

# SPAIN WORLD

AND  
THE

Civil Government . . . is in reality instituted for the defence of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all.  
ADAM SMITH  
(1723-1790)

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## Mediation? . . . .

### Can it bring the War to an end

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

After an attempt at humanizing the war in Spain, which seemed to consist in a request to the Madrid Government to liberate all fascists held in the Madrid prisons, as apparently they were not fascists (Mr. Eden knowing with more precision who were the dangerous elements still at large in Madrid) the latest intentions are to bring about an understanding between the two fighting forces.

The Women's International League, in a letter about Spain to the Prime Minister, urges that it is the duty of the League Council to try to make peace. The Council might take the following measures:—

(1) Offer to the Spanish Government a Refugee Commissioner, to be sent at once to advise and organise the evacuation of civilians from the war zone, to organise refugee relief, and to use every opportunity to mitigate the suffering of the people.

(2) Strengthening the non-intervention agreement by the establishment of impartial and non-Governmental Commissions of supervision, and by including in the agreement the prohibition of man-power from other countries.

(3) Offer of mediation to the combatants with a view to declaring an armistice, coupled with the offer of impartial advisers to go to Spain to inform the League upon the fulfilment of the truce, and to help the Spanish authorities, if it is possible, in carrying out negotiations for a peace settlement. We feel that the opportunity for friendly aid and the need for information would both occur if the fighting stopped, and that, while it would be most important to avoid the intervention of foreign Governments in the affairs of Spain, the presence of impartial Commissioners of the League might prevent a fresh outbreak of hostilities and further a just settlement. The co-operation of United States citizens in such a scheme might well be used.

The first point would be of immense utility, though it does not go far enough. Already many thousands of women and children have been evacuated from Madrid, but that fact does not make them immune from danger. Most of them have been found homes in Valencia and Catalonia; that is not sufficient. The large and well equipped Italian forces centred in the Balearic Islands are waiting the moment to attack the big towns along the coast. They will bomb from the air and shell from the sea and land. What security have those innocent women and children?

To suggest a neutral zone to Franco seems equally useless. It would only offer a better target for his airmen, who, like their brothers in Abyssinia, mercilessly bombarded to bits the Red Cross Units which had gone out there to minimise the suffering of the wounded.

There is only one solution to that question. The peoples of democratic countries should take it upon themselves to offer refuge to these unfortunate people until the end of the war. This concrete proposal will undoubtedly meet with opposition in conservative and, probably, socialist-patriotic circles, who think the matter is no concern of ours, but that something can be done as shown by the work done by France and Mexico in caring for the children and orphans of Spanish workers.

#### STRENGTHENING NON-INTERVENTION.

The second measure is useless. By strengthening the non-intervention agreement one can only understand it to mean that the loyalists will have further restrictions imposed on them, such as the prohibition to send food,

or to use British ships for that purpose!

Non-intervention has been a failure—even Mr. Eden has recently remarked on its futility—and the establishment of impartial Commissions is out of the question, as far as Portugal is concerned (this measure was suggested by Russia some time ago and blankly rejected by Portugal), and Italy and Germany would always find means of smuggling arms into the country if necessary. Another reason why non-intervention is of no use at this juncture is that Franco has all the arms he requires.

#### MEDIATION.

The third measure suggested, mediation, is equally useless. It is not a solution to the problems presented by the present crisis for two reasons which have been made apparent during the last few days.

The first is that Italy and Germany will not agree. Their answers to the French note are almost negative. The object of the Germans' attack is the Anarchists. It has taken exactly five months for Germany to realise that there is no Communist "menace" in Spain; the new "menace" is the Anarchists. Italy refuses to allow anarchism to reign in Catalonia, so that we can be certain that in the event of Germany and Italy agreeing to the mediation proposals, at the bottom they will still be behind the Rebel forces, and the fatal results that non-intervention had on the Loyalists will now be repeated with even worse consequences.

The second reason why we consider the measure as unsatisfactory, despite the fact that we, more than any one else, desire to see the end of this bloody battle, is that mediation will merely serve to bring a temporary check to the war only to let it rage more violently afterwards.

The Anarchist programme of this year was that Spain should be divided into autonomous regions, which regions would be determined according to local influence. Let us suppose that this were accepted now by Franco. Is it conceivable that he would be true to his word? Events of the past months have shown that he would not. When the Popular Front registered its election victory, Franco, Mola and other Generals were allowed to retain their posts as heads of the armed forces, and they swore allegiance to the new Government. No sooner had they done so than they were conspiring to overthrow by force those very people who had spared their lives (we say "spared," as under a vindictive Government they would have been shot for their responsibility for the massacre of the workers in the Asturias in 1934).

Now, should Navarra, for instance, be under the influence of a fascist dictatorship, is it not obvious that within a month they would be conspiring with Germany and Italy to supply them with arms to smash the other zones, where the people, free and happy, were carrying on their work of reconstruction on new, ideological lines?

No, the war in Spain must be fought to an end. If the Government of this country is anxious to give help to bring it to an end as rapidly as possible, they have but one course

(continued in next column)

## No Passaran!



(continued from preceding column)

to follow: the removal of the arms embargo on the legal Government of Spain and the imposition of an embargo on the Rebels (which will be assured by patrolling Spanish waters with the mighty fleets of France, Russia and England).

It has even been suggested that elections should be held. These, if fairly carried out, would show the vast majority of Spain to be anti-Fascist. But then the elections held in Fascist Italy, with an armed black-shirt standing by the ballot box, are still too fresh in our minds to believe that in the districts controlled by Franco's forces the same methods will not be applied. We should then learn that all these areas voted 100 per cent. for Franco, though incidents behind the lines show clearly that there are risings taking place regularly in territory under Fascist domination (despite the fact that thousands of workers have been butchered in Seville, Badajoz, Saragossa, La Linea and elsewhere).

Mr. Eden's speech at Bradford is significant. It gives one the impression that Fascist bluff is to be met with a stern reply, and not by submission as in the past. Whilst we can hope for little help being given to the loyal forces, yet we can hope that less help will be given to Franco. And that is already much, judging by the pro-Fascist attitude of the present Government and of the head of the Non-Intervention Committee in London.

Now is the right moment for concerted action by the people of this country. Not through representatives of their unions or by their M.P.s, but by their own action.

Let us remember that the amelioration in the working conditions of the workers in France was obtained by their own efforts!

Let us remember also that the 30,000 political prisoners in Spain were set free by the concerted efforts of the people who stormed the goals, and not by order of the democratic Popular Front Government!

All men and women who feel strongly for their fellow-beings fighting for the liberty of the world at large, should do their share as thoroughly as they can.

Agitate—Propagate the ideas of Freedom—and give material help to the victims of Fascism!

#### LAY EDUCATION

##### The Mother in the New Society

The mother first and then the elementary schoolmaster must be the builders of new generations. Now if we wish them to develop in accordance with the progress of civilized people and to make up a noble society, just and free, we must free the mother from all religious belief and choose the master, taking care that he possesses the necessary qualifications and ability for a rational instruction.

Catholic education during its domination, of many years' standing has enslaved woman in a most definite manner, and when she has borne her children, she has followed the archaic, damaging and dull education with which the Church overwhelmed her and which, owing to her ignorance, was interpreted by her as an act of faith. As a result it was impossible to make her understand anything else, and to convince her of her mistake.

Emancipation of women, then, is the first step to be taken by workers' organizations in order to begin the child's education from early infancy.

When we shall have crushed the fascist hordes, and overwhelmed by ever reaction supported by the Clergy and Militarism, the two privileged classes which lived in great luxury, at the expense of the sweated working class; when we will have succeeded in re-establishing peace in our dearly beloved country, stained so often with the blood of free and altruistic men, and when calm will be once more restored in the homes of the workers, it will be their duty, those men who have given all and have saved Spain from a detestable and criminal fascism, to dedicate their activity and knowledge to the making of mothers who are educators.

The Governments of the Republic, who for the past five years have not had the time to pay attention to this matter, and have remained undecided on the question of the Separation of the Church and the State, and who have allowed reactionaries to direct the armed forces, must now change their policy, and give the mothers all attention so that they shall become cultured and progressed; so that they may be aware of the position they hold in society, and the duty they have towards the education of the beings they bring into the world.  
(Solidaridad Obrera)

#### UNDER FASCIST RULE

##### Reign of Terror in the Canary Islands

We receive the following information from Francisco Miranda Diaz, a captain in the merchant navy and president of the Union of Captains and Officials of the Navy at Palmas, who escaped from the Canary Islands in the Norwegian ship "Bajawar":

"During the early days of the movement, as soon as the workers' resistance had been crushed, German fascist agents arrived in the Canaries to organise militias and the fascist repression, which reached great heights of cruelty. The Communist deputy, Eduardo Suaroz Morales, and Egea, the delegate of the Civil Governor in the northern zone of Gran Canaria, a Socialist militant, were assassinated. Many workers were shot. A soldier, member of a firing squad, who refused to shoot, was killed by an infantry lieutenant. Marfil, the Health Commissioner, was also shot. In a single week, 36 peasants were shot in one district alone.

"Five male nurses, belonging to the Military Hospital, who were accused of having been found in possession of a bomb, were thrown into the sea from the Teide Road, at a place called Mar Fea, with a sack over their heads and a boulder tied to their feet. One of the bodies was found days later by a fisherman, who brought it to the Concentration Camp. The Trade Union headquarters, Cultural Centres and Masonic Lodges were taken by assault and destroyed. All their furniture was seized and removed. Membership lists were captured, thanks to which a violent persecution began throughout the Island.

"The state of the working class is one of famine under a reign of terror. It is impossible to offer help to the widows and orphans of the men who have been assassinated by the fascists without being immediately taken to a concentration camp as a member of the International Red Aid.

"In Tenerife the following are some of the many victims of fascism who have been shot: Pedro Schwartz, the Mayor of the town; Santiago Alberto, head of the Unified Youth Movement; Varquez Moros, the governor, and his secretary; San Fiol, president of the Republican Union. Two workers were beaten to death in the Vigilance Commission Building."

## SPAIN and the— WORLD

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### Volunteers.

The question of volunteers fighting in Spain has been brought up once more, this time with more vigour, and perhaps with the possibility of reaching some agreement whereby once again the Loyalist forces will be handicapped in their struggle against Franco and his mercenaries.

We must view this matter with care and restraint and not do as the Labour Party or the Trade Unionists, who fell into the trap over non-intervention in Spain. We must consider the question from two points of view. The first thing we must ask ourselves is, who are the volunteers fighting for the Loyalists, and who are the "volunteers" fighting for Franco?

Those fighting in the workers' columns are men fighting for an ideal which is dear to them. Many of these men have had to leave their native land because Fascism prevented them from enjoying the few liberties which we in democratic countries can still enjoy. These include workers and intellectuals alike; men of political ideas as opposed as Communism and Anarchism. They have come to Spain to contribute their share towards the preservation of human dignity above Fascist rascality. They have come of their own accord, guided by one thought: a Free and happy Spain.

### MOORS AND FOREIGN LEGIIONNAIRES

The men fighting for Franco consist in the main of Moors and Foreign Legionnaires, whilst recently there has been an influx of Italian and German "volunteers." So much so, that Mr. Eden is becoming alarmed. For this reason he is drafting out plans which will prevent volunteers from entering Spain. But has he the courage to openly declare that the men fighting for Franco are volunteers? The "Manchester Guardian" (16/12/36) reveals that these men are merely conscripts. The greater majority have been forced into taking part. The Diplomatic Correspondent writes:

*Relatives of men who have been dispatched to Spain from Germany have been instructed to send their letters unopened to the Berlin post offices C 2, W 10, and N.O. 55, whence the letters are forwarded.*

*The relatives have not been told that these men have gone overseas. The men are instructed to inform their relatives that they have been drafted to a secret destination for a course of training which is to last sixteen weeks. The letters to the men serving with the German Flying Corps in Spain are forwarded via post office W 10. Letters to men in the tank and anti-aircraft corps go via C 2 and N.O. 55.*

*Meanwhile parents of Germans serving in Spain have begun to receive official notification that their sons have been "fatally injured during manoeuvres" ("bei einer Übung").*

### GERMAN VOLUNTEER DESERTERS

Other newspapers mention the fact that many of the so-called German volunteers have deserted en masse and are now with the anti-Fascist forces.

Eye-witnesses in Seville have repeatedly stated that Italian soldiers parade in the streets in uniform. Then there is the incident when Italian fighting aeroplanes crashed in French Morocco. The pilots were members of the Italian Air Force.

This, therefore, is the difference to be found in the definitions by Germany and Italy and the Spanish Loyalists with regard to "volunteers." We must defend those men and women who have gone of their own accord, to fight for something which is both noble and just, from being dragged to the depths of Italian and German official conception, which is just another example of Fascist methods.

(continued at foot of next column)

# Social Aspirations and Achievements of the Spanish Peasant.

## THE AUTONOMY OF THE PEASANTS AN UNDENIABLE FACT.

### Co-operation with the Town Workers.

After primitive stages, mankind mainly developed two types of economic and social life. The peasant tilled his land, the artisan worked with his tools, the merchant provided for the distribution of the surplus products of either, and local communities, villages and townships, self-governing, were the organs and centres of social life. The second type was agrarian, industrial, commercial, financial feudalism, based on the monopoly of all the means and organs of production and supported by armed power, from that of the feudal lord to that of the bureaucratic centralized State which by legal fictions was made all-powerful and irresponsible after the model of the divinities of every religion. Both types are defective, as the second constitutes manifestly the abuse of power arising from power itself, and the first one could not really take root and fatally lapsed and merged in the second. Side by side with the owners of means of production arose increasing masses of the disinherited, possessing only their labour power, and these were and are forced to do the real work for the profit of the privileged minority. Hence social discontent, despair, revolt and attempts at social emancipation on the large scale running from reforms to revolution.

### The Aim of True Socialists

Every country, inevitably, gave birth to its own ideas, forms, tactics, and features of the social struggle, and from these and the general character and disposition of the inhabitants arise also differentiated types of social aspirations and ideals. No one feels more international good will towards all people than a true Socialist, but if he is also a free man and a logical thinker, he understands that his task cannot be to universalise his own local form of socialism, but must be to help people everywhere to realise their own social ideals and to overcome the great obstacles which reaction is raising everywhere and more than ever before. Only in later times, after much experience, the most valuable forms of Socialism may spread from region to region; to begin by unification would only mean to introduce internal strife in an army which has a most dangerous enemy before it. Unfortunately this has already been done, and for generations back, owing to the self-centredness of learned dogmatists, the fanaticism of casuists and the thought-

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### ITALIAN COUNTER-ACTION

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, in the "News-Chronicle" (16/12/36) discusses the possibilities of further men being sent to the Rebel forces. Whilst saying that the International Column will shortly be doubled in numbers, it is believed that this increase in Loyalist volunteers "would be met by further Italian reinforcements for General Franco, though there are thought to be limits to the risks the Italian Government would be prepared to take.

"As for the Germans, it is doubtful whether they are willing to carry their assistance in man power much further. "Though Berlin has notoriously little money to spare, yet it is reported from one quarter that the Nazis have so far spent the very substantial sum of 200,000,000 marks in support of the rebels."

The banning of Volunteers will be the final betrayal of the Spanish people. We have allowed the Government of this democratic country to deny arms to the legally elected Government of Spain; we have allowed the Government of this country to pass a Bill preventing English merchant ships from transporting arms to Spain . . . and now there is the suggestion that men and women who wish to go to Spain of their own accord should be prevented from doing so. Besides being an aggression on individual liberty, it will have the psychological effect of both spurring on Mussolini and Hitler in a supreme effort to win and at the same time acting as a setback to the Spanish people, who see in the *International Column* the solidarity of the World in their struggle for Liberty.

lessness of many well intentioned people who believed that what was good for them must needs be good for everyone else. All the secular follies and passions of religious sect wars and nationalist hate-mongering were thus introduced into what ought to have been the most liberal, generous, intellectual and ethical effort, welding together the progressive forces of humanity in the great struggle for social justice.

Such preliminary remarks are not unnecessary, unfortunately, before discussing the special features of the new social developments in Spain. The reason is that such conditions as we have just described produced among advanced thinkers also so much misunderstanding concerning the events since July last. Nor was such a misunderstanding lessened by inaccurate information gathered from sources tainted with bias.

### Marx and the Spanish Workers

Let those who are interested in Marx, remember what Marx did on such an occasion. In the midst of European reaction (the Spanish progressive upheaval of 1854 inaugurated the revolutionary year 1854-55) Marx was greatly struck by this unforeseen event, and he dedicated himself to the study of Spanish political history for many years back, producing a remarkable series of articles, of late reproduced in book form. That was a scholar's action. This interest was not maintained, and Marx became a victim to his one-sided conception of history, which made him believe that a country belated in modern industrial machinery must also be a country which did not count in intellect and in sentiment. Spain as a factor in Socialism did not interest him. The London General Council of the International was utterly inactive with regard to Spain, and (a curious detail culled from its minutes) only when on January 31st, 1871, Marx happened to look at *La Revolucion Social*, a new anarchist organ, printed on red paper, issued in Palma (Majorca), he was struck by seeing such ideas as those of Bakunin propagated even on the then remote island, and Engels was appointed secretary for Spain at that same meeting of the Council. Engels in his very first letter sent to the secretary of the Spanish Federal Council (February 13th) pleads for a Spanish political Workers' Party after the model of German social democracy, and such propositions were one portion of Paul Lafargue's (the son-in-law of Marx) activities in Spain since Christmas, 1871. The other portion was the unearthing and public denunciation (by names) of the secret inner structure of the Spanish International, of the *Alianza*, a nucleus of vital importance for the protection of a public body exposed to every form of persecution. Such action was neither scholarly nor loyal, but that of a fanatic and a foreign invader who wished to break the spirit of the Spanish organization and force it under the yoke of his personal ideas. From this, over sixty years of strife arose, which was only mitigated in October, 1934, when workers of authoritarian and libertarian convictions fought side by side in Asturia, and will be further bridged over in the present months of direst danger, when the monster of Authority in its most hideous form is martyring the whole nation.

### The Fate of the Spanish Peasants

Since the sixteenth century Spain became, above all, a country of agrarian misery, since the peasants' toil and the affluence of gold from conquered America kept the aristocracy and the mercantile class in luxury, which meant regular employment to the town workers. In the eighteenth century the land question was more thoroughly investigated in Spain than in any other country, and in the early nineteenth century, propositions like those of Henry George were already before the public. But nothing was done, as the rich absentee landlords were at the same time the Court aristocracy and their younger sons the military officers, the high civil ser-

vants, etc. The peasants and labourers very soon saw that nobody was willing to help them, and they began to rely upon their own efforts exclusively. Neither the clergy, nor the politicians, had a hold on them, as they saw through their selfish aims.

### The Influence of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

They had and have a wonderful trust in their final emancipation, and they feel attracted by large and generous ideas such as advanced organizations profess. So they successively put hope and trust in the Federal Republic, in the International, in the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the *Comunismo libertario*, as some ninety years ago many were fascinated already by Cabet's Icarian Communism. Cabet's book had been translated, and was especially read in Andalusia or read in Andalusian peasants. Here some may think of the large percentage of analphabets in Spain, but let them remember two facts. The effects of analphabetism are greatly counteracted by public or private reading to large groups; this is done in workshops during work, and the revolutionary papers and tracts are often read before secret gatherings in secluded places in town and country. One of the reasons for analphabetism is the management of schools by priests, to whom the parents will not hand over their children. There is much self-education in adult age, and, whenever possible, radical independent schools are founded; all this long before Francisco Ferrer, who devoted so much effort in this work and who had particularly in view the education of pupils who would be teachers in such rationalist schools.

### Separation From Town Workers

The peasants, then, in very large parts of Spain were utterly separated from and treated as enemies by the large landowners and the State, whilst many of them, by local groups or sections, formed advanced bodies for local agitation and kept ready to join in general revolutionary actions, more exactly perhaps, to rise themselves for their direct social aims, whenever general movements, insurrections, a revolution made this feasible. As a rule it might be said that they kept their own counsel, but were quite aware, for a century, that the rebels of the towns, the workers rising for the Federal Republic, the International or the *comunismo libertario* were their only friends and the landlords, bourgeois, the State and all its tools, from the notary to the gendarmery, their enemies. In some parts the peasants were kept as under a state of siege and the *guardia civil* and eventually the military forces took action against them as constantly, methodically and cruelly as ever did the Royal Irish Constabulary and the "Black and tans" in Ireland—that Ireland from which fascist volunteers are said to have gone to join the general's work of crushing the Spanish people! These peasants and labourers were starving in spite of the richest harvests which their toil had produced. They were often prohibited from leaving the villages and even their houses and hovels after dark, as the landowners were always afraid of vindictive acts, sabotage and incendiarism.

### Peasants Take Matters Into Their Own Hands; "Invisible Expropriation"

Living thus under the high pressure of hard work, periodical starvation and hopes placed in generous ideals and bold men preparing to fight for them, these peasants got to know exactly what they wanted, if only the armed resistance of their oppressors was weakened or broken and freedom, equality and solidarity would hold their own. Neither the great Enquiry in the eighteenth century, nor the attempts at legislation during the present Republic of 1931 were of any good to them, but as that Republic had at least nominally relaxed a little the reins of power, the peasants began at last to take matters into their own hands. There was what is called "the

*invisible expropriation*," that is, in a way both straight, open and matter of fact, and silent and inconspicuous, many hardships to which they formerly submitted, were repudiated, many useful, but forbidden things were done now by everybody; *unanimous friendly co-operation* was the weapon of such *collective disobedience*. I know that the enemy remained ready to counteract such tactics by still greater ferocity and on some occasions horrible massacres took place, but the peasants also learned to hit back and in general the power of silent defiance, of collective disobedience was not broken and so almost all became inspired with new hopes. When all the village with every agricultural implement marched out to seize the land lying idle belonging to distant landlords, and put them to proper use, nothing could be done against such direct action and the whole country felt relieved to see the agrarian problem at last tackled in a direct way.

### Revolts in Catalonia Andalusia and Aragon

In these years the miners also made bold bids for freedom as at Figolo in the Catalanian mountains, and, as workers and peasants in Spain had always been friends—not ruinously estranged and hostile as in many other countries,—the *Free Commune (municipio libre)*, putting in practice *Free Communism (comunismo libertario)* became the common ideal of all producers and their direct aim whenever the armed forces of repression were driven or defeated, be it only for a few days. Memorable attempts were made in the beginning of 1932 and 1933 and towards the end of 1933 in Catalonia, Andalusia and Aragon. What was done on these occasions, and what was said and explained by those who worked in this cause and stood up for it, permits one to state that the new social forms implied neither direct unlimited communism, nor any dictatorial sovietism, but simply the most practical local disposal of the existing resources, labour, materials, commodities, minerals and the land, in the interest of all who were friends and ready and able to work, with the further aim of establishing equitable relations with similar free units near and far, to make possible a fuller economic and social life.

### Popular Front Victory Stops Progress

All this happened but a few years back and was never forgotten nor was the reactionary interval (end of 1933 to end of 1935) likely to alter people's opinions. What really held their hands was the electoral victory of the popular front in February, 1936; then, contrary to what the reactionists pretend, the peasants and the people in general did very little of their own, and some really expected that something might be achieved now by large reforms accepted by common consent. Those who did not share this belief, the anarchists, did very little to contradict it in these months up to July last. All the popular elements, then, were ready to give the reformists a chance—and it is against *this peaceful situation*, not against any revolutionary attempts or plans, that the treacherous assault of the military and other conspirators of July 17th was directed.

### The Results of the Revolution:

#### Co-operation and Freedom

When this had happened, then, of course, as may be guessed from what has been said here, the peasants were ready to act whenever they could, and in the full spirit of the aspirations described here. What they did and are doing, then, is neither haphazard riotous excess, nor is it the effects of excitement by outside agitators, but is really the fulfilment of many up-to-date well-reasoned hopes and expectations. In Andalusia their hopes were frustrated as the treacherous forces when they had quelled the resistance of the practically unarmed workers, immediately were sent to the townships and villages, Carmona and so many others, where they systematically killed the combatants and subdued the survivors. We hear so very little from all these parts because they have become shambles, a cemetery, with unarmed men working as slaves or hidden in desert wildernesses. When the curtain is drawn from the enslaved part of Spain, the world will shudder to

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# The Social Revolution in Spain

## ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF CATALONIA

### Collectivization of Industry and Commerce

A new proposal for the first stage of the new economy was submitted by Juan P. Fabregas, Councillor of the Generality, representing the C.N.T. The plan was first proposed to the Generality Council and this proposal was followed by a detailed report, which was covered in two sessions at the National Palace at Montjuich on Saturday night and Sunday, December 5th and 6th respectively.

The huge and luxurious palace, brilliantly illuminated, its balconies hung with banners bearing the arms of the different Catalan provinces, was filled to overflowing. It is estimated that at each session between fifteen and twenty thousand people attended, invited by special request cards which had been distributed in all syndicates, factories and other institutions.

The following speakers addressed the audience and gave a detailed account of the new economy plan: Jose Gimenez, of the Junta of Syndical Control in Economy of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.; E. Ruiz Ponseti, Council of Economy, from the U.G.T.; Juan P. Fabregas, Councillor of Economy in the Generality of Catalonia of the C.N.T. and Luis Companys, President of Catalonia, presided at this meeting.

Thousands of workers gathered for the first time in history to listen to the plans for a new structure of economy. Each of the orators explicitly declared that he could not speak in the name of his organisation unless he spoke with clarity and conviction, and announced that the new plan is the most practical for the achievement of victory over the fascists and the security of the revolutionary social and economic life.

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see the ruin and murder done there. But in *Free Spain* the new work of the peasants must be called wonderful.

They had a unique chance to set things right without outside interference. Unifications is but a morbid growth, only autonomy is creative and they enjoyed it. Local wrongs require local remedies. They straightened things out as best they could, weeded out the unsocial elements and made whatever new beginnings can be made under the merciless pressure of an invader close by. The young go to fight, the old and the women do the work, a rifle to hand too, for not a few of them have joined the militia. The landless took the land of the big owners who either left or who are now content with a smaller bit of ground. A maximum of co-operation and a large enjoyment of individual freedom can be easily combined, as such experience shows; the baleful principles of unification and superior command are done away with. Town and country workers, and peasants, men of different degrees of education—all are friends, if only there is a will, commonsense and a good cause. All these exist in *Free Spain* and are flourishing, and will develop in enslaved Spain, when the surviving victims of the nameless crime of Treason, Greed and Fascism, can breathe freely once more.

Is not this example of the Spanish peasants of value to all progressive elements? Almost everywhere the peasants, labourers and farmers are the stronghold of reaction, hating the towns and deeply separated from the workers. Why is this so? It is because as men, they resent subjection and will not be the dupes of a unification which would leave them in an inferior position: they want autonomy which alone guarantees an equitable standard of equality. This has been achieved in Spain, unobserved or nearly so, by political economists, but it is a practical fact, nevertheless, and here also lies a lesson for those who have at heart the liberation of the world from the authoritarian, the fascist incubus.

X.X.X.

Barcelona, December 16th.

## TRIBUTE TO DURRUTI

### Impressive Scenes in Barcelona

Cyril Connolly, in an article on *Barcelona in the New Statesman & Nation* describes the scenes at Durruti's funeral.

"Why did half a million people turn out in the rain on this occasion, marching in silence twenty-five abreast, climbing up trees, crowding the windows to see this man's coffin carried on its six-hour journey by the pall-bearers? Why did the car bringing his body from Madrid have to speed through the villages in the small hours to avoid the lorry loads of waiting flowers which there would be no time to fetch? It seemed that if one could get the answer, penetrating beneath the verbose eulogies, one would understand something of the Spanish revolution."

Of the man, he writes:

"Durruti was one of the first to realise the importance of attacking, and led a column up to Aragon. He proved a natural organiser and his column, on the front of Bujaroloz, became famous as the perfect example of 'organised discipline,' that is to say, of a kind of 'honour system' by which the anarchists, who detest militarism and disapprove of all orders and words of command, were able to establish a sort of natural obedience to his wishes. He lived the same life as his men, accessible to all, going barefoot till all had received boots, and only differentiated from them by the possession of a pair of field-glasses.

"He was put in command of the Catalan reinforcements sent to Madrid and was killed on his way back by car from the front by a bullet in the spine, fired from behind, from the upper window of a deserted villa. His last words were 'se me para el corazon,' though he had previously said that he could never regret dying now, for he had lived, in the last three months, through what had been the dream of every revolutionary for centuries. He was a rugged, lion-like man, possessed of natural intelligence and reckless courage, capable of complete devotion to his ideals of 'madre anarquia' and to the people who shared them, and an equally untiring energy in using direct action against the capitalists who didn't. His gift of leadership made him an extreme danger to the Fascists (who had already shot his mother) and his death made him a revolutionary martyr, a symbol to all the parties of the Left of the sacrifices they would have to make and the privations they would have to undergo. His mammoth funeral ('no king could have a better,' said an anarchist to me) was not only a tribute to him but an act of defiance to the enemy."

### AN INVITATION

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Loyalists Advancing on the Castille Front

# Who are the Anarchists in Spain?

## MORE TRIBUTES BY PROMINENT MEN

### Anarchists Putting Theory Into Practice

(continued from previous issue)

Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, distinguished scientist, Fellow of the Royal Society, was in Malaga at the time when the British Press was circulating atrocity stories; incidents which apparently took place there. Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell wrote a long letter to the *Times* describing the situation as he saw it at that time. He describes the way the Rebels were shooting prominent people in the parts captured by them, though the Loyalists never shot their prisoners. "But as the fortunes of the Government wavered,"—he writes "as Moorish troops poured in from Africa, as munitions and armaments and trained officers poured in from Fascist Powers, and as it became clear that not even moral support was coming from England and France, the Civil Government of the town became weaker and control passed more and more to the Left, the Trade Union Communist (U.G.T.) and the anarchist syndicalist group (F.A.I., C.N.T.) took the most active part in affairs. Both sets organised militia; the former were more active in trying to regulate supplies and unemployment and in housing refugees. The latter specialized in arranging new hospitals for wounded soldiers and in propaganda for the future. The former attempted to bribe men into the militia by promising them permanent service in the standing Army when the war was over. The latter were bitterly opposed to all standing Armies and even their leaders refused the rank of officers in the militia. The former thought chiefly of raising wages at the expense of what they supposed to be the capitalistic fund. The latter were trying to organise a new Spain based on creative work of all kinds. Among the latter I made the acquaintance of some of the most constructive idealists I have ever met, some of them miners and carpenters, others of knowledge and culture."

Carlo Rosselli, ex-Professor in Economics at the University of Genoa, and director of the Liberal newspaper, GIUSTIZIA E LIBERTA, writes of the anarchists in the following terms, in an article dealing with the situation in Catalonia: "Catalonia comprises a large section of the Spanish population, half the country's wealth and three-quarters of its industries. In three months Catalonia has been able to substitute a new social system in the place of a tottering regime. This is due, above all, to the anarchists who have shown a remarkable spirit of moderation, of achievement and organisation. . . . Anarcho-Syndicalism, which has always been misrepresented and abused, displays formidable constructive powers. Santillan, the anarchist, recently spoke to me about the reconstruction of a powerful war industry. And, in fact, we have been able to appreciate the utility of this industrial mobilisation at the front itself. We

went to fight with just a shirt on our backs and a pair of bathing shoes on our feet. And now, we are slowly becoming a well equipped Army.

I am not an anarchist; but I deem it my duty in the face of justice to state quite frankly my opinion on the true nature of Catalan anarchism, too often represented as a purely critical, destructive, ever criminal force. Catalan anarchism is, apart from everything else, a strong current in the western workers' movement. The Libertarian-Communists of Catalonia are the "voluntaries" to whom social life in its entirety is not the result of a mechanised development of productive forces, but the result of creative willingness, and the struggle of the masses. Their starting point is the individual. According to them the revolution must have the services of the individual as the starting point, as the instrument and as the aim. No bureaucratic laws, but free association of free men.

A kind of "libertarian humanism," such is the essence of Catalan anarchism which is a movement steeped in culture. Culture is its passion. Its greatest martyr was a teacher, a pedagogue, Francisco Ferrer. The "egalitarian anarchists," Durruti, Ascaso, Jover, Oliver founded in Paris a library at the time when they were being hunted in Catalonia like thieves.

I remained 75 days at the front with anarchists, and I admire them.

The Catalan anarchists are the heroic vanguard of the Western Revolution. With them has been born a new world, and it is a great joy to be able to serve it.

You, doctrinal Revolutionaries of Madrid, men of the IInd and IIIrd Internationals, reformists, and you who are mixed up in it! When it concerns anarchism, think of the 19th and 20th of July in Barcelona: do not forget that one of the ablest fascist Generals, namely Godet, had scientifically prepared for some time, the shattering attack on Catalonia. The strategic points were occupied beforehand by 40,000 men. Theoretically, Barcelona had fallen. . . .

The fate of Spain is in the hands of Catalonia. Authoritarian Socialism and Communism look on with anguish at this phenomenon which goes beyond their written formulae. . . .

(to be continued)

## Revolutionary Economy At Valjunquera

This village, like many others, had fallen into apathy and listlessness, and it proved no easy task to arouse it from its lethargy. Nevertheless a collective group was formed by some 200 peasants. Much opposition has made itself felt through Fascist or semi-Fascist elements in their midst, but the association continues with unabated vigour in spite of everything.

The village receives its light supply from Castellote. There is no telephone system, but by the time of going to press it will already have been installed, since, now that red-tape formalities have been abolished, other villages in the region will give one day's work to provide the village with telephonic communication, as has already been the case elsewhere.

The village lacks water, which has to be obtained about a quarter of a mile away. Here the Revolution is also bringing about a great transformation. In a short space of time Valjunquera will have an abundant supply of drinking water and will be able to irrigate the extent of land it requires.

There is no mill, but on the other hand eleven hydraulic presses are employed for the extraction of olive oil; also a factory for treating the residual products, with which it is hoped to manufacture soap. Crops are intended for export; oil, wheat, barley; wool and coal; vegetables, wine, milk, etc.

There has previously been an attempt to bring about the failure of the collectivistic system. Let all see to it that there is no repetition. We have already stated publicly that any obstacle, any sabotage aimed against the militant Revolution, shall be dearly paid for by the Revolution's enemies. (Espagne Antifasciste).

## Defenders of Liberty



## Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

Universe—Vernon Bartlett—Generalitat de Catalunya—Sunday Times—Manchester Guardian

The "Universe," undoubtedly worried at having to rectify continually atrocity stories, by which Archbishops who are alive and well are said to have been murdered (see our first issue), has now launched a campaign disproving the atrocities which the Protestant newspaper accuses the Rebels of having committed on Protestant priests! We have never heard of unity in the Church, but we thought that in this crisis Popular Front tactics might have been adopted against those supposed "rapers of nuns" and "vandals"—labelled the "Reds." However, not so, and we can but hope that they will continue slandering one another for evermore and not have the time to interfere with politics of which they show the grossest ignorance.

The Truth Always Meets Opposition  
Vernon Bartlett in the December issue of his "WORLD REVIEW" writes in the editorial that

"I have not, I am thankful to say, ever committed a major crime or in any other way made myself a subject of controversy on the front pages of the newspapers. But I have begun to realise a little how unpleasant it must be to become an unpopular villain. As the result of writing or broadcasting about what I actually saw in Spain, and not about what people expected me to see, I have become the recipient of letters which could hardly be more bitter, reproachful or insulting if I had murdered my grandmother and left her poor body in a cabin trunk at Waterloo Station.

"And why? Because I could not accept the view held by their writers that everybody on the government side in Spain was a murderer, a torturer, a Communist paid by Moscow and all the rest of it.

"We raise a United Cry against the Oppression of the Workers"

This is the title given to the appeal, published by the "Universe" (19th Dec.) and signed by some 4 Archbishops and 13 Bishops. It includes the words of the late Pope Leo XIII who said that "Wealth has been concentrated in the hands of the few and too many have become proletarians." The whole appeal is based on this statement. Now, perhaps we can give a little information which might be included as a foot-note, and should bear the title "Let us practise what we preach," followed by this list:

Nearly £500,000 were found in the Bishop's palace in Madrid and handed over to the Government ("Sunday Times" 25/8/36)—16 million pesetas were found in the palace of the Bishop of Vich. A total of 30,000,000 pesetas were confiscated in Catalonia alone ("Manchester Guardian" 5/8/36). The "Little Sisters of the Poor" in Madrid left 100 million pesetas behind them when they left Madrid.

Is it surprising therefore that most sensible people cannot take these humanitarian declarations very seriously? The fact is that there are many Catholics fighting against the Official Catholic Army supported by a great majority of Moors.

The Company of Jesus and the National Economy

The Generalitat de Catalunya publishes a very interesting document in one of their Bulletins. It reads as follows:

The wealth of the Company of Jesus in Spain before the 19th of July was enormous. They had about six thousand million pesetas invested in the national economy. It was the Jesuits, who held the largest shares in Spanish railways, trams, gas, electricity, and maritime transport. They speculated in real estate in most of the larger towns and manoeuvred the stock exchange in favour of their own interests. The bank and telephone services were under their control. Indeed in the latter they had a representative, the Marquis of Urguijo, a famous banker, while another of their agents, Ruiz Senén, was on the board of about 40 powerful companies. The Company of Jesus had its claws in most of the heavy industry of the country in this way. The economy was in their hands and the remaining money belonging to Spain was controlled by various other religious orders, bishops and other powerful dignitaries. It was these powerful economic and social forces which were mobilized to prevent the dissolution of the religious orders.

Certain orders, after gigantic combats, were dissolved, but their investments, not only remained intact but continued to accumulate capital. The Jesuits were willing to play at martyrdom and many of them accordingly set off abroad taking their gold with them whenever they could, which was another way of picking the Republic's pockets. But many of them managed to stay on by joining other orders which had adapted themselves to certain local conditions, or else by acting in a private way . . . but they continued to keep their influence alive by teaching children and bringing them up.

All is Well! Broken heart found!  
To be pieced together again!

The "Universe" publishes information which they esteem will bring 'joy' to readers. We reproduce it, both because of its entertainment value and because it shows our readers what these people, who have controlled the brain of children in Spain for so many years, must have taught them, if this incident is sufficient to bring joy.

"Great joy is being expressed at the news that the heart on the great statue which surmounted the national shrine of the Sacred Heart on the Hill of the Angels outside Madrid has been found among the debris left after the Reds had destroyed the monument. It is in three pieces—one with the cross and flames, the other forming the heart itself, broken in the middle. The finder passed the pieces

(continued at foot of next column)

## International Solidarity for the Spanish Workers.

THE NEED FOR YOUR IMMEDIATE HELP

## RUMANIA

The clerks and shop assistants of Bucharest have resolved to contribute a day's wages for the Spanish Republicans. In spite of the enormous difficulties placed in the way of aid to Spain—the Government arrests collectors, confiscations of funds, etc.—the working population have taken up this initiative with great enthusiasm and self-sacrifice.

## URUGUAY

The solidarity of all workers, democrats and progressive thinkers, with the Spanish Republican Government and the Spanish people fighting against fascism, is already bringing practical results. Since the end of November a Women's Committee has been working here, under the presidency of Dr. Paulina Luissi, for the support of democratic Spain. Collections of funds have been initiated on a large scale by the members of this Committee, in aid of the victims of fascism in Spain. A great solidarity campaign of the women of Montevideo for Republican Spain is being organised. District Committee branches have been formed in various parts of Montevideo, garments are being made for the Spanish fighters, etc. The collection of warm clothing has brought in excellent results.

Since the end of October the National Committee for the Defence of the Spanish Democratic Republic has published a review, "Espana Democratica," which is carrying on an energetic campaign against the allies of the Spanish fascists, and utilises word and picture to enlighten the public opinion of Uruguay on events in Spain. The National Committee has already published a large number of leaflets for the defence of Spanish democracy.

## CANADA

The Spanish delegation, composed of *Marcellino Domingo*, *Mrs. Palencia*, and the priest, *Luis Sarasola*, has concluded its great tour in Canada. It has held meetings in both the east and west of Canada, and has gathered enthusiastic crowds. In Vancouver, Winnipeg, Windsor, and Hamilton, they were given a hearty welcome by official reception Committees. In *Winnipeg* no fewer than 7,000 persons, headed by the Reception Committee with the mayor, John Queen, came to the railway station and accorded the delegation an enthusiastic welcome. At all the meetings, held in these places and later in Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Victoria, etc., men and women of many different opinions promised to give their utmost aid to Republican Spain. The collections taken at all meetings, and swelled by contributions of wedding rings, bracelets and other valuables, have yielded over 5,000 dollars.

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 your parts.

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

Address your donations to:—  
SPAIN AND THE WORLD,  
Temporary Offices:  
207, GOSWELL ROAD,  
LONDON, E.C.1.

(continued from preceding column)

on Don. Rodrigo Penalosa who commands the battalion now guarding the hill. He sent them to his aunt who is preserving it *zealously* in her private oratory in Zamora. The broken relic is kept on a table loaded with flowers. Mass has been celebrated on this table. . . . This is followed by a description as to how it will be put together again, and the ceremony that will follow it.

And all this for a piece of bronze or brass . . . and yet they are not shocked or horrified at the sight of men blown to pieces in the name of God. These are left to rot in the roads, or scooped into a hole in the ground like ordure.

LIBERTARIAN.

## LOVERS OF LIBERTY

'BEHIND THE SPANISH BARRICADES.'

by John Langdon Davies, published by Secker &amp; Warburg, 12/6.

At a first glance "Behind the Spanish Barricades" gives one the impression of having been written in a light vein, almost with that typically English attitude that "It could only happen in Spain." In reality, hidden beneath this apparent superficiality and indifference is a deep understanding of the Spanish situation and the mentality of the brave Spanish people fighting behind those barricades.

There is no attempt by the author to make a political study out of his book, though he declares quite definitely that he is an anti-Fascist, and in the preface he appeals for a clear understanding of the Spanish War viewed from the people's angle. "To the many readers who quite sincerely believe in the insincerities of our philo-fascist press I say, 'I beg of you to believe it possible that you have been misled. Read and imagine things in terms of human men and women; of simple folk, insulted and injured, whose hope of an end to the Dark Ages has been destroyed by rebellion subsidised from abroad. If you saw your family doomed to the conditions of the Spanish peasantry and workers, would you need Moscow gold to make you cling to the little you had and fight for a little more? Remember all that you have heard of the age-long tyrannies of Spain; do you realise that a victory for the Rebels means their reimposition on the remnant left alive?'"

## A Sentiment Born With The People

But by his innumerable pictures of individuals, so well described in their detail, and of scenes that take place every day in Spain, there comes to the fore an important characteristic in the Spaniard's nature: his unbounded love of Liberty, and as a result an individuality which, to our mind, we should all envy. John Strachey, writing in the *Left Book News*, suggested that it was a pity that "into the new born working class movement of that date (1860's) had strayed the brilliant, erratic, disastrous Russian aristocrat, Michel Bakunin. He became far more influential in Spain than the Marxists. He split the International and set a great section of the Spanish working-class movement in the rigid anarchist mould." I have quoted this passage by Strachey because Mr. Langdon-Davies' book shows without any doubt that anarchism is not the result of extensive propaganda as that of the Church or the Communist party, but is a sentiment born with the people. And even more, during this period, the Spanish people are able to show themselves as they really are: lovers of freedom. We are able to read of the sheer sentimentality of the militiamen besieging the Alcazar. Authorities have often repeated that Toledo should not have fallen, had no mercy been shown for the besieged women and children. The author describes how, when, at long last, it has been decided to blow up the Alcazar, owing to the arrival of Franco's Moors, "One morning the commander of the militia (he writes), bareheaded, his arms crossed over his chest, walked out into the centre of the Plaza de Zocodover . . . down the avenue of death to the gates of the Alcazar. At the gate the rebels blindfolded him and led him in. He had come to plead with them. Very soon they were going to blow the whole fortress into the air. In the name of humanity let them send out the women and children. They should be given safe conduct, and be fed and looked after." These are the men whom our gutter press describes as the barbarians, the rapers of innocent nuns, and so on!

## A Collectivized Village

Mr. Langdon-Davies gives us an admirable picture of the village of Selva, which, like many other villages, is "collectivized."

"Port de la Selva is a little fishing village in a fold of the Pyrenees. The beauty of its white buildings reflected in a bay of ultramarine may be taken for granted. What is more important is that behind all the beauty, the picturesqueness, the tourist-value, there shelters less than the normal amount of social injustice. Port de la Selva is a fishing village practically owned by the Fishermen's Co-operative. The fishermen own the tools of their trade, not only their nets and

their boats, but the curing factory, the stores and storehouses, the refrigeration plant, the shops where daily necessities are bought, the olive oil refinery, the olive groves, the transport lorries to take the fish to Barcelona, the café, the hotel, the theatre and assembly rooms, everything that they need and use. They have insurance against death, accident, loss of boats, and the other dangers of their trade.

Instead of having to work in boats belonging to middlemen, of having to sell their catch to middlemen on the quay, of having to buy their goods on the "open" market, they have organised an industry which at best can never bring a fortune, which normally gives its workers the barest of subsistences, into something reasonably secure.

The rules of the Cultural and Recreative Section of the Society "Posito Pescador" of Port de la Selva contain several interesting things. Thus Article 5 gives a list of people who do not have to pay a subscription to the section, the first being—"Women who have a common life in the same dwelling as a man who is a subscriber"; the second—"Women who are over sixty or who live in a dwelling where there is no man over fifteen."

To sit in the Café at Port de la Selva is to sit in an atmosphere of free men, and no one can understand Spain if he excludes from his idea of Spain, this reality. For there is something very Spanish about Port de la Selva and its co-operation, the spontaneous local experimenting in the art of living together. It is something that must remain utterly incomprehensible to those who are condemned to live in a dormitory on the outskirts of London or New York, who are content therefore on Spain's hour of agony to think of it as a country full of reds in the pay of Moscow." Besides this village, the author describes the customs of peasants in Aragon; their clothes, their dwellings which "defy description save that they are like the illustrations to some German fairy tale."

The Communists in this country have often spoken of the reluctance of the Anarchists to co-operate with the other parties in fighting Fascism. It is true that there had been some reluctance, but the manner in which the Anarchists were treated all along clearly explains this attitude. The Catalan rising in 1934 was quickly suppressed because the Government refused to arm the men, because to put arms in the hands of the F.A.I. and C.N.T. was to "put power into the hands of criminal pistoleros." In fact, even in July, 1936, the Catalan Government refused to arm the people, as the President stated to the author in an interview. All this suspicion for men whose ideals are of the highest and noblest order, could only result in equal suspicion on their parts, and as a result a tendency to keep apart from other political movements.

## What It Meant To Us

The last chapter is entitled "What it means to us," and is a brilliant attack on Mr. J. L. Garvin, who, like many of his reactionary colleagues, sees everything in terms of "class war anarchy," and in the fall of Madrid a "Moscow defeat." The author clearly discusses all these points, accompanying his arguments with facts, a thing which is lacking in Mr. Garvin's articles.

He concludes his excellent book with these defiant words directed to those men and women in this country who are witnessing this human struggle with complacency and apathy: "We turn in humility to the humble folk of Spain, republicans, socialists, communists, syndicalists, anarchists, who are groping in horror with their bare hands to save the light from flickering out. We turn in anger to those in England who want the light to die, and we cry in words to which Spain has given a new meaning, *No Passaran; they Shall Not Pass This Way.*"

We have given Mr. Langdon-Davies' book a long review, but have succeeded in touching on but a few of the amazing things witnessed by him during these few months. We hope, though, that we have brought "Behind the Spanish Barricades" to the notice of our readers as one of the finest books written as yet on the Spanish Civil War, and that at the same time we shall have rendered homage to those brave men and women fighting for their Liberty, and ours as well, as we feel sure the author of "Behind the Spanish Barricades" wishes us to do.

V.R.

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