

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Without unlimited freedom of the press and of association; without the free discussion of opinions, life ceases or becomes a fictitious life in which bureaucracy alone is the active element.  
—ROSA LUXEMBOURG.

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## A General Strike for One Day is Worth Far More than Two Years of Speeches

THE opposition from the outside world to the policy of Non-Intervention grows day by day. In England the voices from the street have reached Parliament where already some sessions have been punctuated by very heated arguments on the subject. Discounting several politicians of a shady character, there is no doubt that the wave of protests gathers strength the world over and that the popular masses, workers' organizations, anti-fascist groups and intellectuals, indicate their disapproval of the London Committee by demanding its suppression and the granting to us of our rights under International law.

But in spite of all this everything continues as before and the fatidic policy of non-Intervention sails merrily on under the direction of the all powerful British Government, whose approaches to Rome, whose diplomatic juggling and whose attitude to our drama and to the constant attacks upon British ships, are only too well known.

And it will continue so long as the opposition and protests against the international policy of the great powers do not go beyond the limits of speeches and declarations. It will follow its course while the proletarian organizations limit themselves to their present attitude of staging simple demonstrations of solidarity with the Spanish people without going right into the struggle with all the means in their power, regardless of consequences.

Two years of speeches, of votes of solidarity, of meetings and conferences against our class enemies, have not brought non-Intervention to an end, and that our legal rights be recognized, or that Hitler and Mussolini be prevented from putting their plans into practice. Against the policy which is being practised in favour of international Fascism, all protests have been of no avail.

But let us imagine that at last the proletariat decides to intervene, bringing into play all the resources at its command. That having realised the futility of waiting for political solutions to the problem it should take action through the Trade Unions. That instead of waiting for a General Election here or for a change of Government somewhere else, etc., it would come to the conclusion that not another day must be lost if it really wants to save the world from the catastrophe that a triumph of Fascism would bring, and decide to act and demand from the different Governments an immediate reversal of their policies. If that were so, if all the great workers' organizations agreed to a general demonstration, making it known that their first step would be one day of General Strike, we would see the effect that such a decision would have on those responsible for the policy favourable to Fascism. We would see that a General Strike for one day, as an announcement of more drastic measures if the desired results are not forthcoming, would be of far greater value than two years of speeches, thousands of manifestoes and meetings and hundreds of questions in Parliament. We would see that, faced by the action of the workers in completely bringing

about a collapse in production during 24 hours, the exponents of the "Non-Intervention" policy would be sooner convinced than by the most destructive of political speeches.

Will the workers of Europe and America revive those glorious days of their great social struggles? Will they be able to overcome the obstacles placed before them by their own leaders, whose policy rejects anything that savours of direct action by the proletariat? Will they be capable of realising—after two years of war in Spain—any effective action for the cause of the Spanish people and for all the oppressed the world over?

The answer must be given by the international proletariat and their organisations. If they can rise to the occasion to the extent which present circumstances demand, there will be a struggle. If on the other hand they continue to uphold the tactics of political reformism, and will not understand that only their strength can impose a check on our enemies, things will remain as they are to-day. The working class should know this

### 14,000 Basques Executed

DETAILS of "the ferocious persecution which the Basque people are undergoing from the Spanish rebels" are given in an authentic report received at the headquarters of the T.U.C.

"More than 30,000 Basque citizens," it is stated, "have been imprisoned; 30,000 are in concentration camps or in labour corps; 50,000 have been deprived of their civil rights, and persecuted in other ways; while 120,000 have been driven out of the country."

"In the region of Navarre, seized by the rebels before the organisation of any defence by the Basque Government, 10,000 civilians were put to death, the majority without any form of trial, despite the fact that there had been no resistance in this region to the rebel advance."

from its own experience everywhere.

ONE DAY OF GENERAL STRIKE IS MORE VALUABLE THAN TWO YEARS OF HARMLESS PROTESTS. WILL THEY ACT? WE WAIT AND HOPE.  
(Tierra y Libertad)

### Fascist Spain Does Not Tolerate

## Freedom in Education and Religion

Since the press in totalitarian states is the mouthpiece of the rulers, the following excerpts taken from various papers in Fascist Spain, will give a good idea of the mental calibre, idealism and aims of Franco and his followers.

### Freedom in Education and Religion.

"The first thing that the new Spain will be, essentially—and this should be borne in mind—is anti-liberal ... And we say this against certain people from many different camps, including the Catholic camp, who are going around talking about freedom in teaching, which is contrary to our aims and ideas—which are the aims and ideas of the National-Syndicalists of France ...

...Freedom in teaching should be advocated by Catholics in liberal or heretic countries where Catholicism is persecuted or merely tolerated...

We have said, furthermore, that such thesis of freedom in teaching is bastard, "foreignizing." This is clearly shown by the fact that there is no article, speech or phrase in favour of such freedom, that is not accompanied by propagandistic examples showing the effectiveness of

these teachings in England, France, Belgium or the United States precisely the very countries wherein lie the roots of the evils against which we are fighting. They are libertarian, heretic, Masonic countries dominated by Jews. And this, of course, is the result of that freedom in teaching that some Catholics—Spaniards without character—wish to establish as the ideal of education for the Spain of France...

"We should prefer to show as an example Catholic, totalitarian Italy, our friend and ally.

"Alongside this religious environment, which must permeate education in the school should be the obligatory attendance of all the children and teachers of the national schools, on appointed days to the parochial mass; given at a convenient hour, in accordance with the ecclesiastical authorities."

—Circular of the Office of the Chief of National Service of Primary Teaching.

### They Admit it Themselves.

"Present circumstances do not lend themselves to great and brilliant summer festivals. Spanish cultural life is half-paralyzed and only the lectures in Valladolid and Saragossa embodied some appreciable efforts. The summer University in Santander is not likely to open next season; the same holds true for the courses that we have been giving in our Institute."

—L. Gafia de Obeso. "Diario de Burgos" 4/9/37.

### Co-Education.

"Co-education is absolutely eliminated. Whenever possible there will be a Normal School in every capital for women teachers and another one for men teachers. When this is not possible then the classes for men and women shall be at different hours."

—Marin Ocete. "Boinas Rojas" Malaga, 6/5/37.

### Apparently Not Human.

"All subjects should be taught in these schools ... Primarily Religion, Reading, Writing, etc.; first notions in everything, which without being too deep should give these women workers the sensation that they are human beings."

—"Destino" 6/4/38.

### Free Association.

"... Are you waiting for us to make you join the S.E.M. (Teachers Union) by force? Remember, there is a big difference between joining voluntarily and being dragged in by force."

—"Arriba Espana," Pamplona, Oct. 25, 1937.

### A Brain Storm.

"Even the trees in the forest are not equal; some are good for wood out of which images of saints are made; others are good only for charcoal."

—"El Norte de Castilla" Dec. 19, 1936.

## FRANCO'S AIRMEN DESTROY A TOWN

VALENCIA.—In an interview with journalists, the Mayor of Nules who is at present in Valencia, informed them that as a result of the bombardment of the urban district of Nules, 1,800 out of a total of 2,200 houses were now a

mass of ruins. The remainder were damaged to such an extent that they were unfit for habitation.

These bombardments of an open town, took place when the front line trenches were still many miles

from Nules. It is obvious that Franco and his allies hope to win the war by the demoralization of the civil population. Far from succeeding, he has only made the people even more resolved to fight to the last man.

It is interesting to note that the Fascist radio station announced that the "Reds" had destroyed Nules just before they abandoned the town! This is not surprising as we heard the same tale with regard to Durango and Guernica.

## The Bombardment of Blanes

The Spanish government recently sent out a protest to London on the bombardment of Blanes, a small fisherman's village near Barcelona.

In general this particular bombardment does not differ from the hundreds of other bombardments carried out by German and Italian aviators at the service of Franco in which 85% of the victims are women and children. There is "something different in Blanes, however, which merits special mention and hereby hangs a story: Following the Franco revolt this village of Blanes was completely re-organised, and the Municipality, including its mayor, were composed of men of the CNT.

This Municipality established the School of Work and Art, without asking for financial assistance from the government of La Generalitat. The curriculum included Music, Modelling, Physical Culture, Natural History, Shorthand and Typing, Dressmaking, Cutting, etc. The school contained also a fine library and an auditorium.

A fine school judging from the Spanish standards, there is something about it that may be

considered unique, and it is this feature we are stressing.

Now although the "School of Work and Art" was created and sustained by an Anarchist community, the music teacher in that school was Juan Balle, a priest. For over 40 years he had lived in the village where he was known as a man of rare virtues and honesty. When the Franco rebellion broke out, the Anarchists protected him against possible attacks by fanatical anti-clericals and when the school was organised the Municipality invited the priest to join the staff as a teacher of music which he did.

Just a few days prior to the bombardment, Elias Puig, a leading Anarchist educator, organiser of the New Unified Schools of Catalonia, and now Sub-Secretary of Education in the Cabinet of Dr. Negrin, paid an official visit to the school. Then he made a personal call at the home of the priest teacher, where they had an amicable discussion.

This story carries with it a simple moral—a moral of co-operation on the part of all sincere persons regardless of creed or religion towards the crushing out of Fascism and for the opening of a new era of progressive education.

OUR DEFICIT £176.  
ARE YOU HELPING  
TO REDUCE IT, COMRADE?



## REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY

## The Collective of Prat De Llobregat

THE land in Prat del Llobregat, (land which is well irrigated and where cereals, greens and vegetables are intensively cultivated) was exploited by tenants (90%) and small land-holders (10%). Both made a good living but the land-workers, the day labourers, led a miserable existence.

Little work, generally about two or three days a week, and a miserable wage. The petit bourgeoisie with particular cunning was able to increase its profits at the expense of wide spread misery.

For instance, by employing workers from other regions in order to pay a much lower wage was one method. Particularly those in the Levant came in this category, for it so happens that the harvest in Valencia ends shortly before the harvest in Catalonia begins. As these workers have already received their wages, they were more disposed to accept an insignificant daily wage from the Catalan land-owners. This competition ruined the Catalan workers.

Furthermore, stoppages of work were most common in this region. There were comrades who had been out of work for a year and some even longer.

The liberating revolution of the peasantry has put an end to this state of affairs.

Though production maintained its old structure until October 1936 the revolution brought about a fundamental change: workers control which took the form of a Bourse de Travail CNT—U.G.T. This did away with stoppages and irksome inequalities by the adoption of energetic measures.

## THE FIRST COLLECTIVE

The old regime came to an end during the early part of October. Both organizations (C.N.T. and U.G.T.) called a general assembly of the workers, tenants and small proprietors. The chief topic for discussion was the collectivization of the land. The result of the

meeting was the formation of the "Agricultural Syndicate of Prat de Llobregat" with a thousand members. An administrative council which attended to the control and administration of the collective was composed of three members each from the C.N.T. and U.G.T. two from the tenants and a comrade from the C.N.T. was nominated as president.

The first step was to take over the headquarters of the Agricultural Syndicate, which had been established for many years, and instal in it the offices of the administrative council. The land was divided into seventy-two zones, each one of which had a technician and an adviser, and at the same time, a Collective Fund (Caja de la Colectividad) was started. The latter, in spite of the enthusiasm of the peasants, had empty coffers, and in face of the initial difficulties, the "rabassaires" of the Administrative Council who, unable to overcome them, resigned, which was all to the good, owing to their bourgeois and anti-revolutionary mentality.

There remained the comrades of the U.G.T. and C.N.T. who have always worked well together, and in order to get started they took steps to borrow money from individuals. In this manner they were able to put together 70,000 pesetas.

From that moment the Collective was able to carry on successfully, and is one of the most prosperous in Catalonia. After five months activity its fund has risen to 1½ million pesetas. The daily wage was first established at 10 pesetas, and was progressively increased in proportion to the increase in the cost of living. Today they receive 25 pesetas. In the event of illness the collectivist receives his wage just the same.

## RESULTS OF THE COLLECTIVITY

As we have already said, the Revolution began with the funda-

mental change in the worker's position. Furthermore one should mention the increase in the total production, brought about mainly by the collective cultivation of the soil. Much land, laid waste due to the egoism of the owners, was intensely cultivated.

The higher level of technical knowledge was given special attention by the comrades of the Administrative Council and certainly contributed a great deal to the success of the collective.

As a result much essential machinery was bought besides a reaping machine which was used for the first time in Prat de Llobregat. Many tons of fertilizer were also bought and for many peasants this was a welcomed novelty.

## HARVEST IN PRAT

There are two big harvests in the course of a year: in summer and in winter.

Between June and August the kidney-beans (principal produce) are gathered besides cereals



(wheat, barley and oats), fruit (especially melons) potatoes, peppers, tomatoes and onions.

Between November and May are gathered all kinds of salads, greens (artichokes, cabbages and broccoli), maize and the second crop of potatoes.

## THE END OF THE FIRST COLLECTIVE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SECOND

Since May 1937, the *rabassaires*, bourgeois by nature, decided to pronounce themselves against the Collective (Catalan Government) to give them "their" land and implements so as to once more carry on individual exploitation of the land. Simultaneously, the Agricultural Council (Consejeria de Agricultura) had thirty of the most active comrades of the C.N.T. arrested and in August 1937 passed a general decree ordering the re-establishment of the Councils of the Agricultural Syndicates. As the Collective Agricultural Syndicate (Junta) existed only by name, the workers set about constituting one, electing the representatives in the Council (Junta). The Consejeria immediately set about dissolving it, and this action was followed by the intervention of the Caja of the Collective or Agricultural Syndicate which then taking into account the demands of the *rabassaires*, held an election which was won by the latter.

In face of these facts, the Collective granted that land and implements sufficient for individual exploitation should be given back. As this solution was accepted, both Syndicates agreed with the *rabassaires* that 25% of the land should be worked by the Collective and the remaining 75% by the bourgeoisie. Thus the first collective was replaced by a much smaller one "Colectividad del Campo C.N.T.—U.G.T." which was brought about in January of this year.

The directive Council consists of 2 members each from the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. and the same comrade as in the first collective was nominated president.

The Collective, which has been legalized, consists of 400 peasants in addition to 250 women, widows and refugees.

## PROSPECTS

Prospects are good and optimism strengthens our "collectivist" comrades. Brought about under the same difficult conditions as in the first collective, the new one has had equally rapid success. The collective Fund has a large reserve and it is hoped that still more progress will be made in the future.

The chief drawback is the fact that it is impossible to buy machinery owing to a general shortage on the market. Nevertheless every possible means is used to increase the total production.

The peasants, in face of the requirements of the moment, realize their obligations, and are producing both for Barcelona and for the fighters at the front.

Needless to say, the collective regime provides the greatest facilities to satisfy the two fundamental objectives: to raise the economic level of the worker and contribute in no small measure to the armed struggle that is being waged by the Spanish people.



ON June 19th, 1936, a debate took place in the House of Commons. The subject was Palestine, and Mr. Lloyd George explained the origin of the Mandate in the following words. He was referring to the Balfour Declaration:

"We came to the conclusion, from information received . . . that it was vital we should have the sympathies of the Jewish community. . . . They were helpful in America and in Russia, which at that moment was just walking out and leaving us alone."

In plain words, a pact was formed during the War between British imperialism and Jewish nationalism, of which the Arabs were to be the victims. Mr. Lloyd George denied this in his speech by vague references to the fact that our troops were at that time "fighting for Arab emancipation against the Turk." How much sincerity is to be found in this statement may be judged best from the observation of Colonel Lawrence in his Seven Pillars of Wisdom: "Of course we are fighting for an Allied victory. . . . The Arabs would have, in the last resort, to be sacrificed for them."

Sacrificed they were. Lawrence was probably sincere in his desire to see the Arabs freed from the Turk; but in 1919 those who alone knew why the War had been fought were to express their true aims in the Peace. In the debate to which we have already referred, Mr. Amery, a former Colonial Secretary and First Lord of the Admiralty, explained these aims in relation to Palestine:

"In defence Palestine occupies a strategic position of immense importance. It is the Clapham Junction of all the air routes between this country, Africa and Asia. It occupies an immensely important naval position in the new conditions in the Mediterranean." He then referred to the importance of Haifa in relation to oil supplies and the development of an alternative route to the Suez Canal. Others, including Commander Locker-Lampson, reinforced this argument. Their language must surely have shocked those who still believe that mandates are "sacred trusts of civilisation."

Soon after the War Jewish immigration into Palestine began. It was heavily backed by powerful capitalist interests, which obtained valuable concessions in the Dead Sea. Arab landlords sold land to the new-comers, but the Arabs as a whole had nothing to gain and everything to lose. A few peasants found a temporary market for their produce, while labourers found work in some of the Jewish enter-

## Palestine and Socialist Policy

prises. But in the nature of things they could not last. "Buy Jewish goods" and "Employ Jewish Labour" became inevitably the slogans of Zionism. The Jewish workers and "socialists" of whom we hear so much, actually took the lead in this type of propaganda!

But whatever temporary prosperity may have come to any section of the Arab community, the net result of Zionism was plain. The country which had been their home for generations was to be handed over to a foreign race on the flimsy pretext that it had belonged to the Jews 2,000 years ago! (It would, indeed, be amazing to imagine what would happen to the world if this principle were universally applied. Modern America would be wiped out and England handed over to the Welsh.) For the Zionists there has never been any question of settling among the Arabs and living as equals. They have the intolerable arrogance of people who regard their own race as "superior" and the Arabs hate them for the same reason that the Negro hates the White Man.

Not all Hitler's speeches have done more to create an anti-Jewish movement than this attitude of the Zionists. In Palestine the Jews are not a persecuted minority, but the mainstay of British imperial policy. They know that their position is only tenable while the foreign ruler remains with his army of occupation. The Arab demands national independence and a democratic constitution, but this demand is consistently opposed by the Jewish organisations. They are the friends of dictatorship and foreign rule.

To crush the various attempts of the Arabs to revolt, savage measures of repression have been, and are being, used. Under emergency legislation, officially promulgated by the Government, it has been made possible to hang a man for the mere possession of fire-arms, after trial by a military court. It is hardly necessary to point out that such a charge is very easily concocted on perjured evidence. Of its application it may be observed that this measure has been rigorously applied to Arabs whilst Jewish offences have been overlooked or leniently dealt with. (Details are given with dates, etc., in Punitive Measures in Palestine, published by the Arab Centre, 72, Victoria Street, S.W.1). Damage to property is punishable by life

imprisonment. The Government holds power to commandeer any premises or articles it requires, and to demolish without compensation any houses where crimes are supposed to have been committed or abetted, "the actual offender being unknown." In Jaffa alone, 600 Arab homes have been blown up under the regulation. "Collective fines" are imposed on villages "the inhabitants of which THERE IS REASON TO BELIEVE have committed or connived at crimes or acts of lawlessness or violence." Concentration camps, general searches without warrant, and censorship of posts, telegrams and publications complete the picture.

How this régime—in no respect better than Hitler's—works out in practice, may be gathered from our newspapers to some small extent. Here we can find stories of Arabs shot at sight and on suspicion by gallant Englishmen. But the worst facts are not published, though the authority for them is at least as good as that offered for most fascist atrocity stories. A petition from the villagers of Al Tirah tells of what took place there on June 4th, 1936:

"The soldiers entered the houses, collected what they could of food, clothes and furniture and set it on fire. . . . The owners, who watched helplessly, were beaten and struck down with the butts of rifles." In the end no arms were found, in spite of threats, and the soldiers left having destroyed everything but the money of the villagers, which they took with them. In another village (Al Tabah) 150 men were rounded up and forced to march round all day. Those who became tired were beaten and two who attempted to escape were shot down. One was bludgeoned with a rifle butt as he lay wounded, and both died in hospital. Many similar cases are known of brutality and murder.

Those who know anything about British imperialism will not be surprised at such facts. Imperialism is like fascism—a system of slavery, savage and ruthless when it is at bay. But while such measures have been used against the Arabs, in only one case has a Jew been executed up to the present time. With a few exceptions they are either on the side of the Government or "plus royale que le roi." The chief Jewish criticisms of the Government

are to the effect that it has not gone FAR ENOUGH in its repressive measures!

Our sympathy with the Jews in Germany and many other countries must not blind us, therefore, for one moment, to the reactionary character of Zionism. What is appalling from every point of view is that the leaders of the working-class in Britain are whole-heartedly supporting the "mandate" with all that it implies. With characteristic hypocrisy, the Labour Party carried UNANIMOUSLY at its Conference in 1936 a resolution supporting the Palestine Mandate "in the interests of the peace of the world." Their argument was that since "the situation of Palestine makes it a point of extreme strategic importance and, as such, an object for rival imperialist ambitions" it should remain under British control! But the existence of the Thieves' Kitchen at Geneva enabled these "internationalists" to cloak the proposal in a suitable phraseology to disguise the crude imperialism of their own policy.

No-one, however, has waved the Union Jack with more enthusiasm than Mr. McGovern, who in defiance of the declared policy of his party (the I.L.P.) has continually insulted the Arabs and demanded even harsher methods of repression against them. When McGovern visited Palestine, the speech which he proposed to broadcast was so arrogant that even the Government, which is too wise to advertise its mailed fist unnecessarily, refused to let him speak. In this undelivered speech (published later in the New Leader, with an editorial disclaimer) McGovern produced his Zionist version of the White Man's Burden. The Jew was "to bring civilisation to the poor Arab" and if the Arab didn't like it "the law" (i.e. British imperialism) was to operate "in a just but stern manner." Whether the people of the country liked it or not, said Mr. McGovern, "I say, send into Palestine unlimited numbers of Jews." These Jews were to show the Arab "a higher and nobler life." Most of this speech might be described as pure Melchett, but the final flourish, with its dictatorial "I say" was worthy of Mussolini in his proclamations against "disaffected" Abyssinians.

More recently, McGovern has treated us to another fascist outburst, this time in Parliament. In Hansard of June 14th, 1938, there is a report of a debate on the colonies, when McGovern, having first

sneered at the Arabs for being poor and praised the Jews for being well-to-do, tells us that among the Jews young men and women go about in "shorts," to which fact he adds: "and the minds of the Arab women are being stirred." Now it is not clear as to what particular blessing of civilisation our Roman Catholic authority had in mind, but later on he says that "we ought to be sending the torch of progress into the East to inflame the minds of the Arab population in order to rouse them from their filth." Whatever may be the advantage of Jews and Jewesses in shorts, I can hardly believe that an Arab who reads those words will feel inflamed with anything but a desire to give Mr. McGovern a kick in the pants.

McGovern's speech ends with a plain declaration that he supports the Mandate and that he wishes the Colonial Secretary well—strange words for the representative of a party pledged against imperialism! And he hopes that when the present Government goes out of office he will be able to say to the Colonial Secretary: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." He does not explain how the Colonial Secretary can be the servant of anything but capitalism, or why he should wish to praise him for having served it. That, no doubt, would be too embarrassing, as it would involve explaining why Mr. McGovern is himself such a devoted servant of the system which his innocent constituents imagine he is destroying with floods of Parliamentary rhetoric. . . .

The problem of Palestine must be faced with courageous realism. The News Chronicle (July 8th, 1938) in its report on the Evian Conference on Refugees, reports that Colonel White, Australian Minister of Trade and Customs, who presided over one of the Committees, "stated that British stock had created the Commonwealth and people from the Home Country should preponderate while British settlers were forthcoming." No socialist or anarchist would, I hope, endorse that view, but there is no proposal that I know of to force Australia to re-consider its attitude by landing an army of occupation and compelling the people of Australia by force to accept an immigration policy to which they are opposed.

The people of Palestine have the same right to determine their own affairs, including matters of immigration, and to decide on policies that we—yes, even Mr. McGovern—think bad policies. It may not be too late, even now, to bring the Arab and Jewish people together on the basis of an abandonment of Zionism by (Concluded on page 4)



# Libertarian Youth On The Day Of The Book: Homage To Culture

JUNE 14th—Day of the Book for the Libertarian Youth. A day of fight for Culture and Progress, as is every day for the Libertarian Youth. Never before has any organisation held in such high esteem the spirit of and the love for Knowledge and Science as is done by the Libertarian Youth organisation who put these even before the most urgent material needs. It is because of their insistence on the importance of Education and Culture that Anarchists have often been designated as dreamers and utopians. Some sociologists went so far as to stigmatise our great predilection for good books as "petty-bourgeois aberration." June 14th 1938 has a special significance. In the midst of a war, while some people are bent on distorting the mental outlook of humanity by arousing militaristic complexes, the Libertarian Youth — while fighting from the very first moment of the war against Fascism in the front ranks, are ever endeavouring to do homage to and to preserve all that is of the highest spiritual value in humanity. These high qualities must be kept alive if we desire the spirit of the Revolution to continue.

The Spanish people, which is making so valiant a stand against Fascism, is anxious to create a background founded on knowledge. It will not have any more political speeches and manifestos, but it is determined that its revolutionary spirit shall take the form of creativeness. For this reason the great Hall at the CNT-FAI headquarters in Barcelona was crowded, on June 14th, hours before the time fixed for the commencement of the celebrations and many thousands unable to get in had to remain outside. All had come to listen to the word of wisdom from authors and scientists.

The opening speech was made by RUFFINELLI. Speaking as representative of the local Federation of the Libertarian Youth of Barcelona, he said: "Every workingman, every agricultural labourer, every intellectual in Spain has a clear idea of what he is fighting for: it is against reaction, fear and ignorance. Proof of this is the hunger for education, the high regard for a good book which is manifest in all circles of the community. Revolution is the moral transformation that has taken place in the customs, and in the culture of a people. When the Revolutionary spirit is kept alive, then the economic reconstruction, too, is facilitated. The spirit is rebellious—hence the attempt of the dictators to stifle it. But this is in vain — especially in a country like Spain where the thirst for education, the eagerness for Freedom and Beauty is possessed by the entire people."

The next speaker was the well-known dramatist, LOPEZ ALARCON, survivor of the classic period in Spanish literature. "The book," he said, "guides us in social life. Nothing can be created from inspi-

ration. He who assures you that he could establish a political principle, solve an economic problem, nay even scientific eloquence, without having to resort to books, is deceiving you. All revolutions, all popular movements have been recorded in poetry. The Classical Theatre in Spain of Lope de Vega, of Calderon, treats almost all spiritual and juridical problems which became a reality only towards the end of the 19th Century—and the solution for these problems are invariably the revolution by force, the street battle. Will our Revolution, too, find its poet to sing its many valiant and noble deeds?" With this question Lopez Alarcon concluded his address, and gave also a recitation on the heroic gestures of the Spanish people.

The next to follow was the internationally well-known romanticist ZAMACOIS. After some ironical remarks on those professional orators who contrive to make a speech lasting three hours yet saying nothing, he related of the wonderful things that are happening, in relation to cultural development, at the various Republican Fronts. Many an illiterate militiaman has learnt to read and write behind the trenches. And this occurs without the least pressure, entirely on their own initiative, actuated purely and solely by their thirst for knowledge, by their realisation of the need for education which the Revolution has released. The book — that represents the future. The book is emancipating woman and thereby putting an end to priests' influence over her.

RUIZ VILAPLANA who, like Remarque, had become famous by his book "Doy Fé" ("I testify") which was sold in thousands of copies, in which he tells of his experiences in the Fascist Zone, was the next speaker. He had only just returned from a propaganda tour abroad in order to do his military service. He was quite unexpectedly

called upon to speak and so spoke quite spontaneously, unprepared. He recalled that celebration at Burgos which found its climax in the slogan: "Down with the intellect!" against which UNAMUNO, who was present, protested. "You, Libertarian Youths," he said, think of the book on the 'Day of the Book.' The others never are actuated by the promptings of the heart in their thoughts, only on a strictly utilitarian basis. In his concluding remarks, Ruiz Vilaplana told the audience how, two months previously when he was setting out on his tour abroad, the Libertarian Youth by their firm attitude and enthusiasm had greatly helped to raise the spirits of the population who had been rather depressed on account of the terrible and frequent air-raids, and had inspired them with fresh hope and courage. And in the face of the extremely dangerous position in those days, they were the first to fill the ranks of the volunteer battalions which were then being formed, whereby they showed their sense of responsibility, and the celebration to-day was yet another proof of this.

Afterwards some of the writings of the wounded author ZOZAYA were recited. The doctor and sociologist MARTI IBANEZ spoke a few words and was followed by the well-known Geologist—ALBERTO CARSIS. As a scientist he recommended to the youths one particular book: the book of Nature in all its inexhaustible beauty and dignity. He particularly emphasised the importance of Science as a factor of the liberation of the spirit of man.

He was followed by GONZALO de REPARAZ. The witty Historian and Geographer remarked that he is availing himself of the occasion offered by this "Day of the Book" in order to ridicule the idea of certain "superior" races who can remain entirely unmoved by the spectacle of a million-and-a-half Span-

ish people — with many thousands of women and children among them who are being slaughtered, while they are waxing indignant because Cardenas wants to take back the Mexican oilfields for Mexico, or when Germany refuses to pay its Austrian debts! He then touched on the historic significance of the book, and especially during the reign of the Arabs in Spain. For it was they who invented printing paper in the 9th Century. The art of book-binding, too, is in a great measure due to their culture.

The next speaker was the Editor of the Youth newspaper "RUTA." "In the midst of the tragic fight," he said, "we have not forgotten the importance of culture. As defenders of a high ideal and having clearly before us the human problems, we realise that the higher the cultural level of the people the more libertarian and humanitarian the Revolution would develop, and for the victory of which we have staked our lives. They called us Utopians, destroyers, and they overlooked in silence the fact that the Anarchists were not engaged in the destruction of the Capitalist system but were working to produce practical solutions to the problems with which mankind was confronted. The mentality of a people does not change in twenty-four hours. It is easy to conquer the enemy with weapons but it is much more difficult to bring about a spiritual transformation, a change of thought, while the thinking capacity of the people had been artificially stunted by the reaction. While the intellectuals of Spain were writing books and novels which were scarcely good enough to befog the minds of the readers, we—the extremists—propagated everywhere the works of the great thinkers. We succeeded in making known the works of such writers as: Reclus, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Anatole France, Mella, Louise Michel, Anselmo Lorenzo,

Malatesta, Salviochea, Rudolf Rocker, Proudhon, Costa Pi Mergall, Seb. Faure, Max Stirner and of many others. Each one of our trade unions has a library of its own, and according to the teachings of Ferrer y Guardia we founded rationalist schools, in order to bring the candle of enlightenment to our people. For this reason we were so cruelly persecuted by the authorities, and innumerable times we were thrown into prisons to expiate the "crime" of working for culture and enlightenment. But behind the prison bars we were yet more free in spirit than our persecutors. The Day of the Book must remain forever. The book, this powerful weapon of the intellect, must be found everywhere: in the homes, the factories, in the cottage homes of the peasants, at the Fronts there are libraries and schools. How often do we receive letters addressed to "RUTA" in which the writers tell us: 'this is my first letter ever written—I have learnt to read and write in the trenches, for in my native place there were no schools, only taverns in order to turn us into drunken beasts...'

The last speaker was Comrade PUIG ELIAS, the Secretary for Education. He recalled with great affection the Anarchist comrades who had taught him in his youth, to love the idea of freedom. The celebration of the Book is a symbol, for it strikingly proves the falsity of the fatalistic assertion that man, in his hour of danger and distress, forgets all principles. We do not know whether we will still be alive to-morrow, but we have a Youth who look with confidence to the future, and who are determined to die with a clear conscience. There are bad books which mislead the generations following, but there are also good books. Perhaps the greatest idea of the 19th Century was the realisation that he who is incapable of thinking invariably is oppressed by the rest. The significance of reading for the development of a collective basis of knowledge: the book is the symbol of solidaric thought, of the urge to reveal oneself to one's fellow beings.

With a few words of homage to the Mexican people and its President, Puig Elias brought to a conclusion the great celebration—the Day of the Book.

## A Catholic Writer On Conditions In Majorca

Les Grands Cimetieres sous la Lune by Georges Bernanos (Editions Plon, Paris, 20fr.)

This book is the second really authoritative account of conditions in Franco's territory. The first was *Burgos Justice* which was written by a Commissioner of Justice in Burgos gave a detailed account of the daily executions carried out (with the connivance of the Church) in Burgos. This book has made its mark in spite of the libellous remarks made about its author by a titled gentleman in the House of Lords.

The second book which deals in part with Fascist activity in the

Balearics is M. Georges Bernanos' *Les Grands Cimetieres sous la Lune* It is of importance not because the author recounts something which no one imagined existed but simply because it required a Franco sympathiser to speak out if these facts were to create a stir in respectable circles (especially so in Catholic circles).

As a matter of interest we will quote from the review given this book by the *Catholic Herald*. The reviewer writes that

"Bernanos has lived for years in the Balearic islands, and he has always been considered to have been prejudiced in favour of the Right. He was one of those Catholics, like Massis, who kept just outside the 'Action Francaise.' Moreover, as I understand, he had a son fighting for Franco."

By quoting these introductory remarks we give the Catholic version as to Bernanos' sympathies: certainly he had the makings of a staunch supporter of Franco's cause!

Whilst agreeing that Bernanos' "testimony is viewed as especially valuable," the *Catholic Herald* with the greatest of ease dismisses this testimony with the following words:

"Bernanos' change of mind is based on one thing: on people who have been shot, or ill-treated by the Nationalists on the Balearic islands, in his own experience. He has made up an ugly tale. But he has made up a tale highly coloured with his own imagination—of things which the majority of Franco's supporters know about: what can be called 'things of war.'"

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We all know how appalling mistakes can occur in wartime. We all know that they occur on both sides. But in this struggle between two ideas of what civilisation is, we can't falter in our choice. This is the terrible danger which happens when poets, novelists, and philosophers come to write about war. They are inflamed and paralysed by things they see, by hugely complicated emotional systems, and forget the wood for the trees."

And to give readers an idea of this civilization which the *Catholic Herald* says good Catholics cannot hesitate in blindly accepting as the best system, we have chosen certain passages from this book which we have reproduced on p. 4.

## FRANCO'S SPAIN

Franco's Rule. A Survey. (United Editorials Ltd., 3/6.)

This most interesting volume consists of extracts both from the daily Press and from books which have been published recently on

### Dancer in Madrid

Dancer in Madrid by Janet Riesenfeld (Harrap 10/6).

"Dancer in Madrid" is one of the "lighter" books that have been inspired by the Spanish struggle. Miss Riesenfeld had no political affiliations and her desire to enter Spain was motivated by "work and love." These facts explain the almost complete lack of political discrimination beyond being able to distinguish between Fascist and Anti-fascist (and even then it took her some time to realize that her fiance was a fascist). When she does bring in politics she cannot distinguish between Trade Union organization and a political party. However, hers makes a fairly good story if one likes a mixture of "work and love."

Her conclusions are those of one of a "growing army of liberals who are coming out of their corners and are beginning to face the facts of the actual world." It is to be hoped that the Spanish struggle, even if it has not been able to secure the actual intervention of the so called democratic forces, has at least opened the eyes of the respectable citizens of our "democratic countries."

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## SPANISH BOOKS

## POETRY and ANARCHISM

by Herbert Read

"This is the perfect handbook for the young revolutionary groping through the muddle and confusion of contemporary politics, and the perfect handbook for the old and hardened revolutionary disillusioned with political parties.... I should like to see a copy in the hands of every young person with a mind above preoccupations with clothes and film-stars and sports and games. I should like to make it a text-book in schools. Its lucidity is admirable; its sanity superb; its wisdom blows like a great clean breath of fresh air through all the hot-air and general deoxy-generation of so-called "left" thought today.... It is more than a cry for freedom; it is a guide to the way by which it may be achieved for a suffering humanity which has not yet begun to live."

—ETHEL MANNIN in 'SPAIN AND THE WORLD,' 6s. net

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24, Russell Sq., W.C.1

the subject. The compilers have been wise in choosing *The Times*, *La Croix* (a Catholic paper) and other periodicals which cannot be accused of Left sympathies besides those like *The Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Herald*, *Le Populaire*, etc., which fascist sympathisers can generally dismiss (and more often than not get away with it) as having "Left bias" and consequently unreliable! As an example one can quote to advantage from *Le Croix* whose editor commented on the question of Franco's prisoners in the following terms:

"What do the Nationalists do with their prisoners? I have searched and enquired everywhere and I have found not a trace of any prisoners either in the prisons or in the concentration camps. I have asked and I have been told that they have all been killed. The front line soldiers themselves told me so."

or a quotation from the *Times* on the capture of Irun:

"Reports from a variety of sources make it seem only too likely that Irun will pass with Badajoz into the history of the Civil war as a name for cold-blooded slaughter."

Had these remarks appeared in a Left paper their veracity would have been definitely doubted!



# Fascist Terrorism in the Balearic Islands

I HAVE seen in Majorca, passing along the Rambla, lorries full of men. They were rolling along with a noise like thunder, past the many-coloured terraces, still shiny with the water sprayed to make them look fresh and clean. The lorries were grey with the dust of the road; the men, too, were grey, sitting in rows of four, their grey caps askew, their hands wearily resting on their cotton trousers. They were the bag of daily hunts in the countryside of an evening, just about the time when they were going home after toiling in the fields; they set out on their last journey, their shirts clinging to their skin with sweat, having left their soup steaming on the table and caught a last glimpse of their wives running down to the garden gate: "A Dios! recuerdos!"

"You are being sentimental!" some will say. God knows I am not, I merely say, and I will never tire of saying, that these men had killed no one, had hurt no one. They were just peasants such as you know, or rather such as your fathers knew and shook hands with; for they are strangely like those stout fellows in our French villages, nurtured on Gambetta's ideas, those vinegrowers of the Var to whom that old cynic Clemenceau used to preach the gospel of Science and Human progress. Just think: they had just at last got their Republic—Viva la Republica!—on the evening of July 17th, 1936, the Republic was the established regime, recognized by all, cheered by the soldiers, approved of by chemists and doctors, schoolmasters and every manner of intellectual.

Truly my illusions regarding General Franco's enterprise did not last long; just a few weeks. While they did last I honestly endeavoured to overcome the disgust inspired by certain men and certain watchwords. To be quite frank, I welcomed the first Italian planes without misgivings.

The people of Majorca has always been distinguished for its great indifference to political affairs. The leader of the Phalanx is my authority for saying that one could not have found a hundred really dangerous Communists in the whole island. I state on my honour that during the months that preceded this Holy War, not a single attempt against life or property was committed on the island. In Majorca then, as no criminal acts had taken place, the purge carried out by the

Right could only be a preventive one, a systematic extermination of suspects, I will speak of summary executions, far the more numerous, anon. Most of the legal sentences passed by the military tribunals in Majorca were for the offence of "desafeccion al movimiento salvador," disaffectedness towards the Saving movement, as expressed in word or gesture. A family of four, father, mother and two girls respectively aged 16 and 19, belonging to good bourgeois circles, were condemned to death on the testimony of some witnesses who stated they had seen them in their garden applauding as some Catalan planes flew over.

"The previous evening, two hundred inhabitants in the village of Manacor, pointed out as suspects by the Italians, had been dragged out of their beds in the dead of night, led in groups to the cemetery, and there shot through the head and their bodies burned in a heap not far away. The personage whom for certain reasons I shall call the Bishop-Archbishop had sent one of his priests who, with shoes bathed in blood, gave absolutions between executions ...

"This massacre of defenceless wretches did not evoke one word of condemnation, nor was it even passed over in silence by the ecclesiastical authorities who, instead, organized thanksgiving processions.

"It was then that "Count" Rossi made his appearance on the scene... "From then on, groups recruited by him operated in the small villages and the environs of Palma. Whenever these 'gentlemen' exercised their talents the picture was the same. The identical knock at the door of comfortable apartment or humble dwelling, the same stealing through the shadowed garden, the same funeral whispering on the steps, reaching the ears of the poor devil on the other side of the door, his heart convulsed with anguish. 'Follow us' ... The same words to the woman crazed with terror, her trembling hands feverishly clutching at her nightgown, and the noise of a motor further down the street. 'Don't wake the children, what for?' 'You are taking me to jail, aren't you?' "Right," answers the murderer. Then they walk to the truck where she meets two or three of her friends, sombre, resigned, a hopeless expression in their eyes.

"... Hombre! The lorry groans, then gets along. There is still hope for a few minutes, so long as they keep the road. But now she slows down and

jerkingly makes her way along a hollow country lane. 'Get out!' They climb down, stand in a row, kiss a sacred medal or else just the nail of their thumb. Pan! Pan! Pan!—the bodies are lined up by the side of the ditch where the gravediggers will find them on the morrow. I say advisedly gravediggers, for the deed is always thoughtfully done near a cemetery. The 'alcalde' will write in the parish book: 'So and so, So and So and So and So; dead of cerebral congestion.'

"The first phase of the 'purification' lasted four months. During this time the man chiefly responsible for these massacres would always appear in

some place of honour at religious ceremonies or festivals. He was generally accompanied by a uniformed chaplain, wearing high boots and a large white cross over his heart, two menacing pistols at his belt. (This chaplain was later assassinated by the soldiers.) Nobody would have dared for one moment to question the discretionary powers of the Italian general. One poor priest humbly begged him to pardon three young Mexican girls whom he had judged absolutely innocent after hearing their confession. 'Very well,' answered the 'count,' who was making ready for bed, 'I shall consult with my pillow.' And the next day, in the morning, he ordered the girls to be shot.

"And so on, up to December, the roads and byways and the entire environs close to the cemeteries would regularly receive their share of bloody corpses, workers and peasants for the most part, but also middle-class people, pharmacists and notaries...

"How many dead? It does not matter how many. At the beginning of March 1937, after seven months of civil war, the total reached three thousand.

"I think of the mayor of a small village, whose wife had found a hideout for him in a cistern. In December he was pulled out, shivering with fever. In the cemetery he was shot in the stomach. As it took him some time to die, the murderers, who were drinking aguardiente a little way off, approached him with their bottle and forced its mouth down his throat, then broke it over his head. I repeat that these facts are known to the public. And I dare anyone to question their veracity.

"The person who for certain reasons I shall call Monsignor Bishop of Mallorca has signed the collective letter of the Spanish bishopric. I hope that the pen trembled in his hand when

he did it. For he could not have been ignorant of any of these deaths. I am ready to tell him this to his face whenever I may be called upon.

"His attitude troubled one of his penitents, who at first dared not question him but, after he learned of the deeds I have just related, he decided to do so. The priest listened to him without any show of surprise. 'But,' said his questioner, 'you can't approve that ...' 'I neither approve nor condemn,' answered the sinister priest. 'Unfortunately, you fail to realize the difficulties of the clergy in this island. At the last meeting of priests, under the chairmanship of Monsignor, were shown proofs that during the last year only 14 per cent. of the Mallorcans complied with the Easter Sacrament. Such a condition justifies exceptional measures.'

—Extracts from "Les Grands Cimetières sous la Lune" by G. Bernanos.)

## THE WAR IN SPAIN

is an episode of modern European history which ranks in importance only after the Great War of 1914-18. It affects directly or indirectly everybody in this country.

Beginning as what appeared to be the conventional revolt staged by reactionaries, it was soon found to be an international Fascist conspiracy. Preparations for "intervention" by Germany and Italy were made long before July 19, 1936. How that intervention almost provoked another European war is now known. What is not fully realised is that Spain has been chosen by international Fascism as a testing-out ground for their barbarous methods of totalitarian war. The barbarians are blowing to pieces a people who are unequalled in this world for human dignity. The Spanish people defend their lives and freedom; their defence is symbolic of what must happen elsewhere.

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## PALESTINE AND SOCIALIST POLICY

(Continued from page 2)

the Jews. If so, the first step will have been taken in a process which will drive out first the British imperialist and next the Arab feudal landlords and Jewish capitalists. But unless that step is taken soon it will be too late, and the problem, so far as the Jews are concerned, will be to re-settle them in some part of the world where they can live at peace with their neighbours on the basis of a mutual agreement. This does not indicate either Madagascar or East Africa, where the native peoples have not been consulted and would have the same legitimate grievance as the Arabs.

What is most clear is that the acquisition of so-called "socialists" in British imperialism can only drive the Arabs into the arms of German and Italian agents. They will see in fascism the enemy of the Jew and the socialist; in Germany and Italy they already see the enemies of England. What more is needed but a little more propaganda and financial support to convince the Arab people that the fascists are their best friends? And yet, if this happens, and the Arab world turns to Hitler and Mussolini in the false hope of salvation, the entire fault will lie with British Labour politicians who have shown that "democracy" to them is a cheap catch-word, to be used when it suits the interests of the British Empire, and laughed at the moment it is used in earnest. All the talk about the Arab leaders being reactionaries or financed by foreign agents is so much balderdash, because those who use this sort of argument know that it is worthless and insincere. What does it matter who makes a demand or why it is made or who pays the bill if that demand is just? To reject a just demand is to brand ourselves as friends of tyranny and oppression; to accept it and to work for it is not only our duty but the only policy that will expose the pretensions of our enemies. If the Arab leaders are all that McGovern and his friends would have us believe, the best way to show them up is to accept their demands at face value.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

## Assignment In Utopia

Assignment in Utopia, by Eugene Lyons. (Harrap 15/-)

RUSSIA, since the October days of 1917, has been the happy hunting ground of journalists, who, possibly having nurtured secret aspirations to write books other than copy for their papers, had nowhere to dig for material until the Revolution presented them with all the material they required. Whether this was so or not, the fact remains that there has been a spate of books on Russia by journalists, either vehemently antagonistic, or, on the contrary, as vehemently in praise of all things Russian but "Assignment in Utopia" by Eugene Lyons, is a journalist's book with a difference. He spent six years in Russia as correspondent for the United Press, U.S.A., from the end of 1927 until the beginning of 1934, having prior to his Assignment spent from 1922 to 1927 working for the Soviet News Agency, i.e. Tass, including the function of Editor of Soviet Russian Pictorial. He was a sincere and convinced Communist, and was therefore more than sympathetic towards the U.S.S.R. Russia was indeed the hope of the world to him and others of that period.

The volume itself is divided into five books, headed as follows: "Prelude to Moscow," "Hallelujah," "Doubt," "Disillusionment" and "Rededication." I quote these headings because they reflect the reactions of the author to the Russian scene and Life.

"Prelude to Moscow" tells briefly the story of the author's life from the time his parents reached New York as immigrants only a few years before the War, and the sordidness of that steerage passage to the land of Liberty was never forgotten. Living in the East Side of New York, among the garbage cans, and the gangs which invested that quarter, the author saw "life," but almost miraculously he was not damned by that ghastly environment. Socialist Sunday School training, studies in Marx, and above all the hard facts of life of his class both compelled and impelled him toward writing, "not as a means of living, but as a weapon on my side of the Class War" to quote him. He followed this urge rather than the profession of the law, for which he was being primed.

The Armistice found him at College in Uniform, but on discharge from the American Army, we find him plunging into the Class War, and he remained fighting this War

until 1927. His first hand accounts of the "Frame Ups" against the I.W.W. and Reds in the U.S.A. during 1919, and his accounts of the Sacco and Vanzetti drama are vividly written, and above all, the ardour and courage of him and those with whom he worked at that time calls for the highest admiration, particularly when it is remembered that he himself was not much more than a youth. He and his like at that period had hitched their waggon to a Star, and that Star was the U.S.S.R. and he and they had little patience or sympathy with those who had left the Soviet land for other countries. As he says:

"It did not occur to me to examine their statements. . . . The fact that Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and many other deportees abandoned the Soviet land, preferring a Capitalist Exile, was for us a commentary on these people, rather than on the Soviets."

These ardent enthusiasts sought to pour the utmost contempt on the exiles, and the more impressive the culprit's records the greater was the compulsion to level them to the dust.

I have mentioned the above facts at length to show that Eugene Lyons went to Russia a devoted and devout admirer of all things Russian.

"Hallelujah." His ambition is attained, when at the end of 1927 he lands in Utopia to begin his job of reporting for the U.P. It is not long before he finds himself up against things, an almost impenetrable barrier, the Soviet Censorship, and then ensues a struggle between the Newsman doing his damnest to get copy through to his press, and the Censorship chopping out everything likely to disparage the Soviets.

From this point in the book until the end there is the revelation of a man's conflict with himself and his preconceived views. He is faced with the excesses of the G.P.U. on every hand, the increasing power of Stalin, the plight of the masses, bread lines and so on, and his own belief in Communism. The Demonstration Trial, of 1928, the Shaktz affair, and its travesty of justice, did not assist him in his conflict with himself. All he could do was to endeavour to stifle the doubts which persisted in arising in his mind.

EDGAR PARKER.

(to be continued)

## AN ANARCHIST WOMAN FIGHTER

The name of Teresa Claramunt is nearly forgotten to-day, yet for nearly fifty years, at a time when the workers were being subjected to the most ruthless persecution, she was at the forefront of revolutionary agitation and anarchist propaganda. It can be said that she was the only woman revolutionary, in the true sense of the word, of those far-gone days.

Without having received any special education, Teresa Claramunt knew how to acquire by herself the necessary training and knowledge.

By 1884 she had already directed an agitation against social conditions in her native town of Sabadell, and afterwards she joined in every revolutionary activity undertaken by the working class.

During 1888-1889 she was an exile in Portugal with her companion and towards 1893, a time of great revolutionary activity in Barcelona, she was arrested together with Domingo Mir when coming out of a meeting in which both had taken part.

After this her terms of imprisonment came at frequent intervals,

and it is needless to relate the great sufferings which she endured at the hands of her jailors during these periods. When the henchmen of the ill-famed Captain Portas started to employ third degree methods on the political prisoners, Teresa, on hearing of it and being in the women's gaol, protested vigorously against such torments, and the reaction to this appeal to humanity was to be herself removed at 12 o'clock one night with her hands tied to her back and escorted by four civil guards to that sinister Castle. They locked her in a dungeon overriden with vermin, from where she could hear the cries of those unfortunate prisoners being tormented in their cells.

During the ensuing proceedings the Public Prosecutor demanded 28 death sentences and asked for 57 to be sent to penal servitude for life, but the actual sentences turned out to be less terrible, and Teresa was only exiled.

London-Roubaix - Paris - and in 1898 back once more in Spain to continue the struggle for social justice, this time by publishing, in partnership with Leopoldo Bonafulla, a militant paper called "El Progreso."

Arrested in 1902 for taking part in several meetings on the occasion of a strike by textile workers, and set free once more, she returned to the fray, to be sent to prison again both in Andalusia and in Aragon. As a result of her last term between prison walls—1911—she contracted paralysis from which she never fully recovered.

After spending several years in Sevilla, where in spite of her poor health she took part in many anarchist meetings, home sickness brought her back to Barcelona in 1924.

During her last years of life, and notwithstanding her handicap, her sole desire was to be able to assist in bringing about the Revolution. For a matter of a few years—she died in 1931—she missed the present moments through which Spain is passing.

(From the book "Our Women Fighters" in print.)

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