

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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Mankind's subjection will continue just so long as it is tolerated.

PROUDHON.

(From Carnets)

What A Fascist Triumph Means HOW CAN ENGLAND AND FRANCE REMAIN ALOOF?

Francesco Fausto Nitti, the author of this article, comes from a long line of Republicans.

During the Great War he was an officer, and since the outbreak of the Revolution has offered his services and technical knowledge to the Spanish Workers' Cause.

In Italy, during Mussolini's rise to power, he was a militant in the anti-fascist ranks. Arrested in Rome at the end of 1926 he was sent to the Penal Island of Lampedusa for a period of 5 years. He succeeded in escaping in 1929 with Carlo Rosselli and Emilio Lussu, an achievement which surprised the world. His book "Escape" (Putnam) which was translated into many languages, recounts in vivid detail, life on the island and the thrilling escape which robbed Mussolini of yet one more victim.—Ed.

In Spain today a new world is rising over the remains of a society stifled by its own falseness and vice. This truth is immediately apparent to all those who have the privilege of living at the present moment in the midst of this turmoil. Men are imperfect beings, but when the sacred breath of the ideal has inspired them, they can, like the ancient gods, destroy one society and create a better one, in the image of their most beautiful dreams; a society which is the result of absolute necessity. Revolution is the real mother of human progress. The reforms and slow improvements which result from it resemble the slow continuous march of a crowd of men, moving towards some distant end.

Revolution is the furious gallop of cavalry, inspired and irresistible, hurled forward to the attack of some fortress which is to be captured and destroyed. It is an upheaval made up of violence, generosity, heroism and love. Favoured indeed are those who can be witnesses and active participants of such events. They are witnessing something very great and very rare; the death of an old planet and the birth of a new star created by omnipotent forces.

And when a section of the international press inveighs against the horrors of the Red revolution (since it is obvious that only the Reds are capable of horrors!) it appears necessary to ask whether those who inspire or write such articles are idiots or men of bad faith. All revolutions are the work of the masses, and as such, violent and brutal like the masses themselves. When a people tired of suffering rises up against a perfidious and pitiless foe, can any one, if we are to speak the truth, limit the number and the nature of the blows struck. The febrile enthusiasm of a nation shakes the whole organism of a nation; of no purpose is it to bemoan the harmful germs which created this fever of enthusiasm, vain to regret the microbes which this fever overcomes and suppresses. Let those tender-hearted persons who weep sentimental tears over the "horrors" of the revolution, read and re-read and meditate upon history, and its horrors during centuries of slavery and oppression.

Figureheads of the Tragedy

The Spanish Revolution is fully aware of its enemies, the whole of the old decadent society is against it. Franco, and the ridiculous generals who surround him are the mere figureheads of the tragedy. The real actors are quite different; all the privileged classes, all the opportunists, the profiteers, in a word all those who command capital and the monopoly of power, bankers and multi-millionaires, bourgeois land-owners, the Pope and his prelates, the followers of Jesus and the limited companies: all such are against the revolution and the Spanish people—it is in their vital interest. Mussolini and Hitler themselves are nothing but two exponents of a world where rapacity and cruelty are rife, a

radical and unexpected transformations of the structures of their societies, as a result of the triumph of Italian, German and Spanish Fascism.

In so far as the masses are concerned in France and England, their fate would very rapidly be that of the proletariat in Germany, Italy, Spain or Poland. No rights whatsoever, every duty; no liberty, but every form of tyranny. No more progress, but a return to the past; state religion imposed by force and quite unavoidable, the "order and discipline" of the barracks and the state penitentiary, an inadequate economic existence, an intellectual life nullified or perverted by tyrannical masters. Is this what the free peoples wish for? Is this what the mass of intellectual and manual workers desire today in France and England? Is it this that the free spirits of these nations hope for, the writers, artists, poets, creators? It cannot be. Let them rise then and make it clear to the governments who are their representatives, that a different policy must be adopted. The democratic nations, both as states and as free peoples, cannot remain neutral or indifferent to the battle, complex, terrifying and remorseless, which is being waged in Spain. This is the decisive moment when the democracies can still affirm their vitality, and their right to exist; they must struggle or perish.

A new world is being born today in Spain. As a new world was born in Russia in 1917, in spite of the pitiless opposition offered by the privileged classes of the whole world. Let the present-day democracies realise not only on what side were to be found the ideals according to which they themselves were created, but also the fact that their very existence is at stake.

FRANCESCO FAUSTO NITTI.

FASCISM & CULTURE

Franco Imitates Mussolini and Hitler

It was only natural that Mussolini and Hitler should have burnt all books by learned men in their struggle against intellectual progress. Franco has followed his masters. One reads in the official newspapers of the Junta of Burgos that:

"Forty-eight hours is given for the burning of all books of a social character which have communistic or anarchistic tendencies."

One may be sure that the Junta of Burgos will give the most liberal interpretation to the word *tendencies* and that, as in Germany and Italy, many valuable works of literature will be destroyed.



ARMS FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS

What is Democracy Doing For Peace?

"TREASON," SAYS SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

The Italo-German beast continues its desperate attack upon Madrid. The flower of its armies in men and material has been launched against the Capital of Spain. Strong naval units patrol our seas and torpedo our ships. World Fascism acts with impunity on Spanish soil, sowing terror and death with smug complacency. Already, thousands have fallen victims to the Fascist bombs. Madrid is the most pitiful picture of the tragedy that enshrouds Spain.

And the World? What is the World doing in face of this tragedy? What are the democratic countries doing? What part are France and England playing in the terrible Spanish drama? They contemplate with indifference the extermination of a noble and generous people; the people who helped France and England, their ally, during the Great War. Without compunction they witness the cruel Italo-German invasion that seizes Morocco, the Canaries and the Balearic Islands, the Rio Tinto mines and other sources of wealth, and the strategic positions which for them constitutes a grave menace.

The democracies are asleep! and their slumber is a betrayal. While they hide behind the screen of their cowardice, Spain struggles on. Without respite, without rest, we are fighting, in Spain, for something which is more valuable than gold, nay, more valuable than life itself; the fight for our independence. In-

dependence which means Liberty.

Workers of all the world! Do something to awaken democracies from their suicidal lethargy. See that your solidarity with the cause of the Spanish workers in their struggle against International plutocracy assumes the proportions of an immense arm which will brush aside those beyond our shores who are betraying their own countries. Workers of all nations! Do not allow the treason, of which Spain is a victim, to be consummated. If you do, our defeat would be your doom.

Anti-fascist Comrades of Spain! While the European democracies hide their cowardice beneath the cloak of their suicidal impartiality, let us continue our noble struggle against the Fascists, against bloodthirsty reaction, against the foreign invader.

And while the only sympathy coming from abroad evaporates in meetings and statements, let us give the workers of the world the magnificent lesson of our heroism.

Spain is thirsting for justice; struggling against Fascist imperialism and fighting for its freedom. Against our fortitude and combative determination, the forces of Fascist criminals will fail. Neither let the disgraceful conduct of the democracies dishearten you; conduct which can only be translated by one word: TREASON!

Solidaridad Obrera.
January 14th.

"THE CHURCH IN SPAIN AND ITS RELATIONS WITH FASCISM."

A public meeting will take place Friday, February 19th, 7.30 p.m., at Friends House, Euston Road.

Chairman: FENNER BROCKWAY.

Speakers:

EMMA GOLDMAN
JOHN MCGOVERN
ETHEL MANNIN
CAPT. J. R. WHITE.

Tickets: Price 2/6, 1/-, 6d. (all seats reserved).

Admission to Gallery free.

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

SPAIN and the WORLD

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Mussolini Admits Defeat

In accepting the proposals for banning all volunteers in Spain, Mussolini added that all anti-fascist propagandists and agitators should also be forbidden to work in Spain. By so doing, Mussolini has admitted defeat. With his Fascist propaganda organisations, as well as Hitler's Nazi organisations, he has been unable to convince the Spanish people of his superior civilization. He has only succeeded in parts of the country in taking control, but then only by means of bombing planes, heavy artillery, submarines and thousands of paid soldiers. He has not succeeded in convincing the Spanish people any more than he succeeded in convincing the unfortunate Abyssinian people.

These anti-fascist propagandists and agitators have gone to Spain to help the Spanish people to bring about a Social Revolution; not a Society based on military discipline, or the renunciation of individuality; not a Society whose greatness must needs be based on trains running to time, new roads (for the benefit of tourists), wireless stations by which the people are fed with nationalism and hatred, nor by "spontaneous" manifestations which inebriate the simple minded. All these "achievements" can be brought about in any society, however retrograde. But, the well-being of all, the education of the mind, and the Liberty of the individual, is based on an ideal. It is not achieved at the expense of others, as are Mussolini's aspirations, but by the co-operation of all for the common cause. That Society is being built up in Catalonia, the Levante and in those parts of the country where Franco and his hordes have not trodden.

And Mussolini knows this, as does Hitler, as his remarks in the Reichstag indicate, and they will continue to do their utmost to counteract all progress in Spain and elsewhere.

Call to Action

We can protest; pseudo-Socialist M.P.s can raise their voices and shake their fists; political organisations can join hands and wave the same flag; pacifists can pass resolutions or discuss details; protestant clergy can exploit the corruption of the Catholic Church (and vice versa); intellectuals can write letters to the Press. . . . BUT if this sympathy is not accompanied by action, why continue? Why fill the Spanish people with false hopes? Why talk of Liberty whilst every day the people of England are losing those few liberties they possessed, without a murmur? Why talk of economic freedom and at the same time applaud the "philanthropist" who can dispose of millions of pounds for charities, without seeking the explanation for the discrepancy between the twenty odd million people who have each 8/- a week to spend on food, and the two million pounds a single individual can dispose of without turning a hair.

These injustices have existed for years in Spain. But the people have not sought the counsel of their local M.P. nor the parson, but have acted by their own initiative. The example given by the Spanish workers during the last hundred years is one of self-sacrifice for an ideal.

(continued in next column)

EMMA GOLDMAN APPEALS For Understanding And Support Of The C.N.T. -- F.A.I. CATALONIA -- THE BANNER BEARER Playing The Dominating Part

Dear Comrades,
Here I am in the country where I have always felt completely lost and where I have never succeeded in reaching people. This time it seems I may really have better luck. But then, the power of attraction is Spain. It is anarchism so maligned and misrepresented as criminal and impractical that it has at last been proven a living force. With such a factor to attract English people it will not be so bitterly hard as it has been in the past. I will now be able to hark in the glorious sun of the Spanish revolution--of the great courage and fortitude of our comrades of the C.N.T.--F.A.I.

In point of fact my main quest here is to make the C.N.T.--F.A.I. known in England. So far its importance has been grasped only by the few. On my arrival I found that while much was being done in England for the Anti-Fascist struggle and the various parties allied with the C.N.T.--F.A.I., very little was done for the latter. This partly out of ignorance, and partly out of deliberate neglect. This could not have happened had we an anarchist movement in England. Unfortunately we have not. There are a few comrades in London and in a few provincial towns, willing enough, but either too old to march, willing they are, or not able to make themselves heard. They have done what they could in making the work of the C.N.T.--F.A.I. known. Alas, it was but a drop in the sea. More reason for me being here and straining every nerve to put the C.N.T.--F.A.I. "on the British map" as we used to say in America.

I said before that the part of the C.N.T.--F.A.I. in the Spanish struggle is hardly understood by the outside world. I fear even some of our comrades are still lacking in understanding of the colossal share our Spanish comrades had and have in events there. I am led to this conclusion by the reports of the condemnation coming from our own ranks. In Holland for instance, some of the pacifist-anarchists are carrying on a systematic attack on the C.N.T.--F.A.I., heaping the same insults and calumny on their heads as the fascists do. And from private correspondence I gather that our comrades in Spain have been charged with nothing short of treachery. That is very deplorable. To say the least it shows lack of understanding of the situation in Spain, and the conditions under which the C.N.T.--F.A.I. are labouring.

Perhaps I can put them right even if all the actual facts of the inner work of the C.N.T.--F.A.I. in Spain are made known to the world. The truth has its way of coming to the fore. Just at present we cannot oblige Franco and his backers. Once Fascism will be defeated, as it must be, if the revolution is to go on with its marvellous constructive work, all our comrades, as well as the rest of the world will learn the truth. The truth of the gigantic share the C.N.T.--F.A.I. have played from their inception until this day.

I hope I am still the old anarchist and that I still believe in the necessity of criticism of steps taken that apparently look inconsistent with our ideas. I have never justified the notion that wrong acts committed by one's own comrades should be ignored more than when committed by our opponents. And if I know anything of the comrades of the C.N.T.--F.A.I. I can say with certainty that they themselves would be the last to expect complete acceptance of anything they have done with which we cannot agree in full. They do, however, expect our comrades outside of Spain to acquaint themselves with the real situation and the reasons imposed on them by the factors working in their own country. These factors left our comrades only one of two alternatives: either dictatorship or direct participation in the government.

SYSTEMATIC SABOTAGE

Never before was a revolution and its leading organisation so scandalously sabotaged as in Spain. In point of truth, the sabotage was systematic and flagrant enough to jeopardise the rescue of Madrid from the fascist hordes. It was only by the decision of the C.N.T. to take a responsible share in the Madrid government that the City was made ready at the eleventh hour for the defence since known to the whole world as one of the most heroic battles in history. For it was only when the Madrid Caballero cabinet betook itself to Valencia that the real drive against the fascist gang, equipped with every sort of German and Italian arms, could be undertaken. As on the 19th July, so in Madrid, the people themselves, the dumb inarticulate masses, undertook the defence of Madrid and with it the defeat of Franco and his hirings.

Let it be understood by all comrades that the C.N.T. is not at all unaware that the anarchists in Ministries are an anomaly. In the first place, government

(continued from previous column)

To-day their sacrifice would have been rewarded had no interference come from Mussolini and Hitler. And the "democracies" of England and France just murmur their disapproval at this interference and shrug their shoulders.

Was Bernard Shaw right when he said that the English people did not know the meaning of the word LIBERTY?

and ministers do not mean the same thing to the Spanish anarchists as they do to Europeans and Americans. They are mere makeshifts to them, to be dispensed with in due time. In the second place it meant the safety of Madrid, in fact the safety of Spain. Only the future will tell whether the C.N.T.--F.A.I. were wisely or not. For the present it should suffice our comrades outside of Spain to know that the next step to entering the Ministry was armed revolt against the sabotage that had been going on for months on the part of some of the parties that had joined the United Front.

REAL LIBERTY IN CATALONIA

I have already stated that our comrades had only one of two things to choose: dictatorship or the widest possible freedom for all their so-called friends in the Anti-Fascist struggle. I am glad to say that the C.N.T.--F.A.I. chose the latter. It may seem an exaggeration when I say that Catalonia to-day is the free-est place politically in the world--outside the fascist empire. Every party enjoys unlimited freedom of speech, press and assembly. In fact, some of them are interpreting liberty to mean licence. They have requisitioned the most conspicuous buildings, they hold forth until all hours of the night in loud speakers and meetings. They have daily parades in military formation and music. They do pretty much as they damn please including intense preparation for the happy hour when they might be strong enough to put our comrades to the wall. True, they will have as much luck in that as Franco has had so far. Our comrades are not blind to the danger, they are prepared for it. But so deep-rooted is their faith in freedom that they would rather endure the daily annoyances that would try the patience of saints than forcibly prevent those to whom they must rely on other methods to win adherents. Our people feel that anarchism and libertarian communism are so ingrained in the Catalan workers and peasants that they need no public shows to arouse their enthusiasm and devotion.

This will have to do for the present as people get far from having betrayed our ideas, the C.N.T.--F.A.I. are to-day the only gallant fighters and defenders of them. Actually they are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it.

I feel, therefore, that whatever our regrets may be of our Spanish comrades having entered Ministries, or having made other mistakes, we have no right to judge until fascism has been crushed. At present there is only one measure that is fascist, by whatever name it goes. Everything else must wait. Our duty outside of Spain is to help our comrades, to help the anti-fascist battle with material and moral support. To help the women and children evacuated from the various fronts.

Dear comrades, bear in mind Catalonia is carrying the whole weight. Thousands of dollars and pounds have been raised for anti-fascist Spain. But not a cent went to Catalonia. Yet Catalonia is feeding Madrid, and it is feeding 30,000 women and children from other parts of Spain. Last, but not least, Catalonia is the banner bearer of the revolution, the one part of Spain that is doing constructive work amidst the horrors of war, cold and hunger. In all this, the C.N.T.--F.A.I. is playing the leading and dominating part.

All strength to the C.N.T.--F.A.I.
Later I hope to send you something on the collectivised industries and farms. For to-day I have said enough. I am here for three, or at the most four, months. Then I will return to Spain. I want nothing grander than for my last years to be at the side of our comrades, to share with them in their struggle. To help them, if only in a small measure, to victory, or if needs be to lay down my life if defeat should be their lot. But it never can, will or must be. And all our comrades in every country must see to it that the battle of the C.N.T.--F.A.I. should be victorious. You can, if you will, be less fault-finding and more active with your moral and financial support.

EMMA GOLDMAN,
15, Castleton Road,
London, W.14.
25/1/37.

In our next issue articles on:

Francisco Ferrer.

The Significance of Federica.

Montsemer's Speech at

Valencia.

LIBERTO POU (11 years)."

"Since July 19th the difference between the poor and the rich has ceased to exist. The rich people formed a fascist column and came to Barcelona, but the C.N.T. was quicker and cleverer and the workers went to the front with rifles and various other things."

"On July 19th our great comrade Ascaso died. Then our great comrade Durruti formed many large columns and went to the Zaragoza front. Later the workers of Russia

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Agricultural Problem NEW AGRARIAN POLICY Co-operative Proposals For Workers

One of the most pressing problems with which the Popular Front Government was faced when it came to office in February of last year was that of the land. In Spain with its large peasant population, agriculture is all-important. Under the domination of the big landlords, the peasant lived almost always on the starvation line. It was no uncommon thing for a small peasant farmer to earn less than one peseta (about 6d. or 14 cents) a day, and to live together with his family and cattle in a mud hut.

Every form of oppression and tyranny was practised by the landed classes. They would, for example, keep control of the water supply for their land and sell it to the workers at whatever price they thought fit. The man who was too poor to buy water would be forced to see the crops on which the winter food supplies for his family depended, wither away.

According to published statistics, under the monarchy ten thousand families held one-half of the total area of workable land--out of a total of approximately 10 million holders. There were eight million peasants who held less than half a hectare of land each. In 1932 an attempt was made by the Republican Government to remedy this disgraceful state of affairs and an Act was passed with the object of putting a large number of families on the land. It was hoped to establish 20,000 families before the autumn of 1933. This attempt was met with the determined opposition of the great landlords and the financiers, who saw their privileges and power in danger of disappearance, and by reason of their obstruction it was possible only to establish 5,000 families on the land during the first three years of the Republic. The desperate situation of the peasantry was worsened by the Rent Act of 1935, forced upon an incapable government by the reactionary forces.

Under this Act, thousands of tenants who for generations had worked their small pieces of land, were compelled to give them up and abandon the cot-

tages they themselves had built. It is estimated that in Catalonia alone 1,500 evictions were made and nearly 20,000 in the rest of Spain.

What, then, did the great landlords, many of whom were clergy, do with this land over which they had complete control? The answer to this question is a shameful one. Out of the fifty million hectares of land in Spain, only some twenty millions were worked. Out of this twenty only some four millions were useful for intensive cultivation. In consequence of this criminal neglect by the landlords of the potential riches of the country, many Spaniards were forced to emigrate because they could not find bread in their own land.

The Popular Front Government immediately took steps to try to remedy this disgraceful state of affairs. In Cáceres 10,000 hectares were divided up, and in Badajoz 120,000 hectares given to the very poor peasants, but these provinces are now unfortunately in the hands of the fascists, and one may be certain that the people will have been once more subjugated without legal redress and condemned again to the old servitude.

In the parts of the country where the people are now in control, the great landlords have, of course, disappeared, and the land has been divided up amongst the peasants' and field workers. In Catalonia, where the system of renting land was in existence, the contracts have been cancelled and the land given to those who were willing and able to cultivate it.

The Minister of Agriculture in the Valencia Government is planning a new constructive agrarian policy. It is proposed to form co-operatives which will work closely with the distributing centres set up by the agricultural workers' unions, and the workers will be able to profit by their individual labour. These suggestions are not, of course, compulsory. The Government intends to protect and guide the changes in rural economy, granting credits, providing seed and agricultural machines without forcing anything on the workers.

THROUGH CHILDREN'S EYES

Poverty--Before And After July 19th

We are publishing further extracts from *Revista Natura*, which is written and edited by children of tender years. Editorial offices: "Escuela Natura," Avenida de Francisco Ascaso.

"Poverty is a detestable thing. But I think riches is even more detestable. "On July 19th, sacred day of history, all riches disappeared, and poverty will soon disappear. We are working and shall continue to work like we did before. But to-day we are working with more joy, because we know that we no longer work for the bourgeois, but for the Revolution, that has cost us and still costs so many lives of the defenders of liberty and equality in the world.

"Before the Revolution one used to hear every day, a man has died of cold or hunger. The bourgeois did not mind. Now one never hears this, but one learns that comrades died when they took part in the battle for a village. These men do not die of hunger or cold. They die for the freedom of all. We little comrades shall fight at their side until fascism is smashed and poverty is destroyed, just like riches has been destroyed. Forward, Comrades!

LIBERTO POU (11 years)."

"Since July 19th the difference between the poor and the rich has ceased to exist. The rich people formed a fascist column and came to Barcelona, but the C.N.T. was quicker and cleverer and the workers went to the front with rifles and various other things."

"On July 19th our great comrade Ascaso died. Then our great comrade Durruti formed many large columns and went to the Zaragoza front. Later the workers of Russia

(Continued at foot of next column)

The Arms Embargo

AUSTRALIANS DEMAND REMOVAL

The Ministry of the Defence Junta has received a communication from the Australian movement against war and fascism expressing their solidarity with the Spanish antifascist movement.

The letter reads:

"This Council sends fraternal greetings to your heroic soldiers in these grave times. We are organising monster mass meetings protesting against the Madrid bombardments, and asking the Australian and British Governments to raise the arms embargo in order to enable the constitutional Spanish Government to buy the necessary arms.

"We want you to know that all the workers and friends of democracy of the south and of Australia are with you to the man in the defence of democracy. We foresee a complete triumph for you, which will mean the victory of world democracy and the beginning of fascist defeat in order that equality and justice may triumph throughout the world. We are unconditionally on your side in the cause of unity, peace, freedom and democracy."

(Continued from previous column)

sent us food and arms, with which we made more columns. These are now bombarding the fascists in Madrid and Zaragoza.

"The fascists are now using poisonous gas. The people of Barcelona are very quiet. If all those who walk about the Rambla with rifles would go out to the Huesca front, etc, our comrades who are already there need not suffer so much, because together they could kill more fascists.

"Our comrades are very cold up in the mountains and in the trenches. All Spanish women must knit for the militias, just as we children of the Escuela Natura do.

Little comrades! Follow the example of the girls of the Escuela Natura. Forward, comrades!

ARMONIA POU (9 years)."

UNDER FASCIST RULE

INVADERS BRUTAL TREATMENT
Drive 50,000 People from San Sebastian.

A correspondent who has visited the province of Guipúzcoa gives some interesting facts about life in San Sebastian, Irún and other towns in the north of Spain which are occupied by the fascists.

San Sebastian, that favourite holiday resort of foreigners in peace-time, is now a distressing sight. More than nine thousand apartments are empty and about fifty thousand people have left the town, unable to bear with the inhuman and brutal treatment meted out to them by the fascist invaders. Those who have remained in the town are forced to go to Mass. Guards are placed at the doors of the Church and those who leave before Mass is over are punished.

In Irún there was once a population of some 20,000; now there are only 3,500 inhabitants.

This correspondent also threw light on the generous way in which the fascists treat their friends. Cases like that of Rodriguez de Viguri are not uncommon. Viguri was an ex-minister of the Berenguer government and a great friend of Franco. He was in France when the revolt of July last broke out and Franco and Mola asked him to come back to Spain to help them. Viguri accepted the post of General of the Judicial Military Corps. As such, and attired in appropriate uniform, he carried out his duties in Burgos, Salamanca and Valladolid. He had a son who was arrested in Madrid as a fascist and tried by the Popular Tribunal. Notwithstanding all this the rebels considered Rodriguez de Viguri to be disloyal to the fascist regime and had him arrested and put into prison in Valladolid where he has remained for two and a half months awaiting trial.

Valentin Senén, a Jesuit, was favourable to the fascists, had given them money and assisted them in many ways. He also fell into disgrace. He was accused of having contributed some years ago to two Madrid radical

papers. He managed to escape from rebel territory but dares not risk his life by returning.

Ventosa and Calvell, Cambé and other Catalan capitalists, also the ex-Marquis of Urquijo gave a great deal of assistance to Franco and collected large sums of money among their friends for the rebellion. Ventosa was sent by Franco to Burgos as Minister of Finance. When he arrived there, however, he was received in a very hostile manner and ordered to leave the city within two hours. He obeyed and returned to ask Franco for efficient guarantees and also a special car with an escort. This provided, he returned to Burgos and took up his post, but after some three days he left for France where he told people it was impossible to carry out his duties with the rebels as they had no conception of order or co-operation.

BARBARISM IN SEVILLE

Eleven armed fascist soldiers from Villarta came over to our lines, among them the collaborator Rocha Roblas of the "Heraldo de Aragon" in Andalusia who gave an account of the atrocities in Seville. He affirmed and it was substantiated by all eleven, that over 15,000 were killed by fear of becoming victims of expeditive cruelties committed by the fascists.

Rocha told of the despicable treason of the Seville governor who turned over the power to the fascists without resistance. The workers barricaded themselves in their neighbourhoods and fought for days before surrendering.

Among the many victims are Dra. Labandera and Relincou, the deputy Cuello, the Mayor, Horacio Arguello, of the Left Republicans, and many more have been assassinated. When the Communist Councillor, Barneto, ran away, they killed his 60 year old mother.

Several German ships have arrived with 10,000 soldiers and officers, equipped with war material, ammunition, ambulances, motor-cycles, automobiles and trucks. These arrived last month. Italian aeroplanes are being continually unloaded and assembled although they are short of pilots. As our aeroplanes bombed Seville's airdromes and military centres very frequently, Queipo de Llano gave orders to shoot everyone who was being detained. Since October three festivals have been organised and the streets decorated with flowers in celebration of the capture of Madrid.

6,000 WORKERS ASSASSINATED

Excuses For Failure At Madrid

A comrade who has escaped recently from Saragossa informs us that there are no more regular troops or police forces stationed in the capital of Aragon. Before they left the last sons of Allah were seen on the Paseo de la Independencia walking arm in arm with the fashionable and pious ladies of the privileged classes.

The defence of the city against the "reds" is organized by a vigilance committee, and blessed by the bishops. There are frequent parades of the phalangists, the Carlists and the youth organization (poor innocent creatures from six to ten years). All pedestrians are subjected constantly to severe control in the streets, cafes, everywhere. It is strictly prohibited to discuss or comment upon politics or the war.

Over 6,000 workers and all the teachers of the city schools—male and female—have been assassinated. Imitating Hitler's system, they force the workers to pay, out of their very small wages, 10% for war expenses, 15% for relief fund for monks and nuns who are refugees, and 5% for the families of the Phalangists. When all this is deducted there is very little left for the workers themselves.

Military classes back to '31 have been mobilized. The soldiers refuse to command, and as a result the ranks of corporal and sergeant are vacant.

The press, after having announced the fall of Madrid on November 7th, later put blame for the failure to capture it on the "many difficulties of occupying a big city." Finding it was impossible to overcome these difficulties, it was announced that Madrid was no longer of interest to them. But two weeks ago they promised victory again within a few days. Now they talk of a plebiscite as the way out of the difficulty in which they find themselves.

We can see that the fascists are completely disillusioned in their hopes for victory. Before long they will be compelled to abandon the cities as well as the battlefields and quit Spain for ever.

Where will they go? Let them seek refuge among the Moors, with Hitler or Mussolini and establish their new white or black paradise.

(Generalist de Catalunya).

MUSSOLINI'S "NEUTRALITY"

Italian Airman Forced Down while Bombing Madrid

TELLS WHY HE JOINED FRANCO

A few days ago I had the opportunity of witnessing a battle in the air which took place over Madrid. Seven chasers appeared over the Capital. Later we were able to confirm that they were all Italian Fiat planes, piloted by Italian airmen. This fact seems sufficient proof to me that once more the solemn declarations of neutrality made by Mussolini are nothing but vile lies, and that the indignation of the Italian Press towards those who do not believe in Mussolini's sincerity is an indecent comedy.

The mission which these seven Italian airmen had to undertake was to open the way and assure the protection of a squadron of bombers which was to follow them, and to continue the usual massacre of the Madrilian women and children. And as the legitimate Government of Spain did not possess up to that time any "chasers," the Fascist airmen flew calmly over the Capital, amusing themselves by dropping bombs on busy squares and public gardens crowded with happy children ignorant of the danger to which they were exposed.

But this time a little surprise awaited the aviators bringing Fascist civilization. Five "chasers" suddenly rose into the air over Madrid and hurtled at full speed towards the Fascist aeroplanes. The rattle of the machine guns soon drowned the throb of the engines. The combat was waged according to a pre-established plan of the Red airmen, or, more correctly, of the Spanish Government; three Red chasers were commissioned to cut off the retreat of the Fascist machines, whilst the other two made it their job to shoot them down one after the other.

The superiority of the Government's chasers was soon manifest. The Fascists could only save themselves by flying off. But as this manoeuvre had been foreseen, not all of them could escape to their lines. I must say that the Italian airmen showed great professional ability. All the cunning of aerial acrobacy was used to perfection in an attempt to escape the circle of fire of the Reds. Some dived towards the ground as if in a spin, but after 500 metres descent, regained control once more and tried to escape. But the Red aces knew all these tricks, and, banking almost perpendicularly, continued to machine-gun them.

Three 'Planes Forced Down.

Very soon three Fascist aeroplanes had been forced down. The others attempted to escape. The people of Madrid were breathing more freely.

One of the Fascist airmen who had been forced down landed safely, thanks to his parachute. Chance had it that he should land just where I was standing with a few Spanish Comrades. The airman, seriously wounded during the fighting, immediately declared that he was an Italian.

He was picked up and carefully put to bed in the apartment of the very people whom he had the intention of massacring. He was surrounded by a whole host of curious people, through which I managed to make my way with much difficulty.

I must confess that on seeing him I experienced deep emotion. I was soon aware that he really was an Italian, a son of our people, somewhat stunned by the shouts of the crowd of curious people, whom he thought were threatening to lynch him. I should like to be able to describe the feeling of relief that was visible on his features when I spoke the first words in Italian to him, in friendly tones. He looked like a lost child who ends up by finding his mother.

"They want to kill me, don't they?" the miserable wretch asked.

"What is your name?"

"Alfredo Piccoli. I come from Lugo. I am twenty-four years old."

"Were you a Fascist?"

"No. I do not belong to any party. I am not interested in politics."

"Then why did you come here to fight for the Fascist Generals, the traitors of your Spanish brothers?"

Offered 2,500 Pesetas A Month.

"But . . . I was told that Franco represented the Spanish people. Besides," continued the boy, "I am a civil aviator and the Fascio at Lugo had made me understand that if I did not join up I should never have

found any work. I had to live somehow. Franco offered me 2,500 pesetas a month. Now . . . I'm done for!"

The conversation was continued with a number of questions and answers of a military nature which are of no interest to the reader. I think it of interest, however, to reproduce faithfully the rapid conversation of a political nature that we had once his wound had been dressed, an anti-tetanus injection administered, and after he had drunk down in one gulp the glass of cognac given him.

"Do you still want to drink?"

"Why should I, if as soon as you have finished questioning me you will have me killed?"

"Listen," I told him in an almost imperative tone, "nobody is thinking of killing you. We represent a superior civilization. I am a Communist. Amongst the friends surrounding us are Anarchists, Socialists, Republicans and Democrats. Well, all of us are of the opinion that to take revenge on a beaten enemy is an act of barbarity worthy of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler, but not of those who are struggling for the Freedom of the people."

Bitter and sceptical surprise was his answer, accompanied by a gesture of despair and incredulity:

"I know that my minutes are numbered."

"Calm yourself," I tell him in a friendly tone. "I know you do not believe me because you have lived in the Fascist milieu, because you were a victim of that regime, even though you may not be a convinced and enthusiastic Fascist. You do not know us, or else you know us only through the lies that Fascism spreads about us and our ideas. But facts will prove our sincerity."

The Garibaldi Battalion.

"There are several hundred of us Italians who have joined as volunteers in the ranks of the Spanish people, and we are prepared to give up our lives to defend the Republic, liberty and peace. We are struggling for the same ideals for which the great Garibaldi made the finest pages in the history of our country. Our battalion of Italian volunteers bears the glorious name of Garibaldi. We are fighting in Spain for the Liberty of the Italian people, for your liberty, dear countryman. You were not free in Italy. The only Liberty you have there is to applaud Mussolini. If you show signs of disapproval of his ideas, you are put in prison, even if you are a Fascist. Is not that true?"

"Yes, quite true," Piccoli answers eagerly.

"If you had been free, if the wealth of our country had not been monopolized by a handful of capitalists who starve the masses, you would not have been obliged, neither by the Fascio of Lugo, nor by your wretched state, to come here and risk your life in the service of foreign dictators who massacre their own countrymen."

The Fascist airman paid an ever-increasing interest in the conversation. Tears covered his face, wincing with pain and emotion of this terrible adventure. Then, taking my hand in his own and crying, he murmured: "You men . . . are better than us. I should never have thought that Italians like yourself existed!"

The ambulance arrived. The enemy, who only an hour earlier had rained death on the population of Madrid, is now quite calm and bids me farewell with friendly signs.

How many Fascists, young and old, would succeed in becoming our friends if only we could let them know who we are!

And we must act in such a way that they will get to know us.

M. NICOLETTI.

(Transl. from "La Roche," of Barcelona.)

HUGE CASUALTY LIST

Among Franco's Forces Attacking Madrid

The "Correo de Asturias" of Buenos Aires, publishes the statements made by Manuel Alonso Alvarez, ex-mayor of Villaroz, Cadiz province, a man of the right and a sympathizer with the fascists. He took part in the movement, but found life impossible in the rebel camp and was forced to seek refuge abroad.

He was in Zamora when the revolt broke out. Later he was able to visit the lines on the fronts of León and Madrid and testifies that the commander of a rebel column was shot for protesting against the executions he was forced to carry out.

He added that in the advanced rebel lines near Madrid there were considerable numbers of prisoners from the workers forces and every day the rebels killed more than twenty, the phalangists being commissioned to carry out the job. He gave account then of the condition of the farms in the fascist territory, saying that they remain abandoned and uncultivated. He added that there is not a single plot of ground in rebel Spain that receives any attention.

Speaking of the new bank notes that have been issued by the rebels, he said that people used real Spanish money to buy the necessities of life and buried the other in their gardens or other places.

In the struggle around Madrid the fascists have suffered tremendous losses. The wounded who return from this front affirm that it is impossible to take the capital. One of the wounded soldiers said to Alonso in Valladolid that it would be impossible to take Madrid, and that of the 4,000 soldiers in one sector, only 43 remained, the rest being dead or wounded like himself. Another of the wounded soldiers added that the officers threatened them with pistols if they claimed his full wages.



DEFENDING SPAIN FROM FASCISM

Anarchism -- A Philosophy Of Action

CAPT. J. R. WHITE'S VIEW

Highest Reason Incarnate In Action

The following is the speech made by Captain White at the Meeting held at Conway Hall, January 18th under the auspices of the London Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

We believe it should be of interest to readers as it is written by a man who though not an Anarchist, feels that there is something in that philosophy which attracts. We suggest that the attraction is due to the fact that Anarchism is based on human justice, Freedom and Equality; necessary conditions if we are to live as human beings and not as inanimated objects. —Ed.

Our comrade, Emma Goldman, is an anarchist and I should like to give a word of explanation why I stand beside her on this platform. I want to sketch in what, as I understand it—and my knowledge of theoretic anarchism is as yet very small—is a fundamental of anarchist philosophy. I believe, then, I am right in saying that anarchism is a philosophy of action, because it is pre-eminently the philosophy of individual spontaneity. Every free and spontaneous individual knows that it would be highly desirable and convenient if knowledge could always precede action, and we could advance rationally step by step to a foreseen goal; life, and especially the deeper aspects of life, will not permit this; in the deepest crises and conflicts of life, whether individual or social, action has to precede knowledge, and if we wait too long to calculate results and fail to obey our emotional impulse to stand for what is right, or resist intolerable wrong, regardless of consequences, we miss the psychological moment; somehow we are devitalised by our own prudence, and we are left to face wrong, more deeply entrenched by our inaction, with less "elan vital" in ourselves to give us assurance of future victory. Reason, or rather the passive attempt to calculate consequences without creatively contributing to them by the magic of the deed, has betrayed us. The highest reason is incarnate in action and often cannot explain itself till after the action. Reason is latent in the pent-up emotion that drives to action. It is emotional reason, creative reason; the other kind of reason is dead.

At moments of revolution, the higher emotional reason is especially necessary, because it breaks through the old forms which are the premises of the dead reason; it creates new forms, which have their seed primarily not in the mind, but in the heart of man. He may not be able to foresee or define the new forms; but he knows the old forms are dead and will destroy his heart and spirit unless he bursts through them.

Non-Intervention A Verbal Screen

Nothing has been sadder to watch for the past five or six years than the way in which fascism has gained victory after victory by acting from its evil heart, while socialists and democrats reasoned and talked; in Germany and Austria. Fascism waited its moment and struck, quite regardless of the pathetic faith of its opponents in the compelling rightness of democratic theories. In the international parleys about Spain, talk of non-intervention has been nothing but a verbal screen for armed fascist intervention on an even larger scale.

We have to look to the internal struggle in Spain for the first real meeting of fascist action by revolutionary action, first in the magnificent struggle of the Asturian miners, so ruthlessly suppressed, and later on July 19th of last year in the historic defeat of the fascist coup by the workers of Barcelona. At last the philosophy of action of the fascists had met a revolutionary philosophy of action strong and direct enough to master it. In one day fascism was conquered in Barcelona. Machine guns and bat-

(Continued in next column)

Reputation:

Of Certain Misconceptions Concerning Libertarian Communism

By ISAAC PUENTE

(continued from previous issue)

What we do not admit is that such activities in order that they may flourish must be a result of human misery and slavery. For us they must be incompatible with this avoidable suffering. If to flourish they require the repulsive forces of ugliness, ignorance and a lack of culture then we should declare our incompatibility with them, without fear of being heretical.

When the worker demands bread, justice and when he considers his emancipation, one tells him that he will distort Art, Science or Culture. It is natural that he should become an iconoclast and that he should demolish with a hammer blow the intangible idol through which he feels himself enclosed in his serfdom and misery. But who can say that Art Science and Culture must suffer from the extension of well being and enjoyment of Liberty.

Art, Science and Culture cannot be bought with money, nor can they be conquered by power. On the contrary, their intrinsic nobility consists in the fact that they shun any form of slavery and withstand any form of bribery. They are the result of artistic talent, of ability and powers of discernment, and of the aspiration to achieve self perfection. But they owe nothing to the Maccabees or to the Caesars. They flourish spontaneously in any milieu, and all they demand is to live free from hindrance. They come to fruition through human ability alone, and it would be the mark of a simple mind to think that something can be added to them by setting up, through a Government machinery,

a palace of Inventions or the Annual distribution of prizes.

Misconception No. 5. Inability to construct the new Society

The new economic organisation implies the collaboration of the technical staff and skilled worker. In the same way as co-operation exists between revolutionaries so must co-operation between everybody exist in the new Society. That is to say, one must not gauge the new Society by the capacities that we possess, we revolutionaries, just as if we were a redeeming political party, but by the capacities that the whole Society possesses. The force that makes the technician work is economic necessity and not a love for the bourgeoisie. The force that will induce him to cooperate in the Society of the future, will still be the economic necessity, which will this time, however, exert itself on all citizens capable of working. We do not count alone on those who will give their services for reasons of devotion or desire for activity.

Thus, it is unnecessary to dazzle the world by parading our capabilities, nor by extraordinary plans which would be, after all, as false as those put forward by politicians. We bring to no one welfare and redemption as a present. We envisage a system in which slavery is unnecessary to the bringing of Liberty, nor misery for well being; neither must work be the abdication of man succumbing to the avarice of Capital. We envisage that economic necessity should be no longer interpreted by caprice nor special and private expediency which governs and directs, but by all who will contribute to the harmony of the ensemble, each by his work, each according to his strength and disposition.

(to be continued)

teries of artillery were taken by the invincible rush of the people dependent for the most part on nothing but their bare hands with about one rifle per 40 men. The guns were turned against the barracks, their walls were breached and their stores of arms captured, while the rank and file of the troops joined the people. In three days fascism was liquidated in Catalonia.

In addressing an audience like this to make known the work of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., it is a little difficult to put one's finger on points whether of theory or practice, which differentiate the Anarcho-Syndicalism or Libertarian Communism of Spain from, say, the more highly centralised system of Russian Communism. I have not the knowledge to descend on the points of theoretic difference, and, if I had, it might be inadvisable to do so.

It might, however, be interesting to trace the historical foundations of anarchism in Spain and to indicate the roots of anarchist divergence from the brand of communism with which we are more familiar in this country. Mr. John Strachey writing in the Left Book Club News of the working class movement of 1860 says, "it is a pity that into the new born movement of that date had strayed the brilliant, erratic, disastrous Russian aristocrat, Michael Bakunin. He became far more influential in Spain than the Marxists. He split the International and set a great section of the Spanish working class movement in the rigid anarchist mould." Whether Mr. Strachey is right in speaking of the anarchist movement as "Rigid," we will investigate later. I can only say that if I agreed with him I should not be on this platform now.

Out to Organise A New Spain

I want, if I can, to give you some notion of the respective characteristics of the authoritarian and libertarian groups in Spain, not in any spirit of invidious comparison, but to illustrate as far as possible the difference of outlook and temperament. Sir Peter Chalmers-Mitchell, writing in the Times of his experience in Malaga in the early days of Franco's rebellion, mentions two points in comparing the U.G.T. and C.N.T.-F.A.I., which are, I think, characteristic. Both, he says, organised Militias, but the former tried to attract recruits by promising them permanent service in the Standing Army afterwards, while the latter were bitterly opposed to all Standing Armies, and even their leaders refused to accept Commissions.

In their attitude to economics, he adds, the former tended to concentrate on raising wages at the expense of capital, while the latter were out to organise a new Spain based on creative work.

Many impartial observers have spoken of the self-imposed discipline in the factories taken over and controlled by the workers, and realised that underlying this voluntary discipline was great enthusiasm and revolutionary faith; hence the impression of dignity emanating from the workers.

While no doubt the voluntary discipline and the enthusiasm that begets it is not confined to the C.N.T.-F.A.I., it is unquestionable that the policy of the Industrial Revolution simultaneous with the anti-fascist fight is the anarchist policy carried into practice in spite of the opposition of the P.S.U.C.

As to the dignity emanating from the workers, I saw enough with my own eyes while in Spain to verify the proof of the reports I have quoted. I found Barcelona a clean, well run, orderly city, with trams and trains running to the minute, restaurants and cinemas open, and all run as collectivized institutions by their courteous and efficient staffs. Never before had I met waiters and even shoe-blacks consistently refusing tips, so great is the self respect engendered in the workers by their new status of collective owners of the industries they control.

We are then bound in justice to give to Anarcho-Syndicalism and the C.N.T.-F.A.I. the credit which is their due for the magnificent creative work which results from their philosophy, individual and social.

Of all the Spanish workers, well may we say, with Langdon Davis, "We turn in humility to the humble folk of Spain, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, who are groping in horror with their bare hands to save the Light from flickering out. We turn in anger to those in England, who want the Light to die and we cry in words to which Spain is giving a new meaning: 'No pasaran.' 'They shall not pass.'"

J. R. WHITE.



WAR, CULTURE AND WORK GO HAND IN HAND

Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

Attitude Towards Peace and War

Luke Hastings in No. 33 of the Peace News quotes at length from the Fragua Social. He writes:—

In yesterday's issue of Fragua Social, a Valencia paper there was a statement which shows in a remarkable way the attitude of an extreme Left Anarchist organ toward peace and war. Addressing its young readers, the statement says:—

"Other youth organizations offer children uniforms, swords, and how to form ranks. We would blush to do so. "Child comrades all! Do you think that brotherly love means dressing up in uniforms and making enemies? Once more, that is not the way to make peace.

"All we anarchists can offer you is books and conversation, which are most interesting just now.

"Parents! your minds are fully educated; you can make your sons, the men of to-morrow, men of sound conscience and healthy morals. Think well what you are doing with them!

"It is in your power to foster hatred and rancour, which result in war and discord. Wipe the memory of arms and uniforms from the minds of your children!

"What better defence is there for them than culture? It is not for us to make enemies. We must unite in an effort to create such a happy, well-poised existence as hitherto the world has never seen."

Presumably the correspondent quoted this passage to dispel ideas that Anarchism is against culture and for ever longing to see blood flow. More correspondents should take the trouble to consult a few Spanish papers, before attempting to pass comments such as the Evening Standard, which, in its issue of January 15th, made the following remark: "The Communist Catalan Government run by the Russians." It should be noted that there is not a single Communist in the Catalan Government.

The Peace News correspondent concludes with an appeal for money for the children who are in need of many of the necessities of life. Other things required are "seeds of 'all the quick-growing stuff' and 'soya beans, which thrive here'; and 'sports gear, which girls here need ever more than boys'—especially outdoor games; as well as the usual gifts of food and clothing."

Published by Thos. H. Keel, White-way Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on Feb. 5th, 1937, and printed by V.W.H. Press, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks, and London.

Revolutionary Measures by Franco

The Universe is full of Franco's speech at the inauguration of the wireless station apparently just built in Salamanca.

In heavy type the Universe states the Generalissimo's intentions. They are as follows:—

Determination to end the sufferings of the working classes and abolish the poverty of the middle classes.

The New Spain will be a Catholic Spain, tolerating non-Catholics with Christian charity.

The political system which enabled politicians to exploit the citizen will be banished.

He certainly has succeeded brilliantly. He is ending the suffering of the working classes by just exterminating them, as at Badajoz, Seville, Irún, San Sebastian, etc. He has abolished the middle class poverty, rendering them destitute by the never ending taxes levied to carry on his massacre.

The Old Spain was a Catholic Spain, and yet it did not admit of progress by non-Catholics. Was not Francisco Ferrer shot by order of the Church?

The last clause seems futile, especially if Franco wants to be a dictator like his master, Mussolini. He will have the privilege all to himself, naturally with an armed militia to protect his popularity.

More Accusations

Michael Kolzov refers to the "Trotskyist Criminals in Spain" in International Press Correspondence. According to him the members of the P.O.U.M. are everything but anti-fascists. They desert the lines when the fighting is at its height, and naturally the Communists come to the rescue and order is restored. Michael Kolzov was told that there were P.O.U.M. men fighting in the International column. He thereupon ascertained from the commanders that there were no P.O.U.M. men in the column (as if they have a dossier with the names of over 10,000 men with all the minute details of their political evolution during the past few months). One of the points that caused great annoyance to Michael Kolzov was that the P.O.U.M. opposed "the reorganisation of the People's militia in a regular army." I certainly would oppose it too. There is no need for a regular army. But then the Communists are fighting for democracy, and England and France are both democracies and both have a regular army!

LIBERTARIAN.