

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

THE CAUSE OF FREE
SPAIN IS THE CAUSE
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JULY 19th 1937

ON the 19th of July, 1936, one year ago, the provoked and aroused masses of Barcelona, in a deluge of enthusiasm cleansed the city of the rotted feudalistic caste, risen in armed revolt against the democratic government of Spain. It was on a peaceful Sunday scheduled to inaugurate the Popular Olympic Games in protest to the "Nazi" show in Berlin. I remember awakening to the rumbling of wheels and clattering hoofs, and going to the balcony I saw an entire battery of artillery parading up the street. Wondering what it was all about, I was startled by a volley of rifle shots and explosions of hand grenades. A momentary panic followed, and the soldiers and officers, abandoning their mounts, scrambled to the nearest shelters. All house shutters were instantly shut, and as the firing continued from rooftops and balconies, the cannons and machine guns were set in commanding positions, while the army sergeants bellowed "Abrir los balcones." — Not a shutter moved, and I could see the officers of the battery issuing commands from behind a doorway, where they remained throughout the skirmish.

A white plane surged in view and flying low, machine-gunned the insurgent forces and disappeared, returning several times to repeat the manoeuvre. An ambulance brought a temporary lull—while the dead and wounded were removed from the street. As the firing recommenced, I saw two files of young men in overalls, advancing from the street below, and without firing a single shot, they reached the positions of the battery. The soldiers, utterly confounded by such sheer heroism, dropped their guns, and coming out in the open, embraced the impetuous youth to the cry of "Viva la Republica"—"Viva la FAF". Whereupon a startled young officer advised the captain of the battery to surrender; but the captain, from his refuge, slugged his subordinate full of bullets in the belly.

The firing continued at close range, with deafening succession. The casualties were heavy. Men and horses lay strewn about the street and sidewalk, in pools of blood. A few horses and mules still huddled together around the trees on the sidewalk. Others were thrown in a heap entangled in their harness and equipment. Several were struggling desperately to extricate themselves from under the fantastic mass of carcasses. Finally, I saw the top sergeant pull out a handkerchief and shout: "In the name of the forces I command, I surrender." The battle was over and the victorious youths disarmed at once the remaining soldiers and made prisoners of the factious officers in their hiding place. (The captain had been previously dispatched). The Civil Guards arrived on the scene and, embracing the triumphant youth, helped to extricate the horses still alive, while numerous ambulances removed the fallen combatants. One poor beast stood alone and unable to move, on account of his

wounds, and neighed most pitifully. I went down to the street and finally got a fellow with a gun to end the agony of the poor beast.

The wreckage of lamp-posts, splintered trees, broken glass, and fallen street car wires and posts was as if the entire street had been struck by lightning. Machine gun and rifle bullet impacts studded the walls of houses, and in many buildings huge gaps were left by shells and bombs. At Plaza de Cataluña, the Telephone Exchange and Hotel Colon had just been taken by the ardent youth of the people after a fierce fight and siege. Both these strongholds had been occupied by the insurgents in the early morning, as well as the University, numerous churches and seminaries. But the strategy and ruses of the military caste gave way inevitably to the avalanche of the aroused masses of workers of Barcelona. The ringleader, General Goded, and his staff surrendered after a gruelling cannonade. One gunner fired over thirty shells directly into the "Capitania" in open presence of the enemy. This same gunner, together with an improvised crew, hauled their cannon to right different scenes of battle in the city—in each of which they fought as supermen—to victory.

The fighting did not end with the surrender of Goded, who in his broadcast, at the request of the Catalan President Companys, avowed to the public his defeat. However, his words were: "The situation having gone against me through adverse circumstances, I have surrendered, and to avoid further bloodshed, I leave my followers free from their parole." This cynical statement meant that those who wished to go on fighting on their own account were free to do so. As a result, some garrisons continued to resist, causing precisely further bloodshed. Among the irreparable losses suffered at the final assault on the Atarazana barracks was the brave Francisco Ascaso.

After defeating the military uprising, militia controls were organised at strategic points in the city—on the watch for Fascist snipers still in hiding. An anti-fascist militia was created and organisation of an improvised army of masses was under way. On the 22nd of July, three days after the attempted putsch, the city reopened its shops, cafes, restaurants, and resumed work at the factories. Complete order was re-established, without the ominous presence of civil guards or troops. The daily press reappeared, hailing the revolution and and munitions had to be furnished to the manifesting the unanimous support of the people. The streets and avenues of the city were jubilant with a triumphant populace.

On the surface, the normal life of the city seemed unchanged. Buses, street cars, and metros, operated now by the workers themselves, carried on without a hitch. While factory owners and big bosses fled across the border, the workers calmly took over the abandoned enter-

prises and proceeded with the normal activities of production. The two powerful workers syndicates, CNT and UGT, directed the organisation of industry throughout the entire region of Catalonia. The CNT took the lead on behalf of the vast majority of workers constituting its membership. From the regional committees and the branch syndicates, factory committees and delegates were designated by election to administer and co-ordinate the factors of production and distribution. Frequent assemblies were held and all the processes of manufacture and marketing were set up on the principle of collectivisation.

For the English mind, unacquainted with the tradition and character of the proletariat of Spain, it may be difficult to conceive how a people, oppressed for centuries by church and state, and living under an absolute tyranny of the privileged class could emerge suddenly into an era of light and hope without confusion, without hesitation, in the midst of all the horrors of war, could get to work and set up the most profoundly revolutionary economic and social structure ever conceived. The dream of Bakunin was no longer a myth but a living reality in Catalonia. The prodigious achievement of the Spanish workers was made possible by their profound faith in mankind, by their intense love of life and by their most vigorous sense of strength of the individual capacities of the rank and file. It is these qualities which accounts for the ever increasing growth of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in Spain. The hope and faith of Anarchism for the emancipation of the productive masses from the yoke of capitalism and political intrigue was definitely being put into practice, and for the first time in history, the advent of social and economic justice was clearly and surely advancing toward practical realisation. The ready response and enthusiasm of the workers themselves, their capacity for organisation and spontaneous adjustments to new and difficult problems were manifest in their common aspiration to a new economic order, towards the realisation of all the fullness of life, which should be the product of work.

But there was more than the normal demands of the populace to be satisfied. There was the war being waged against fascist aggression. A popular militia had been organised and sent to the front. Food, clothing, medical supplies, arms fighters. There had been no war industry in Cataluña. Everything had to be improvised, without the direction of the captains of industry, who had fled in panic, without the assistance of professional experts, who strangely disappeared.

The industrial workers of Barcelona stood up to the difficult task. Overnight, the foundries, machine shops, and factories were mobilised for the war. The metallurgical syndicates assumed the full function of production of arms and munitions. At the end of the first week, armoured trucks were already exhibited on the 'Rambla.' Bullets, hand grenades, shells, rifles and machine guns were being

produced in ever increasing proportions. As an example, from a first daily production of a thousand bullets, the output has risen to a million a day.

The capacity of simple mechanics and workmen was astounding. The hours of work were 12 and 14 hours a day; all that was necessary to meet the demand. The wages were the same for all, from the technicians down to the simple labourer. The fact that it was all for the common cause of the war and the revolution was more than sufficient incentive for every worker to give the utmost of his strength and knowledge to the great task of winning the war.

In the same way, other basic industries of produce, textiles and transportation were organised to supply the needs of the populace and the militia. In all phases of peace and war economy, the organisation and efficiency of the industrial workers of Cataluña have amazed the world, by their magnificent achievements.

A full year has passed, during which an endless maze of international complications have prevented the realisation of the workers' revolution and prolonging the war, have thrown to the background the "vital interests" of the Spanish populace. The territory of Spain has become the checker board of international "vital interests" of supremacy in high finance. The so-called democratic governments, through the force of non-intervention, have consistently aided the consolidation of Fascist power in Spain. They have encouraged political manoeuvres to bring about a counter-revolution in government territory; and the workers, after a year of sacrifices and undaunted heroism, have been removed from the direction of political affairs. Conniving and intrigue are rampant in government circles, while the war drags on. Internal dissensions are rife and have led to assassination in cold blood of outstanding leaders of the revolution.

The position of the CNT-FAI has been weakened considerably, and the leaders have been criticised severely by comrades abroad for not having employed all the resources at their command to impose their supremacy. The question is to say the least, *undebatable*; the circumstances in a given situation being the chief determining factor of policy. Mistakes have been made rather due to the inherent good faith and honesty of the comrades in Spain, as well as their great lack of practical experience in public life. For these reasons, more than ever, must we continue to give our wholehearted support and unstinted help to the CNT-FAI. In the recent tragic days of May, the populace of Barcelona left no doubt about their overwhelming devotion to the cause of the Revolution. These masses are still, together with the brave combatants at the front, the invincible bulwark of the CNT-FAI in Spain. We must back this supreme faith of the Spanish workers, and help in every way at our disposal, the achievement of a final victory for the free people of Spain.

L. FRANK.

The Anti-Fascist Struggle

TREACHERY IN THE REAR

TWELVE months have passed since the Spanish people were precipitated into bloody combat against the forces of Fascism. On July 19th, soldiers, inebriated by their superiors, left the barracks to occupy the strategic positions in the large Spanish towns. In Barcelona they were met by an unarmed or ill-armed but resolute people; overwhelmed, defeated and the leaders justified. The same happened in the other Spanish towns . . . in Madrid, Valencia, Badajoz, Malaga . . . The Navy too remained faithful to the people; officers were clapped in chains and the more obstreperous hurled into the sea; useless members of society.

The Revolutionary forces, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. took the initiative everywhere in this drive against reaction personified in Franco's forces. Barricades hastily erected in every street, of beds, chairs, tables, of mattresses, planks, and defended by the brave men and women of the Spanish proletariat.

Five hundred met their death during those bloody days in Barcelona; but the Fascists were routed. Barcelona was in the hands of the workers!

A Revolutionary economy; a new Social Order. An economy to deal with the exigencies of the Revolution and to aim at the achievement of a revolutionary ideal. The wealth of the land for the peasants and the workers; no more idle rich; no more "superior" individuals, but a classless society.

This was the aim of the Comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. This was the ideal for which they were prepared to sacrifice their lives by the thousand.

The Catalan Government was nominal and non-existent in its authority over the workers. A Workers' Catalonia!

Collectivization, Socialization of the land and industry. Collectivization of Transport, of Entertainments. Equality, Social and Economic . . . that was the order of the day in Catalonia.

Foreign observers arrived, sceptical. They left amazed. The world must know of the Social Revolution in Catalonia. But the world was not told. Such achievements, without central authority and discipline and without the masters, was dangerous to the prestige of politicians. The C.N.T.—F.A.I. must be slandered, not praised!

Meanwhile Durruti, our indefatigable Durruti with his column of brave comrades of the C.N.T.—F.A.I., was advancing on the Aragon front. Village after village was taken, and as they entered so they helped with the reconstruction, with the establishment of Comunismo—Libertario. And as they advanced they came nearer to their goal: Saragossa!

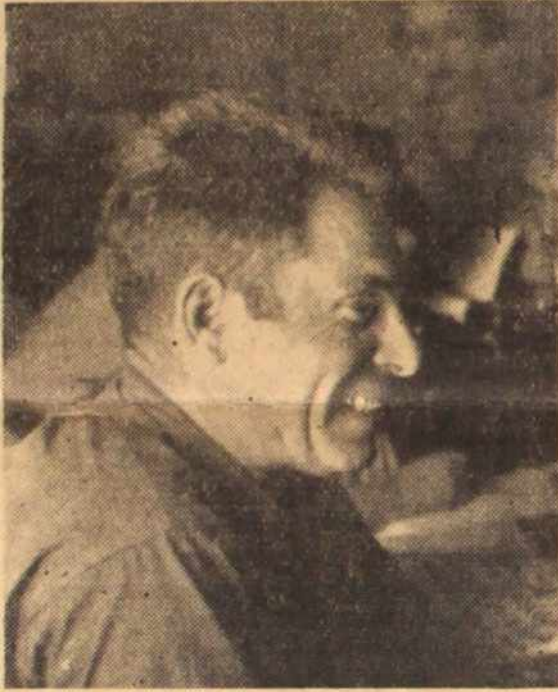
The victory of the people seemed near. A victory of the forces defending the rights of men and women as opposed to a system which condemns mankind to moral slavery. Then suddenly the tide turned. The Straits until then in the hands of the loyal navy was now commanded by Franco's fleet, aided by German and Italian warships and submarines. Moors, by the thousand were then brought over. Mussolini and Hitler followed with shiploads of men, youths, ammunition, aeroplanes and tanks, heavy artillery and incendiary bombs. Portugal became the virtual headquarters of the Fascists, and their ammunition distributing centre. Train loads of arms poured over the frontier for Franco's foreign army; for the foreign mercenaries who were supposedly representing the popular will of the Spanish people.

Badajoz fell; its population massacred. "I've even seen pictures of files of 50 or 100 peasants—agricultural labourers rather—wrote the "News Chronicle" correspondent—"being marched through the streets to the Plaza where, when the Legions trumpets fade in the distance, their women will creep from their hovels to find

their own in heaps of riddled bodies." And still the Church persisted in its intensive propaganda against those workers labelled "Reds." And still the International Press remained silent. And still the International Trade Unions brought no assistance to their Spanish brothers, fighting practically unarmed against a modern and well equipped army.

San Sebastian fell as did Irun, followed by the same massacre and rape of the civil population. And still the International proletariat remained silent. The enemy was at the gates of Madrid. The Press announced the imminent fall of the Capital. Archbishops promise that Mass will be said in the city in two days. In Seville flags, bunting and wine to celebrate the "capture of Madrid."

But Madrid defied capture! First Durruti and his column, then the International Brigade hurled themselves at the enemy, stemmed their advance and fortified their new positions. Franco intensifies his attack. Madrid is bombed and shelled; incendiary bombs destroy and ravage the working class districts whilst military objectives remain untouched. And still Madrid resisted . . . Madrid resists and eight months later takes the offensive, routing Mussolini's super-army in Guadalajara!



BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI
November 20th, 1936.

But this example of heroism and sacrifice could not save Durango, Guernica, Bilbao or Malaga from the fury of International Fascism's war machine.

The International Proletariat, save distant Mexico which refused to deny the Spanish people its assistance, looked on at this massacre of the innocent, and did nothing. Three months after the Fascist revolt, Moscow allowed Spain to purchase arms from her in return for good gold. The day the first of the consignments of Russian arms reached Spain was the beginning of a period of blackmail of which the CNT-FAI were the victims. There was no time then to estimate the consequences. Arms were needed to beat back the fascist forces which were ruthlessly bombing, machine-gunning and violating the innocent women and children in village and town.

Franco was temporarily checked; but so was the Social Revolution.

As a result of Russia's intervention the Communists and the UGT gained strength in Catalonia. The C.N.T.—F.A.I. which until then remained the indisputable masters of Catalonia (though not its dictators) were now faced with open counter-revolution. The Communists were for Capitalist democracy as opposed to the Social Revolution. The Communists were the supporters of the "regular army" and the centralization of control; they were in favour of a government which should act independently of the will of the workers. They were for the municipalization of the land and factories as against collectivization and socialization; they sought every means, no matter how vile and cowardly, to drag the name of the POUM in the mud. They had

the impertinence to talk of the "uncontrollables" and the "counter-revolutionaries." They sided with the civil guards (the reactionary forces before the revolution, and still reactionary, and therefore anxious to carry out Valencia's orders to exterminate the Anarchists and other true revolutionaries) which were sent from Valencia. The Communists murdered the mayor of Puigcerda (an anarchist town on the frontier); they murdered trade union workers of Tarragona and Tortosa; they fired on Anarchist processions killing men and women; massacred Libertarian Youths; murdered Berneri, Barbieri and a host of other comrades in Barcelona, in league with the Generalitat. And the Communists to-day declare the uncontrollables and the counter-revolutionaries to be in the ranks of the CNT-FAI and the POUM. The latter are accused of being a Fascist organisation, and the Communist mouthpiece, "Mundo Obrero," demands the death sentence for the POUM leaders in the same way as the "Pravda" demands the death of all those men in Russia, victims of Stalin's hatred and fear!

The counter-revolution in Spain has been at work for several months. The Anarchist "leaders" have given in on too many points. This they declare (and we are prepared to believe in their honesty) has been done because they do not wish to handicap the war through ideological differences. With the same aim in view they have striven for Unity, and as Berneri once said, "has led them to consider as 'comrades' many of yesterday's enemies and to take upon themselves governmental responsibility." But Unity with whom? Unity with those elements which are working towards the destruction of the Social Revolution? Unity with those elements which are OPENLY opposing a revolutionary economy and who are stabbing our comrades in the back?

No! There can be no Unity with political parties which are openly betraying the Revolution. There can be no collaboration with Governments, much less with Governments which, in league with the European "democracies," conspire to exterminate the true Revolutionaries in Spain.

The CNT-FAI is conscious of its enemies: they are at the front and in the rear-guard. Each concession they make is a step towards the complete destruction of the Revolution.

The CNT should take a stand and make no further concessions. It represents a force in Spain which demands respect and consideration from all other political organisations.

The CNT must no longer be the scape-goat for other parties. Whilst our comrades all rushed to the front at the beginning, the rear-guard was being infested with Communists, civil guards, and other reactionaries. The Anarchists, as in the past have been doing the work, whilst reaction in the form of Bolshevism and Catalan Nationalism has been reaping the benefits. This cannot continue. "All arms and men to the front," one hears from all sides. But the Anarchists in their enthusiasm to win the war, to advance and capture new territory from the fascists, must not forget to consolidate the terrain already won. Their ideological conquests in Catalonia must be defended from the counter-revolutionary forces in the rear-guard in the same way as against Fascism. The "War" and the "Revolution" cannot be separated from one another; they are complementary forces.

Twelve months of warfare; twelve months of slaughter; twelve months of experience?

Our comrades should now know who are their enemies. They cannot tarry any longer. Censorship has mutilated their Press (in Madrid at least two newspapers are regularly suspended). The frontier is in the hands of the Communists; the Civil Guards have orders to exterminate them; and Moscow continues its intrigues.

The Anarchists alone can still save Spain from dictatorship, whether of the Right or the Left.

"SPAIN and the WORLD."

Health And Happiness Thanks To Your Efforts!



The magnificent response to our appeals for the Spanish Orphans this week is due in the main to the generous contributions sent to us by Comrades in America. Whilst thanking them on behalf of "our" Children at Llansa, we should ask them to continue with their solidarity. We appeal also to those comrades who can afford only a modest contribution. After all, these large sums sent us by groups are made up of small donations. We appeal also to those comrades and friends who have promised a regular contribution to meet their obligation regularly, without making it necessary for us to send them a reminder!

Several friends have written asking for details of life in the Durruti-Ascaso colony, as well as to let them have photographs of the children. We would have done so earlier had it been possible. As it is, our Committee in Paris has informed us that the negatives of photos taken at the colony, were destroyed at the frontier by the Civil Guards "for reasons of State"! More photos have been taken and with the few we already have, besides a report just received from the Colony we hope to shortly issue an illustrated leaflet. Those comrades and friends who are doing their share will derive pleasure and satisfaction at seeing photos of these happy children, romping in the spacious grounds provided for them, and full of health (confirmed by the report). These children might have been sleeping in the fields or still at the mercy of Franco's machine-guns, under-fed and unhappy. Instead of which, through your efforts, these little ones are well and have that maternal care, so necessary at their age.

Have you answered our appeal? Are you helping to contribute to the material wants of our 20 children? Are you anxious that more children should be adopted through our concerted efforts?

If you are — and we are sure you are — send your donations now to "SPAIN and the WORLD," Whiteway Colony, Nr. Stroud, GLOS.

ORPHANS' FUND.

Vth List (28th June - 9th July)
Previously acknowledged £84/6/4.
No.

- 84. London: Sidonie Goossens £3/5/6.
- 85. London: C.R. 10/-.
- 86. London: A.D.B. (Collecting Box) 2/9.
- 87. London: E. Man 2/-.
- 88. U.S.A., Los Angeles: Dr. Holtz per Kropotkin Lit. Society £5.
- 89. U.S.A., San Francisco: Comrades (\$15) £3.
- 90. London: C.R. 5/-.
- 91. London: A.D.B. (Collecting Box) 2/1.
- 92. London: Manuel (Collecting Box) 7/1.
- 93. U.S.A., Detroit: E. Vivas, per International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain £10.
- 94. U.S.A., Detroit: E. Vivas, per Cultura Libertaria Group £18.
- 95. Australian: P. Giacosa 6/5.
- 96. U.S.A., Philadelphia: J. Desiderio, per Modern Educational Association £6/9/3.
- 97. London: W. 1/-.

Total: £131/17/5.

SPAIN and the WORLD

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and the Social Revolution
in Spain.

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Your subscription expired
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your earliest convenience.

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THE C.N.T. AS I SAW IT

By Fenner Brockway

BEFORE I visited Spain I appreciated highly the part played by the CNT (the Anarcho Syndicalist Trade Union Confederation) in the fight against Fascism and for the Social Revolution; but that appreciation has been enormously increased by actual contact with the organisation and first-hand knowledge of its work.

I went to Spain to do what I could to assist the POUM, following the arrest of its leaders and the attempted suppression of its organisation. I expected sympathy from the CNT, but I did not feel I had the right to expect more than general assistance.

After all, the CNT and the POUM have a difference of social philosophy which has been historically divisive. The CNT is Anarchist. The POUM is Marxist. This has led to differences in policy and even to a certain rivalry in agitation and organisation. The POUM has frequently criticised Anarchist tactics and leadership. It has not refrained from seeking to enrol members within the CNT. Under such circumstances it would have been understandable if the CNT had not exerted itself overmuch in the defence of POUM.

But I found no such reservations. To the CNT it was a matter of principle and in the presence of the principle other considerations were forgotten. The POUM had proved the genuineness of its devotion to the anti-Fascist struggle. It had proved its sincerity in defence of the rights of the workers and in preparing the way for the social revolution. It was being unjustly persecuted. That was enough. The CNT did not hesitate for a moment in standing by its side and in demanding justice for it.

TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

It is with deep regret and considerable sorrow that we feel obliged to state the following facts:—

From the very beginning of our struggle to free our people from the Spanish Fascist menace the Fascist Dictatorships have openly intervened. They did so with impunity and with the tacit consent of the so-called "Democracies." For nearly a year these Governments have been engaged in a disgraceful complicity against the Spanish people. In the face of this crime we were justified to assume that the workers of the world would come to our assistance and our aid. Unfortunately they have failed us because they have refrained from acting decisively as the circumstances demanded of them.

We are well aware that Dictatorship in a number of countries weighs so heavily on the proletariat that any action on their part is impossible; but also we know that there are huge Trade Unions, Labour and Socialist Parties who still enjoy some independence and freedom in their native land. Yet they have attempted nothing vital in the way of help for their stricken brothers in Spain — nothing that would have assisted us against the piratical attacks of International capitalism and its fascist allies.

We feel that in the face of a besieged devastated country and the people by overwhelming forces accumulated under the very nose of advocates of Non-Intervention on one side and a denial of our right to acquire the necessary means of defence on the other, well meaning declarations, pronouncements, or the collection of some small funds, are not enough. The desperate situation of your Spanish brothers demands that something more substantial and telling, something that would express more forcibly your spirit of solidarity with the enormous sacrifices of the Spanish proletariat. Nothing short of an intensely active campaign to bring pressure on your Governments and Labour bodies to compel them to abandon their connivance will have any effect.

A practical and effective declaration of proletarian solidarity and even an agitation as a lever to counteract the infamies of our enemies, was the least — we thought — that we were entitled to expect. Notwithstanding, in moments when it is imperative to act in a decisive and quick manner, we only hear discussion and deliberation where arguments are carried to such limits that solidarity with the Spanish workers is even withheld. This is a tragedy, and sometimes we ask ourselves if the "democratic" decomposition has also contaminated the world workers, making them victims of the same system of endless arguments and disputes that paralyze all action.

The enemies that destroy our homes and murder our people are the common enemies of the liberties and well-being of all mankind. Were they to succeed in Spain they would soon crush every popular movement in all parts of the world. It is, therefore, not only an act of solidarity, but an imperative necessity of self-preservation that should impel all workers to come to our aid.

It is because we are so sure that you yourself are threatened by Fascism — our common enemy — that we take the right to demand your immediate and unstinted co-operation and support.

Workers of the World, brothers, comrades, it is your bounden duty to come to our rescue. The Spanish people are in grave danger of being exterminated and their great civilisation and culture destroyed. All other considerations are as naught compared with this elemental human obligation. Workers of the World. Bethink yourselves, rouse yourselves from your lethargy. Organise demonstrations, meetings, strikes; proclaim as loud as you can to your Governments, to your organisations, that you will not tolerate the annihilation of an whole people. Workers of the World we await your brotherly and immediate help.

—Solidaridad Obrera (Workers' Solidarity), Official paper of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.), Barcelona. June 1937.

There was a fineness about this attitude which commanded admiration. It was expressed not only in words but in deeds. The Barcelona Regional Committee at once placed Comrade Augustin Souchy, secretary of the International Department, at my service as interpreter and adviser. It placed its cars at my disposal and I travelled over 2,000 kilometres in them. The National Committee at Valencia was equally wholehearted in its support. It sent a courageous protest against the suppression of the POUM to the Government. Comrade Vasquez, the National Secretary, delivered an outspoken speech to a vast meeting at Valencia demanding justice for the POUM. The CNT instructed one of its leading members, Comrade Pabon, representative of Saragossa in the Cortes, to act as defending lawyer for the POUM.

This was all done from a sense of proletarian duty to stand for just treatment to another working-class organisation. There were no heroics about this gesture. It was done as a matter of course, as a matter of principle. I could not be other than moved by this evidence of the moral integrity of the CNT.

But I learned to appreciate more than that.

I was impressed by the strength of the CNT. It was unnecessary to tell me that it is the largest and most vital of the working-class organisations in Spain. That was evident on all sides. The large industries were clearly, in the main, in the hands of the CNT—railways, road transport, shipping, engineering, textiles, electricity, building, agriculture. At Valencia the UGT had a greater share of control than in Barcelona; but generally speaking the mass of manual workers

belonged to the CNT. The UGT membership was more of the type of "white-collar" worker.

I was impressed by the outward signs of the power of the CNT. At Barcelona it has taken over the premises of the largest capitalist concern of the pre-July days. It is a monumental building, comparable with the vast structure which is the headquarters of the London Passenger Transport Board at St. James' Park. At Valencia the CNT occupies the palace of a Marquis of the old regime. Both headquarters are hives of well-organised activities — secretarial, transport, defence, propaganda, organisation, publications, international departments, etc. And these are only the co-ordinating headquarters. Scattered about both cities one saw large buildings occupied by the various Unions — building workers, electrical workers, transport workers, federated in the CNT.

I was impressed by the organisation of the CNT, membership for full participation in the war against the Fascists — the appeal to its members to join the fighting forces, the response to the appeal to join the Column of Death to replace a regiment which had been wiped out, the literature and posters issued to stimulate the workers to give their all in the struggle against Franco.

I was immensely impressed by the constructive revolutionary work which is being done by the CNT. Their achievement of workers' control in industry is an inspiration. One could take the examples of the railways or engineering or textiles. There linger in my mind less spectacular examples, but equally significant.

I think of the film institute in Barcelona. An Italian capitalist concern had decided to erect a technical centre for developing and copying films. July 19th came and the Italian capitalists fled. The workers carried on. They completed the building and now it is working in perfect order. It is one of the most beautiful buildings I have ever entered. The technique of its staff — all CNT comrades — is the equal of that to be found anywhere.

I think of a very different example. A small town. There were seventeen separate barbers' shops. They have united to form a CNT collective. They have taken over a Fascist club. I visited it on a Sunday morning. In the finely panelled hall sat workmen awaiting their turn. In a large club room the seventeen barbers worked, with an equipment as efficient as you would find in a West London or New York establishment. It was wonderful to see this example of co-operation.

Most of all I enjoyed my visit to the Agricultural Collective at Segorbe. I must not delay to describe it in detail; but the spirit of the peasants, their enthusiasm, the way they had contributed their stock to the common effort, their pride in it—all was an inspiration.

There are still some Britishers and Americans who regard the Anarchists of Spain as impossible, indisciplined uncontrollables. This is poles away from the truth. The Anarchists of Spain, through the CNT, are doing one of the biggest constructive jobs ever done by the working-class.

At the Front they are fighting Fascism. Behind the Front they are actually constructing the new Workers' Society. They see that the war against Fascism and the carrying through of the Social Revolution are inseparable. Those who have seen and understood what they are doing must honour them and be grateful to them. They are resisting Fascism. They are at the same time creating the New Workers' Order which is the only alternative to Fascism. That is surely the biggest thing now being done by the workers in any part of the world.

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PROGRESSIVE EVOLUTION AND CLASS SOCIALISM

THE survey of Anarchism in England from the time of William Godwin to that of Kropotkin and William Morris (Nos. 9-13 of this paper) may appear to the casual reader an unnecessary evocation of a dead past. No doubt, neither socialist careers nor big fortunes are made that way and the two past masters in exploiting the popular vote and making dollars accumulate in these days, Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald and the late John Rockefeller, had no use for ethical forms of socialism. Most of the workers have no use for them either—the more the pity, and it is just this which permits the MacDonaldis and the Rockefellers to enjoy wealth and power to the blissful end of their careers. Is this an enduring condition or is it permitted to hope that the pernicious factors which slacken so much the progress of evolution will be overcome after all?

Whilst all animals somehow pick up the right notions for sustaining their lives and managing their affairs without any great difficulty, the genus Man appears to have originated under conditions which up to this time have prevented homogeneous and harmonious development. Differentiation in strength, intellect, experience, disposition, have not been levelled by equality and solidarity; or on the contrary, inequality was canonized, and made the basis of the social system, and as in primitive times the chief of the tribe and the slaves existed, so to this day the peer of the realm and the common workman, the Duce and the common herd, masters and men are living on different planes. The outcome of such differentiation can be seen in the present state of a very small number of animals like bees and ants as an apparently definite bifurcation of structure, whilst all the other animals seem to have overcome these ferocious attempts of the stronger to enslave the weaker. Hence in mankind, progress has a great chance to win. But anti-equalitarian assaults have never been absent and attain a very high total in our days, when, after the ancient dictatorship of the white race, now that of a nordic race is proclaimed, when the power and worship heaped on the primitive cannibal chief are noth-

ing compared to those conceded to the up-to-date "Duce." The cave-dwellers' hour has indeed struck again and their modern progeny swings the whip over whole nations of abject slaves. Socialism as vulgarly misinterpreted, is no protection against this and can only stare and wonder. The point is: to what degree such misconceived socialism has been and is itself one of the causes of these waves of reaction which threaten to invade every country?

This is no idle agglomeration of far-fetched facts separated by ages; we have the testimony of many stages of evolution and how it operates in different organisms. It produces a relative normality in the higher animals; it led to extinction in many and to lasting differentiation in a few, precisely in some of greater intellectual development as in bees. Man is evolving progressively, as the prehistoric and historical records show, but he is still exposed to relapse and if we look more closely, we find that real progress occurs but rarely, almost spasmodically. It is followed by retrogressions and periods of intellectual blath and languor. Thus the Greek unfolding of thought and beauty were followed by the Roman authoritarian petrification and that by the barbarous fascism of the Middle ages. Then the new flowering of the Renaissance was stifled by the mental fanaticism of the Reformation and by the intensification of Statism and the debilement Capitalism. Then, once more the old system was challenged and here and there overthrown in the enlightened eighteenth century and up to the French Revolution of 1789. Once more authority triumphed under Napoleon and the Restoration, once more it was somewhat bridled in 1830-32, 1848, 1871 and so on several occasions up to the glorious stand made by Free Spain since July 19th, 1936. Since the fifteenth century, then, Authority, Reaction, the dark past stand permanently challenged by many bold men, groups, factions of public opinion, sometimes by large portions of the community, up in arms, fighting bravely as now in Spain.

(to be continued)

MASSACRE OF WORKERS AT TARRAGONA

(cont. fro p. 4, col. 3)

Our representatives declared that they were ready to surrender their arms — but on condition that the disarmament was general.

To this very natural request, Captain Barbeta replied that he could not proceed to disarm the other organisations because they had placed themselves unconditionally on the side of the government — to which our comrades replied that the Confederation was so little against the government that it was part of it.

The discussion continued, and finally our comrades consented to abandon their right — indisputable though it was — in order to avoid any violence which might be prejudicial to the workers. They laid down their arms at the air-force camp on the following conditions:

- (1) that all who had been arrested should be set free;
- (2) that the police forces actually present, along with the forces belonging to political organisations

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should be removed from Tarragona and replaced by air force men:

(3) that the life and liberty of all comrades should be respected and their headquarters immune from attack.

These points having been accepted by all the organisations represented, Captain Barbeta promised that he would permit nobody on any pretext to violate them and that if the undertakings were not observed he would act with the greatest energy, regardless of what individuals or organisations were the offenders.

The rest of the day was quiet, but the next day at dawn, as early as 3 o'clock in the morning, the assault guards and the police took possession, by violence, of the offices of the Defence Council — under orders from above — as they said.

Then, as if this were the agreed signal, they set to work to assassinate the militants of the CNT and the FAI, breaking the word of honour given the evening before by the authorities.

The environs of the town are now strewn with the corpses of our comrades. Here are the names of some of those identified: Mario Berruti, Baltasar Vallejo (Trade Union of Maritime Workers), Mato Freixas (Transport Workers' Union), José Gallisa (Black-Coat Workers' Union), Julian Martinez, Ramon Alvarez (Republican National Guard), José Castellvi (Trade Union of Office Workers), Francisco Molina; and four other corpses which up till now have not been identified.

Furthermore, the well-known militant Rua, a young Uruguayan anarchist who had been in Spain to fight on the side of the workers since the beginning of the military plot of July, was also assassinated.

—(Solidaridad Obrera).

COUNTER-REVOLUTION AT WORK

MASSACRE OF WORKERS AT TARRAGONA

MURDER AND PROVOCATION IN TORTOSA

ON Wednesday, May 5th, at 8 a.m., a large force of police suddenly appeared at the Central Telephone Exchange of Tarragona, plentifully armed with weapons and grenades for taking it by assault. They occupied it without encountering any resistance whatever from the workers. Once masters of the building, they took control of the urban and inter-urban communica-

THE DEATH OF A COMRADE

FRANCISCO GONZALES MORENO, Secretary of the CNT at Mascarague, was murdered. Previously, he had been a member of the Communist Party. His revolutionary conception prompted him later to join our organisation, because he believed in this way to be better able to serve the Cause of the emancipation of the working class.

In the morning, on Monday, May 24th, two persons accompanied by the Communist Mayor of Mascarague, came to the house of our Comrade. They announced that they were militiamen of the Lister Brigade, but above all Communists, and that they were instructed by the Party to arrest the Secretary of the CNT and to transport him to the town of Mola de Toledo. Our comrade Gonzales Moreno refused to enter the car held ready. The events which had happened in Mora de Toledo, where about sixty of our comrades — men and women — had been murdered without any trial, were well known at Mascarague. The two companions of the Communist Mayor threatened to use force, if our comrade would not enter the automobile "voluntarily." Gonzales Moreno demanded that the Mayor should accompany him. The latter made the pretence of being willing to drive along with him, but once our comrade had entered the car, he remained behind. The car swiftly disappeared carrying our comrade away to Mora de Toledo.

According to some information which reached us from Mora de Toledo, it would appear that Gonzales Moreno, on arrival there, made an attempt to run away. But the militiamen threatened to shoot him by levelling loaded revolvers at him. They then continued the journey, but our comrade made repeated attempts to escape from the car, but by the intervention of a Captain of the Lister Brigade, our comrade was re-captured and forced into the car again.

On the following day, May 25th, our comrade was shot by a Group of the Lister Brigade behind the Christus Church which now serves as Military Hospital, without any explanation whatever.

This new victim makes up now the number of murdered comrades in Mora de Toledo to sixty. Among them were men and women whose only "crime" consisted in being members of the CNT, and condemning the murderous action of the Communists which spread terror throughout the district. Such unheard-of cruelties cannot be explained by the difference in their political convictions, nor can it be explained by the craving for power on the part of certain revolutionists. Those who made themselves guilty of these common murders are simply provocateurs in the service of Fascism. We demand the punishment of the guilty. In all the appeals of all the responsible Committees of our Organisation we continually impress upon our comrades the necessity for discipline and earnestness. But, at the same time, we feel compelled to make known the dastardly crimes that could plunge Anti-Fascist Spain into a fratricidal war, for it is imperative that Spanish people should know who the real provocateurs of the working class are.

(Translated by D.Z. from "Solidaridad Obrera." 1.6.37).

tions, cutting the lines of the working-class and anarchist organisations.

Four hours later, a conference took place at the general military headquarters between Comrade Casanovas, representing the telephone workers, and the lieutenant-colonel, chief of coastal military forces, when a detailed account of the unexpected developments was given. As a result of the conference, it was agreed that the police forces should be withdrawn from the first floor, where the apparatus was, and should keep watch in the vestibule.

But 15 minutes later the Chief of the Police announced that the Commissar for Public Order in Tarragona refused to carry out the agreement, following very strict orders received from Barcelona.

While these conferences and telephonic conversations were proceeding, our comrades discovered activity on a large scale in the local headquarters of the Republican Izquierda (1), numerous individuals entering without arms and leaving with a gun. The same thing happened, but with less cynicism, in the headquarters of the Socialist Party (2) and in the People's Club (3).

The following day, in the morning, a violent and open attack on our organisation began. Supported by intense musketry fire and launched against the quarters of the Libertarian Youth. This attack was repulsed. In face of the

gravity of such aggression, we appointed a commission to get into touch with the Commissioner of the Catalonian Government with a view to demanding a general conference of all the anti-fascist forces in order to avoid a repetition of such lamentable episodes. He agreed to this request and called together the representatives of all the political and industrial organisations.

In order to acquaint themselves with what was happening at Tarragona, our comrades Castello and Rueda had set out for that town. On arriving, they heard a lively fusillade and realised that it had to do with a fresh assault on the headquarters of the Libertarian Youth led by a part of the State forces, collaborating with elements from different organisations. The tremendous violence of the attack made it possible for the assailants this time to achieve their aim.

At the conference there were the representatives of the Republican Esquerra, the UGT, the United Socialist Party, besides the various military authorities and those of the Catalonian Government.

During the conference, the delegate of the Central Government, the Air Force Captain Barbeta, disclosed that he had explicit instructions from the government to use every kind of force — including the air force — to destroy the syndicalist and anarchist organisation if it did not surrender its arms.

(Solidaridad Obrera)



CAMILLO BERNERI, murdered by Communists (P.S.U.C.) in Barcelona, May 5th, 1937.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST P.O.U.M

AT the beginning of the war, the Communist Press began to speak of Trotskyism in its international aspect. Nobody was concerned about the question. A little later, the same papers were saying that Spain also had Trotskyites and pointed to their presence in the POUM. Still later, they said that this whole Party was tied up to Trotskyism, and then, in the face of the freedom from bias among the political and social elements, the same dailies began to say that the Trotskyites were in the service of the Gestapo and constituted an advance guard of fascism in our camp. To develop their campaign they refused to recognise the fact

that the POUM had thousands of fighters in the front lines, where they were fighting as courageously as any other Spanish anti-fascists. To accuse this Party of Trotskyism, they ignored the attacks that it was constantly receiving from the Bulletin of the Fourth International, attached to Trotsky. They forgot all good faith, all loyalty in words and acts, in order to unleash a campaign against the POUM that no other powerful organisation would have tolerated.

This is a very serious problem, and we must express our opinion about it. We must begin by say-

(cont. at foot of next col.)

NOWHERE in Catalonia reigned more cordial understanding between the leaders of the CNT and the UGT than in Tortosa. All difficulties of collective order which might arise in towns or villages were resolved by the representatives of the two organisations with the best of good-will. So much so that despite the fact that communal meetings for May 1st had been banned in Catalonia, all efforts were made by the comrades of Tortosa to make it possible to hold meetings in their region. Thus one imagined that the occurrences in Barcelona would result in bloody repercussions in Tortosa.

Now this is what happened:

On the Wednesday of the tragic week, in the early hours of the morning, the commander of the Republican National Guard of Tortosa, Lieutenant-Colonel Domenech, at the head of 50 guards, captured the Telephonic Central, after having forced the entrance, and took possession of the offices as well as control of communications.

Whereupon, a commission made up of Comrades of the CNT came to discuss matters with the police chief. An agreement was reached according to which, the police should withdraw from the building and end their provocative disposition, which in fact they did.

Calm was thus restored once more, but was to last only a short time. By nightfall, elements of the public forces, mingling with individuals belonging to different parties, began to fire in the darkness on our comrades, who, fearing an attack were patrolling the streets. Firing was taken up everywhere, but our comrades soon dominated the insurgents, and tranquility was once more restored. The guards who had provoked this conflict were made prisoners; not only were their lives respected, but all their needs were attended to.

The situation was restored to normal, when news came that some few kilometres from the town were armed forces from Valencia and that, according to official orders of the Regional Committee of the CNT they should be allowed free passage. Our comrades respected this request. But their loyalty was not respected. Once the Valencia forces entered the town they ar-

rested all those who carried with them the CNT card.

At the same time, as if we had only to expect such a thing to happen, numerous armed individuals came out of the local headquarters of the UGT and other parties, and began to carry out searches and arrests, so that in a very short time confusion and disorder had reached alarming proportions. As to the governmental forces, instead of establishing order once more, they joined the rebels, soon putting the quiet and hard working town of Tortosa at the mercy of a few individuals.

Pillaging then began. The homes of members of the CNT were attacked, the invaders taking possession of all the money, clothes, and food which they found in them.

Not content with that, they eventually left for the nearby villages where they continued to loot, above all in the peasants' collectives of the CNT. In one of the villages through which they passed, Tivenys, they issued an order demanding that all properties which had been requisitioned must be returned, right away, to their original owners. Naturally, no one took this seriously, but it certainly shows the seditious ideology of these people.

The prisons in Tortosa were soon full; not much time would be wasted in emptying them.

In fact, during the night of June 6th, an individual known as "Chaparro," with a few men belonging to his gang, accompanied by an assault guard whose name we do not know, went to the dungeons of the Town Hall where some twenty comrades were detained in company with a corporal of the assault guards who had been arrested because he had refused to fire on the workers. On the pretext of taking them to a tribunal of enquiry, they were all made to come out, amongst them being the above mentioned corporal named Bebrer, besides Antonio Odena and the well known militant Rogelio Tena. They were all taken in the direction of Tarragona, chained together and under escort. Of what happened to them later, we cannot say other than the fact that they were found in Tarragona, but reduced to corpses, thrown in the gutter like dogs.

(Solidaridad Obrera)

(cont. from previous col.)

ing that the political position of the POUM is very similar to that maintained by the Communist Party in Spain up to a short time ago. It is enough to take this into consideration to realise that we, the workers of the CNT, are not very much in agreement with the ideology of the POUM. It will also be worth while recalling that this Party has attacked our Organisation many times before the 19th of July, and since then. We have no obligation toward them, and therefore our words must have more value now.

In the campaign against the POUM, we see a break in the wall erected by all the anti-fascist organisations in Spain. We therefore regard this as extraordinarily grave. We must declare with full emphasis that this is playing with fire and paying attention to foreign interests rather than to the needs of our own country. The persecutions cannot meet with the approval of anybody who is free of sectarianism, and must shock great numbers of revolutionary workers. And truly terrible consequences for all of us can follow from this shock. The danger for all of us who are concerned with the war and the Revolution is great enough without allowing ourselves to abandon the firm ground of reason.

But even more, we workers of the CNT see in this campaign an example of reactionary effrontery.

If in the past they have fought only against the POUM, they will now fight also against the CNT, as well as against members of the UGT who refuse to submit to foreign influences and want to create the social and political conditions that are indispensable for our victory. We see that they do not take into consideration the work of those who are now the object of the most unjustifiable attacks. Largo Caballero, Pascual Tomas, Ricardo Zabalza, Carlos Rubiera, Baribar and other men with great prestige among the workers are being fought in a campaign as dishonourable as it is furious, by the same elements who are conducting the persecutions against the POUM.

We can expect anything from this offensive. We repeat: Anything. Precisely for this reason we shout out our warning to the Spanish proletariat. We shall never grow tired of repeating that we must all have a greater sense of responsibility. But neither can we pass over in silence what we loyally and sincerely interpret as one of the most serious attacks against the Revolution, against the liberties of the people, and against the spirit of harmony that we have been forging during the past 11 months of struggle against fascism. But we shall be vigilant and watchful. We cannot tolerate rivalries whose merits are highly debatable, are foreign to our interests, and endanger our anti-fascist victory.