ,, 4/6, U.S.A. \$1.00 ,, .,

they can destroy the work of the governments and aid the Fascist cause. The avalanche of unscrupu-

lous egoists has descended on the bureaucratic world. These seek only the satisfaction of their own desires or a simple excuse to desert military service." The allusion to the C.P. and to the P.S.U.C. could not be more direct, for it is a secret to no one in Spain that this class of people without ideals, self-seeking has taken refuge for the most part in Stalinism; hence the rancour of the republican parties. They have been deprived of their clientèle.

However, it is the "Humanitat," the organ of Companys, which states in the clearest possible manner that the majority of those shirking their duty at the front are to be found amongst the Stalin-

In its edition of the 28th this newspaper writes: "All our readers learned in the press of the telegram describing the summoning of a meeting of the United Socialist Youth Groups. These groups, in virtue of the decree ordering the incorporation of all persons in the army, will be concerned with the management of national, provincial or local positions, made vacant by mobilisation.

The wound in them partly reopened by the parties interested. While all where talking of sacrificing all for the war, while shirkers of duty were the butt of daily attacks, many of those giving orders and setting themselves up as the votaries of war, were not to be found where duty should have led them. They considered it more valuable to hold meetings, to concern themselves with "politics" to recruit militants . . .

To such statements, Manana adds the following ironical commentary "Of course our comrade must be the victim of deceptive appearances. We know that such appearances point a finger of accusation, but we can place no faith in them. Treball, we ourselves and all men of good will place it on record that the fact that there exist absentees from the front, is solely and exclusively the fault of the P.O.U.M .the fact that absentees exist and many other things too! Even the fact that it rains!"

(Independent News).

Books and Publications **Received**

LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF A BULLFIGHTER by Federico Garcia Lorca. English translation by C. A. Lloyd (W. Heinemann,

FORM LENIN TO STALIN by Victor Serge (Secker & Warburg,

MICHAEL BAKUNIN by Prof. E. H. Carr (Macmillan, 25/-).

SHADOW OVER SPAIN by Mairin Mitchell (Secker & Warburg,

HOTEL IN SPAIN by Nancy Johnstone (Faber & Faber, 8/6).

IL RISVEGLIO, Anarchist Fortnightly in Italian and French. 6 rue

des Savoisses, Geneva, Switzerland. IL RISVEGLIO, An Anti-fascist Weekly in English and Italian. 47 E. Second St., Dunkirk, N.Y., U.S.A.

REVOLUTION PROLETARI-ENNE, Bi-monthly in French. Price 2 francs. 54 rue du Chateau d'Eau, Paris (10), France.

INDEPENDENT INDIA

Editor: M. N. Roy.

Weekly journal containing articles dealing with Indian and

International affairs.

per One Anna copy.

Editorial Offices:

Empire Automobile Building, Opp. Charni Road Station, Girgaon, Bombay, INDIA.

ORPHANS' FUND

Previously acknowledged:- £407/17/3. London: G. A. Leach 2/6.

Australia: Giuretto (per Panizzon) 7/9.

London: Dick & Barbara 12/-. Bristol: J. Richfield 1/6. Pittson, Pa: Part proceeds Social 16th October, £8/4/0.

Cleveland, Ohio: per "I Liberi" Detroit, Mich: A. Simone 4/-.

Plymouth: Collected by Miss L. Avery 10/-

Toronto, Canada: Libertarian Group (per E. Gava) £4/9/11.

Total £425/12/8

Correction. In the XIth List, receipt No. 195 was incorrectly stated as being It should have read £1/4/0. The Total, however, is not altered.

The following are the names of the donors of the sums contributed to the Orphan Fund and acknowledged in previous issues as coming from "Palestine Workers.'

1.0	Commune Ankim (per 1.	18	ranory)	
		100	10	0
2.	M. Dekel		5	0
3.	D. Gershuny	12	6	0
4.	J. Palmony		4	0
5.	A mother, in memory of			
	her son Katriel	. 1	1	0
6.	Anonymous		5	0
7.	M. Klepfish		10	0
8.	Anonymous		4	0
9.	M. Lisai	. 1	1	0
10.	A. Lisovodar		4	0
11.	I. Shatz		4	0
12.	Anonymous	-	10	0
		£5	4	0

MEETING

LONDON FREEDOM GROUP

A LECTURE

"FROM THE FIRST TO THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL?" will be given by

> JACK R. WHITE at the

EMILY DAVISON ROOM, 144, High Holborn, W.C.1 (Entrance in Silver St. Bury St.)

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3rd, AT 7.0 P.M.

ADMISSION FREE

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

TO COLLECTORS

By the end of December we will have a limited number of bound copies of "SPAIN AND THE WORLD," - Volume 1, Nos. 1-26.

PRICE: 7/6 (limp cover) 10/- (stiff cover) POST PAID

Order now so as not to be disappointed!

CORRECTIONS

The article "Franco's Fifth Colunn" which appeared on page 3 of the last issue contains a bad misprint at the foot of the second column. One reads "other centres of activity for Franco's Fifth Column are the French Embassies. in loyal Spain . . . " It should have read "other centres of activity for Franco's Fifth Column are the Foreign Embassies in loyal Spain . . .

The "Interview with A. Souchy" is a translation from the original which was printed in the Risveglio Anarchico of Geneva. In our last issue we omitted to acknowledge

its source.

SPAIN and the WORLD

Fortnightly dedicated to the anti-Fascist struggle and the Social Revolution in Spain.

Price 2d.; For U.S.A., 5 cents.

All correspondence and moneys to be sent to the Editors, "SPAIN and the WORLD," Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Glos., England.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Glos., England, on November 24th, 1937, and printed by The Narod Press (T.U.), 129/131 Bedford Street, London, E.1.