

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Much has been done. Much too little has been done. Pilate is standing at the cross-roads of Time and saying "I wash my hands of it." Pilate shares the guilt.

—PETER MERIN,

(Spain Between Death and Birth)

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## BARCELONA will not Fall!

ITALIAN and GERMAN airmen bombed BARCELONA 16 times within 36 hours. 1200 dead, 3000 wounded and hundreds of buildings destroyed, amongst them The Industrial School, The University, The School of Engineering, Libraries, and Churches.

This is happening every day in the open towns of Workers' Spain. Democracies are "disgusted" and do nothing to stop these outrages.

But the Spanish workers continue to resist to the last man!

Will Franco succeed in his murderous campaign? Not if the International Proletariat sees to it that arms reach the Spanish Workers now!

LAST week was a ghastly one, a week of murder and grief, of utter cruelty and incalculable tragedy for the civil population of anti-fascist Spain, and particularly for the Catalans.

In their criminal behaviour the fascists have surpassed all previous barbarities and nullified all calculations. The tactics upheld by General Ludendorff, of carrying cruelty in war to its uttermost limits, with the express object of making the civil population suffer, have been applied by the mercenary armies of the misnamed Nationalist Spain.

The objective is as clear as daylight: to spread a panic all over anti-fascist Spain, to reduce the inhabitants to a state of terror by means of the pain, despair and madness engendered by criminal and frequent raids, carried out with mechanical regularity and brutal intensity.

But the intended demoralization of the civil population, and through it, the infection of those in the fighting line, in the hope that they would surrender, has not been achieved, notwithstanding the devilish rain of bombs and the consequent unbelievable tragedy. The fascists have not gained their ends, and they will never do so.



MUSSOLINI'S CAPRONIS AND HITLER'S JUNKERS BRING "CIVILIZATION" TO BARCELONA

The Spanish people, who know quite well what fascism stands for, carry in their minds the impress of what has happened in Germany and Italy, to-day ground down by a savage dictatorship. They see the example of Austria, who with her

suicides, her flights, her mass imprisonments, her tortures, her homes smashed to pieces, her atmosphere of crime, terror, hatred and pain, will never give in to fascism.

We have sworn to die fighting rather than put up with the in-

quisitional horrors of fascism. Notwithstanding the bombardments which shrivel up the nerves of men, and engrave lines of terror on the faces of children; notwithstanding the threats of more visits from the black wings, the tremendous

suffering which harrows the breasts of the people, the indescribable tragedies which this means for all of us in town and country, we are not cowed, we shall never give in, and we shall be victorious if our brothers beyond our frontiers help us; or we will die fighting, if we are preys to desertion and misfortune, which cannot and will not happen.

One thousand two hundred dead, 3,000 wounded, 48 buildings destroyed, 70 badly damaged. Such is the balance-sheet of three days continuous bombardment of Barcelona. And the final figures are not yet known. Many of the wounded have subsequently died, and bodies are still being extracted from the ruins. Other towns and villages, Tarragona, Reus, Sagunto and many more in Catalonia and the Levant, have been the recipients of these tragic visits, and have suffered like Barcelona, or worse.

The French vice-consul has been killed, the French consul-general and the ex-consul of Brazil wounded by the visit of the fascist aviation to Loyal Spain, a visit carried out by airplanes made in Italy and Germany, and flown by pilots and technicians of these countries.

We feel deeply these misfortunes, as painful for us as the death of any child or old man, Spaniard or foreigner; but we wish them to stand as a stern warning to the democratic countries who cling to the policy of non-intervention, which has enabled Franco to accumulate all the material of war he required, while anti-fascist Spain has been refused the right to defend herself and drive the invaders out of her territory.

To conquer or die. That is the war-cry of the Spanish anti-fascists. The people, who fight for noble ideals of redemption, will be able to face and conquer the hordes of international fascism, if the solidarity of all anti-fascists, who have as much interest in triumphing as the Spanish people themselves, does not fail them.

## Trade Unions to Support Spain Engineers Oppose Armaments Speed-Up

THE Unions—especially the Amalgamated Engineering Union (A.E.U.)—have taken up a very definite attitude in face of the Government's proposed speed up in rearmaments.

The A.E.U., which was represented by Mr. Little and Mr. Fred Smith, gave little satisfaction to Mr. Inskip and Mr. E. Brown, Minister of Labour. The *Times* correspondent describes their attitude as being critical and they were "not prepared to give to the minister an assurance—not even an assurance of good-will."

Mr. Little in his answer to the Minister's statement stated quite definitely that he disliked the Government's foreign policy for he believed that it tended to support

Mussolini and Hitler instead of the Spanish Government.

Following this meeting, the A.E.U. issued a manifesto to all its 340,000 members. It says:

"French workers are in the same position as we are. They know only too well that their position, not only as Frenchmen but as trade unionists, is threatened by a Franco victory," continues the manifesto. "They realize that every reactionary employer will be encouraged to believe that the workers in the final event can always be crushed by some means such as Hitler, Mussolini and Franco have employed, and that there is no need to be too conciliatory in negotiations.

"Though French workers have in the last eighteen months won a

reduction in hours, it is this belief that in the last fortnight has led the members of the Paris metallurgical trade union to promise an hour's overtime a day without pay if the weapons produced in the period were sold to the Spanish Government. If the Spanish workers can prevent a Hitler-Mussolini victory it will do more than anything to save us British workers.

### VOLUNTARY WORK PLANS

"You can give time, work, and skill to make things for Spain. The National Committee at Scarborough endorsed unanimously the proposals put forward by Voluntary Industrial Aid for Spain for mobilising voluntary work in support of the Spanish workers. Members of the union at Hayes, South-

(continued on page 2, col. 1)



MY HOME!

## SPAIN and the WORLD

Fortnightly dedicated to the anti-Fascist struggle and the Social Revolution in Spain.

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(continued from page 1)

### TRADE UNIONS TO SUPPORT SPAIN

all, Newcastle, Weybridge, and elsewhere are already giving their services. They are making motor-bicycle combinations which can be used alternatively as ambulances and as distributors of food, medical, and other supplies. Fifteen are in production. But it ought to be fifty and more. They are particularly useful in towns during air raids where streets are half full of rubble.

"Members of the General Union of Bedding Workers have already given their leisure and skill to make the mattresses on which many of the Basque children are now sleeping. Members of the union at Crayford and elsewhere are making regular contributions of money for the materials for the motor-cycle combinations.

"We call on you — and every member of the A.E.U. — to decide now to give some of your leisure. But remember you cannot ask that a workshop should be already obtained and ready for you to walk into, if and when you decide to give your services. Volunteers must be prepared to play their part not only in giving work. The first step in that organisation is for you to register your willingness to give your services. A form addressed to Voluntary Industrial Aid for Spain at 32 Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.1, will accompany this circular.

### "WE MUST BE PREPARED"

"Fascism works with terrible suddenness. We must be prepared. The workers of Spain will not be the last to be attacked. We, too, must look to the future. There is sure to be another attack on the workers of one of the few countries where the workers are not yet crushed. Every man and woman here should by then already have trained themselves to play the most effective part of which they are capable in giving help to our friends. It won't be possible to do this in a hurry or as individuals.

"It is aimed with your help to build up a widespread organisation which will be ready to pour in help wherever it may be needed."

This is a strong appeal to the British workers. It is a lead which other unions all over the country should immediately follow.

Besides being a practical suggestion for British workers' solidarity with their Spanish comrades (it should have been given 18 months ago, and the bloodshed in the Basque country, in Catalonia and Aragon would have been avoided), it is a direct challenge to the Government. It would seem that the workers are beginning to realise that they and not Inskip and Chamberlain can decide whether arms are to be produced on a large scale, and if so, for whom.

The present situation offers the workers their greatest opportunity to see that arms are sent to the Spanish workers, and to improve their own social position.

The A.E.U.'s stand, which it is hoped will be maintained, is a blow to the capitalist machine. It is a lead which every worker in this country should not let slip by. Action should now be intensified, and in every branch of industry, new life poured into the veins of the workers in their struggle for Socialism.

# Journalism in the Fascist Camp

A Lecture by RUIZ VILAPLANA

THE author of the already famous book, *Burgos Justice*, gave in Barcelona an interesting lecture on journalism in the fascist camp.

"By my examples, said Vilaplana, I want to show you, how human life is treated with absolute contempt in the territory dominated by the traitor Franco. The fascists hate everything that is intellectual or proletarian. Always, by the side of the corpses of peasants, abandoned in the road, appears that of a man, who represents thought, a teacher, a writer, a man of the free professions. For their assassinations they do not seek personalities, these nameless ones are shot down, for merely exercising their profession."

He refers to the elimination of all the personnel of a newspaper in Seville. For the moment a small stall was preserved, to instruct the personnel of the Phalanx that had to produce the journal. When the new operators were taught, the crucifix was erected in the machine room of this paper, that then took the title *Falange Espanola*, and the same day the workers, who had formed the group of in-

structors, were shot like their other comrades.

The newspapers of Barcelona and Madrid are already distributed amongst the different political groups, that surround Franco, in anticipation of the day when they conquer these towns.

Vilaplana tells further, how in the prison of Burgos a journalist, editor of a press agency, was executed. There was no charge against him; but the assassination was decreed by a tribunal of journalists, formed for this purpose: "Every journalist of the left, who falls in the hands of this ignominious tribunal, is condemned to death."

There exist three kinds of journalists in the rebel zone: the old ones, who carry the weight and who are composed of the scum of Spanish journalism. These are people who, given every facility and generosity by Republican Spain, tell enormous fantasies of the persecutions, that every one of them alleges to have suffered. There are, too, the young ones, of good faith, who are exploited by a feeling for imperialist Spain.

But the majority are the accidental ones, who found in practising journalism the method of avoiding military service at the front. Every general has at his side a personal journalist, who has to beat the drum for him.

But in reality, propaganda has remained very ineffective in the fascist territory. The chief of propaganda, Vicente Gay, does nothing but travel through the country and putting up pictures of Franco. To-day the propaganda is in the hands of the more intelligent Nazis. At the side of every Spanish director is a representative of the German and Italian governments, who directs the political line of the newspapers. "But, comrades, ended the speaker, I must tell you, for your satisfaction, that in this territory the spirit of Liberty has remained alive. There is an enormous illegal propaganda, and unshakable faith in the triumph of the government. A railwayman, now executed in Madina, called out, when wounded: 'Oh, not to be able to fight.' We can fight, and we shall fight till the definite victory."

## The Workers Struggle in— —BULGARIA

Since the national emancipation Bulgaria has had very few years of democratic regime since the great war. The Bourgeois fraction has grown fiercer against the workers who are organising and fighting for their freedom.

After the crushing of the popular rising in September 1923, and the bloody repression that followed, more than 30,000 of Bulgaria's best sons have been executed. Ever since, this brutal repressive policy has been carried on without interruption. All who fight to establish solidarity as the basis of human social life, all who strive for a regime of justice and liberty,

all who attempt to free people from political, economical and social slavery, are thrown into prison and savagely tortured.

The murders of revolutionaries continue unceasingly, in the guise of "suicides," "attempts to escape," or judicial application of the hangman's craft.

Comrades Guerdijoff, Boduroff and others have met their deaths recently in this way. There are several thousands of anti-fascists actually in the prisons of King Boris. Those who have survived torture in the police dungeons and have been fortunate enough to

escape violent death, are subjected to the most horribly rigorous imprisonment.

To give an idea of this, it will be enough to state that, according to official data furnished by police headquarters, 40 per cent. of the prisoners are tuberculous. In spite of all the persecutions, of the tortures inflicted upon the prisoners and the large number of people who are victims of Government repression, Bulgarian Fascism will never be able to break the spirit and longing for freedom of the workers. To this end the anti-fascist and revolutionary organisations carry on their struggle.

## —PORTUGAL

We reproduce herewith a letter from our Portuguese comrades, with the accompanying document, which are notable for their spontaneity and pointed simplicity:

"To the General Council of the S.I.A.  
"Dear Comrades,  
"We have duly received your letter, dated 9th of last month.  
"Our Group is absolutely in agreement with your statutes, and accordingly declare its adhesion.

"Here in Portugal we are undergoing terrible repression. The majority of our militants are in prison or deported, and we are without means to help them.

"We send you with this, a statement regarding the death of those who have been deported to Cape Verde Islands. The Portuguese Police show preference for the method of questioning plus torture.

"Forgive our delay, due to the

"enormous difficulties under which we are working.

Fraternally yours,  
National Council."

### THE TRAGEDY OF THE CAPE VERDE PRISONERS SIX DEATHS IN FOURTEEN DAYS

"In accordance with the policy of 'sweetness' and 'gentleness' applied to the politico-social prisoners, deputy Jose Cabral, a tiger's soul in a human body, proposed in the National Assembly that the death penalty should be applied in the case of crimes committed against the safety of the State.

"So far as our comrades in prison are concerned, this 'sweetness' and 'gentleness' consists in hard labour under a scorching sun and torrential rain; life in filthy shacks, which let the water in, and which are situated in swampy ground. The whole district is infected with malaria and other sicknesses. There is no medical service, a great shortage of proper food and generally the treatment is not fit for beasts."

## A PROTEST MEETING

will be held at  
CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Sq., Holborn

on  
April 13th, 1938 at 8 p.m.,

ADMISSION FREE

### SPEAKERS:

EMMA GOLDMAN (Accredited Rep. of C.N.T.-F.A.I.)  
JOHN McNAIR (I.L.P.) SONIA EDELMAN (A.S.U.)  
RALPH BARR (C.N.T.-F.A.I. London Bureau)  
T. BROWN (A.S.U.) REGINALD REYNOLDS (I.L.P.)

In the Chair: ETHEL MANNIN (I.L.P.)

Meeting held under the auspices of C.N.T.-F.A.I London Bureau  
21 Frith Street, London, W.1.

## The 137th Brigade Gives Its Bread To The Children

NO evidence of generosity touched us more deeply than that of the 137th Brigade who gave up their ration of a day's bread and made the flour over to the children.

Fifteen hundred kilos have been delivered to the S.I.A., turned into bread and distributed amongst the various groups of children.

By special request of the S.I.A. the distribution was made by the soldiers of the 137th Brigade themselves. This gave a fine opportunity for the men and the children to make friends, and enabled those who witnessed the act to observe the unity of strength and grace, symbols of our future society.

## Cultural Work Behind the Lines

BESIDES the immense cultural work done by the militias amongst the units of the Brigade, lying in the trenches, a vast plan of culture and fraternisation with the civil population has been carried out in the villages under the jurisdiction of the Brigade.

Due to the circumstances, the instruction of the children of peasants near the front line has been neglected; to overcome this deficiency all efforts have been made to establish schools in these countries, accepted gratefully by the population. It should be noted, that all these are attended by teachers, who belong to the Brigade; the school material, as well as supplied by them.

In all these schools children and adults of the population are taught, and the illiterates and semi-illiterates too, of the Brigade stationed there.

This is the clear and concise work, realised by the 141st Brigade in the cultural field, proving again that in our Regular Popular Army book and gun are inseparable companions.

(S.I.A. BULLETIN)

### LETTER.

## For the Publication of Bakunin's Teaching

Dear Comrades,

For the last five or six years, a group of comrades in Chicago were planning to present to the English-speaking people the ideas and teachings of Michael Bakunin. Until now we were unable to accomplish this plan. Since next year, 1939, will be the 125th commemoration of his birth; also since the Spanish events, Bakunin's name is often mentioned, we see that it is the proper time to accomplish the plan.

For this purpose, a conference was called on February 13th, where all language speaking groups were represented. At this conference decisions were made:

1. To appeal to all the groups for them to arrange commemoration meetings in May, 1939.

2. To publish an anthology on Bakunin's teachings, with a short Biography which was prepared by comrade S. Maximoff.

3. To appeal to the comrades for their help in publishing the book.

The book will consist of approximately 700 pages.

The work has already begun and we have received great response from groups and individuals, wishing to give their support.

We believe the essential thing to do first is not only to present Bakunin's Biography, but also his teachings.

We appeal to all the comrades who are interested in this important undertaking to get in touch with the Bakunin Publishing Committee.

With comradely greetings,

B. Yelensky, Secretary.

Bakunin Publishing Committee,  
3332 Potomac Ave.,  
Chicago, Ill.,  
U.S.A.

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**NATIONAL DEFENCE**

The U.G.T. and the C.N.T. acknowledge the great progress made in the formation of the Popular Army, in its fighting strength, and the technical efficiency of its high command, and are resolved to do all in their power to make possible the establishment of a regular, highly-trained army, which will assure our victory in this war, and in whatever others may arise as the result of that victory. The C.N.T. and U.G.T. will never cease to uphold and strengthen the bonds of fraternity between the various sections of the army, under the banner of anti-fascism.

1. The Syndicates will give intensive help to the creation of solid reserves destined to increase the effectiveness of the Popular Army, with the object of guaranteeing continuity of advance, and a steady policy of reliefs.

To this end, the Syndicates will see to it that their members carry out mobilization orders enthusiastically. They will encourage a keen interest in military instruction, and in the handling of arms amongst the workers. They will take part in pre-military instruction, and they will nullify industrial disarrangement, consequent upon the advance of workers in the ranks, by striving to make women and men not of military age fit to take their places.

2. The two organisations advocate the strengthening of the Commissariat of War, and due representation within it of anti-fascist elements. The U.G.T. and C.N.T. will keep careful watch to see that this representation is justly observed.

There will be Army and Air Commissariats, closely associated with the "Land" Commissariat and enjoying the same powers. Similar Commissariats in the same condition will be established in the armed forces in the rear.

Both organizations will use all their efforts to bring it about that the fraternal relations between the military leaders, both those from the old army and those who are of the people, is continually strengthened. This will prevent the recurrence of the army troubles prior to July 19th.

3. The C.N.T.-U.G.T. will do everything possible to get the necessary means from the Government for developing a militant policy for the construction and repair of roads, highways, railways, and refuges for the civil population.

4. It will be the fixed policy of the syndicates to keep in close touch with the fighting forces. They will therefore always regard them as affiliated to the Syndicates, and will care for them and for their families, without in any sense intruding upon their military duties.

In making these proposals on a note of urgency, the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. are guided entirely by the will to conquer fascism quickly and effectively, to set up a true democracy in every corner of organization and war activity, to strengthen the Commissariat as a means of purifying and fortifying the Popular Army, and of bringing the weight of their power and experience to the work of the Government, and thus taking a great part of the responsibility off their shoulders.

**WAR INDUSTRY**

1. The sole command of War Industry will be in the hands of the Subsecretariat of Armaments, co-operating with the National Council of War Industries in the establishment of which the C.N.T. and U.G.T. will participate.

2. All factories and workshops in favourable condition to be turned over to War Industrial production.

3. All primary materials, particularly those supplying War Industries to be centralized.

4. Such transport as is employable for war purposes to be put at the disposal of the

**PROGRAMME OF UNITY OF ACTION BETWEEN THE U.G.T. AND THE C.N.T.**

Government, centralized and militarized. Exception to be made only in the case of that which is of absolute necessity for the proper working of production and commerce behind the lines.

5. The U.G.T. and C.N.T. will work together to bring about rapidly a strong war industry. The Syndicates, as a matter of immediate urgency, undertake to permeate the workers with a strict watchfulness against sabotage and slackness, and to infuse them with a spirit of pride in their work, that the quality and quantity of production may be better and greater.

**NATIONALIZATION**

Nationalization of mines, railways, heavy industry and navigation to be carried out with all possible urgency. The same applies to banking and such other entities as may be considered indispensable for national reconstruction, after due investigation by experts. Nationalized industries should be centralized and developed co-ordinately.

**NATIONAL COUNCILS OF INDUSTRY AND HIGHER ECONOMIC COUNCIL**

To make a start in this plan of Industrial Nationalization and for the organization and general planning out of produce, the U.G.T. and C.N.T. propose that a *Higher Economic Council* be immediately set up within the State and with the assistance of the Syndicalist Organisation.

The Higher Economic Council will prepare a National Economic plan — the Syndicates also participating, for the regularization, particularly in the nationalized industries, of production, distribution, credit, prices, importation and exportation of goods, questions of compensation and commerce. Whatever service and equipment may be considered necessary for efficient administration, to be utilized.

The Government legislation in the economical sphere will be made in agreement with the National Council of Economy.

The National Council of Economy will set up a service of work inspection in every sphere of production.

**PROFESSIONAL PROFICIENCY**

8. In addition to such measures as the Government has taken or may take for professional instruction, the Syndicates will assist in raising the level of the workers' technical proficiency by organizing instructional courses and special classes in considerable numbers. These will be financially assisted by the State.

**MUNICIPALIZATION**

The C.N.T. and U.G.T. recognize the necessity for carrying out a reorganization of urban services on a municipal basis, in the case of those services which by their importance or nature lend themselves to this change.

Buildings of national interest to be State property. Housing in general to be municipalized on a basis of compensation to be fixed by the State.

**COLLECTIVIZATIONS**

1. The U.G.T. and the C.N.T. recognize that lawful form should be given to collectivities and therefore think that legislation on the question is necessary to settle which

of them are to be continued, the conditions of their constitution and working, and to what point the State should have a say in them.

2. Such collectivities as are amenable to the legislation in question and are of recognized economic usefulness, will be helped by the State.

3. Legislation regarding collectivities should be planned and put before the Government by the National Council of Economy.

**SALARIES, PRICES AND SUPPLIES**

The improvement in the standard of living of the workers, the struggle with the actual shortage of food, and the difficulty of getting it, are obvious matters which need tackling. The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. therefore consider that the following measures are necessary in this regard:

1. The Syndicates must intensify their watch upon and fight against speculators. Hotel organizations, and the rest of the food producing and commercial syndicates have the first duty in this respect.

2. The constitution of strong consumption Co-operatives on a retail basis and productive co-operatives should be encouraged. A very limited legislation should govern these latter. Large sale centres for wholesale exportation should be set up under rigorous state control, and in accordance with the ruling of the Council of Economy.

Similarly, a large-scale plan dealing with those indispensable products which form the basis of workers' food, should be set, in order that they and their families may have supplies, at prices which bear a just relation to their salaries.

The Government must also control production and regulate interior consumption, which are the basis of our exportation policy.

3. The U.G.T. and C.N.T. advocate the establishment of a minimum salary, based on the cost of living, and taking into account both professional standing and individual production. In this connection, they will uphold the principle of "to him that produces better and more, more shall be given, without distinction of age or sex, so long as the circumstances arising from the needs of national reconstruction last."

To this end, a National Commission of Salaries and Prices, in which the Central Syndicates shall be represented, should be established.

4. Every facility for study and freedom of movement to be given to technicians, so that they may have every inducement to give of their best in their scientific work.

**COMMERCE**

The two organizations agree about the necessity of the strictest trade control, export as well as import, so far as primary materials and articles essential for productive purposes are concerned. The condition governing the organization of foreign trade will be:

1. Trade Centres to be established under the orders of the Higher Economic Council. Due representation to be given to the workers in these centres.

2. Profits to be a matter for legislation.

**WORKERS' CONTROL**

The Joint Committee looks upon workers' control as one of the most splendid and valuable of their conquests. It is of the

opinion that a law establishing this is called for at this juncture in our country, to set forth the rights and duties of the workers. The Joint Committee therefore resolves:

1. That the Government promulgate a law of workers' control, fixing the rights of the workers in the domains of production, and attending to matters of administration and salaries, conditions of work, and protection of social legislation.

2. The controlling organisers will be democratically elected by direct suffrage among all the workers in a factory or workshop. Thus a true workers' democracy will be established and defence of the workers' interests guaranteed.

**AGRICULTURE**

The U.G.T. and the C.N.T. declare themselves for the rapid nationalization of the land, the benefits of which should preferably be made over to the rural Collectivities and Co-operatives, especially those set up by the C.N.T. and U.G.T. The peasants who favour individual cultivation should be permitted to do this. The State should adopt a policy of helping existing collectivities, particularly those of the U.G.T. and C.N.T. and the legally constituted voluntary syndicate country workers.

The small proprietor should be recognized, if his property is legally acquired, and the law respected.

Both Central Syndicates will uphold all the rights gained by the country workers and will strive to increase agricultural productivity. To this end it is necessary:

a) To regulate the cultivation of the land, so that individual cultivation may not hinder the collectivities.

b) To raise the standard of living of the country workers by fixing a just price for the products of the land, so that the country workers may be given a price that will be fairly proportioned to those of the industrial products that he uses, and for which a rule must be fixed.

c) That the Government assist the peasants, and particularly those of the Collectivities and Co-operatives (U.G.T. and C.N.T.) in the acquisition of machinery, seeds, manures, etc., and grant credits through the National Bank of Agricultural Credit.

d) That experimental farms be established, one at least in each district, for the training of technicians, mechanics, organizers, and administrators of Collectivities and Co-operatives.

**SOCIAL ACTION**

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. recommend that legislation be revised, recognition to be given to progress achieved by the workers, and whatever is to the contrary to be annulled.

1) Legislation for accident and social insurance, which will protect the worker against privation, accidents, sickness and old age.

2) The Government must undertake an investigation into the whole question of legal compensation.

3) Revision of all legislation, civil, penal, commercial, etc., etc.

4) The two Central Syndicates fervently desire the ransom of the national wealth, the organization of and formal legalizing of economy, so that the independence of our country may be achieved in all its fulness.

Both organizations are ready to give their unstinted co-operation in all these proposals, political, syndical, and commercial, and to enthusiastically encourage, in every possible way, all work that is considered necessary for a speedy victory.

(We are publishing the text of the C.N.T.-U.G.T. alliance as we are sure most of our readers are anxious to have the details of this agreement. The fact that we are publishing it however does not necessarily indicate our approval.)

**FAMINE AND DEATH OVER SPAIN**

THOSE who return from Spain — having lived through the past few weeks there, are shocked, when re-entering France, at the lack of imagination that human beings can be guilty of! Only a few kilometres from that frontier famine and death reign supreme. With empty stomachs — nearly the whole population of the Mediterranean towns wait each day for destruction.

While the three days of carnage and horror which Barcelona endured last week, has shocked everyone who still has human feelings, they have not yet been sufficient to make the French feel that moral indignation is insufficient and must be abandoned!

We must either accept the Fascist concept of absolute disregard of human liberty, the systematic annihilation of everyone who aspires to a world of justice, good feeling, and liberty, or we must ACT to put an end to this abomination. The watchword of the French anti-Fascist solidarity is "wheat and arms" incorporates perfectly in two words the meaning of this reaction.

Yes, bread, and at once, for those millions who lack even the minimum indispensable to life. One must realize that in the great Spanish anti-fascist cities everything is lacking. There is no bread, there is no meat, there are no vegetables. The problem of daily existence is wearing down the

spirits of the workers. One sees in Barcelona innumerable queues of women waiting for hours for the possible distribution of a mouthful of bread or a few ounces of vegetables. One sees these starved children begging bread and one understands the tragedy of the situation of our Spanish brothers.

We must understand that the endurance of even the Spaniards has its limits. It will be due to this, this general want that the morale of this heroic people will be broken. But there are other things too. There is the mass assassination, such as the three horrible days of massacre in Barcelona. The official gave 700 dead, but without exaggerating one can double that figure, almost certainly. Such butchery has been possible because the bombing of towns has no serious obstacle to its accomplishment. There was not one single fighter aeroplane in Barcelona during those three days of terror. The assassins of the air were to perpetrate their crime with impunity. One is left to imagine the state of mind of the population, thus attacked without any means of self-protection. It needs all the courage and fatalism of the Spanish people to resist demoralisation and panic. WE MUST SEND BREAD AND ARMS, AND AT ONCE.

If the proletariat of France insists on remaining in this state of inertia designed by its leaders, what a terrible responsibility will lie at its door, should the Spaniards be defeated! Let everyone recognise his own part in this collective responsibility and work accordingly. L. ANDER.

**LITERARY AND MUSICAL EVENING**

— WEDNESDAY, 29th APRIL at 8 p.m. —  
— AT FRIEND'S HOUSE, EUSTON RD., E.C. —

DONIE GOOSSENS ..... Harp  
MAY HARRISON ..... Violin  
MAX PIRANI ..... Piano  
ELSE RYKENS ..... Soprano  
FREDERICK WOODHOUSE ..... Baritone

BRIAN HOWARD  
MILES MALLESON  
ETHEL MANNIN  
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GROUP SONGS & GROUP DANCING  
12 BASQUE REFUGEE CHILDREN  
(first appearance in London)

Reserved Seats: 12/3, 10/6, 7/6, 5/- 3/6, 2/6, 1/6. Tickets on Sale S.I.A. Office, 21 Frith Street, W.1., Collet's Bookshop and Socialist Bookshop

Proceeds will go to the Basque children at Street and the remainder to the S.I.A. in Spain

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on April 8th, 1938, and printed by THE NAROD PRESS (T.U.), 129-131, Bedford Street, London, E.1.

MAY DAY 1938

WILL all readers and sympathisers in the London area kindly note that the various groups and organisations sympathetic to anarchism and the social revolution in Spain will be participating in the First of May Demonstration to Hyde Park.

Full particulars of their activities for this day will appear in our next issue.

**THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNION**

21, FRITH STREET, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.1. Meets every Wednesday Evening at 8.0 p.m. at the above address. (First Floor). All interested in the principles of ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM or who wish to gain some knowledge of same are cordially invited to attend.

A copy of our new publication "Dictatorship — An Alternative" will be sent post free to any address. Write for your copy at once to the address given above!

Your name and address on a penny postcard is all that is required.

THE story of Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell's arrest by the Fascists in Malaga, and his subsequent return to England with "sealed lips," is too well known, now, to need detailed repetition here. As might be expected, the press sensationalised the story with, in Sir Peter's own words, "unauthorised statements, inexact and romantic"; in his recently published book, "My House in Malaga," (Faber & Faber, 8/6 net) he gives his own cool, unemotional version of the affair, and the book is a breaking of the silence imposed upon him as a condition of his release. There is, as he says, now no secret he can give away, but adds that even if he were offending his personal pride "by not being faithful to the faithless" it would be "a small contribution to a great cause." The great cause as this distinguished scientist sees it is the "defence of human decencies, of democratic freedom, of the free soul of humanity" for which the unknown masses of the Spanish people are "laying down their lives."

In his book there is none of the hard, gem-like flame of the revolutionary; it is essentially the book of a liberal-minded savant who regards Fascism, as he has said elsewhere (in the pamphlet, "Authors Take Sides") as "a pathological condition, a disease of Society," the book of a man who prefers, always, rational arguments and debate to passionate feelings. It is typical of the man that though his sympathies were and are entirely with the Spanish Government, in Malaga he sheltered "Rights in distress or danger," whilst "assisting a Left hospital for wounded men." He recognises, he says, "only one authority in Spain, that of the legitimate Spanish Government," and believes that "the policy of the Republic, as expressed in the Constitution it formulated, even if in course of time with the consent of the people it had moved much further to the Left, would have been a great contribution to the happi-

## Book Review

# A Savant amongst the Anarchists

By Ethel Mannin

ness of Spain and to the peace and progress of the world." That he regards "that trend to the Left in ideology and practice" with "hope and rejoicing" bespeaks the sincere reformist, but not the revolutionary... yet the anti-democratic old friend who called him "a blasted old Anarchist," was, paradoxically enough, not far out, for his deep belief in human freedom, spiritual and material, allies him perhaps more closely than he himself realises with his Anarchist friends. From his book I suspect him of being a man who dislikes labels, yet despite his belief in parliamentary republicanism he is what I should call him a "spiritual anarchist."

Certainly his book expresses a high admiration for the Spanish Anarchists. He refers to their leaders as "persons of wide information and high intelligence," and was very favourably impressed by some members of the F.A.I. who came to him to ask if he would accommodate two of their leaders in his house. Later a whole party of people turned up, declaring that their leaders could not come that night and that they had come instead. Chalmers Mitchell protested that it was not them he had promised accommodation, but gave them the use of a well-built, commodious garage. He was warned against these people by those who regarded them with mistrust, warned that they would prove to be bandits and robbers, but he found them peaceable, courteous, and appreciative of the shelter he gave them. They greeted him with friendly salutes and shy smiles when in the morning he went to inquire after their comfort.

When the expected leaders finally arrived he found that both were "men of culture and intelligence." He saw "much of these two and of other Anarchists afterwards" and became, he says, "more impressed by the complete personal equality amongst them, combined with the almost affectionate respect that the chiefs received from those who had appointed them and could at any time annul their choice." The men, women and children, occupied the garage for more than a week and gave no trouble whatsoever. To one of them with whom he talked "about the lives of some of his comrades, olive-workers, miners, domestic servants, "their bad living conditions, and their fight for a better life as part of the fight against Fascism, Sir Peter laughingly observed that he hated the war because he had had no beer for a fortnight. Two nights later he received two dozen quarts "with the compliments of the F.A.I. to the English comrade."

He defines "the better class" in Spain as "working men and women, the educated people who have taken their side, the Socialists, Trade Unionists, Syndicalists, and very specially the Anarchists," not what we call "the better classes" in England. These "better class" people accepted him as their good comrade, and that he responded to them with admiration and affection is manifest in his every reference to them. He was able to make a gift of anaesthetics to the hospital, in return for which, as an expression of appreciation, he was presented with "a formal document" thanking him "in the name of the F.A.I." The document was sealed and signed, and ended with the words, "Salud y Anarchia" ... this document was one of the many papers and documents taken from Sir Peter's house, at the time of his arrest, by Major Luis Bolin, whose family — his neighbours in Malaga — he had sheltered and finally taken safely to Gibraltar ...

The Anarchists were very proud of the care they were taking of the Bolins mansion, in which the hospital was housed. "With special pride," Sir Peter writes, "they made me see that the doors of the chapel and of all the reserved rooms were still inviolate and how newspaper had been put over the beautiful front-stair carpet."

The leaders who became his warm friends discussed with him the prospects of the war. They assured him that Madrid might be battered to pieces but would never fall. They discussed the theory and history of Anarchy—or Acracy, as they preferred to call it. Acracy, the absence of rule, as opposed to Bureaucracy, Democracy, Plutocracy, Aristocracy — from Solon to Bakunin and the present-day writers. They insisted to him that "first the war had to be won, and life made tolerable for the people.

Then would have to come a long period of education." But "neither bread nor education suffice. We have to change the hearts of men."

This wise assertion, an essential part of the Anarchist creed, Sir Peter questions in his conclusions, asking whether the need is not for "freeing from the encasements of class and tradition, the accidents of social environment." Free-will, he says, can exist only in freedom. It is of course, a complete statement of the case for social revolution, but Sir Peter's innate Liberalism, it would seem, does not permit him to clarify his thoughts and sift them down to their logical conclusion. His "conclusions" are a muddle of unclarified ideas and ideals. "Work for each human being, fitted to aptitude, as a right and not for reward. For each, food and clothing and housing, comfort in the present, security for the future; rest and recreation. Freedom of body and mind, the conditions for preserving self-respect. Secure such elementary justice for all, and then, only then, can we know if most men or any men need to be dragooned into right conduct." All this is in accordance with the Anarchist libertarian ideal, but unfortunately our savant stops there, offering no suggestion as to how such elementary justice for all is to be secured.

His strong sense of justice and feeling for liberty is evident throughout the book. He writes of the appalling conditions under which the Spanish peasantry lived under the Monarchy, and faces their disappointment in the Liber-

al Republic. "The Anarchists and Syndicalists from the beginning had expected nothing from it, and the people found that a new Constitution, however broad its spirit, did not stay the pangs of hunger." It seems strange that a man who can write that can continue to believe that a Liberal Republic, "however broad its spirit" can ever give the masses a new world, a place in the sun of human happiness and freedom — a place he insists that they need and which is their human right.

He writes of the first years of the Republic, of the rise of reaction, the background out of which emerged the Fascist rebellion. He writes with warmth and admiration of Ramon Sender, and tells the terrible story of the shooting of his wife by the Fascists whilst he was away at the Front. He tells the story of Malaga's fall, of his betrayal by the Bolins, of his and Koestler's arrest. He writes with dignity and restraint, and a fine spirit of sensitiveness to the beauty of freedom and the dreams of a better way of living, blows right through the book like a warm South wind.

"My House in Malaga" is an honest and quietly fearless record of facts intensely worth recording, and it may well be that it will be remembered when some of the more partisan and vehement books produced by the Spanish struggle have been forgotten. Reading the book, despite disagreements with his "conclusions," it is easy to understand how the Anarchists who became his friends and commanded his admiration and affection came to regard him as a comrade. The spirit of the book is such that one closes it with a sense of gratitude, and the feeling that any praise of it should conclude with the words "SALUD, CAMARADA!"

ETHEL MANNIN.

## "Burgos Justice"

### Franco's Campaign of Terror

"Burgos Justice" by Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana (Constable 7/6).

SEÑOR VILAPLANA'S words must carry much weight judging by the number of calumnies and lies directed against him by a noble Lord in the House. They are too numerous to quote fully in a review, but briefly, he was accused of deserting his wife and children for a "variety artiste," of embezzling 51,000 pesetas and of swindling people left and right. However, the publishers, in their note, declare themselves satisfied as to the unimpeachable character of the author.

It is natural that Franco sympathisers should make use of such low means to detract from what Señor Vilaplana wrote, more so as the author was "Dean and President of the College of Commissioners of Justice and Assessor to the Examining Magistrate in Burgos, etc." And he preferred to abandon what would certainly have become a most lucrative future rather than continue to live in Rebel Spain, "that territory dominated by cruelty and injustice."

Naturally, after July 19th, a campaign of terror was launched against the writers and sympathisers with the workers' cause. The first victim—and he was the first victim of this kind in Burgos for nine years—was a bricklayer's labourer who was shot down by a group of "yelling legionnaires" for having shouted "Long Live the Republic" when they demanded he should shout "Three cheers for the Army." This incident was the signal for "cleaning-up" operations which were to last right up to the time when Señor Vilaplana decided to leave Burgos, and are undoubtedly still being carried out.

When the bodies of workers were found lying by the roadside or in some cases half buried in the soil, the matter was reported to Señor Vilaplana, and via other officials, it was his duty to carry out "the obligatory routine connected with the removal of the

bodies. Always the same remarks — six or seven Mauser bullet wounds and two or three or more shots in the eyes and temple." All they could report was the finding of "unidentified bodies," for in most cases not even relatives of missing men dared to make enquiries as to their whereabouts, or try and identify them amongst the "unidentified bodies" for fear of exposing themselves.

The number of executions increased as the days passed by. One night as many as 66 prisoners from Miranda were shot in batches of twenty. "The last of them stood in the blood of their comrades who had just fallen."

But it was the death of Antonio José, the poet-musician, that decided Señor Vilaplana to escape from Rebel Spain. José was shot by the rebels as a spy, their evidence being that he had written an article on Sephardic music which they maintained was written

(Continued at foot of col. 5)

## Spain's Struggle for Liberty

### Seen By A German Refugee

"SPAIN Between Death and Birth" is a great achievement. It has been written by a German refugee who knows and appreciates not only Spain and its living, bleeding struggle but also its history and poetry. Interwoven with today's epic story of the fight of a people for liberty are stories of earlier efforts towards the same end. The writer is no narrow "doctrinaire," though not an anarchist himself he understands and is able to feel for our comrades, and he tells with great enthusiasm and fairness of the stupendous efforts that have been made to further the social revolution, even under the terrible stress of war.

He tells sympathetically of the life of Durruti; how, from his childhood to his all too early death, he had worked; and suffered, for his ideals. Merin tells much of the common life, the histories and the idealisms of these revolutionaries from all countries, men whom tyranny had made exiles from their native lands, who had come together in Spain to fight for that

liberty of the workers which is the common ideal of the disinherited of all countries.

The illustrations are chosen very cleverly; photographs of the militia side by side with reproduction of Goya; these pictures illustrate the continuity of the struggle for freedom that has gone on through the centuries in Spain.

Merin has many touching and heartrending stories to tell of the boys and girls fighting side by side in the early days of the war, and equally touching stories of the quiet heroism and endurance of the peasants. S.V.E.

Burgos Justice (cont. from col. 1) in code and with the intention of stirring up the masses! Señor Vilaplana pointed out in no uncertain manner a dangerous thing in Rebel Spain—that this was not sufficient, for the article in question had been written in March, 1936—3 months before the rebel generals revolted! It is in this chapter that Señor Vilaplana lets his feelings dominate his writings and one perceives his great love for the simple, unsophisticated workers and peasants of that region. He concludes, "I felt that I could endure no longer that atmosphere of terror and crime. The murder of that splendid fellow (Antonio José) with whom I could only claim a slight friendship, albeit I thought of him now as a brother, taxed my nerves, impartiality and patience beyond endurance."

This section of "Burgos Justice," entitled "The Facts," is a clear, documented exposure of fascist methods in Burgos. The same is happening elsewhere in Rebel Spain, in some parts such as Badajoz, Seville, Malaga, with even greater violence. It is an eloquent answer to those who see in Franco and his "Christian followers" the saviours of Spain and Spanish civilisation. V.R.

[The second part, Nationalist Spain, in which personalities in the Rebel army are analysed, and the rule of the Church in Government and the Law are discussed, will be reviewed in the next issue.]

### THREE SECKER AND WARBURG BOOKS

<p>REG GROVES' <b>BUT WE SHALL LIVE AGAIN</b></p> <p>A narrative history of Chartism, treating it as the first mass political movement of Labour, engaged in a bitter and bloody fight for class power.</p> <p>Here are problems of today, mirrored in the setting and circumstances of 100 years ago.</p> <p>Crown 8vo. 278 pages. 6s. net.</p>	<p>ETHEL MANNIN'S <b>WOMEN AND THE REVOLUTION</b></p> <p>A clarion call to women to think of revolutionary change "in terms of re-creation and new birth, not destruction and taking away."</p> <p>Biographies of great women rebels from Charlotte Corday to Emma Goldman, from Mary Wollstonecraft to Mme. Sun Yat Sen and Maria Spiridonova.</p> <p>Demy 8vo. 324 pages. 10s.6d. net.</p>	<p>RUDOLF ROCKER'S <b>ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM</b></p> <p>The first clear and authoritative introduction to the subject to appear for years.</p> <p>C. A. Smith writes: "The best statement of the history, principles and methods I have yet seen."</p> <p>George Orwell writes: "Of great value. It will do something towards filling a great gap in political consciousness."</p> <p>Crown 8vo. 160 pages. 3s.6d. net.</p>
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