

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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The three great causes of human immorality are inequality, whether political, economic or social; ignorance, its natural result; and slavery its inevitable consequence.  
BAKUNIN.

## WORKERS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM

### Oppressive And Militarist Measures Of Capitalist Supporters

#### HOW FOREIGN FINANCIERS HAVE EXPLOITED LOCAL RESOURCES

When after centuries of wars for liberation of the territory and supremacy among the independent Kingdoms, Spain at the end of the fifteenth century had become a nominally united Kingdom under Castilian rule, several new factors prevented the development of an economic life on an exactly similar basis to that of other countries, or rather, as all countries are differentiated in this and so many other respects, Spain was and is differentiated also, to a notable degree. The continuous influx of American gold and colonial products, the trade monopoly with the immense colonies, the enormous absorption of men by the European wars and by the settlement of Latin America, the luxurious life of the court, the aristocracy and a merchants' class based on the profits of all this and on the toil of the agricultural class—all this must have produced special conditions for the industrial workers of the three centuries which followed the period alluded to above.

There was much work to do, little pressure from competition and a great demand for superior goods for the wealthy classes, whilst the country population was almost too poor to buy anything and supplied most of their small wants. Under such conditions the artisans would rather flourish and be able to retard the methods of more intense exploitation, that early "rationalisation," known as the factory system. But after the long period of European wars and the loss of the American colonies—the economic basis of three centuries was gone, the workers and peasants had not yet made up their minds to take things into their own hands and then, almost suddenly, capitalism, native and foreign, invaded the country, before all in Catalonia, and the Spanish workers had the great problem before them which now, more than a century later, they are about to solve.

Early machinery had reached intense perfection already when introduced in Spain and this made the sufferings of the workers so much the harder, as they were not yet protected by the public measures offered to the factory hands in England and Scotland. As everywhere, the mills were spread over towns and country, and recruited their "hands" largely from the poorest agricultural workers and girls, women and children. This broke the power of the artisans in town for a while, yet apart from secluded localities, very soon a spirit of comradeship and solidarity united all the workers. The artisans who for centuries had always had the chance before them to reach some degree of competence in later life, now saw the all this was gone and that capital, the possession of machinery, had a life-long unrelaxing hold on all the workers. The master of the craft resided now in the country house or was an unknown shareholder near or far away. This cut off all human relations between workers and employers and it needed no socialist theories, nor an agitation to make every worker feel that. They had lived up to that time, in tolerable relationships with some few employers whom they saw doing some real work, but they hated that anonymous grinding capitalist machinery, which made them wage-slaves, those who reaped the profits of their slavery and those who protected the exploiters: the State and all its tools, all the apologists of such a system, the priests, the politicians and the other upholders of the bourgeois spirit.

#### Money and Property Not Respected

This grim determination is an important feature. They respect valour, in the conquistador as in the torador and also in the dying Fascist when he walks upright to his doom, but they do not respect either money or rank. The Briton respects rank, the American respects money—the Spaniard respects valour and likes beauty like the French. He respects work and effort, but defies brute monopoly—

that of Property and the State,—which strikes straight at the root of Equality, equal chances for everyone. The aristocracy seized the peasants' land and machinery, deprived the artisan from using his own tools in production; both are encroachments on humanity, wrongs which must be righted.

The State did whatever it could to become and remain hateful to the workers in Spain. It favoured capitalist profits and produced high prices by prohibitive custom duties; it neglected and retarded protective measures for labour and was visible as a rule only in the form of the guns of the *guardias civiles*; soldiers levelled at and fired against the workers when voices of discontent were raised. The number of victims in labour conflicts and ensuing shootings and massacres is endless.

#### Attempts to Silence the Workers

This went on throughout a century and whenever efforts at reforms and labour legislation were made by certain ministers or politicians, it was always done in connection with cunning attempts to silence in this way the voice of the workers altogether, or to bring them under the control of some political party, and thus the permanent strain of the situation was never alternated. Before even the militant workers felt that only the repudiation of all State power, Anarchism, expressed their inevitable attitude towards the State, they sided instinctively with every progressive and emancipatory movement, fighting against the Carlist absolutists, the priests, dictatorial generals, for the Federalist Republic, in the name of the International and that of their own labour associations throughout a century. What else could they do when hope or misery prompted them to act? They had established solidarity amongst themselves by association, co-operation, constant readiness for action up to the general strike or open rebellion. They needed no Socialist or Anarchist agitation and education, as these ideas and purposes were alive in them.

(continued on page two)



"Comrade—Work and Struggle for the Revolution!"

## The Struggle in Spain

### TO MAKE SOCIALISM A REALITY

#### Outcome of World Import

Comrades, Brothers, who are with us in the Front of the Revolutionary struggle!

The C.N.T.-F.A.I., those two big organisations of Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalism, send you, in the name of hundreds of thousands of their members, their solidarity and brotherly greetings!

You have come to us, into the ranks of the militia, within the international columns, to help the revolution to victory. You understand exactly the reason why you are here. You know that this struggle must be fought to a finish. Thousands of you are fighting in the trenches before Madrid, in Aragon and in the South. Many thousands of you are helping us to wipe out fascism, not only Spanish, but international fascism, so that freedom and socialism may not be expelled from all the countries of the world.

The Syndicalistic C.N.T. and the Federation of Iberian Anarchists (F.A.I.), who have the majority of the works of Catalonia and large parts of the other provinces of Spain with them, are leading this struggle without any thought of party politics and without any idea of trying to gain monopoly of control in all parts of the country. We are convinced that only absolute unity and brotherly alliance during this struggle can save us. We must be victorious in order to build up the lasting peace of the country and make socialism a reality.

As a sign of this unity we have entered into the government of the Republic in spite of the fact that we are opposed to the parliamentary system and all ideas of state. We desire to prove by this action on our part that

the struggle against fascism is of more importance at the present time than any ideological differences between our organisations. We are loyal in our attitude towards other socialist ideas, and we claim the same loyalty on the part of comrades who represent ideas different from our own. We shall not try to enforce our ideas on workers who hold different views, and we are, in the same manner, at all times prepared to defend our ideas against everyone.

The free Spain of to-morrow will be the work of the international pro-

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## Durruti's Companion Speaks

"TO MY BELOVED WHO HAS GONE"

In the midst of the numberless friends present here who bemoan your death, my solitude is not so great and this supreme manifestation of kindest feeling, of adoration, rather, gives me the strength to survive it.

It is no pride which dictates these words: glory meant as little to me as it did to you, and in my loneliness I must keep alive the memory of you.

I shall devote my modest efforts to the anti-fascist struggle until the final victory is won. I have another mission to fulfil, the task of bringing up worthily our little Colette, your daughter, of whom you were so proud. My one ambition shall be to make of her a militant who shall resemble you as much in soul as in body. You have left to humanity some little measure of your flesh and blood. In Colette we recall vividly your good, determined features: Before your poor dead body, which I wished to see for the last time, I made a solemn vow that I would rise above sorrow and inculcate in our daughter the indomitable energy and the simple nobility which were over with you.

To make our Colette a true DURRUTI worthy of your spiritual descent shall be the sustaining illusion of my broken life.

You, comrades, who wept for him, you I greet fraternally, and, in the name of all the victims of Fascism, in the name of all the humble militants who have given their lives for the triumph of the revolution, to you I say:

Ever on. Forward until victory is ours!

EMILIE MORIN.

(Translated from Spanish.)

(continued from previous column)

letariat. Anarchists, Communists, Social Democrats and Radical Intelligentsia, all without party prejudice, are struggling in our ranks. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. are persuaded that the unity shown in the struggle to-day must lead to a well-founded solidarity and absolute tolerance in the workers' movement of the future.

Long live Freedom! Long live the united front of Anti-fascism! Down with the fascist murderers!

Committee of Defence,  
Central Region,  
C.N.T., A.I.T., F.A.I.

## The Spanish Revolution AND THE C.N.T., F.A.I.

A public meeting will take place Monday, Jan. 18th, 1937, 7.30 p.m. at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

Chairman: ETHEL MANNIN

EMMA GOLDMAN  
(who has just returned from Spain)

will speak about the part of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation).

Other Speakers will be:

Mr. FENNER BROCKWAY and Capt. WHITE

ADMISSION FREE

Meeting held under the auspices of the London Committee of the C.N.T., F.A.I.

**WORKERS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM**

(continued from page one, column two)

This can be shown by examining what is accessible now of the earliest printed statements since the eighteenth and sixties, say before, of the forties. The ideas of Bakounin, as they knew them, since 1868 coincided perfectly with their own conceptions. Everything short of that, any moderate, half-hearted, reformist socialism, as also any dictatorial, statist socialism had no interest for them and wherever some insisted upon propagating them, they were only sowing discord and injuring the clear and steady evolution toward the realisation of the anti-statist social ideal—that welding together of the maximum of Freedom and of Solidarity into new forms, such as are called now the *comunismo libertario*, the *Free Commune* or *Anarchism*.

**Always Defended Socialist Autonomy**

Other countries underwent other influences and the great mass of their workers may have arrived at other social ideals. This subject is not under discussion here, but it must be noted that Spain is not interfering with them and has been the most reserved country in international socialist affirmation, the country which most affirmed the local autonomy of the socialist movements of every country and, throughout, the steadiest defender of her own socialist autonomy. This is seen from the history of the Spanish International from 1868 up to 1881, and just by such qualities it became the largest, the most active and the longest living federation of the old International, and the present organisations are traceable, in filiation, to this very body and its principal militants.

It was the misfortune of the old International that Marx had wished to impose his personal ideas upon all countries; these ideas fitted none and

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Having a knowledge of how much Mussolini's word is worth we estimate that the signing of the Anglo-Italian pact is a gesture to hide more active intervention than has been previously carried out during the past months.

Perhaps the English people will wake up from their slumber and instead of the beautiful dreams of pacts and pacifism a la Lansbury, will face the facts and decide whether they will permit Fascism, be it Italian, German, English, Spanish or Japanese, to crush the defenders of Liberty and human dignity struggling in countries dominated by Dictatorships.

**PIRACY!**

The detention of the Palos and the "reprisals" that have succeeded it must be looked upon with great concern. The Palos was detained in territorial waters, and the Basque Government was justified in confiscating the war material destined for the Rebels. On the other hand, the capturing of two Spanish vessels (a third is reported to have been captured) on the high seas by a German cruiser is definitely an act of piracy.

The Spanish Government did the right thing in refusing to return the detained Spaniard and the war material, but unless there is active support from the "democratic" countries there is the danger that Germany will continue unabated its acts of piracy, with the excuse that these measures were taken as a result of the Palos incident.

It is to be considered quite a natural thing that Russian boats carrying consignments of food to Spain should be sunk on the high seas without protest, but that a German boat (German, indicating "superiority") in Spanish waters should be searched is not permissible. The bully therefore avenges himself by making his armed boats assert their strength on unprotected merchant ships. Typical Fascist tactics.

the attempts, where favoured, caused disruption and ruin. Spain was foremost in resisting and succeeded. These struggles emphasised the respect of differentiation and local autonomy, local option in social ideals—the only guarantee of their successful realisation anywhere. If all this is not familiar to the socialists of other countries, this is not the fault of Spain. Marx himself tried to keep out the Spanish delegates from the Congress at the Hague, 1872, under a paltry pretext, and the International Congresses of 1891 and 1896 did not admit T. del M. Esteve and Malatesta as representatives of the Spanish Workers' Organisation. The European labour movements were kept uninformed as to the real character of the Spanish revolutionary movement, at least from 1872 to 1934, to an incredible degree. But this does not alter the real facts, and their own Marxist friends stand now in the ranks with the Anarchists and the momentous struggle against the whole world of Fascism has been kept up for over five months, and has caused a sensation in our world. Whatever happened was and is logical from the Spanish standpoint, the result of the situation as described here, and if these developments were a novelty to some, this fact is quite immaterial. What happens is neither an incoherent improvisation, nor the work of a few, but the open outcome of large and broad tendencies of which those who studied the social currents from direct sources were always aware.

**Foreign Capitalists "Invade" Spain**

The economic situation of Spain became worse by the civil wars, military conspiracies, Moroccan campaigns the American war and loss of Cuba and the Philippines, tariff wars, Andalusian famine, etc., during the Bourbon régimes and this enabled foreign capitalists to lay hands on the extraction of the most valuable natural resources—legally, of course, in the form of companies,—of mercury, lead, copper, ore, etc., whilst the export of wine and fruit is always more dependent on difficult tariff negotiations and compensations. The Catalan textile industry works mainly for the other parts of Spain which make payment in foodstuffs for Catalonia. Only during the war 1914-18, enormous sums were gained by supplying the Allies, but the crisis of the last few years also dates back to that time. The short-lived prosperity could not be kept up and the years 1919 to 1923 were years of the most cruel labour conflicts.

A disastrous Moroccan campaign resulted also from the aftermath of the war, and to hush up the Moroccan scandals and their responsibilities, as well as to crush the workers for a long time, Alfonso authorised Primo de Rivera's dictatorship (September 13th, 1923). The régime never took root and after the failure of the exhibitions of 1929 held in Seville and in Barcelona, the economic decline joined to general discontent, swept away Primo in January, 1930, and Alfonso on April 14th, 1931, which was followed by the incapable republican or semi-republican governments from April, 1931, to February, 1936. Then the Popular Front attempt was made, the very first attempt in governing which gave some apprehension to the reactionists: therefore they supported the treacherous conspiracy of the generals, the Fascists and others and the mutiny of July 17th was the net result.

**Spanish Militants Learn From European Mistakes**

Even this rapid glance may show that the social and political evolution in Spain is thrown, so to speak, in the crucible of history before the eyes of the world in a more forcible degree than, apparently at least, that of most other countries and that a country which it is usual for some to range with the most backward, is in reality marching ahead in such matters. Spain did not stop at a bourgeois republic like France nor at State and Party communism like Russia, nor wish to be Americanised, and neither will she be forced into a Fascist régime, after having disposed already of the dictatorial régime of the insidious Primo de Rivera (1923-30). The struggle against him, apart from the tragical episodes of the Vera, Atanazares, Captains Galán and García Hernández and many others, was almost carried on in good humour;



Helios Gomez

"Woodcut by Helios Gomez."

no one took Primo seriously. The second Fascist assault is now met in grim earnest and Primo's eldest son has paid for it with his life.

If all this is so little known and appreciated abroad, the Spanish advanced militants always studied the world's events and currents and learned by them. Such an expert observer was Fernando Garrido, so well known in London and Paris in the fifties and sixties, the friend alike of Mazzini, of Bakounin and of the brothers Reclus, the militants of the Spanish International, Farga Pellicer, Morrago, Doctor Viñas, Lorenzo and others knew the militants in Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Paris and London.

Later the refugees, the exiled prisoners from Montjuich, the many syndicalists emigrated to France, returned with the most vivid impressions of the life and ideas of organisations abroad. The same happened with men of experience who spent long years in the United States, Cuba, the Argentine Republic, London, etc., men such as Pedro Esteve, A. Pellicer Paraire, Tarrida del Marmol and others. Pestaña observed very keenly things in Russia, 1920. To Malatesta and Kropotkin Spain was the highest asset of which their hopes depended.

**Bolshevism Repudiated; Against Freedom**

In short, great quantities of international experience were spreading inconspicuously in Spain, and if they profited by good teachings and examples, the Spanish workers also learned the lessons of mistakes made abroad. Even the Spanish Marxists, the political socialists dating from 1872, did not indulge in psychoses of Marx-worship nor of Marxist hair-splitting, but were just socialist labour politicians who wished to enter political careers as rivals of the old parties, and this they succeeded in doing. Syndicalism, as practised in France from 1895 to 1914, was keenly watched in Spain, but never imitated and its mistakes were avoided whenever possible. Bolshevism was at first welcomed as a powerful socialist affirmation, victorious over an immense despotic régime; soon it was seen to be also destructive of individual and collective freedom and from then it was completely repudiated.

**Anarchism; Francisco Ferrer and Culture**

In such a way also, Anarchism was gradually reshaped or primitive deficiencies were eliminated. In this respect experience was won at the cost of the death or life-long imprisonment of many Anarchist workers. Nowhere were so-called desperate methods tried to such extent as in Spain; they were seen to be not inefficient, but yet unable to cover the whole ground, to be

of decisive effect. Aside of them, then, was and is realised the greatest educational effect, such as is known to the world by the pathetic figure of the martyred Francisco Ferrer, but which was and is going on before and after Ferrer all over the country. The Spanish libertarian reviews were also the truest home of local and international dispassionate discussion of ideas and tactics, such as *Acracia* of 1886-88, the two *Revista Blanca*, the supplement of the *Protesta* of Buenos Aires, and many others. Nowhere the cultural side of the workers' life is so much taken care of as in the libertarian Spanish speaking world; the libertarian centres are everywhere the People's Palaces "in all quarters of the towns and the village clubs" in the country. All this rich cultural stimulation ranges from Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla, as far as possible to the Indian villages in parts of South America and in Mexico. American Indian workers, who eagerly listen to what is placed before them by militants, may be better informed on many matters than workers of great European capitals, who are wont to leave things to their paid officials and pick up some paltry misinformation from the yellow dailies.

**Means of Repression Adopted by Spanish Bourgeoisie**

The Spanish bourgeoisie mainly adopted three methods to keep down the workers—that of direct governmental repression, as mentioned above—that of private warfare, assassination of the militants by hired gangs, a method culminating in the death of hundreds on both sides in the years 1919-23, but practised also before and never abandoned since then—and the method of establishing some contact of a corrupt nature with some of the militants, a method always soon found out and never leading to any good end. There remained the method of rousing some artificial solidarity in questions of nationalism (like Catalanism), but here also the workers, as a whole, kept their own counsel and were not dupes. Then they gave some countenance to that Christian social corporatism and agrarianism, an insidious doctrine advocated by Gil Robles. But ere this could do much harm, it was overtopped by *falangism*, which, if originally fascist, is entirely subservient now to German racism of Nazism, and these last drops made the cup overflow: the measure was full. Then the treacherous officers and the *falangists* had the militant workers killed wherever found since July 19th—and the Spanish workers are up in arms now to keep the enemy from their doors.

Barcelona,

X.X.X.

Jan. 1st, 1937.

**SPAIN and the WORLD**

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**AN APPEAL**

We have not as yet made an appeal to readers for funds to continue our work. Some may have thought that it was an indication that we had financial backing, or were "financed by the Reds in Spain." In actual fact this is not so.

Our object in publishing "SPAIN and the WORLD" was that we should be independent. Too many publications on Spain have been merely the boosters of a certain political party, resulting in each publication taking credit for the achievements and blaming the other party for the mistakes.

The daily papers have, with rare exceptions, exploited the Spanish war for their own ends, increasing their sales by publishing sensational news on the bloodthirsty side of the Revolution, not attributing sufficient intelligence to their public, to mention any word on the Social aspect of the Revolution.

And even this sensationalism must needs disappear from the columns of the Press when the Crystal Palace is ablaze; when the Empire is at stake on the cricket field; or when a man called King and Emperor decides that, despite the criticisms of Archbishops and Politicians, he is going to marry a twice-married woman (the "Sunday Express" even described the colour of the varnish used for Mrs. Simpson's toe nails).

"SPAIN and the WORLD" wishes to remain above all these petty matters which interest petty minds. We are concerned with the fate, the future of a people firmly resolved not to knuckle under a system foreign to them.

That our modest effort has in many cases been appreciated by men and women is to be found in the numerous letters we have received encouraging us in our work. But we must have even greater contact with readers, and we earnestly ask those interested in Spain and our periodical to send us their opinions and criticisms, as well as their material help in the form of subscriptions and new readers.

**TRICKED AGAIN!**

The Press made us believe that the rapprochement between this country and Mussolini was in return for a promise by Italy that she would keep clear from Spain, not send arms and "volunteers," evacuate the Balearic Islands, and many other gestures which would eliminate future Italian Fascist intervention in Spain. The pact was signed, and, to use the "Daily Herald's" words, Mussolini has taken everything that he has asked and the British Government have in return not even secured any assurance worth the paper it is written on.

Furthermore Gayda, in the Italian Press, urges that the pact does not in any way conflict with the Italian accord with Germany!

At any rate Mussolini has shown how true he is to his word in attempting to maintain the territorial status quo in the Mediterranean, by landing in Spain a mere 6,000 men, according to a report from Gibraltar!

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# The Social Revolution in Spain

## BADALONA PROPERTIES COLLECTIVIZED

### An Important Catalonian Municipality

Badalona is a small town of 25,000 inhabitants, situated on the Levante coast. It is an industrial city. The largest of the industries there are the Cross chemical factory, a glass and crystal industry, and some metallurgical enterprises. The fisheries are also quite substantial and of great value to the collectives. Transportation by means of electric cars and buses offers all the facilities to the people of Barcelona and Badalona for quick and efficient service. In fact, Badalona could be considered a suburb of Barcelona.

Badalona is considered one of the most important municipalities of all the small towns in Catalonia, industrially and commercially. During the years of the monarchy and the dictatorship, Badalona was the scene of the largest strikes. Martinez Anida, former governor of Catalonia under the dictatorship, the ruler and terrorist of this region, had in his service the famous bloodthirsty Sabat, his right-hand man, whose terroristic actions against the workers were well known, and whose extreme repressions created more hatred for the regime. This town had a revolutionary organisation for many years, among which were many good and militant comrades. Immediately after the insurrection by the military fascists, these revolutionary workers' organisations were the first in Catalonia to collectivise all private properties without indemnity.

The basis upon which the collectivization was organised is as follows:

- (1) All properties, houses, lands, factories, etc., from the date of the formation of collectives, must be known as the property of the collectives and are to be administered by the town corporation.
- (2) The previous proprietors will receive a revenue from the said corporation. This revenue cannot be transferred or sold, only in the case of death of the proprietor the revenue shall be paid to his heirs. In case there are no heirs, the revenue shall be paid to the collectives.
- (3) The revenue paid to the former proprietor shall not exceed the regular wage paid to the workers. In the event of the proprietor having another income in wages or otherwise, or should his heirs have an additional income, the revenues from their properties after collectivization shall cease and they shall not be entitled to further claims. The original proprietor will be permitted to receive his regular revenue both in wages and other income, provided his heirs have no income from another source.
- (4) When revenues are paid to the proprietor, 25% shall be discounted for repairs of the property and other miscellaneous expenses. In an event shall the general income of the proprietor exceed the amount received by the workers, temporarily established at 450 pesetas a month.
- (5) All mortgages, debts, etc., which the proprietor may have incurred, shall be abolished immediately after the property has been transferred to the collectivity.
- (6) All taxes due for the property to the Generality and the State shall be paid by the collectivity. Only in special cases will the former proprietor be obliged to pay taxes and his debts.
- (7) Tenants will pay rent in accordance with the decree of August 12th, 1936.
- (8) All buildings occupied by syndicates or political organisations will pay an annual rent of 3% of their total value.
- (9) Properties used for industries or workshops shall also pay an annual rent of 3% of the value of the property.
- (10) The Rental Committee shall have the authority to raise the rents if they deem it advisable.
- (11) All citizens who refuse to pay rent will be charged in due time with default and be subject to appear before the Committee of Defence and the Popular Tribunal.
- (12) The Rental Committee shall retain 10% of the rental incomes from unfurnished houses for repairs.

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## Textile Industry—Collectivization

### WORKERS' RESOLUTIONS—COMPLETE AGREEMENT

The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. decided on the following points at a general meeting at the Olympic Theater:

(1) Complete agreement on the collectivization of the entire textile industry.

(2) The Committee in charge is to proceed immediately with the creation of a general council for this industry according to Article 25 of the decree dealing with collectivization issued by the Generality. While the general council of the textile industry does not yet possess the necessary information to regulate production, quality and prices, the enterprises will individually, with their agents who remain in the country, carry out the necessary transactions. But all matters relative to exports must be arranged through the general council. The distribution of raw materials must be centralized at once and unified prices fixed.

(3) A general bank for the textile industry must be created by the general council as soon as possible for the necessary service of this industry, whether of a collectivized or individual character.

(4) The committee in charge stresses the need for the election of delegates from various districts or industrial zones. These delegates will serve as links between the general council and the various industries.

(5) As soon as the link is established, the council of the various enterprises will take over all technical, industrial and administrative functions within the framework of the general plan as designed by the general council, until a complete collectivization is established. All operations of an economic or financial nature (wages, payments, etc.) must be transacted through the bank. All such payments will be centralized.

(6) From now on, none of the councils of the various enterprises can modify or increase wages, working hours or working conditions. The capital of the enterprises will be considered the property of the collectivized textile industry and cannot therefore be used in the interests of individual enterprises.

(7) The syndicate organisations must put into practice these resolutions in accordance with the decree and establish co-operation between the Generality and our aims.

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"Textile Workers in a Collectivized Factory."

(continued from previous column)

(13) The Rental Committee is given charge of all repairs.

(14) Construction of houses is to be left to technicians engaged in the construction industry. Planning for new construction and general scheme for improvement of living quarters shall be conducted, discussed, decided upon by comrades of the Committee of the Corporation, Syndicates, the Assembly of tenants and social assistance.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Germany's Claim—Moor Recruited in France

The German Press, thinking they can affect an armistice as discussed by French and British diplomats, have published an account of the amount the Rebels owe to Germany.

In bullion, Franco owes the German State 230 million gold marks; importation of ammunition, cannons and rifles delivered to Spain, more than 237 aeroplanes remitted directly from the German factories, the amount of these is not yet known from the above mentioned sum.

As Franco has no intention of paying all his debts in gold, Germany think they ought to be paid with minerals. The iron of the Riff mines, for example, which used to be shipped principally to England, France and Holland, now that the mines are at the disposal of the Burgos Junta dictatorship, is being sent to Germany.

On the basis of this exportation the Fascists formed a society with German capital, charged with bringing Spanish iron to the said country, shipping it in the name of the society, "Hisma Ltd.," of which Carranza and Bernhardt are the directors. In Germany there is a society of similar character called "Rowak," which is also playing an important role in exploiting Spanish riches.

A Moor who was captured on the Madrid front declared that he had been recruited at Marseilles by a man named Joffe who promised him 25 francs (4/6) a day, of which he has not as yet seen a single cent.

Furthermore he stated that prisoners taken by the Fascists are shot down with machine guns.

The Moorish cavalry acts independently owing to a lack of chiefs. In the zone in which he was fighting, there was a division made up exclusively of Germans and commanded by officers of the same nationality.

He finally declared that during the fighting of the two previous days the Fascists had losses of over 2,000 men a day.

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(8) The general council must study the situation and fix a definite form in which collectivization will be made practical. An assembly of workers engaged in this industry will be called for the purpose of putting this plan into immediate operation.

Those who are fighting at the fronts can rest assured that the revolutionary union organisations will put the loyalty of their ideals into practice. Their efforts will never separate economic reconstruction in the sense of free socialism and progress; but, first, war against fascism and reaction. Our strength lies in the syndicates and our love for liberty. These two factors are destined to create a new Catalonia, a new Spain, and a better society.

# Emma Goldman's Impressions

## The Spanish Woman Not Sufficiently Emancipated

Emma Goldman, after a year's absence from this country has returned as official delegate of the C.N.T., F.A.I. in England. Her task is to make known to the British public the immense work done by our Spanish comrades.

When we spoke to her at her flat in Kensington, she seemed very satisfied with the welcome and concrete support given to her proposals by the English comrades.

"I have only been here a week," Emma Goldman told us, "and have already managed to organise a C.N.T., F.A.I. Committee whose object is to carry on an intensive propaganda campaign for the Revolution and the anti-Fascist war. I also hope to organise several large meetings. The first will take place on January 18th, at Conway Hall. We shall deal with the glorious part played by the C.N.T., F.A.I. in the Spanish Revolution."

"Later," she continued, "I hope to give a series of lectures on interesting features of the Revolution, such as: The Relations between the Catholic Church and Spanish Fascism; The Problems of Collectivization, of Education, and so on. A large exhibition of photos, posters, newspapers and magazines vividly illustrating the events in Spain is also being planned. Furthermore, I particularly want to stress the tragic fate of the evacuated women and children from Madrid and other fronts where heavy bombardment by the Rebels has taken place."

We have heard so much about "military discipline" just recently, that we were anxious to have Emma Goldman's views on this subject.

"I am against all coercive discipline, because so much more can be achieved by reasoning. I believe that one should feel the necessary discipline in one's self," she declared.

### Inspired by Durruti

"But living in a society as ours, in which everything seems to be based on discipline, surely some people must have discipline imposed on them to make them do right?"

"No, in those cases the discipline can be given in the form of example. Take the Durruti column, of some eight to ten thousand men. While Durruti was alive there existed no discipline in his ranks, and I believe this still holds good. He was always with his men and inspired them by his courage and faith in them. For instance, one of his men during a moment of military inactivity asked Durruti for a permit to visit his parents, poor and ill. 'So you want to go home,' asked Durruti, 'and leave the fighting line. But don't you understand that we are fighting just because your parents, and so many other men and women are living under conditions that cause so much illness. By our victory everybody will be able to live decently and in comfort. Of course if you insist on going, leave your rifle and go home on foot. But your village will soon learn that you broke faith with the Revolution.' I need hardly add that the soldier begged to remain at the front! You see, Liberty is so much stronger than military discipline!"

"What are your impressions as to the activity of women in the Spanish Revolution?"

"So far the women in Spain have hardly been given a chance to contribute much. They are not sufficiently awakened and advanced. Nevertheless I did find a difference in women as compared with 1929 when I visited Spain. They are much more alert and are beginning to show interest in the social struggle."

### Woman's Place In The New Society

"But do you think that woman will find her place in the new society?"

"Yes, most certainly, but it means an enormous amount of work yet to be done for the emancipation of woman. Once that is achieved, the Spanish woman will take the equal place in the constructive work."

Emma Goldman is very definite on her ideas about Spain, and is deeply impressed with the love of Liberty that she found amongst the inhabitants of the smallest and remotest villages, as well as the large towns. "Nowhere," she said, "is there greater political liberty than in Spain at the

moment. All parties have their own newspapers and hold their own meetings... that is in Catalonia. The Anarchists who are in the vast majority in Catalonia, are true to their ideas and give all parties the liberty of discussion and propaganda. They do not eliminate them as the Communists did in Russia with the Anarchists who had struggled along with them for the success of the Revolution."

"Have you good hopes for the successful outcome of the Spanish workers' struggle?"

"I am very confident. Our comrades are determined and brave. Wherever I visited them at the front, I found that spirit of 'camaraderie' and self-sacrifice. How I wished our grand old man Enrico Malatesta could have lived to witness this momentous period in the history of Spanish political and social emancipation. He was militant for well nigh fifty years, struggling for the freedom of the Italian people, only to be kept a virtual prisoner in Italy until his death; even then, they allowed him to be buried only at night as they feared popular risings for the Italian apostle of anarchism."

"Before we leave you to your work, may we enquire how long you intend remaining in England?"

"It all depends. Besides my work in London, I have arranged dates at Glasgow and Plymouth, and only this evening I have received a request to tour South Wales, in such towns as Swansea and Neath. But as soon as I shall have completed my work here I shall return to Spain, back to that atmosphere full of enthusiasm and disinterested efforts, in which a new society is being built up."

Emma Goldman very kindly added that she had read with much interest the first two issues of *SPAIN and the WORLD*, and only hoped that it would have a large circulation in this country. She also promised us her invaluable help and active collaboration. B.R.

## NEWS IN BRIEF—

Continued.

### SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN ITALY

We learn from the official Fascist Press of the uneasiness existing among the working class in Italy. The "Gazzetta del Popolo" published a very interesting report from which we quote:

"Every night three motor boats containing police agents and port police keep watch on the high seas, due to the rumour that large contingents of people, led by Anarchists, intend to leave Italy in the direction of Corsica."

But the concern is not due to the fact that the people want to flee from Italy. What is most important and of great interest is the fact that these people want to join the Spanish anti-Fascists. One of the places from whence the greatest number of workers set out was the town of Livorno. Only recently a motor boat containing anti-Fascists was detained on the high seas by three police boats.

It is apparent that the Italian proletariat manifests its solidarity with the workers' cause in Spain in spite of the most rigid Fascist oppression.

VIOLENCE

We wish to establish a society in which violence does not exist in any form. No punishment of the stomach by hunger, no humiliation of one's personality by coercion. Even less, brute force, the final object of powerful fists or armaments.

To reach this state, we anarchists have always insisted on the necessity to use revolutionary violence. At no time have the privileged members of society given up, willingly, their riches and their power.

When reason cannot find a way, or when it is answered by violence, when force alone can impose it, it is both stupid and ingenuous to demand pacific methods, the practice of more or less liberal legalism.

We repudiate the use of violence to uphold a system, and for that reason we are anarchists. The fact, however, that we are revolutionaries compels us to employ it.

Revolutionary violence proves fatal to the resistance offered by capitalists to restoring the means of production and the wealth which have been stolen from us.

The encounter between the two forces, between the slavery of the past and the Freedom of the future, must be fought to the bitter end.

Our violence must continue as long as is necessary, in order to destroy every vestige of the old regime. Our period of warfare cannot be based exclusively on anarchist principles.

Let us not forget, notwithstanding, that by intervening in the gory struggle in which a new world is being born, we remain anarchists.

(Tierra y Libertad).

INTERFERENCE CONDEMNED

Geneva Press on the Italo-German Attitude

DIPLOMATS AT A LOSS

Comments in the Geneva Press, including the conservative papers, relative to the requests of the Spanish Government and the answers of the Fascist Governments to the Anglo-French proposition have expressly stated that Rome and Berlin are in accord with regard to the Spanish situation.

Those papers have the impression that Mussolini and Hitler understand and lament the monstrous mistake made in recognizing the so-called "Franco Government," which was done at a moment when they considered the fall of Madrid as certain.

Correspondence.

MR. RHYS DAVIES, M.P., AND VIOLENCE

To the Editor, "Spain and the World." Sir,

A nameless correspondent in your issue of the 11th December takes me to task for my letter to the "Manchester Guardian" anent the Stockport speech of Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P.

He is offended at my assertion that the middle classes would not stand shoulder to shoulder with the workers at the barricades. They did not do so in Hungary when Bela Kun led the revolt in that country.

He then writes as if we were living in Russia under the Tsar, or in Italy, Germany or Spain under a feeble democracy. We are not; we are living in Great Britain where the conditions are not comparable.

Yours, etc. RHYS J. DAVIES. House of Commons, S.W.1. 22/12/36.

ANARCHISTS DYING IN BOLSHEVIK PRISONS

To the Editor, "Spain and the World." Sir,

I am most surprised that the pamphlet just issued by the Communist Party of Great Britain bearing the title "SPAIN" should, in dealing with the uprising of 1934 also make mention of the several thousands of Anarchists who were "imprisoned, tortured and butchered" when, for some 15 years, hundreds of Anarchists are dying a slow death in the Bolsheviki prisons or in the wastes of Siberia.

Of those Anarchists imprisoned in Russia, one might mention the case of Petrini who, having escaped from a Fascist Italy, sought refuge in Russia. Because of his Anarchist ideas he was arrested, and after many long years of suffering, his health undermined by advanced tuberculosis, the Russian authorities have handed him over to the Fascist authorities in Italy!

The history of Anarchism has been a struggle by individuals who—to use Bertrand Russell's own words—"by their conduct have shown the hope which has inspired them is not for themselves but for mankind."

London, W.C.1. 1/1/37.

Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

UNIVERSE—TRIBUNE—GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA—LEFT BOOK NEWS

Francis McCollagh on Franco

I wonder how many people read Francis McCollagh's article in the "Universe" (1-1-37). It seems hardly believable that an individual, other than Quiépo de Llano, could write the things that the "Universe's" correspondent dared to write in that newspaper.

The following are a few choice phrases from his article:—"The Madrid gang care just as little if their failure to evacuate all the women and children leads to a hundred thousand women and children starving to death in the streets."

"If those women and children were blown to pieces by the nationalist artillery, the Madrid gang would be all the more pleased, for that would give them an opportunity of calling General Franco a murderer of women and children, and their sympathisers throughout the world would gladly take up the cry."

I need hardly comment on that. We know too well all that is being done to spare suffering amongst the civilian population. Only a fanatic could write such words.

"General Franco is a Spanish Catholic who loves his country, its people, its workmen, its peasants, its women and children, its churches, its memorial of the past, its Christianity, its traditions, its literature, its folklore, its songs, its saints, its language."

For that reason Franco is destroying Churches, shooting intellectuals who have given us the great literature and deeply emotional music of Spain, and shows his love for his country and its traditions by introducing Moors and Nazi and Italian Fascist conscripts to destroy his own country.

Has Francis McCollagh, Special Correspondent for the "Universe" in Spain, been stricken blind and deaf?

Mediation Is Impossible: Intrigues at Downing Street

The Tribune, in the editorial of the first issue (1-12-36) states that:

"There can be no middle course, and all the efforts of our diplomats to 'mediate' the conflict are doomed to failure. More, the success of General Franco can only serve to bring Europe another step nearer to a general war. A prime condition of world peace is, therefore, to ensure victory for the lawful Government of Spain."

"So much was obvious from the outset of the conflict. It was no less obvious after the first few weeks of horror, that the British Government, which had the power to act decisively in the struggle, was in no mind to take any action calculated to assist the cause of the Spanish workers or of Spanish democracy. Every shift and turn that cynical diplomacy could stage and reactionary power-policy enforce, was executed by the veiled Fascists of Downing Street. Always the end was the same—effectively maintaining for General Franco increasing supplies of men and munitions, and effective stopping support for the Spanish workers."

Political "Crisis" in Catalonia

Must has been said in the bourgeois press with regard to the "crisis," and naturally many sections of the press were anxious to witness a real crisis whereby they could say that the new system was a failure. Now all has been satisfactorily settled. But what is rather interesting is to notice that the trouble was between the communists and the P.O.U.M. The Anarchists, who are always spoken of as the "sectarians," and by Strachey as belonging to a "rigid mould," were the mediators! The "Generalitat de Catalunya" described the situation in the following terms:—

"The signs of the so-called 'crisis' were very noticeable in the early part of this month. Did it originate on the part of any other organization in the Council than the two Marxist parties? Not at all. Who are the two parties? The P.S.U.C. and the P.O.U.M. To be fair to both we must impartially familiarize the readers with actual facts causing the conflict."

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. not interested in the political differences of these parties, but recognizing the danger in breaking the present harmonious combination, urged that, in accordance with the original antifascist unity, no party should be excluded at these grave moments. The discussions continued until an open declaration developed from the P.S.U.C. and the U.G.T. that they would resign from the Council unless the P.O.U.M. were excluded.

"Neither the C.N.T., F.A.I., the Esquerra, the Estat Catala, nor the Rabassaires are responsible for this conflict, nor can they take sides with either of the two fighting oppositions. On the contrary, the above mentioned forces have used all their influence to establish peace between them, and up to this date are holding conferences to adjust the grievances existing between the two parties."

Leaders' Obstinate Resistance

As a concluding remark, I might mention that Mr. John Strachey in the December issue of "Left Book Club News" wrote that perfect harmony and unity amongst the workers was delayed for a long period by the "obstinate resistance of the anarchist leaders"! According to the Generalitat of Catalonia it seems to be due to the political jealousy existing between the Marxist factions!

IN SOVIET RUSSIA—

continued from column five.

overcome the need for 'camaraderie' of life in common." And one sees formed again the strata of society (we will not yet call them classes), a kind of aristocracy. I am not referring to an aristocracy of personal merit and value, but that of good thinking, and conformity, which, in future generations, will become that of money, and this petite bourgeoisie spirit is profoundly counter-revolutionary.

Stalin is adored, his effigy has replaced the Ikons.

"A dictatorship of the proletariat we were expecting. We are far from it. Yes, dictatorship, naturally; but that of a single man. . ."

André Gide concludes by a study of Culture and Art. What is required of an artist in Russia are works which all can understand immediately, but that is not sufficient. The artist is ordered to be "in line," otherwise he is condemned of formalism. But art will lose all its significance and value without liberty, having to follow a given path and having always to be popular.

The Revolution Will Triumph

Despite all the criticisms A. Gide has showered on the Russian regime, he is certain that the Revolution will eventually triumph. He hopes that his book will be of some use to the Russian comrades. We are certain of its utility not only for the Communists who will now understand that the U.S.S.R. is not a terrestrial paradise as they would have us believe, but also for the Spanish comrades who will be able to avoid making the same mistakes which lead, under illusive forms, to the disappearance of liberty and of the powers of criticism, and thus to material and intellectual slavery which will retard for many years the great work of human emancipation.

Paris.

M.-L.B.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whitesway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on Jan. 8th, 1937, and printed by V.W.H. Press, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks, and London.

All Is Not Well—André Gide's View

A NEW INEQUALITY HAS ARISEN

Retour de P.U.R.S.S. By André Gide (Ed. Gallimard, Paris. 6 francs.)

On the occasion of Gorki's funeral, André Gide was able to visit the U.S.S.R., the land of his dreams, for which he always showed both enthusiasm and attachment. We awaited his return with impatience because, certain of his sincerity, we knew that what he would have to say would either dispel or confirm our fears concerning the true conditions in Russia. He knew what we expected from him, he understood how much we desired to hear the truth with regard to the conditions of life in Russia, about which so many falsehoods have been told; he understood moreover the importance that would be attached to accusations against the system, for which he had always shown so much admiration.

In Russia there is the "excellent" and the "worst." The "excellent" is to be found in the sports grounds, rest houses, camping grounds, healthy youths and children, happy and spontaneous both in their manner and their conversation. The photos of these children and youths are reproduced in hundreds of newspapers and magazines, and this is one of the means of arousing enthusiasm in the youth of other countries. But what is more unfortunate (and those who dare to express this opinion are treated as critics and even Fascists) is the sight of long queues of patient people waiting to obtain foodstuffs, which are scarce and often unobtainable because the State does not pay attention to the quality. Why should the State worry: it has no competition, consequently there is no need to satisfy public taste as is done in the capitalistic state.

One must not expect to find statistics in this book. . . A. Gide does not give us detailed information on the organisations in factories, in the "kolkhozes." He really wished to study the psychology of this new Russian people.

A National "Conformity of Opinion"

Firstly, one learns that "in Russia it is a recognised fact that on anything and everything there cannot be more than one opinion." Besides, the people's minds have been so shaped that this conformity of opinion becomes easy and natural. "Every morning the Pravda teaches them what they must know, think, believe. So that whenever one talks to a Russian it is the same as if one were talking to everybody." They are happy, "but their happiness is made up of hope, faith and ignorance."

Ignorance because their frontiers are closed to the rest of the world, and as a result they believe that the workers in other countries are even unhappy; ignorance which is accounted for by the very education received, which has as its aim the stifling of the critical spirit, and compulsory satisfaction in one's condition at all times. Criticism consists in asking oneself whether such and such a view is admissible or not, without thinking or discussing whether such a view is the correct one. This absolute faith, which is found in the perfect organisation of Russia, gives rise to a superiority complex amongst the people, which makes them always doubt that they are being sufficiently admired abroad. Already they are quite convinced that they have nothing to learn from other countries: France has neither schools, nor trains nor underground trains.

But worst of all is the new inequality which has been created. In Stochi one admires the rest houses of the best and most trustworthy workers, but near-by workers, who are employed in the construction of the new theatre, live in filthy encampments. After having visited a modern "sovkhoz" one crosses a stream and sees hovels where people sleep four in a room.

A New Bourgeoisie

Gide's fears seem justifiable. "I am afraid"—he writes—"that a new kind of bourgeoisie will be formed, made up of satisfied workers (and consequently conservative) comparable with our 'petite bourgeoisie.'" With the restoration of the family (as a social unit), inheritance and the linking of money, of private property, will

(continued in previous column)

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