



# SPAIN and the— WORLD

Anti-Fascist Fortnightly

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## SILENT WITNESSES

### INTRODUCTION TO OURSELVES

In a world infested by corrupt politicians and in which the Church under the guise of piety and humanity serves its propagandists of hatred and false patriotism; in a world kept in ignorance by the speculators of the Church and the State, and deprived of its civil rights, whether under the mailed fists of Mussolini and Hitler or of so-called "National Governments" it is indeed comforting for those men and women who strive to live in a happy and free world, to witness the heroic fight waged by the Spanish people—intellectuals and workers alike—against the mercenaries and mis-guided followers of Franco and his clique. It is a palpable example to all free-thinkers of the world that the sense of freedom and justice lives above those egoistic conceptions of power, authority and military discipline which capitalist nations strive to attain at the expense of the weaker members of society.

We have been silent witnesses of the rise of Fascism in Italy, Germany and Austria. We have seen those few liberties, acquired only by those bloodshed and sacrifice, swept away by intolerant dictators which act by order of the privileged few.

We have been silent witnesses of the annihilation of culture and intellectuality. In Italy a Benedetto Croce or a Salvemini imprisoned or exiled for being antifascist; a Toscanini beaten with truncheons by hoodlums; and in Spain his art with Fascist propaganda; a Matteotti bludgeoned to death for having opposed to the world the treachery and corruptness of Fascist methods. In Germany, an Einstein, a Bruno Walter and as part of a racial "clear up" an Erich Mühsam tortured and then murdered in a concentration camp; a Carl Ven Ossietzki left to die a slow death, and only released from prison when in a deplorable condition; a man who is but few of the victims of Fascism in its campaign of extermination of the mind. The Universities of those countries, once the focus of learning, have become the hot-bed of credulity and obscurantism. We are to-day silently witnessing the destruction of culture in Spain. We are watching it destroyed by illiterate and savage Moors, and a few sons of land-owners and their following of the bourgeoisie. We are aware of the moral and material aid given by Germany, Italy and Portugal. Are we to remain silent? Are we to give a free hand to Fascism to wreak havoc in all Europe?

### Non-Intervention

"SPAIN and the WORLD" comes out at a period in the Revolution, when we could say with confidence that the loyalists are more than holding their own, were it not for the fact that the situation has become an international one which can tell me that this is a fight of one faction against another. This is a more people fighting against a most brutal and cold-blooded attack.

"We cannot do too much to help the people of Spain."

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, addressing an audience at the same meeting, said: "Never in my life have I had such an intense conviction that the overwhelming majority of the people were on the one side, and a little clique of priests, aristocrats and officers on the other."

He also asked why, "If the British Government could protest to the Spanish Government about the hostages in Madrid, why could it not protest to the rebels about the shooting in Badajoz?"

At the same meeting, Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell said that what had frightened the British Government more than anything else was the word Communist, but that the last election only eleven Communists were elected in the whole of Spain. The Anarchists and Syndicalists were even less Red than the trade unionists, and they disliked the original Bolsheviks as profoundly as they disliked the Fascists. Nothing was further from the truth than that Republican Spain was fighting with Red money against the civilisation of the Western world.

At the big meeting held at the Albert Hall on the 29th November, in aid of the Spanish Medical Aid Unit, Dr. Addison asked his audience: "Surely we have not sunk so low, or become so poor in spirit before the bravings of a bully, that we hesitate to care for the sick and the wounded?"

"The horrors of cold, snow and rain were adding to the victims' sufferings," said Dr. Addison, adding, "The call to us to-night is to help—to lend what aid we can to the sick and wounded, wherever they are."

# Medical Aid Unit in Spain

## A DENIAL OF THE "UNIVERSE" STATEMENTS

### Testimony of a Woman Journalist

Referring to the Meeting held at the Albert Hall at which over £2,000 was collected, the "Universe" states that "not one penny of that will be spent for the benefit of the wounded men of the anti-Red forces; all of it goes to the Reds."

It is true that the ambulances are put at the disposal of the Government. The money is given on that condition, in the same way as the Universe unit is put at the disposal of the good Christian missionary Franco. But in the case of the Spanish Medical Aid Unit, suffering men is refused assistance. Perhaps our remark will carry more weight if we quote from the pamphlet on the Unit published by the "News Chronicle." A woman journalist records what she saw during 24 hours spent with the Unit:

### AN EYE-WITNESS'S ACCOUNT

"One of our patients towards evening was a Moor, taken prisoner from the rebels. This meant trouble, for some of the people in the village started grumbling when they heard that a rebel Moor was going to be treated with the same care and attention as their own wounded. Feelings ran high in war, and it was difficult to convince the grumblers that a hospital cannot and ought not to bar anyone who is suffering. It is true, of course, that the Spanish Medical Aid has the support of the National Council of Labour in Britain and of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Europe; it is situated behind the loyal lines and its main purpose is to assist the democratic forces.

But here was a human being in agony. He had been thrown from his horse four days before and had lain in the open ever since. His leg was broken and had an open wound, which was gangrened. How could we refuse to help him? An immediate operation was necessary. While preparations were being made for it, more villagers arrived to protest at the Moor being treated. But there also arrived a message from the Divisional Commander of the Loyal Militia: "Give Moorish prisoner all possible care and attention."

That silenced the critics and soon afterwards the operation—amputation of the leg—was performed."

Can the "Universe" say the same thing about its Unit? We doubt it. With the religious motives which are the inspiration of the "Universe" Unit we should have thought it fitting that their ambulances should be at the disposal of both forces. After all, there are more Catholics fighting for the loyalists than for Franco, unless all the Moors and Foreign Legionnaires are the true Catholics!

## Things Said = = =

Viscount Churchill, speaking at the Friends' House (17/11/36): "No one can tell me that this is a fight of one faction against another. This is a more people fighting against a most brutal and cold-blooded attack."

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# BRITISH M.P.s IN SPAIN

## UNANIMOUS EXPRESSIONS OF SYMPATHY FOR SPANISH PEOPLE

### British Campaign against Intervention

### PROMISES BY BRITISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

The Generalitat de Catalunya comments on the British Commission's visit to Barcelona and the Madrid front in its Bulletin No. 101 in the following terms—

A Commission of the British Parliament has actually come to visit Spain. In their honour a banquet was given by the Minister of War last Sunday. After this the Commission visited the battlefields. They expressed their utmost admiration for the valor, courage and intelligence with which our militia has brought to an end operations on these fronts. They are convinced that the sons of this nation are struggling to save Europe from the horrors of fascism.

We were extremely gratified by the favourable impression that the visit to the Madrid front has produced upon the British representatives. The attitude expressed by the representatives, a definite feeling of sympathy for the Spanish people is going through in the revolution, has made us feel that we may expect a change in the former attitude of Great Britain.

A nation that feels so profoundly the love for liberty in its own borders, which has at all times been a secure asylum for the revolutionaries of the entire world, offering protection to those who were persecuted by their absolutist governments, must be on our side.

### SYMPATHY FROM BRITAIN

Sympathy from Britain would especially interest us. Partial information and the fact that the Spanish Ambassador to London was of a monarchistic mentality—he was chosen by the Minister of State, Señor Barcia—and had to be replaced in the first hours of the new government because he was proven to be a secret agent of Juan March and certain interested international fascist nations, have had a bad influence in British diplomatic spheres. The sympathy of the Press and general public opinion had been removed from the Spanish revolution, which condition, fortunately, is beginning to be rectified today.

The deputies have been presented with actual facts full of honor. Destruction wrought by German and Italian aviators on the most notable buildings in Madrid, which have been torn down from the roofs to the basement; the destruction of the Prado Museum, the National Library and monuments of every character—all these things which were the greatest artistic treasures and guarded by Spain with great pride.

### DESTRUCTION—ASSASSINATION—MUTILATION

Only hordes of savages could destroy all these great artistic and cultural works, murder and assassinate defenceless people. The mutilated bodies of women, children and old people and the destruction of an unfortified city which was the pride of Spain—all these contributed to

# Social Revolution in Catalonia

## THE REALISATION OF AN IDEAL

### Achievements of a determined people

The complete quelling of the revolt in Catalonia having been accomplished in such a short space of time at the beginning of the Revolution, it has been possible for the intellectuals, technicians and workers to bring about the Social Revolution, the prophecies of which have never been previously witnessed in the modern world. These men and women of Catalonia have shown the world what a determined people can do towards realizing an ideal which grants all human beings the same rights to live and the same opportunities to enjoy the pleasures of life.

The results achieved within four months have amazed intellectuals and advanced thinkers in the whole world, and even the correspondents of the Bourgeois press who would have been only too glad to be able to announce the complete failure of the new system. As it is, work has been collectivized; the workers are at last treated as being important contributors to the welfare of a people and treated with the same respect and consideration as the technicians.

We are at long last witnesses, for the first time since the Industrial Revolution, of man being master of the machine. In the rest of the world, save Russia, machines is master of man. It is true that it has succeeded in alleviating man's work, but it has not succeeded, thanks to the minority who call themselves Capitalists (and sometimes pass as philanthropists) and who under the present system means unemployment and starvation.

In a world of plenty, thousands are starving whilst food is being destroyed to keep up the prices so that a privileged minority may comfortably indulge in the worst of vices.

Sir John Orr, a recognised authority on nutrition states, in his book "Food, Health and Income," that in this country 4½ million people must exist on 4/- a week for food per head, and that 9 million live on 9/- a week at their disposal

the horrible impressions and opinions formed by the British representatives. These facts will facilitate their calling upon British public opinion to form a clear judgment of the immense danger with which the existence of armed international fascism threatens all civilized countries. They will realise that the situation created by the two abnormal countries, Germany and Italy, has brought sad moments to the economic and social life of Europe, as well as a crisis of the whole capitalist regime.

The consequences of the visit of the Parliamentarians to the Madrid front must be obtained without delay. The Spanish people, who are struggling so valiantly for their liberty, appreciate this visit, and will not forget, in their fight to conquer fascism, the moral and material help that the great British democracy may lend us. But Britain must also take steps to change their policy, which is no longer the excuse that the ruthless murders by Franco's forces are merely the work of imaginative minds, nor that they are reports of members of the Labour party, as in the Commission are Conservative M.P.s.

We must all manifest our disgust at the Government's apathy towards a friendly Government, and through the organisations and individually force them to take steps to change their policy, which is only beneficial to the Fascist forces.

### A NON-PARTY COMMISSION

We can only hope that the Spanish people will not be disappointed once more by the Government's policy. There can no longer be the excuse that the ruthless murders by Franco's forces are merely the work of imaginative minds, nor that they are reports of members of the Labour party, as in the Commission are Conservative M.P.s.

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### "NEUTRALITY AND CRIME"

On Sunday, November 23rd, John McGovern, M.P., and John McNair, Secretary of the Independent Labour Party, addressed large crowds of workers in Barcelona.

McGovern declared that neutrality was a monstrous crime, the effect of which he had seen amply demonstrated during his visits to the Madrid fronts, whither he had been escorted by responsible members of the C.N.T. He promised the Labour party that in his association would exert the very greatest pressure inside the English Parliament to change the non-intervention attitude.

McNair promised to travel over the length and breadth of Great Britain making speeches and raising a campaign for the cessation of non-intervention. He would make the English workers realise that the interests of their Spanish brothers were their own interests. "When the English people are told the truth about Spain," he said, "they will not be able to remain neutral any longer."

# Fascist Journalist Prisoners

## VIEW VICTIMS OF MADRID AIR RAIDS

### Bodies of Women and Children

### RESULTS OF FASCIST "MILITARY OPERATIONS"

The fascist journalists belonging to the "Aragon Herald," whose capture we described a few days ago, have been taken to see some of the results of the fascist military operations, which were said by their Press to have given "excellent military results." They were taken to the mortuaries and the cemetery and shown the bodies of the women and child victims of the recent Madrid air-raids.

They were also made to visit the hospitals and interview the women, children and old people, who have been wounded by the fascists' attacks on the civil population. They saw the ruin caused by the enemy cannons to the streets and buildings of Madrid, and the damage done to the hospitals, etc.

The journalists, among whom is Manuel Casanova, the editor of the "Aragon Herald," were shocked by those sights and confessed that the information which reached them in the rebel camp made no mention of attacks of this kind, and only reported that the military centres had been bombed.

These journalists are now under the protection of the Madrid Defence Junta, at whose hands they receive considerate and polite treatment, and will be shown the organisation of the militia and the way the new order of life here is being run.

The false information published in "Le Matin," the French newspaper, concerning the shooting of Manuel Casanova goes once more to show the lies spread abroad by foreign journalists with pro-fascist opinions.

# MISTAKEN INTERNATIONAL POLICY

## Attitude of France and Britain

### A LESSON FROM SPAIN

The attitude which France and Great Britain have adopted on the international problem created by the fascists, has placed them in a situation which is daily becoming more involved and no one can determine what the consequences may be. They may find themselves in the same difficulties as Spain if no rapid precautions are taken.

With every moment that passes the darkness of the international horizon is growing thicker. Everything indicates that the fascists will gain influence in the European governments if they are not stopped in time.

Interviews and conferences continue. Mussolini's emissary, Count Ciano, is covering the fascist countries in order to gain points of contact for a concerted effort to smash the Spanish revolutionary movement. In the case of a fascist defeat the government of fascist countries will prevent, by armed force, any manifestation of proletarian solidarity with the Spanish workers.

### REVOLT OF FASCIST ELEMENTS

We are living through troubled times. A revolt of the fascist elements in those democratic countries which are still left may occur at any time.

It is incomprehensible that the democratic states cannot see the dangers in which the non-interventionist policy is leading them. The attitude which they have adopted is bound to lead towards a war, which will exterminate all hope of liberty in Europe.

In France the "Croix de Feu" have provoked with their infamous and calumnious campaign the death of Roger Salengro, the Socialist Minister of the Interior. This shows that they are only awaiting the orders of international fascism to rise in arms as they did in Spain, in order to crush the right to liberty and the revolutionary possibilities of the French nation.

### VITAL PRINCIPLES AT STAKE

If the governments representing the liberty that the Spanish people are defending could only realize what principles are at stake in this struggle between progress and reaction, they would take action to prevent the propagation of this misinterpretation and its terrible consequences for the whole of Europe.

Spain's painful experience should serve as a good lesson for France and Britain, and they should profit by it instead of treating this problem with lukewarm political conferences in the hope of thereby "preventing a war." The positions adopted by France and Great Britain show a form surrounded by dangers and uncertain of what route to choose, to find a way out; this is as much as to say that they will avoid a pitfall only to stumble onto a precipice, from whence there is no escape. Both France and Britain can avoid a war by stopping the fascists now from further advances, and thus preventing the destruction of humanity. That is the only way out of the danger. But they must act now. Later it might be too late.

### WORKERS' AND TECHNICIANS IN ACCORD

The great work done by all in building the new society has been given little space in the English Press. We therefore propose to publish in this newspaper a series of articles which will deal with the organization and results already obtained in Catalonia under the system of the collectivization of industry and agriculture. The success of this system is indubitable. We learn from the working press in Catalonia that workers and technicians alike are in perfect accord, and that to assure the success of the Revolution factory workers are voluntarily working many hours overtime.

Are not all these facts an incentive to all lovers of human justice and freedom to agitate and help in favour of the workers of Spain, so that Franco and his hordes of Moorish allies, in crushing by a mighty blow this noble work by the pioneers of a true CIVILIZATION?

# The Social Revolution in Spain

## ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF CATALONIA

### Collectivization of Industry and Commerce

#### DETAILS OF NEW DECREE

1. Details of the Decree regarding Collectivization of Industry and Commerce, and the control of particular enterprises.

The Council of the Generalitat de Catalunya which met to discuss the "collectivization" of industry, issued the following decree which, owing to limited space, we have abbreviated and dealt with the most important sections only.

All Industrial and Commercial enterprises are classified as follows:

- (a) Collectivized Enterprises, in which the responsibility of administration falls on the workers themselves, represented by a Committee.
- (b) Private enterprises in which administration is in the hands of the proprietor or director, with the collaboration and control of Workers' controlling Committee.

#### I. Collectivized Enterprises.

Art. 2. All enterprises which on the 30th June, 1936, employed more than 100 salaried workers shall be collectivized, as also those enterprises with less workers whose owners have declared fascists, or who have abandoned the business. Small enterprises may be collectivized according to the will of the workers and owners.

Art. 4. All the names included in the lists of an enterprise whether they be of intellectuals or manual labourers, shall be considered as workers.

Art. 5. All assets and liabilities of the old enterprise shall be passed on to the collectivized one.

Art. 9. In all enterprises in which there are foreign interests, the Enterprise Council and Workers' Committee for Control shall communicate with the Economic Council, who will assemble the interested parties or their representatives to discuss the matter and to come to an understanding for the due safeguard of those interests.

#### II. The Council for Enterprises.

Art. 10. The management of collectivized enterprises shall be in the hands of a Council named by the workers amongst themselves, in general assembly. The numbers on the Council will be decided upon by the workers and will be represented by the various sections: production, administration, technical services.

Art. 12 deals with production, which should be regulated according to conditions. . . . From the Social standpoint, the Council will pay attention to the strict execution of the regulations governing production, suggesting others which they might deem useful. They will take the necessary steps to assure good moral and physical health of the workers; they will dedicate themselves to an intense cultural and educational programme, founding clubs, sports centres, cultural centres, etc.

Art. 15. All collectivized enterprises will be obliged to have a controller from the Generalitat who will be a member of the Council of Enterprises, and who will be named by the Economic Council in agreement with the workers.

Art. 18. The Councils will be obliged to take note of complaints or suggestions put forward by the workers and duly reported to the General Council for Industry.

Art. 19. The Councils of Enterprises will be obliged, at the end of the financial year, to give an account to the workers at a general meeting of the administration.

#### III. Controlling Committees for Private Enterprises.

Art. 21. In non-collectivized industries the formation of a Workers' Control Committee will be obligatory. All branches of the Enterprise will be represented. The Committee and its members will be decided upon by the workers.

Art. 22. The Committee's work will consist amongst other things in the supervision of the conditions of the workers, as regards wages, hours of work, hygiene and safe working conditions, besides strict discipline during work.

Art. 23. Control of production, consisting in the strict collaboration with the owner in order to perfect the means of production. The Workers' Control Committees will solicit the continuation of the best relations with the technicians in order to assure the smooth functioning of the enterprise.

Art. 25. The owners will be obliged to present to the Workers' Control Committees the Annual Balance Sheet and Minutes.

Articles 24-29 go into details as to the functioning of the General Councils for Industry. Articles 32-39 deal with the industrial obligations. (to be continued)

#### Who are the Anarchists? . . . . .

In answering that question we have felt that the comments of men who do not profess to be anarchists will be given more attention than those by anarchists themselves. We shall therefore limit ourselves to quoting from statements made by anti-fascists who are not anarchists and from the anti-fascist press.

The following is a portion of a statement made by the socialist, *Andres Oltmarez*, a professor at the University of Geneva.

" . . . The agreement arrived at by the various political tendencies in Catalonia enabled the anarchists to create a social organization on a syndicalist basis, which inspires admiration in point of its order, intelligence and revolutionary spirit."

"Throughout Catalonia one may travel unarmed, both during the day and during the night, without running the slightest danger. At present there is complete tranquility both in Barcelona and in the towns and villages of the interior. In the midst of a civil war, the anarchists have shown themselves to be political organizers of the highest type; they inspire in everyone the necessary respect for discipline and they know how to make eloquent appeals to the devotion of all for the common welfare."

#### " MASTERSHIP " OF SYNDICATE MEMBERS

" It is with the feeling of joy, coupled with a sustained admiration, that a social-democrat comes to view the new Catalan institutions. The anti-capitalist regime is being organized in Catalonia without taking recourse to dictatorship. Over there the members of the syndicates are their own masters, and they regulate the production and the distribution of properties under their control, after listening to the advice of experienced technicians in whom they have confidence. The enthusiasm of working men and employees

#### MIRACLES OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

"The industrial concentration carried out has produced miracles. Sales prices have dropped, and that is in spite of the fact that the working hours are shorter and the salaries slightly higher."

"Inspired by these results and influenced by this environment, dispossessed capitalists have spontaneously offered their technical services, while others who have not been expropriated, placed their factories and their fortunes at the disposal of the Committees of the syndicates."

"In summarizing, one may say that, although carrying out a social revolution in all essential points, Catalonia has adapted itself to the economic requirements imposed by the struggle against the rebels. Seven weeks after having taken over the power, the proletariat succeeded in organizing the rear to a point which France was able to reach only fourteen months after the beginning of the world war."

#### Alexandre Croix in VU EN ESPAGNE

(29.8.36) writes: "It is just a month since Count Romanones stated to a French journalist that the members of the F.A.I. were the most intelligent men in Spain, and that it was they in fact who conducted everything in the Peninsula. And as the journalist seemed surprised at hearing such a remark from such a prominent person, the Count added: "They are the only ones who think internationally." He further stated that one of his strong points was the fact that the whole world was unaware of their existence; no one knows, who is the guiding light of the F.A.I."

#### DRINK NO PORT . . . . .

Writes Louis Golding

The aeroplanes are still entering Portugal for the assistance of the gallant Generals, Franco and Mola. So are the shells, the rifles. Perhaps the poison-gas bombs are on their way by now.

And Port is still leaving Portugal.

We must drink no Port.

I know that the Port we might deny ourselves to-night is that of the Port which Portugal a fortnight from now is not likely to be balanced on adept palates for another ten, twenty, fifty years. Ten years from now there may be no docks. (Quarto for the disembarkation of its Port, nor docks on the Thames for its reception.

But we must drink no Port now, as we drink no Moselwein, no Rheinwein—for the time being. (Alas, alas, for the Bernkasteler Doktor, who do not drink any more. Alas for the Port of 1836 from the Val de Mendig that I pledge myself to validate at dinner next Wednesday night).

And when we are asked why the Port is lacking from our tables or why we pass it by as it circles the tables of our friends—then, then, we get up on our hind legs and roar.

We shall say—it is infamous! It is preposterous! Our refusal of Port is a mere symbol of what we can do and what we hereby vow to do. It is not that we are of those who sneer at Port, who think it a sticky syrup to soothe the stomachic linings of indurated colonels from Quetta. We think Port a deep, rich elixir. But it is infamous, say we, say it is preposterous.

And they will ask—but what then is preposterous? Be for one moment coherent!

And we shall say—that Portugal dares to be absent from international neutrality conferences at which even Italy, even Germany, is present! We shall say it is abominable that Portuguese merchants bathe night and morning in baths of Spanish blood! We shall drink no more Port (we shall say) till Portugal has come to her senses.

And that is not all we shall do. (Reproduced from "Spain and Us".)

#### REBELS "KILLING FAITH"

He concluded by saying: "This is not a religious war. It is a social war between the rich and the poor, a war in which that part of the clergy which was spiritually corrupt has begun to fight in favour of the rich. I do not know who will win this war, but I do not believe wars are won by mercenaries. I believe they are won by God. He knows that if the anarchists have killed some stone churches, the rebels are killing faith in the souls of men, women, and children, and are burning the spiritual Church."

"The biggest of the horrors and atrocities committed in Spain was the mere fact of the breaking out of the war. God knows that the Spanish peasants whose sons were killed, and whose daughters have been violated by the Moors have not desired, wanted, or initiated the war."

#### AN EXAMPLE

#### Practical Help From Mexico

All the workers' organisations in Mexico have reached an agreement to ask the Spanish Government to send to Mexico all the child refugees from the war zones. These Mexican organisations will care for the children, until the end of the war. They will also see that they attend schools in Mexico during the whole time of their stay.

In a period when countries seem so intent on excluding "foreigners" from their shores (unless they be visitors with money to spend) this is indeed a splendid gesture of solidarity. Already many children have been taken to France. Will our teachers in England do likewise? It would certainly be more practical than discussing means of "bumming the war" in order to spare the women and children, whilst bombs continue to be dropped by Franco's aeroplanes.

## Who are the Anarchists?

### UNPREJUDICED OPINIONS ON THE SPANISH SITUATION

#### Tranquility in Catalonia

is so great that they spurn personal advantages offered to them, and think only of the interests of all.

## An Answer

### TO MR. RHYS DAVIES, M.P.

#### The Meaning of "Working Class Life"

In a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" (November 24th) attacking Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Davies raises two points which to my mind seem important to all advanced thinkers. The first is, that Mr. Davies takes that rather objectionable attitude that because a man or woman comes from a "good family," or because he or she have never worked in a mine or in the fields, or have never suffered with an empty stomach, it is impossible for them to understand or be familiar with the meaning of working class life. This is a somewhat rash statement, as facts conclusively show for instance, that militants of the Libertarian movement such as Bakounin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Elisée Reclus and many others came from well-to-do families. One can equally well find examples in the Communist movement commencing with Lenin. All these men struggled against a system they knew to be unjust. And they ignored the conditions of the working class this conclusion would have been impossible. Further examples are to be found in the concentration camps of Germany and the penal islands of Italy, which abound with intellectuals—most of them from "good families"—whose lives have been sacrificed in fighting for a noble cause: that of the oppressed ones.

#### SPANISH INTELLECTUALS AT THE BARRICADES

Mr. Rhys Davies should also acquaint himself with the activity of Spanish intellectuals in the present Revolution. They are not waiting for the news of the slaughter at the telephone in comfortable armchairs as Mr. Davies suggests. Many are defending the barricades; others saving lives in hospitals, whilst others are defending the high ideals of the workers' struggle, with the pen. The names of a few of the intellectuals shot by Franco's mercenaries are given on another page, but when the time comes for a more thorough investigation as to the victims, I am sure that even a working class "snob" as Mr. Davies, will be convinced that, fighting for the workers, are some of the greatest intellects of Spain, and, incidentally, from France and Italy as well.

The second point is one of policy. Mr. Davies disagrees with the "use of violence to support our ideas." I suggest that owing to a militant fascism in the world that ambiguous phrase should be altered to "Use of violence to defend our ideas."

Perhaps it would be interesting to look back on the pre-Fascist Italy living as it did under a democratic government of the type Mr. Davies envisages. Fascists were allowed freedom of speech and their organisations were un molested. The Government must have been aware of the menace, but would not bring themselves to crush Fascism with violence. What was the result? Mussolini took power by force! Socialist M.P.s as Mattocci and Amendola were bludgeoned to death because they dared to express their opinions!

#### "MODERATE" GOVERNMENT IN SPAIN!

To-day in Spain, if so many brave men have been killed fighting for Freedom, we can thank the "moderate" Government of Spain, which, when constitutionally elected to the Cortes in February last, allowed men of the Franco-Mola type, who were responsible for the massacre of the workers in the Asturias in 1934 to occupy responsible positions in the military forces, instead of eliminating them, thereby ridding a progressive people of a pest. The elimination of some 50 parasites would have spared the lives of thousands of men and innocent women and children.

With these facts before him, it would be interesting to know from Mr. Davies whether, in the event of a Labour Government coming to power in the near future, the leaders will decide to follow their democratic brothers of Italy and Germany into exile or in front of the firing squad; or whether, for their own sake and that of the collectivity, they will benefit by the bitter experiences of other countries and immediately destroy Fascism in this country by striking directly at the roots of its organisations.

#### MORE ATROCITY STORIES

#### "Murdered" Archbishop Safe and Sound

#### "MARTYRS" IN GOOD HEALTH

Some time ago it was claimed by the Catholics and their Press that the 82-year-old Archbishop of Valladolid had been murdered by the "Reds." They even went so far as to detail. His hands had been tied round a statue of the Virgin and a volley had shattered his body and the statue as well. It was rather embarrassing when the Archbishop turned up in Bordeaux a fortnight later, safe and sound.

Another slight mistake has been rectified in the "UNIVERSE" of the 27th November. The Bishop Perez y Rodriguez and the Bishop of Segovia, both reported to have died martyrs of the "Red" terror, are apparently quite fit. The "Universe" makes the mistake because that there was a slight error in the names! These Holy gentlemen were mistaken for two unfortunate Bishops who probably were killed when directing military operations from a cathedral, but patriotically absconding with the money, given them to relieve suffering in the poverty-stricken country that was Spain.

## PROTESTANTS PERSECUTED

### by Spanish Fascism

#### "INQUISITION" DAYS RECALLED

We have received information that in the region now under fascist control, Protestant clergy and those who profess Protestant beliefs are cruelly persecuted without regard for their age or sex.

The following incidents are reported:—The Protestant school teacher, Carmin Badin, saw her husband shot before her eyes and had to watch her child strangled by a nurse in the hospital where she was undergoing treatment. In Granada, the Protestant clergyman Infiguez, his wife and six children were shot down. In Salamanca, Codo, a minister of the reformed church, was first obliged to see his children massacred and was then executed himself. In Seville, Patrice Gomez, another clergyman, was viciously killed. In Tangiers five Protestant preachers were killed and five others exiled.

tical and crazed with vengeance as during the times of the Inquisition. In Spain, the Catholic priests have joined ferociously in the struggle, a cross in one hand and a weapon in the other. They wallow in the assassination of all those who have refused to follow the beliefs of a church which, as far as the Iberian Peninsula is concerned, has been smothered even from its early days by numberless crimes and every kind of dishonest dealing.

World opinion must be made to realize the baseness of which Spanish Roman Catholicism is capable. Protestants in every part of the world should protest against the madness and thirst for blood of the Princes of the Church who have piled up such deeds of sorrow and anguish on Spanish soil.

Can Protestants in Germany, even while living under a fascist regime, really stand quietly by and watch their fellow-believers massacred by the fanatics to whom they are daily sending supplies of arms? In defence of their beliefs they should forbid the export of German arms to Spain.

#### CROSS AND WEAPON

We could prolong this list with the names of other members of the clergy and their Protestant followers who have fallen victims to bloodthirsty fascism, aided and abetted by the Roman Catholic clergy who have remained just as fanatical

## A Catholic's Opinion of the Civil War

### WARS "WON BY GOD"

#### Oxford Lecturer's Statements

A Catholic's Opinion of the Civil War. Senior Enrique Moreno, Lecturer in Spanish Studies at Oxford, speaking at a meeting in the Friends' House (17th November) stated that he was not a Red in the sense of being a Socialist, or a Communist, but as a certain section of the British Press was calling every Spaniard Red who was decent enough to fulfil his duties as citizen, in that sense he was a Red.

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# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Liberty consists, not in having a just ruler, but in not having one at all. CICERO.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS

### Duty to Widows, Orphans and disabled militiamen

#### FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED

**NEW YORK, Nov. 26th.**  
The conference of the leaders of the Garment Makers' Union, called by the trade union section of the American League against war and fascism, resolved to make the slogan "100,000 garments for 100,000 Spanish fighters for freedom," the aim of their solidarity campaign. Garment makers, textile and peltry workers will take part in this campaign, which will begin with a demonstration called by seven leaders of the Garment Workers' Union. It is intended to make several thousand coats with fur trimmings for the women in the trenches, and sheepskin coats for the militia men. Over 75 trade union locals in the city of New York have organized relief stations for the Spanish Republicans.

At a mass meeting in San Francisco, addressed by Isabella de Palencia, the priest Sarasola and Marcelino Domingo, \$5,000 were collected.  
The Teachers' Trade Union of New York has collected \$2,500 in aid of the struggle of the Spanish people against fascism.

**LATVIA.**  
Despite a pro-Franco Government the workers in Latvia have succeeded, during the last few weeks, in collecting 1,200 hats, which have been sent to Madrid. The difficulties which these collections entail is indicated by the fact that in a single textile factory in Riga 12 workers were arrested for collecting money for Spain.

## ACTIVITY IN LEVANTE

### Safety of Madrid Children

The entire region of Valencia and the Levante is mobilized for war. Help for the population and combatants at Madrid is being organized on as large a scale as possible, and great numbers of children have been removed from the dangers of fascist assassination in Madrid to new homes in the Valencia district. The whole population is collaborating to make those children as happy and healthy as possible. Many of them have been settled in the charming country villages of Levante where they can enjoy the fresh air.

Thousands of lorry-loads of food have left the Valencia region for Madrid and the centre fronts. Every town and village has contributed to the thousands of tons of provisions which have gone to feed the men who are so bravely repulsing fascism. Valencia has been busy preparing hospitals too. Now she has place to lodge 30,000 wounded, if need be, and enough surgical instruments and medicines and doctors to treat them all. This does not mean that such accommodation will ever be necessary, fortunately, but it goes to show of what creative organization one of the proudest regions of Spain is capable in a miraculously short time, and how no work is too much, no sacrifice too great when the common good of the people is at stake.

**SWEDEN.**  
In the middle of October many prominent political men, as well as intellectuals, met in Stockholm in order to organize practical aid for the Spanish people. A committee was formed with Senator Georg Branting as chairman. Appeals were issued in almost all workers' newspapers, and as a result there are now 100 local committees affiliated to the Central Relief Committee. To the end of October 60,000 Crowns had been collected. A consignment of food to the value of 30,000 Crowns had already been sent. This amount collected does not include the subscriptions by the Trade Unions, which will easily exceed the amount already collected many times over.

These are but few of the manifestations of solidarity for the Spanish workers.

The toll of the war in human lives and the destruction of houses and property has left women and children destitute. The hospitals are full of men and women who are incapacitated for life. They must not be allowed to die of starvation because of the lack of solidarity on our parts.

Send NOW your donations to our Fund. All monies will be forwarded to the Committees in Spain and officially acknowledged.

Address your donations to:—  
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LONDON, E.C.1.

## AN INTERESTING LETTER

"The Times" (November 12th, 1936), publishes a letter by Mr. W. Jolly, in which he suggests that "understanding of Children consists primarily in safeguarding the Christian Faith, in which they have been born and bred, but should the Communists obtain permanent control of these children will they not be forced into definite Atheism." This is with reference to a suggestion by Mr. Jacob that something should be done to relieve the suffering of innocent children in Spain.

Mr. Jacob answers by the following interesting letter ("Times," November 14th, 1936):

"I think your correspondent and others may rest assured that the Society of Friends would not lend itself to any work likely to lead to the 'de-Christianization' of Spanish children. Its sole concern is to help those who are working, on entirely non-political lines, to save those children from some of the horrors of war. Does anyone suggest that the 70 children recently killed by a bomb at Getafe are spiritually better off than those who have found food, and, above all, kindness and love in the homes of the people of Catalonia? In any case, the Catalan authorities are not Communists. Many of them are Anarchists, which is an entirely different thing.

## HOW THE CHURCHES ARE FILLED

### The Pope in Audience

#### SCHOOLS MORE IMPORTANT THAN CHURCHES

A letter sent to Dr. Vance, Chairman of the Schools' Commission by the Archbishop of Westminster, speaks of the audience given by the Pope. "He sends a special prayer for each and all. He dwelt particularly on the necessity for continuing work for schools. 'The schools,' he said, 'were more important in some ways than the churches. If we did not save our children's Faith in the schools, there would be no congregations in the Churches.'"

This statement (published in the "Universe" (November 27th, 1936)) is of great interest, because it clearly indicates the importance played by education, during childhood, on the future beliefs of men and women. This necessity to mould the mind of the child to believe in God, confutes those statements, so often heard, that belief is a spontaneous manifestation. The Church has never interested itself in the education of the people. The Church of Spain was the responsible body for the execution of that renowned educationalist Francisco Ferrer, founder of 120 schools in Catalonia. His crime was that the singing of hymns and the chanting of lengthy prayers did not make up the curriculum of his classes.

## FASCIST AIRMAN ADMITS

### Having Bombed Women and Children

A Polish flyer, Kadet, one-time mercenary in Franco's pay, has just arrived back in Warsaw.  
Kadet said that he and another Polish aviator had gone on a German ship with which certain Germans, enlisted in the fascist army, were also travelling. He landed in Portugal, and went from there to Badajoz and Seville, where he entered the 2nd Division of the fascist air force.

He was told by the fascist command to drop bombs on places where large numbers of women and children were gathered. He was also ordered to bomb a church and did so with the greatest displeasure due to his religious beliefs.

Among other statements made by this airman, one was concerned with evidence that the bombs used were of German make. He also said that the Government air force has recently improved greatly, and the extremely fast chasers possessed by them put the German bombers in considerable peril.

## ENGLAND AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

### A Review of Political Attitudes

From the outset there should have been doubt as to the attitude of the British Government. Several incidents clearly indicated a bias in favour of the rebels, such as, for instance the refusal to allow loyalist battleships to refuel at Gibraltar, and the shielding of rebel cruisers from loyalist attacks. The pact of Non-Intervention, despite the fact that it is attributed to France, was brought about by a form of blackmail by the British Government. The Communists and the powerful Trade Unions in France were against the pact as they clearly saw that the Loyalists, and not Franco would suffer by it. Pressure was applied by the British Government, and succeeded by threats of non-support, in the event of war between Germany and France, by Britain. The Manchester Guardian (17/8/36) points to this "coercion" of the French Government was sharply split, not knowing whether or not to let the Spanish Government have its full legal rights; the British Government urged "non-intervention" on it.

It is interesting to see how Mr. Eden placed great stress, when addressing the House, on France being the country to suggest non-intervention. It was even more lamentable to witness the reaction of the working class movements of Great Britain. The Labour Press was immediately in favour of non-intervention, whilst the T.U.C. congress at Edinburgh, much to one's disgust, adopted the same attitude towards intervention. This reaction was a blow to those people who imagined that for once the Labour leaders would grasp the whole situation.

Amongst the Press opinions, the "Manchester Guardian" seemed to be one of the rare exceptions to this policy of neutrality which was so welcome to Franco and his backers, Mussolini and Hitler, though even this newspaper resorted in a leader to the "humanisation of war" and "exchange of hostages" scheme which succeeded in making angels of peace out of Messrs. Baldwin and Eden in the eyes of the short sighted bourgeoisie of Britain.

(to be continued)

## DECLARATION OF ARTISTS AND PROFESSORS

### Who are the Vandals in Spain?

The group of artists, writers, doctors and professors who arrived on Tuesday in Valencia, evacuated from Madrid by order of the Government, yesterday made the following declaration to the Press: "We have never felt so attached to our country, so truly Spanish as we felt when the people of Madrid forced us to leave the city so that we could continue our work unharmed by enemy air raids. We have never felt how much we belonged to Spain until we saw the militiamen exposing their lives to protect the fruits of our work and the artistic treasures which we own. They put themselves in peril in saving books and laboratory instruments, while foreign explosive bombs were dropping on the buildings which house the cultural treasures of Spain.

"We want to express our gratitude for the situation in which we have been placed. It honours us as men, as scientists and as Spaniards in the eyes of the whole world and the whole of civilized humanity.

This declaration was made by Antonio Molas, Machado, Pascual, Del Rio Ortega, Madinabeitia, Moreno Villa and Sanchez Corvisea.

Under the guidance of these intellectuals the 5th regiment has evacuated scientific and literary treasures from Madrid to prevent their being destroyed by the savage vandalism of the fascists. They have been moved to Valencia in armoured cars, where they are now in safety.

## A MESSAGE OF ENCOURAGEMENT

### From American Intellectuals

The President of the Council of Ministers in Valencia received a telegram signed by forty intellectuals from the United States, which reads as follows:

"As American representatives, we express our profound feeling of horror at the bombardment of the Madrid civil population by the military rebels in the fight against the legal democratic Government, and we express to your Excellency our fervent hopes that the fascist rebels will be destroyed and that the cause of democracy will triumph. You have the sincere adhesion of thousands of Americans who look to Spain as the fighting front against fascist aggression."

## ARCHBISHOP HINSLEY

### Anti-Capitalist — Anti-Fascist — Fascist?

#### OR WHAT?

Archbishop Hinsley has issued a wealth of statements just recently. So many in fact that one cannot be quite certain as to what he thinks in reality. At Newcastle he said: "There is no thinking man who sees and can learn the state of things in these distressed special areas without concluding that something is wrong in the whole social and economic system under which such economic conditions are possible. —Anti-Capitalist?"

Once again at Newcastle he stated: "I do not approve of Mussolini, but whatever he has done and however far he has gone wrong, he has done incalculable good to the Italian people." —Anti-Fascist and Fascist?

We suggest that Prof. Salvemini's book, UNDER THE AXE OF FASCISM (Gollancz) should be consulted in order to appreciate the "incalculable good done to the Italian people."

## FAITH IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### Some English Press Views

#### H. N. BRAILSFORD'S ANSWER

The "Daily Herald" of the 20th November urged, in its leader that "an immediate meeting of the Council of the League" be called to cope with the embarrassing international situation. What does the "Daily Herald" expect to be the result of such a meeting? So long as English diplomats can be successfully bluffed (or are content to make out that they are) by Mussolini, nothing will be done. H. N. Brailsford gives an answer to the dilly-dallying Labour Party in "Reynolds' News" (November 29th, 1936), when he writes: "It ought to be leading a campaign to overthrow the Foreign Office, to sweep away the aim of non-intervention and to win for Britain a Government that will place it where it ought to be—in the van of the democratic army; to meet the Dictator's challenge."

Published by Tho. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucestershire, Dec. 11th, 1936, and printed by V.W.H. Press, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks, and London.

## Pamphlets -- Newspapers -- Books

### A REVIEW OF PUBLICATIONS FROM ALL SOURCES

A great quantity of literature has been published on the Spanish Situation by the Communist Party, I.L.P. and a few non-political organisations.

The latest pamphlet, SPAIN & US, issued by the Central Committee for Spanish Aid (9, Gordon Sq., W.C.1.) is particularly interesting, and is made more important by the collaboration of well-known intellectuals, amongst them J. B. Priestley who, in his article, tries to visualize reaction in this country if during the last Labour Government "a number of generals, backed by foreign powers had begun a ferocious civil war and had brought Indian troops into this country to help them," and that when we asked for arms we were refused them by a friendly democratic Power. "This situation he compares to the situation of the Spanish Government with respect to Great Britain. He concludes by appealing to all free thinking people to 'proclaim the truth against a thousand lies.' Articles are contributed by Rebecca West, Stephen Spender, Ethel Mannin, etc. An excellent pamphlet and well written.

#### TRIBUTE TO BRITISH MEDICAL AID UNIT

The "News Chronicle" has rendered homage to The British Medical Aid Unit in publishing a pamphlet dealing with the great work done by the Unit in alleviating the suffering of the wounded. The difficulties under which this noble work is carried out are described in detail, and we hope that this pamphlet will result in many donations being sent to the Committee thereby making it possible to send out another ambulance to assist in the work of human succour. Contributions should be sent to the Committee, 24, New Oxford St., W.C.1.

The Drama of Spain by A. Ramos Oliveira (Published by The National Council of Labour) traces the situation of Spain from the Proclamation of the Republic to the Civil War. The three problems that the new Republic had to face were, the position of the Church in the new Republican Democracy, the agrarian question and the problem of regional autonomy. These reforms met with opposition from the industrialists. The writer goes into the question of the Church, which he states was the cause of the October Revolution. The wealth of the Church could not be estimated. The Catholic-Agrarian reaction for instance had its own banks, and lent money to peasants.

#### ONE SHILLING A DAY WAGES IN VILLAGES

"The wages of the country labourers" — writes Sener Oliveira — "had been reduced to the most un-Christian extent, in spite of the fact that the Catholics had been in power." In many villages the day's wage was fixed at about one shilling. Don Fernando de los Rios, the eminent humanist who is well known in intellectual circles in England, told me there that, in the province of Granada, there were country folk who got no wage at all, and worked ten and twelve hours a day in exchange for their food." The Popular Front is then discussed, and the incidents leading up to the Civil War of July, 1936. In the author's opinion "The Republican Agrarian Reform has been the principal cause of the rebellion of the Army chiefs and officers, all, or nearly all, sons or brothers of landowners." Once more the Church has gone hand-in-hand with the Reactionaries against the People.

The Left Book News for December contains articles on Spain, by John Strachey and Emile Burns. We shall comment on them in our next issue.

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