

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends — Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness — it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it ...

—Thomas Jefferson

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The League Will Not Stop The Massacre Of The Innocent In Spain, China or Abyssinia. A Conscious, Militant Internationally Minded Working Class Only Can Save Them From — Annihilation By The Forces Of Reaction

EDITORIAL

DURING the last fifteen months numerous declarations by the worlds' politicians printed the fact that Fascist invasion of Spain would not be tolerated. These were the speeches in Parliament, to the Press and at the seat of the so-called League of Nations. On the other hand the Trade Union leaders adopted the attitude that intervention in Spain meant war.

It is with the latter remark that we are concerned. Politicians, representatives of Government are too well-known as the sources of fine, courageous words and underhand work, but the representatives of a workers' movement should at least be divorced from all these methods of justifying an existence and several hundreds of pounds a year, and should openly work towards the achievement of a League of Nations of the working class. That is, the creation of an international movement so strong that aggressions such as we have witnessed during the last few years, and in which the civilian populations have been completely annihilated, shall be impossible.

This international solidarity is impossible at this juncture, as has been seen in Spain, because controlling the working class are elements which have been inebriated by the "rank" they hold in their organizations.

This solidarity is impossible now because the working class is still not allowed to think independently, but allows itself to be guided blindly, and so often in the wrong direction.

As an example we previously mentioned the Labour movement's excuse for shirking its responsibility towards Spain and Ethiopia by stressing the possibilities of an international War. In Spain today there is an International War, and few will be prepared to deny this fact. Germany and Italy have not only supplied arms for Franco but have sent battalions of men. This outrage did not stir up the British and French governments to the extent of declaring war. Italian submarines have been sinking merchant shipping and torpedoing British warships, and yet war was not declared. And now

Mussolini and Hitler have sent a further supply of armaments, aeroplanes and men to Majorca to prepare to attack the Eastern coast of Spain simultaneously with the Rebel attack on the Aragon front. As a retaliation France promises to open the frontiers to the Spanish government ... but she has said that for a year now and nothing has been done yet.

Thus it can be seen that a handful of hard-boiled underhanded politicians have been able to betray the Spanish people fighting International Fascism in spite of the protests of all the world's proletariat. Why? Surely it cannot be said that the ruling class is more numerous than the workers' organizations. Neither can it be said that the company directors produce the arms, textiles, food-stuffs which go to arm and feed the people. Nor can it be said that politicians who advocate wars take an active part in them.

The answer is simple, and yet apparently so complex. Capitalists can supply the wealth in monetary form. Arms barons can supply the arms of destruction but at the base of everything, the virtual controllers of all, are the workers. In the factory and in the fields they are the producers. It is they who from the bowels of the earth obtain the raw materials required to make and to feed the machinery of industry. Catalonia has shown that the worker is more important than the factory owner or company chairman. And this is the arm of the workers, the basis of their international solidarity. It must exist today under the present regimes as it must exist in the society of the future. But this arm must be used at the right moment to achieve its maximum of effect.

The busmen for instance have achieved nothing by their sacrifice. It will take them five years to make up the money they lost during the few weeks' strike. The reason? Simply that at their head they had a reactionary who was far from representing their cause.

On the other hand one notes with a feeling of satisfaction that the bourgeois Government of Valencia was obliged to liber-

ate Joaquin Ascaso (president of the late Council of Aragon) through threats that CNT would call a general strike if he were kept in prison any longer. Similarly world opinion has forced the Ogpu to liberate Erich Mueselm's widow who had spent many long months in Russian prisons.

These are but small indications of the strength of working class opinion, still undeveloped. Its strength when each worker will sense his own personal responsibility in his organization and towards his fellow creatures can be but envisaged.

And it is towards this goal that the English working class must strive. The worker's movement must include quality with quantity. Then the results of the conflict in Spain would no longer be in doubt. Then Japanese aggression in China and Italian conquest of Abyssinia would be impossible. Then, and then only will we be moving towards a new social order, rather than patching up present society as our Trade Unions are actually doing. And as we move towards the new social order so will that sense of Justice and Liberty, apparently so lacking even in our working class movements, become deeply felt by one and all to the same degree as in Spain where our comrades prefer death to dictatorship and Church slavery.

After Fourteen Months Of Free Spain

By X. X. X.

WAS there ever a period so foolishly and tragically wasted for the cause of progress than the fifteen years since the end of the great War? Since then, we have reaped the fruits of the intellectual clumsiness and ethical sloveliness of these fatal years. The vindictive territorial rearrangements provoked intensified nationalisms, the scheming, plotting and preparing treachery of most European States and the race for armaments for the coming totalitarian, pandestructive wars. Moreover the old routes of trade obstructed by the long war, were finally destroyed by the new frontiers, State rivalry, ambitions, emnity and impoverishment; the distress of most of the consumers and the increased output of the rationalised means of production created that permanent economic crisis, poverty and unemployment, which the present immense, but entirely unproductive international output of war materials is not alleviating in the least, but rather perpetuating, for peace, disarmament, under such conditions, would mean fresh ruin by unemployment—and war is ruinous as well, as we all know by this time.

If the great War was the product of an authoritarian age when competition and craving for riches and power finally led to the clash-

ing in arms of ever so many opposing interests, the contending forces, Statal, economic, military and their ideologies could only produce dictatorial solutions, imposing the right of the strongest: but were these really all the vital forces of Humanity? That is the point, in my opinion. At that crucial juncture, the real forces of Humanity were deficient, kept silent or were silenced and have not spoken up as yet, to this very day, to an appreciable and efficient degree. *Humanity*—that is at least that minimum of ethical conduct which permits social life and excludes the worst forms of cannibalism. It is science and technical skill which raise our conditions of life above those of the other animated inhabitants of this globe. It is labour which alone keeps up the standard of civic life which we enjoy. On this basis alone thought and art, beauty and comfort, ease and plenty can unfold. Whatever is the State contributing to all this?—the State which in the last analysis centres in a few men who are timid or cynical, clever or the reverse, disinterested or not, routine is made or capricious, just managing things or downright mis-managing them? Whatever is the contribution of the economic forces—the vested interests dating back from centuries of privilege, new riches based on monopolies of every description or arising from State supported competition? Or that of the military forces which from all eternity have never understood how to win a war so as to create real peace, but have always sown the seeds of new wars? Or that of parties, of religious, of national ideologies, all of which by their very existence perpetuate dissension and strife? As long as the life and death of every community is in the hands of these incorrigible wreckers of social life, situations like the present one, about the worst one can remember, are inevitable.

All this was felt or understood by many since the eighteenth century, but seldom expressed with that full vigour which we find in some of the writings of *Godwin*
(Continued on Page 4, col. 4)

Nyon Pact In Force

Piracy Continues Unchecked

While the French Foreign Office is still waiting for Mussolini's reply—no longer with any illusions as to its contents—Italian authorities in the Balearics appear to be becoming more reckless every day.

Their latest exploit, as reported in to-night's Paris papers, has been to capture and force into Palma harbour the French cargo vessel *Cassidaigne*, sailing from Marseilles to Oran along the route prescribed under the Nyon Arrangement—a route 32 miles east of the Balearics. On Tuesday afternoon the ship was approached by two chaser 'planes, which, flying low, turned their machine-guns on the crew and signalled the order to proceed to Palma. The captain changed his course in accordance with these instructions, but slowed down at the

same time and several messages were sent out, which were clearly received at Algiers but do not seem to have produced the desired effect of bringing immediate aid to the scene.

On nearing the Balearics the ship was approached by two gunboats and later by a destroyer, and was escorted by these into Palma harbour. According to the crew the destroyer was flying the Italian flag, as did also several other warships anchored at Palma. It was not until after an inspection of the ship by the rebel authorities, who carried away the wireless operator's book, and the arrival on the following afternoon of the French destroyer *Fantastique* that the ship was released.

(Manchester Guardian).

HAVE YOU SEEN
THE LATEST FILM
ON SPAIN?

"FURY OVER SPAIN"

—Turn to page 4

American Letter

Harry KELLY

ON June 21, 1527, i.e. over five hundred years ago, Niccolo Machiavelli, child of the Italian Renaissance and one of its most brilliant minds died in poverty at Florence his native city after a lifetime of service to the State. Diplomat, soldier, historian, poet, philosopher and dramatist, he was as truly a Civil Servant or "Federal employee" as we call them here, as any of those hundreds of thousands now working for the British or American governments even though Florence was a "City State" instead of those we have today for most of his adult life was spent in its service.

Had he lived in our days he would have been known as a "career man" for he had nothing but his wits and indefatigable energy to obtain and hold his jobs and while highly regarded for his talents by his employers he was poorly remunerated by them for his labors. He served the Republic and was willing to serve the Medici for he was a patriot in a very real sense and it was in his endeavours to obtain a job that he wrote and dedicated "The Prince" to Lorenzo Di Piero De' Medici, Dictator of Florence at that time. This short work has served as a text book for statesmen and a favourite subject for moralists for more than four and a half centuries.

It is customary to ascribe lofty motives for the acts of a genius and when his work has survived four and a half centuries it sounds belittling to base them upon such a commonplace factor as seeking a job as the main reason for its creation. However, Machiavelli has very plainly intimated that that was in his mind when he sent the essay to Piero, for he was out of employment and hard up at the time he wrote "The Prince" and thought that by dedicating it to Piero the latter would reward him with a job.

The essence of "The Prince" is to lie, dissemble, resort to treachery, have mental reservations when you make promises or agreements — sounds like the Jesuits or our modern Communists, doesn't it? — Horace Greely said "platforms (political) were made to spit on" which was an inelegant method of expressing the same idea. Machiavelli also said be kind, be just and paternal when it is expedient and dishonest, hypocritical, ruthless and brutal when necessary to hold power.

Statesmen as well as Princes had been liars, hypocrites and tyrants before Machiavelli was born but he was probably the first to make of these a philosophy(?) of life or rule of conduct until that rule has come to be followed by men who never read "The Prince" or heard of its author.

Coming to our immediate time we find a hypocrisy so gross in dealing with questions of public policy that they deceive no one above the intelligence of a moron but are advocated on the principle that it is best to lie as the truth is so horrifying it would surely lead us into war. The most brazen and most tragic of modern hypocrisies is the attitude the entire world is taking toward the Spanish war or rebellion, whichever one chooses to call it. The humbug of the English, French and American ruling classes is so disgusting it is difficult to write calmly about it. The United States sells Italy, Germany and other Fascist countries all the war material they want and can get credit or pay off, and these countries in turn send it to Franco, whereas the government refuses to allow direct sales to the legally elected Government. Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull call that upholding the Neutrality Act, passed at the last session of Congress. Such a statement is insulting to the intelligence of school children let alone adults, but it goes on and on and no one seems able to do anything about it. The same situation is being repeated in the case of Japan and China except that Japan is detested by the overwhelming majority of the country and the fiction may have to be mo-

dified or smothered in even greater hypocrisy than has been practised up to now. With more than twenty million Catholics in the country it is easy to understand the propaganda possibilities for the success of Franco and his Moorish, Italian and German allies against the liberal and libertarian forces in Spain.

In domestic affairs it is the same story. The ruling class and their satellites supported by lawyers whose profession has become so sanctified throughout the past one hundred and fifty years they even believe in the unbelievable, and liberal minded men and women who have chosen the profession of law stand on their heads trying to reconcile their liberalism with support of the most reactionary of all the reactionary forces in the country, the Supreme Court of the U.S. Ninety per cent. of the thinking part of our population know that when the President has an appointment to make to the Supreme Court he first makes sure that the appointee belongs to the same political party as he does. In spite of this, when President Roosevelt recently appointed Senator Hugo L. Black of Alabama to the court a roar went from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans from the hypocritical ruling class. Not a word was said over the fact that Black was taking the place of a judge who has been a life-long Republican and Corporation lawyer who used his position to hamstring all liberal legislation for more than a quarter of a cen-

tury. In some important respects the New Dealer Roosevelt is not a bit different or better. All through his four years and eight months as President he has consistently — or inconsistently — appointed an administrator to a certain department to carry out his policies, and then almost the next day appointed another administrator to nullify the work of the first appointee. This condition and situation runs all through our public life and it is important that we underscore this fact, for in private life things are far different and far, far better. We never knew a Cabinet Minister in the flesh, but we have known their counterpart in other walks in life and have found them decent and humane men who would scorn to do the things in private they do in public.

What man in private life would drop bombs on innocent men, women and children or deliberately strafe helpless non-combatants fleeing for their lives along an open road? Only a man or men so dulled and stupefied by years of training and background that human life and all that formerly implied has lost its meaning.

"The evil that men do lives after them while the good is oft interred with their bones" said Shakespeare — and so with Machiavelli, who lived an honest life, worked hard and was devoted to his devoted Florence, but died neglected and in poverty. His essay "The Prince" has become the hand-book for millions of men and women even as they add hypocrisy to Machiavelli by denouncing it as they practice its teaching.

Is it hopeless to expect men to practice in public the ideas and ideals they advocate in private life? I wonder?

HOW FRENCH FASCISTS HELP FRANCO UNDER A POPULAR FRONT REGIME

IN THE inventory of material taken to Franco's mercenaries, it has been proved that, in general, this equipment has been coming from France.

As regards outfits, uniforms come from a factory in Levallois, gas-marks from a factory in Indre-et-Loire, and helmets are also the product of French manufacture.

As to armaments, the packing marks are new — and show they come from French factories; the munitions have been manufactured so recently that they have been shipped in carton packing.

The Hotchkiss concern has supplied machine guns and the Brandt works have sent howitzers. The cannons are of the French 75 type — and some of the 380's have even come from the French State Arsenals.

The small arms are of German, Belgian and Czechoslovakian manufacture.

It is obvious that vigilance on the part of the Syndicalist organisations is necessary — and we cannot help asking how it comes about that the Metal Syndicate, which controls production, allows wagons to leave for France, carrying equipment that will be used to crush our brothers in Spain. These words are addressed to our comrades in the metal industry.

Pacifists and Income Tax

One day last week a man was fined in South London for declining to pay a portion of his taxes. He said he was withholding that portion which he judged would be devoted to rearmament as he was a pacifist. This is a logical course, but not logical enough. It has always been a matter of speculation with us, in watching the development of the pacifist movement, as to when the pacifists would wake up to the fact that their whole position must inevitably lead them to Anarchism. The pacifist believes that he has the right to assert his private conscientious scruple against the taking of human life, even against the command of the State, but surely a logical mind would see that in asserting any individual right against the will of the majority is to attack the whole basis of the State, since that rests absolutely on the right of the majority to decide for all?

It will be very interesting to see how far these conscientious objectors to war will be led — by their consciences!

S. V. E.

"Estampas De La Revolucion"

A collection, comprising 30 reproductions of paintings by Sim, attractively bound, vividly portraying the struggle being waged in Spain. Apart from the artistic value, this album is of interest in that the printing has been executed at a collectivised printing works.

As there are still a considerable number of these albums to be disposed of, we are making an offer to those comrades who could not buy them at the original price, by fixing the price of the album at 4/- each or 4/6 post free.

Prison Memoirs Of An Anarchist

by Alexander Berkman

Emma Goldman has kindly presented us with 12 copies of this book, the money from the sale of which will go to Solidarity Fund. Published at 10/6, the price for readers is 4/6 or 5/- post free.

Write for your copy now to:

"SPAIN and the WORLD."

Attacks On Villages Carried Out In Name Of Law And Order

(From Our Correspondent in Barcelona)

GANDESA—A punitive expedition arrived in the town on the 24th of June and started by arresting the most prominent members of the Peasant Collective and of the Union. Then they requisitioned the buildings of the former. To complete their work of "pacification," they returned the land worked by the peasants to their former owners, creating the same economic disaster as had been created in the other localities where they pursued the same methods.

VINEBRE—The peasant Collective and the peasant Union had been flourishing in this locality. Forces of Carabineros invaded it on June 28th and sacked the CNT headquarters and homes of many comrades, carrying off money, food, tools, etc., as though they were a conquering horde of savages. They demanded, in violent terms, the surrender of all arms. The peasants submitted and handed over about 100 weapons, the majority of them shotguns.

This did not seem sufficient to the Guards, so they carried out, with the aid of the PSUC, a series of searches, threatening many of our comrades with death. Still later, a new body of Guards arrived from Falset, whose commanding officer issued a proclamation denouncing the members of the CNT. The right-wing elements were naturally re-animated and proceeded to calumniate the revolutionary workers in every possible manner. The work of the counter-revolution got well under way, and the process was finally completed by the forced dissolution of the Town Council and the Collective.

The reactionary bourgeoisie are congratulating themselves in this town.

ARNES—Upon arriving at this town, the armed forces proceeded immediately to the dissolution of the Town Council elected in a duly constitutional manner, replacing it with hostile elements. The next step was the dissolution of the Collective and they even forbade the workers to proceed with the threshing of the wheat. All work

was thus completely paralysed. The new mayor called the people to a meeting and promised to distribute the land among them. The answer was immediate and unanimous: they all preferred the Collective system of working. Evidently the workers of this town will not renounce their rights in spite of the violence to which they are being subjected.

PAUL TARRAGONA—A punitive expedition reached this town on July 3rd and expelled the workers from the Collective, closing down the headquarters of both the Collective and the Union. The Collective in this town was one of the most efficient in the entire region. The Collective was formed by the contributions of the individual members of their land, the property of the right-wing elements being thoroughly respected. They were allowed to join the Collective however, if they so wished, enjoying, it goes without saying, equal rights with all the others. A splendid achievement of voluntary co-operation completely destroyed.

RIPOLL DE VALLES—The Assault Guards burst into this town like a cyclone. They searched the Town Hall, and then went to the headquarters of the CNT, destroyed the placards, tore up the banners, broke the locks, destroyed the mirrors and the furniture with vicious violence. The same procedure was followed in the Institute of Art and Culture. They carried out a series of so-called investigations that amounted to downright sacking; money, clothes, stamps, etc. completely disappeared. After compelling the workers to surrender their arms, the Guards gave those same weapons to the friends of the present mayor, ex-member of the Patriotic Union, a man who tried unsuccessfully, after the 19th of July, 1936, to join the FAI. This person declared null and void the acts of requisition made by the CNT and previously endorsed by the Government. The headquarters of the CNT was turned over to the Left Republicans and the Association of Petty Proprietors.

Emma Goldman In Spain

"Madrid Is The Wonder Of Centuries"

Madrid, Sept. 23rd, 1937.

You will be impatient with me that I have written so little since I got to Spain. The events are too overwhelming for letters. The days are filled to overflowing with impressions, especially is this the case here. Madrid is the wonder of centuries for there is nothing like it in fortitude and epic grandeur. One had to see it to realise its tremendous courage and spirit regardless of the danger surrounding it, regardless of what the city and the people have already endured at the hands of fascism. Greater still is the faith of our people who go on building, creating and labouring not for the hour but for all times. One can not help but set aside all doubts and all superficial criticism in the face of such wonderful manifestation of human endurance and determination to win come what may. I am so full of it all I cannot concentrate on any one impression or say what is more inspiring than the other. More than even last year I wish I could remain with our people right here in this heroic city and share in their struggle and their aspirations. But again I will have to leave much sooner than I want. We are going back to Valencia tomorrow, from there Sunday or Monday to Barcelona. Perhaps I can write more coherently from there. I only wish all our comrades so ready to judge could come to Spain to see for themselves that whatever the mistakes

made they are as nothing compared with the gigantic work already achieved. Whatever happens this will remain a lasting monument to the valor and the constructive genius of our comrades.

I am thinking of you and the others to-day and our meeting. I hope it will be a success. I saw several films yesterday, part of which we will get so Frank can complete them for our purpose. We will then carry them from one end of England to another.

EMMA.

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A Letter To The Communist Party From Largo Caballero

"A people is invincible providing that one does not make it lose its faith in its hopes of liberty, on condition that on its own volition and from its collective sacrifices it does not see the beginnings of a new tyrannical power an internal despotism which would damp its enthusiasm for the struggle and in the end would be weakened in the long run by exterior tyranny.

The knowledge that a political organisation exists working above all for the enlarging of its power with the secret aspiration of becoming the one and only organisation during and after the war, dangerously damages the moral of town and rural workers."

We are referring to the Spanish section of the Communist International. We render this Party principally responsible for the bad luck suffered for the last three months by the republican cause, and also graver disasters which are bound to come if a prompt remedy is not found.

Up to the present day for some three months previously there existed a real unity for anti-fascist action. To-day this unity of action is ever diminishing. Whose is the blame? Firstly, that of the Communist party which was the first to organise a plot aiming at the suppression of those men and those organisations who do not submit to orders emanating from Communists.

... "This party has declared a war to the end to those who in the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. are opposed to a totalitarian policy which does not mean exactly the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The letter studies in detail the errors in the home policy of the Communist Party and upholds the activities of the Caballero government, activities which were supported by a large proportion of the anti-fascist elements, and narates by what stratagems the Communists overthrow this government. Here are criticisms of the military activities of the Communist Party:

"If the recent unfortunate operations at Bounete previously condemned on several occasions by experts who considered them doomed to failure, if these operations, we repeat, were merely the result of purely military errors, we should remain silent apart from demanding the dismissal and punishment of those guilty of spilling of so much blood to no purpose. But in these operations, military objectives were subordinated to shady political designs; to the glorification of the Communist leaders in command, if success were the issue: to the desire to prove also that if any easy victory had not already been obtained, it was due to the unreasoning opposition of those who mistook inaction for prudence, and opposition to party feeling amongst Communists for forethought and the desire not to spill criminally the blood of the people. The calamitous results have shown who was right."

Restating its position with regard to the Communist party, the socialist organisation of Madrid concludes:

"A policy of rifts, a policy of theatrical gestures at the price of thousands of dead and wounded without any strategic advantage, such has been and still is the policy of the Communist Party. If we were as malevolent as they, we would think that their policy was intended to create the moral and material conditions favouring a defeat or a new 'Aboara de Vergara.'"

"We are ready to believe that it is a question of an error of judgment and of the retinues of a mechanical and limited intelligence which imagines that victory is near and that the Communists are enough to obtain it.

"A great mistake, if that were the case. Victory will be that if all the fascist forces or will never take place. A party which engages in such a policy is unworthy of leadership and responsibility in war. There are but two possibilities: either the Communist Party will modify its defeatist policy or else it must be removed from public affairs as the enemy of republican Spain."

And The Fight Goes On...

By Augustin Souchy

OUR fight is of a Revolutionary as well as a Military character. The reactionary and Conservative forces dread the Revolution—hence their violent opposition. The Pacifists and Socialists dread War—hence their hesitation to come forward openly and help us obtain the necessary weapons to carry on our fight.

The Fascist Powers—Germany, Italy, Portugal—are active. Long before the 19th of July did they begin to give Franco every encouragement, and ever since that historic date it may truthfully be said that it is they who are actually carrying on this ruthless War against the Spanish people. Our friends in the meantime have remained passive. In their inactivity, they continue to hover between fear and hope: FEAR lest the "Spanish firebrand" should develop into another international conflict, another World War, and HOPE that perchance the more moderate elements—Fascist as well as Republican—may after all come to some understanding.

As far as France, Belgium and England are concerned, a Fascist victory would have a disastrous effect on their Home as well as their Foreign political situation. As for the Labour Movement in those countries, it would mean a menace to their very existence.

However, a first step towards a change for the better can now be noted. The hypocrisy of the non-intervention policy has been laid bare, the Non-Intervention Committee has dissolved into thin air...

What? Is Italy to be allowed to become master in the Mediterranean, and Germany in the Pyrenees and Northern Spain? No, neither England nor France could

even contemplate such a thing. Both are compelled, for their security's sake, now to range themselves on our side. If a free plebiscite were to be taken in either of the Fascist countries—Italy or Germany, there not the slightest doubt but that the vast majority of the people would vote against France and the Dictator's war on Spain. Hitler and Mussolini are well aware of this. They know also that the victory of the Republic and the Anti-Fascist Revolution would deal a fatal blow to their own prestige and their repressive institutions. They can sense this danger that is threatening them—hence their violence, their ruthless aggressiveness. But, at last, their cynical and piratical operations in the Mediterranean are to be stopped. As a consequence of this, an entire reshuffling of the Western Powers is to be noted. This is the beginning of the change in our favour. The Democracies hesitated a long time. Meantime, by its dynamic aggressiveness Fascism gained a great ascendancy during the first year of the war in the international political world. The English are hesitant in making decisions, slow in taking action, after the manner of the philosophising "Hamlet" (a type still true unto this day). When, however, it becomes a question of its prestige, of safeguarding its political and economic Power then Great Britain is ready to take its stand.

Such is the situation today. International Fascism needs must have quick and spectacular victories. It is prepared to go to any length: no flags are safe in face of Fascism. Already it believes it holds victory within its grasp. But...the sunk vessels caused a stir,

a whirlpool into which Fascism itself is caught and plunged into the depth, to perdition.

A tremendous task devolves upon the Labour organisation, especially those of France and England. Nurses, medicines, soap, sugar—all these are certainly most acceptable to us. Still, had one supplied us, in August of last year, with guns, hand grenades, aeroplanes and armoured cars—then there would have been no sunk vessels to-day. Nor would there have been any need for medicaments to be sent to us during the months following. For we should have conquered Franco long ago. Even the pacifists might have found it more to their advantage.

Evidently, it was not found desirable that we should gain a speedy victory over Franco. Were they afraid of the Revolution? Of Anarchism? Did they hope to render us war-weary and thus more ready for compromise?

But there can be no understanding with Fascism for the freedom-loving proletariat of Spain. Spain will not offer a refuge for despots and dictators. There can be no peace so long as there is a nest of Fascism.

The time for deliberations and pronouncements must come to an end with this war. No room for dictators. Our people will secure peace through justice and will build up its prosperity through work. First of all, however, we must fight for and conquer outer independence and freedom.

During battles there are pauses for rest, but the fight goes on until victory is won for the Revolution.

A. SOUCHY.
(Translated by D.Z.)

A Study In Inconsistency

Mr. Langdon-Davies And Spanish Anarchists

THE moving force motivating the writings of a journalist living in a country far from Press control should be to seek the truth. Further there should be a certain consistency in the ideas expressed which would then point to the seriousness of the writer. It is a fact that few people take G. B. Shaw seriously when he expresses political opinions because too often has he been an admirer both of Socialism and Fascism, of Liberty and Oppression.

When we read Mr. Langdon-Davies' book "Behind the Spanish Barricades" we felt that he would be one of that select group of journalists and writers who were unbiased and described all they saw without fear because it was the truth.

In this month's "Labour Monthly," Mr. Langdon-Davies has made us change our opinion. His article "Anti-Fascist Unity in Spain" is unlimited praise for Negrin and the Communist Party and a scurrilous attack on the Anarchists. We say "scurrilous" because we suspect that his attacks have been borrowed directly and blindly from the speeches of Hernandez and Comorera which were published in pamphlet form in this country by the Communist Party.

Mr. Langdon-Davies' digression into the economic history of Spain and his conclusions as to the why and wherefore of the Anarchist movement cannot be discussed here. We are at present more interested in his attacks directed against our comrades.

ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

The first concerns the Organization of Industry. He states that the anarchists who are in control of the chief war industry have proved:

(a) "A six-hour day in the munition factories leading to a restricted output and the starving of the front for munitions."

This is not the truth. In the workshops and factories during all these months our comrades have been working a 56 hour week (Tierra y Libertad 7/8/37) and producing as much armaments as the raw materials at their disposal permits.

(b) "A refusal to accept state control and therefore centralized planning—result, chaos instead of development according to war needs."

True the comrades do not need State control, but that does not mean 'chaos' as Mr. Davies suggests. A Commission of Industry was formed as follows:

three military technicians, a technician of the Chemical Industry, and a delegate of Supplies. This commission was presided over by Terradellas, the well-known Catalan politician. Towards the end of September 1936, a delegation representing this commission went to Madrid with the aim of offering the Government of the Republic the products of Catalonia's industry. They were anxious to produce the arms necessary to bring the war to an early conclusion. The Central Government did not accept their proposals. Despite this, important supplies have been sent to Madrid.

From a war industry which was conspicuous by its absence in Catalonia, our comrades have managed to build an industry which employs 150,000 men, and which is carried on in about 300 factories. Only the enemies of the CNT-FAI and those who cannot move a finger without permission from a Leader or a Government, talk of "chaos" in this industry which is in reality one of the numerous examples of the achievements of the workers in the New Spain.

(c) "What munitions have been made have not been handed over to the government." More have been delivered over to the anarchist organizations and stored for their use than have been used against Franco. "In short, a cruel lack of munitions at the front and ample for the private rear-guard armies of the CNT-FAI."

Mr. Davies saw with his own eyes "anarchist-made armoured cars delivered over to anarchist organizations and taken into the streets to shoot down socialists and communists." We must remind Mr. Davies as we reminded Senor Comorera of the fact that members of the PSUC recently obtained ten tanks from the arsenal in Barcelona and drove them to the Voroshilov barracks (in the rear-guard note!). We can also add further information which might be of interest to those who see virtue personified in the Communist Party, namely that the premises of the syndicate of food supplies of the CNT in Barcelona was recently ransacked by the upholders of discipline and order and who, for the occasion, had mobilized a force of 25 armoured cars, a battery of artillery and several machine-gun sections. All this, we suppose, was carried out under the banner of "All Arms to the Front."

DISCIPLINE.

Mr. Davies has been led to believe that the Negrin Government is far

from "bourgeois" and that its aim is to "put an end to revolutionary discipline so that true revolutionary discipline may eventually come." He cites the usual stock examples given by the Communist Press: the murder of Tramway workers of the UST, the gangsters of the Patrullas de Control, the tapping of the Government telephone lines. Will this be achieved by the wholesale murder of the anarchist militants as has been the order of the day of the PSUC? Our revelations on the attacks on the villages and towns which appeared in No. 20 as well as in the present issue of "Spain and the World" are, we suppose, carried out in the name of law and order. Or is the assassination of comrades of the Bernari type, whose whole existence had been sacrificed for the workers' cause, because the PSUC considered them counter-revolutionaries, a part of the new programme of the Stalino-Negrin Government? And Mr. Davies has the insolence to say that "to an anarchist the tramway worker who is a Marxist is a heretic, and that overrules the fact that he is still a worker." According to him anarchism is a "sect." Were this a fact, would our comrades have allowed such liberty to the communist during the first months of the Revolution, when before the influx of the bourgeoisie into their Party, the CP in Catalonia was non-existent. Would our comrades have sought an alliance between the CNT and UGT?

FORCED COLLECTIVIZATION.

The two remaining subjects of attack are the control of the frontiers and Forced Collectivization.

The need for Governmental control of the frontiers according to Mr. Davies, is that otherwise the anarchists will be able to smuggle money into France for their own use. It is curious that whilst now he attributes this habit to our comrades, in his book he wrote: "And very soon the same men (anarchists) who had set fire to the Cathedral had loaded sixteen million pesetas into a lorry and were taking it to hand over intact to the central government in Barcelona." At that time there was treasure and money in abundance (obtained from the abandoned churches and convents), and "Catalan frontier villages were in the hands of local anarchist committees"—and yet Mr. Davies saw with his own eyes that millions of pesetas were not sneaked over the frontier but handed over to the authorities. Now, a year later, when most of the treasure and money of Spain is controlled, Mr. Davies finds cause to suspect the anarchists of pilfering!

As regards the bogey of Forced Collectivization no better proof to the contrary can be given than by the numerous examples of successful collectivization of which we have regularly published articles in our columns and which could be verified by any independent witness. Even Mr. Davies expressed admiration when he wrote his book (during his pre-communist period), and he even went to the trouble to describe one fishing village, Port de la Selva. Far from seeing "forced collectivization" there, he could not help but remark that "to sit in the cafe at Port de la Selva is to sit in an atmosphere of free men... there is something very Spanish about Port de la Selva and its co-operation, the spontaneous local experimenting in the art of living together. Many a time in these last few months, when I have read atrocity stories and foul distortions in our gutter Press, have I thought of the fisherman in Port de la Selva..." Mr. Davies has now undergone a transformation. He wears the communist spectacles of shortsightedness and writes that in a village where two anarchists were shot a "punitive expedition arrived from Barcelona and killed more than half the men in the village." And whereas a year ago he made a reflection that the "local experimenting in the art of living" was a spontaneous reaction in Spain so now under the influence of the communists he is convinced that it is all "forced!"

Mr. Davies' is yet another example of the forces against which our comrades in Spain, and we who are far from the field of battle, must fight.

And this study in inconsistency is not just space wasted if it will serve to warn thinking men and women to reflect carefully before accepting blindly the kind of propaganda which has appeared from the pen of Mr. Langdon-Davies in the "Labour Monthly."

There are "journalists" and journalists. One must learn to distinguish between the two.

V. B.

Mr. Langdon-Davies, Mouthpiece of the Communist Party

Mr. Langdon-Davies writes (October) ...

... The Negrin Government is not to give the tramways back to Barcelona Traction Ltd., but to take them out of the hands of the CNT-FAI Ltd. ...

To disarm the illegal Patrullas de Control.

Is it possible to imagine the heads of a government in wartime consenting to their telephone conversations being tapped ...

... the profits of the Barcelona tramways go straight into the pockets of the Union leaders in control and what they do with them is their business.

The C.P.* wrote (June) ...

Have the thousands of workers who have died at the battle front died so that in the end we can substitute for Barcelona Tramways Ltd. what may be called CNT-FAI Ltd?

It must proceed immediately to dissolve the Patrullas de Control ...

... and neither President Azana nor President Companys, nor anyone else could speak, without the indiscreet ear of the controller knowing it. Naturally this had to be stopped ...

... we ask where have all these millions of profits of the Tramway and Water Company ... gone?

*From "Spain Unites for Victory."

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BOOKS

The Ever Flaming Torch Of Anarchism. 1887—1937

Pierre RAMUS

In the fifty years which have elapsed since the martyrdom of our Chicago comrades on the eleventh of November 1887 the path of Anarchism has been strewn with so many self-immolated victims of the persecution of our ideal, that there must, in their death, be of some monumental significance their memory so vivid in the conscience of mankind.

There is something of real martyrdom in their death which sets them quite apart from the other great pioneers of our thought who have shed their blood and given their lives for liberty.

Often men die gladly for their convictions and their consequent acts. To martyr oneself for vengeance, death for something into which one has poured the whole being of one's self, thus giving vent to a justifiable exasperation, the throwing away of one's life as an answer to the rottenness of the system of organised injustice and misery, upheld by the thoughtlessness and violence of those mostly oppressed by it — all this is great so far as the individual is concerned, but it has no comparison with the martyrdom of our Haymarket comrades of fifty years ago, who still represent a living memory.

Our comrades in Chicago died for two things which make them unforgettable in history and which remain the inspiration of our idea and ideals to-day.

They died innocent and with injustice. They died for their theory, for the idea of Anarchism, and they had to die because, to the last, they would not recant, their faith, the principle of Anarchism.

They chose a cruel and premature end, meted out to them by that organisation of violence and injustice, called the State, rather than renounce their conviction.

In this lies the significance of our comrades' martyrdom, for by having died for their faith, and for this alone, they have rendered the greatest service to the workers of all countries and to the cause of Anarchism. For their death is the purest proof of the mean scurriness of all governmentalism and because of their death there will arise a great avenger of the innocents murdered by authority and brutal power. Like a momentous proof of this there has appeared, very appropriate to the fiftieth commemoration of the Chicago martyrs, a book which can be called the second great monument erected to them, proving to the powers that be that by their assassination on the 11th of November 1887 they have not been able to kill the spirit which they thought to annihilate on the gallows in Chicago.

Unlike the grand monument at Waldheim this second commemoration of the martyrdom of our American comrades is not carved of marble and stone. It is wrought by the spirit, out of the very heart-

blood of those martyrs. It is a work in honour of their innocence, it is a branding indictment of the avarice of government, governmental "justice," and all the lackeys of wealth, violence, and powerful barbarity.

Henry David, scientist, scholar, historian, and a philosopher with a heartfelt wish for truth and justice, at the same time being a deep student of law, he it is who has erected in his wonderful book "The History of the Haymarket Affair" (published by Farrar and Rhinehart, New York), the greatest monument to the memory of our pioneers. Let it not be forgotten, however, that the book is also an everlasting disgrace to all those who combined to murder them.

Whoever reads this book will know why our martyred comrades are immortal. Out of the tremendous multitude of facts which the author has compiled, and which for the first time have been made known to the public, shines forth the glory of men who, in all their simplicity and profundity of feeling are the torchbearers of emancipation. Every page of this book clothes their individuality in liberty, whose humblest servants they were.

The book by Henry David is a manifesto of truth to the whole English-speaking world, and, even more important, in the land which allowed the foul murder of truth to be committed. It is one of the rays of that everflaming torch of Anarchism, the torch held so high to the whole of mankind by our never-to-be-forgotten martyrs. By their death they proclaim irresistibly and invincibly: "Behold, the truth shall make thee free!"—and the martyrs of Chicago, of the eleventh of November 1887, are, in the face of the murdered hypocrisy of rule and power, the very embodiment of truth, resurrecting in the idea of Anarchism . . .

—PIERRE RAMUS.

After Fourteen Months of Free Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

and Bakunin, of Eliséé Reclus and Leo Tolstoi. Most of the best men spent their effort on partial and personal solutions, on hypotheses which they or their followers turned into dogmas, systems, religions, implying totalitarian impositions by faith or force, spiritual or very real dictatorships. There were always totalitarian believers in progressive systems, the many varieties of socialism, the dictatorial reactionists, priests, fascists and every variety of conservatives, and undeveloped strata in every sphere of society—men and masses of passive obedience, of the minimum of effort, endeavouring just to live on and to remain unnoticed. After the great war, men of any real vigour and value, as it happened, were quite absent, extinct for a time, and the very few who meant to do their very best, men like Malatesta, Landauer, some in Spain, and, no doubt, a small number of less known men, were powerless to act against the authoritarian frenzy which got hold of men and parties, organisations and nations, bolsheviks and fascists, governing socialists and syndicalist aspirants for economic rule, leading in its fascist and racial perversions to that complete enslavement of great peoples which we see now acting as an all devouring and contagious pestilential affliction of the life of the whole globe.

Almost none escaped the authoritarian contagion emanating from so many herds — that of triumphant nationalism and imperialism, that of humiliated and vindictive pride, that of despair from economic ruin and sheer hunger and hopeless lowering of the standard of life, that of a real socialist victory in Russia, 1917, and of fallacious, apparent socialist successes as in Germany and some other countries where some social democrats were just made use of, to tide over the worst difficulties of bankrupt states and were driven out when no more wanted by the reactionary parties. Russia also passes from rudimentary stages of socialism to the crudest State despotism with an intensified bureaucracy which either absorbs or exterminates the early socialist elements nominally still called 'communists.' This gradation in authority which in Russia has not yet reached its fullest height in 20 years, reached full proportion in Italy by 1922, then in 1926, and in Germany in 1932, 1933, whilst it was and is endemic in most parts of Central and South Eastern Europe, ranging in the south from Greece to Portugal. Social herds of this evil became from the first the communist parties of all countries which played havoc with all ethical forms of socialism, infected not a few of the weaker minds of syndicalists and anarchists, and which have now for some years been worming themselves into most of the radical and humanitarian milieus — to their great detriment and to their shame, as this is mainly due to their great lack of initiative, and application. So the anti-fascist movements are made subservient to the cause of the revamped Statism, labelled "Communism"; this means lead in their wings from the beginning and forms a cruel part of the present tragedy in Spain.

S. V. E.

PRESENTATION OF THE FILM—

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Total: £25/16/4.

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* List 161 (per A. Muzzin) — A.M. \$1, J. Cocchio £1, Q. Monori (?) 50c., A. Lombardo 10c., E. Brorold \$1, E.Y. 25c., E. Chiarini 25c., Scodelari (?) 35c., J. Vendrasco 25c., S. Fiorini \$2, A. Faschini \$1, A. Santoni \$2, G. Boattini £2, C. Crudo 50c., Natal (?) \$2, T. Borvimir \$2, J. Pachera \$1, A. Bortolotti \$1, A. Crudo 50c., illegible \$1, B. Pravo \$1, illegible \$1, B. Sarchielli \$2, A. Olivastri 25c., S. Micodeno 50c., L. Nadalin 25c., Tubaco \$1, proceeds of a small picnic \$6.40—Total £6/15/0 to be equally divided for Solidarity Fund and Orphans Fund.

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London: T. Deane 2/6, H. Collins 5/-, B. Greenbaum 2/6, J. Thomson 2/6, G.R.T. 2/6; U.S.A.: G. Corrington 4/-, C. Pogggi 4/- — £13/0.

SALES:
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Total Income £38/8/11

EXPENDITURE:
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It is our sincere wish that all matters relating to the finances of "Spain and the World" should be accurately stated, and Comrades will assist us by pointing out misprints and informing us if their contributions, subscriptions or moneys for sold copies are not acknowledged in these columns within a reasonable time after remittance. —Editors.

ORPHANS' FUND

Previously acknowledged £325/9/6 No.

- 171. London: W. Farrer (collecting box) 8/-.
- 172. London: A. R. (collecting box Conway Hall) £1/8/0.
- 173. Steubenville, Ohio: part proceeds picnic £4/2/9. 29th August per the Committee.
- 174. U.S.A., McKeesport: R. Perez 4/-.
- 175. Plymouth: (per Lily Avery).— Jim Veal 5/-, Staff Goodbodies, L. Avery, 1/6, Miss Philips 1/6, Total 10/.
- 176. Bristol: Richfield 1/6.
- 177. U.S.A., Chicago: Columbia Club, £1/12/0.
- 178. Canada, Ontario: picnic proceeds per T. Muzzin £3/7/6.
- 179. U.S.A., Washington: John Buchie £1.
- 180. Ayr, Australia: Ladies Progressive Club £4/17/3.
- 181. London: per V. R. 5/-.
- 182. London: E. Man 2/-.
- 183. San Francisco: Comrades £3/6/0.
- 184. Pittson, U.S.A.: Proceeds picnic 4 & 5 Sept. £4.

Total: £350/13/6

HAVE YOU SENT A CONTRIBUTION TO OUR ORPHANS' FUND?

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Glos., England, on October 13th, 1937, and printed by The Narod Press (T.U.), 129/131 Bedford Street, London, E.1.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

WITH amazing naivete the capitalist press is once more indulging in righteous indignation over Japan's ruthless attacks on Nanking and the other Chinese towns. With equally amazing naivete right-minded people, from the Archbishop of Canterbury down, are organising protest meetings and sending medicaments to the injured Chinese.

Chinese spokesmen repeat again at Geneva the protests of the Abyssinians and the Spanish against their barefaced aggressors. The whole civilised world stands aghast! but contents itself alas, with moral gestures and feeble protestations.

Never in history, apparently, have our real rulers been more skilled in concealing from the left hand what the right hand is doing, for in fact the story of each of these recent aggressions is the same. Mussolini in Abyssinia, Franco in Spain, Japan in China; all the bold aggressions are powers without economic resources for wars such as they have undertaken, and in every case a halt could have been called upon their activities if the real holders of power, the international financiers who control the great sources of raw material essential for war, had been willing to stop supplies. Neither Mussolini nor Franco nor Japan possess in any quantity either coal, oil or iron. The real holders of these essentials of war are largely English and American, and it has been abundantly proven that had these vital supplies been withheld, aggression must have ceased. But, alas, profit is infinitely more sacred than human life, so the crocodile tears of politicians and Archbishops continue to flow over the poor mangled bodies of Chinese, Abyssinians and proletarians, while they continue to pocket their dividends.

Undoubtedly the most ingenious technique of government which has been evolved in our time is the international neurosis of fear, and a truly magnificent display of this method was put on for the benefit

of a terrorised world proletariat last week in Germany. Never has such a display of armed force been found necessary before, never have such precautions been taken to protect even the fear-ridden, conscience driven Tsars and Emperors of yesterday, as were evolved for the two little puppets who strutted and conspired in Munich.

We doubt that they had much to fear or much to hide, their pitiful ambitions and plots depend, for their continuance on the persistence of the state of fear in Europe and it is to this and that all this show of force is designed. Not until the workers realise, that in the old words, "they have nothing to lose but their chains" will they be able to throw off this paralysing neurosis and in that moment all this Mumbo Jumbo will fade into the past of dragons and supernatural terrors.

Apparently there are some workers in the world who realise that in their international solidarity lies their strength and their freedom. We salute the dock and wharf workers of Auckland, New Zealand, who have declared a boycott on shipments of goods to Japan. Although pressure has already been brought to bear upon them by Japanese Chambers of Commerce and similar bodies, they have so far stood firm.

May their example prove inspiring.

As we foresaw in our last notes Capitalism would succeed in dominating the situation in France, and already the attacks on the stability of the franc are bearing fruit. The forty hour week, the one great accomplishment of organised labour in France, which was heralded as a tremendous advance and an achievement by the Popular Front Government, has been sacrificed to Moloch. This is absolutely inevitable if the Capitalists are to be appeased and the workers of France should take the lesson to heart. All their little gains are to be whittled away in order to "stabilise" the franc, while in addition the Government has issued

a warning against sit-down strikes as "disturbances." Popular Front Governments are as futile as any other Government when it comes to cutting the claws of Finance.

Hard on the heels of the impudent Nazi gathering in London, politely disguised as a "Harvest Thanksgiving," comes news of a really sinister organisation which is apparently gaining ground in the U.S.A. Under the title of the Amerika-Deutscher Volksbund a considerable Nazi organisation has grown up, which partakes of all the worst qualities of its parent. The Chicago Daily Times has made an investigation of the activities of this group by getting three of its own reporters to become members, and their revelations of its activities sound very like those of Fascist groups everywhere, including their close relations with the powers of Big Business and with the various anti-labour vigilante organisations which abound in the U.S.A. We can rest assured that similar work is being carried on in this country, too, under the guise of "Harvest Thanksgivings" and the like . . .