

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 8

MARCH 19th, 1937.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

UNION LEADERS ABANDON WORKERS' CAUSE

Futile Resolutions of Labour Conference

BEVIN MUST GO!

We concluded our Editorial in the last issue, with these words: "What are you going to do?" Are the British workers going to leave it to their smug and satisfied leaders, or are they going to show that they are, each one of them, responsible individuals working for Spain to the utmost of their ability through the vast machinery of the Unions, and forcing their leaders to act in the capacity of representatives of the workers and not as their dictators?"

They were not useless words, nor can we too often repeat them. The International Conference held in London only a few days ago, shows that the workers' leaders have once more abandoned the men and women whom they should represent.

Spain has been betrayed as was Abyssinia. The same feeble and hopeless argument that we must avoid an International conflict has been used now as a year ago when Mussolini managed to cow all the leaders of the working organizations into agreeing that interference would mean a world conflict.

But today in Spain there is a world conflict. Fighting with Franco against the people of Spain are 60,000 Italians and Germans, equipped for modern warfare. Eden can no longer blatantly state in the House that he has no knowledge of foreign help for Franco's Forces. He has even admitted that Non-Intervention has been a failure.

The Non-Intervention Committee, which has been as ineffective as the League Committee for Sanctions against Italy, has shown its Fascist sympathies on more than one occasion. The way the supervision of Spain has been postponed just at a time when the Loyalists were gaining ground on all fronts, so as to allow Mussolini to land further boat-loads of men, points to the Fascist sympathies of the Committee. The extent of Fascist Intervention has been carefully summed up by the Conservative "London Times," and reference to these figures have been made elsewhere.

The International Labour Conference in their resolution stated that: "Not only have the Fascist Powers supplied the rebels with arms and munitions, in violation of their undertakings, but they have also supplied them with the aviation in which they were lacking, and also, perhaps, with naval forces.

"They have even landed large contingents of men, armed and already formed into detachments, amounting in all to the strength of several army corps. The fact that these men have been termed 'volunteers' in no way alters the character of the crime which has been committed against international law.

"While Spain had been thus attacked, in obvious violation of

the League Covenant, not only had it not received the help which it was legitimately entitled to expect, but it had been deprived of the ordinary right of procuring in the free market those articles most indispensable for its defence."

To pass such a resolution, was it necessary to call 200 delegates together? The people of this country, and in other countries have known, and whenever possible have expressed their disgust at Italian and German intervention as well as the refusal to supply the legitimate Government of Spain with arms. They looked to their Union leaders to act on their behalf. Hundreds of meetings have been held in this country in which the people present have risen to their feet as one man crying "Arms for the Spanish Workers!" In France and America, Sweden and Belgium, Holland and Mexico they have demanded that democracy should go to the aid of Spain.

You, Bevin, and Co., represent the workers of this country, even though some of your company may adorn their names with handsome titles. You are their representatives, and as such should act on their behalf.

They did not ask you to call a conference so that one of the resolutions should be that a richly worded telegram of greetings should be sent to Largo Caballero. You have already sent more than your share of sympathy in the form of telegrams. The Spanish people want your active support. They want direct action to precede those fine words.

And how are the other resolutions going to help Spain? They propose to (1) Survey the position generally; (2) Plan an intensive campaign to inform public opinion.

Are they not yet acquainted with the position in Spain? Are they not acquainted with the workers' opinion regarding Spain?

The workers of this country are prepared to strike tomorrow if necessary to show their solidarity with Spain. And if Bevin does not take back that statement he made, which brutally abandons the Spanish workers, the workers here and abroad will take matters into their own hands and the world, the Mussolinis, Hitlers, National Governments, land-owners and Industrialists will finally understand the meaning of true working class solidarity.

This cannot be done until these weak leaders are forced to go. The Workers' Unions must be made up of conscious individuals aware of their mission in the Workers' ranks. Then and then only will the emancipation of the oppressed be possible.

The Spanish Delegation is both disappointed and disgusted by Bevin's attitude. So are all the workers of this country.

Bevin must go!

INNOCENT VICTIMS OF FASCIST BESTIALITY



"We are homeless—Many of us are Orphans—Do you want to help us? Then turn to page 3!"

HOW TRADES UNIONS CAN HELP

The C.N.T. Answers Questions Put by the Trade Union Delegation During Their Visit to Spain.

What are the average wages earned by skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers in 1932, 1935 and up to June, 1936?

It cannot be definitely stated. In Spain—owing to the predominance of Jesuitism under the cloak of Limited Liability Companies exploiting various trades—the wages fluctuated in accordance with the strength of the commercial organizations,—being higher or lower according to their importance. However, the following salaries may be taken as a basis: Skilled workers, 16 pesetas a day; semi-skilled, 8 pesetas a day; unskilled, 6.50 pesetas a day.

What were the Hours of Work during those years?

The official working period was the eight-hour day, but in some places it was nine and in others seven. It depended on the above causes on the one hand and the power of the Trade Union on the other.

Can you give similar details for Land Workers?

It is even more difficult in this case. While there existed places where wages were as low as two pesetas a day, in others it reached seven and eight pesetas a day.

What were the Salaries paid to Office Clerks?

Between two hundred and one thousand pesetas a month.

Has there been a re-adjustment tending always to establish an Intermediate Equality, by increasing some and reducing others?

In many places the forty-hour week was introduced. Later, owing to the necessities imposed by the war, eight, ten and even twelve hours daily (including Sundays) are put in; but without drawing for this any more wages than the corresponding to the regular working week.

What is the actual number of Workers enrolled in the different Organizations?—What comparison can be made with 1930 and 1935 in this respect?

We can only cite our own. In 1930, after seven years of persecution and hiding during the Dictator-

ship, the membership of the C.N.T., reached at once the figure of 600,000. From October, 1934, the C.N.T., was persecuted as in the times of Primo de Rivera, having to meet in secret. At present, we have two-and-a-half million Affiliated Members.

Is there any likelihood of a union between the U.G.T., and the C.N.T.?

From July 19th, this has been the most cherished hope of the C.N.T. We are negotiating with the Executive of the U.G.T., with a view to finding all the points upon which both organizations are in agreement and which will mark the definite conduct to be followed towards the different problems facing us, due to the war. We trust to reach an understanding in this direction. However, it must be pointed out that, as far as places where work is carried on, the action is joint, and that in certain localities, and even regions, pacts have already been signed on it being found that the interests of both organizations were mutual in every respect.

Have you sent an official letter to the corresponding Trade Union in England, seeking their help?

No.

In your opinion, what is the best way the Trade Union in England can help you with the War against Fascism?

The activities which the Trade Unions can undertake are manifold. But above everything the most important is to boycott everything which is sent to the Spanish Fascists. The British workers should refuse to make, handle or transport whatever is meant for the rebels. On the other hand, all collections of money, clothing, sanitary implements, and food, made on our behalf, will be heaven-sent. The Spanish proletariat is engaged in a cruel and pitiless struggle—epic in its dimensions—and we need the most intense solidarity on the part of all the workers of the world.

After all, from our defeat or

(Continued at foot of next column)

Mr. Bevin is the man who announced at the Edinburgh Conference that he would be on the doorstep of 10, Downing Street daily until the Government lifted the ban on arms for Spain!

THE HOUR OF THE SYNDICATES Working Classes United in Spain

In all the great preceding revolutions the working-class was not, due to various factors, united in class organizations. The different revolutions that followed that of 1789 in France, cannot be compared, in any way, to the Spanish Revolution. In the Russian Revolution, the popular masses responded to the various political parties notwithstanding the creation of the suitable organisms, soviets and co-operatives, which were the re-action of a profound libertarian sentiment, which the Anarchists have analysed on many occasions, there has resulted a dictatorial regime in which one sole party assumes control of the political, economic and social life, excluding those others who played their part with them in the revolution. Spain offers absolutely distinct conditions.

Here the proletariat has not only those libertarian tendencies which everyone recognises but also it has its great syndical organizations in which the workers have been united for many years. These organizations guarantee principles, methods, and objectives, categorically of a revolutionary definition. Here the organized workers have been the force behind the plan regarding the social life of Spain. They have proved the repeated incapacity of the political parties to oppose Fascism. And it must be emphasised particularly that it is they who are realizing the economic transformation at the same time that they are sustaining the whole weight of the war and its economy. The Spanish Revolution depends essentially on the syndical organizations of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. Only one objection could be made against the syndical organizations of production. That would be the workers' incapacity to realize it.

But the work done by the proletariat since July 19th, is living and indisputable proof that reaffirms that which the Anarchists have constantly maintained in their continuous propaganda, that the proletariat would be quite capable of organizing the new society if they were given the means to do so, or if they conquered the means by revolution.

Everything of value that exists, all advance in reconstruction, in the multiplication of production, in economic co-ordination as well as in social and cultural aspects of the revolution, is the work of the proletariat and their organizations.

(C.N.T.—F.A.I. BULLETIN)

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(continued from preceding column) triumph, the world proletariat will feel the consequences in the end.

This is the only way in which our English Comrades must look at the situation and act accordingly.

In our triumph lies Culture, Progress and Civilization,—the emancipation of the Working Class.

(We urge readers to make known to as many people as possible the contents of this questionnaire, which, naturally, was not published by the Daily Herald—Eds.)

SPAIN and the— WORLD

Anti-Fascist Fortnightly

TEMPORARY OFFICES:
207, GOSWELL ROAD,
LONDON, E.C.1,
ENGLAND.

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FASCIST INVASION

The recent fighting on the Guadalajara front has made it possible to ascertain with greater accuracy the extent to which Italy is aiding Franco. Statements made by Italian prisoners indicate that:

This offensive was being made by four regular divisions of the Italian Army—the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Divisions of Blackshirts (the last being commanded by General Nuvolini), and the 1st Division of the Littoria, commanded by General Bergonzoli, with General Mangini in supreme control.

The attacking forces are completed by two special brigades, one of German and Italian regulars, and the other of German regulars and four companies of motorised Carabinieri.

Each division consists of two regiments equipped with machine-guns, trench mortars and heavy artillery. There are also anti-air craft batteries, armoured cars and tanks.

The crushing defeat sustained by the Italian forces is an indication of the modern military machine with its mercenaries to man it when pitted against the determined army of volunteers who feel the cause for which they are fighting. Mussolini may well parade in triumph before natives subdued by the terrorist methods of Graziani and Balbo, but the Spanish people cannot be subdued.

Mussolini, by the defeat and the wholesale desertion of his army in Spain, has suffered his greatest defeat... at the hands of the Spanish Workers. Tomorrow may we suffer at the hands of the Italian proletariat!

REAL SOLIDARITY

The action of the crew of the North Shields Steamer, "Linaria," in refusing to transport nitrates to territory under Franco's control, is one of true solidarity. Seventeen of the crew of nineteen resisted all attempts by the British Consul General to intimidate them into manning the ship. They are now on the way to England.

In answer to a question put by Mr. Attlee, as to whether the Government would support the men's action, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs said that nitrates are not on the list of banned exports. It is common knowledge that the nitrates are to be the chief ingredients in the manufacture of explosives, but in keeping with the pro-Fascist attitude of the National Government, the weak excuse offered for the non-justification of the workers' action is only to be expected. Notwithstanding, we have cause to be proud of the seventeen seamen who have refused to be intimidated in the name of law and National Governments.

THE SPANISH ORPHANS

The appeal which appears on another page is definitely non-political. We make this appeal to our readers, because we feel that we should interest our ever increasing public in a matter demanding immediate action.

It seems poor work, to dedicate our energies, some for the attention of the wounded, others for food supplies, whilst others care for the innocent victims of Franco's hordes. We should be trying to make it unnecessary for destitute children to be wandering aimlessly through Spain, some shell-shocked, others who have for days been without food or insufficient clothed, but with a system such as Fascism, compromise is impossible. The totalitarian State will not admit of criticism or opposition. Law

(continued in next column)

Heroism of Spain in a Callous World

THE BETRAYAL OF DEMOCRACY

FASCISM ONLY BESTIAL GANGSTERISM

Democracy is indeed extinct, or merged into Fascism if it means the complete abrogation of the popular will by any cabinet which happens to be in power and which chooses to give direct or indirect support to the claims of Fascism.

Western civilization is lost if it permits its own democratic governments to be undermined by isolation and loss of moral credit, as they do when they make every effort to injure the cause of a people risen in mortal struggle to resist the treacherous onslaught of national and international Fascism.

Fascism, as everyone now realises, is not a political creed, not a "world concept," but that instinct of bestiality and cruelty which slumbers in undeveloped social organisms and which rises uppermost in homicidal maniacs. Poor fools, run amok individually and now collectively, by a kind of moral contagion.

Brutal constitutions, morbid egomania and imaginary grievances, coupled with favouring economic conditions produce outbursts which in normal times are considered as crime. After all public catastrophes, which unhinge undeveloped minds, there are outbreaks of criminality and fanatical sectarianism. After the world war, these outbreaks of gangsterism took gigantic proportions and varied from American gangsterism to the politically camouflaged advocates of the new slavery, the government by brutality of the weak and defenceless by the strong and well armed.

In practise this has resolved itself, to speak only of Spain, into the attack by the treacherous general, the revengeful and insatiable priest, the Moorish savage and the moral outcast of the Foreign Legion, as well as by the Fascist gangster adventurer, on the Spanish people; whom those in power everywhere seem to have abandoned to the fate of slavery or death.

Who Can Plead Ignorance?

Who is there today who can plead ignorance of these facts? Are there really so many people who are duped by the newspapers they read? Honest, conscientious people may still have illusions about the veracity of newspapers but the uneducated never read any papers which are not on their own level and must be expected to think as they are taught. But there are still people of intellectual pretensions, the backbone of those intellectual currents which still exist; and of these men and women much more generous initiative might have been expected during the long eight months of the struggle in Spain, every minute of which has been a life or death struggle with ruin and death staring them in the face to those millions facing the hazards of an unequal contest.

These intellectual readers cannot have overlooked such statements as are made by Carlos Prieto in his little book called "The Spanish Front," published by Nelson. The author, in my opinion, displays a callous conventionalism when he speaks of the "atrocities" committed by both sides during the Civil War in 1936 and he creates prejudice against the present struggle by repeating misinformation on the cantonalist struggles during the republic of 1873 from a conservative author, thus giving a farcical account of serious effects to apply the methods

(continued from preceding column) is enforced with the knuckleduster or in the concentration camp. The Spanish people instead prefer death to Fascism and the re-establishment of the Inquisition.

Democracy could help by allowing the people to defend themselves from this Fascist invasion, by sending them the arms and assistance required, in preventing further Fascist troops from raining havoc in Spain. But the democracies have abandoned Spain, and the bloody war must be continued to the end.

And since we are faced with these facts, we must do all in our power to alleviate the sufferings of the innocent. We, therefore, appeal to all, irrespective of their political ideas, to contribute to this fund, even if it means certain sacrifices. It is for a cause worthy of every sacrifice.

of autonomy, federation and solidarity to a situation made impossible by the generals and many others.

The author, however, shows human insight when he discusses the Spanish prison system, based on a certain respect for the social life and habits of the victims as opposed to the Pennsylvania system of isolation, which damages men in body and spirit, as Bakunine described from his own experience.

Much Valuable Information

The initial ethnological and historical chapters are full of useful information though sometimes harsh in their outlook and rather too generalised, omitting, as they do, to describe many transitory developments which would explain later evolution.

When Mr. Prieto reminds us that Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Martial, Trajan and many other notables were of Spanish origin, we see serious men, influenced primarily and perhaps permanently by those characteristics which differentiate the Spanish people even now, from more accommodating, pliable, easily adaptive peoples, by their graceful or fierce up-rightness and lack of submissiveness.

The author is accurate on the main political and social currents in Spain though not always so on their underlying ideologies. He sees quite clearly about politicians and generals, priests and capitalists and all the other parasites which have feasted for ages on the poor body of the Spanish worker and peasant. These parasites had been pampered for centuries on the gold drawn from their American victims, but during the 19th century had only the peninsula for their prey and this they had to share with many foreign capitalists. As this was insufficient for their rapacity the people had to make effort after effort to gain even a little breathing space, until at last, in 1936, international Fascism was mobilised to subdue them once more by killing all the upright elements and reducing the survivors to abject slavery.

Foreign Help For Fascism

On this Mr. Prieto makes many concise points which have been verified over and over again. He said, as far back as November 9th, "While the rebels are being helped from abroad non-intervention meant that the Madrid Government could not expect help from democratic countries."

"As early as September evidence was accumulating that showed that in rebel areas it had become increasingly necessary to use violence and terrorism to keep the population under control."

"A great people has been decimated and economically ruined as a result of an uprising planned and started by the Right. The most interesting feature of the situation was politically, that for the first time in history Fascism was turning into an international force." "Spain was the point of its onslaught against democracy, the public battle ground for the fight." "The military revolt had been fixed by General Franco for the autumn, but the murder of Calvo Sotelo, a sequel to the fascist murder of Jose Castille on July 12th, a few hours before, was considered by the reactionaries to be an excellent signal for revolt." On the evening of July 17th, a Fascist raid on the Radio Central of Valencia took place, patterned on the raid on the Vienna Radio Central on July 20th, 1934, simultaneously with the killing of Dollfuss by the Austro-German Nazis which inaugurated this series of Fascist aggressions.

Portugal, the arch country of dictatorship, under General Carmona and the sinister Oliveira Salazar is analysed at length in Mr. Prieto's book. Ten years of enslavement, torture, Jesuit rule and corruption, had hardly been noticed by the international Press, un-

til now, when Franco's revolt almost became Salazar's war. "Here (on the border touching Spain), the by-roads of Portugal were often blocked with caravans of arms and ammunition destined for the Spanish rebels; it was one of the most flagrant breaches of international law in history and all under a hypocritical cloak of neutrality and non-intervention." The important point of all this is that Germany, Italy and Portugal have been undisguisedly giving assistance to a military revolt against a legally constituted government in Spain!

According to the *Evening Standard* of July 24th, ex-King Alfonso said, "In my opinion only the extermination once and for all of the Left Parties will put an end to this Civil War," and similar threats of extermination by the million have been reported from the mouths of the treacherous generals against the Catalans, the Basques, organised workers, etc., while wholesome murder in

the enslavement of the Italian nation.

Such generous men reason, no doubt, that if the generals shoot some Labour leaders, why, so much the better!

On the other hand the liberal and democratic ideas of the men in the street were shocked and appalled by the cynicism and impertinence of the the cynicism and impertinence of the in "challenging the existence of a legally constituted government."

Well, these good people appear to have confined themselves to being shocked and appalled and may still be of the same mind. But that is too little for times like these! No doubt the same people wondered in 1933 why the German Social Democrats, taken unaware, did not show some fight, and in 1936 they are surprised to see the Spanish people show so much resistance at a moment's notice.

Such good people will always wonder, until some fine morning they find the Fascist knife at their own throats, and then it will be too late!



Militiamen enjoying a well-earned meal

Andalusia and Estremadura marked the beginning of the execution of these threats.

Local Support For Fascism

The Pope, speaking on September 14th, had nothing to say against this, indeed he adopted an openly pro-Fascist attitude and gave the impression that the Civil War in Spain was almost to be considered a Holy War! This recalls the day when the flourishing cities of South Eastern France were proclaimed by the Church, a prey of savage predatory adventurers under the pretext of the heresy of the inhabitants of Albi (Albigenses), and when the near East and the Greek Empire were overrun by similar hordes for conquest and loot, by those flowers of "Christianity," the Crusaders, an earlier example of Fascistic adventurers, now, unfortunately so numerous.

"Non-Intervention"

No more was to be hoped from Geneva than from the London Committee of Non-Intervention. There were ridiculous delays and it was clear that the same game of postponement was to be played as the game of delay which had been started by the Committee of Non-Intervention. This was written over four months ago and where are we now?

"Everybody knew by this time that the policy of neutrality and non-intervention was working out in practise as a virtual blockade of the legal government in Madrid," and now the Pyrenean frontier of France is hermetically closed, while futile discussions as to the Portuguese frontier and maritime control continue ad infinitum."

Mr. Prieto observes very fairly that public opinion was divided in England, "one section of the people being in favour of the rebels and authoritarian government, not realising what that means in Spain and caring even less."

There were noble minded contemporaries even, like Mr. G. B. Shaw, who praised Mussolini for driving mendicants from the neighbourhood of fashionable hotels and for having some main streets swept a little cleaner! That was good enough for them and not too dearly bought by

UNITY IN ACTION

Agreement Between C.N.T. And U.G.T.

On February 1st, 1937, the comrades in Villa Galán, who had been delegated to reach an agreement between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. with reference to the development of the collectivity, agreed unanimously on the following points:

First. All members of the collectivity, have the same rights and duties and must be attached to one of the two syndicates—the C.N.T. or the U.G.T.

Second. The section will be controlled always by the majority agreement taken at the general assembly

Third. As soon as the collectivity begins to function, all members will be obliged to put all their goods, such as farms, animals and utensils, at the service of the collectivity. The house and the garden which can be used for cultivating vegetables for family use, will be retained.

Fourth. Members of the collectivity suffering from illness, work accidents or any misfortune whatsoever, will be paid all expenses for doctor and medicine, etc. and will receive the same economic assistance as the rest of the collectivity. Where they must stay in hospital, their part of wages will be retained by the collectivity.

NEW READERS:

We still have a few complete sets of

SPAIN and the WORLD

Vol. 1. Nos. 1-7.

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The third and concluding article in the series "American Democracy Knives Demos in Spain" reached us too late to be included in this issue—it will appear in No. 9 (April 2nd).

Fascist Intervention in Spain

An Important Document

The London "Times" has exposed Mussolini's and Hitler's intensive campaign in Spain. This article is of utmost significance in that it has been published by a newspaper which cannot be accused of anti-fascist sympathies.

At this moment there are about 100 German and Italian bombers working for General Franco, and about 100 German and Italian fighters. Most of these aeroplanes are piloted by Germans and Italians, and General Franco has hardly any other aeroplanes. The names of the types speak for themselves—Junker 52, Heinkel RQ37, Cant and Macchi seaplanes. Particularly the Italian is the most modern material. On the other side there are about 80 modern Russian fighters, a few French Dewoitines 510, and about 60 bombers of Russian manufacture. The Russians mostly pilot their own aeroplanes. The few other types are flown by Spaniards or by men gathered from the ends of the earth to the call of advertisements. Nearly all the air material of both sides entered Spain after the civil war began; three-quarters of it was sent in breach of the Non-Intervention Agreement, and most of that three-quarters, with the connivance of foreign Governments.

Mechanization on land is wholly foreign. For General Franco there are about 80 small tanks, partly the common German Army two-man model, partly the Italian Army two-man midget known as the Fiat-Ansaldo. For Madrid and Barcelona and the North Coast there are rather fewer Russian tanks carrying a small gun and crews of three to four, as well as over 20 armoured cars. The tanks are universally bad, but they have profoundly modified the Spanish war. They are served (though not always in battle) by foreign personnel. German 37mm.

anti-tank guns of the common Reichswehr pattern (first exported to Ethiopia in 1936), a new German anti-tank rifle which kills the monster at 200 yards, and the Swiss Oerlikon are used to combat both sides' mechanization. But occasionally tanks are knocked out more simply with German grenades and Russian petrol. At three critical moments for the insurgents the intervention of their foreign friends has turned the scales for them.

1. The Savoia 81's and the Junker 52's which were supplied to them in July and August, 40 in all of the biggest bombers in Europe, enabled General Franco first to transport his troops across the straits from Morocco, and secondly to bomb the Government fleet, which blocked the straits, back to their base at Cartagena. The throwing of the African Army into the Spanish war ended the paralysis of the Guadarrama.

2. At least 40 German and Italian pursuit aeroplanes arrived in Spain in August. These, which shot the older and slower Government aeroplanes out of the sky, while their bombers made up for deficiencies in the African artillery at Badajoz and Talavera, made possible Franco's celebrated march up the Tagus valley to Madrid.

3. When at the end of January a diversion was required to relieve the deadlock round Madrid, the Malaga solution was chosen by the Italian advisers of Franco. It is improbable that Malaga would have been taken without the Italian contribution in infantry and the Italian and German bombardment by land and sea aeroplanes.

Germany and Italy also supplied men to counter the international column. But first it appeared that only Germany was sending men. Her volunteers, raised from the German Army, in whose barracks the Spanish war was advertised, arrived in three batches. In October, SS motorized specialists; at the beginning of

(continued from preceding column)

December. And finally at the beginning of January, infantry. Altogether between 12,000 and 15,000 men were sent by Germany in great secrecy. Except for specialists and for the few hundred Italians under Rossi, who invaded Majorca in September and recaptured the island of Iviza, only 2,500 Italian volunteers entered Spain in 1936, at the beginning of December. From January 1st until the middle of February, however, Italy has poured 40,000 men into Spain, fully equipped with rifles, ammunition, grenades, machine-guns, motors, lorries, and petrol, and paid from the fatherland. They are recruited and organised by the Fascist Party. This expeditionary force, by far the largest in Spain, is accompanied by its own seaplanes, and will probably be used on the coast between Malaga and Valencia. There are also 3,000 Irishmen who fight each other in Caceres, under General O'Duffy. A rough figure for number of foreigners serving under General Franco is 60,000.

The international column under the Valencia is 15,000, and must be taken difficult to calculate. Most have been recruited in or passed through France, but they have never entered Spain in the large organised units sent from Germany and Italy. Certainly no more than 1,000 have entered north-western Spain—from Irun, that is, to the Asturias. Perpignan, through which the majority pass, reports 12,000; but the official figure published by Valencia Minister of War is far more as above minimum.

There must, therefore, be at least 15,000 foreign volunteers serving in the front line, and there are certainly reserves training at Albacete and in Barcelona. Sympathetic observers set the figure at 20,000. The figure is necessarily vague, since these volunteers have not arrived in large shipments. An impartial estimate, therefore, would select its fancy between 20,000 and the 35,000 asserted by the enemies of Valencia, certainly an outside figure for those at present in Spain. Repatriations, it is known, have been large, and the total of those who have passed into Spain since the beginning of the war is probably higher.

ANARCHISM BY EDUCATION

Self-Development Possible Only Through Freedom

One of the difficult problems of the sincere radical in present-day society is to find some field of endeavour in which his everyday conduct is not at variance with his fundamental principles. There is, however, an interesting development taking place in modern days, which should give heart to the anarchist individual. That is the trend of modern education. Of course there is nothing new under the sun, and so modern education is merely the expansion of ideals long latent and even implicit in intellectual growth, but which has received an astounding impetus during the last century. Educational practice has progressed amazingly in advance of educational theory, and we have seen the unusual phenomenon of freedom in education being applied as a successful technique long before the educator has realised the implied basic ideology. Since the time of Froebel and Pestalozzi it has been recognised that education during a child's early years is best accomplished by doing, by actual exercise in the arts of daily living, by free expression in plastic and visual media, by singing, miming, and in general by that repetition of the primitive life of mankind so necessary to the expansion of the child ego.

Dissatisfaction with the results of formal education has, in recent years, led educators to the thought that what was a biologic law of growth for little children, does not and should not stop short at the nursery stage, and that probably to permit education by development into and through adolescent years might have just as good results in producing the well-rounded adult. Many experiments have been made and are continuing along these lines, the primary aim of the educational theorists being to produce the successful human being, successful in the psychological sense of a person well qualified to meet the problems of daily life, and not at a loss in meeting the difficulties of even the commercial world.

BASIS OF A SUCCESSFUL LIFE

The necessary basis for a happy and successful life is the capacity of the individual for co-operative activity in his social environment, and this capacity is always in direct ratio to the ability to assume responsibility. It has been found by psychologists that only the harmoniously developed individual, sure of himself and sure of his place in society, is able to make the fullest contribution to that society. We have the opposite picture in the being who, full of a sense of inferiority, hampered by resentment, and unable to express himself in social or artistic channels, over-compensates by becoming a dictator. So educators have found in the case of the individual child that one who has been able by the free expression of all his instinctive needs, in that microcosm of the world which a school should be, is the most likely to grow into a useful and creative member of any society. Thorstien Veblen says that it is the instinct of workmanship that has brought mankind from the brute to the human plane, and practice in the modern school has demonstrated this dictum times without number.

Learning is interpreted anew as the development of the innate qualities

and capacities of human kind and not the acceptance of arbitrary and frequently useless systems of instruction.

What seems to many people an over-insistence on handwork becomes easily comprehensible when we realise that the child who has created a work of art or of utility by his own unaided effort, by the application of that same impulse to create which primitive man brought to the same problem, has established his own essential validity. We must realise that the aim of education is not the creation of the material object, nor necessarily the acquisition of a skill, but the satisfaction of the urge to create which is innate and which inevitably precedes the desire to learn.

Experienced teachers have found that instruction in any skill, whether manual or purely intellectual, is only assimilated when the pupil has himself recognised its own necessity. It is thus demonstrated that only in an atmosphere of freedom can self-development and self-recognition be realised, and so unconsciously is the anarchist ideal arrived at.

BLOCKADE!

First, it was non-intervention whilst three integral countries of the famous Committee in London—Germany, Italy and Portugal—had invaded the Peninsula, utilising Franco as a servile instrument.

Now it is the belt of steel at the frontiers in order that volunteers might not join our ranks. But Portugal was there, making it all ridiculous by receiving and sending "Spaniards" manufactured in Rome. Later—with but a few days' respite—it imposed the control of the ports and frontiers in order to insulate us from the outside world and "to force the cessation of the civil war."

Legal Government? Fascist Insurrectionists? Laws of international right? All the laws, all the rights, all the reasons, legal or humanitarian, are smashed by international capitalism. It is interested in gold, in strategic positions, the formation of centres for the next world war, and the forecasting of future situations for the imperialist armies of one or the other band.

The prologue of the conflagration is written in Spain. For London and Paris, the eight months of horrors and Fascist assassinations do not count. The martyrdom of our people does not matter. Public opinion in Spain which is struggling for liberty, does not interest them.

Comrades! We have struggled alone until the present time. Alone we are maintaining a front against those who wish to enslave us. Alone we struggle sacrificing our flesh, our blood and our nerves, giving the supreme energy that the revolutionary war demands from us. **BLOCKADE? —MORE COURAGE, MORE FORCE, MORE INTELLIGENCE! —AND WE WILL CONQUER.** (Tierra Y Libertad. 27.2.37.)

FRANCO—FILM CENSOR AND LITERARY CRITIC

News from Burgos says that Franco has prohibited the sale in all rebel territory of the books of Ralph Bates, Left Wing novelist, because they are favourable to the Republic.

He has also banned all films which express views sympathetic to the Republic. This last prohibition is said to be due to the showing of a Mexican film in which several famous actors, including Charlie Chaplin, Clark Gable, Paul Muni and James Cagney, expressed their sympathy for the Spanish people's cause.

SAFE AND FAR AWAY

While the soil of Spain is being reddened by its people defending themselves against the Fascist terror, it is interesting to note how far from the danger zone are many of the grandes and magnates of reactionary Spain.

Juan March, the financial organiser of the insurgents and former controller of the Tobacco Monopoly, is staying in a villa at Rome with his family.

Francisco Cambó, the leader of the reactionary "Liga Regionalista Catalana," is fighting newspaper battles from Brussels, attacking the Catalan Left and the Government.

The grandee, Marqués del Moral, supporter of the ex-President Alcalá-Zamora, now in London, enjoys the columns of the "Daily Telegraph" for traducing the Government.

During the past week his son married an English aristocrat in London.

These patriots await the day when the Italian mercenaries, the German conscripts and the Moors win their lands and properties back for them. Their hope is just about that of the White Russians—hopeless. But the sons of Alcalá-Zamora, despite the bleatings and lamenting of their refugee parent, are fighting for the Government! Abajo! los parasitos! (Spanish News)

The Proletarian Basis of the Revolution and the War

D. A. de Santillán, Councillor of Economy in the Catalan Generality, says:

"Inside and outside Spain, both friends and enemies see the immediate situation with all clarity. Thence comes the fury with which the Fascists struggle in the interests of international Fascism in aid to their Iberian followers. While the Spanish workers are at war, in the only sacred war of modern times, they are also changing the pillars of an unjust civilisation and abolishing the base of exploitation of man by man. In the one direction as in the other we shall get as far as our capacity permits us. There are outside obstacles; but there are greater in ourselves. If we are capable we shall win the war and triumph in the internal revolution. Not so much by virtue of force, which is ours to-day, but by virtue of intelligence, of comprehension, of good judgment.

"We have one legitimate basis, our own action and development: the place of work, the focus of production. If it is the hour of the workers the organisation of work must be the obligatory basis of all economic and social construction."

AN APPEAL THAT CANNOT BE IGNORED

On several occasions we have spoken of the tragic fate of the Children in Spain and have appealed for some action whereby the cruel sufferings of these innocent victims of fascist aggression might be alleviated.

In response to our appeal for action in this country, several Comrades have expressed the wish that "Spain and the World," through its 4,000 readers and sympathisers, should be responsible for the welfare of a limited number of Spanish orphans, the number depending on the financial support received.

Already the "Comité pour l'Espagne Libre" in Paris, has acquired a Château in Girona, where 200 orphans have been sheltered and cared for. Because of our limited scope, we feel that we should co-operate with this organisation,

Not killed though taking up-entire responsibility to the daily dren who will be care.



on ourselves the ability of attend-needs of the child-under our direct In this matter, ferences should should only exist of helping to the ability in a hu-However small tribution to the rearing these represent the efforts. We task, each feeling of responsibility, that those chil-care and depend entirely on us for their physical and moral development.

Our efforts may well inspire efforts from other groups, and all these small contributions, added, will be an example of our solidarity with the brave Comrades who have left behind them women and infants in their struggle against the Fascist hordes.

The cry of these children, who every day are being bombed or buried in the debris of houses destroyed in the name of Fascist civilization, cannot remain unanswered.

We do not make this appeal to you in the name of God or in the name of Christianity. We appeal to you as men and women with feeling, who can no longer look on whilst Fascism makes thousands of innocent victims in its attempts to enslave a whole people.

Let us act now without a moment's hesitation! Send us money, children's clothes, sugar, tinned milk and other foodstuffs. THE EDITORS.

Fill up the form now and post to "SPAIN and the WORLD," 207, Goswell Road, London, E.C.1, to which address all moneys, clothes and foodstuffs should be sent.

To "SPAIN and the WORLD". SPANISH ORPHANS' FUND

Please find enclosed P.O. CHEQUE value.....for the "SPAIN and the WORLD" fund in aid of the Spanish orphans under our care. I shall do my best to send a regular contribution of.....every WEEK MONTH

This money is given on the understanding that it is all devoted to the above mentioned fund.

Name

Friendly And Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

WHEN EYES DECEIVE

A letter recently appeared in the *New Statesman & Nation* (6th March) written, I presume, by over enthusiastic Communists, who now happen to be in Barcelona. Their letter is an answer to an article by Mr. Cyril Connolly. They take objection to the fact that Mr. Connolly described the Communist Party in Spain as being "numerically weak." The ardent Communists were disgusted at such a remark, and suggested that "he could be corrected by most of the literate twelve-year-old children of Barcelona."

"The Communist Party in Spain is numerically stronger than any other party. In Catalonia also, the United Socialist Party, which is affiliated to the Communist International has a larger membership than any other political party."

The writers of that letter might be well advised to consult a pamphlet issued by the Communist Party of Great Britain entitled SPAIN. On page 11, it states that "The Communist Party, 30,000 at the end of last year (1935), had risen to 60,000 by May 1st and to 100,000 by the end of June." If the Communist party is the largest Party in Spain, then I cannot understand how it has been possible to keep back the Fascist onslaught for so long without help from the democratic countries.

I might also remind the writers of the letter, that at a meeting held in Conway Hall (18th January) Mr. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the I.L.P. said that it was essential to understand to what extent the men of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. were responsible for the quelling of the Military Revolt in Catalonia. We must bear in mind that eighty per cent. of the workers in Catalonia belonged to the C.N.T. and that over half the workers in Spain belong to that organisation. "If we are enquirers," he continued, "it is our duty to be fully acquainted with the part played by the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in the Revolution." The Speaker then vividly described the way the Anarchists defeated in 24 hours the strong Rebel resistance. "The way the Fascists were defeated in Barcelona is going to live as an epic of Working Class history." Perhaps I am not "a literate twelve year old child!"

DIRECT ACTION!

I am publishing a recipe supplied free to the *Universe* (March 12th) by a Rev. Alfred Whittingham, by which it will be possible to suppress Communism. I am sure that Mr. Baldwin, and his fellow "democrats" who talk so much of the Fascist and Communist menaces might try it out in Downing Street in company with all the Colonel Blimps that haunt the land.

Briefly it is as follows: "they say five mysteries of the Rosary each day; (b) they organise their families for the recitation of at least one mystery each day together, on the knees; (c) that they carry the Rosary on their person, so that occasional mysteries may be said during the day. This at any rate, will mean that we are not merely talking, but doing something in these times of dire stress."

I was under the impression that recitation of mysteries meant talking some sort of language, and yet the Reverend gentleman suggests that they will not be "talking" but "doing something" instead.

One should also note carefully that suggestion (b) in the recipe definitely states that these mysteries must be said "on the knees." If that is not done there is every possibility of a wrong interpretation being given by the Deity. It might even be interpreted as a prayer for the continued oppression of the Catholics in Germany by the Nationalist, Patriot, Christian Hitler, who is helping the equally Nationalistic, patriotic and Christian Franco in Spain to exterminate a noble people in the name of God, Mohammed and the Man who is always Right—the Almighty Mussolini.

BLESS MY SOUL!

The objects blessed by the Church are so numerous and so varied that a short list of the more picturesque might interest readers.

1. A photo in the *Universe* (March 12th) bears the following caption "Mgr. Faucher . . . blessing elephants, when he blessed a large circus about to go on tour."
2. In the same issue, headlines "Pope Blesses Golden Rose for Queen," and it should be noted that "It was the first public ceremony at which His Holiness had officiated since his illness." Note, "a public ceremony!"
3. The *Universe* (December 14th, 1936) gives the following caption to a photo: "Priest blesses cabs for Addis."
4. A photo in the *Star* (March 10th) bears the caption: "The Mayor's chaplain blessing the catch of whitebait in the Thames Estuary to-day . . ."
5. The blessing of flags was extremely common when soldiers left Italy for their "civilizing" campaign in Abyssinia. The Italian Press supplied abundant evidence of these blessings.
6. The Pope believes that for a newspaper like the *Universe* "there is no blessing which it does not merit."

THE CHURCH AND STATE

The Archbishop of Toledo, who has on one occasion referred to himself as "a poor prelate" (it reminds me of Falstaff when he encompasses his enormous girth, and shakes his head at the thought of becoming thin), in a statement to the *Berliner Lokal Anzeiger*, said that:

"The concordat that will be concluded between the National Government and the Vatican will have as its aim mutual aid between Church and State, principally the problem of the education of youth."

"In the Spain of to-morrow the education of the children must be based on religion. And there must be Christian marriages."

He openly declares that a Franco victory will mean a return to the old system; the Jesuits running industry, the señores and the senoritos owning the land, the Archbishops accumulating the pesetas, gold and the art treasures, and the workers (those who will be still alive) working for a few shillings a week. And a minority of the population will know how to write, though all will know how to chant prayers or "recite mysteries."

We must not allow the sacrifice of so many brave workers to result in Spain returning to her backward system under the relentless heel of the Church and its parasites.

LIBERTARIAN.

PAMPHLETS:

'THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN'

This is the title of a pamphlet by Rudolf Rocker (*Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, 45, West 17th Street, New York City, price 5 cents). Our comrade gives a review of the struggles of the Spanish people to overthrow their tyrants in past centuries, and how they were defeated by the aid of foreign governments. Early in the nineteenth century the Duke of Angouleme, with 60,000 French soldiers, entered Spain to help Fernando VII annihilate the Spanish Constitutionists, and in 1873 British and Prussian warships helped the Monarchists to destroy the first Spanish Republic. To-day history repeats itself.

In a brief review of the history of the labour movement in Spain during the last hundred years, Rocker shows that it was always influenced by Anarchist ideas and never by Marxism or the conceptions of Lenin and Stalin. The C.N.T.—F.A.I. contains 80 per cent. of the organised workers in Catalonia, and 60 per cent. of those in the whole of Spain. Their predominant part in crushing the Fascist revolt in Barcelona and Catalonia is known to all the world, and Rocker pays eloquent tribute to their heroism on all the battle-fronts.

Those who knew Rudolf Rocker in this country in pre-war days, when his name on a poster would fill the largest hall in the East End, will see that he has lost none of his powers of clear statement and lucid exposition. He has made a damning indictment of the Fascists, both Spanish and foreign. His last words are: "Woe to the world if the heroic struggle of the Spanish people should be stifled in the blood of the last defenders of freedom and social justice!"—T.K.

Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained (3½d. post free) from Freedom Press.

Keep this date open:

11th APRIL

Entertainment at the Victoria Palace (commencing 8 p.m.) in aid of the Evacuated Women and Children of Spain.

Full details, and programme in next issue.

11th APRIL.

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REFUTATION

Of Certain Misconceptions Concerning Libertarian Communism

BY ISAAC PUENTE

(Continued from No. 5)

Misconception No. 6. A belief in the necessity for a social "architect."

It is a prejudice fomented by political schemers to believe that society functions through some administrative power, or that it would fall into chaos but for the presence of "policemen" to save it at every moment from disintegration. It is not the compulsion of law nor the intelligent foresight of its legislators which upholds human societies, but rather the social instinct and the necessity of mutual aid. The State has always delighted in adorning itself with peacock's feathers. As a matter of fact, societies tend to assume an increasingly perfect form, not because those who govern have brought them to it, but because of a spontaneous tendency among the members of these societies, a tendency which represents an innate desire among all human groups.

Owing to the same misunderstanding we assign to the care of the father the growth and development of the son, as if it were through some foreign influence that the child grows and develops. But both the need and the instinct to satisfy it operate in all children, without any external encouragement. What is necessary is that no one should repress or destroy nature.

The child is instructed and educated in the same manner, by natural bent. The teacher can possess an aptitude to mould and nourish the child's mind, but it is none the less true that the child instructs and educates itself without external direction. All that is required is that he should be free.

In any rational pedagogical system the best method at the teacher's disposal—the one which is most in conformity with a sane biological humility—is to clear the way, to remove all obstacles which militate against

acquire any form of competence. It is not knowledge which precedes the attempt; on the contrary, one begins by deciding to work, and one learns as one works. The doctor begins to practice with the intention of becoming master of his vocation, a process which is not without risks or the possibility of error. The housewife does not attempt to master economics before she attempts to run her home, and to maintain her family with insufficient means. A specialist is brought into being gradually, as he eliminates the initial mistakes by practice and sustained attention. It is by making libertarian communism a reality that we shall learn to live. It will be its very application which will reveal to us its weak points and its doubtful aspects. If we were politicians we should represent it as a paradise, perfection itself. As we are men, and know the human heart, we are confident that man will learn to walk alone, and that by the only process of learning possible: as he walks!

Misconception No. 8. Mediation through politicians. The worst possible error is to believe that an ideal can be realised through the intervention of a few men, whether they accept or refuse the name of politicians. For those in power it is enough that they should attach a new label to the old political wares, and draw up pompously new principles on the constitutional parchment. It is in this way that it has been possible to describe what was established in Russia as "communism," and to refer to the Spanish Republic as the "Workers' Republic," whereas the workers of all classes in Spain number seven millions, and the idle seventeen millions out of twenty-four. If libertarian communism were really to be achieved through politicians, then we should really have to give way before a régime in no way communistic or libertarian.

We combat the deceptions and the double-dealings of those in public power by direct action, which is nothing other than the immediate fruition of a real tangible ideal, and not of a written fiction, vague and ephemeral.

What is direct action? The execution of a collective decision, made by the collectivity itself, without the mediation of any leader, tribune or Messiah, or governmental authority.

Libertarian communism can be realised only on this one condition; bring about direct action, and leave aside all intermediaries.

Countless other objections have been made to us, so futile in general that they do not merit an answer. The one which is constantly reiterated is the case of the individual who will not work. Such men are the natural result of luxuriant tropical climates, where nature justifies laziness, making the individual lazy by the ease with which it satisfies his needs. We recognise the right of anyone to be lazy, provided that he who claims it is willing to do without the aid of his fellows.

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST

by

Alexander Berkman

Published at 10/6, obtainable from SPAIN AND THE WORLD for 4/6 post free. Only a few copies left.

Published by Thos. H. Keel, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on March 19th, 1937, and printed by V.W.H. Press, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks, and London.