

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

VOLUME 1, No. 9.

APRIL 2nd, 1937.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

Liberty without Socialism
means privilege and injustice;
Socialism without freedom
means slavery and brutality.
BAKUNIN.

"To The Labour Party And The World"

SPAIN'S FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

Duty Of The English Working Classes

The struggle of the Spanish people against the Fascist attack by the Franco's, the Mussolini's, and the Hitler's is still undecided. Until recently it was an unequal battle which the fighting worker-militiamen were carrying on with unprecedented bravery, and more and more victory is inclining their way, notwithstanding the failure on the part of almost all the Socialist Parties in Europe to come to their aid, and of the very far from adequate help extended by the Communists.

Spain is fighting against the entire Fascist world, and not merely against ruling Fascism of Rome, Berlin and Burgos. In view of such a political situation should not the entire Labour World arise on behalf of the Spanish people, and not only the Labour people but also all democratic elements which are opposed to Fascism, and should they not demonstrate by deeds their sympathy for them? Surely, yes! But what we see and experience is but a feeble protest in comparison with the strength and fighting energy which a poor, suffering, anguished people is showing as an example to the whole world. Grand to behold the International columns. Heartening the sense of solidarity aroused among the workers in all lands! Yet, in order to ensure the victory of the Spanish people it is imperative to do more, to act more quickly and more decisively. And this particularly in England, in the widest circles of the British Labour Movement.

The British working classes must realise that the speedy victory of the Spanish people depends, to a very considerable extent, upon them. The workers in Germany, Italy, Portugal are powerless to stem the now no longer disguised support of the Franco barbarians, as it is impossible to repel the hungry Fascist wolves by feeble paper protests. They will only retreat before a power that they fear. And Italy, as well as Germany and Portugal would retreat at once before the British power, supported by the

French and the Russian, the moment they could see or feel them more strongly. However, one can scarcely expect anything decisive from the Baldwin-Eden Government. It watches the developments in Spain with one wet and one dry eye. It desires neither the victory of Madrid, nor a strengthening of Italy by a possible victory of Franco.

THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

Side by side with the Baldwin-Eden Government there is in England the great British Labour Party. Is it really there. One almost feels tempted, when taking into consideration the developments of the last few months, to declare that there is none. What has the Labour Party done so far to resist the onslaught of Fascism in Spain? And what could it, nay—should it have done as the Anti-Fascist movement it is! Once and for all it should have put pressure with all the energy and strength at its disposal upon the Baldwin Government so as to compel it to state clearly and as explicitly as Bourgeois diplomacy will allow it, before the whole world: *Britain is definitely and without exception concerned with the maintenance and security of Democracy in Spain which is now being attacked.*

Such a declaration would at once be understood by Rome and Berlin and still more quickly by Portugal. France could then have a freer hand in its attitude towards the legal Spanish Government, and thus the victory of the anti-Fascist forces would have been brought nearer. But the Labour Party, too, had its preoccupations with the Royal "affair," and contented itself with, now and then, some feeble resolutions and medicaments for Spain.

It is, however, to the British Labour Party to whom the special historic role falls, i.e., to arouse public opinion in England and thereby put pressure upon the British Government so forcibly that it would be compelled to make an open declaration in favour of Spain.

ITALIANS IN SPAIN

"Volunteers" - Italian Version

The Non-Intervention Committee is still clinging to the pretence that the war in Spain is a civil war. There may, it admits reluctantly, be one or two Italians in Spain, but volunteers are, after all, volunteers. It ignores the overwhelming mass of evidence about the presence of Italian regular army troops in Spain with diplomatic ease.

The evidence can be summarised briefly. The loyal troops on the Guadalajara front declare that those opposing them are Italians. In support of this is the fact that every prisoner taken on that sector has been Italian. After that come the statements of the prisoners themselves, given in the presence of reliable witnesses. These statements agree that there were forty thousand regular army troops on the Guadalajara front.

Next comes the documentary evidence. Many of the prisoners have been found to be carrying their regular army papers; on one of them a telegram originally from Mussolini, but redirected by the Commander in

Spain, encouraging the troops was found. Many messages from Italian generals have also been found on the prisoners.

Next come the statements made by reliable eye-witnesses of the disembarkation of Italian troops in Spain, giving the dates, numbers and names of the ships. These statements have more than once been supported by the local consulates. Finally, there were statements made by the Italian Press itself, in which the troops in Spain were openly discussed.

But the Non-Intervention Committee views this overwhelming mass of evidence and is not overwhelmed.

Italy's reward for sending her armies to invade Spain is to be appointed protector and guard of Spain, the coast of which has already suffered from Italian shells fired from guns that were, at least, not Spanish. This is the first time in the history of the world that an aggressor has been appointed, by an impartial Committee, to patrol the coasts of the country he is invading.

The Labour Party, in doing its duty, would thus help not only the Spanish people, but would promote the culture and progress of humanity throughout the world by arousing the large masses of the workers and middle classes to such an extent as to cause the British Government to declare itself in the way demanded by the vast majority of the British people, or to find itself in antagonism with public opinion.

Let it not be asserted here that the interests of Great Britain are so involved that even the Labour Party is obliged to take into consideration the Capitalist "Law and Order" of Old England.

What the world has, perhaps, not as yet grasped sufficiently in regard to the political events in Italy, Hungary, Germany, Austria, etc.,—and in Spain to-day the historic truth is being revealed clearly and indubitably—is that Capitalism would prefer to allow its "own" country to be reduced to smouldering wreckage rather than forego its "right" of having wage-slaves at its command. This has been demonstrated earlier in history during the Commune of Paris, and later during the Russian Civil War, as well as elsewhere.

The working classes cannot and must not at this moment continue, even for an instant, to play the game of the Governments.

THE ANTI-FASCIST WORLD DESIRES PEACE

The anti-Fascist world desires Peace. Surely, but as is seen by events in Spain, whether Peace or War is to be our lot no longer depends upon the Anti-Fascist world. Fascism spells War. War at home. War abroad. Franco's victory would mean, even if it has not come to an open conflict before, a World War beyond the frontiers of Spain.

The watchword therefore must be to rise up against Franco, his bands and associates, to rise up against all open and concealed allies of the European Counter-Revolution and in aid of the Spanish people and its heroic militiamen, and to make a stand for our Europe, our Freedom, our Rights—indeed, for human Progress in general!

And it devolves upon the English working classes to show an example to the whole world.

(Translated by D.Z. from *Die Soziale Revolution*).



"Have you sent your contribution to the 'Orphans' Fund'?"



The cemetery at Valverde, near which many anti-fascist militiamen were shot by Franco's hordes.

Are the Spanish people heroically sacrificing their lives for "capitalist democracy?" (Turn to page four).

An Appeal To The Workers

1. The struggle in Spain is at its climax and the workers of the world have failed up to now to answer the lying farce of non-intervention by positive intervention in their own cause.
2. The Spanish workers await the action of the workers everywhere, but especially that of the British workers, realising that the action of Britain is the key to the International position.
3. If there is any excuse for the shameful inaction of the British workers, it is that they have been grossly deceived. They have been deliberately deceived by the false hope of their Government's adherence to a United Front of the democratic nations against International Fascism.
4. That hope has proved a delusion, encouraged by some ignorance of the realities, encouraged by the National Government with deliberate intention to deceive.
5. Britain's continuous surrender to International Fascism, in apparent defiance of her own Imperial strategic interests, has not been dictated by impotence or incompetence; but by the requirements of a positive policy, which has consistently underlain all her actions.
6. Under the cloak of democracy she has schemed to emasculate and destroy democracy everywhere, fearing that the real economic democracy, which in parts of Spain has already been achieved, would undermine the power and prestige of the financiers and industrialists, of which the National Government is the creation.
7. Thus every fascist aggression has received British support: Diplomatic support for the Japanese aggression in Manchuria, financial support for the Nazi militarisation in Germany, a mere pretence of resistance to Mussolini's rape of Abyssinia with no purpose of sincerity beyond the convenience of an electioneering ramp, followed by a betrayal, which began the destruction of the League of Nations; even an Anglo-German naval agreement to enable Germany to re-establish control of the Baltic Sea; and finally the pressure on France to betray the ideals of the Popular Front by proposing the infamous non-intervention policy in Spain, which preceded open and organised invasion by the fascist powers.
8. In face of such a record, the belief in the National Government's goodwill to democracy, or good faith to a democratic front against fascism, becomes insane superstition.
9. We must support the Spanish workers and peasants, fully recognising that their fight against fascism is not a fight for the maintenance of existing parliamentary institutions; but a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the class system of society.
10. We call upon the working-class in Great Britain and also in Ireland to show the same unity and international solidarity with their comrades in Spain that the fascist and other capitalist governments have exhibited in their armed or financial support of the Spanish reactionaries.
11. We note with strong approval the action by seamen and dockers in the Scandinavian countries and of British seamen in America in organising refusal to handle munitions or supplies for the Spanish Fascists, and we urge that this example be followed without delay by the organised workers in this country.
12. We know that the mutual jealousies of the great Powers are of secondary importance when compared with their common fear of social revolution.
13. We urge the workers to beware of any schemes which depend for their fulfilment on the British Government, or any other capitalist Government, and call for direct action in every sphere to place an embargo on supplies to the Spanish fascists and their allies, and to ensure a continued supply of all they require to the Spanish workers and peasants.
14. They are the vanguard of the world revolution, and the front line of defence against International Fascism for us as well as for themselves.

Issued by the London Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

SPAIN and the— WORLD

Anti-Fascist Fortnightly

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

ADVERTISEMENT RATES ON
APPLICATION.

PRICE 2d.; FOR U.S.A., 5 CENTS.

TO INTERESTED READERS

It was not with the idea that we were faced with a simple task that we launched "SPAIN and the WORLD" into a world haunted by atrocity stories, party dogmatism and misrepresentation. We knew, for instance, that certain sections of the "Left" public might buy the paper on occasion, and being once acquainted with our views, or seeing, perhaps, mention made of the word Anarchism, accompanied by its true meaning, would consider us as outcasts or stupid idealists. But we did not rely on those dogmatists or those who must for ever refer back their actions to their party for approval. We relied on getting to a public which based its political emancipation on individual reasoning, and not on party formulae, to be read and digested according to Party instructions.

For these reasons we have reached a limited, but a conscious public, and it is to them that we are making an appeal.

The first appeal is for the financial side of "SPAIN and the WORLD," which cannot depend entirely on the receipts from sales for its continued publication. To date we have a deficit of nearly £80 which, within a few weeks, will have become £100, if something is not done about it before then. Our financial means make it impossible for us to meet these obligations without the support of Comrades and sympathisers. Though an appeal to our Comrades in Spain would almost certainly result in some assistance, we feel that they should not be over taxed by our problems.

If we think it necessary to have a voice in this country which can bring to the notice of English speaking people the heroic and altruistic work of our Comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., then it is the duty of our Comrades in England to help us continue our work. We have, during the past four months, had the opportunity of showing the work we can do; if it be worthy of support, we then look to our comrades to solve our financial problems. We need £200 to wipe out the deficit and to continue until the end of the year.

Orphans' Fund

On another page we once more appeal on behalf of the innocent victims of Fascist aggression. The response received to date has not been sufficient to allow us to announce that "our" children have moved into their new quarters. Rather than believe this small response due to apathy, we believe that some comrades hesitate to send their donations because of the relatively small contribution they can make. If only half our readers were to send 6d. every week, we should be able to announce that seventy orphans were being cared for at our readers' expense! Bearing this in mind, we hope that contributions, large and small, and promises of regular contributions will pour into our offices during the next few days.

Freedom of the Press Under Communism?

With remarks such as we have been hearing from Communist speakers of Unity, tolerance and concessions in the

American Democracy Knives Demos In Spain

"INTERNATIONAL LAW" IGNORED

The People Of Spain Betrayed

American Democracy boasts of its genuine rule in the United States. No dictators are to be found here. The orderly processes of majority rule are still said to be equally respected by both the citizenry and the Government, who recognize and revere one superior power, the Constitution, which is the fundamental and sacred law of the Country. That the Government of the United States is a Government "of the people, by the people and for the people," and that it is ruled "by law, not by men," are the proudest boasts of our people. Furthermore, seldom in the history of our country has there been in power a party of men more ostensibly devoted to the principles of democracy than that which has been governing us since March, 1933, under the leadership of President F. D. Roosevelt—hailed by his admirers as a fortunate combination of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson.

But let us forego boasts and pride and take the real facts.

When the Spanish Civil War broke out, the United States had no specific law to direct the attitude of its Government. However, it had "international law" and national precedents, which were generally understood to cover the situation.

International law, as it had always been interpreted by the Government of the U.S., as well as by all other countries, dictates that no nation shall give help to rebels of any other nation or forbid purchase of arms within its territory by a friendly power in order to subvert an internal rebellion. National precedents were several and equally clear. When, during the American Civil War England accorded the Southern Confederacy, the status of a belligerent power, the Washington Government presented a formal protest to the British Government. During the Ten Years' War in Cuba (1868-1878), the U.S. consistently refused to accord the status of belligerents to the insurgents. This attitude we also took in 1895, and although the U.S. Government intervened in Cuban affairs three years later, it never gave recognition to the Revolutionary organization of that country. Peace with Spain was concluded on this basis.

DEEP-ROOTED AVERSION OF REBELLION

Our Government's aversion for rebels and rebellions is so deeply rooted that it is always reluctant to recognize them even when they have become the de facto government. It took the U.S. no less than fifteen years to take cognizance of the results of the Russian Revolution of 1917. A few years ago, when the Machado tyranny was driven from Cuba, the Roosevelt Government declined to resume diplomatic relations with the Grau San Martin regime because of its revolutionary origin. Even the re-actionary government of the Republican Party under Hoover's Presidency refused to recognize the Manchucuo "autonomous" regime.

International law, national precedent, tradition and boasts of sportsmanship were all equally cast aside by the Government of the U.S. I do not know whether it was a party, either active or complacent, to the international conspiracy which set fire to the Spanish Civil War. All I know is that the Republican Government of Spain—constitutional in its form, lawful in its personnel, friendly in its relations with the United States—was punished by an unfriendly attitude on the part of our Government as soon as it found itself attacked by military mutiny, domestic rebellion and foreign invasion.

There is no doubt that provisions had been made in advance of the Civil War, because United States ships have been boycotting Spanish ports since the very beginning of the conflict.

To further its own aims, or, even worse, to further the aims of such powers as had instigated the Franco rebellion or granted it protection, the Government of the U.S. summarily abrogated international law, national tradition and common decency and, of its own fiat, ruled the Republic of Spain out of the Commonwealth of "friendly" nations.

EXISTING LAWS VIOLATED

By mid July, Congress had been dissolved. An electoral campaign was on. The new Congress would not assemble

fight against Fascism, we are indeed surprised that a Comrade selling "SPAIN and the WORLD" at a meeting under the auspices of the Communist Party at Friend's House on 18th March, should have been asked to leave the building by a so-called "steward," when told that our publication had not Communist sympathies.

In the street, however, the National Government allowed him to continue selling the paper!

This attitude by the Communists in a capitalistic State . . . what will it be like under a bolshevik regime?

until January, 1937. Constitutionally, the Government was bound to respect and apply existing laws to the Spanish situation. In fact, the officials of the Government set out to violate these laws and substitute their own personal and arbitrary will for the Constitution, existing law and Congress. Contrary to law and custom, all sales of arms and ammunitions to the lawful Government of Spain were barred. "The State Department has been assured," the "New Masses" reported on November 17th, "that there is no legal obstacle whatever to prevent the Spanish Republic from purchasing arms, munitions or any other supplies in the United States. Yet, when the Spanish ship 'Sil' arrived in New York Harbour, and the most re-actionary Press surmised that it might load arms or planes, the United States customs agents searched the 'Sil,' frisked its passengers, opened cases of sheepskin coats, medical supplies and so on."

The Roosevelt Government assumed dictatorial powers in its relations with Spain. In its determination to prevent American-made arms and implements of war from going to the Spanish Government, it went so far as to request from Mexico the formal promise that it would not purchase any of them in America for transshipment to Spain. No such promise was ever exacted from the Governments of Germany, Italy and Portugal, which are purchasers of war materials in the United States and are at the same time very openly purveyors of implements of war and troops to the insurgent armies in Spain. Furthermore, no such cautions and scruples were displayed as to shipment of arms intended for General Franco's army: "The Nation" has learned on good authority that shipment of munitions for the Spanish rebel army arrived in Seville on an American vessel. As far as we can learn, the shipment was made without the knowledge or permission of the State Department. . . . At the same time, however, the Department is known to have placed insuperable obstacles in the way of exporters who have sought to sell munitions to the Spanish Government ("The Nation," Oct. 24th, 1936).

This scandalous conduct of the Federal Government was brought to an even more scandalous end early in January by means truly ignoble. To impress the Country and Congress about to assemble, the Government announced late in December that it had found it legally impossible to refuse exportation licence to an arms dealer in Jersey City, N.J., and to another dealer in Jersey City, J.J., and to another quantities of discarded planes and parts thereof to the Spanish Government. For a few days the inspired Press screamed heartrendingly that a powerless Government was about to drag the country into a new European war for lack of proper legislation.

A LEGAL MONSTROSITY

When Congress convened on January 4th, the specific demand of the President resulted in the passing of a "joint resolution" by Congress. This is a legal monstrosity. Spain is thereby set apart from among the Nations, set aside as a leprous country and barred from buying implements of war within the United States. It was only by a mistake in the application of this resolution that some of the planes and parts licensed for sale to Spain could leave New York Harbour on the ship "Mar Cantabrico," pursued out of territorial waters by U.S. Navy units. So it appeared that even when the State Department admitted the unlawfulness of its own conduct for six months in barring the sale of arms to Spain only a mockery was intended.

That this mockery of law and common sense had from the beginning the approval of the ruling class was a foregone conclusion. The "joint resolution" passed by Congress on January 6th almost unanimously, amply proves it. But are not laws supposed to restrain both the ruling and the ruled? And where does Democracy end, when those who hold the power of the State are allowed to annul the law any moment they see fit?

Had this unlawful action of the Federal Government helped the cause of the Spanish Republic instead of helping the international coalition fighting against them, the yellow Press and the punctilious clergy all over the country would have exploded in endless denunciations of the Government and its dictatorial usurpations. As it helped the Fascists who have invaded Spain; as it helped to save international financial investments in Spain, such dictatorial usurpation was condoned and legalized by Congress.

Being even more re-actionary than the Government—if such a thing is possible—the yellow Press unanimously approved the Government's action and the Congressional sanction, all decency and fair play notwithstanding.

PRESS UNFAIRNESS AND ABSURDITY

The kept Press of dominant plutocracy is about at the same low level all over the world. Paid to serve privileged interests, it has no use for truth.

The Spanish Civil War has again given it the opportunity to serve its masters. No extreme of unfairness and absurdity has been left untouched by the great Press of America, as long as it

served the cause of Fascism. The atrocity campaign against the Spanish people fighting for their liberty and independence has reached incredible lengths. Martyred priests, burned churches and convents, massacred women and children, crucified nuns, all this has been related time and again all over the world.

Here is a typical piece of American journalism, as described by "The New Republic" of Sept. 9th: "Last week the Spanish fascist legions captured a number of towns. Among them was Constantina. What they did, of course, we do not know for certain. But news despatches described how the fascist rebels entered the town, forced the population into the streets, lined women against houses at the point of their guns, searched the houses for the men and shot those suspected of being in the government army. While these fascist shock troops were busy in Constantina, Mr. William Randolph Hearst was carrying on the good work here. 'The New York Daily Mirror,' printed a full-page picture depicting this dramatic incident. It was an authentic picture because it appeared in other newspapers. There were terrified women standing against the walls of their cottages, hands raised above heads, many clasped in attitudes of supplication as soldiers held their guns ready for action and other groups of soldiers swarmed into the cottages looking for the husbands and the sons. 'Don't shoot!' read the caption. 'Women's dresses are ripped,' read the legend, 'and tell-tale shoulder bruises from gun-carrying meant instant execution.' It was, of course, a horrifying spectacle of the brutality of fascist ruthlessness. But—and here is the very cream of Mr. Hearst's genius—the sting was taken out of the picture completely by the simple device of describing the soldiers, not as fascists, but as 'Red troops' . . ."

CATHOLIC CHURCH'S INTERVENTION

Of course, not all the American newspapers are as crude as this. But it is safe to say that by more devious ways they attain the same ends. The open intervention of the Catholic Church, in favour of the fascist insurgents and invaders, has given their cause a certain savour of holy crusade, and no American editor of the "great Press" calibre would take a position openly hostile to any dicta of the Church—even if he were so inclined. Thus, a very few daily newspapers in the U.S. are in favour of an honest democratic policy towards the Spanish Republic.



In a Collectivized Factory, where the old system has disappeared since July 19th.

The last election, which returned Mr. Roosevelt to the Presidency by a majority of eleven million votes, revealed how unrepresentative of public opinion is the daily Press in America. About 75 per cent. of the newspapers had fought against Roosevelt's re-election.

On the Spanish question the difference of opinion between the kept Press and officialdom on one side, and the common people on the other, is probably even greater. It is a fact that all the newspapers and magazines which claim the attention of thinking people have expressed sympathy for the people of Spain in their fight for independence and freedom. And another fact is that all men and women who endeavour, in any field, to make the world a better, a more civilized and cultured place to live in, have openly disapproved of the international conspiracy of fascist and pro-fascist politicians against the right of the Spanish people to self-determination—to which the U.S. Government is a none too passive party.

A great majority of Labour officials being frankly re-actionary, and the more progressive elements being too timid openly to oppose the Government's Spanish policy, the American Federation of Labour has failed once more to give expression to the feelings of its membership. At the Tampa annual Convention, last November, the majority refused to invite the Spanish Ambassador to address it, although hundreds of delegates had so requested. Be it also noted that 1,500,000 members of the A.F. of L. had no representation at the Tampa Convention.

LEADERS' ATTITUDE NOT REPRESENTATIVE

The attitude of these leaders is no more representative of American Labour than are the attitudes of the Federal Government and the daily Press representative of the American people at large.

Our political immaturity and the backwardness of our social conceptions as a people are well known. But the Spanish question involves all that we have been taught to love and revere, and our official spokesmen notwithstanding, the American people cannot fail to understand that Spain is fighting for its freedom, for its right to exist, for its right to self-determination. The religious element interpolated in the Spanish Civil War by the Vatican may, and in fact does, obscure the situation for many of our fellow-citizens. But large numbers of us understand that this interpolation has been made in bad faith for the purpose of protecting, not religious freedom, but century-old privileges of an established church.

While the Government of the U.S. has been so actively seconding the cause of the international fascist conspiracy; while the yellow press has been trying to prevent the truth, to poison the mind of Americans and to show the world a united America decidedly pro-fascist, our independent sheets have consistently vindicated the right of Spain to its freedom and independence; our most respected and worthy men of science, letters, and arts have expressed their unstinted support of the Spanish loyalists; our meeting places have gathered thousands, nay millions, of undaunted citizens to protest against the unauthorized, undemocratic attitude of their Government, and to affirm, by word and deed, their whole-hearted solidarity for the Spanish people. Funds have been sent to Spain; commodities and medical supplies have been shipped. Volunteers have gone there by hundreds to fight side by side with the Spaniards. All this has been done in spite of all obstacles interposed by the Government.

Had it not been for the betrayal by our Government, aided by the most venal propaganda that ever disgraced the Press, and by the betrayal by our Labour misleaders who tied themselves ignominiously to the interests of a tyrannical ruling class obviously bound for dictatorship, the United States might have made a powerful contribution towards saving Democracy in Spain.

PASSPORTS STAMPED "NOT VALID FOR SPAIN"

Instead, the huge mass of the American people found themselves leaderless, hindered in their natural movement of sympathy towards the Spanish people by their own Government which went so far as to prohibit certain American citizens from travelling in Spain. Only a few weeks ago an American Consul in France boarded an incoming ship at Le Havre to stamp on the passports of the few scores of American passengers, who looked to him like anti-fascists, "not valid for Spain." There is no law on the American Statutes authorizing either the Government or its representatives abroad to take such a step, as has been judicially affirmed these very days in the case of the noted flyer, Bert Acosta.

Thus, those among Americans who felt strongly enough to give vent to their sympathy had to follow radical and subversive leadership, as no other way was to be found in defence of Democracy. To this has capitalism brought the political regime under which it had prospered for over a century. No one but powerless literary men and political outcasts are willing to lead in the fight for the defence of the meagre liberties that cost our forebears so much blood and so many sacrifices.

The rest, the timid, the prejudiced, the undiscerning, the cowardly, either keep their feelings to themselves or silently contribute to the many works of charity or collective solidarity that are being done.

No greater shame than this falsification of the sentiments of a whole people has the history of our country ever registered.

All the proud boasts to which our people are so prone crumble under the ignominy of this scandalous conduct.

American Democracy has betrayed the people of Spain most shamefully. It has betrayed it through the cunning of its "democratic" Government, through the falsehoods of its corrupt Press, through the venality of its Labour leaders, through the cowardice of its people who dare not proclaim their feelings as loudly as they should be proclaimed.

And the inescapable implication of such a national betrayal is that plutocratic domination has utterly killed democracy in the United States. M.S.

Newark, N. Jersey.
(This article concludes the series. The first two articles appeared in No. 6, 7 of "SPAIN and the WORLD").

A TOWN WITHOUT MONEY

Comunismo Libertario In Practise

"Die Sociale Revolution," a German publication edited in Barcelona, says:—

"A town rises before us, above the sand hills. It is Fraga, with a population of 9,000 inhabitants. At first, I could not understand why we were to stop just there. I would have preferred to rest at Cervera. But I must place on record the fact that Fraga is the most interesting town I have seen up to now. I recall all the meetings in Sweden when we would speak of libertarian communism. I remember, too, the discussions which followed these lectures, how thinking people of all social classes were united as one man in stigmatising libertarian communism, that short-sighted Utopia, that soap bubble, that complete impossibility. And here, in this town, libertarian communism can be lived. I had heard it said that in many of the smaller towns and villages, libertarian communism had been introduced. But it is quite another matter to see it with one's own eyes. The whole town, of course, is "red and black," that is to say C.N.T.-F.A.I. Under this régime no restriction is placed on freedom of opinion.

"Fraga! An epic would be needed to sing your praises. Suffice it to say

that life in this town of Aragon quickens my blood. My soul is overcome by a wave of emotion, the doors of a new world are opened before me. I walk about the streets for hours, so as to steep myself in the special atmosphere, and it is all I can do to suppress exclamations of delight. Libertarian communism is not merely a rational social order. It is a reality!

"How could one despair of the Spanish revolution? It is unbelievable. Such forces cannot be overcome. They must conquer, and they shall conquer finally.

"Here, in Fraga, you can throw banknotes in the street, and no one will take any notice. Rockefeller, if you came to Fraga with all your bank account, you would not be able to buy even a cup of coffee. Money, your God and your Servant, has been abolished here, and people are happy. Here, each man has only his neighbour, or rather, all have everything. Work continues, life goes on as before. The machine has not stopped, my worthy economists! There is only this small difference; men are freer, happier; men are more satisfied with themselves and their work. Fraga, I shall return! When strife is over, I shall come once more to live your new, free life."

"SAVE THE KIDDIES"

Rene Martin, writing in the *Libertaire*, describes his visit to the *Colonie Durruti-Ascaso*, where "our children" are shortly to find shelter and happiness. We reproduce his article, because in it he expresses all the sentiments which have moved us to appeal to our readers for financial support, to make it possible for a further 20 children to be housed in the chateau. The longer we dally, the longer will 20 innocent orphans be denied the most elementary comforts.

To keep "our" twenty children, we require £13 every week, and clothing for little boys and girls between 6 and 13 years of age.

Make it possible for us to announce in the next issue that "our children" have moved into their new quarters! Make collections amongst your friends; organise parties in aid of our fund, which, we repeat, is non-political.

THE COMMITTEE.

"Workers of Paris and the province, how much longer shall our Committee be kept waiting before it can aid the poor children saved from the massacres of Madrid and Malaga. There are two hundred orphans at the chateau de Gérone, who expect now that their adoptive parents, you and I, shall, if not take the place of their dead mother and father, at least provide them with their daily food, and the kindness and affection which can lighten sorrow amongst children.

"This is the issue: once and for all, the proletariat of this country must give proof, otherwise than by facile assurances, written or verbal, of solidarity with the martyrs of the Spanish tragedy: it must show that this solidarity is not an empty word.

"How many are there among us, in our own working class, who can truly say they have done their full duty in connection with the Spanish revolution and its defenders?

"Here, in Paris, can we realise truly all that is required by those whom the "democracies" have treacherously left to their fate, leaving them at the mercy of the cruel Franco?

"Do we realise above all the fate of the children, innocent victims, after the systematic destruction of cities such as Madrid and Malaga and the massacre of their inhabitants? Finally, can we understand the horrifying plight of these poor little ones, in the horrors of wars, weeping for their mothers and fathers riddled by machine-gun fire, parents who will no

longer shower kindnesses on them? This solidarity, which on the international plane has not been as manifest as one would have desired, must henceforth be fully proved. We refuse to believe that the workers of this country would dare remain indifferent to our little orphans.

"YOU HAVE NOT DONE ENOUGH"

"Friends and sympathisers, I address myself to you, who have already done something and who think perhaps that no more need be done, or who wait . . . that others should do as much! To all, I am bold enough to say, 'You have not done enough, you must give more, we expect much from you. We need your help, for it is indispensable for them.'

"We need money, clothes, even if they have been used, provided they are in a good condition; we need food, plenty of it: milk, sugar, jam, chocolate, etc., etc. In this chateau at Gérone, beautifully situated (At the time of my journey in Spain, I had the pleasure of visiting it) our little ones must find good companions watching over them, with the maternal and affectionate attention which they need in their wretched plight. But there is no fear on that score, for we know that the adoptive mothers, with the satisfaction of knowing that they have done their duty, will feel rewarded when they receive from the hands and lips of the little ones the kisses and caresses which they give so bountifully to those whom they love." (RENE MARTIN).

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

Name
Address

Anarchist Ideals From The Root

18th CENTURY WRITER'S SOCIAL CONCEPTIONS

1. William Godwin's "Political Justice" (1793)

Those on the lookout for cut and dried systems and ready-made information to be picked up while you wait, need not read the following remarks. Real attempts at information cannot be made in that shallow way, fit only for yellow Press misinformation. After all, whatever is being done, depends not on the casual attention of onlookers, but of thoughtful persons who are never quite absent, even nowadays.

The momentous social events which have happened since 1917 were mostly deprived of their true effect either by the growing levity alluded to or by rabid, unwholesome dogmatism and fanaticism. The immense changes in Russia, Italy, Germany and now the Spanish tragedy, together with the deep turmoil in all social and political life reaching from farthest Asia to the full length of the American Continent, and confronting every European country with unsolved and mostly very ugly problems—all that led to much sterile excitement, to no end of palavers by diplomats, experts, "brain trusts," party leaders and other quacks, but to exceedingly little new ethical and intellectual effort, laying bare the roots of the evil and breaking new ground. Even the magnificent effort of the Spanish people, ever since 1915, so intensified in years like 1919, 1923-30, in 1931, 1934 and now in the many months since July, 1936, did not rouse sufficiently the lethargic sentiments and stimulate the thoughts of the contemporary world.

Such considerations make us understand better the emptiness of earlier centuries when, as now, everything was delivered up to the will and the whims of a few of the ruling caste. All the others had but to toil and were ordered to fight and conquer in wars, or were plundered and killed as the result of wars. Religion held out a paradise for them as an intimate refuge; a few socialists described such a paradise in the form of a Utopia; direct rebellions were not absent, but were, one and all, stifled in blood. Political revolutions left the roots of the evil untouched and perfected or modernized only the forms of government. During all these ages the progressive life of mankind centred in those who had begun to recognize the evil of every form of authority, who traced large or small paths and roads of liberation, and who understood how to awaken the slumbering desire for freedom and human dignity in a slowly growing number of individuals. There was cultural progress also which, by making possible at last real scientific research by proper instruments, did incalculable good.

But in the domain of general production such progress resulted in machinery replacing the artisan on a larger scale and the unskilled workers thus came to the front, a development by which the efficiency of the workers for efforts of conscious and vehement liberation was diminished just at a time when such mass effort was most needed. Thus, in the course of the eighteenth century, the progressive elements were constantly on the increase in the old and large centres,

whilst the growing factory system was in several ways rather a counteracting, retarding factor, besides being ruinous for the health and mental state of its victims, especially in its early unmitigated, crude forms.

PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT AND RESEARCH

There was then, as to some extent at all times since the mediaeval revival of studies, the first universities, the humanists, the early learned societies, etc., an international, inter-communion between men of progressive thought and research, from Scotland to Italy, from Sweden to Spain, and the initiative and the will were ripe in many to promote at last mankind's coming of age, to do away with authority and stagnation, with brute force and cruelty, to co-ordinate the living forces of humanity in peaceful emulation, cosmopolitically, as the free citizens of a free world. There was not a single domain in which, up to the middle of that century, stagnation, stale routine, cruelty, abuses, inefficiency were not predominant, but from that time onward most serious efforts to remedy this were made in every direction, theoretically and practically, individually and later collectively, and by a growing impulse of public opinion. From education and physical culture, from the prison and the mad house and chattel slavery, etc., democratic efforts were made in England and America, for a regeneration in ethical and aesthetic sentiments. Nothing was left in its old rotten state, though it was not possible to be victorious over the whole large ground—and, indeed, most of the old system is still with us, alas! But everything was challenged and has been challenged from then, and the struggle has never abated—it is ablaze even now in Free Spain.

SOCIALISM NEITHER UNIQUE NOR COMPLETE

Whatever there is of Socialism got its first impulse then and there and originated thus, as may be stated emphatically, as a human movement, and not as a class movement. Humanity was uneducated, incapable of a free life until then, as history has shown. Since that second half of the eighteenth century great numbers of people have come forward from everywhere, insisting on leading their own lives, and succeeding to some degree, being still hampered and defeated in many other respects. Of these forward waves Socialism is a most powerful one, but it is neither the unique wave, nor can it alone realize a complete and harmonious victory. No one-sided force can, as one-sidedness is not a creator of living organisms, only of fragmentary materials. On the other hand, it was and is obviously an almost impossible task to foresee, and pre-arrange a co-operation of all useful forces to reach the great purpose without a hitch. This was not done by any of the many men of value and genius of that happy period, neither by Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Lessing, Goethe, nor any of the British, Italian, Spanish, or other thinkers and men of action of past years.

When collective activities set in, the American War of Independence, the French Revolution of 1789 and unrest in many parts of Europe, then only a very few men began to think out the great problem as a general complex, men like Condorcet, Wilhelm von Humboldt and some others, and of these William Godwin (1756—1836), produced by far the greatest achievement by composing *An Enquiry concerning Political Justice and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness* (London, February, 1793).

Two large lives of Godwin, containing documents on the origin of the remarkable book, and quite a number of minor studies on the author which add few or no new materials, are generally accessible. A real study, of course, must delve deeply into the general literature of the Encyclopaedists' age, into that of the reflexes which the French Revolution had in England, that of the Shelley and Byron period, of the English Utilitarians, the early Radicals and Socialists, etc., in fact the whole century from Diderot to about 1848, when the fatal influence of the deism, nationalism and bourgeoisism of Mazzini overshadowed the clear materialist, libertarian, social and humane ideas expressed in *Political Justice*, the standard work for every independent thinker in Britain for half a century.

Godwin, whose personal life and later writings do not call for any comment here, embodied a good knowledge of the antique, French, British and other advanced philosophical, political and social authors, and his own gradually intensified insight into the extent to which governmentalism, organized government, authority were and are detrimental to the evolution of human perfection. No wonder that, when we see to what degree obstacles were set up to research, initiative, progress by vested interests, stagnation, routine, all of them supported by the governmental structure which, as long as it could, deprived the people of education, resisted innovations, connived at the steady persecution of progressive elements by the powers of darkness. This had reached a climax in the time discussed here, and was considered such an intolerable nuisance that men of progress, Voltaire and his friends, took the habit of ending their letters by the words *écrasez l'infame* (crush the infamy)—the old system and all its upholders and accessories.

SPIRITED AMERICAN RESISTANCE

America had shown that spirited resistance was possible and the fall of the Bastille, July 14th, 1789, showed that also the patience of the French nation had come to an end. The immense problem, not only of destroying the crumbling old order, but of building up a new order upon solid foundations was now before France and the progressive world—and William Godwin, we must recognize, was the man who grappled with the problem in a really ingenious way, worthy of every attention, better than all his contemporaries, though he did not succeed in making his sound conclusions prevail, which was no fault of his own, but the result of powerful adverse conditions; all others failed worse than he did.

Those who analyse his large work—article—see the author penetrated by the great joy which the French upheaval caused in every generous mind, but full of apprehension that all the new forces set in operation might be applied in an authoritarian direction which, indeed, had been done, allowing the Revolution to lapse into the hands of rigid lawyers of the Robespierre type, of ancient priests and adventurers, and finally of lucky soldiers of the Bonaparte type who founded the French Empire.

Godwin knew the value, but also the initial weakness of all liberal and social beginnings, and insisted with all means of reasoning and persuasion on the necessity for education of the mind and character, of fair discussion and general harmonious activities for the common good.

FEAR OF GOVERNMENTAL COERCION

All was lost, if the principle of governmental coercion were applied again, however regenerated in appearance. He saw that very many useful steps might be taken in common, for the benefit of all, but he understood as well that inevitably the needs of different people would require differentiation and regroupment. This could only be achieved by mutual regard and toleration, an ethical conduct which the absence of coercion would promote, just as free and disinterested people learn to behave as free men and have no reason to degrade themselves by behaving otherwise. This way of living would automatically lead to decentralisation and autonomy, small and more or less informal units, united among themselves and ready to settle general matters by friendly discussion with their neighbours or a wider milieu. Mankind would thus pass from bondage to freedom, and freedom would always be strengthened by brotherhood. Education, equality, ethical conduct (reasoning, toleration) were the three great levers of this progressive evolution; force, coercion, authority were the fatal relics of past slavery and must be eliminated.

That was the first great expression of conscious complete socialism and Individualism, both conceptions being rightly completed by each other and inseparable—an inseparability which was generally felt by the best minds of that age as the sacred words *liberté, égalité, fraternité* show, words sacred indeed to the

(continued on next page)

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Brutal Treatment Of Government Sympathisers

A student who has escaped from Las Palmas says that all the sympathisers with the legitimate Spanish Government are confined in concentration camps and gives details of the treatment they receive there.

One of these camps is situated on a mountain side and is guarded by six corps of guards. The sentries are stationed 15 metres apart and watch day and night. The camp is fenced in by barbed wire. There are thirty tents, each of which houses 36 to 42 men. Fifteen mattresses are allowed for 40 men and one blanket for two.

At 6.45 every morning the prisoners must line up in front of their tents and shout "Viva España," "Viva el general Franco." Those who disobey are beaten. From seven until midday and from three until five they work. In the morning they get a cup of tea or coffee, which is mostly water, and sometimes a piece of bread, at midday a plate of soup and at six o'clock more soup and beans or potatoes.

The work consists in road-making, cleaning up the camp, and carrying stones and sand. The work is supervised by an armed guard who beats the workers with a stick if they are not quick enough.

Various punishments reminiscent of the Middle Ages are devised for those who protest against the hard labour which is beyond the strength of many of them.

CHRISTIAN CULTURE

The Master General of the Order of Preachers has addressed a letter to the entire Dominican Order in which he declares that in the Spanish War "The gage is once and for all Christian Culture."

What are visible results of Christian Culture in Spain?

Until 1857 education was under the direct control of the Church. When it was proposed to have State Education, the motion was defeated by the Clergy. As late as 1931 half of the children attending school were educated by the Clergy and even municipal schools were partly under their control. The result? The census of 1930 showed that 45.46% of the population could neither read nor write. In the middle of the 19th century when the Church had complete monopoly of education only 20% of the Spanish people were literate.

Yet the Master General, etc., is convinced that a Franco victory will make the Spanish people "hold on strenuously to Catholic Life and Culture"!

FOR SALE:

Albums of 30 Coloured Reproductions of paintings by SIM, attractively bound. Price, 5/6 post free.

Durruti Pamphlet. Appreciations of the man, by A. Souchy, Garcia Oliver, Emma Goldman, etc. Price, 7d. post free.

Durruti, Ascaso, C.N.T.-F.A.I. handkerchiefs. Price, 2/- each.

All profits from the above go to the Spanish Orphans' Fund.

ANARCHIST IDEALS FROM THE ROOT—(continued from page three).

people who proclaimed them on the ruins, as they hoped, of serfdom and privilege.

ANARCHISM RECOVERING

Godwin's brilliant vision meant freedom as the basis and condition of social life, and sociality, from co-operation to the communion of free communism, as the basis and condition of free life. In modern terms: Anarchism and Socialism are inseparable, and an educated, ethical, fraternal humanity is the basis of either. Both socialism and anarchism were one progressive force, one common generous aim then and ought never to have been separated. They are still united in the spirit of every real anarchist, but authoritarian elements have cut socialism adrift, and it is drifting indeed since then, since the time of Babeuf and Buonarroti, being unable either to attract a really large portion of humanity, as it offers no guarantee for freedom, nor to enrol them by force, except temporarily by repulsive dictatorships. Anarchism, on the other hand, was weakened by this secession, followed by so much open enmity, and, as I shall try to show further on, it became open to one-sided developments. But of late, in the great struggle forced upon it in Spain, it is recovering and being regenerated.

Godwin's *Enquiry* was at once felt to be a most remarkable work, but adverse circumstances combined enormously to mar the spread of libertarian socialism as he had conceived it. In France the Revolution in 1793 took the most authoritarian turn and in England wealth, power and privilege first proceeded by prosecution of the friends of the Revolution, and when this failed, they unchained that anti-Jacobin literary, fascism, which perverted the minds of people for many years.

Godwin himself, whilst not recanting, stood aside in this unequal struggle. All know his intellectual influence upon *Mary Wollstonecraft*, the generous champion of women, and on *Percy Bysshe Shelley*, and not a few others. Robert Owen knew him and his book, as I said before, was familiar to all radicals and socialists up to the middle of the nineteenth century, and was still read by some in the years after. This explains the non-Statist character of early British socialism. Through Mill and Herbert Spencer such anti-Statism became known internationally and contributed also to form the politico-social ideas of *Pi y Margall*, as expressed in his famous book of 1845, *La Reaccion y la Revolucion*, published in Madrid, and text-book of the earliest Spanish anarchists, still read and reprinted. Even F. Engels once thought of translating Godwin's book (1845).

The century and half almost since Godwin wrote in 1792, have, in my opinion, after endless aberrations, led back to all his main conceptions. Socialism without Freedom, as in Russia, is felt to be a dismal failure. The doctrine of total anarchism can only be imposed by general enslavement. Federalism and Autonomy are vital necessities and utilities, as the events in Spain since July, 1936, have shown. Education is more necessary than ever to counteract the intellectual annihilation produced by all sorts of official and interested misleading propaganda. The States are bankrupt, financially and morally, and produce only the permanent menace of war or wars themselves, at ever increasing cost and ruin. Whatever hope there is lives in the courageous action of those who now make a stand for human dignity and freedom, and in the example and initiative of those who behave as socialists and free men, reasonably and fairly, even now, under trying circumstances, doing real work and turning away from pompous and sterile dogmatism. Not to wait either for the orders of leaders, nor for a hypothetical evolution, but to do things themselves, as Godwin advised, and the Spanish workers and peasants are doing, that is the point.

Godwin has well merited to be remembered and re-read at the present juncture.

X.X.X.
The second of this series of four articles will appear in the next issue (April 16th).

ITALIAN PRISONERS GRATEFUL

Republicans' Comradely Assistance To Wounded

The Madrid Press has published a statement signed by Italian prisoners in Madrid.

"The Italian officers and soldiers at present in the Madrid military hospital number 14 wish to express to all their comrades, and to the Madrid newspapers, their feeling of gratitude for the comradely assistance they have received from their former enemies. Long Live Republican Spain! Italians, join us!

"For the officers and soldiers, lieutenants Lingalreddi and Marcello." The reactionary English Press has always delighted in declaring that the Republican forces show no mercy to prisoners. This is not the first time that their lies have been exposed by the statements of the prisoners themselves.

Published by Thos. H. Keel, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on April 2nd, 1937, and printed by V.W.H. Press, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks, and London.

EVERY CHURCH FASCISM'S ALLY

A Reply To Capt. J. R. White

BY W. MCCARTNEY, OF THE SYNDICALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Capt. White's article in "*Spain and the World*" of March 5th is very confusing, and demands correction in order that clarity may prevail—at least in our own newspaper, if not in the religious and capitalist press.

He starts by stating he is a "Christian Anarchist." "Christian" he may be—but not "Anarchist!"

Capt. White leaves the impression it is only the Catholic Church that is the enemy of the workers! Does he not know that every Church has to adapt itself to conditions in order to live? Let him read of the action of the Churches during the Great War—and let him note that even today Christians stand for a Church that can justify Capitalism! How's that for adaptability? He speaks of the Basque Catholic Nationalists, who support the people's cause in Spain—but it would be very interesting to watch the action of this same "Nationalist" if, and when, the Fascists succeed there! Madrid is a converse instance of the same thing—No Fascists, and No Priests hostile to workers. Russia affords another example—No Fascists; no Priests. Which is evidence enough that all Churches adapt themselves to conditions in order to live. For the function of ALL Churches is to prey upon the ignorance of the masses for a living—and help the State keep the people in subjection.

"I pray to the God of Justice," says Capt. White . . . but Justice can never be given by God. It has got to be won by the world's slaves themselves!

The fact is, all religions are based on superstition; superstition is ignorance; hence Christianity is based on ignorance. Anarchism, on the other hand, is an Economic Philosophy, arrived at after an investigation into the economic conditions of the world's workers. Economic Freedom is the concern of the Anarchist; his job is to teach and to agitate in order to bring about the destruction of all States and Churches so that Free Communism may be built. That has nothing to do with God.

Capt. White's conception of Christianity is Perfect Freedom—but the Anarchist does not pretend to be perfect nor to conceive of a perfect humanity; for he knows there is nothing absolute or perfect in nature. The Anarchist sees the cause of poverty in the subjection of man by man—and he works all the time for Human Freedom, which is, and always will be, relative to conditions. Freedom, for the Anarchist, must remain relative—which, however, will not agree with Capt. White's conception of Christianity. He cannot, therefore, logically claim the Anarchist label!

Please—Capt. White—do not mix your conception of Christianity with a Workers' World Wide Revolutionary Anarchism, which means Human Freedom from man-made regulations and rules.

Pamphlets On Anarchism

- KROPOTKIN—Anarchist Communism, 3d.
 " Wage System, 1d.
 " Place of Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution, 2d.
 " Revolutionary Government, 2d.
 MALATESTA—Anarchy, 3d.
 " Talk Between Two Workers, 3d.
 OWEN, WM. C.—Anarchism v. Socialism, 3d.
 BARRETT—Objections to Anarchism, 2d.
 " The Anarchist Revolution, 1d.
 GOLDMAN, E.—Anarchism, 2d.
 WAKEMAN—Anarchism and Democracy, 1d.
 HAVEL, H.—What's Anarchism? 3d.
 ROCKER, R.—The Truth About Spain, 3d.

Postage ½d. each pamphlet.

FREEDOM PRESS,
 WHITEWAY COLONY,
 STROUD, GLOS.

An Answer to J. R. Campbell's "Spain's 'left' Critics"

WHO HAS BETRAYED THE REVOLUTION?

The pamphlet "Spain's 'LEFT' Critics," by J. R. Campbell, is a direct attack on the P.O.U.M. and possibly an indirect attack on the C.N.T.-F.A.I. It is an assertion that the Communist Party of Spain, in their development of the Popular Front, have paved the way to Salvation!

Unfortunately the attacks on the P.O.U.M. are not supported by facts, and the remarks concerning the success of the Popular Front are dishonest—if they are not simply explained by ignorant ingenuousness!

What did the Popular Front do when it came to power? Mr. Campbell replies:—"It released the 30,000 political prisoners. It restored autonomy to the Catalan people. It restored the rights of the Unions and enabled the workers to win improved conditions all round. It legalized the seizure of the land by 87,000 peasants. It broke up the Fascist Leagues. In the critical moment of the Fascist insurrection it armed the workers." This is not correct. Let Mr. Campbell read the Press of February, 1936. He will see that the political prisoners were freed by the infuriated masses. There were riots in the prisons, whilst some were burnt down. It was the people who liberated the political prisoners and not the feeble Popular Front Government. *The people armed themselves.* In Barcelona the Government told the workers, "There is no need for you to have arms. We have the Guardia Civil and the Armed Police. They will be sufficient to overcome any possible uprising." To the workers' delegates they gave but twenty-seven rifles! To cover this disastrous attitude President Companys, in an interview with the "News Chronicle," stated that the Government had no arms to supply to the people! But the people armed themselves, and 40,000 Fascist soldiers and officers were defeated within 48 hours by the self-armed workers whom the Popular Front Government had betrayed.

LION'S SHARE OF THE FIGHTING

Then, again, why give credit to a Government whose Prime Minister (Quirogo) faced the danger of a Fascist insurrection by resigning his post on the 18th of July? Furthermore, one can read in most sections of the Press of the time, that even when the Government of Madrid decided to give arms to the workers they attempted to keep them from getting into the hands of the Anarchists. And yet, all except the Communists admit that it is the Anarchists who have done the lion's share of the fighting in the Civil War.

Campbell quotes from the "Workers Age," January 2nd. "The Republican Government based on the People's Front made the insurrection possible because it did not clean the counter-revolutionary officers out of the army, because it did not give independence to Spanish Morocco, because the agrarian reforms were delayed and because the Church as a political and social institution was not interfered with." This type of criticism—says Campbell—illustrates a common trick of the opponents of a Popular Front—but it should be noted that he makes no attempt to deny these accusations! There can be no denying them because facts point to the complete inactivity of the Popular Front Government to consolidate its position after the election victory. It should have dismissed all Fascists and fascist sympathisers from key positions in the armed forces as well as in industry—but here is an example of what they actually did! Up to the spring elections of 1936, General Batet was responsible for the Barcelona garrison. It was he who had crushed the insurrection in Catalonia in 1934 and who had arrested the working-class and the Left Republican militants as well as the republican officers who took part in the rising. He was transferred by the Popular Front Government to the garrison at Burgos! But they went one worse. Perez Farras, one of the superior officers in Barcelona who had taken part in the Republican rising, had been condemned to imprisonment for life. When he was released after the victory of the Popular Front, the Madrid Government asked him to retire! The Barcelona garrison

was entrusted to men who on the 19th of July tried to carry out the rebel coup in that city.

In other words, the Popular Front Government was allowing itself to be dominated by the Military.

R. P. Dutt, in his book "Fascism and Social Revolution" (page 92), states, "We have seen that Fascism develops where the proletarian revolution draws visibly close, but is held in by reformist leadership." That is just what has happened in Spain.

The Popular Front Government was, in this sense, responsible for facilitating the Rebellion, because of its methods which sought to counteract the revolutionary passion of a people seeking justice and freedom, by offering them merely small reforms and improvements.

To justify and to excuse the Popular Front's feeble programme, Campbell asks somewhat rhetorically:—"Is there no difference between a Government which is not taking sufficiently strong measures against fascism and a Government which is giving active assistance to fascism?"

No further comment is needed? It is a complete admission!

CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY

Campbell makes a significant admission when answering the P.O.U.M. assertion that the U.S.P.C., the C.P. of Spain and Socialist Party of Spain are defending capitalist democracy. He writes: "Now this would be no crime when you remember that the alternative to capitalist democracy may conceivably be General Franco." How is this possible? The alternative to Franco's victory is a workers' victory. Does Campbell imagine that the workers will want to establish "capitalist democracy." If the workers are not betrayed by their leaders, then capitalist democracy will be a system of the past, in Spain. If, as in Russia, the power is to be concentrated in the hands of a central group, then Campbell's supposition will become a fact. But the Spanish workers are politically emancipated in comparison to workers of other countries; they are not going to allow the sacrifice of thousands in order to establish a system similar to the one that existed under the new Republic. They do not want to be led by bourgeois reformists, or politicians who are afraid to put into practice all their promises: the expropriation of the rich; the equal opportunity of all to the benefits of the land and of science; the separation of the Church from State affairs and big business.

To Campbell the situation in Spain is "Win the war and we shall see what happens afterwards." Our view is quite different. We maintain that even while the war is being waged against International Fascism, industry and agriculture must be developed on new lines. The Social Revolution must go on at the same time as the War against fascism. Surely the success of the War must depend also on the way industry and agriculture are organised in order to equip and feed those fighting for the Revolution.

The Communist Party does not believe in Collectivisation. It has now embraced the cause of "Capitalist Democracy" as preferable to Fascism.

The Communist does not believe that the people should have a right to discuss problems which concern them. "There is a tendency to treat Ministers as being delegates who have to report back to their organisations before carrying through any policy agreed upon . . . The C.P. and the U.C.S.P. have insisted that the Popular Front Government should be given full powers." True, this centralization is to be applied during the war period only . . . but what happened in Russia after the Revolution? The centralization was intensified, until that country has become one of the world *Totalitarian* powers; autonomy and freedom forgotten!

THE UNITED FRONT

The "better understanding between the Communists and Anarchists" is discussed on page 14, and here again the P.O.U.M. is accused of trying to "drive a wedge between these two bodies," because they accuse the Communists of "manoeuvring to exclude the C.N.T."

Campbell answers: Who in Spain is crippling the revolution. Crippling the revolution means concretely crippling the conduct of the war; means fighting against unity of command against a Government with full powers capable of conducting an offensive on the Aragon front. Certainly not the Communists, who want to create conditions which will make the revolution victorious. It is those who under the cover of left phrases disorganise the rear in Spain, who are undoubtedly crippling the revolution.

His reference to the Aragon Front is puerile. He should consult the Anarchist Press in Spain, such as *Solidaridad Obrera*, to realize that the latter have always stressed the necessity of fortifying the Aragon Front; not only that, but do they remember that it was Durruti who had begun organizing the Aragon front, immediately the military had been defeated in Catalonia, and that he was transferred to the Madrid front, against his will.

That the Communists, now to be known as "capitalist democrats," would not hesitate to eliminate the Anarchists if they had the opportunity, there can be no doubt. For instance he writes: "The Communist Party of Spain and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia have called for the formation of a People's Army based on compulsory military service because only compulsory military service would give the Government full disposal of the man-power of the country. This is being opposed by the P.O.U.M., which says such an army might be used to crush the working class . . ."

Evidently it is regarded in certain circles as a crime when a Government in which the workers' representatives are in the key positions desires to control the army. The army evidently must be controlled, according to the P.O.U.M., by an organisation separate from the Government in which the workers' organisations are represented.

The idea behind this is apparent to all. It is that the army must be prepared for an insurrection against the existing Popular Front Governments in Spain."

These are tactics which can only have one aim in view: the establishment of a totalitarian state, and incidents which have taken place in Barcelona, such as the seizure by the Communists of several tanks, under false pretences, confirm our feeling.

The violent repression of Anarchists in Russia, after they had contributed their full share to winning the Revolution, and their continued persecution twenty years later, is ever present in our minds and, we are sure, is not forgotten by our Comrades in Spain.

The Communists in Spain and in this country should cease their vile and slimy attacks on other parties and organisations in Spain, which are fighting for a victory over Fascism, and put their cards on the table instead. So long as political intrigues and moral dishonesty continue to exist amongst their leaders, so long will it take to overcome Fascism.

Mr. Campbell's pamphlet is full of inaccuracies and mis-statements. By it he is doing a dis-service to the cause of the Revolution. V.R.

* Mr. John Langdon Davies' interview with President Companys, with reference to this point, reads as follows:

Question: It would be true, would it not, to say that the present situation is due to the arming of the proletariat on July 19th? Was it you, as President, who armed them?

Answer: No, they armed themselves. We had no store of arms to give them. They conquered their arms . . .

CORRECTION

Page 2, column 1, of the last issue, under the heading FASCIST INVASION, a sentence read "To-morrow may we suffer at the hands of the Italian Proletariat!" "We" should have been "He"; a capital "H" because we were referring to Mussolini, the Almighty, who teaches Italian children that he is "always right."

On another line reference is made of the "terrorist methods of Groziani and Balbo." The latter name should have been "Balbo," referring, of course, to the Balbo who was connected with the murder of Don Minzoni in Italy during Fascism's "civilizing" campaign in that country.