

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

"Government and law, in their very essence, consist of restrictions on freedom, and freedom is the greatest of political goods."

BERTRAND RUSSELL.

(From "Roads to Freedom").

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## ¡CAMPEÑINOS!



"Toilers of the land. The Soil is yours!"

## REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PROLETARIAT

### Collectivised Potash Mines in Sallent Under Workers' Control

*Tierra y Libertad, organ of the F.A.I. in Barcelona, has sent a questionnaire to various industrial syndicates, which dealt with the general situation in those syndicates. Below we publish the answer sent by the Sindicato Unico de Mineros de Sallent (C.N.T.). (Sallent Miners Syndicate (C.N.T.).)*

The two actions which most injure the soul of the worker living in a bourgeois society are: the exploitation of man by man and the money which our class enemies obtain from our work. Both have disappeared immediately the worker, master of himself, has begun to undertake production and to reap the benefits derived from it. The worker is the only one who produces, and because of that the only one who should benefit from the product, freed from obstacles and coercion. The man who works for himself knows that he is working for Humanity; consequently he puts all his efforts into fulfilling the undertaking.

COLLECTIVISED IBERIAN POTASHES is a living picture to which we have just made reference. In it all workers are brothers and all work to the same end: the creation of wealth for the benefit of Humanity. We all are conscious of our duty and the sublime ideal which we pursue makes us work constantly, with all our strength, without the need for a tyr-

annical despotism which was used to oppress us. What we used to do through fear of hunger we have overcome by virtue of our responsibility.

The benefits which in the past the bourgeoisie enjoyed, the results of our brains and the strength of our muscles, we now enjoy ourselves, the producers, our sons and those comrades whom circumstances have rendered incapable of production.

Contemplating materials which we have fashioned, we have the moral satisfaction of having realised a constructive and efficient piece of work.

The bourgeoisie has until now put difficulties in before us, destroyed our work and counteracted our activity, but now we are free. At least, we shall be able to struggle to the end, and overcome all the difficulties which are being placed in our path. We have succeeded in living as men and as long as we live no one shall take away our liberty.

We invite all workers, who have not yet been roused from their stupor or who do not feel the joy of liberation, to take account of our achievements. We invite all; all, no matter what be their views, so long as they belong to the proletariat. Under exploitation there exist no differences; we all are workers, and as a result, we are all brothers. We are sure that those who know us will follow our example and will feel the urge to work with us for the Revolution and for the triumph of our common ideals.

#### Potash Industry From July 19th, 1936

This industry was formerly being exploited by a French enterprise. For the purpose of administration and direction, a Director and several engineers, overseers, etc., were on the site.

Owing to lack of capable technicians, the exploitation of the mines was carried out under the worst conditions possible, to such an extent that there were a series of disasters, due to the fact that the workers were given the

#### PROFESSOR G. SALVEMINI AND NON-INTERVENTION

*Professor Gaetano Salvemini has sent a statement to "Spain and the World" which we reproduce below:*

"The so-called Non-Intervention policy of the Baldwin Cabinet in connection with the Spanish War, can only be described as a form of malicious intervention in favour of Franco and a wilful betrayal of every principal of decency and honour.

Gaetano Salvemini."

(continued from column three)

today we repeat: Before giving up the struggle against fascism we will die in the trenches. Before renouncing the Revolution, we shall know how to face death on the barricades, as anarchists do, just like Ascaso, Duruti and many others.

"Workers and revolutionaries, forward against the counter-revolution, always maintaining the real and true unity of sincerely anti-fascist people."

least possible consideration by the Directors and technicians. Their only preoccupation was that we should produce as much as possible, even if this were to be done at the cost of burying alive the workers through neglect.

Work used to be carried on in certain industries in unbearable heat and smoke. We workers could not protest because we were immediately menaced by dismissal, or by the suspension of work. All these things happened daily.

However little this might be, it condemned us to misery, because for two years we worked but three days a week. We workers had to content ourselves with five or six duros, whilst they took large salaries.

#### Present Situation

At the moment we have collectivised the industry. We all earn the same wage, we all have the same rights and duties, without having to keep parasites. With regard to technicians we have left two specialised overseers and an engineer sent us from Barcelona. As regards the work, we are carrying it out under perfect conditions. There are no more accidents. Moreover we hold the enterprise under conditions which will produce an income (rendimiento) of one hundred and fifty per cent more than before the 19th July. Without it being necessary to have people to give orders or exploit us, and as well as with all the work done so far, we think it worth mentioning that we also have a health insurance, whereby if a worker falls ill, he will receive the same money as when he was working.

#### Important Agreements Reached In Assembly

This Syndicate made the following resolutions: to work towards the creation of the Federation of the Potash mining industry, from the mines in this region, and once this Federation has been created, we shall work for the establishment of a National Industrial Federation. Furthermore, we have the intention of establishing a Regional (Comarcal) Sanatorium for the special use of sick miners and which we consider essential in the future.

#### FRANCO'S DRIVE AGAINST CULTURE CONTINUES

The Rector of the University of Oviedo, Leopoldo Alas, has been executed by the Fascists. He was not a politician, but he had Republican sympathies. This and his independence of thought caused the Fascists to condemn him to death. His prestige in the intellectual world was high. Petitions for his release were received from all the universities and cultural centres of Europe and America. They failed, and he died, his only crime being that he was not a Fascist.

Are you going to the Victoria Palace on April 25th, to hear

PAUL ROBESON

and other distinguished artists perform in aid of the fund for homeless women and children?

See Details on Page 4.

## A PROTEST BY LIBERTARIAN YOUTH

### "Before Giving Up The Struggle We Will Die In The Trenches"

With the support of the Regional Committee of Libertarian Youths and the local Federation of Libertarian Youths of Barcelona, a clear and stern manifesto has been published, of which, owing to lack of space, we are obliged to abstract only a few paragraphs, as follows:—

"The time has arrived when we must speak with clarity and firmness.

"Faced by the openly counter-revolutionary attitude from several anti-fascist quarters in their intention to bring back the Democratic-Bourgeois-Republic, which in no small measure is to blame for the prolongation of the brutal struggle against Fascism, placing us every day more and more in the dilemma of either abandoning the Revolution or running the risk of losing the war, the Libertarian Youths' organisations have decided to speak openly to the popular masses—the masses of July 19th—in order that they may judge for themselves.

"For our part, we must point out that we can no longer remain in silence nor tolerate all the counter-revolutionary activities which are taking place; so much Governmental injustice and so much political unfaithfulness—all in the name of the war and anti-fascist unity.

"The Revolutionary Working Class Alliance, sought long before the fascist revolt and so eagerly desired by the workers in general, has not been accomplished because governmental socialism is more interested in an alliance with the republican bourgeoisie.

"Working surreptitiously, some anti-fascist sectors are preparing an armistice with our unreconcilable enemies, the result of which would be to return to us under the cloak of

'honourable' Generals of the people, the army traitors, murderers of the working class, who have delivered to Hitler and Mussolini parts of our country.

"While unity is incessantly invoked, blackmail, political intrigues and party tricks are the order of the day, and to the sound of this 'unity' war to the death is declared on other organisations whose members are fighting in the trenches alongside us against the fascists. We want unity, but that loyal and sincere unity that will take us on the road to victory in the war and for the Revolution.

"Several highly placed individuals in the forces entrusted with the responsibility for public order provoke acts that break the peace at home, and when our comrades fall into the trap thus laid for them by reacting to this provocation, it is taken as a pretext for disarming and locking them up; or some other political reprisal is taken not less abominable.

"Today, with the Spanish Revolution, as yesterday in the case of Abyssinia, the labour politicians, following up the treason of the Noskes, Macdonalds, etc., carry on their office of betraying the proletariat, and chaining him to the chariot of the capitalist Governments, making it impossible for him to use direct action in favour of his Spanish brothers who fight for the Social Revolution.

"In the Basque country, members of our Committees are put into prison, and other anarchist elements persecuted just because they show opposition to Holy Week celebrations at the same time as our brothers perish in the trenches, fighting against 'Black' and inquisitorial Spain.

"In Madrid the radio and printing offices of P.O.U.M. are raided. Comrade Maroto, chief of the battalion bearing his name, is imprisoned because he upholds revolutionary principles, while Asensio, the traitor General who surrendered Malaga to the fascists, enjoys full liberty.

"The sons of the people are sent to the front and the regular forces are kept behind the lines for counter-revolutionary purposes.

"We consider it unnecessary to persist in these blunt statements. A veritable mountain of facts demonstrates that the counter-revolution is speedily on the march. By misstatements and untruths—forerunners of a furious repression—it is intended to suffocate the libertarian desires of our people, the international proletariat is betrayed and a crime is committed against sentient and progressive humanity.

"The Libertarian Youths' organisations do not want to make themselves accomplices by silencing all these facts that raise the virus of distrustfulness in the people, and in consequence we think it our duty to reveal to the people the actual position, which frequently brings to the lips the question: Treason? We therefore give the signal: Beware! and hereby notify our determination not to be responsible for the crime and betrayal contemplated against the working classes.

"This cannot be tolerated a moment longer, and we are prepared, if need be, to return to clandestine activities; in the bitter struggle against all deceivers the tyrants of the people and the contemptible meddlers in politics. So (Continued at foot of next column)



## SPAIN and the WORLD

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### OUR TASK

Every day the political situation in Spain becomes clearer. It would be dangerous and indeed dishonest if we were to remain silent. The military situation seems to have been definitely reversed in favour of the anti-fascist forces, due to the failure of Mussolini's apparently perfect war machine (part of the olive branch of eight million bayonets), and the unshaken faith of the brave Spanish workers who face death rather than surrender to Franco's clerico-Fascist regime. But it is our duty, as a free press, dictated to neither by parties nor political groups, to bring home the political manoeuvring going on in Valencia in the hands of the moderates and "capitalist democrats," to quote Mr. J. R. Campbell's term. There can be no doubt that a concerted effort is being made to destroy all the work done by our comrades and by the Unions to take all the machinery of industry and the wealth of the land into the hands of the workers. In Valencia some of our comrades have been arrested; many are still in prison. Can one visualise this situation? Our comrades, who from the 19th July have been in the front lines, facing the enemy's modern war machinery without fear, are now imprisoned; treated in the same way as those Fascists who have been made prisoners on the Madrid front. The reason? Because they are fighting for the workers' cause and not for "capitalist democracy."

"Fragua Social" of Valencia, organ of the C.N.T. in the Levante, appears daily with pages blank save for four words, "visado por la Censura" (controlled by the censor).

The "C.N.T.," the Madrid organ of that organisation, was suspended on one occasion because it does not represent the ideas of the "democrats."

As a result we read gross misrepresentations of the situation in the London press. Some papers quote the Government of Valencia as having had to send forces to subdue the anarchists, and create the impression that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. as well as the other truly revolutionary organisations are impeding progress.

Our voice may not reach the public that the yellow press succeeds in bamboozling, but it should not be less powerful for that. We must show the English speaking people what the Comrades have done on their own initiative. That work which has changed Catalonia; which has brought into existence more than fifty collectivised small towns and villages in the Levante; which has put the worker and the peasant on their true level: as equals to all other men socially and eventually, intellectually; which has raised working conditions from serfdom to free associations of happy men and women working for the benefit of all; which has given to the smallest village the possibility of development for the benefit of the people and not for the absent landowner.

Now is the time to bring to the knowledge of literally millions of men and women, the results of practical Anarchism. No more theorising and prog-

nostications of Anarchist Society. In Spain—Catalonia, Aragon, Levante—there is **Comunismo-Libertario** being lived and jealously defended; defended from Fascism and feeble minded reformists alike.

Workers! Defend the brave Spanish workers from the menace of petty Politicians. Defend them from the distorted reports in the British press.

It is the workers who have generously shed their blood in the name of Liberty. The victory, then, must be theirs! Spain! A Workers' Spain!

### BILBAO

The National Government has been emphasising for the last few months the truly "humanitarian" impulses which have made it the champion of "Non-Intervention" in Spain. The fact that the Spanish Government had been until July 19, considered a "friendly" government, and was thereby (by International law) within its right in buying arms to defend itself against aggression, was not so strong an appeal as the humanitarian principles of Mr. Eden and Co. The result was that the Spanish Government was not allowed to buy arms, and for months, a practically unarmed people had to contend with a modern mechanized army. . . and beat it. Now the Spanish people are better armed, partly through the help of Russia and Mexico, though, as a Spanish newspaper suggested, mostly by Mussolini, whose soldiers left behind them enough equipment and ammunition for an army.

Now, Mr. Baldwin's humanitarian impulses have obliged him to state that the Navy will not protect British merchant vessels which make for Bilbao harbour.

Simultaneously with this announcement, one reads in the *Manchester Guardian* a letter coming from British residents in Bilbao in which they state that they are "appalled by the shortage of the prime necessities of life and by the sufferings of the people . . ."

"In Bilbao they have now to cope with a large influx of refugees evacuated from Durango, where a thousand of the civil population were wounded and killed in the bombardments, and there is a constant increase in the number of injured in the present air raids on Santander and Bilbao."

"The poor quality of food is causing particular distress among children, who are developing signs of rickets and showing an increased disposition to the tuberculosis already prevalent in these parts. There is great anxiety among the authorities to evacuate as many children as possible from Spain altogether."

Such a pitiful situation could have been obviated had the Government of this country taken matters into its own hands. It does not recognize Franco as a belligerent, therefore it cannot recognize the blockade of a Spanish port. It has at its disposal the largest battleship in the world, the Hood, and several smaller boats standing by, to protect British shipping. Will the same excuse be put forward as during the Abyssinian War, when, cowed by Mussolini, spokesmen stated that "England was not ready?"

Public opinion seems roused. Even the cautious and constitutional *Daily Herald* seems annoyed, whilst the *Manchester Guardian* and the *News Chronicle* have expressed their disgust quite openly. They represent a large part of public opinion. Is British public opinion to remain inert, and confined to written protests in the Press, or will there be some concerted action, to oblige the Government of this country to escort British ships into Bilbao and other Spanish ports, and thereby save the lives of the innocent civilian population, who in this bloody war, have been the immediate target of Franco's armed forces?

## WALDO FRANK

### Great American Anti-Fascist

#### SPAIN'S DESTINY AND THE FUTURE

Waldo Frank, the distinguished American writer, has been speaking in Mexico, on the occasion of the Congress of Revolutionary Artists and Writers. We should like to publish extracts from his speech bearing on Spain.

"Another European people which has taken up the sword is Spain. And at this moment Spain carries with it our thoughts and our feelings. Its destiny today will mark indelibly the path of our own destiny and that of our children. There is something else. The young Soviet Union, vast, continental, at the dawn of its formation, was furiously attacked by capitalist governments exhausted by world war, whilst Spain, small, vulnerable, is suffering the onslaught of capitalist states ready for war, armed to the teeth, fully conscious as they act of what the victory of the Spanish people would mean for the dominating classes of the world as a whole.

Do not think, my friends, that only Germany, Italy and Portugal are fighting against Spain. To the allies of Franco are also to be added the material interests which, dominating France and England, are stopping the lawful aid which the French Popular Front should have given to Spain for its own well-being. The dominating classes of the United States are no less hostile to the Spanish people through their mighty newspapers and their mighty banks.

As for us, artists, it is our duty to act as men, but also as artists, that is to say, as craftsmen in art. Our contribution is vital for the birth of the new, human world in which we live, the world for which the blood of the workers is being shed in Spain. It is as necessary as the strategy of the syndicates and the popular militia.

A awareness of the relative importance of things must be conscious and paramount in the revolutionary movement."

(From *Journal de Barcelone*)

### "RED ATROCITIES"

#### "Martyr" Just Appointed Vicar

#### MORE "DETAILS" OF HIS EXECUTION

Bearing the above title, the fascist press has published an account giving the terrible details on the martyrdom and death of the Vicar of Fontarabie (near Irun), Don Segundo Gayaralde.

According to the "well informed" newspapers the Vicar had been arrested right from the beginning of the Revolution; insulted by the dregs of the people, he was overwhelmed by the vilest mockery, housewives spat in his face, whilst children aimed stones at him . . . One must read of the horrid ordeal endured by the Vicar of Fontarabie. The end is portrayed in the following lines:

"Then, the militiaman silently raised his rifle, levelled it at the old man and killed him outright with a bullet in the back of the neck."

Terrifying, is it not?

But "Eusko Deya," official organ of the Basque Government, informs us that the unfortunate "victim," Don Segundo Gayaralde, is enjoying excellent health and has just been appointed Vicar of the Church of Santa Maria in San Sebastian!

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## CONSTRUCTIVE CAPACITY OF ANARCHISM

### Workers Control Economic and Social Life

#### AN ELOQUENT EXAMPLE

The principle of the direct action of the producers and the economic administration and direction realised by the proletarian organisations once capitalism is suppressed, is the fundamental basis of anarchist propaganda. In opposition to the State conception, anarchism proclaims the capacity of the workers to control the most complicated resources of the economic and social life. The chief argument of those partisans of coercive power has been completely destroyed by the eight months of revolutionary experience in Spain. All the difficulties that arose and are arising each day from the war, have not obstructed the marvellous labour of the workers and peasants of proletarian Spain. There are numerous examples of the constructive force of the workers but one eloquent instance is that of the Water, Gas and Electrical Industry (C.N.T.).

Let the comrades of this industry speak for themselves. Very rightly they take pride in the fact that they have shown in practice the full constructive capacity of the workers and the fact that the workers know how to solve the technical problems just as they knew how to raise an insurmountable bar to fascism by their revolutionary will. Here is what they say:—

"The collapse of the Sarós canal occurred on August 10th. The importance of the same was due to the fact that this wall, 4.90 metres in height and 3 metres in breadth at the ground level, collapsed to an extent of 55.14 metres. This damage was the greatest that had taken place since the creation of the Irrigation Group.

"Because of the rapidity with which the fall took place, it was impossible to take precautions other than closing the flood-gates of the dam in Lérida and

taking the maximum of the weight to C. H. Sarós with the intention of releasing the water stored in the canal and in the reservoir at Uchesa. With all this, it was impossible to avoid serious damage to the irrigated land some of which still remains flooded.

"The reason for such serious damage was the lack of precautions taken by the American engineers who built the wall on the first layer of stone they came across without troubling to sound it. As the Terres de Segre Canal runs parallel to the wall and is not carried along by any power, the filtrations destroyed the layer of clay under the stone and produced a gradual slipping which eventually resulted in the collapse of the wall.

"It was necessary to mobilise a great number of workers, tools and materials. We state in the presence of the authorities that within a month these were ready and the canal in service. Think of the joke on the foreign technicians who laughed at our pretensions when, on October 1st, our engineer comrade, Anglada of the General Delegation of Industry, drew up the certificate for the works executed which put the canal in service. (This last took place after the appropriation).

The clearest idea is given by the great quantity of material that was necessary to replace the destroyed part of the wall. And all this was done without interrupting the supply of irrigated water.

The first obstacle successfully overcome by our efforts brought with it the realisation of the possibilities of the new regime which had been created. That which had not been achieved by various organisations, which might have utilised the means available, was achieved by us through direct action.



"Spanish Poster"



# PUBLIC ORDER

# Anarchist Ideals From The Root

## SIMILAR TRENDS IN ENGLAND AND SPAIN

### II. From Winstanley and Godwin To 1850

Eight months of a new life, with all the perils which arise from war and the difficulties of a period of transition, in which every anti-fascist tendency is collaborating, have proved that the revolutionary order has been safeguarded throughout Catalonia by forces which have risen from the Revolution itself.

The workers' organisations have sufficient capacity and moral authority amongst the people, because it is with them that rests the real public order in revolutionary times.

The revolutionary order cannot be disorganised to the point of reverting to the conditions which prevailed before July 19th. In the working class, in its syndicalist organisations, lies the best guarantee of this order, which the proletariat is the first to watch over and defend. Moreover, the unification of the bodies for public safety, the policy to be pursued in the operation of the organisations existing for public control and safety,

must be backed above all by the trust of the workers, the confidence of the most advanced social organisations of the Revolution. For this reason we insist that when the indispensable revision of the articles of the Decree comes up for discussion, all the features of it, which are injurious to the interests of the Revolution must be modified, for they jeopardise the public order which must be preserved in the rearguard.

Without the confidence of the people, without the assent of all the forces of the anti-fascist bloc, the end which we have pointed out cannot be attained.

Over and above party standpoints must be placed the supreme necessity of avoiding misunderstandings dangerous to the present and the future of the Revolution.

We hope that what we have been saying will be borne in mind by those who can find a satisfactory solution of the problem. (Tierra y Libertad)

England and Spain show a remarkable likeness in their historical developments and if by quite a number of factors a spirit of freedom has grown in Spain which is boldly displayed in the present life and death struggle against Slavery be the enslavers supported or connived at by all the powers on earth, an undercurrent of real love for freedom runs also through England's populations in most ages of history.

The peninsula and the British islands were both extremely exposed to invasions and conquests; the Romans occupied both during a number of centuries and the latest foreign invasion in England, the Norman Conquest, 1066, established territorial expropriations, the annulment of most of the institutions proper to the Saxon race and a feudal régime of such severity that freedom loving Englishmen ever since then smart under this spoliation and have never succeeded in restoring their lost liberties. If the barons wrung some concessions from the King (*Magna Charta*), that was a matter between them and the King and of less importance to the people, most probably, than many *fueros* (local rights) which the Spanish nobles and the always more or less rebellious local populations succeeded in wresting from the monarchs in Spain.

An Englishman who can be described in modern terms as a thorough anarchist-socialist and a direct actionist, *Gerrard Winstanley*, "the digger," declared after the execution of King Charles I in his *Letter to Lord Fairfax and his Council of War*... (1649) that the destruction of that King logically implied the annulment of all the oppression and spoliation which the Norman Conquest had brought and he called upon the people in a later appeal (November, 1651) to settle at last on their old common land and on the land forfeited by royalty. Characteristically he wished to see this done by voluntary initiative and association, whilst the rest might continue to live in their own way. A short time afterwards (1652) he was arrested and it remains unknown what became of him. Royalty was re-established, the ranks of the privileged classes were enlarged by greater co-operation between the aristocracy and the rich bourgeoisie ever since 1688 and England became the domain of the alternative parties up to the present when party rule is by no means diminished, rather the contrary, however names or labels have been changed.

#### The "Utopian" Goal

Popular feeling during all these centuries was remarkably free-minded, almost libertarian and thoroughly social. Its "Utopian" goal lay in the past, in old Saxon free institutions (imaginary, perhaps) or in the wishes of dreamers, the equality and justice expected to prevail in "heaven" or after the "last Judgment." There was great perseverance and courage in many to adapt their actions to their teachings and to defy persecution and sufferings, as the early *Quakers* and other religionists have done. This implied for many the greatest reliance in reasoning and persuasion, in sentiment also, and a complete repudiation of force, be it the coercion of the powers that be, or violence which the religionists themselves might be able to use.

In the midst of religious wars some, at least, advocated toleration, as *Roger Williams* in Rhode Island did. Scientific milieu did the same in the seventeenth century and from all these currents sprang that great international effort of the early eighteenth century which first took root and shape in England, *Free Masonry*, preparing the larger international mental and moral co-operation of the second half of that century which has been discussed in the previous remarks on Godwin.

These efforts had their social expression in early calls for association; *Treffer to Plockboy* (a Dutchman: 1658) and *John Bellers* (1695); in much direct initiative of starting afresh, emigration, individual and collective, to settle on virgin ground in North America; in the brisk democratic activities of the artisan class and in ceaseless struggle against the squirearchy. Practical resorts endorsed

by popular opinion were poaching, from Robin Hood onward, smuggling, piracy and Scottish border wars. Permanent unrest in Ireland, later outrages against the beginnings of the factory system, machine wrecking, etc., were all protests against the landlords' and the capitalists' absolute hold on everything—the land, the animals and food which it produced, machinery, tools and raw materials. To be disinherited of all that and to be kept in check by a permanent cruel coercion, was no more accepted by the people of England than by the people of Spain, and all these wounds are still open in both countries.

#### British and Spanish Emigration

The settlement of immense territories overseas by Spanish and British emigrants was a safety valve for a long time, but even that came partially to an end. The North American colonies emancipated themselves (1776); the Spanish American colonies did the same in the early nineteenth century. Since then the English dominions wish to live their own lives, and India has awakened. Like Spain since 1898, England, too, is constantly more reduced to her own resources which leads to a growing insistence on institutions which might guarantee at least a minimum of social justice. Foreign countries are envious and greedy and as they welcomed the breakdown of Spanish world power, so they would gloat over and try to profit by the downfall of the British Empire.

If that enmity can be kept in check for some time by increasing costly armaments and by the hazardous game of diplomacy, a real remedy lies alone in social justice which would produce feelings like those which inspire the present heroic struggle for defence in Spain.

Spanish landlordism is most ferocious in *Andalusia*, British landlordism was so in *Ireland*. After a century of latent revolt and an infinity of coercion and cruelty, it was recognised that the remedy for *Ireland* lay in the elimination of the landlords, in many co-operative and educative measures and in local autonomy. Why then not help the *Andalusian* people who wish to deal in quite a similar way with their absentee landlords, who have now sent Moors, criminal legionnaires, foreign fascist soldiers in the *Andalusian* townships to decimate, if not to wipe out, the population by wholesale murder? England now contains large districts where intolerable distress prevails and wishes to apply efficient social remedies: why then hinder the Spanish population from adopting measures for welfare and solidarity on the deserted property of those who financed the generals' mutiny which was to weed out the militant workers by instant death and to coerce the survivors into dumb and hopeless submission?

#### In England As In Spain

There is not a problem in Spain which does not also exist as an open wound in England and which the people of England wish to be settled in a humane way and not by murder—murder which is the first and the last word of Fascism, in Italy or Germany, in Ethiopia or in invaded Spain! "We are all in the same boat"—this truth the people of England ought to think over, and act upon. They could not possibly follow the ways of Russia since 1917, as everything happening there went right against their habits and old traditions. But Spain, since July, 1936, openly stands up for all that was dearest, at all times, to the best men in Britain.

Socialism, then, as I try to show by all these references and comparisons, but cannot demonstrate in detail in this short space, took free, voluntary, associative forms in England and the social revolts, however bitterly fought, were revolts for liberation, not for dictatorship and conquest. *Wat Tyler* stood in front of the peasants and was killed among the first, as *Ascaso* and *Durruti* had been now, and was not living in comfortable quarters behind the lines as the treacherous generals and dictators of the Franco type are. *Winstanley* was the first who was knocked on the head or otherwise done away with, in 1652.

Social ideas of land reform inspired excellent men very early both in England and Scotland, and in Spain, in the eighteenth century. Spanish authors had expressed the keenest social criticism for centuries before and of the great works of human liberation *Don Quixote* is probably the most generous and most keenly felt, just as *Miguel Servet*, the martyr, done to death at Calvin's instigation, was the most acute free thinker of the sixteenth century. Free thought and social criticism flourished in England as well and were supplemented by much independent social action. Here *Robert Owen* and *William Thompson*, men born in Wales and in Ireland, rank foremost. Both were bent upon rousing voluntary activities, strengthened by co-operation and solidarity. Both, in this respect, worked on Godwin's lines. A real living thing, the immense co-operative movement, in England and Scotland, is due to their incessant and disinterested initiative. Owen's aim would have been federated social townships, a purpose related to Godwin's autonomous groups, as with the federated communities (*commune sociétaire*) proposed by the *Fourierists* of France. All their aims correspond to the Spanish *municipios libres*, realising various forms of *comunismo libertario* and constituted in real life since 1936, by the peasants in free parts of *Aragon*, not very far from the fighting front which keeps in check the Fascist armies of *Zaragoza*, *Huesca*, etc. Once more the hopes and dreams of the best men in England and the reality in Spain coincide.

#### The First Anarchist Group

It must be admitted, however, that if *Godwin's* great work was a focus concentrating all the best and most generous ideas and advice, no one, least of all he himself, was really capable of keeping up this first great elevation of English social thought. *Shelley* might have tried, but his delicate frame broke down so quickly. *Robert Owen* was divided all his long life between practical efforts (*New Lanark*, *New Harmony*, labour associations, etc) and his great educative impulses. *Thompson* was overwhelmed by detail and died early. *Bentham* and the elder *Mill* kept in the safe regions of philosophy. *John Stuart Mill*, the author of *On Liberty* (1859) was too sceptical, and *Herbert Spencer*, author of that famous chapter of *Social Statistics* (1850) which discusses "the right to ignore the State" appears to have been possessed of but a minimum of positive social feelings.

In the United States the social ideas were still more narrowed by individualists, from *Josiah Warren* and *Stephen Pearl Andrews* to *B. R. Tucker*, who seemed to care most for punctilious reciprocity (mutualism), an idea which also fascinated that well meaning Scotsman, *John Gray*, author of *The Social System* (1831), and others. Very few have tried to combine socialist and individualist feelings, like *A. Coston Cuddon*, first an Owenite, but who became in 1853, the originator of the first anarchist body or group, the little known *London Confederation of Rational Reformers*.

Let these hints, culled from many scattered sources, be sufficient to show that Godwin's inheritance was not lost, but overmuch scattered, and not again welded together in those years up to the fifties and later, by a man of real mark, and mettle. Its effect was not lost, but there were, for the time being, overwhelming odds against it. The French Revolution, the Empire, and the following period of Reaction up to 1830, in England 1832 (Reform Bill), steeped the world in Authority and the so-called Romantic period, an intellectual and esthetical *Præ-Fascism*, created the worship of Authority. Thence it pervaded socialism, from *Babeuf* to *Blanqui*, and further to *Louis Blanc* and *Karl Marx*. *Proudhon's* influence, curiously enough, did not reach England, probably because he was so typically French; nor did that of *Max Stirner*, the typical German.

Later, the ferocious reaction in England, from *Pitt* to *Castlereagh*, brought forward authoritarian rebels like *Colonel Despard* and *Thistlewood*, and political reformers, from *Henry Hunt* to the *Chartists*. The terrible strain of the factory systems and of unemployment after the long years of war, put the workers on their defence, from the *Luddites* and the militant activities of the secret, forbidden Trade Unions to the later steady efforts for a minimum of protection by legislation and this led to electoral politics, at first for strictly labour purposes. This large labour milieu, then, had in view only pressure on employers and on Parliament and cared little either for socialism, or productive co-operation (so vigorously promoted by *W. Thompson*), nor for all the libertarian currents alluded to above. It was "self sufficient," as syndicalism many years later declared itself to be, in France. Ever so many mistakes made by later movements, had already been made at that time in England by the men fascinated by Trade Unions or by Chartism, the great electoral panacea.

New developments, more favourable to libertarian thought occurred about the years 1850-51; of this more will be said in the next article. X.X.X.

(Ed. note.—The first article of this series, "William Godwin's Political Justice, appeared in Vol 1, No. 9).

# "200 Small Mouths To Feed"

## ORPHANS OF THE STRUGGLE

*Pierre Lyon writes this week in the LIBERTAIRE an article bearing the title "Two hundred small mouths to feed" and we feel justified in reproducing it in full for the benefit of our readers.*

It is not our intention to make lachrymose appeals to our readers for funds to carry out our plans of adding twenty children to the number already sheltered at the chateau. But we cannot in truth hide a certain disappointment at the results so far obtained. We made it quite clear in the last issue that we were not asking for large sums of money; we asked for sixpences and shillings to be sent at regular intervals. We realise that even sixpences and shillings mean a lot to many comrades, but then, we need a sacrifice from all. We need comrades to sacrifice their packet of cigarettes or their glass of beer once a week end send that money to us for the innocent mites who will find a haven and maternal care in the Chateau in Gerona.

Do not shelve this appeal and think that it can wait. The war drags on, and the number of suffering and homeless children increases. With Franco's intensified bombing of the civil population, the death roll of the innocent rises. . . .

SAVE THE KIDDIES. . . Now before it is too late.

"Torn from torment, some arriving from Madrid, others from the Aragon Front, the little ones under our protection have now arrived.

The Committee "Pro Infancia" of Gerona, the Defence Council of Aragon have trusted to us these small mouths which are to be fed, small hearts to be cared for, small children to be kept alive. Four years, six, eight, ten and twelve years of age, boys and girls of all ages, too many of whom will alas, never see their mother and father again.

Twenty-five at a time have arrived at our Colonie Ascaso-Durruti. Last week they made up a contingent of a hundred and fifty and at the moment these words appear there will be two hundred adopted children at Llensa.

The Chateau de Marly will ring with the shouts and the laughter of our "brats."

Comrade Paula Felsdein, the animator of the best of our enterprises is hard at work. Beside her, six women are employed every day to do the rough work.

Very shortly the teachers and doctors will arrive.

The Ascaso-Durruti colony is gradually organising itself and we shall soon be able to make an example of it. Friends, comrades, mothers and fathers here, it is for you to assure the "material" needs of your adoptive children.

You do want them to lack nothing, the little ones of Llensa, the little brats who are from now onwards yours, don't you?

They need many things to fill two hundred empty plates all in a line in the big refectory.

They need bread, rice, sugar, chocolate, vegetables, cakes etc., and besides food they need clothes and toys. . . .

This week three lorries will cross the frontier, three well laden lorries. The contents of one will remain at Llensa, the other two will go to the Aragon and Madrid fronts.

The lives of two hundred small child refugees are your responsibility and we know that the effort asked of you on their behalf is not beyond your strength.

Let all set about this work of human solidarity."

PIERRE ODEON.

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". No. **SPANISH ORPHANS' FUND**

Please find enclosed P.O. 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

Name .....

Address .....



An attack by Spanish Militiamen



## FRIENDLY AND UNFRIENDLY A Review Of Press Views

### ENTHUSIASM FOR FRANCO'S CAUSE

One reads the following in the *Diario de Cadiz* (March 14th):—"Subscriptions for the combatants fund are really very small," stated Senor Vazquez Romero in an interview granted to journalists yesterday. He described the problem of collecting the subsidy for the combatants from Cadiz. He said that subscriptions were coming in very slowly, and that in the capital, although they were supposed to have collected 14,000 pesetas, so far, only 800 had been received. He said that he hoped the rearguard would make sacrifices equal to those made by the men who had gone to the Front.

Yet another proof of Franco's "popularity."

### ANTI-FASCIST WEATHER

"Rain and Mist Aid Red Attacks" states a headline in the *Daily Mail* of the 22nd March. This is the only explanation the *Daily Mail* can give of the Republican victories on the Madrid fronts. And the only explanation it can give of the Fascist failures is that "their attack has been temporarily delayed, because of the bad weather." Perhaps the *Daily Mail* itself can explain why bad weather strengthens one side and cripples the other.

### LIFE IN FASCIST SPAIN

The French newspaper *Regard* publishes a report from Jean Allougerie, a correspondent who spent a month behind the Fascist lines. The following is an extract from the article.

"The Falangists are stationed at a safe distance from the enemy guns. Their duty is to propagate Nationalist ideas among the civil population. Well armed, they perform this task with enthusiasm. In Seville their victims amount to nine thousand, in Malaga, four thousand.

"I saw the Tribunals function after the fall of Marbella. The proceedings were simple. The wealth or poverty of the victims was the only question. For a voluntary and unhesitating donation of more than a thousand pesetas, the accused were considered good Fascists; for 500 they were shown mercy; for 200 to 500, concentration camp; for less than 100 pesetas the accused, young and old, were declared Marxists and taken at once to the place of execution. From the 6,000 inhabitants of Marbella, 900 were executed on the first night. This is Fascist propaganda."

### COLONEL BLIMPS IN THE FLESH

Many good-hearted and unsuspecting Englishmen do not believe that there really exist in England the Colonel Blimps which David Low has made famous in his cartoons, but they really do exist! A friend of mine rather ungenerously (or was it patriotically?) sent me two copies of the *English Review*. I discovered many "Blimpian" phrases in them, and I cannot do better than quote them. The first is on the Spanish War, by a Sir Charles Petrie. He writes that the Opposition would have been "prepared to have British lives sacrificed on behalf of Largo Caballero's cut-throats." That word *cut-throats* smacks of the cheap thriller, or of fancy tales of Chinatown or in the back streets of Naples. . . .but now we have machine-guns and flame throwers; Mussolini has even introduced mustard-gas in his civilization recipe. Surely *cut-throats* is a little dated. But still further on we get that Colonel Blimp atmosphere when the Abyssinian Campaign is reviewed. Talking of Badoglio's book he writes that it is in a "dry style, but the story he has to tell is so enthralling that none can find it dull. . . .nothing was left to chance (by the Italians), and the Abyssinian war may well serve as a model of what a colonial campaign should be. . . ." You Cads!

### THE STRENGTH OF THE C.N.T.

*Le Libertaire* (Paris 8/4/37) publishes an interesting documentation which we hope to publish in full in a future issue, dealing with the comparative strengths of the various organisations in Catalonia. Following a discussion between the U.G.T. and C.N.T. press, the circulation figures of the important newspapers in Catalonia were revealed. These show that the U.G.T. press has a total circulation of 87,000, made up as follows: *Las Noticias* 28,000, *Treball* 20,000; *La Rambla* 7,000; *El Noticiero* 32,000. On the other hand the C.N.T. press is represented by the *Solidaridad Obrera* with a circulation of 210,000 and the *Catalunya* and *La Noche* with 45,000. That is, a total of 255,000, or nearly three times as many as the U.G.T. Press.

### TOWARDS DEMOCRACY?

The *Spanish News* which always gives me the impression of being a very sincere publication even though the ideas expressed in it do not necessarily agree with my own, publishes in its April 9th issue a list of figures showing the membership of the various Unions in Spain. According to the *Spanish News* the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union (CNT) has a membership of 1,500,000. I presume that the *Spanish News* is acquainted with the C.N.T.'s programme, and am therefore even more surprised that that newspaper can continue its slogan that "Spain is fighting for Democracy." How can it honestly be assumed that all these workers want to return to the weak-minded system that existed before July 19th? Do the workers want to live under a system which considers as progress an increase in wages of a few pence a week, or fewer working hours and the like?

### NATIONALISM INSPIRES "BIG BUSINESS"

On the 30th of March the following announcement was made from the rebel radio station at Seville:

"An inspection of the different businesses in Seville has been carried out. It was discovered that Antonio Ferrer, shirtmaker and tailor, had raised his prices 200 per cent; Fernin Alfaro, also a tailor, had raised his prices 125 per cent.; and José

Luis Cabaño, in the men's outfitting business, had increased his charges by 80 per cent. These men have been fined. One 40,000 pesetas; one 80,000 pesetas, and the last 100,000 pesetas. All the business men of Saville should benefit by this example."

This gives a sufficiently clear description of the inspiration "Nationalism" has been to commerce in Seville.

### REPORT FROM TANGIERS

A Tangiers newspaper, "Democracy," complains that Franco is trying to recruit more Moorish troops—who are by no means anxious to be recruited. Since the beginning of the Spanish War, 50,000 Moors have left for Spain to fight for the rebels. This drainage of man power, says "Democracy," has had a very bad effect on

the economy of the country. Agriculture, in particular, is suffering from the lack of available labour. The real effect will be felt in the years to come, but, adds the newspaper, this naturally does not affect Franco. He is not interested in the future. He knows that it does not belong to him.

LIBERTARIAN.

### BROADCAST.

Short Wave Station E.C.N.1, Radio C.N.T.-F.A.I. broadcasts every night on a wave length of 42,88 metres, frequency 6995,1 kcs.

At 21.15 in Portuguese at 22.30 in English  
At 21.30 in German at 23.00 in Italian  
At 22.00 in French at 23.30 in Spanish

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The deficit of the newspaper has now reached a total of over £80. We appeal to Comrades to do their utmost to wipe out this deficit so that our paper may continue its work, free from the financial instability which is now threatening its regular appearance.

Send your donations for our Solidarity fund now. All cheques and Money Orders should be made payable to "Spain and the World" and sent to us at 207, Goswell Road, London, E.C.1, ENGLAND.

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## LESSONS FOR LABOUR

### Success Of The Rebel Unions In U.S.A.

The most significant development in the world of politics in recent months has been the size and success of these rebel unions in the United States known as the C.I.O. These unions, under the leadership of John L. Lewis, have thrown off the dictatorship of the A. F. of L. and seeing the danger to the progress of the working classes in the immense rise in the employment of unskilled and unorganised labour in mass production industries, have realised that the old narrow self-interest of the skilled trades unionists must be subordinated to the wider interests of the general mass of the workers.

Lewis and his co-workers have grasped the important principle of organisation by industry rather than by craft, and though the pursuit of this principle has cut right across the carefully guarded vested interests of the crafts unions, such as the steel workers, yet the C.I.O. has gone courageously ahead, and has met with astounding successes in the organisation of the motor industries and of the hitherto impregnable Bethlehem Steel Corporations.

What remains to be seen is whether these successes will be translated into real gains for the workers or whether they will simply fall back into bargaining agencies with the concept of workers control forgotten. The great hopefulness of the situation in this new organisation is that in the U.S.A. labour has never found it necessary to use a political means to attain its ends,

and it is quite possible that this new development may teach the workers the important principle that organisation, firm and effective, is the only technique that it is necessary for labour to acquire in order to be able to take over industry in the interests of the workers themselves.

There is an important lesson in these events for English labour, which is facing the same problem of the encroachment of mass production industries upon those fields which have hitherto been the preserves of the highly skilled and well organised trades. The motor industry is a glaring example of this, and it inevitably follows that, where enormous industrial concerns employing large numbers of unskilled machine minders begin to dominate the industrial life of the country, then the earnings and standard of life of organised labour will decline.

It is a *sine qua non* that where the standard of life and wages is low the worker, absorbed entirely in a hand-to-mouth struggle to live, has less and less time and courage for the battle for emancipation, and that where he can always be replaced from the immense numbers of the unorganised workers the fear of losing his job leaves him easy prey to predatory employers. Workers who feel that Trade Unionism is too authoritarian and who fear to barter their liberty of action by joining their respective unions should bear in mind that the fight against Fascism is fundamentally the fight against Capitalism. The events of the last few months in Spain and the attitude of the British Government and of other European Governments have abundantly proven that in every case our Capitalists will connive at Fascism in preference to workers' control.

Workers must take warning by the examples before them and realise that it is only when they are willing to take the responsibility for the organisation of industry into their own hands that they may ever hope to undertake the reorganisation of society. This is surely best accomplished by those workers who have been willing to undergo the discipline and tedium of organisation work—intensively and severely—and who have so been enabled to realise that what is needed for a better society is not greater leadership but greater cooperation of the many.

This can surely be learned, and with it the technique of self-government, in the workers' own organisations.

Trade Unionism is not an end in itself, but is a very potent means, and a means to the end of Syndicalistic-Anarchism.

S.V.C.

## Anarcho-Syndicalist Union (London)

### ITS IMMEDIATE AIMS

*The Anarcho-Syndicalist Union*  
(London).

London, 7th April

A meeting of the A.S.U. took place this evening at the Friends House. This meeting which was announced as a group discussion, was a new and interesting experience for me, it being quite different in character from any of the larger Spain meetings previously held in this country. It was an informal and friendly gathering at which many sympathisers, not yet members of the A.S.U., were able to learn some important facts about Anarcho-Syndicalism and the work of the Union.

Emma Goldman opened the meeting with a brief historical account of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in Europe and the United States. She spoke of the great liberating influence of Syndicalism in France, where under the guidance of such men as Pelletier and Jouhaux, it opened a new field of social activities which still continues at the present day despite the setback of the Great War.

In the United States also, where Emma Goldman has done some of her most valuable work, the influence of Anarcho-Syndicalism has been incalculable. But though vast strides have been recently made in industrialisation, the ultimate goal of Anarcho-Syndicalism can never be reached

under the present condition of capitalist control

She then spoke of Spain, where Anarcho-Syndicalism is a practical reality, and pointed out that we are now in a stronger position than ever before, with the experience of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movements in other countries to draw on and the living example of Spain before us, to build up the movement in this country.

Questions were asked as to the immediate aims of the A.S.U. in this country, in reply to which a member of the A.S.U. outlined their present activity, viz., the gathering together of all individuals and groups of Anarchist and Syndicalists in England. An appeal to those who, realising the injustice of the present social system and being dissatisfied with the political labour movement, feel the imperative necessity of a unifying principle on a social and economic basis which transcends politics.

At the conclusion it was decided to meet again on Wednesday, April 21st, at the Friends' House (Euston Road), 8 p.m., for a further discussion on Syndicalism in relation to the Trade Unions, to which members of Trade Unions will speak.

Full information can be obtained from the Secretary, Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, 4, GOULDHAWK MEWS, LONDON, W.12.