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SPAIN

ANARCHISM

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ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

ALL THE FACTS GIVEN IN THIS PAMPHLET ARE DRAWN DIRECTLY FROM **SPAIN** BY OBSERVERS THERE. SPAIN PROVIDES THE LIVING ILLUSTRATION OF ANARCHISM IN PRACTICE.

" ANARCHISM (from the Greek ' contrary to authority ') the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being obtained not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized human being.

" It is important to remember that the term ' Anarchist ' is inevitably rather loosely used in public in connection with the authors of a certain class of murderous outrages, and that the same looseness of definition often applies to the profession of ' Anarchism ' made by such persons.

" In the same looseness the term ' Anarchy ' is used to describe a state of disorder, violence and despotism.

" As stated above, a philosophic Anarchist would repudiate the connection."

(Encyclopaedia Britannica)



Helios Gomez

WHAT IS AN ANARCHIST ?

The Anarchist aims at the realization in himself of the complete man. He believes that this is only possible if justice based on equal opportunity is substituted for the present so-called justice based on inequality of privilege.

It is admitted that the individual is profoundly influenced by natural and social forces. But the Anarchist does not subscribe to an exaggerated form of nature worship and he does not look upon social institutions as "a priori" conditions. They are the servants of the individual.

We have all, more or less, come to accept as natural and just, the current conceptions of Authority and Obedience. Until a historical study is made we do not realize how the State in its early forms represented authority wielded in the interests of a small aristocratic land-owning minority; how it gradually stretched its protective arm to cover not only land-owners but property and property owners—until to-day it represents authority wielded primarily in the interests of Capitalism. This historical study is necessary to the understanding of Anarchism. Otherwise Anarchism will appear to non-Anarchists as unjust in its initial postulates. It is important to bear this in mind.

Anarchism as a Way of Living.

The Anarchist can never consent to being merely a political being—an abstract cipher in society as a whole. He refuses to take part in any political struggle with no other aim than to pick a few plums in the shape of small reforms out of the political pie. The Anarchist desires to live his life here and now without awaiting the arrival of the hypothetical "Ideal State" which may, according to political reformers, graciously consent to confer on him some measure of freedom.

Anarchism is a way of living—not a political programme. Anarchism does not wait. It acts—in the individual and in small groups to build up social forms which are embryos of the fully developed Anarchist society.

Mutual Aid.

Not by the party controlled political struggle can the conditions of real freedom be achieved—but by mutual aid, which has its origin in the personal contact between one individual and another. The consciousness of one's own individual freedom implies respect for the individual freedom of others—and it reveals our mutual interdependence, which is the basis of mutual aid.

Freedom in Creative Work.

The Anarchist wishes to give freedom to the creative forces of man—freedom to his desire to create and to enjoy the fruits of his work. There can be no true creation if it is enforced or sponsored by Government, Political Party, or Capitalist. Under these conditions the worker has no direct control and is unable to grasp the final aim in its entirety.

Only by direct contact with the whole problem of production and distribution is the individual enabled to utilize his craftsmanship to the full. His work therefore will have a greater value for the community. All will be enabled to exercise their creative faculties—not to be exploited by a minority but for the general good of all. This is far from the Liberalism of a capitalist democracy which allows an occasional genius to slip through the meshes of its net and take his place in the sun of the capitalist hierarchy.

Direct Action.

The political struggle which seeks to obtain the re-organization of society by utilizing any present system of Government or Parliamentary procedure, is for the Anarchist a detour. Worse, it is a vicious circle that never approaches the centre of the problem. The Anarchist aim is direct control of production and distribution by the producers and consumers themselves—that is, by the workers. On the part of the producer the acquisition of expert knowledge of the methods and problems of production, on the part of the consumer, the realization of his true necessities, and a mutual agreement between the two for the adjustment of these problems. All means of production are a common possession—each has an equal share of the whole. While this, in the light of our present conceptions of Justice and Obedience may at first sight appear unjust to individual capitalists, the Anarchist believes that the abolition of the idea of property is the only possible basis if real justice for all is to be established.

Revolutionary Attitude.

From the beginning the Anarchists tried to realize their positive programme which constituted a far greater menace to the forces of capital than the sentimental efforts of the reformist socialist groups working within the framework of the Parliamentary system against the increasingly reactionary conservative elements.

For that reason the Anarchists have always been the most bitterly attacked of all the progressive bodies. But the greater the Capitalist

oppression, the more the capacity for resistance was stimulated. The Anarchists, essentially opposed to violence, were compelled to resort to the use of force in order to defend their lives. Always working below the surface their war-like activities were confined to individuals and small groups who took up arms to defend their organization against the oppressors. The desperate need of self-defence has converted the Anarchists into determined revolutionaries.

This capacity of resistance to systematic state persecution by means of the Anarcho-Syndicalist organizations, is amply illustrated in the brief historical survey of events in Spain which follows:—

- 1840 Right to form associations; birth of Spanish Labour Movement.
- 1868 New groups inspired by the ideas of Bakunin. In the same year Bakunin, unable to accept the policy of Marx, left the International. From this date the split between the Anarchists and Marxists and the adoption of the scheme of federal organizations by Bakunin and his followers.
- 1870 Spanish Federation.
- 1874 Fall of the Republic. The International Spanish Federation numbering 50,000 members became an illegal secret society until:
- 1881 Renewed in Barcelona as Spanish Workers' Federation.
- 1883 Driven again to clandestine existence by persecution, culminating in the Montjuich executions.
- 1896 All contact destroyed between groups and centres; but local
- 1897 units continue.
- 1900 Appearance of the paper Workers' Solidarity. Split with socialists on political electioneering. Repression-strikes. The legal murder of the great libertarian educationalist Francisco Ferrer delayed the work of organization, but the whole of Spain was represented in:
- 1911 National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.). On pretext of strike all active members arrested or dispersed; public life checked, but work continued in local units.
- 1913 Gathering together of the Anarchists destroyed as a public body after 1893. Now known as the "Iberian Anarchist Federation" (F.A.I.).
- 1915 Meeting of Anarchist and C.N.T. delegates. Reconstruction of the C.N.T.
- 1917 and later. Efforts to come to an understanding with the Socialist Unions (U.G.T.). Aims and methods then considered too much at variance for strength to result from a united block.
- 1919 C.N.T. Congress in Madrid representing over a million members. **Free Communism** declared to be the ultimate aim. (Local direct action to replace governmentalism and dictatorship.)

- 1920 The Capitalists by means of the Government undertook to crush this only genuine Labour Organization. Following a general lock-out of members, hundreds of Syndicalists murdered by hired assassins with the connivance of the police.
- 1923 Murder of Salvador Segui, cousin of President Companys. Continuous persecution of the C.N.T.
- 1930 Fall of Primo de Rivera. Socialists (Largo Caballero) threw in their lot with the Republic.
- 1933 Aragon peasants revolt.
- 1934 Socialist revolt in Asturias, in which the local C.N.T. and Communists fought side by side. Indescribable cruelties committed by Moorish troops turned on the miners by the Government. This, as a culmination of years of persecution by all party Governments whatever their professed aim, destroyed in the honest worker any hopes still left of help from the Government in its present form.
- 1936 Saragossa Congress. Six hundred Federations sent in plans for practical realization of Free Communism.

As a result of these events, the Anarchists evolved their own weapon of the effective General Strike as opposed to the strikes legally permitted in Democratic States. In the General Strike they not only aimed at wresting from the Capitalists a slight increase of their miserable pittance, but at demonstrating to themselves and to the world the ever-increasing solidarity of the workers.

THE SYNDICATES IN SPAIN.

Anarchist principles in Spain find their true expression in the Syndicates. These are not unlike Trade Unions—but they differ in one important respect. They are free associations of workers for the control of production which is regulated according to the needs of the consumers.

All the Syndicates are federated in the National Federation of Labour, but it is important to note that the Federal principle is itself only guaranteed by the very autonomy of the respective Syndicates themselves. It is the workers in each Syndicate who settle the immediate problems connected with their work in relation to the needs of the consumers.

This principle applies equally to agricultural and to factory workers.

There is a Council for workshop, factory or farm—for every kind of work. This Council is composed of workers representing the whole personnel. There is no intervention by any other power than that of

the workers themselves. In other words, the workers have complete autonomy—and the practical application of the principle of mutual aid ensures a just balance of supply and demand, without regulations by a central power.

There is a dual principle in the syndicalised organizations; it consists of the Economic Federation, which is vertical in character, and the Industrial Federation, which is horizontal.

(a) The Economic Federation.

In so far as the local demand can be met by the local producers, this is the affair of the local committee. Problems of supply and demand which go beyond the control of the small communities or units are adjusted step by step in the Province, the Region, and finally on a National scale. This is the work of the Economic Federation. The Federation is represented by a committee of delegates from all the Syndicates.

(b) The Industrial Federation.

The industrial committees form another but different synthesis of the federated syndicates. In each particular industry, Factory committees constitute an Industrial Federation for that industry. These committees have nothing to do with the internal organization of any individual syndicate; their function is to deal more generally with the modernization of factories and methods, with the suppression of unproductive establishments—and they have also an eye on the future in regard to technical schools, laboratories, and training.

The working together of these two principles—the vertical and the horizontal—guarantees the maximum of freedom and co-operation for all.

Such is the great constructive work that is going on in Spain at this time.

ANARCHISM AND ENGLAND.

From the great liberal free-thinker Paine, whose writings were an important factor in the American and French revolutions, and inspired the first workers' movements in Spain, to the real Anarchists, Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta—this country, with its Liberal tradition, has been the working ground and spiritual home.

Though there has been of late an alarming curtailment of the rights of the individual, the love of liberty is inherent in the English

character. For this reason the setting up of a real dictatorship here requires the subtle means which are now being employed by the National Government. By encouraging the existence of the so-called Fascist Party of Moseley, in order to use it as a Scapegoat, and by countless other tricks of the same kind, the attention of the public is diverted from the real danger of War—with Dictatorship for which the National Government is now preparing.

But the British are not easily swayed by propaganda based on mass hysteria; they resist compulsory militarisation; they resist dictatorship. In a word, Britain is to a great degree, Liberal—*and the logical outcome of Liberalism is Anarchism.*

It is for this reason that the situation now developing in Spain is of supreme importance to us in England. In spite of the terrible odds created by the armed intervention of world Fascism, the work of reconstruction in Spain is being quietly and steadily carried forward. This is the answer to those who otherwise sympathetic to Anarchism, are inclined to the opinion that a doctrine based on individual freedom is too idealistic for practical operation. Spain provides the answer.

The Spaniard is united to us by the strongest bond—his belief in individual freedom and mutual solidarity. His economic problems are not ours, but we believe that by the light of the same Anarchist principles, our problems in England can be solved, as they are being solved in Spain.

THIS IS OUR TASK!

Some Points to Consider.

In view of the recent development of the Popular Front in England, we must make our position clear in case of a call to united action.

Marxism.

Although it may seem similar in many details of economic planning, there is a fundamental difference between Marxism and Anarchism. We do not enforce our principles however much we may be convinced of their right, by political power over the people. **We are the people.**

Russia.

We are in strong sympathy with the Russian revolution, as with any attempt of the workers to overthrow the power of Capitalism. But

we regret that many of those who made the revolution are unable to put into practice those very ideals for which they fought, owing to the present deviation from the ideas of free Soviets and the suppression of individual liberty. We hoped and believed that the Russian revolution was a step towards Anarchism, that as Lenin said with the overthrow of Capitalism the state or government will gradually wither until it finally disappears, when it no longer serves any useful purpose. We do not agree, however, that the institution of a central government with absolute powers is a necessary step towards the elimination of party power and the freeing of the masses.

We are prepared to co-operate with other socialist bodies:—

In any DIRECT ACTION for the help of the workers against the exploiter.

In the fight against Fascism in England.

In support of our brothers in Spain.

We cannot join a united block:

Because we are not a Political Party.

(It may be objected that in Spain, Anarchists are now holding important posts in the Government. In the present crisis the best men were called upon and the Anarchists responded by co-operating with other parties within the framework of the Government. This is understood by all to be an emergency arrangement for defence against Fascist aggression.)

Because here, as in all countries, we must by our own unaided efforts prove the efficacy of our ideas. The position in Spain, where social reconstruction on Anarchist lines is a fact, differs vitally from the position here, where Parliamentaryism has stifled the idea of direct action at the point of production.

Because whilst working always to make known the principles of Anarchism, our first thought at present must be the support, moral and material, of *Practical Anarchism* in Spain.

We invite you to join with us in Anarchism:

- (1) To make known the ideals of Anarchism.
- (2) To throw light on its practical success in Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia and Aragon.
- (3) To help Catalonia by monetary subscription to the anti-Fascist funds.
- (4) To join the Anarchist research group which will serve for information, help and discussion.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST-UNION,

4, Goldhawk Mews, Shepherds Bush, W.12.

Tel.: Shepherds Bush 5431.

SPAIN — ANARCHISM

NAME..... (In Block Letters)

ADDRESS.....

- (1) Send me further details about the Anarchist Research Group.
- (2) I enclose.....(in postal orders, etc.) for the anti-Fascist funds of the London C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bureau to be used for the relief of the sufferers in Spain.

Anarcho-Syndicalist-Union
(C.N.T.-F.A.I.)
4, Goldhawk Mews,
Shepherds Bush, W.12.

THE INNOCENT VICTIMS
of
FASCIST INVASION
NEED YOUR HELP

From AN APPEAL published in "SPAIN AND THE WORLD"

(19th March, 1937).

On several occasions we have spoken of the tragic fate of the Children in Spain, and have appealed for some action in this country whereby the cruel sufferings of these innocent victims might be alleviated.

In response to our appeal for action, several sympathisers have expressed the wish that "Spain and the World," through its 4,000 readers, should be responsible for the welfare of a limited number of Spanish orphans, the number depending on the financial support received.

Already the "Comitee pour Espagne Libre" in Paris has acquired a chateau in Gerona, where 200 orphans are sheltered and cared for. Because of our limited scope, we feel that we should cooperate with this organization, by taking upon ourselves the entire responsibility of attending to the daily needs of the children who will be under our direct care. In this matter ideological differences should not exist. We should unite in the common aim of helping to the utmost of our ability in a humanitarian cause. However small may be our contribution to the immense task of caring for these orphans, it should represent the maximum of our efforts. We must feel that these children are in our care and depend entirely on us for their physical and moral development.

Our efforts may well inspire similar efforts from other groups, and all these small contributions added will, we hope, be a worthy expression of our deep sympathy with those who have died in the struggle against Fascism, leaving their dear ones to our care.

The cry of these children, who day by day are being bombed or buried under the debris of their houses, cannot remain unanswered.

We appeal to you as men and women with feeling, who can no longer look on at this martyrdom of thousands of innocent victims.

Let us act now without a moment's hesitation! Send us money, children's clothes, sugar, tinned milk or other foodstuffs.

THE EDITORS.

Fill up the form now and post to "SPAIN and the WORLD,"
207, Goswell Road, London, E.C.1, to which address all moneys,
clothes and foodstuffs should be sent.

To "SPAIN and the WORLD."

No.

SPANISH ORPHANS' FUND

Please find enclosed ^{P.O.}_{Cheque} value..... for the "SPAIN and
the WORLD " fund in aid of the Spanish orphans under our care. I shall
do my best to send a regular contribution of..... every ^{week.}_{month.}

This money is given on the understanding that it is all devoted to the
above-mentioned fund.

Name.....

Address.....
.....

Read

“SPAIN AND
THE WORLD”

FORTNIGHTLY DEDICATED
TO THE ANTI-FASCIST
STRUGGLE AND THE
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