

# JULY - NOVEMBER 1936 IN SPAIN

## Is it too late to mend a grievous mistake?

### A HISTORY OF FIVE VITAL MONTHS

#### European Powers make a mistake

#### THE ONLY PEACEFUL SOLUTION

As things are now—four months after the treacherous rising of the Spanish generals (July 17th)—not a few unbiased persons in the Western neutral countries may begin to see to what extent they underrated, and misunderstood the situation in the early months of July and August, when with a little good will, helpfulness and fearlessness their countries might have contributed to a fair solution of a problem which now assumes ugly aspects and uncontrollable proportions.

The situation in July was simply this: a radical government, the result of a popular electoral victory in February last, was suddenly confronted by the outbreak of a most carefully prepared conspiracy by almost all the officers of the army and a portion of the Navy, both closely allied to fascist organisations, the militant elements, many monarchists, both Alfonsists and Carlists, and influential people in industry and finance. The conspiracy had included in the first place relations with powerful fascists abroad, whether officially or otherwise, and had prepared plans for the imposition of military dictatorship, the crushing of constitutional life and personal liberties to the greatest extent. The real fighting force of the conspirators was the African army, which was and is entirely alien to the Spanish people. This army consists of enlisted Moroccan natives morose and of nondescript Spanish and foreign elements, and the hired Spanish foreign legion (Tercio). From this began the meeting of July 17th and the 18th, practically unknown to the population of Spain, who were confronted on July 19th, by an attack on the part of the local garrisons against all the governmental, municipal and working class districts, entering into a most intense battle with all who offered resistance, and enforcing their militaristic will upon all towns, especially by surprise attacks and cruelty, and seizing the latter on July 19th and on following days.

Only in about half the Spanish Territories was this terrific onslaught checked by immense popular effort. Malaga, Cartagena, Valencia, Barcelona, Madrid and Bilbao, and other great centres still hold out. Others like Saragossa, Cordoba, Granada and Oviedo, were, or are besieged by the government forces. Only Irun, San Sebastian, Toledo were lost to the enemy, whilst Pampluna, the Basque and also the Balearic and Canary Islands. It is remarkable that one hears very little of the old Spanish army, whilst all the fighting seems to be done by the African troops—Moros and Tercio. These could only be brought over to Europe, when by means of bombing aircraft sent from the foreign fascist countries, the Spanish warships guarding the Straits had been scattered. Then they were used against Malaga, Estremadura (Badajoz), Irun and San Sebastian, Toledo and Madrid. Thus it is clear that the rebels have acted all along as if they were foreign invaders, being armed with foreign supplies, fighting with an army, of Moors and hirelings and imposing their will wherever they can, by military terror.

Consequently they have been looked upon as traitors from the first hour as traitors and few officers who had been arrested stood on trial as traitors and were shot as traitors. They had really nothing to say to justify their conduct during these elaborate trials held in public court. The trials of Gode and Fanjul in Barcelona and Madrid in August, and that of the son of Primo de Rivera held in Alicante in November. They had wished to impose their will on the people of Spain, but the latter refused to give up their freedom and bravely defended themselves.

The question stands thus, and in all there is not a jot of communism, Russia or anything of the kind. It was and is a fascist raid, which met with no popular response, but took most dangerous proportions owing to the irresponsible foreign elements engaged in it, with incalculable force behind them, and to the most cruel and desperate attitude of the conspirators, who saw before them on one side the spoils of a whole country and unlimited vengeance, and on the other

side shame and a traitor's death. This is not a "civil war," which presupposes honourable differences of opinion. It is not even a fascist ascent or seizure of power, as even such regrettable usurpations are based upon the action of large bodies of individuals brought together, and organised and fanatised by persistent agitation. This stage was never reached by the Spanish fascists, who thrived but in hole and corner associations of gilded youth, and could not show their faces without police protection. There was much malignity shown by many, but they were not a political factor of real consequence. No, all the strength of the enemy rested in the generals and their officers, who expected, owing to their quasi unanimity, to have a walk-over, the easiest of victories, and then a long enjoyment of power on the ruins of all the liberal and social aspirations of the Spanish people. Theirs was a bid for power, like that of a burglar who risks limbs and life for a big haul. Maybe some of them had guarantees for safety, and were only tools of a greater conspiracy; most of them blundered into the ugly affair from sheer military cussedness, others from clerical fanaticism and bourgeois and aristocratic pride. They are a poor lot in any case, and it would be folly to take them as representing any political wisdom or ideas: they brought about the most horrible mess and made things infinitely worse from the very beginning by indulging in dastardly cruelty.

The great western countries have made a great mistake by not taking these traitors at their real value. They represented nothing but themselves and their pride and covetousness, and everyone in Spain who was not an adept of their military action, opinion, or personally interested in the brutal repression and enslavement of a whole nation, was up against them in spirit, and wherever possible in arms. But it was palpably known to the casual observer, and to those who were weapons on a large scale of home fabrication, when every hour is precious and the mechanized army of the enemy, disposing of ample stores of everything, advance rapidly and before all, entrench themselves in many important places, crushing all local resistance. It was possible for the heroic masses to check the advance, but they could not, with rifles and bare fists, dislodge the enemy from walled towns, fortresses and citadels. Such operations, which had the entire support of the then existing government and many of their regular armed forces, obviously required a quick supply of war material from the recognised producers in other countries in the usual way of goods quickly supplied for cash to governments and customers, which friendly governments always are—and Spain has not been involved in any of the European wars since the time of Napoleon. Spain has been invaded at the order of the Holy Alliance (Russia, Prussia and Austria) in the nineteenth-century by a French army which crushed the then Liberal Government and re-established absolutism, laying the foundations of so much of the nineteenth-century black spot coming trouble. Surely this black spot coming trouble. Surely this black spot coming trouble.

The reasons are too obvious. One is the generally alleged great care for peace—social dark forces to lay hands on Germany. The Catalan, the Aragon, the Basque, the Valencian, the Madrid autonomies exist or are shaping during the hard struggles, when the best men learn to develop the local resources. Under the heels of the generals none the less work is going on which will unfold as the Andalusian, Extremenes, Galician, Asturian, and other autonomes—territories self-governing and federating like the Swiss cantons and the North American States.

many in 1933, on Austria in July, 1934, on Ethiopia since the autumn of 1935, on Spain in July, 1936, not to speak of what happens in the Far East, where bit after bit of territory is fleeced from China, and what is fomenting day by day in France herself, in Belgium and other countries. When such open plunder at last meets with fiery resistance, the remaining enslaved countries do not welcome this, but do all to strangle this resistance, to help to deliver up a practically unarmed people to an African invasion of Moors and nondescript hirelings. What is prompting this counsel?—is it what one may politely call timidity, modesty, bashfulness, the wish to shrink painful diplomatic discussions, to evade hurting the feelings of some irascible tyrants, who thus get everything they wish to have? Or is it the other fatal reason, namely, that all these "neutral" powers are glad and anxious to see freedom crushed in Spain, as a warning example to their own peoples and as expected profit to some of their capitalists, who may have financial interests in Spain? Were these the main reasons or were really men, placed in responsible positions, so uninformed as to be swept away by the infamous press campaigns of organised journalistic slander, such as just now made a victim much nearer to home, Salazar, in the very centre of French politics?

War is not averted by politics of timidity; on the contrary it is being provoked by them. To speak quite plainly, if a country wishes to wage war, she also wishes to make it at her own hour and under constellations of her own choice, if possible, pre-arranged. "Incidents" are used as pretexts, when everything else is ready—otherwise they only serve as bluff. All important matters, tearing to pieces parts of the treaty of Versailles, are taken in hand since last spring, and no war arises from it, nor from anything which Japan may do in the Far East, nor from Ethiopian, Egyptian, Palestine, Trak and other oriental affairs. Why then should just same war materials be taken in hand, and sold to Spain as a vital matter for world's peace? This was and is simply preposterous. The international situation was quite harmless in August, and the foreign fascist help was given to the generals at first in such a disguised way as to show the bad conscience of the fascist powers. Then the papers puffed it up and by this, eventually, the "prestige" of these powers was at stake, and then the masks were lifted. Then only, and not before, Russia began to help and now the Spanish problem, which was so very simple in July and August, is being tied up, carelessly and recklessly, with the whole Russian problem. This also, in our opinion, by no means implies war, but gives to the "neutrals" a further pretext to be severe to the Spanish government, whom they consider the weaker side, and bow before the generals. More victims, greater ruin and destruction are the result, but never mind—some appearance of working day and night for peace are kept up, and that alone seems to count with statesmen nowadays.

Peace is impossible if the generals win, as it would imply that Spain and Portugal, the Balears, Spanish Morocco, Janger, the Canaries and Azores—all under the control of Germany and Italy; that means France open to aerial invasion from the Aragon plain and the Mediterranean, and the Cape routes blocked for England.

Peace is unlikely if Russia wins, as the Spanish people are adverse to her unfree social system and would always be in a state of revolt, and as Russian military power in the Peninsula would stimulate the Islamic and the whole Oriental coming revolts, and be considered intolerable by several great powers.

The only peaceful solution is the one which this very mutiny of July 17th, and the circumstances under which it partially succeeded, have made a matter of actuality to all progressive elements in Spain—namely, Federalism, political and social, fairly and fully realised in Spain, and eventually in Portugal, a country which for ten years is unable to speak up, smothering under a dictatorship.

The Catalan, the Aragon, the Basque, the Valencian, the Madrid autonomes exist or are shaping during the hard struggles, when the best men learn to develop the local resources. Under the heels of the generals none the less work is going on which will unfold as the Andalusian, Extremenes, Galician, Asturian, and other autonomes—territories self-governing and federating like the Swiss cantons and the North American States.

(continued in next column)

# BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

## Life and Death of a hero of the Revolution

### DEDICATED TO CAUSE OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE

It is with feelings of sorrow and despair that we here express our appreciation of BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, the anarchist, who was killed on the Madrid Front.

Little or nothing is known in this country of this indefatigable man, whose whole life and soul were dedicated to the cause of Liberty and Justice. But during the Revolution his name has been flashed all over the world, as the organiser and the inspiration of the now famous DURRUTI Column. Made up of men of all nations and of many different political ideas, the Durruti column has gone from one victory to another. We shall never forget that Durruti was the conqueror of Fascism in Barcelona; that it was he who organised the Aragon Front which is making progress every day in the direction of the Rebel stronghold of Saragossa; and that it was the DURRUTI column with Durruti at the head of it, which has succeeded in stemming the Rebel advance on Madrid.

#### GALLANT METAL WORKER

This energy and faith which has no limits, is best described by Pierre Van Passan writing for the "Toronto Star". He writes:

"Durruti, a syndicalist metal worker, is the man who led the victorious bayonet charge of the People's Militia on the stronghold of the Fascist rebels at San Rafael yesterday. Durruti was the first in the Hotel Colon in Barcelona, when that building which spewed death for thirty-six hours from two hundred windows, fell before the onslaught of the well-armed bare-handed libertarians. When a column is ready to drop with exhaustion, Durruti goes to talk new courage into the men. When things go bad up Saragossa way, Durruti climbs aboard an aeroplane and drops down into the field of Aragon to put himself at the head of the Catalanian partisans. Whenever you go it's Durruti and Durruti again whom you hear spoken of as a wonderful man."

One of the few Communist papers to mention Durruti was the International Press Correspondence (5th December), and the writer, Hugh Slater, expressed our ideas on the Communist Party which ignores these men because they do not have the same political ideas. This spirit of intolerance towards other advanced thinkers, so typical of many Communists, will eventually result in their complete downfall. He writes:

#### SHOT THROUGH THE BACK

Durruti, who was killed in Madrid on November 20th, was one of the most

My own opinion is that pure Anarchism should be the ultimate ideal to which society should continually approximate.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.  
(Roads to Freedom.)

famous Spanish anarchists. He died, typically, on the most dangerous sector of the front. He had stopped for a few minutes to speak to a crowd of militiamen who were returning from the most advanced positions. Immediately he got out of his car he was shot through the back from a small hotel in Montolua. He died immediately.

"Durruti's whole life was that of a consistent and courageous anarchist. He first became prominent in the railway strike of 1917, when he organised acts of sabotage on an extensive scale. During the course of the strike, locomotives were burned and stretches of line and bridges were blown up. After the strike he was obliged to move to Asturias, where the anarchist movement was beginning to have considerable support. Durruti was active in building the anarchist organisation there. His restless temperament took him, during this period of his life, to Corunna, Bilbao, Santander and most of the Northern towns.

"When the Republic was formed in 1932, Durruti returned to Spain, and with Garcia Oliver and Minister Pro (pseudonym) he played a leading part in building the C.N.T. in Barcelona. Francisco Ascaso, Durruti's greatest friend, was killed in action during the first days of the fascist rising. Now Durruti has also given his life in the fight against fascism.

Whether we agree or disagree with Durruti's ideas, the fact remains that he lived a strictly principled life. He was an anarchist who died fighting as a disciplined member of the Spanish People's Army. He had always been on the Left wing of the anarchist movement. In 1932 he came into sharp conflict with the more moderate anarchist leader, Pestana, who was general secretary of the C.N.T. at that time. Pestana was in favour of supporting the newly-formed Republican Government, while Durruti considered that it should be opposed with the greatest possible energy."

In expressing our admiration and gratitude for the man that was DURRUTI, we are remembering as well the thousands of men and women who have also given their lives for their freedom. It is an example of the worst which will live for ever in the history of the Workers' struggle for Cultural and Material Emancipation.

To the brave woman who was his life companion, Emilienne Maurin, "SPAIN and the WORLD", extends its deepest sympathy.

## THE VATICAN & REVOLUTIONS

### The Mouthpiece of the Pope

#### A SUGGESTION TO THE "UNIVERSE"

One reads in the "OBSERVATORE ROMANO", mouthpiece of the Pope, the following interesting remarks: "The situation in Spain, with due regard to the recent revolt, must be viewed in the following light: in exercising its strict legality, the Spanish Government is not only in its right, but has carried out its duty. The nation has a right to be protected by its Government. By failing to fulfil its duty of punishing the rebels most severely, the Government would have assumed for itself the responsibility of having prolonged the bloodshed."

"This is the true doctrine corresponding to the traditions of the Catholic Church in its relations with Lay Governments. The duty of the legal Government to crush all revolts is indisputable, and all Catholics who are obedient to the wishes of the Church must uphold the Government in its struggle against all kinds of revolts." . . . This, however, was the opinion of the Vatican, when, in 1934, the reactionaries crushed, with the aid of the Foreign Legion, the rising of the miners in the Asturias! Why did not the Church of Rome remind its "obedient Catholics" of these words printed in 1934? They should apply, as the Government of Spain was "legally elected" by the people early this year. We suggest that the "Universe", which is always seeking the "truth", should prominently display these fine words of the Vatican instead of attempting to discuss political questions of which it ignores even the base fundamentals.

#### NOTICE.

Owing to the Xmas vacations the second issue of "SPAIN and the WORLD" will be on sale Thursday, 24th December.

Barcelona, Dec. 1st, 1936.



## SPAIN and the— WORLD

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## SILENT WITNESSES

### INTRODUCTION TO OURSELVES

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

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

We have been silent witnesses of the annihilation of culture and intellectuality. In Italy a Benedetto Croce or a Salvemini imprisoned or exiled for being anti-fascist; a Tescanini beaten with truncheons by hoodlums for using his pen to his art with Fascist propaganda; a Matteotti bludgeoned to death for having opposed to the world the treachery and corruption of Fascist methods. In Germany an Einstein, a Bruno Walter, called as part of a racial "clean up." An Erich Muhsam tortured and then murdered in a concentration camp; a Carl von Ossietzky left to die a slow death, and only released from prison when in a desperate condition. These men are but few of the victims of Fascism in its campaign of extermination of the mind. The Universities of those countries, once the focus of learning, have become the hub of criminality and senseless violence.

We are to-day silently witnessing the destruction of culture in Spain. We are watching it destroyed by illiterate and savage Moors, and a few sons of land-owners and their following of the bourgeoisie. We are aware of the support and material aid given by Germany, Italy and Portugal. Are we to remain silent? Are we to give a free hand to Fascism to wreak havoc in all Europe?

### Non-Intervention

"SPAIN and the WORLD" comes out at a period in the Revolution, when we could say with confidence that the loyalists are more than holding their own, were it not for the fact that the situation has become an international one. We are bringing to the world the story of the policy of non-intervention can be held responsible for this new aspect in the Civil War. Whilst politicians in this country and in France are congratulating themselves on having successfully capped the export of arms, the loyalists, of course—Germany and Italy are becoming ever more assertive in their actions and threats. The recent importation of mercenaries from Germany and Italy, estimated at 7,000 men in all, has now made the Non-Intervention Committee ask themselves whether Volunteers should be forbidden from taking part in the fighting. Once again the Non-Intervention Committee overlooks the difference between the Volunteers fighting for the workers' forces and the "Volunteers" fighting in Franco's forces. The latter's forces were conscripted, the former came to fight for their ideal. Have we therefore reached the stage in human justice when we allow brave men, who wish to save the world from the yoke of a dictatorship, to be considered in the same light as those coerced by Fascists into fighting for a movement which promises nothing more than servility of the mind?

"SPAIN and the WORLD" appears in the defence of all those fighting for Liberty in Spain and in the World. It appears in defence of the oppressed toiling under dictatorships. "Spain and the World" is the mouthpiece of no political party, the defender of no Government. It aims at a new Society in which the fate of the people will not be in the hands of a few parasites; a Society in which equality and solidarity will be the keynote to true happiness.

No dictatorship of the Capitalists. No dictatorship of the Workers. But Freedom in its fullest sense. Then, and then only, will there be World Peace and Prosperity.

## Medical Aid Unit in Spain

### A DENIAL OF THE "UNIVERSE" STATEMENTS

#### Testimony of a Woman Journalist

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

It is true that the ambulances are put at the disposal of the Government. The money is given on that condition, in the same way as the Universe unit is put at the disposal of the good Christian missions in France. But in the case of the Spanish Medical Unit no suffering man is refused assistance. Perhaps our remark will carry more weight if we quote from the pamphlet on the Unit published by the "News Chronicle." A woman journalist records what she saw during 24 hours spent with the Unit:

#### AN EYE-WITNESS'S ACCOUNT

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

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

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

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

## Things Said = = =

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## BRITISH M.P.s IN SPAIN

### UNANIMOUS EXPRESSIONS OF SYMPATHY FOR SPANISH PEOPLE

#### British Campaign against Intervention PROMISES BY BRITISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

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

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

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

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

#### SYMPATHY FROM BRITAIN

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

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

#### DESTRUCTION — ASSASSINATION — MUTILATION

Only hordes of savages could destroy all these great artistic and cultural works, murder and assassinate defenceless people. The mutilation of children and old people and the destruction of a nation of a unforgotten city which was the pride of Spain—all these contributed to

## Social Revolution in Catalonia

### THE REALISATION OF AN IDEAL Achievements of a determined people

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

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

We are at long last witnesses, for the first time since the Industrial Revolution, of man being master of the machine. In the rest of the world, save Russia, machine is master of man. It is true that it has succeeded in alleviating man's work, but it has succeeded, thanks to the minority who call themselves Capitalists (and sometimes pass as philanthropists) in compensating with man's labour, which under the present system means unemployment and starvation.

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

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

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

The consequences of the visit of the Parliamentarians to the Madrid front must not be obtained without delay. The Spanish people, who are struggling so valiantly for their liberty, appreciate this visit, and will not forget, in their fight to conquer fascism, the moral and material help that the great British democracy may lend us.

But Britain must also take into account that it will be due to the Spanish forces that she will be saved.

England is to-day faced with a situation similar to that of the Napoleonic period. We feel sure that we will not fail now, any more than we failed then, to receive the sympathy of democratic Great Britain.

#### A NON-PARTY COMMISSION

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

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

#### "NEUTRALITY AND CRIME"

On Sunday, November 28th, John McGovern, M.P., and John McNair, Secretary of the Independent Labour Party, addressed large crowds of workers in Barcelona.

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

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

## Fascist Journalist Prisoners

### VIEW VICTIMS OF MADRID AIR RAIDS

#### Bodies of Women and Children

#### RESULTS OF FASCIST "MILITARY OPERATIONS"

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

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

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

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

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

## MISTAKEN INTERNATIONAL POLICY

### Attitude of France and Britain

#### A LESSON FROM SPAIN

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

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

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

#### REVOLT OF FASCIST ELEMENTS

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

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

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

#### VITAL PRINCIPLES AT STAKE

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

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

#### WORKERS' AND TECHNICIANS IN ACCORD

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

Are not all these facts an incentive to all lovers of human justice and freedom to agitate and help in favour of the workers of Spain, so that Franco and his hordes of Moors shall not succeed, with aid from his fast allies, in crushing by a mighty blow this new work by the pioneers of a true CIVILIZATION?



# The Social Revolution in Spain

## ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF CATALONIA

### Collectivization of Industry and Commerce

#### DETAILS OF NEW DECREE

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

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

"All Industrial and Commercial enterprises are classified as follows:

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

#### I. Collectivized Enterprises.

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

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

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

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

#### II. The Council for Enterprises.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Articles 24-28 go into details as to the functioning of the General Councils for Industry. Articles 29-39 deal with the Industrial Obligations.

(to be continued)

## PROTESTANTS PERSECUTED

### by Spanish Fascism

#### "INQUISITION" DAYS RECALLED

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

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

#### CROSS AND WEAPON

We could prolong this list with the names of other members of the clergy and their Protestant followers who have fallen victims to bloodthirsty fascism, aided and abetted by the Roman Catholic clergy who have remained just as fanatical and crazed with vengeance as during the times of the Inquisition. In Spain, the Catholic priests have joined ferociously in the struggle, a cross in one hand and a weapon in the other. They wallow in the assassination of all those who have refused to follow the beliefs of a church which, as far as the Iberian Peninsula is concerned, has been smothered even from its early days by numerous crimes and every kind of dishonest dealing.

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

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

#### REBELS "KILLING FAITH"

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

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

## Who are the Anarchists?

### UNPREJUDICED OPINIONS ON THE SPANISH SITUATION

#### Tranquility in Catalonia

Who are the Anarchists? . . . . .

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

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

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

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

#### "MASTERSHIP" OF SYNDICATE MEMBERS

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

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

#### MIRACLES OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

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

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

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

#### Alexandre Croix in VU EN ESPAGNE

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

## DRINK NO PORT . . .

### Writes Louis Golding

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

And Port is still leaving Portugal.

We must drink no Port.

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

But we must drink no Port now, as we drink no Moselwein, no Rheinwein—for the time being. (Alas, alas, for the Benckelster Doktor we do not drink more. Alas for the Port of 1886 from the Val de Mending that I pledge myself to repudiate at dinner next Wednesday night.)

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

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

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

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

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

## AN EXAMPLE

### Practical Help From Mexico

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

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

## An Answer

TO MR. RHYS DAVIES, M.P.

### The Meaning of "Working Class Life"

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

#### SPANISH INTELLECTUALS AT THE BARRICADES

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

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

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

#### "MODERATE" GOVERNMENT IN SPAIN!

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

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

## MORE ATROCITY STORIES

### "Murdered" Archbishop Safe and Sound

#### "MARTYRS" IN GOOD HEALTH

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

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

## A Catholic's Opinion of the Civil War

### WARS "WON BY GOD"

#### Oxford Lecturer's Statements

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

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# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS

### Duty to Widows, Orphans and disabled militiamen

#### FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED

NEW YORK, Nov. 26th.

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

At a mass meeting in San Francisco, addressed by Isabella de Palencia, the priest Sarasa and Marcelino Domingo, \$5,000 were collected.

The Teachers' Trade Union of New York has collected \$2,500 in aid of the struggle of the Spanish people against fascism.

#### LATVIA.

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

#### ACTIVITY IN LEVANTE

##### Safety of Madrid Children

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

Thousands of lorry-loads of food have left the Valencia region for Madrid and the centre fronts. Every town and village has contributed to the thousands of tons of provisions which have gone to feed the men who are so bravely repulsing fascism.

Valencia has been busy preparing hospitals too. Now she has place to lodge 30,000 wounded, if need be, and enough surgical instruments and medicines and doctors to treat them all. This does not mean that such accommodation will ever be necessary, fortunately, but it goes to show of what creative organization one of the proudest regions of Spain is capable in a miraculously short time, and how no work is too much, no sacrifice too great when the common good of the people is at stake.

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## HOW THE CHURCHES ARE FILLED

### The Pope in Audience

#### SCHOOLS MORE IMPORTANT THAN CHURCHES

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

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

## FASCIST AIRMAN ADMITS

### Having Bombed Women and Children

A Polish flyer, Kadet, one-time mercenary in Franco's pay, has just arrived back in Warsaw.

Kadet said that he and another Polish aviator had gone on a German ship on which certain Germans, enlisted in the fascist army, were also travelling. He landed in Portugal, and went from there to Badajoz and Seville, where he entered the 2nd Division of the fascist air force.

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

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

## ENGLAND AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

### A Review of Political Attitudes

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

"When the Spanish civil war broke out the French Government was sharply split, not knowing whether or not to let the Spanish Government have its full legal rights; the British Government urged 'non-interference' on it."

It is interesting to see how Mr. Eden placed great stress, when addressing the House, on France being the country to suggest non-intervention.

It was even more lamentable to witness the reaction of the working class movements of Great Britain. The Labour Press was immediately in favour of non-intervention, whilst the T.U.C. congress at Edinburgh, much to one's disgust, adopted the same attitude towards non-intervention. This reaction was a blow to those people who imagined that for once the Labour leaders would grasp the whole situation.

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

(to be continued)

## DECLARATION OF ARTISTS AND PROFESSORS

### Who are the Vandals in Spain?

The group of artists, writers, doctors and professors who arrived on Tuesday in Valencia, evacuated from Madrid by order of the Government, yesterday made the following declaration to the Press:

"We have never felt so attached to our country, so truly Spanish as we felt when the people of Madrid forced us to leave the city so that we could continue our work unharmed by enemy air raids. We have never felt how much we belonged to Spain until we saw the militiamen exposing their lives to protect the fruits of our work and the artists' treasures which we own. They put themselves in peril in saving books and laboratory instruments, while foreign explosive bombs were dropping on the buildings which house the cultural treasures of Spain."

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

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

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

## A MESSAGE OF ENCOURAGEMENT

### From American Intellectuals

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

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

## ARCHBISHOP HINSLEY

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

#### OR WHAT?

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

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

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

## FAITH IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### Some English Press Views

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

The "Daily Herald" of the 20th November urges in its leader that "an immediate meeting of the Council of the League" be called to cope with the embarrassing international situation. What does the "Daily Herald" expect to be the result of such a meeting? So long as English diplomats can be successfully bluff or are content to make out that they are by Mussolini, nothing will be done. H. N. Brailsford gives an answer to the dilly-dallying Labour Party in "Reynolds" News.

"(November 29th, 1936), when he writes: 'It ought to be leading a campaign to overwhelm the Foreign Office, to sweep away the British Government and to win for Britain a Government that will place it where it ought to be—in the van of the democratic army, to meet the Dictator's challenge.'"

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

## Pamphlets -- Newspapers -- Books

### A REVIEW OF PUBLICATIONS FROM ALL SOURCES

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

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

### TRIBUTE TO BRITISH MEDICAL AID UNIT

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

The Drama of Spain by A. Ramos Oliveira (Published by The National Council of Labour) traces the situation of Spain from the Proclamation of the Republic to the Civil War. The three problems that the new Republic had to face were, the position of the Church in the new Republican Democracy, the agrarian question and the problem of regional autonomy. These reforms met with opposition from the industrialists.

The writer goes into the question of the Church, which he states was the cause of the October Revolution. The wealth of the Church could not be estimated. The Catholic-Agrarian Confession, for instance had its own banks, and lent money to peasants.

### ONE SHILLING A DAY WAGES IN VILLAGES

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

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

### AN INVITATION

The receipt of a copy of "SPAIN and the WORLD" is an invitation to subscribe. Though the services of the Editor are given free, postage and printing expenses must be paid regularly.—Subscription for 13 issues 2/6 or 0.60£ post free. Subscription for 26 issues 4/6 or 1.00£ post free.

## The Spanish Medical Aid Unit

You can help to alleviate the suffering of the wounded in Spain by sending contributions to the Spanish Medical Aid Committee,

24, New Oxford Street, London, W.C.1,

or through  
'SPAIN and the WORLD.'