

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Fascism is a pathological condition, a disease of Society. Unfortunately it is contagious. Its leading symptoms are exaggerated selfishness and moral atrophy. In its more virulent phase, as in Germany, Italy and Spain, it glorifies and justifies crime. In its weaker forms, as in the British Government and the majorities of the two Houses of Parliament, it appears as a complacent and selfish cowardice. But it is the same disease, and I fear that a very slight change in economic conditions would produce the virulent phase even in England.
—Sir Peter Chalmers-Mitchell

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Spain and the World —

OUR generation seems to be unable to appreciate at its real value what the Spanish people have been doing during the last sixteen months. If we — all of us living outside Spain who claim to love freedom and progress — had brains and heart enough to understand and feel the social and historical importance of their stand against Fascism, their plight would be less alarming.

In the early twenties, Fascism was an unknown entity. It was generally thought of as a personal enterprise of a very ambitious adventurer capitalizing on post-war delusions, in a poor romantic and somewhat backward country. The Italians, wrong as they were in their half-hearted opposition to Fascism, were taken by surprise. Ten years later, the real meaning of Fascism had fully developed. It was not a personal adventure. It was not a passing crisis. It was a deeply rooted class reaction, totalitarian in character and barbarous in methods. It was Capitalism set out to perpetuate its rule by undoing the work of civilisation accomplished by the preceding generations, from the Reformation to the Democratic Revolution and, of course, the Social Revolution. It was the liquidation of the right of man, freedom of conscience, civil and political rights. The German people knew this, but having for many decades been regimented by marxist politicians into blind submission to their own unintelligent rule, they were unable to resist the onslaught of their own national brand of Fascism. The Austrian workers put up a brave fight in 1934, but it was too late for their own safety. They were besieged from all sides. All they could do — and it was no mean accomplishment — was to die valiantly and show the workers of the world the only way to stop the spread of Fascism and save whatever might be worth saving of our crumbling civilisation.

Up to July 1936, Fascism had found no competent resistance. Peoples and nations had been surrendering to it. Powerful governments were supinely giving way to its ever growing pretensions. Its social reaction at home was being intergrated by foreign conquest. Its successes made it all the more audacious. Nothing seemed to be able to stem the tide. Then Spain gave the measure of itself. Even though our drowsy and distracted generation is incapable of understanding clearly, history will never forget. July 19th is for humanity as important a date as July 14th or November 7th. A cunning international conspiracy of Fascist dictators, plutocrat pirates and frocked purveyors of salvation, had planned with traitor generals to stab the Republic to death and sell Spain to Fascism. The Republican Government of Madrid, betrayed and deserted by most of its armed defenders, was powerless. Had it not been for the courage and vigilant determination of the common people, the outrageous conspiracy might have taken possession of Spain overnight.

It failed. It failed because the Spanish workers did what no other people had dared before. They took up arms without looking up to any government or party for instructions, any arms they could lay hands on and fought bravely, and died heroically to defend their homes, their towns, their liberties, their future.

Fascism had at last found an opponent willing to fight and fully capable of resisting its onslaught. That such an opponent appeared in Spain constitutes the most complete vindication of the libertarian and revolutionary principles to which the Spanish people had been educated for over fifty years.

The Fascist conspiracy was defeated in July 1936 over three quarters of Spain; and it would have been easily repulsed in the remaining quarter had not the world actively or passively abetted the conspiracy.

No amount of diplomatic sophistry can disprove any of the following facts:

1) Non-intervention is and was intended to be, a fraud, resorted to by the great non-fascist powers of Europe in order to prevent the people of Spain from obtaining foreign arms with which to defend their democratic and independent institutions and their future of political liberty and economic justice, from the menace of the Franco military rebellion openly aided by international Fascism.

2) The pretence that by openly opposing the Italo-German invasion of Spain, the great non-fascist powers of Europe would have precipitated war is utterly false. Undoubtedly there are elements of folly in the general make up of the Fascist Dictators. But crazy as they are, they know that they are at the head of bankrupt countries, of poor countries lacking the materials without which no war can be waged successfully, while they — the non-fascist countries of Europe — possess such materials in unlimited quantities and greater armies, larger navies, more powerful aviations. Furthermore the non-fascist governments can rely on the support of their peoples in a war against Fascism, in a much larger measure than the Dictators can. It is unbelievable that international Fascism would risk its own life by running the hazard of such a war; but had it been so inclined its defeat would have been certain.

3) What the great non-fascist governments of Europe really fear is not the military power of Fascism nor the horrors of war, but the disloyalty of their own privileged classes. They know that capitalists, financiers, industrialists, merchants, bureaucracy and clergy in their own countries sympathize with Fascism, that their interests and sentiments are aligned on the side of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler against the Spanish republic and people. This is the only reason why the so-called liberal, democratic and bolshevik governments keep up a non-fascist facade while they execute a very definite pro-fascist policy towards Spain.

Spanish resistance to Fascism in Spain has therefore revealed more than an adequate opponent to reactionary dictatorship. It has demonstrated that the last pretences of capitalistic democracy and liberalism are fraudulently bankrupt.

After all, this was to be expected. The Spanish people have very pointedly opposed their social revolution to the Fascist conspiracy of July 1936. It could hardly be expected to see semi-feudal England, plutocratic France and bureaucratic Russia make a common front with the Spanish people against Fascism. But it was to be expected that the workers of those countries would

understand that their government's interests and policies were contrary to their own interests and aims and that the cause of the Spanish people is their own cause.

They have not, in any imposing numbers, done so. The English workers solidly aligned behind His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, follow supinely a Conservative governments' policy of pro-Fascist intervention in Spain. The French workers pride themselves in their blind discipline to the "Front Populaire" which is governing France to the best interests of the "two hundred families" who dominate the country and would rather see the monarchy restored both in France and in Spain than lose their Spanish dividends. And as for Russia, Mr. Litvinoff put its position in a nutshell when he said in Geneva: "We have sacrificed Spain"...rather than compromise our friendship with semi-feudal England and our alliance with plutocratic France.

Thus, the workers of so-called civilised Europe are letting themselves be carried to the same shame and bankruptcy which engulfs their double-faced ruling class.

It is a sad position when compared with the straightforward attitude taken by the workers of Spain.

Heroic Spain surrounded by a cowardly and vile world.

MAX SARTIN.

Newark, N.J.

AN OPINION

My sympathies are, of course, with the Government side, especially with the Anarchists; for Anarchism seems to me much more likely to lead to desirable social change than highly centralized, dictatorial Communism. As for "taking sides"—the choice it seems to me, is no longer between two users of violence, two systems of dictatorship. Violence and dictatorship cannot produce peace and liberty; they can only produce the results of violence and dictatorship, result with which history has made us only too sickly familiar.

The choice now is between militarism and pacifism. To me the necessity of pacifism seems absolutely clear.

ALDOUS HUXLEY

(From "Authors Take Sides.")

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BEWARE! THE ENEMY LIES IN WAIT!

News From Spain

The Communist Party and Anti-Fascist Prisoners

TWO weeks ago the POUM prisoners who had been held for months in prison, were finally brought to trial and were acquitted on all charges. In spite of the proven innocence and on the instance of Senor Irujo it was decided to hold them in prison for an undetermined period, presumably because their release might be displeasing to the Soviet power behind the throne, which the Spanish Government finds it so necessary to propitiate.

John McGovern returned from Spain last Saturday and he reports further on this and many other shocking miscarriages of justice.

While he was in Spain it became known that the government had practically decided to declare an amnesty for all working-class political prisoners, but that this decision was so hotly resisted by the two Communist members of the Cabinet, that it was abandoned.

During the celebration of the anniversary of Durruti's death, in Valencia, the excited crowd decided to release the prisoners and rushed to the prison in such numbers and with such determination, that it was with great difficulty that the troops were able to repulse them.

When McGovern presented himself at the special prison for political prisoners he was refused admission by the Communist governor, who felt no qualms at disregarding the pass of the the Minister of Justice himself! On going to the police headquarters to make a protest McGovern found himself again confronted by a Communist in charge!

Nevertheless the impression that he brings away is that there is a strong and growing tide of resentment and rebellion against the incessant dictations of the Communists and their insolent infringements on the liberties of all other parties.

It is encouraging to note that he also finds that the CNT is continually gaining in strength, rather than being weakened by persecutions, and that the Regional Committees, both of Barcelona and of Valencia, have been taking a firmer stand on many important points, doubtless due to pressure from the organised body behind them.

A sinister note is struck when John McGovern reports that the feeling among the Spanish is that the two international brigades are being maintained in Spain by the Communist Party to further counter-revolutionary activities particularly.

The Labour Party and Spain

A New Policy?

THE wicked policy of one-sided non-intervention, which has meant the imposing of an embargo upon the Democratic Government while freely allowing arms and men to be poured in for the aid of Franco by his Fascist allies, should be discontinued. Above all we should prevent our "National" Government from conceding to Franco those belligerent rights which will enable him to intensify the starvation of the women and children loyal to the Spanish Government.

No Government, however great or powerful, can withstand the insistent demands of public opinion. We can and must raise that public opinion in our own country today to demand justice for the Spanish people. It will indeed be a crime if we allow Fascism to over-run Spain without straining every nerve that we have to prevent such a catastrophe.

But the catastrophe will not stop with Spain. Fascism today is a great international force and we must not only protect our Spanish comrades, as best we can, from its onrush, we must, too, protect ourselves.

Democracy has gone under in too many countries already since we fought the last War, to make the world safe for Democracy! Unless we are alive to the dangers we may soon be engaged in another war to make the world certain for Fascism! That war and its tragedies will come nearer if Spain falls the victim to the forces of international Fascism. Not only Franco but his friends Hitler and Mussolini will be encouraged, and I expect the Japanese Fascists will give a cheer as well.

All the forces of anarchy and reaction will be strengthened and the power of the working class to resist will be weakened. That is why today the Labour Party has embarked upon its great Spain Campaign. "Freedom, Food and Justice for Spain" is our cry. That is why we want every progressive and liberty-loving person in Great Britain to come in and help. It is a campaign for decency, honour and justice, and as such, no decent man or woman can fail to give it their support."

(SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS on the "Labour Press Bulletin")

WE congratulate the Labour Party and Sir Stafford Cripps on their campaign for milk for Spain and their new stand on non-intervention. To be sure it was the Labour Party who supported the National Government on the non-intervention policy. It is gratifying none the less that they now admit it is "one sided and wicked" and "has meant the imposing of an embargo on the democratic Government while freely allowing arms and men to be poured in for the aid of Franco and his Fascist mercenaries."

Sir Stafford Cripps goes on to say that "no Government however great or powerful can withstand the insistent demands of public opinion." The greater the offence of the Labour Party in having kept silent on the criminal and farcical character of non-intervention which they have supported so long. But better late than never.

The Anarchists rejoice that the Labour Party is beginning to see what Anarchists have propagated for so many years—"that public opinion is more powerful than any Government." In point of fact it is public opinion which can make or undo Governments—which can support or condemn actions on the part of constituted authority that are detrimental to the wellbeing of

the people. It is therefore deplorable that members of the Labour Party still continue to misuse the term "Anarchy" in the sense of chaos and confusion. We would like to believe that it is ignorance of the true meaning of the word rather than willfulness on the part of Sir Stafford Cripps to thus deliberately misrepresent the ideas whose teachers were and are amongst the greatest and finest of humanity.

We are confident, however, that the misuse of the term must react unfavourably on those who still are bound by Capitalist prejudice, which unfortunately also permeates the Labour Party.

However we are pleased to see the end of the faint-hearted stand of the Labour Party in regard to non-intervention.

As to "Anarchy" we care little about its continued deliberate misrepresentation. We console ourselves that in Spain the most formidable and most heroic fighters in the Anti-Fascist struggle are the members of the National Confederation of Labour, (The C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (The F.A.I.)

We would suggest to Sir Stafford Cripps and his comrades to go to Spain. Perhaps they would no longer make so light of "Anarchy."

An Interpretation of Democracy

Dear Comrades,

In the "Spain and the World" number of the 22nd September, 1937, on page 4, there is a letter sent by a comrade under the heading "A New Interpretation of Democracy." I would point out that such action by the Communist Party is not limited to London, but is common all over the world. Just recently the International Peace Committee staged an exhibition in Johannesburg, and in this the "Friends of the Spanish Republic" participated. The Chairman of the Committee, knowing I have recently returned from Barcelona with a number of Anti-Fascist posters, borrowed from me several of these to use at the exhibition. Three of the posters had been issued by the POUM whilst the others had been issued by the CNT-FAI, and these posters had only been up one day at the exhibition, when I found that the initials "POUM" has been pasted over with thick white paper so that these posters were completely ruined.

This is just another example of the Communist Party's interpretation of Anti-Fascist unity.

L. SAPIRE.

Johannesburg.

Dockers Boycott Japanese Goods

THE most truly important happening of the week has been the determined action of the Southampton dockers in refusing to land Japanese goods from the Canadian liner "Duchess of Richmond" last Saturday, not only for the intrinsic value, small though that be, but as an example of direct action and solidarity. The "News Chronicle" of Monday the 6th, reports that the legality of the dockers action may be called into question, since this may be described as a strike with a political motive. Fortunately, the rejected cargo is on its way back to Canada, and we hope that the dockers have learnt the lesson that nothing succeeds like success!

If only this action had been general instead of sporadic and if the dock workers had felt their responsibility towards the revolutionary workers of Spain, how much might have been accomplished, but, alas, Franco continues to land cargoes in England and to continue to pay for his murderous campaign with the profits.

American Letter

By Harry KELLY

ON Thursday, November 11th a meeting was held at Mecca Temple, New York City where an audience of 1,600 to 1,800 people assembled to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the Chicago Martyrs. The speakers were Rudolf Rocker, Arturo Giovanitti—who with Joe Ettor narrowly escaped a similar fate at Fall River, Massachusetts, some twenty years ago where the authorities tried to electrocute them for leading a strike of textile workers. As with the Chicago men they were charged with murder and the fact that the murdered woman happened to be a striker didn't bother the authorities or the American Woolen Company whom the latter were trying to "protect." Long ago a cynical politician said: "What's the Constitution between friends." However, Giovanitti and Ettor were acquitted after one of the great labour trials of this country. Other speakers were Charney Vladeck, well known Socialist, Bertram Wolf and Julius Hochman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and Harry Kelly with Harry Weinberger as Chairman. A chorus of about seventy-five from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, sang and played, making it a memorable evening with the speakers emphasising it is the lot of few men and women to be remembered fifty years after their death. Neither was it lost on those present that nineteen years ago the general public stole or appropriated this date and called it Armistice Day and now without so much as a howdido they have handed it back to us. Officially they go through the motions of honouring the dead of the world war, but business goes on as usual with hardly a ripple on the surface of the body politic. In short the millions of dead in the war to make the world safe for democracy are all but forgotten, whereas the souls of the eight men who died or went to prison fifty years ago, still go marching on.

The eight hour day demanded by labour of that day and the strike

for it at the McCormic Reaper Works which eventually brought about the death or imprisonment of our comrades, has been realized for millions of workers and other millions work forty and even thirty-six hours a week with higher wages and better shop conditions, but much, very much remains to be done that was advocated by the martyred men half a century ago.

Within the past year in that same corrupt city of Chicago ten unarmed strikers were killed by the police, seven of whom were shot in the back as they were trying to escape. A Congressional Committee headed by Senator La Follette the well known liberal from Wisconsin made an investigation and a moving picture taken by a photographer for one of the leading daily newspapers of the country was shown, proving beyond even the faintest doubt the guilt and brutality of the police, but they were exonerated by the Mayor and city officials and nothing was done. And this forty-nine years after eight men were crucified in order that these things should no longer be.

On November 7th, a long article with a belated report of the National Biscuit Company and the International Shoe Company made to the Federal Trade Commission as to salaries and dividends paid during the years 1929 to 1935 inclusive, was printed in the New York Times. The period covered the worst of the depression years and the average salaries paid by the biscuit company was \$35,525, and the shoe company—"the lowest reported by any of the manufacturing or processing groups" amounted to a beggarly \$13,607. The average dividend for the seven year period for the shoe company was 14.43 per cent. As officers of corporations are usually the largest share holders, it is reasonably certain that the income of these men during these terrible years averaged \$50,000 a year, while the farmers who fed them and the

workers who housed, clothed and amused them had incomes that probably averaged one-fiftieth part of the non-producers and with eight million still unemployed it will be seen there is still plenty of work to be done for those who admire and wish to follow in the footsteps of the martyrs of Chicago.

Congress has been called to meet in special session to enact legislation promised by the Democrats in their campaign of 1936. One of the measures promised and sabotaged by Southern Congressmen at the last session was a wage and hour bill which called for a 40 hour week and a minimum wage of 40 cents an hour of \$16.00 a week. With an average of 4.6 persons to a family in the U.S., this can hardly be called a living wage but this has been called a "revolutionary" proposal that would if enacted ruin southern industry so it was held in committee last session, and a vote on it prevented and it looks as if this will be its fate in the present session.

On the above subject an article in a recent number of *Colliers Weekly*, one of the most popular of the cheap magazines published and which is reputed to have a circulation of four million copies weekly, gives a picture of life and work in industrial towns of the South. With photostatic copies of checks paid to workers they show how an almost unbelievable state of peonage where workers often owe the company at the end of the week's work instead of getting wages. Attempts to organize the workers along trade union lines have been interfered with and in some cases resulted in lynchings, all of which is done in the name of liberty and States Rights, which mean of course the right to degrade and even enslave the workers. In pre-slavery days some seventy-five or eighty years ago, James Russell Lowell wrote: "Here it is as plain as figgers, plain as one and one makes two. Folks as makes black slaves of niggers, want to make white slaves o' you."

An old comrade, A. H. Simpson, now in England—if he is still alive—who lived and worked in Chicago fifty years ago with the comrades of that day told me a favourite answer of Albert Parsons to scoffers was "time, time is on our side," to which ours is Amen.

The Political Situation In Portugal

(From Our Correspondent)

POVERTY IN PORTUGAL

IN spite of all that is said by the Fascist Portuguese press as well as foreign newspapers subsidized by the bureau of portuguese propaganda, poverty increases. The prosperity vaunted by the dictatorship doesn't exist. Not only do the people suffer, but also the more comfortable classes are badly hit by income tax.

The number of country rate-payers which was 564,539 in 1914-15, is now more than double. In 1921-32 it had already reached the total of 1,215,435. This is because the small rural proprietors were exempt from taxes when the sum they owed was not more than 11 escudos. Salazar in 1929, fixed this limit at 15 escudos. In view of the devaluation of the exchange which, contrasted with that of 1914 is 25 times less, these 15 escudos are worth only 0.60 of an escudo. In such a way all those who before the dictatorship paid no taxes are now obliged to do so thus making their position worse than ever.

(It must be remembered that the value of the escudo is 1/110 of the English pound.)

Let us pass on to those who are not landowners and whose lives are much harder—the workers of town and country.

The agricultural workers earn about 7 escudos per day, the latter being from 10 to 12 hours, without food. A kilo of bread costs 2 escudos.

The average salary of industrial workers is 11 escudos, but they have to spend 70% on food, which is only surpassed by that of Chinese workers, which is 72%. That doesn't mean that the portuguese worker eats as much as he

wishes. In Portugal the average consumption of meat, butter, sugar and other essential produce is the lowest of all civilized countries.

This is so true that the Member of Parliament, Pacheco de Amorim was forced to admit this in the "Comercio do Porto" of the 13th January, 1937. "The standard of life in Portugal is one of the lowest, if not the lowest in Western Europe. At the "Assemblee National" Correia Pinto said that this village alone there were "42 children, sons of workers, who are beggars."

As a result of these conditions of poverty, begging has developed in an alarming fashion. In the eyes of foreign visitors. They are usually put into concentration towns, beggars are hidden from the camps or in the country, young and old alike.

Owing to the rapid increase of poverty and especially prostitution, it has been decided not to publish statistics on prostitution. During the first five years of dictatorship, the number of prostitutes was doubled. The newspapers are not allowed to publish suicides or all deaths from starvation.

THE POLITICAL DICTATORSHIP.

The portuguese people deprived of their rights, are the victims of a dictatorship which every day becomes more tyrannical. The Press has been muzzled and the few sheets which dare to remain outside the influence of the Fascists are persecuted and pestered by the military censorship. The latter is so strict that even general information and news from abroad are forbidden when they do not please them. There exists a law which

forbids entry to Portugal of all foreign publications which are not sympathetic to Fascism. All books are subject to the approval of the censor. Education is entirely in the hands of the Catholic Church and certain laws have been passed recently, making it possible for sons of fascists and the wealthy only, to be able to pursue secondary school or university courses. Of the political persecution, there is much to be said. Suffice it to say that more than 5,000 Portuguese are undergoing the worst possible treatment in the prisons and concentration camps in Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra and Peniche. But the worse conditions of all are to be found in the political camps at Tarrafal in the Cape Verde Islands.

(to be continued)

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Ibiza Under Fascist Rule

"Life and Death of a Spanish Town" by Elliott Paul (Peter Davies, 8/6)

ANY review of Elliot Paul's "Life and Death of a Spanish Town" must be an appreciation rather than a criticism. There have been few sincerer or more vital books written on the Spanish war. It is none the less effective, because it almost entirely neglects the intellectual and political aspect for the emotional and humane. To the writer all the inhabitants of St. Eulalia, the small town on the island of Ibiza where he has lived and worked, are primarily fellow-beings and friends,—only secondarily fascists, communists, "right" or "left."

"Half-dozen communists, half-dozen fascists, three thousand men and women of Santa Eulalia who wanted the extremists and traitors to let be."

Starting from this viewpoint, he attains, as to a natural conclusion, to the idea that whatever is best for the majority of his friends is just. He is for the Spanish Republic, because since its establishment, although perhaps roads are not built so efficiently or quickly as under Primo de Rivera, the islanders can live together harmoniously without excessive fear of the churchmen or the Guardia Civil, with the facility of proper medical assistance. There is not absolute perfection, but there is that hope and faith in the future which a living community must have or die. Santa Eulalia is not a paradise in the first part of the book, but it is progressing towards the ideal.

What then can the Fascist rebellion be but a hideously treacherous plot. Elliott Paul is not violent in the expression of such an opinion, but he holds it inevitably, as the natural outcome of what he

has experienced. The life of the island town is crushed, the harmony is replaced by discord, friends are forced into factions without wanting to become enemies; "Les Jeunes filles en fleur who have stood on the brink of something better, must now, expect less than nothing. They are too old and too wise to believe that butchers justify it; too young to and that the words of the master butchers justify it, too young to forget what they had hoped for and what they are forced to see. The burden of a ruined land falls upon them."

The "traitors" show themselves in their true colours in the contrast they present to the government in their methods of aggression. Whereas the government reveal all possible humanity, are eager to pardon, loathe to shed blood, the fascist upstarts at the outset of the struggle, the Italian invaders, drop their bombs on women and children strolling unaware on the sea-front, or shoot prisoners in herds without trial. To them the citizens are but pawns in the game; these fine examples of a naturally cultured humanity go down before their machine guns like so many nine-pins.

No wonder, then, that Elliot Paul feels bitterly the neutrality of the European powers,—"fumbling senile England, miserly small-souled France,"—and of his own America. This book seeks to overcome the lack of comprehension which typifies the policies of these countries. For the accounts of newspaper commentators which mislead rather than inform he substitutes this powerful picture of what is really happening. There is a power in "Life and Death of a Spanish Town," which all but those who are entirely heartless; utterly mean-souled, absolutely senile, must feel.

E. M. B.

The Tragedy of Spain

By RUDOLF ROCKER

"The Tragedy of Spain," by Rudolf Rocker (Freie Arbeit Stimme, 47pp., Price 15c.)

EVERY student of Logic is familiar with the principle of "Occam's Razor." This principle states that in seeking, by a process of induction, the explanation of any set of phenomena, the assumptions which it may be necessary to make must be shaved down to the very minimum. And Rudolf Rocker in "The Tragedy of Spain" has not failed to observe this important tenet of inductive reasoning.

Spain presents a perplexing problem to the uninitiated. It is a patchwork of contradictions and paradoxes. Imperialist Britain, for example, appears to be totally unconcerned about her Mediterranean interests. Equally odd is the fact that Communist Russia is actually fostering counter-revolutionary tendencies in Spain; while Anarchists themselves have gone so far as to make sacrifices for the preservation of Republican Government!

How comes it all about? Rudolf Rocker states the problem clearly—and clearly answers it. He points to the underlying causes which account for these paradoxes, and his hypotheses are no wild figment of imagination. They are arrived at in conformity with the principle of "Occam's Razor"; in other words they are the minimum assumptions necessary to explain the facts.

He shows something of the extent of British and French Capitalist interests in Spain—and because of these, neither Britain nor France wants the anti-fascists to win. But equally, Britain does not want a decisive victory for Franco, because that would give Hitler and Mussolini a point of support which would put Britain and France in the greatest danger. British tactics, therefore, have first of all left no means untried to make a victory for the social revolution impossible, and secondly, they have permitted the Government in Valencia just enough support to prevent a quick victory for Franco. In other words, it is in the interests of Britain and France that the murderous war should take its tragic course, until at the proper moment, it can be ended by a compromise which will give to neither side the possibility of dictating the terms of the peace. Furthermore, the longer the war lasts, the more difficult will it be for Hitler and Mussolini to continue their support—and the more completely will the material resources of Germany and Italy be drained with time, and the two powers weakened for a world war. So much by the way of illuminating British and French diplomacy.

Now as for Russia, Rocker says: "Russia was bound to France by a military rapprochement, the point of which, was directed against Germany... To get this alliance broken off, Germany was bringing every possible kind of political pres-

sure to bear upon France. Russia was well aware of this danger and was, therefore, making every effort to nullify Hitler's policy, even to setting herself up as attorney for the imperialist interests of England and France in Spain. So it was not the celebrated "class interests of the proletariat" but the natural interest of the Russian State which had led Stalin to take this attitude!"

But there is another reason. The libertarian movement of Spain has never lost itself in the labyrinth of an economic dialectic. Socialism, for the Spaniard, is an organic process of growth which proceeds from the social activity of the masses themselves and finds in their economic organisation a basis which binds together all creative forces and still imposes no artificial restrictions on the initiative of the individual. Such a conception is naturally repellant to Stalin and his satellites; by treacherous intrigue and a Cheka methodology they are using all the forces at their command to crush and kill the spirit of freedom that animates the Spanish people.

Rocker substantiates this thesis with a host of corroborative instances.

For clarity of exposition on the Spanish Tragedy we can confidently recommend Rocker's pamphlet to our readers.

THE LIFE WORK OF CAMILLO BERNERI

"WE believe that the best way of honouring the memory of Camillo Berneri—murdered by the Stalinists in Barcelona, during the tragic May Days, is to collect in volume form, his works which have already appeared in print, besides those as yet unpublished."

The above is an extract from an appeal by the "Camillo Berneri Committee" in Paris. By publishing our Comrade's works they will not only be honouring his memory but will also be rendering a service to the Anarchist movement which can learn so much from his writings.

One volume is ready for the printer and others are in the course of preparation. But before these can be published, funds are required to cover the printing expenses for at least the first volume. Comrades, especially those in America who have for so long read Berneri's lucid articles in the "Adunata," "Studi Sociali" and other newspapers, will surely want to see these valuable works preserved for future generations and they can help to make this possible by sending contributions, either through "Spain and the World" (to be forwarded to the Committee) or direct to Mme. Camidot, 1, rue des Vergers, Savigny-sur-Orge, (S.-et-O.), France.

For the same purpose we have a supply of photographs of Camillo Berneri, issued by the Committee, and which can be obtained price 3d. each. Comrades are urged to send for their supplies now.



A Village Guard (Illustration "The Spanish Cockpit")

First Six Months of The Spanish Revolution

Red Spanish Notebook: the first six months of the Revolution and the Civil War: by Mary Low and Juan Brea. (Secker and Warburg, 1937. 256pp. 5/-)

BOOK: a series of chapters, divided between the authors, being a record of persons, events and conversations during their stay in Spain. They arrived in Spain after the outbreak. Brea joined the POUM militia, Mary Low joined the women's militia, did hospital work and edited the English edition of the POUM publication "The Spanish Revolution." Brea went to the fronts at Aragon, Toledo and Madrid, also to Barcelona. Mary Low observed the life at Barcelona. She has an illuminating chapter on "The Generality of Catalonia." They pay tribute to the anarchists—but are severely critical (and perhaps rightly so) of certain inaction. There are a few naïvetés. "If we could push past the rationalist education which the anarchists were trying to impose, and go further and bring the children up according to Marxist precepts,

then this revolution would never, never turn back." (P.45). In his "Conclusion," Juan Brea says: "While the POUM and the Anarchists had adopted such slogans as: "For a Junta of Workers, Peasants and Militia-men," and "Divide the land," and others of a more or less revolutionary nature, the sole solution offered by the official Communist Party was the elimination of Trotskyism. This was announced plainly from the beginning. The board was swept clean of every revolutionary slogan to give way to:—"The condition for victory over Franco is the crushing of Trotskyism." (Agenda of the Presidium of the Communist International in November). When he left Barcelona he considered that the set-back of the revolution was tantamount to failure. For this "failure" he blames the anarchists. "The one attitude which they should have taken, and failed to, should have been based on a realisation of Russia's motives and her interests." He analyses the role of Russia and adds: "The Anarchists have not understood this and have allowed themselves to be bluffed." Mary Low says: "We thought the Generality might have been dissolved, but the fault of that lay with the Anarchists who at the ripe time, when they had the strength in the street, had let the eGenerality go on through scruple of libertarian non-governmental conscience until it became a real force to be reckoned with, and it was too late to do anything." (P.48-49). But of her own party she has to confess: "The party became more and more bureaucratic as time went on, and soon, what with the official participation in the government... the people were prevented henceforth from showing that fine sense of their worth and dignity..." A clear lesson for all. H.J.J.

Spain | FABER

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The Unofficial Forces Of Spain

TWO great opportunities for recovering the situation in favour of the revolutionary forces were lost by the anarcho-syndicalists and by the organisation itself.

The first, at the time of the events of May, 1937, when the battle had already begun on the military field and when the issues seemed favourable to the struggling workers, if not for the whole of the governmental territory, at least for the whole of Catalonia, and in the measure which this partial victory was able to influence the ulterior aims of the different factions fighting against Franco.

The second arose upon the dissolution of the council of Aragon, the arrest of Joaquin Ascaso, and the repression of the collectives and the libertarian organisations of that province.

In both cases this was the opinion of the National Committees who had evidence of the will to resistance of the local committees clearly expressed, both by the resolutions of the militants and by the practical measures adopted by the workers and libertarian peasants.

The essential aim of "Spain and the World" being to bring real help to the revolutionary combatants in Spain and not to criticize or teach them lessons, we will not try to discover whether the tactics employed were the best, nor whether another solution could have been more profitably employed. That is a task for the party or political groups, useful, perhaps even indispensable, but which is outside the province of this paper.

An understanding of the evolution of the Spanish struggle necessitates a thorough knowledge of the elements which have arisen during the events and of the forces which move them.

The conflicts in the Stalinist, bourgeois, and revolutionary bloc would have arisen sooner or later.

The recent affair at the convent of Los Escalapios, where the Libertarian Youth of Barcelona resisted with their bare hands quite an important force of infantry and civil guards who went as far as using heavy artillery, shows that another is not only possible, but even probable. In fact, for some days that the local fight was going on, Barcelona was feverishly excited, and it was not until the Regional Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had discussed matters with the young workers who had entrenched themselves against attack and that they had submitted, that calm, relative at least, returned.

We must inquire into the currents which move in governmental Spain, not merely according to the number of the adherents of each party or organisation, for this will lead to an inaccurate view of the situation. Rather must we examine this psychology and conduct of the combatants or those different elements.

Proceeding in this way it is easy to see, for example, that the Communist forces do not always act automatically on the orders of Moscow, but that the social content of the Communist group, with its adherents of the old bourgeoisie, the shopkeepers, and office holders only undertake counter-revolutionary activities, and overshoot the counter-revolutionary aims of the official Communists. This is notably verified by the military situation, where very often the bourgeois elements, by politeness called Communists, directly favour Franco.

To really work this out completely would take more than an article. We will limit ourselves, therefore, to discussing one group particularly, which seems likely to be called upon to play an important part, in collaboration with certain factions such as the "Friends of Durruti" and the foreign elements, because their activity at the time of the foregoing events has shown itself superior in influence—altogether out of proportion to their numerical strength.

We speak of the Libertarian Youth.

The revolutionary youth organisations are nearly all illegal.

The Spanish Communist Youth, affiliated with the P.O.U.M., is entirely illegal, its principal militants are in prison, and its organ: "JUVENTUD COMUNISTA," is banned. They publish a clandestine weekly, the "JUVENTUD OBRERA," which is well circulated in Barcelona and in certain provincial centres in Catalonia.

The orientation of the Spanish Communist Youth is clear—the principal slogans are: "War on reactionary Stalinism," "Without revolutionary morale victory over Franco is impossible," "Alliance of the revolutionary youth of the Communist Youth (J.C.I.) with the Libertarian Youth," and "Down with the reactionary Negrin Government."

In many places, unfortunately often in prison, the J.C.I. work in accord with the young anarchists and with some sections of the young syndicalists.

Their principal effort consists in enlarging their common activity in withdrawing the Libertarian Youth from their collaboration with the A.J.A. (Alliance of Anti-Fascist Youth), a movement created and launched by the United Socialist Youth. (Communist, and which comprises all the shades of opinion, from young Catholics to young anarchists.)

Their influence, however, does not outweigh that of other Catalan centres and that of certain army battalions. Such other centres as Madrid and Valencia are hardly affected—a persistent repression having been exercised there, so that militant nuclei were "liquidated."

Apart from this in Catalonia, "a revolutionary youth front" was formed at the beginning of 1937 and it comprised Libertarian Youth, Communist Youth, Syndicalist Youth, and a certain number of student sport, and cultural organisations.

The influence of this front showed itself rapidly and a central meeting held at Barcelona gathered together 50,000 young members under a definitely revolutionary and anti-Capitalist appeal. The J.S.U., attached to the actual Stalinist conception of democratic legality and private property, remained aloof,

and they saw their forces grow less from day to day.

Alfredo Martinez, a young Anarchist who was acting as secretary for Catalonia, paid for his activity with his life.

The days of May 1937, allowed the Spanish G.P.U. to rid themselves of a person who symbolised the young Catalan proletariat, and who threatened to sweep the anti-fascist struggle clean of its miasmas, political and imperialistic.

Since then the revolutionary alliance manifests itself but rarely and with less intensity, it has also submitted to the police organisation of the Valencia Government.

But, in spite of the fact that it has less publicity, the relations still persist between all the participants.

The Libertarian Youth, much less numerous and less influential than the J.C.I. are taking a rather contradictory attitude, due principally to the fact that a party of the leaders have adopted the methods of the F.A.I., and that another section is resolutely anti-communist and wishes for strictly revolutionary propaganda.

These two great currents of opinion meet frequently in the work of the Libertarian Youth, and it is not always easy to understand just where their militants adopt either position. On the one hand there is the desire to avoid the position of illegality and not to run counter to the decisions of the peninsular committee of the F.A.I., and on the other hand the repressive measures of the Communists and Police provoke violent action. Thus at Caspe and at many other places in Aragon at all meetings of the A.J.A., there was a representative of the Unified Young Socialists and a speaker from the Libertarian Youth. But at the same time an illegal organ of the (Libertarian Youth) was appearing. In Barcelona "Esfuerzo," the organ of the J.L. is clearly opposed to the line adopted by the national committees. "JUVENTUD LIBRE" principal organ of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth has been practically suppressed. Immediately afterwards, however, a number appeared under the title "Visado por la Censura del Pueblo," that is to say illegal, appeared to answer this repression. This journal is clear, direct, and courageous.

In it appears a short declaration of the positions of the Youth organisations "Juventud Libre," appears as two pages only because of the counter-revolutionary politics of the Negrin Government. The Press where we print our weekly has been raided and sacked by the police. In spite of that "Juventud Libre" will continue to appear as usual with more or less pages, on better or worse paper. "Juventud Libre" has the support of all youth which fights and works to exterminate Fascism. That is enough for us."

This number contained a sharp attack on the anti-proletarian measures of Negrin and the Communists, but, as the young people still keep their good humour, a phrase in large type completes the sheet "God protect the Negrin Government."

These examples show that the questions of political strategy which oblige the Spanish Libertarian movement to ally themselves with bourgeois republicans and Communists will not succeed in maintaining the numerous working class organisations under permanent discipline.

Since the days of May, the J.L. have been ready to attack the Hotel Colon, the headquarters of the P.S.U.C. On the Aragon front they were rebellious against the militarisation.

Now they are straining at the bridle although they have given up nothing of their ideals nor the will to triumph. Their slow passage into clandestine activity has only slightly weakened them.

On the day when some spark provokes a new conflagration, numerous forces, and more powerful ones than has been believed, will rise and show reaction that the revolutionary spirit is not dead.

The question is to know whether, when this explosion takes place, it will not be of such a nature that, as at Santander and at Gijon, so much ardour, so much heroism, will lead to nothing but a bloody end face to face with Fascism and its allies. Whether the "Tribus," so decried and misunderstood, will not be alone the defenders of the flag of the proletarian Revolution.

RIDEL.

(Translated from the French original).

the technical side, and the federal concentration of all co-operative efforts made governmental intervention—the greatest curse of Capitalism as well as State "Communism"—superfluous and impossible.

This glorious example which the Spanish anarchists have given of the feasibility of social production, conducted without any factory ruler, run on the lines of autonomy and solidarity was unique and inspiring, especially as the example, which Russian Marxism-Bolshevism has shown during the last twenty years, even in economic aspects, has been so disconcerting and self-condemnatory.

Up till to-day the Soviet dictatorship in the naturally, richest endowed sixth of the world has not only not achieved economic welfare for all, but, in fact, the standard of life for the workers and peasants of Russia is far lower than in the most downtrodden countries of Western Capitalism. To preach the tenets of Marxism to an English or an American worker, as demonstrated by the Soviet dictatorship, means either that one is an ignoramus or believes the worker to be one.

For all this horrible fraud which Bolshevism has perpetrated for twenty years and which has sown a seed from which Fascism quite naturally sprang, for all this Bolshevism has many "dialectical" excuses. First, they maintained, that one country cannot realise socialism; secondly, that great rich Russia has insufficient raw materials; thirdly, that during the war of invasion, such as Russia had to endure, it was impossible to institute Communism (up till to-day not yet instituted in Russia); fourthly, that in order to arrive at socialism, so taught the great Lenin, a long period of transition is needed, which, it is alleged, cannot be one of extreme liberty, but must be one of extreme slavery: a dictatorship, carried on in the name of the proletariat, which, in fact, enslaves particularly the proletariat. "None of the Marxist 'scientists' is able to say when dictatorship shall come to an end and socialism begin. So to-day in Russia we behold, after twenty years of rule by fire and steel, an awful thralldom of state capitalism established, which is trying in a humble and hypocritical way to reconcile itself with Western Democracy.

With one stroke of genius the Spanish anarchists, and workers have done away with all those Marxist lies and frauds.

In a few months they re-organised industry and agriculture upon the elementary principles of liberty, autonomy, and solidarity. In spite of the terrible war ravaging half the country, a more dreadful war than Russia ever endured, the Spanish anarchist masses demolished Capitalism and re-created a

The Economic Proof

Example of the Sugar-Refinery at Monzon

"Whatever may be the provincial diversities of the Spanish character, the peninsulars, easy-going in the everyday matters of life, distinguish themselves from the mass of peoples by a spirit of tranquil resolution, a persistent courage, and an indefatigable tenacity, and it is these qualities that have, according to a good or a bad employment, sometimes made the glory and sometimes the misfortune of the nation."

—Elisée Reclus

("Histoire des Espagnoles")

VERY often we anarchists have been asked by quite serious minded people: "Can you show us proof that society can be managed without government, the industry authority of the employer, and agriculture run without the incentive of profit?"

For the first time in the history of the working masses all these questions have been answered in the affirmative. Not by means of any new theoretical argument, but by the irrefutable argument of fact.

In this lies the everlasting merit of the Spanish anarchist movements, the F.A.I. ("Federation Anarquista Iberica") and the C.N.T. ("Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo.")

For about nine months, from July 19th, 1936 to May, 1937, these two bodies of anarchist thought and action have, apart from the war, worked out on the economic—productive basis of Spanish social life a new economy, such a one as has always been advocated by the anarchists. We have in these conditions an economy, wherein the means of production are commonly owned and managed by those who work them, where everyone willing to produce has free access to

them, and where the means of production are monopolised neither by the private Capitalist nor by the Government.

For the first time during the social-emancipatory struggle of the workers the bourgeois part of society had the opportunity of observing the realisation of the economic slogan of anarchism: Production without Monopoly! And it proved itself, in spite of the adverse conditions of a time of war, to be absolutely workable. Production

increased, order predominated on marvellous collectivist economic life. They have shown that Marxism, with all its alluring promises is a fraud, and that the re-organisation of Capitalist society depends on the will of the workers to sever all connections between economic production and government. The severance of these ties means the annihilation of monopoly.

Anarchism in Spain has shown that the social revolution must

(continued on page 3)



Extremadura Peasants (Illustration "The Spanish Cockpit")

Political Persecution In Republican Spain

By Emma GOLDMAN

ON my first visit to Spain in September, 1936, nothing surprised me so much as the amount of political freedom I found everywhere. True it did not extend to Fascists; but outside of these deliberate enemies of the Revolution and the Emancipation of the workers in Spain, everyone of the Anti-Fascist front enjoyed political freedom which hardly existed in any of the so called European democracies. The one party that made the utmost use of this was the P.S.U.C., the Stalinist party in revolutionary Spain. Their radio and loud speakers filled the air. Their daily marches in military formation with their flags waving were flaunted in everybody's face. They seemed to take a special pleasure in marching past the House of the Regional Committee as if they wanted to make the C.N.T.-F.A.I. aware of their determination to strike the blow when they will attain to complete power. This was obvious to anyone among the foreign delegates and comrades who had come to help in the Anti-Fascist struggle. Not so our Spanish comrades. They made light of the communist brazenness. They insisted that this circus clap trap could not decide the revolutionary struggle, and that they themselves had more important things to do than waste their time in idle display. It seemed to me then that the Spanish comrades had little understanding of mass psychology which needs flagwaving, speeches, music and demonstrations—that while the C.N.T.-F.A.I. however, were concentrated on their constructive tasks, and fighting on the various fronts, their communist allies made hay while their sun shone. They have since proved that they knew what they were about.

During my stay of three months I visited many of the collectivised estates and factories, maternities and hospitals in Barcelona, and last but not least, also the "Modelo" prison. This is the place that had harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionaries and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades Durruti and Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and many others had been cell neighbours of Companys, the new President of the Generalitat. I visited this institution in the presence of a comrade, a physician who had made a special study of criminal-psychology. The Director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred admirers of Franco were officers and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving from the management in charge of the place, most of whom were C.N.T.-F.A.I. men.

The possibility that Fascists would soon be replaced by revolutionaries and anarchists was far removed from my mind. If anything, the high water mark of the revolution in the Autumn of 1936 held out hopes that the stain of prison would be wiped out once Franco and his hordes were defeated.

The report of the foul murder of the most gentle of anarchists, Camillo Berneri and his room-mate, the anarchist Barbieri, was followed by wholesale arrests, mutilation and death. They seemed too fantastic, the change in the internal political situation, too incredible to be true. I decided to go back to Spain to see for myself how far the new found freedom of the Spanish masses had been annihilated by Stalin's henchmen.

Once again I arrived on the 16th September this year. I went straight to Valencia and there discovered that 1,500 C.N.T. members, comrades of the F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigade were filling the prisons of Valencia. During my short stay there, I left no stone unturned to get permission to visit some of our comrades, among them Gustel Dorster whom I had known in Germany as most active in the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power. I was assured that I would be given permission; but at the last moment, before my return to Barcelona, I was informed that foreigners were not allowed to see the Prison. I soon discovered the same situation repeated in every town and village I visited. Thousands of comrades and other genuine revolutionaries were filling the prisons under the Negrin-Prieto and Stalinist regime.

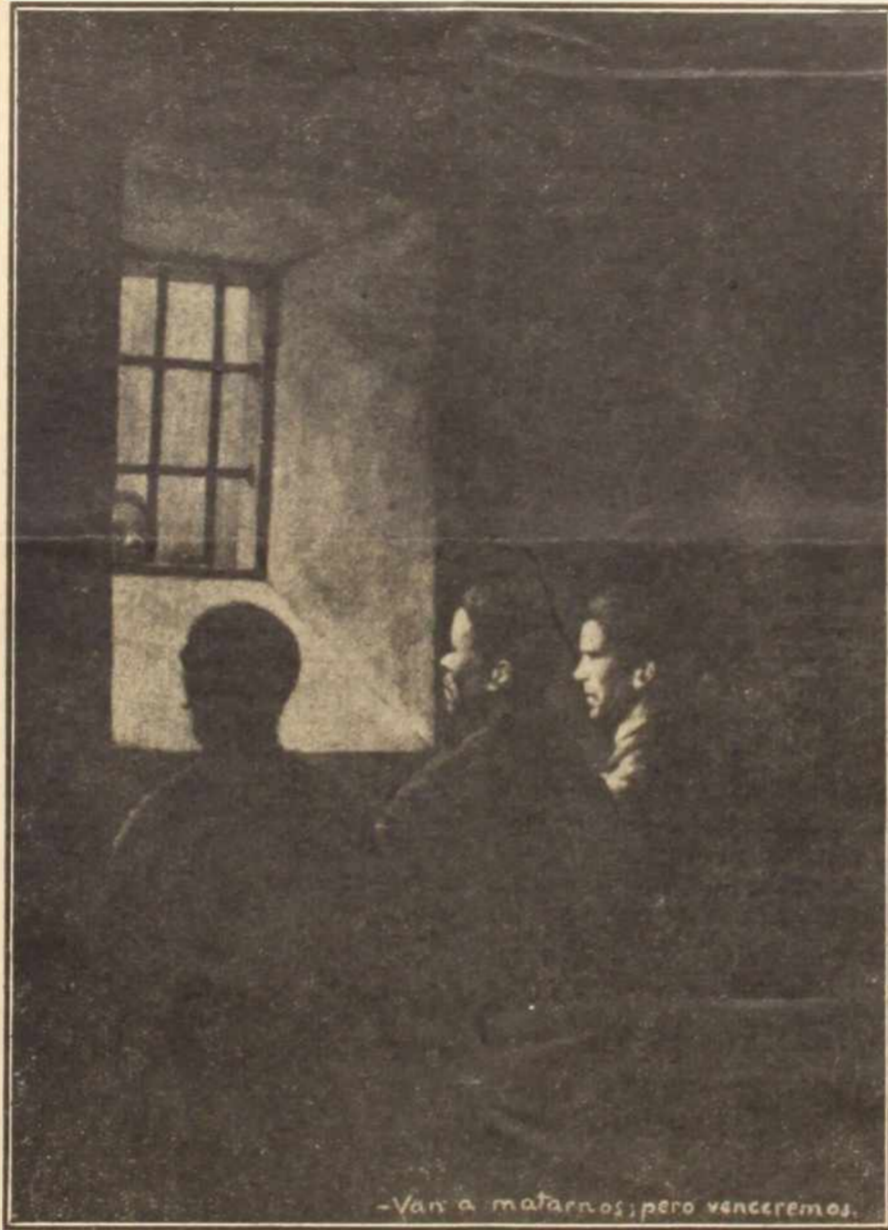
When I came back to Barcelona in the early part of October, I immediately sought to see our comrades in the Modelo prison. After many difficulties, comrade Augustin Souchy succeeded in obtaining permission to have an interview with a few of the German comrades. Much to my surprise I found on my arrival there, that the same Director was still in charge. He too recognised me and he again gave me full entry to the prison. I did not need to speak to the comrades through the hideous bars. I was in the hall where they foregather, surrounded by German, Italian, Bulgarian, Russian and Spanish comrades, all

trying to speak at once and tell me of their conditions. I discovered that no charge whatever that would stand in any Court, even under Capitalism, had been preferred against them, except the idiotic charge of "Trotskism."

These men from every part of the globe had flocked to Spain, often begging their way across, to help the Spanish Revolution, to join the ranks of the Anti-Fascist, and to lay down their lives in the struggle against Franco were held captive. Others again had been picked up on the street and had vanished without leaving any trace behind. Among the many was Reis, son of the internationally known Russian Menshevik Abramowitch.

The most recent victim is Kurt Landau, a former member of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party, and before his arrest, on the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. Every effort to find him has met with failure. In view of the disappearance of Andres Nin of the P.O.U.M. and scores of others it is reasonable to conclude that Kurt Landau met with the same fate.

But to return to the Modelo prison. It is impossible to give all the names, because there are so many incarcerated there. The most outstanding is a comrade who, in a high responsible position before the May events, had turned over millions of pesetas to the Generalitat found in Churches and Palaces. He is



held under the ludicrous charge of having embezzled 100,000 pesetas.

Comrade Helmut Klose a member of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. He was arrested on the 2nd July. No charge has been made up to this date, neither was he brought before a Judge. Comrade Klose was a member of the FAUD in Germany (German Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisation). After having been arrested several times, he emigrated to Yugoslavia in the summer of 1933. Expelled from there in February, 1937, because of Anti-Fascist activity. He came to Spain in March. He joined the frontier service of the F.A.I. in the "De la Costa" Battalion. After the dissolution of this Battalion, in June he took his discharge, and entered the service of the Agricultural Collective of San Anores. In compliance with the request of his Group he later undertook the reorganisation of the Tailors' Collective of the Emigrants' Committee. The charge made by the Cheka of his having disarmed officers while in the Frontier Service at Figueras is entirely without foundation.

Comr. de Albert Kille. He was arrested on September 7th. No reason was given. In Germany he had belonged since 1919 to the Productive Supply Union. Besides this he was a member of the Communist Party. In 1933 he emigrated to Austria. After the February events he fled to Prague: but later returned to Austria, whence he was expelled and left for France. Here he joined the German Anarcho-Syndicalist Group. In August, 1936, he went to Spain, where he at once proceeded to the front. He was wounded once. He belonged to the Durruti column right up to the time of the militarisation. In June he took his discharge.

I also visited the P.O.U.M. Section. Many of these prisoners are Spaniards, but among them there are also a large number of foreigners, Italian, French, Russian and German. Two members of the P.O.U.M. approached me personally. They said little of their own suffering, but begged me to take a message to their own wives in Paris. They were Nicolas Sundelwitsch—the son of the famous Menshevik who had spent the longest part of his life in Siberia. Nicolas Sundelwitsch certainly did not give me the impression of being guilty of the serious charges made against him of "having given the Fascists information" among the many other charges against him. It takes the perverted communist mind to hold a man in prison because in 1922 he had illegally left Russia.

Richard Tietz was arrested as he came out of the Argentine Consulate in Barcelona where he had gone on behalf of his wife, previously arrested. When he demanded to know the grounds of his arrest the Commissar nonchalantly said "I consider it just." That was evidently enough to keep Richard Tietz in the Modelo since July.

As far as prison conditions can be humane the Modelo is certainly superior to the cheka prisons introduced in Spain by the Stalinists according to the best party examples of Soviet Russia. The "Modelo" still maintains its traditional political privileges such as the right

Landau the wife of Kurt Landau, who had been arrested several months before him. She was like the old time Russian Revolutionists, utterly devoted to her ideas. I already knew of her husband's disappearance and possible end; but I did not have the heart to disclose this fact to her. This was in October. In November I was informed by some of her comrades in Paris, that Mrs. Landau had begun a hunger strike on the 11th November. I have just received word that as a result of two hunger strikes Katia Landau has been released.

A few days before my departure from Spain I was informed on good authority that the old dreadful Bastille—Montjuich was again being used to house political prisoners. The infamous Montjuich, whose every stone could tell of man's inhumanity to man, of the thousands put to death by the most savage methods of torture, or driven mad or to suicide. Montjuich, where in 1897, the Spanish Inquisition had been reintroduced by Canavos Del Casatillo, then Premier of Spain. It was at his behest that 300 workers, among them distinguished Spanish anarchists, had been kept for months in underground damp and dirty cells—repeatedly tortured and denied counsel. It was in Montjuich that Francisco Ferrer was murdered by the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church. Last year I visited this terrifying fortress. Then it held no prisoners. The cells were empty. We descended into black depths with torches guiding our way. I almost seemed to hear the agonised cries of the thousands of victims who had breathed their last in the ghastly holes. It was a relief to get to the light again.

History does repeat itself after all. Montjuich again serves its old ghastly purpose. It is overcrowded with ardent revolutionaries who had been among the first to rush to the various fronts. Militias of the Durruti column freely giving their health and strength but unwilling to be turned into military automata—members of the International Brigade who had come to Spain from every land to fight Facism, only to discover the harsh differentiation them, their officers and the political commissars, and the criminal waste of human lives due to the military ignorance and for party purpose and glory. All these and more are incarcerated in the fortress of Montjuich.

Since the world slaughter and the continued horror under dictatorship, red and black, human sensibilities have been atrophied; but there must be a few left, who still have a sense of justice. True Anatole France, George Brandes and so many great souls whose protests saved twenty two victims of the Soviet State in 1922 are no longer with us. Still there are the Gides, the Silones, Aldous Huxley, Havelock Ellis, John Cowper Powis, Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin and others, who would surely protest if made aware of the political persecutions rampant under the Negrin, Prieto and Communist regime.

At any rate I cannot be silent in the face of such barbarous political persecutions. In justice to the thousands of our comrades in prison, I have left behind, I will, and must speak out.

London, December, 1937.

INDEPENDENT INDIA

Editor: M. N. Roy.

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dealing with Indian and International affairs.

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INDIA.

of the inmates to freely mingle together, organise their committees to represent them with the director, receiving parcels, tobacco, etc., in addition to the scanty prison fare. They can also write and receive letters and reading material. Besides, the prisoners issue little prison papers and bulletins which they can paste in the corridors where they all foregather. Both in the section of our comrades and the P.O.U.M. I found such prison papers, posters and photographs of the heroes of the two parties. The P.O.U.M. had even a very fine drawing of Andrai Nin and a picture of Rosa Luxemburg, while the anarchist's side had Ascaso and Durruti on their wall.

Most interesting was the Durruti cell which he had occupied in Barcelona until released by the 1936 elections. It was left intact as it had been while Durruti was its involuntary lodger. Several large posters of our gallant comrade made the cell very much alive. The strangest part is however, that the Durruti cell is in the Fascist section. In answer to my question as to how Durruti's cell comes to be in there, was told by the guard "as an example of the living spirit of Durruti that will destroy Fascism." I wanted very much to have the Durruti cell photographed; but permission had to be obtained from the Minister of Justice. I gave up the idea. I had never in my life asked favours of Ministers of Justice, much less would I ask for anything from the counter-revolutionary government, the Spanish Cheka.

My next visit was to the womens' prison, which I found better kept and more cheerful than the Modelo. Only six women politicals were there at the time. Among them Katia

Federico Lorca, Poet of the People

"Lament for the Death of a Bull-fighter and Other Poems," by Federico Garcia Lorca, in the Original Spanish with an English Translation by A. L. Lloyd (Heinemann, 6/-).

THIS book of poems is a treasure house of word imagery—for Lorca plays on strings that stretch at times to the farthest confines of the Universe; but his strings vibrate always on the wave length of human passions, human suffering, and invincible death itself.

That is reason enough for his greatness—but Lorca is of especial interest to readers of "Spain and the World," because he was essentially a poet of the people. It was from them that he drew his inspiration—and from the old folklore which was born of the people. And just as the Anarchist, in the social milieu, opposes despotism masses have within themselves the and statism, proclaiming that the potentiality of self-realisation, so Lorca, in the sphere of aesthetic creativeness, stands out brilliantly to confirm, by his work, that here again, it is from the people that great art springs, from free expression—and not from conformism to classicism or to any high-brow hierarchy. Lorca expresses all the colour, and pride, and deep sorrow of Spain; and he expresses it so well that even Spanish peasants who can neither read nor

write, sing his verses. There is no more positive proof of greatness than this.

The "Lament for Ignato Sanchez Mejias, the bullfighter is his greatest poem. Death—inexorable and invincible, has captured his friend—and Lorca cries aloud:—

"I want to see here men of
hard voice,
Those who break horses and
who tame the rivers,
Men of sonorous skeleton,
and who sing
With a mouth full of sun and
flints.
Here I would see them, before
this stone,
Before this body with its
breathing veins,
I want them to show me how
he may escape,
This captain bound in death."

These lines might well have been written as a call not merely to save Ignatio Sanchez Mejias—but as a call to save Spain herself from death, from Franco, who has killed so much that is good and true and beautiful. Lorca himself was killed. For in August, 1936, when the Fascist forces entered Granada, they seized Lorca and brutally executed him. And his books were burned in the Plaza del Carmen, one of the public squares of Granada.

But in these poems Lorca lives on!

A Pacifist In Spain

"Storm Over Spain," by Mairin Mitchell, (Secker & Warburg, 6/-).

BOOK: combines an account of 1936, with an analysis of the struggle her travels in Spain, May-October, 1936. The author parallels Spanish and Irish conditions and struggles, and shows also the existence of many active associations between the workers of both countries. Towards the middle of the book comes a chapter "The Anarchists" containing reminiscences of her associations with English and Irish comrades in England. A short account of the Spanish movement follows. The author confines herself to apt facts. Quotations from many writers are also introduced to supplement her account of the character and achievements of the Spanish anarchists. It is of interest to note that before July, 1936, there were over 30 anarchist weeklies and several monthly reviews published by the Spanish movement. She shows the original fundamental antimilitarist position of the anarchists—congresses were passing antimilitarist resolutions only a few weeks before the outbreak—and in her final chapter "War and Peace" poses and discusses the contradictions involved in the struggle. The anarchists are torn by the emotion of the conflict, some to be the bravest of the brave in the fighting, but recognizing "our enemy is our brothers from whom we are temporarily estranged," some devote themselves to relief work and the organisation of the basic needs of the population. The religious and irreligious are on both sides: Catholic and atheist versus Catholic and Muhammedan and Nazi. To many Spanish and Irish it is a religious war, to others economic... they are on either side. Even now, who can correctly delineate two sides? Truth, brotherliness, co-operation are no less casualties of the war than the lives of human beings.

A discussion of and a plea for pacifism concludes the chapter. Taken as a picture viewed by one observer the book is invaluable. It will stimulate the desire to read more to supplement the information given by details of the organisations and their work. However, as it stands it satisfies by making us feel our solidarity—and even personal friendship—with the people. It is worth reading also for the travel description alone.

H.J.J.

(Continued from previous col.)

been content to allow himself to be frightened by the mere concept of Anarchism, with its lack of respect for "God, State, marriage, property and family life," and the end of his book is a regrettable repetition of all the endless slanders on the Anarchists and the "peoples' front" which have appeared in the Capitalist Press during the last 30 years. Even to Ferrer, with his noble ideals and almost saintly life, is ascribed the doctrine of "Viva la Dinamite."

That atrocities have taken place it would be futile to deny; that killing and sacking have occurred, where all true Anarchists would prefer them never to have occurred, is undoubtedly true. But that a historian like Professor Peers, who is surely equipped to take the long view, should fail to realise that repression must produce reaction in just another instance of the refusal of bourgeois historians to believe that history in the making is as inevitable as it was in past ages.

S.V.E.

A HISTORY OF CATALONIA

"Catalonia Infelix," by Professor E. Allison Peers, (Methuen, 10/6).

PROFESSOR Allison Peers' new book: "Catalonia Infelix" is just one more proof, if such were needed, that great learning does not inevitably bring great wisdom in its train.

Great learning he certainly has, and although his style is not quite as easy nor as flowing as one might desire, he surely has the power to make the past live and to recreate for us the life of a bygone people. For a great many of his readers, it will be the first time that they are learning the tremendous past of Catalonia as a nation, since to modern readers she has always been known only as the most industrialised province of Spain, with a peculiar dialect, and with a rather archaic hankering after political autonomy.

Few of us have realised that up to the 15th century, Catalonia was, in fact, a nation of considerable extent and a very important maritime power.

What is of greater interest to our readers than the extent of the Catalonian Empire and its busy foreign trade, is the antiquity of its democratic customs and institutions. As long ago as 1059, their primitive laws and customs were embodied in the "Usatges De Barcelona," a sort of Magna Carta 150 years earlier than that of England, which placed restrictions on feudal excesses, outlined the duties of the princes and nobles, and attempted to establish a settled judicial system. It is interesting to note that during all the comings and goings of princes of one or another line, and through all those State alliances, whether by judicious marriages or by other means, that the power of the common people grew steadily, and that the successful rulers were those who consulted the people and their established customs. It is also very interesting to note that as far back as the beginning of the 13th century, the powers of the municipality were encouraged, and were an important feature of the governmental system, also that, at approximately the same date, the Generalitat made its appearance as the central law-making body of the country.

When later, during the 14th and 15th centuries, as a result of State alliances, Catalonia fell to the Castilian crown, and the proud and insensitive Castilian kings made every effort to reduce Catalonia to the position of a province, she made endless efforts to retain her historic rights and privileges and fought many and desperate fights in their defence.

One extremely important fact emerges through all this mass of historical data, and that is the inclination toward a federal form of government, which has always been inherent in Catalonia's institutions. Centralisation has never appealed to her, and Professor Peers traces ably her adherence, through centuries of Castilian domination, to her own laws, customs, language, and art.

This makes it all the more surprising when in the latter part of his book he completely fails to understand that this same inherent love of liberty, of their own self-determination, was the very impulse that made it so natural for the Catalonians to be real Anarchists. Somewhere in his pages he quotes Joan Maragall as saying: "In every Catalan there is an Anarchist," but he fails to realise that the whole historical background of Catalonia was the fertile ground in which Anarchism grew as an indigenous plant.

Communism, with its ideas of centralisation, was truly an exotic growth in that freedom loving people, and was one which could never have taken root save under grave danger from outside.

Professor Peers has apparently

(Continued at foot of next col.)

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— THIS IS — FASCIST CIVILISATION!

THE photographs on this page were taken some weeks ago, after the bombardment of Lerida, during which a school was destroyed and 82 children killed. This is no longer "news" for the Capitalist Press, but for us these photos most effectively portray Fascism in its true colours.

An enemy of Liberty and Justice; devoid of any ideal or feeling of human solidarity, Fascism imposes its will by the bombing aeroplane and heavy artillery. Unable to overcome the defenders of Madrid it bombards Madrid's civilian population. Unable to force its way into Catalonia, it hurls bombs on the civilian population of Barbastro, Barcelona ... Lerida.

This is Fascism!

This is the tragic fate that awaits the civilian population of Workers' Spain. Meanwhile the "Democratic" Government of England refuses to supply the Spanish Workers with the arms they require for their struggle against International Fascism, nor are more than 4,000 refugees allowed to find shelter here from Mussolini's and Hitler's war

planes. All the British working class can do to counteract this cowardly policy is to send tinned milk!

Tinned milk, yes, will alleviate the suffering of the women and children of Spain, BUT only aeroplanes, anti-aircraft guns, machine guns, and heavy artillery can protect them from Franco's hordes in the air and on land.

The small, almost insignificant—manifestations of solidarity for the Spanish workers, boosted by the hierarchy of the Labour Party and the bosses of the Unions, have succeeded—until now—in making the workers unconscious of their true strength and responsibility toward their Spanish brothers. What the Spanish workers want above all things is to exercise their right to obtain the necessary material to engage Fascism and to defend their women and children in the rear-guard.

The British Government and the Front Populaire Government will never do this. We cannot too often stress this point. At this very moment in fact, they are abandoning completely the Spanish people as

they abandoned the Abyssinians, despite the League, despite "Democracy" and despite the Government's fine words on "Abyssinian or Spanish integrity."

The only hope for a Workers' Spain lies in the hands of the International Proletariat

In spite of our Spanish comrades' unlimited optimism as the outcome of the struggle, we cannot view a combined attack on the Aragon front and along the east coast of Spain without apprehension.

Have the British workers already forgotten the tragedy of Northern Spain; the destruction of Durango and Guernica from the air and on land, and the murderous attack on Bilbao, Gijon from the sea?

This was only possible because the Basque people were practically unarmed.

On All Saints Day Franco's Christian airmen bombed the open city of Lerida, 150 kilometres behind the Aragon front. They left 243 dead inside the gutted buildings.



This is but one outrage on the civilian population of Workers' Spain. Madrid and Barcelona are regularly shelled and bombed and the number of victims ever increases.

We ask the British workers "Are you doing enough for Spain? Do those few hundreds of thousands of pounds that you have contributed to Funds for the purpose of alleviating suffering represent the sum total of your solidarity for the Spanish workers? Or do you think that your solidarity should manifest itself in different channels more intimately connected with the Spanish workers' struggle? You believed and still believe that Spain should be allowed to buy arms. There are those of you who believed that your "democratic" National Government would have treated the Spanish Government according to

International Law and precedent and supplied it with the arms required for its defence. You have had eighteen months in which to reflect over your mistake and to change your faith in the Government into bitter contempt. You have had eighteen months in which to realize that the leaders of the workers organisations are themselves politicians, more concerned in retaining their positions than to act on behalf of the Spanish workers.

ships to Spain, and now the Milk Campaign. All this to side-track the British workers' attention from the real work to be done for Spain. It is now your task to see that Spain has all she requires to defeat Fascism. You, the workers, are stronger than all Governments. Spain has shown you the way!"

R.



THE ECONOMIC PROOF Continued From Page 4

commence with the abolition of government. In so far as the Spanish workers succeeded in that aim they created economic liberty for the workers; wherever government still prevailed it destroyed all the efforts of the workers.

The correctness of these assertions may be best seen in the statements of all unbiassed observers. Andre Juin, in "Le Peuple," of Paris, August 13th, 1937, after a tour through republican Spain, confesses that he sees for the first time the tremendous importance of the revolution accomplished by the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists.

"THE FACTORY BELONGS TO THE WORKERS."

Under this title Andre Juin takes us to the sugar-refinery at Monzon in Aragon. The directors and the technicians had fled after July

19th, and instead of waiting until the government should "nationalise" the plant by means of incompetent parasites and bureaucrats the workers adopted direct action and reorganised the factory upon a co-operative basis. It was accomplished, Juin shows, with the greatest success, demonstrating how, with autonomy and liberty, a methodically organised co-operation was achieved. He shows how absurd it is for Marxists to maintain that the workers are not mature enough for the "tremendous task of realising socialism," and that in fact it is very simple, and he further points out how, out of this real socialised, production arises a veritable regeneration of man as well as society.

The figures Juin offers are very impressive and he shows that no decrease in production has taken place since the workers assumed control.

This is what one of the workers in the co-operative says:

"Since we began we have increased production by one and a half million units. Of course, we must allow for depreciation and certain improvements. But this is easy, as we do not have to consider the interest of the dividend consuming stock-holder. One of our greatest improvements is that we have no more unemployed. The landworkers connected with our factory have made great strides in reclaiming the ground, as we know that we owe to them, largely the fact that we could produce our one hundred and ten thousand bags of sugar, they being the real creators of wealth, and as the agricultural worker ordinarily earns in his two

months of work much less than the technical worker, we have made up their wages, thus equalising incomes. It is true that we have more people carrying out the management of the works, but that hardly matters when altogether the running cost is less than what the share-holders took before. All round the work is carried on upon a much improved basis of mutual understanding and production has been greatly increased."

Similar undertakings have been carried out by the workers and peasants all over Catalonia, Murcia, and Valencia. Nearly ten million people have been living under a system of anarchist collectivism, almost of anarchist-communism.

Andre Juin describes them thus: "They are rich in initiative, give great stimulation, and great liberty to the individual. The danger of bureaucracy is reduced almost to nothing, individual responsibility is enhanced, and the workers are manifestly imbued with a strong sense of responsibility for their economic duties."

It is just for these reasons that Stalinism has combined in Spain with Fascism and with the bourgeois elements of all political parties; they all desire the same end: to smash the achievements of the anarchists in Spain. They all fear the wonderful example which the anarchists have shown for the first time in the history of the world of the organisation of production on the basis of common ownership, with the exclusion of all authority, be it that of the individual Capitalist or that of the monster of monopoly—the State.

PIERRE RAMUS.



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SPANISH WORKERS' CAUSE

Our Readers Opinions

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M. SARTIN,
(Editor *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*
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We thank you very much for your excellent newspaper "Spain and the World," from which we have obtained much useful information."

A. PRUDHOMMEAUX,
(Editor *"L'Espagne Nouvelle"*)
Nimes-France.

"The comrades like the paper very much. I wish we could do more to help. Our numbers are few and sympathisers rare. The Canadians are only just beginning to stir out of their lethargy ... The good wishes of all the Toronto comrades are with you in your undertaking."

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J. S. RICHFIELD,
Bristol.

WITH the present issue of "Spain and the World" we conclude the first year of our activity on behalf of the Spanish workers. It is as well at this juncture to review the year's activity, but especially is it necessary to discuss the future of our publication.

Our aim in beginning this publication was to counteract the slanderous attacks emanating from the National and Communist Press against the CNT-FAI, as well as to defend the workers' cause against Fascism and oppression everywhere in the world. Of the latter we have not done as much as we should have desired. This is because of lack of space and the ever increasing number of lies to expose. However we have received articles from correspondents in America, France, Japan and Portugal. If our publication continues to appear regularly during the coming year, we hope to extend our International news service.

But our principal aim has had some success. Furthermore, articles from "Spain and the World" have been reproduced by some twenty Left newspapers and reviews, published in France, Spain, U.S.A., England and India, whilst in a book recently published by Secker and Warburg, "Shadow over Spain," we find that one chapter, dealing exclusively with the Anarchists has long quotations from "Spain and the World" and our earlier pamphlet "The Struggle for Liberty in Spain."

FUTURE POLICY.

If the letters we have received from comrades and friends can be considered as being representative of the general attitude toward our publication (and this is another reason why as many comrades as possible should give us their opinions and criticisms during the course of the year) then we feel that our propaganda has been of a useful and constructive nature. Self criticism which has appeared in certain articles has received their approval, because they agree with us that progress ceases once criticism of our own comrades ceases; we realise only too well that they are not infallible.

Our policy for the coming year will be unaltered. We shall however endeavour to have more articles on countries other than Spain, thus justifying our initial aim when we gave the title "Spain and the World" to our publication.

Some comrades who have written to us would welcome more "factual news as to what is going on in Spain." We must point out to these comrades that a fortnightly publication has certain limitations with regard to "news." We cannot publish news which loses its value a day after it appears in print. We must co-ordinate facts appearing in the Spanish Press, Bulletins and from correspondents in Spain, and make them into articles. Nevertheless we have published numerous interviews with comrades in Spain which bring to light facts which do not appear in the daily press. (Our interview with Camillo Berneri ("Spain and the World," No. 6) was reprinted IN SPAIN in French, Italian and Spanish!)

Further, we were able to receive, with much difficulty, details of the attacks on villages carried out by the Communists (Nos. 20 and 21), whilst no less than thirteen articles have appeared dealing with the structure and management of collectivised villages and industries. However, we do agree with those comrades that there might have been more actual factual news. This can be attributed to two causes: the limited time at the disposal of our correspondents, and the difficulty experienced in getting articles through the Spanish Government postal censors. These are two obstacles which we have been unable to overcome.

comrades who manage the colony consist primarily of a young Polish Jewish woman and a Frenchman supported by a staff of French and Spanish comrades. We came unannounced and unheralded. No preparation could have been made in advance. This gave me the chance to see the colony in its natural condition and daily routine.

The dining room not being large enough to seat 200 children, the smaller kiddies were fed first, then those between seven and ten, and lastly the older ones. I was impressed and moved to see the pride of these kiddies when they showed their clean hands as they filed passed the manageress of the colony. The dining room is sunny and airy with flowers on all tables, cheer emanating from every corner. Cheer more necessary for the victims of Fascism than for children of normal conditions. The menu cards, illustrated with little flowers give the menu of every day during the week.

The food is ample and wholesome. The dormitories too, surprised me by their space, air and sunshine. The beds spotlessly

clean—in fact every part of the house spoke of the efficiency and devotion of the comrades in charge of the children.

No less important were the playgrounds where the children romp in their leisure hours and after school. Our comrades had hoped to establish classes both indoor and outdoor in the colony; but it has now become obligatory to attend the Government school. Fortunately the latter has not yet succeeded in changing the splendid educational plans introduced at the large plenum of teachers which I attended in Barcelona in 1936. Nevertheless the colony has three teachers, one of whom is a comrade passionately devoted to the new approach and methods of modern education. The most gratifying impression was that the children are free and easy going, and that there was no cringing before their elders. Perfect good fellowship and comradeship prevailed between our comrades at the head of the colony, the teachers and the children. There was no exhibitionism and showing off. No one imposed upon them the necessity to make

(continued next column)

FINANCES AND CIRCULATION.

We are obliged to once more refer to the finances of "Spain and the World" much against our will. We estimate that we shall end the year with a deficit of not less than £125. If we remember that the first fourteen issues incurred a deficit of £120, it follows that the last twelve issues have only increased the deficit by £5. This is no mean achievement on the part of our comrades, many of whom are already doing their share in supporting other publications and initiatives. But unfortunately it is not enough if we are to continue our publication and increase its circle of influence.

Next year we will require more than £200 for the Solidarity Fund if we are to reduce the Deficit and meet the extra expenses which we will incur. These will include the renting of offices in London. We feel justified in this expense, in that we hope to make more contacts than is possible at our present address which is 100 miles from London. Furthermore there is the advantage of having our offices in the same building as those of the London Bureau of the CNT, which is also at the moment preparing a small exhibition of material brought back from Spain by our Comrade Emma Goldman. This too should bring us new readers.

But this alone will not be sufficient. We need new comrades who will volunteer to sell "Spain and the World" at meetings and in the streets. At the moment we have too few comrades doing this important work for the paper. We must effectively overcome the general apathy which seems to have overtaken the British public. And through our newspaper we must remind them that the struggle is still going on. Some comrades, for instance, take a dozen copies of each issue and send them to friends interested in Spain, or distribute them among their friends. Another reader has sent us two subscriptions for us to send "Spain and the World" regularly to two friends of his. Other comrades send us addresses which might serve as new contacts.

There are so many ways of doing active propaganda to suit each comrade's situation, and if all our comrades will give a little of their time to this work our newspaper will reach a new public interested in our ideals.

ORPHANS FUND.

This was started late in March and in nine months we have received more than £470. Of this total only £100 has been collected in England. It was to be expected that we should have received less than from the American comrades, though on the other hand we were hoping to receive from our English comrades more small expressions of solidarity.

Thanks in the main to the activity of a group of friends at Whiteway we have been able to send six large sacks containing about 300lbs. of winter and summer clothing. We also thank those other friends who have sent clothing, and trust that others will do likewise. They will greatly assist if they include a list of contents with each parcel.

As to the conditions existing at the Colony, no comment can carry more weight than the letter from Comrade Emma Goldman which appears elsewhere on this page.

CONCLUSION

We conclude this review of one year's activity with an appeal to all comrades and friends who feel strongly the cause of Free Spain, to co-operate with us in the smooth running and efficient propaganda of our publication "Spain and the World." There can be no limits to our work. It is for us to give all our energies to the greatest of causes, NOW, before it will be too late! THE EDITORS.

"I sincerely wish I could do more. We all like the paper immensely."
C. LEWIS.

Bristol, 6.

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New York, N.Y.

"I enclose a subscription to "Spain and the World" ... I find your cause very sympathetic and should be glad to be of use to you in any way I can ..."

CYRIL CONNOLLY,
London, S.W.3.

"Your paper bears the stamp of Truth and can be verified by anyone who troubles to seek the truth ..."

CLARA COLE,
Essex.

(continued from previous column)

believe. All in all, the colony, made me wish that all the innocent victims of Franco might have similar care, attention and nourishment.

The readers of "Spain and the World" may justly ask whether all refugee children are so well supplied and so splendidly taken care of as those in the Durruti-Ascaso colony. That is unfortunately so far not the case. It must however be borne in mind that Catalonia alone has two million refugees, men, women and children, in addition to its own population, then there is the need of sending food supplies to Madrid, as well as to feed the thousands of militias at the Aragon front, yet as far as it is within their power, our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., are doing their utmost to give to all children the necessities and care of life.

The only complaint the comrades who manage the Durruti-Ascaso colony had to make was their desperate need of some vehicle that will enable them to collect food-stuff sent them to the border by the L'Espagne Libre Group in Paris. Owing to the scarcity of trucks and autos, the provisions sometimes lie about for days, subject to decay, such as vegetables and fruit, etc. Also some vehicle to take stricken children to the nearest hospital which is quite some distance from the colony. The comrades begged me to stress this need and to appeal to the readers of "Spain and the World" who have responded with such solidarity to the appeals for the orphan fund.

I can only add my appeal to the urgent request of our comrades of the colony for a special fund to provide a combination ambulance.

I can assure you that the Durruti-Ascaso colony is one bright spot in the truly gigantic and heroic struggle the Spanish comrades are making. It is up to us to show our co-operation, solidarity and help.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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 217. Stroud: L. S. Wolfe 10/-.
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TOTAL: £474/10/1

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A Visit To The Durruti-Ascaso Orphans Colony

WHEN I returned to Spain last September I promised myself to visit the colony for orphan and other children which had been organised by the L'Espagne Libre and supported by our comrades all over the world. Not the least among them the strenuous efforts made to raise funds by "Spain and the World." I had reckoned without the new situation which I was to find in Spain on my arrival. Travelling by rail was difficult enough last year; but it proved quite impossible on this visit. On the other hand the Regional Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Barcelona could only dispose of eleven autos, an insignificant number when one considers the hundreds of syndicates it represents. True, most cars have been commandeered for the front; but also it is true that some of the Anti-Fascist allies of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have more cars at

their disposal in proportion to their syndicate affiliations, than the Regional Committee. But then, the Anti-Fascist allies are in the Government, and all Governments are known to be generous to those that serve them best. I therefore might not have succeeded in carrying out my desire to visit the colony had not a lucky star aided me. An English woman who is very active in London on behalf of the refugees and her Spanish husband, came to see me in Barcelona, and they volunteered to take me to Gerona on their way to Figueras their home town.

I arrived about 4 p.m. The colony is situated in a magnificent park and in a spacious house which has ample accommodation for 200 children. Of them twenty are the orphans cared for by "Spain and the World." These, as well as all the others, came from Madrid. The