

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 4

JANUARY 22nd, 1937.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

Fascism And Modern Warfare

THE ROAD TO SLAVERY OR REVOLUTION

Spanish Struggle Vital To The World's Workers

What was obvious since the outbreak of the Fascist and military mutiny in Spain some six months ago is even more clearly revealed, namely: fascist conquest employs every means of modern warfare—modern warfare affects the personal life and the social functions of every individual and every institution of the whole community. If, as a result of such risings, the State and the citizen are confronted with strife which affects their very existence, which throws all into the melting-pot, the immediate consequence can only be, in the case of defeat, ruin, slavery or death; and in the case of successful defence, a complete social Revolution, which may be considered both as the supreme means of defence, and as a tangible and permanent force guarding against the recurrence of such assaults.

In ages past tribal wars led to the extermination of the enemy or his wholesale condemnation to slavery. In later times the aims of wars were territorial conquest, involving tribute and loot, but not necessarily implying wanton destruction of valuable property which was to be annexed. Then, in the modern period, let us say from 1815—1914, wars were somewhat less frequent, were sometimes considered to further purposes of national liberation, were fought out on strictly military lines with the public assisting almost as spectators, as in duels, and only the Franco-German war of 1870—71 affected civil populations to such a degree that revolutionary outbursts, principally the Commune of Paris, 1871, arose directly from it. The Russian upheaval of October, 1905, was a similar sequel to the Japanese war against Russia.

State Supremacy and its Consequences

Then followed the great war of 1914—18, which apparently had the support of all elements in all the countries concerned, from the conservatives to nearly all socialists and organised workers and some few anarchists as well. Every one was pressed into military service and submitted to a docility unexpected to that extent, though it was an open secret that all means were resorted to in an attempt to alleviate or to shift the responsibility. In the main, personal liberty, since then, passes as an anachronism; the State takes command of everybody and everything and the coming wars which are being studied and have been in preparation ever since the last gun was fired in 1918, are expected to bring to perfection the enrolment of every man, woman and trained child into State and War service at a moment's notice.

It was just this enormous intensification of State supremacy in wartime which made the overstrained bow-string snap in Russia, in March, 1917, and brought the immense authoritarian apparatus into the power of parties, of which the most eager for power, the *Bolsheviks*, in November, became the new master and then established a permanent dictatorship of its own. The example thus set in seizing power by taking possession of the unwieldy State machinery, which seems to wait for a usurper, was not lost on the nationalists of Italy who seized the reins of power in 1922 as *Fascists* and on those of Germany who, after attempts beginning in 1923, carried their aims in 1933. No wonder that the governing apparatus of every country, brought to such perfection excites the envy of the adherents of both parties in every country. No wonder that both attempt to seize it; the established dictatorships have every interest in helping them, and they certainly do so.

Modern Government a Failure

Modern governments are unable to cope with this situation. Both by their attempts to deal with the economic crisis (which is above governmental injunctions) and by attaching everyone to the State in preparation for war, they are simply strangling the real life of their countries and creating the huge centralisations and hierarchies, which either fascists or communists are so eager to seize upon; this means that such governments, vexatious at all times, have now become a public danger. They promise to protect the safety of the community and this may be their wish, but they are no longer able to do it. In Spain, they could not keep the whole army from falling under the influence of treacherous generals, and they would not, in good time, give weapons to the people to fight in their own defence. They would not hinder the bourgeoisie in its attempt to organise themselves as phalangists and to enjoy rich financial support, whilst the workers' organisations met with obstacles of every sort. They have the monopoly of diplomatic relations, but they did not see the Fascists' arrangements with other countries. In a similar way, modern governments are nowhere up to their professed task and simply cannot be.

Causes of Social Revolution

The result is that almost everywhere the immense State apparatus and War machinery, seized upon by fascist or other usurpers, can be suddenly used against the people as an instrument of destruction, by surprise and systematic action as in Spain, by killing the militants, terrorising the masses and, to overcome resistance, destroying everything, as the two months' shelling and bombing of Madrid is proving. This meets with the support of foreign fascist countries at prices which the stricken country will have to pay by toil or by being handed over to foreign bondage. If, then, all are attacked and victimised, invaded by foreign hirelings and sold to foreign speculators, then the measure is full, new forms of protecting life, of a social order must be found, and changes happen which are called a social revolution.

There is a fatal concatenation between all these developments. Progress could only have been realised by ethically and intellectually adult men who would conquer and realise their social and political freedom—away from the State, then. Instead, through the work of socialist theorists and parties and through cunning reactionists, social functions were heaped upon the State. Then the State was further burdened with the modern war apparatus, and this was overmuch: it became unwieldy and was seized by dictators, and this huge

(continued on page two)

THEY SHALL NOT PASS!



ANARCHISTS AND THE REVOLUTION

Federica Montseny on Significance of Revolution

THE ANARCHISTS' IDEAL

The following are extracts from the first of a series of lectures to be given in Barcelona and organised by the propaganda section of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. The speaker on this occasion was Federica Montseny, Minister of Health in the Generalitat.

"First I wish to say that we Anarchists, both as individuals and as members of the F.A.I., have never changed our position. We are Anarchists as of old and still pursue the same ideals.

"An ideal which becomes stagnant, which has no flexibility, which has no adjustability, which cannot react and whose representatives cannot respond in accordance with circumstances, such an ideal is destined to be set apart, to be put in a corner and to be substituted by other ideals.

"We tried many times before to speed on the social revolution in Spain; attempted to stir up the feelings of the people and to raise the banner of Libertarian Communism. Since the establishment of the Republic we were the only ones who kept the masses alive; the only ones who remained faithful to their revolutionary creed. Without our continued vigilance, Spain today would be very different. A timid democracy, a reformist socialism would have held back the masses. Our constancy, some might call it our madness, was necessary to wear down the oppressive forces of the old democracy which, in Spain, was a hundred years behind the times.

"No one could have foreseen that we would have simultaneous revolution and war. Not a civil war like those of the past, where the forces

were equal; but a modern war in which we were the worst equipped, etc. Our men poorly armed, without plans could not fight against armies perfectly equipped according to the standards of today and reinforced by regular forces from Italy and Germany, specialists in warfare and with an iron discipline which made it impossible for them to retreat. One does not see the size of a mountain until one draws away from it. But away in the distance we turn and look and wonder. Have we really come so far? How did we manage to overcome so many serious difficulties in such a cruel and unequal struggle?

"But now a still greater problem faces us. A problem beside which the problem of war seems easy. For the war, a common cause against a common enemy, made it possible to have and to maintain the unity of all the anti-fascist forces—Republicans, Socialists, Communists and Anarchists.

"But imagine the panorama once the war is over with the different ideological forces that will attempt to impose themselves, one against the other. The war over, the problem will rise in Spain with the same characteristics as it had in France and Russia. We must prepare ourselves now. We must declare our point of view so that the other organisations will know what to expect—We must look for the platform, for the point of contact which will permit us with the greatest amount of freedom and with a minimum plan of economical realisation to continue on our road until we reach the goal.

"We have already spoken of what we want, once the war is ended. What we say today we said before war. Something consubstantial with the very history of Spain, with the aspiration

(continued at foot of next column)

It is in seeking the good of others, in embracing a great and expansive sphere of action, in forgetting our own individual interests, that we find our true element.

GODWIN.

(Political Justice)

The International Brigade

FIGHTING TO DEFEAT FASCISM

Heroes—Not Mercenaries

Page after page of history is lit by the actions of brave men. There have been many heroes; there have been many heroic armies. But in Spain today there are men of a new type, inspired by a new purpose; men whose ideal is higher even than patriotism; the men of the International Brigade.

These men are foreigners, fighting on foreign soil. But never before has there been such a foreign army as this. They are not mercenaries like Franco's troops. They do not fight for money, for any kind of material gain. They fight for the ideal of freedom. Freedom for the Spanish people, because they regard the Spanish people as their comrades. They fight to end oppression, not in Spain alone, but in the whole world. They know that if Fascism wins in Spain, tyranny and brutality will spread further. They fight to defeat Fascism here in Spain before it is too late to defeat it anywhere. Their only reward is their knowledge that they are defending a world cause, that they risk, and give their own lives freely to save the world from barbarism. They are the very reverse of mercenaries.

And they are the reverse, too, of conscripted troops. They were not asked to come. The French factory worker was not asked to come, but he read of the Fascist aeroplanes over Madrid, he left his machine and came to Spain. The English miner was not asked to come, but he heard of the heroism of his fellow Spanish workers and came up out of his mine to make his way to Spain. The Polish peasant was not asked to come, but he understood the meaning of Fascism and left his farm, his wife and came to Spain. The German and Italian workers were fed with lies, were commanded to support Fascism; but many of them escaped from their countries, slipped over the border by night and came to Spain.

From every country these men came to form the International Brigade. These are the men who have offered their own lives to save the lives of the children of Madrid. These men met the full shock of the conscript and mercenary Fascist army and helped to turn them from the gates of Madrid.

To us in Spain the men of the International Brigade are more than good soldiers. They are a symbol. They prove to us that the liberty loving peoples of the world are on our side: that right-thinking men will not tolerate oppression: that we do not stand alone in the struggle for freedom. We in Spain thank with all our hearts, our comrades, the heroes of the International Brigade.

(Generalitat de Catalunya).

(continued from previous column)

ations of the people manifested in every moment of their lives. Every historic movement of Spain has affirmed always the attitude of the people against a central and absorbing power—against imperialism, against arrogance and tyranny.

"Wherever we turn, we find the same opposition to oppression and humiliation, by any power whatsoever. That is why it has been difficult for any dictatorship to be set up in Spain. When it was implanted it was more like an operetta. And when the attempt arose to establish a real dictatorship the people rose in rebellion, preferring death to slavery."

SPAIN and the— WORLD

Anti-Fascist Fortnightly

TEMPORARY OFFICES :
207, GOSWELL ROAD,
LONDON, E.C.1,
ENGLAND.

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WHAT ARE THEY DOING?

We are weary of reading in the Press every day of further developments in the diplomatic world. Each day takes us further from a solution of the Spanish situation, if indeed there is a "diplomatic" solution to this problem.

We cannot blame the National Government for attempting to prolong discussions and put forward new suggestions so as to waste time, as was done in the case of Abyssinia. The Government represents Capital and the Capitalist Class, and this is unconcerned with the struggle of the Spanish workers.

But we do blame the people of this country, who boast of their superior "democracy," who boast of their tradition of Liberty and Justice. We blame the T.U.C. Congress at Edinburgh which supported non-intervention; those Labour M.P.s who supported it in the House of Commons with such vigour that when the time came that their error was obvious, even to them, Mr. Baldwin was able to ridicule them openly; the vast Official Labour organisations which have as yet made an insignificant contribution to the material help given by organisations all over the world. When will these Official Labour Organisations realise that they must be of an International nature if there is to be true solidarity between workers?

It is not our intention to recruit Volunteers to go and fight with our Comrades in Spain; it is a matter which must be thought out by the individual himself, and a decision reached after considering the circumstances. Besides, those who want to help in a noble cause have been considered by our "democratic" Government as being criminals worthy of imprisonment, or at least "unworthy" of citizenship in "democratic" England! We feel, however, proud indeed that from this country—apparently so different from other countries by its insular character and love for progress "by the ballot and not the bullet"—already many hundred men and women have left for the front; that already ambulances with complements of skilled surgeons, nurses and assistants are alleviating the suffering of the wounded in battle, and the innocent women and children "blessed" by Franco's civilisation of bombs and artillery fire.

This work has been done by small organisations, independent bodies and by individuals. Their work has been effective and full of enthusiasm—that of the Official organisations, ineffective and indifferent.

WORK TO BE DONE

So much can be done to help Spain. The problem of the evacuated children of Madrid is of vital importance. Mexico and France have already taken steps to take care of as many as possible until the end of the conflict. Will the women of England do likewise?

Much help can be given by consignments of food, clothing, and by money.

It can also be given by making known to the English public the reasons for the conflict. The nature of the ideals of the opposing forces, and the meaning of the word "volunteers" to Franco, Mussolini, Hitler and Mr. Eden.

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THE GREATEST WEAPON

Educational Progress In In Catalonia

It is of the greatest interest to note that during the present grave times education has not been overlooked. As a matter of fact the standards of teaching and schooling have risen considerably despite abnormal conditions. There are many men and women of goodwill with clean consciences and splendid intellects who are energetically devoting their interests to improving our educational system. They maintain that the former methods of suppression leading to ignorance and misery were due to the lack of proper education. The privileged class always had control of the schools and guided the system of education to suit its own convenience. Fighting against Fascism and making a revolution against dictatorship and the capitalist class would be a waste of time and energy unless the educational system were immediately changed to prevent the possibility of a return to the same vicious circle.

Notwithstanding the lack of local schools and many more necessary educational institutions, due to the fact that our entire energy is centred upon the war, there has been a tremendous progress made in the past five months in the field of education. The New Unified Schools, which were conceived by the rational educators of the C.N.T., were accepted and approved by the Generality of Catalonia and the entire population of the Catalan region. Under the former system of education and the control of the former officials for many years before the revolution, there were only 34 thousand children registered in all schools. For the past five months alone 42 thousand children more were registered in the new schools. These figures speak for themselves. 108% increase of new pupils—in a short and very difficult period—marks the height of educational progress in Spain.

The slogan of the New Unified Schools, "school for all and all to school" is perhaps the greatest weapon against the old bourgeois and capitalist class. The execution of Francisco Ferrer under Alfonso's regime was one example of the reaction against a new rational system of education. But this is only the beginning. There is a great programme of educational advances to be put into effect as soon as the war question is solved. The conquest of educational institutions will be one of the important achievements of this revolution.

(continued from previous column) SOCIAL REVOLUTION

We cannot too often repeat the fact that simultaneously with the war, a Social revolution is taking place in Catalonia and the Levante. The Revolutionary forces of Spain have shown that they not only destroy but also reconstruct. But in the place of a country stricken with poverty—due to inequality—they are building a Society in which all will have the same rights.

In this society work will be organised in such a way that it will represent, as it should, but a small part of the individual's life, instead of, as to-day, the greater part of his life. In such a way, all will be able to acquire a certain culture which will allow them to appreciate the great works given to the world by writers, philosophers, artists and scientists.

Much is already being done in certain regions for the education of children and adults, whilst in former monasteries have been organised workers' Universities. Once the War is at an end, all this work will be greatly intensified because, whereas the Church had maintained for so long its strong position by keeping the people in ignorance, and always siding with the militarists, the Anarchists wish to maintain theirs through educating the individual to appreciate the necessity of working for the new society, which is based on Freedom and Justice.

This does not mean that the same methods would be applied if they were to be attacked by outside reactionary forces! They clearly showed their strength in Barcelona on July 19th.

Fascism and Modern Warfare

(continued from page one, column two)

mass is now either already the prey of fascist and similar piracy or it expects to become so, being unable to find a way out of this really untenable situation, comparable to that of the antediluvian Saurians when geological changes modified their conditions of life disastrously.

How Anarchism Can Be Established

These conclusions do not imply that in this way something like *Anarchism* was automatically established in face of a fascist invasion and the failure of the State to prevent or repel it. Anarchism can only exist when, and where, and to the extent to which people really wish it. Many people, though not all, desired it in Spain in larger numbers and for a longer time than anywhere else, and they made the greatest sacrifices for their cause for generations past. They mean now to have two things—their own free anarchist life and such general arrangements as best promote every form of progress and make libertarian conceptions known and acceptable to ever increasing numbers. This is obviously the only method by which the most ethical form of socialism can spread, as it abhors and must abhor propagandist methods based on demagoguery, coercion and terror. When it is desired to realise the maximum of freedom, who would think of forcing unwilling persons into dumb obedience or lip-service? It is lucky for the world—and historically it could not happen otherwise,—that Catalonia was free at last, from July 19th onward, to see anarchists take things in hand and to try to set the fairest and most equitable example of free social co-operation that was ever seen.

The Need for an Understanding of Anarchism

I know that authoritarian socialists and anti-socialists existed as well in those early days, but they were either struck to some degree by the efficiency of the anarchists whom they had known so little, or their narrow opinions isolated them. One noticed a similar surprise in foreign visitors. To one who has seen something of international socialist literature for a long time back, this ignorance is quite explained by the real absence of sources of information in socialist literature of most countries. The average readers think that Proudhon and Bakunin have been dead for many years now and have both been destroyed by Marx; that Kropotkin is also probably dead and that since his time nothing is likely to have happened in anarchism. Most would ignore the very name of Malatesta and infinitely few would be able to give the name of a single Spanish anarchist, except perhaps Ferrer, who is just the man about whom those who really knew him always raise the question whether he was an anarchist. Such lack of information is their own affair, but the world at large ought to know it, since they are constantly confronted with socialist opinions about Spanish anarchists. It is sufficient to say here that the events since July have established forms of co-operation of Spanish socialists with anarchists, just as anarchists and socialists from abroad have generously given their lives for Free Spain. It might be wiser, therefore, to look for real information on anarchism in Spain, than to pooh pooh it off-hand, because either the nearest yellow journalist or even the great Marx or Engels said so.

The Spanish Anarchists

As things are, after the silencing of Anarchism in Italy since 1926, and to a very large extent, also in the Argentine Republic, since the autumn of 1930, the Spanish Anarchists remained practically alone to bear the brunt of the struggle. Since when had they been fighting? Ever since 1868, without respite; some, in other forms, for long years before that date. They were always the intimate militant elements of the organised workers, of some 50,000 in 1873 already, of about a million in 1919, of still more since 1931, etc., which certainly brought them in touch with labour in town and country to a larger extent than most of the present-day militant socialists, who often have but very indirect contact with workers through the intermediary of paid officials, electoral agents, etc. A Spanish mili-

tant pays with his life and is more often shot at or imprisoned, than enjoying rest or reaping public honours. His study are the cultural centres and the months or years passed in prison. The available literature is large, produced both in Spain and Spanish America, rich in translations and touching on the economics of both continents. Many had and have an American experience of their own.

I cannot enter upon their specific anarchist conceptions, the relations to syndicalist ideology, etc., but it is a fact that all the vital questions of socialism have been independently examined in their milieu. Bakunin, Malatesta and Kropotkin admired them and recognised their great devotion and their intellectual independence. They were the first who stood up against what is now called *totalism*, the fatal belief in a unique doctrine which implies enmity or animosity against all neighbours. With typical insight they insisted on this fundamental truth nearly fifty years ago, whilst to this very day it is impossible to get a clear reply on this point from nearly all socialists, as everyone advocates the *totalism* of his own party, but deprecates that of the other parties. They welcomed the Russian Revolution of 1917 and understood the hard character of its initial proceedings; but when these resulted in systematic dictatorship and party *totalism*, they repudiated bolshevism, as they always repudiated political Marxism. They had the experience of 1919-22 in a life and death struggle with the powerful factory owners of Catalonia, which cost hundreds of lives on both sides, that of a tenacious struggle with the dictator, Primo de Rivera, 1923-30, and that with the new Republic since April, 1931. The latter period brought no end of acute struggles, from strikes to widespread local revolts. They also had much inner experience, thus in controversy with the Marxists, between anarchist collectivists and communists, between internationalists and Catalan nationalists, between various shades of syndicalism, etc. As individuals, they kept vigorous by contact with peasant life, much ideal "naturalism" and friendly social life, many also as real fighters: if those had not been alert in the early hours of July 19th and barred the way to the advancing soldiers and cannon, pistols in hand, Barcelona would have been lost that day and slavery might have triumphed all over Spain.

Not "Just Theorists"

Thus the Spanish Anarchists are not just the "idle dreamers" of unknown origin, but they are the specific Spanish representatives of Socialism, the continuators of early Federalism, etc., whilst Marxism was a late importation in Spain (1872), increased very slowly and had greater ramifications only when it acted as a trade union body (U.G.T.) or in alliance with the republicans and since 1934, when for the first time in Asturias it did some real fighting—and then, there, side by side with it, stood the anarchist movement, also some communists (who had been very little conspicuous in all the years before). There is no running away from these hard facts for the socialists and general politicians of the other countries; anarchism may be a "negligible" factor as yet in their home countries; in Spain this is different, and it bears the characteristics alluded to here which can be verified from many sources, and which do not represent the usual stock opinions of uninformed persons.

The Workers Resist Fascist Invasion

The military and fascist invasion, then, with ruthless fascist cruelty and the intense armament of modern warfare, meant as a deathblow to every form of progress in Spain, to the feeble efforts even of the moderate "popular front" government, was met not only by so much courageous armed resistance, but by the will of so many men and women, conscious that this treacherous stroke at everything that was dear to them, could only be met decisively by new forms of social life, as the old structure had not been capable of averting the blow, which to this day is not yet overcome, as it is backed by the international fascist reaction. The same is bound to happen in every country where it shall be possible to resist a fascist assault.

When watchmen are found asleep, when alleged patriotic armed forces turn traitors, who would dream of perpetuating a system where that was possible? It had been possible for one Russian socialist party to dislodge all the others (1917), for one of several Italian national parties to seize the whole country (1922), for one German nationalist party to do the same in 1933. It has also been possible for Japan to seize Manchuria and Italy Ethiopia, against the will and under the protest of the whole communion of nations. Surely, this is no reason why Free Spain should not rise in defence against such an onslaught in July, 1936, just as Austria withstood by armed force a similar onslaught in July, 1934, and rightly so. If some of the help now given to Free Spain by generous friends of freedom had been given to the Italian people in 1922, fascism might have been stamped out at the root and the world's career from then onward might less resemble the road to ruin.

This, it is true, is a thing of the past, yet it is a not forgotten experience and in every coming crisis the question will be put in bolder terms: *what is the use of the State and the present system, if they cannot protect us against such brutal traitors?* The consequence will be new political and social forms which in those countries, where an authoritarian mentality prevails, will necessarily take very authoritarian forms, those of some form of bolshevism far more drastic than it has ever been in Russia.

The Need For Co-operation

Spain is a happy peninsula where the old anarchist and federalist tradition permitted beautiful forms of free socialism and manifestations of the most tolerant spirit of progress. This cannot be imitated offhand, and efforts to promote a liberal and libertarian mentality in other countries direct support given to the present struggle, is the essential work to do. Will labour and socialists and communists understand this necessity, or will they go on proclaiming each its own totalism until the enemy enters and all is too late?

Mankind, the workers, the anarchists also, are, heaven knows how modest; but as living units they require a breathing space: this is denied to them, in principle, by *totalism* and against this they are bound to revolt as choking men would break windows to get fresh air. Fascism therefore breeds revolt and a system which cannot secure people against fascism is bound to be swept away by revolt. The present systems, however iniquitous, are likely to continue, as long as they are efficient in averting any type of *totalism*. Otherwise, either such *totalism* usurps power or new and unknown forms, dependent on the prevailing mentality must arise. Any amount of latitude is possible in such new forms, provided they are not totalised, which would call forth a new revolt.

Such is, to the best of our knowledge the essence of the present situation. The most powerful reactionary elements are linked in deadly struggle with the most progressive elements to be found in the world today, which is not intended to disparage anyone, but which is put forward in good faith as a statement of facts. Others prosper economically, others are victorious in war, others enjoy more comfort, possibly, but those in Free Spain who are in the heart of the struggle, have unselfishly devoted their lives to the struggle for real freedom and human solidarity to an extent which, however little it may be known abroad, is none the less incontestable for that and is a great reality, an outstanding feature of this age.

They have shown talent and tact and have rallied the best men of an old country. If they are left to perish now, this will avail nothing to lukewarm dalliers, halfhearted trimmers who will then be quite alone in a world of Fascists and Bolsheviks, all ready to pounce on them from right and left. It is not those who would stand by to see progress murdered in Spain, who would be likely to save democracy in the Western World! Their own turn to become the slaves of some *totalism* would come next. They are lucky that Free Spain stands foremost in this glorious struggle to resist Slavery—so let them help as vigorously as in them lies and the good cause of Progress will at last become a reality. Otherwise, let Europe veil her face in a world of ruins and ruin.

Barcelona,

X.X.X.

January, 1937.

WORK CO-ORDINATED

The Socialised Oil Industry

The Economic Council of Lerida has confiscated the three oil factories of Guin, Porres and Jové. These industries are now being socialized with the aid of the workers employed in these factories.

The farm labourers of the C.N.T. syndicate of Lerida and surroundings have asked the Committee for the arrangement of grinding the olives which cannot be done by syndicate of the villages. This work will be performed in factories run by the U.G.T. syndicate.

In Lerida, a syndicate Committee was formed to defend the interests of the producers as well as of the factory workers with a plan for the co-ordination of production. An agreement was reached on the most important points.

Among other things, credit will be demanded from the Ministry of Agriculture for the olive planters and for institution of the co-operative of economic supplies for the workers.

The selling price of the olives will be fixed in conjunction with the factory Committee. The workers receive a weekly wage of 70 pesetas. The factory Committee of Control, composed of workers from the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. has the right to employ the former proprietors as technicians if they are necessary for the interests of production. These proprietors if employed have no right to interfere with the organisation of the work or with commercial matters. They can also be discharged without compensation if the workers consider their assistance unnecessary.

THE FUTURE IN THEIR HANDS

5,000 Peasants Confer

Yesterday a special train brought more than 5,000 peasants to Mataro for a meeting organised by the Federation of Agricultural Syndicates of Catalonia. Delegations came from every part of Catalonia to gather in the Clavé Palace Theatre, the most spacious hall in Mataro, the capital of the coast. José Calvet, the Councillor for Agriculture in the new Generality was present at the meeting and made a successful speech.

Calvet pointed out that the new Council of the Generality would look after the peasants as he himself was their representative there and worked at the orders of their own organisation. He mentioned the potato problem which is one of the principal agricultural interests of the Mataro district (Maresme) and how he had been instrumental in solving it. His speech was greeted with immense enthusiasm, and cheers were also given for the President of the Maresme branch of the Federation, by Eduardo Sim, chief of the Technical service of the Generality. Among the problems dealt with was the poultry farming campaign to reduce Catalonia's annual expenditure of more than 60 million pesetas on egg importation.

Manuel Sorra Immoret told of his work in England which resulted in the possibility of sowing potatoes in Maresme. The English market he said would offer good prospects this spring. The revolutionary work of the peasants and the role they will play in the new social order, where they will guide agriculture and receive its benefits, was spoken of. Agriculture will be the key to Catalan wealth and the peasants have the future of the revolution in their hands.

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Gesture of a True Artist

Pablo Casals, world renowned 'cellist, well known to London concert goers and considered the greatest exponent of the 'cello of his time, has placed at the disposal of the People's Government a large proportion of his banking account.

"I was one of the rich of Barcelona," he said in an interview. "To-day I am not wealthy, but I do not mind. I am a manual worker,—yes, manual—and as such am closely tied to the democratic movement. As is already known, the Catalan government has asked me to use my art in the cause of propaganda. Before the civil war, and without invitation from anyone, I made much material and moral propaganda by means of my art for my country. One must not forget that I am an artist and not a propagandist."

He agreed that his projected foreign tour would be indirect propaganda and said that it would give him the opportunity to deny the reports that he had been killed. To anyone who asked he would reply "No one is being murdered in the streets of Barcelona."

He wanted it to be understood that he was not a politician. "I repeat that I am nothing more than an artist. But I cannot bear in silence the accusations of vile deeds that are made against the Catalan people, and the people who have no responsibility for the civil war and who are making such heroic sacrifices. Formerly there were differences between we Catalans and the Spaniards. Now Catalonia and Spain march side by side and I feel every day more Catalan and more Spanish."

When asked if he would remain neutral in this present struggle he replied "Neutral? By no means. I am on the side of the Spanish people who love and appreciate me. I cannot approve of these Catalan intellectuals who, in the moment of danger, abandoned their country and fled abroad. I know that I could live better elsewhere than in Barcelona and enjoy more material comfort. But I declare that as soon as I have finished my foreign tour I will return. I will remain faithful to the Catalan people in their hour of darkness as I have lived with them in their hours of happiness."

Asked if he would give recitals in Germany, he said "I shall not go to Germany. I made this decision on the day when the Nazis deprived the great conductor Bruno Walter of his position. I said to them and I repeat it now: I shall not set foot in Germany while liberty of thought and art are prohibited. Why am I a democrat? I am a democrat because only in a democracy can the son of a poor peasant rise as I have risen. It is because of this that I shall avoid the roads that lead to Germany."

We might add here that Tehudi Menuhin, the young virtuoso of the violin, also refused to play in Germany when invited to give concerts there, unless Bruno Walter were the conductor. It is also well known that Toscanini refused to conduct the Wagner operas at Bayreuth, and has not conducted in Fascist Italy since the time he refused to play the Fascist hymn, "Giovinezza."

Casals, Toscanini, Huberman, Walter, Menuhin... these are the names of true artists!



Hispano Suiza Works Now Under Workers' Control

U.G.T. WORKERS' FAITH IN ANARCHISTS

PUBLIC DECLARATION OF TOLERATION AND LOYALTY

At a mass meeting held at the Gran Price Theatre, the U.G.T. (Socialist Trade Union) workers of the Textile industry, explained the reason for the meeting through their Secretary Sesé.

It was pointed out that the Congress of the yarn and textile industries, held under the auspices of the C.N.T. organisations, decided upon a definite programme for efficient production and many other questions incorporated in their programme (details of which were published in the 3rd, issue of *Spain and the World*). The pact between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. was agreed on the said conditions and signed, and at this meeting the representatives of

the U.G.T. gave a detailed report of the agreed conditions.

"We must not forget" continued the Secretary of the U.G.T.—"that jointly our organisation and the C.N.T. will establish a structure of a new economy which passes into the hands of the workers."

They have taken into consideration that Councils of the textile industry will have to be formed in all districts in accordance with the proposed plans of the C.N.T. congress in order to realize this great work immediately. In this work the U.G.T. will collaborate with the C.N.T. in whose syndicates they have always found the maximum understanding and loyalty.

Refutation:

Of Certain Misconceptions Concerning Libertarian Communism

BY ISAAC PUENTE

In memory of the devoted militant, the clear thinker and the good and just man that was Dr. Isaac Puente, we feel justified in publishing the famous article which he devoted to "The refutation of certain misconceptions concerning Libertarian Communism."

Since he was assassinated by the Fascists, Comrade Puente will never see the realisation of the just and beautiful world of which he dreamed. But he had lived this very dream with such energy and with such practical vision that no one to-day dare declare his dream an impossibility.

The idea of libertarian communism clashes in the case of most persons with deeply-rooted prejudices. We shall attempt to bring such prejudices before the mind of those who are the greatest victims of them. Theirs shall be the task of freeing themselves through reflection and considered experience.

Misconception No. 1. Attributing a transitory character to crises. Capital and the State are two ancient institutions which are in the throes of a world crisis, increasing and irremediable, two organisms bearing in their own decomposition, as always in nature, the germ of organisms which are to replace them. In nature, nothing is created, nothing is lost, everything is transformed. Capital is buried in its own ruins, because it is incapable of increasing consumption to the same extent as machinery increases production. The unemployed represent a revolutionary force. Hunger suppresses the individual in isolation but it arouses resentment and bravery amongst the distressed masses.

Among the proletariat, subversive ideas take root and flourish. The state too is being strangled by its own authoritarian apparatus. It is forced at every moment to pile up fresh repressive forces, fresh bureaucracies, to devote the levies extorted from the masses to ever-increasing parasitic growths. When props are placed round a building, it means that a collapse is imminent. Individual conscience, increasingly aroused, openly recognises the limitations of the state. As for the latter, the immediate threat of its downfall has caused it to modify suddenly its historical evolution; it has tended to assume a mitigated and democratic form to take on the tyrannical form of Italian Fascism, and the militaristic and bureaucratic dictature of countless other nations, including Russia.

The crises in which the old institution of capitalism and the claims of the proletariat to a real existence on the one hand, and the old institution of the state and the libertarian aspirations of the people on the other, meet in conflict, are universal and merciless.

The new shall replace the old! It is futile to cling to old systems, to have recourse to botching, to palliatives and reforms, even if they were as attractive as the theories of Henry George (1). Such measures come too late to revive a decadent organisation. One must think of the beings who are struggling to be born, who would replace that which must disappear, of all the new-born forces which demand an adequate environment for their development.

Misconception No. 2. Supposing that libertarian communism is the fruit of ignorance. As persons of a certain culture see libertarian communism expounded by men who are reputedly ignorant and unlettered, by common workers without university degrees, they readily assume that libertarian communism is the product of simple minds, which ignore the complexity of present-day existence and the difficulties, inherent in a change of such magnitude. This prejudice implies another which we shall mention later.

A Greater Insight

But in the first place, we would declare that the proletariat observes with more insight than

the intellectual classes, social reality, and, as a result of such insight arrives at a clearer understanding of the solution inherent in it. For example, let us take doctors, lawyers or chemists; their only method in restricting the numbers of professionals is to limit admittance to the faculties saying "The available places are filled; no more can be admitted!" and to transfer to other occupations thereby arousing perhaps great animosity in the new generations which come into being and which flock to learned institutions in ever-increasing numbers. This is precisely the kind of childish, absurd, unsuitable and unreasoning solution offered by those who set themselves up as superior to others.

The workers, on the contrary, do not hesitate to put forward solutions, in accordance with their study of books devoted to sociology, which are not limited to one class only, or to one generation of a class, but which are applicable to all social classes: a solution, which in the hands of experienced students of sociology, has already been developed on a scientific and philosophical basis, and which to-day fears no comparison with any other theoretical solution claiming to ensure the means of existence and a cultural environment for every man.

Misconception No. 3. The aristocracy of superior knowledge. Some claim that the people are incapable of living freely, and for that reason, require to be guided. The intellectuals in particular attempt to enforce the aristocratic privileges such as were enjoyed up to the present time by the nobility. They claim to be the leaders and protectors of the people.

Power of Personal Ability. All that glitters is not gold. The intellectual worth of a man who, by force of circumstance, is deprived of "learning," is not for that reason alone, negligible. And conversely, many intellectuals failed to rise above a vulgar mediocrity, even with the help of their academic distinctions. Quite the contrary. Meanwhile, many workers have raised themselves to the standard of the intellectuals by the sheer power of their personal ability. University preparation for the practising of some profession implies no superiority whatsoever, since it is not obtained through free competition, but beneath the protecting wing of economic privilege.

We prefer a mind which can be cultivated with all its primitive energy, rather than the mentality poisoned by prejudices and stupefied by the humdrum routine of "learning."

The culture achieved by intellectuals does not prevent their retaining in a very undeveloped condition the sentiment of personal dignity, which often shines so impressively amongst people who are considered to be without culture.

A liberal profession does not give a larger appetite, or a larger family, or more serious illnesses than a manual trade, so it cannot lay claim to greater rights. An intellectual possesses no other superiority but that of his professional knowledge. If the worker is incapable of carrying out the work of the intellectual, the converse is almost always true. No superiority can be claimed, unless it be by fatuously meretricious reasoning.

(To be continued)

CNT-FAI's Part in Spanish Revolution

"Fascists' Defeat in Barcelona an Epic of Working Class History."

FNNER BR

London, 18th January.

A packed and enthusiastic meeting was held this evening at Conway Hall under the auspices of the London Committee of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. After a short speech by the Chairman Ethel Mannin, Emma Goldman, who has just returned from Spain, outlined the history of the Spanish working movement; from the time of the new Inquisition of 1897, to the executions at Montjuich; from the execution of Francisco Ferrer to the massacre of the workers in the Asturias.

"We may say"—Emma Goldman said—"that the men of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. are the direct descendants of these martyrs of the working class struggle, and have now realised the dreams of a new Society for which all this sacrifice of human life was made."

an impassioned plea for the relief of evacuated women and children. The children, innocent of this conflict, were terrorised, and it was our duty to do all in our power to help them.

Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the L.L.P., was the next speaker. He said that it was essential to understand to what extent the men of the C.N.T.—F.A.I. were responsible for the quelling of the Military Revolt in Catalonia. We must bear in mind that eighty per cent. of the workers in Catalonia belonged to the C.N.T. and that over half the workers in Spain belong to that organisation. "If we are enquirous," he said, "it is our duty to be fully acquainted with the part played by the C.N.T.—F.A.I. in the Revolution." The speaker then vividly described the way the Anarchists defeated in 24 hours the strong Rebel resistance. "The way the Fascists were defeated in Barcelona is going to live as an epic of Working Class history."

FREE INDIVIDUALS

From these results Mr. Brockway considered that we could draw important conclusions. The great solidarity that existed among the Anarchists was due to each individual relying on his own strength and not depending on leadership. The Spanish workers will be successful because they will not be content just to defeat Fascism and accept a *Status quo* of a Parliamentary democracy. The weakness and inaction of democracies invariably breed Fascism. In Spain the control will be in the hands of the Workers. Mr. Brockway, after expressing his pleasure at being present, hoped that those gathered at that meeting would go away decided that they would search for the truth, and try to apply to the situation in this country the vast experience obtained from Spain. The Organisations must, to be successful, be combined with a free-thinking people; not a mass, but free individuals.

The last speaker, Captain White, an Irish republican, suggested approaching Anarchism as he did, from an individualistic standpoint. "He did not believe in discussing the philosophy of Action, but considered it necessary that one should act at the psychological moment. He deprecated the poor logic of democratic Governments. One must act and not just rot away."

HEROISM OF THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS

Captain White quoted from impartial men who spoke with admiration of the heroism and the work done by the Spanish Anarchists. He spoke at length of collectivized villages, and in particular of a small fishing port so admirably described by Mr. Langdon Davies in a book he had just published. Quoting from Sir Chalmers Mitchell, he compared the work being done by the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. and as a final remark expressed surprise that Mr. Strachey could have written as he did, in a well-known publication, that the workers in Spain had been drawn into "a rigid anarchist mould." This, to his knowledge, was far from the truth. The Anarchists were the most tolerant and understanding men he had met.

At the conclusion of the meeting it was announced that a further meeting would be organised by the Committee for February 12th, and that Emma Goldman would discuss the responsibility of the Church of Spain in the Spanish conflict. The Collection for the relief of evacuated children realised over £50.

V.R.

Catholic Priest's Reasons

FOR SUPPORTING ANTIFASCISTS

EFFECTS OF "UN-CHRISTIAN" WORK

J. M. Gallagas Racaful, the theological canon of Codova Cathedral, in an interview with the Press gave analytical reasons why all true Catholics should support the anti-fascist cause. We quote parts which we consider are most interesting, because they show that the Church has always been working in most "un-Christian-like manner, enjoying the luxuries of life and forgetting these poor people who the Church was supposed to help—who have, of course, been exceptions though unfortunately too rare!

What would have been the attitude of Christ?

If he had been alive at the present time, would he have sided with those who began the war? Would he have put himself on the side of the potentes, the wealthy and the privileged people of the world against the poor, the humble, the needy?

Pope Leon XIII himself declared that the conditions of the workers in Spain was little better than slavery. The condition of the workers in Spain is due to capitalist rule. It is the capitalists who, almost exclusively are fighting now against a side composed almost exclusively of workers, in order to maintain this condition. For those who are hungry and thirsty for justice, the only possible attitude is to declare their sympathies for those who are not defending the privileges and abuses of capitalism but on the contrary are defending the possibility of a worthy life.

We must go to the people. Leon XIII gave this clear order to the priests. What does going to the people mean if not living their lives, penetrating their ideals, serving their cause in all its just and right aspects, forgiving their faults, shaping their consciences and sanctifying their souls?

The violence which the people showed to the churches and priests is due to the injustice which has separated them from religion. Their violence was called for by the turning of convents into fortresses against the militias and making holy orders the uniform of the enemy of the people.

Whatever good intentions we may give the fascists the fact is inescapable that they rebelled against the legitimate government. According to the orders of the church no Catholic may take up arms or take any seditious measures against a legitimate government.

Fascism, as a doctrinal system is inadmissible for Catholics. Books written by fascist authorities prove this as plainly as possible. Rosenberg in Germany and Gentile in Italy to state only the most outstanding.

The fascists in Spain are fighting to prevent the spread of culture and its benefits. In spite of the fact that the church is not in agreement with the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat and with Marxism, it must be in favour of the social progress represented by the people's cause in Spain. Christians must look with sympathy upon every effort towards diminishing the social inequality between human beings, glad every time when the difference between one man and another is lessened.

Acknowledgement.

Lincoln Croyle in the New Statesman & Nation of January 16th, writes: "SPAIN & THE WORLD is a fortnightly with anarchist sympathies. It has book reviews and interesting general articles, reproductions of posters, etc., and is able to draw on the Solidaridad Obrera, which is the most important newspaper to-day in Spain."



The Confederated and Anarchist Press

Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

Peace News—Universe—Solidaridad Obrera—El-Diluvio Espanol

"NINE GOVERNMENTS IN SPAIN."

El Diluvio Espanol, fascist daily paper of Buenos Aires writes that "Red Spain" has nine governments. It names them as follows—

"1. Government from Madrid which is in Valencia; 2. Anarcho-syndicalist government in Alicante; 3. Soviet government in Barcelona; 4. Anarchist government in Cartagena; 5. Anarcho-syndicalist government in Bilbao; 6. Communist government in Santander; 7. Soviet government in Valencia; 8. Communist government in Malaga; 9. Anarchist government in Aragon (Bujalance). Altogether, we must add, there are nine extreme governments against the one true and legal government which is in Burgos."

The statement continues by saying that there is chaos. If there is chaos with nine governments, how much more there would be with only one government. Or does this statement indicate the futility of governments? So much more efficient is self-government by the individual. I believe it was Professor Haldane speaking in the London Regional programme who said that there were no policemen in Madrid because there was no need for them; the self-discipline of the people has prevailed.

The Anarchists in Spain—What is Anarchism?

The Peace News (No. 30, 9/1/37): gives an answer to these questions in its leading article—

"This Catalonia, which is thus giving a lead both in the way to end the war and in the way of reconstruction—feverish transformation of the economic, social, and political structure of the region is such that it has already been described as 'Western Europe's first Communist State'—is an anarchist Catalonia."

For those for whom the word has terrifying associations this definition has been given:

"The organization of society without the State and without private property."

"The nuclei of organization, about which will be built up the economic life of the future, exist already in society; they are the syndicate, the spontaneous grouping of workers in factories and all kinds of collective undertakings, and the free municipality, the spontaneous grouping of the people in towns and villages."

"These organizations take collective possession of private property and regulate the economic life of each locality."

Some attempt at least is being made, even at this early stage, to act on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Though not based on non-violence, violence is not essential to the system."

It is consoling to see that anarchism is being more freely discussed in certain sections of the English Press—The Daily Mail and other newspapers of that type will still associate anarchism with chaos and atrocities. Fortunately, however, men and women of repute who are returning from Spain speak with admiration of the work being done in Catalonia and the Levante, and these opinions should counteract all information which can only be accredited to over imaginative minds.

The part is greater than the whole—for the "Universe" Judging by the Universe's "horrors" campaign during the past six months, there should not be a living priest in the "Red" territory. Yet in the last issue (15th Jan.) the "Special Investigator" (title enshrouded with mystery!) describes the means adopted by priests in attempts to escape into French territory, though apparently without success.

There is a mistake somewhere. If no priest is spared how can there still be any alive to escape. Perhaps it is like the parable of Christ, the bread and the crowd of hungry people. From a few loaves his disciples were able to collect several large baskets of crumbs, thereby defying Euclid and Mathematics. Similarly the more priests that are "killed" in Spain, the more are there to be found alive!

The Terrestrial Paradise

Francis McCullagh adds his little weekly contribution for my amusement in the above mentioned periodical. He recounts that thanks to the generosity of the Portuguese, Franco has spent a very pleasant St. Stephen's day this year. McCullagh who has a good imagination was able to close his eyes and find himself with the "Reds," and what a state they were in! In the Red territory they are prevented from enjoying their St. Stephens day by "gangs of foreign mercenaries officered by Russians." Furthermore he says that Franco has no hard words for any Spaniard in Madrid (he has hard bombs and flame throwers instead) because "probably about 70% of the population of Madrid are on his side and are longing most anxiously for his arrival in Madrid." Fortunately, McCullagh uses the word "probably," because he can also mean by that "probably not." Not even the Universe's Special Correspondent can be too sure of his sight when looking into Madrid from the front line... in Seville!

Poor Rosina! Her only friend was Christ.

The Solidaridad Obrera of Barcelona publishes the following interesting communication:

"In the house of Rosina Upon, Diagonal 363, in Barcelona, a party of fascists used to meet. (continued at foot of next column)

The heroic part played by the Anarchists in Barcelona, who headed by four Comrades, Durruti, Ascaso, Garcia Oliver and another, defeated the well equipped troops situated in impregnable positions in the barracks and other strategic points, with their bare fists, was warmly applauded by the meeting.

"These men"—Emma Goldman continued with defiance—"did not wait until the Government kindly supplied them with rifles and machine-guns! In fighting Fascism, our Comrades were fighting for the world at large; for those whose nations living under the mailed fist of Dictatorships. Those men were fighting for Freedom and Economic Justice. It was the first time in the history of the workers' struggle that the people were not only driving back the enemy, but were reconstructing at the same time. It was a fallacy to suggest that the workers were destroying fine buildings. 'Workers looked at me in wonder'—the speaker added—"Why should we destroy them," they asked, 'when we are the people who built them, and therefore know the labour entailed in the building.'"

ANARCHISM NOT NEW

Anarchism is not new to the Spanish people. The speaker had met numberless peasants and workers during her extensive tour of Spain, and everywhere one heard that the people wanted Communismo Libertario—Free Communism or Anarchism. One old man of ninety-five represented three generations of Anarchists in his family. The people of Spain were prepared to sacrifice themselves to the last man to defeat Franco.

Emma Goldman concluded with

(continued from column two)
The agents of Investigation and Vigilance of the Catalan Generalitat were informed of these meetings and decided to attend.

... But the day the police arrived there was no meeting as the fascists had been informed and postponed their assembly to another day.

The Investigation agents asked Rosina where her friends were. "My friends?" replied Rosina, "I have no friends. My only friend is Christ."

The officials were not satisfied. Rosina's comfortable flat and the abundance of bottles of vintage wine and of all kinds of liqueurs made it apparent that if Rosina's only friend were Christ he must have been accompanied by his twelve Apostles.

They decided to make a search of the magnificent and delicately perfumed rooms of Rosina's apartment and found, in the Louis XV drawing room, two monarchist flags and three million pesetas. We expect that Rosina will have to wait a long time for the visit of her one friend... and his companions."

LIBERTARIAN.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on Jan. 22nd, 1937, and printed by V.W.H. Press, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks, and London.