

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

AND
THE

FASCIST MORALITY

"All the misfortunes of Spain come from the stupid desire of the government to teach the Spaniard how to read and write. To teach a man how to read and write is tantamount to preparing him to assimilate the poison that will bring about his misfortune and that of his fatherland."

—(The Marquis de Lozoya in "El Correo de Espana" of Bilbao, a fascist organ.)

Vol. 2. No. 32.

LONDON, 18th MARCH, 1938

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

FASCISM CAN BE CRUSHED!

WHAT was to come, has to come — Germany has brought its regime to Austria. Our "democratic" politicians must know by now that dictators keep their word only when they threaten acts of aggression. Hitler in his book wrote:

"Common blood should belong to a common Reich."

Not till the confines of the Reich include every single German, and it is certain of being able to nourish them, can there be a moral right for Germany to acquire territory abroad while her people are in need.

I wanted to have my share of fortune, to be on the spot and play my part in the country where my heart's most burning desire was destined to be fulfilled: the union of my beloved home with the common Fatherland, the German Reich."

He has now formed these words into action, and however one may be opposed to his actions few can have been surprised. It is when the totalitarian powers promise to withdraw troops from Spain, or respect the territorial independence of undefended States that one must cease to believe the good faith behind their words. Thus, Hitler has marched triumphantly into defenceless Austria and has proclaimed her to be part of the Reich.

Chamberlain was obviously aware of the steps that Hitler was about to take. As early as the 24th February the "News Chronicle" had informed its readers that Germany was massing her troops at three points on the Austro-German frontier, and in spite of Hitler's energetic denials at the time, facts to-day show this report to have been accurate in every detail. Surely then, if the "News Chronicle" reporter was able to give this information, then Chamberlain also must have been aware of it at the time. Besides, Halifax's recent visit to Germany and Ribbentrop's presence in London must indicate some connection between Chamberlain and current events on the Austrian question.

In this country, public opinion is shocked that such aggression should pass unchecked by the representatives of the democracies, and the mass protest meetings in London — however mild and good-natured they may be — express public indignation at Chamberlain's attitude.

But even if Chamberlain does go, Labour in power will not solve the problems which are at the root of present-day instability in the world.

"Democracy" as understood to-day, and towards which the Labour Party aspires (as opposed to Revolutionary Socialism) has proved itself unable to prevent Japan from destroying China, nor Italy from laying

waste Abyssinia, nor Franco and his allies from butchering thousands of innocents in Spain, nor Hitler from attacking and threatening Czechoslovakia (in spite of his promises). Further, it is thanks to Social-Democracy that Italy and Germany are to-day under the heel of Fascism.

The Fascist States on the other hand have no truck for peace and Liberty. Mussolini recently declared that Liberty was a thing of the past and that the Italian people did not believe in it. Liberty, under a "dictatorship of the proletariat" the individual is lost, and the dictatorship degenerates into a dictatorship of a group of individuals, as in Russia, whose slogan is "who is not with us is against us" and must be tried (more often not) and found guilty and shot.

The basis of the trouble is that whether a "Democracy" or dictatorship control a country, their progress only comes about by the oppression of others. Thus this country's apparent prosperity is acquired by the oppression of the workers in the colonies. Similarly Hitler and Mussolini want to do the same. The latter hoped to fill the Italian coffers with Abyssinian gold, whilst Hitler, once having created his solid bloc of Aryans in central Europe will also demand colonies — and get them if matters continue as they have been until to-day.

To-day no solidarity — or very little — binds the International Proletariat. The tendency is to consider their issue a National one. The Jews who are being oppressed in Europe hope that by having a Nation for the Jews will solve their problems. The Spanish leaders talk of Spanish National Independence. The French communists will be the first to fight for "la patrie."

Instead Peace and Goodwill can only be fostered by an Internationally minded proletariat, a proletariat which will refuse to fight against its brothers in other countries. The workers have always been instruments for wars. In the event of war they have the arms with which to revolt against their oppressors. If this has not been done en masse by the Italian and German workers in Spain, or in China by the Japanese, it does not mean that it is impracticable. It would seem that the workers of these countries have had that sense of solidarity amongst workers knocked out

of them; youth has perhaps not had the opportunity to understand what it means because of the spirit of blind devotion to the Party (evidenced in the U.S.S.R. as well) which is taught from early childhood. Spain, owing to the tremendous additional assistance given Franco, since Teruel was captured by the workers, now finds itself in the most precarious position since Madrid was threatened. This fact has not roused the proletariat to action on her behalf. Meetings are still being held and resolutions passed but no real action has accompanied these fine words. Why is this? The general opinion seems to be that this country will not risk war for a dispute which does not concern her. This is not only the opinion put forward by the reactionaries but is shared by the Labour Party, judging by its various statements concerning Non-Intervention. Yet if tomorrow Chamberlain declares that this country is threatened, (and it will not be the threat of Fascism, but simply another capitalist war) the proletariat will flock to protect, not their families, but the politicians and armed barons who have decided to make cannon

fodder of them. Why this readiness to sacrifice life and limb for capitalism and yet an obvious reluctance to act energetically — against the ruling of a Government — in defence of a country which is struggling valiantly to shake off Capitalism in the shape of Fascism?

It has now resolved itself into a question of individual consciences. No real action will come from those large organisations, ridden with bureaucratic and demagogic officials who must needs keep within the so-called boundaries of "law and order," namely the "law and order" which makes it virtually impossible for the workers of this country from actively supporting the Spanish proletariat.

In the words of Kropotkin, "it is by action that minorities succeed in arousing the sense of independence and audacity without which no revolution can be won."

The Orators of the Popular Front to Say...

... THAT the electoral triumph of February 16th was due to the decision of the Libertarian Movement, and its resolve not to make a campaign against politics, showing thus an historical insight which was effective in defeating the rights.

... THAT the motive power that brought in the Lefts, was Liberty for the political prisoners.

... THAT two parties figured in the Popular Front, who are today on the fringe of the new(?) "Popular Front": The Syndicalist Party and the POUM.

... THAT when in Power, the "Popular Front" was incapable of fighting Fascism at close quarters, of destroying its breeding grounds and paralyzing its weapons.

... THAT the July rebellion was prepared by the rights with the utmost attention to every detail, and without hindrance.

... THAT the Fascist outbreak achieved an easy triumph in half of Spain.

... THAT the other half of Spain was saved — and one must be bold to deny it — thanks to the decisive action of the CNT and the FAI.

... THAT in the critical days of July, the "Popular Front" was buried by the avalanche of workers, and the arms of the people.

... THAT the war against Fascism was begun without bothering about "Popular Front" slogans.

... THAT the revolution constituted
(Continued on page 2)

OUR COLONY.

As we go to Press we receive the following telegram; from Barcelona: COLONY MASNOU FIXED PUTTING URGENT ARAGON REFUGEES.

This news must surely be an incentive to all comrades to contribute generously. We hope to give details in the next issue.

TOSCANINI—Champion of Liberty

TOSCANINI, the famous conductor, has once more shown his abhorrence for dictatorships. Several years have passed since he last conducted in Italy and since Hitler came into power in Germany he has refused to conduct at the Beyreuth festival. Now one reads that Toscanini has refused to conduct in Salzburg during the coming season and that the money he was to have given for the reconstruction of the opera house in Salzburg will be given to other funds.

This firm attitude—he confirmed it after Schuschnigg's plebiscite declaration — has earned for him the ire of the Fascist press in Italy. In "Regime Fascista" of March 9th, Roberto Farinacci, former Secretary of the Fascist party and intimate friend of Mussolini wrote:

"We have always hoped that Toscanini would be reconciled to the Fatherland which made him famous. But no, he allows no opportunity to pass of insulting his country by his behaviour. After the recent political developments in Austria he hastened to announce that he would go no more to Salzburg."

Toscanini makes use of his art to conduct his idiotic anti-Fascist propaganda. We ask the Government how long he is to be allowed to enter or leave Italy as he pleases. The time has come to say that we have the

right to strike him as he deserves."

Besides containing a definite threat, the remark that the Fatherland made him famous is false, for Toscanini's rise to fame came when he was in an orchestra touring in South America. There he was given an opportunity to conduct owing to the indisposition of the regular conductor. He amazed everybody by his complete understanding of the music and by the fact that he conducted from memory. This was the beginning of one of the world's greatest artists.

Since the day when Toscanini was "beaten up" by young hooligans in Milan for having refused to bow to the Fascists' will and play the Fascist hymn, he has not conducted in Italy, and the Fascist press has seized every opportunity to attack him and incite hooligans to further attacks on the maestro. When, for instance, he conducted in London and played the National anthem at the beginning of the first concert (as is customary at the beginning of a series of concerts) the Italian press thought that he should have also played the Fascist hymn, and for not having done so he deserved to have the same treatment as on the previous occasion when he refused to play Giovinetta!

The Editor of the "Evening Standard's" "Londoner's Diary" commenting on Toscanini's attitude towards the Austrian situation thinks it wrong that the famous conductor should mix politics with music. But the obvious answer to that remark is that Toscanini did not mix politics and art until the complete freedom which he required for the expression of his art were interfered with, and when dictators decided to ban his colleagues from conducting in countries under their domination because of racial prejudice.

It would be as well to remind the Editor of the "Londoner's Diary" that Hitler has banned Mendelsohn's music in Germany and has forbidden Bruno Walter to conduct in the name of racial purity!

When this state of affairs exists, that is, when dictators use music and art for their political ends, then it is time, as Paul Robeson so rightly said, that artists took sides.

Toscanini belongs to no political party. All he wants is complete freedom for the expression of his art. And complete freedom is needed not only in art but also for every form of self-expression and development.

R.

THE THIRD MOSCOW TRIAL

Translation from an article by Victor Serge in the "Revolution Proletarienne" of March 10th, 1938

THE third great Moscow trial awakes a stronger emotion than the two preceding ones, insofar as it exceeds them in its extravagant pretences and brutalities — though one would have thought that the two first trials had already broken such records. The informed observer cannot be surprised by it—only by the shocking details of the whole well-staged drama and perhaps, by the certainty it reveals of the megalomania of Stalin. Never before has even a dictator persisted so fiendishly in destroying the whole framework of the army-diplomacy and the business organisation of his state, in wiping out his own party, the companions of his own past—those in fact who built up his own power. And yet, Stalin is not mad—he is still simply the mediocre politician he always was, tricky and deceitful! What motivates him is faith in his own mission—hate for all who might equal him in capacity and the wish to stabilise the regime of which he is the most appropriate representative.

And as this regime is anti-socialist—as much by the privileges it has established for a minority as by its governmental proceedings—it finds itself in conflict with the ideology it proclaims in order to make use of the old socialist standards. It also conflicts with the interests of the masses and with the interests of collectivised production—which could not easily be managed by the methods of the secret police. In consequence, those old socialists who created the revolution, docile though they were under this new despotism — were embarrassing in the extreme to Stalin. Criminal reasoning pointed the way out. The first companions of Lenin having been assassinated it became necessary to destroy all those who had been parties to those crimes. They have all become possible witnesses, and so intolerable. They have been sought out everywhere, from small villages, from legations, from prison, if they had been opponents, from the General Staff — to dishonour and to execute. For it is impossible to kill them without first dishonouring, these men, to whom the whole country owes such a debt.

And so follows the inevitable sequence, how destroy these men without shaming them? How shame them without lies, impostures, false confessions, etc? The problem of these false confessions should not disconcert those acquainted with the psychology of the old bolshevik party. We must remember that absolute submission to the "good of the party" has always been exacted and freely given by all these men, whose loyalty to the party was absolute. We must also remember that in Russia suicide was the common sequence of expulsion from the "party." The party demanded the complete surrender of individual conscience — should you dispute this right, that finished everything. The party had the right to dispose of your life, to destroy you if it judged that necessary — the good bolshevik had no right to object.

It was before the foreign bourgeoisie, before fascism, before the press of the whole world that the latest victims were accused. Fidelity to the "Party," Soviet patriotism, the feeling of duty to the international proletariat — tied, nay, blinded them. They felt that their opposition to Stalin was an affair inside the Party.

Krestinsky, in his first indignant denial of the charges against him, declared "I still feel that I am a member of the party" — but it was his last gesture of individual dignity. They broke him down that very evening.

And Rakovsky, when he said "I confessed after eight months in prison, when I heard of Italo-German intervention in Spain," — still thought to serve the party by dishonouring himself.

I discard the idea that the prosecution made use of physical torture, drugs or hypnosis, for the reasons I have already given, others

may be added which would operate even more effectively on the critical spirit of the victims.

They know that those who refuse to confess are shot without trial and they have to choose between a faint hope of life and a certain death at the end of long months of moral torture.

Rykov and Bukharin, when they appeared before the Central Committee of the party in April, 1937, firmly refused to lend themselves to this infamous game, it took months to break them!

Fridman, old member of the G.P.U., when he was urged to take part in the Zinoviev trial said, "They can only shoot me once, but they can't make me into a prostitute" (reported by Ignace Reiss.) Boudou-Mdivani, one-time head of the Georgian government, said, "It is I who accuse Stalin!"

Fridman, Seshovski, Mdivani were shot without public trial and Okoudjava, Enoukidze and Karakhov and hundreds of others. What has become of the twelve accused in the Zinoviev trial? Equally with the Red generals and Tuchachevsky — shot secretly. The alternatives are clear, submission or death! Everything leads one to believe that the number of those who refused to make false confessions, preferring death to this form of complicity with Stalin, is very much greater than those who acceded to this procedure.

Of the 50 accused in the first great trial, sixteen confessed. Of the fifty in the second trial, seventeen confessed.

Not one real Trotskyist among these 400-500 inflexibly left opponents of the government, who were still living in 1936 and who have been imprisoned in one place or another for eight years, has as yet figured in any of these trials! Consider finally the toll of suffering imposed on relatives. Families, women and children are arrested. Pressure is exercised on women so that confession can be extracted from their husbands.

Smirnov's wife gave evidence against him, perhaps believing she

was going to save him. Tuchachevsky's wife denounced her husband. The son of General Poutna has been placed in an orphan's home. We must allow for nervous strain. For more than ten years all these men have been fighting a desperate struggle against humiliation and the restrictions exercised by the police, party discipline and their own consciences. During these ten years they have sacrificed their better selves in order to exist and to serve the party. In prison, they were eventually broken.

The fundamental reasons for the extermination of the old Bolsheviks are evident. For roughly ten years, Stalin alone has held absolute power. He is alone responsible for the successive coups d'état which abolished all political life in the party. He alone carries the terrible responsibility for the ten black years which followed 1927. Forced collectivisation, expropriation, deportation and the death of several million agriculturists (kulaks), the destruction of livestock (which has fallen by 50%), the famine of the years 1930/35, which was so bad that it produced cases of cannibalism, chaotic industrialism, inhuman and costly, put into operation by terrorism, the wholesale executions of technicians, workers and peasants, the law of August 7th 1932, which punished by death the theft of a sheaf of corn; the disorganisation of transport, and the peasant uprisings; the establishment of the largest concentration camps in the world; for all this, the responsibility is on Stalin.

How can he escape this responsibility? Feeling himself hated, he has set himself to suppress all those who have any real popularity and who, in favourable circumstances, might have put themselves at the head of the forces of change.

The slaughter will not cease until there remains no revolutionary of any influence—until every one who retains the memory of the struggle and the ideals of the 1917-23 Revolution, has been wiped out.

Clarence Darrow

A FINE old man, Clarence Darrow, has died in the U.S. at the age of 80. Although not nominally an anarchist, Darrow was one of the greatest libertarians of our times, and all during his professional career as a lawyer, his talents were bent to the service of free speech.

He acted as counsel for the defence in many labour cases and it was his boast that of all the many murderers whom he had defended none had gone to the gallows. This was entirely in harmony with his social views which held that murder, like so many other "crimes" was really the outcome of a diseased society and that its results should not be visited on the individual.

To Darrow crime was a social ill to be remedied by a social change, not a mere matter of retribution. One of his most recent triumphs was his defence of Scopes in the ludicrous "monkeyville" evolution case, when the whole world laughed with Darrow at the spectacle of William Jennings Bryan and the State of Tennessee defending "creation" against Darrow's scorn and Rabelaisian wit.

Radicalism in America owes Clarence Darrow much and it will be a poorer country without his wit and generous humanity.

THE POPULAR FRONT FORGOT TO SAY ... (cont. from page 1) ted a new stage in Spanish Life, on which the Libertarian Movement played the principal part.

... THAT the armed struggle against the armies of international Fascism and against traitors has been, and is being, carried on by the workers.

... THAT the sum of all the anti-fascist forces was not, is not, and will not be in the "Popular Front," composed of 2 or three political parties.

... THAT the Youth Anti-fascist Alliance—made up of all the Youth parties—upholds the basic necessity of a formula that the Libertarian movement has stood for from the very first, and which is miles in advance of that put forward by the "Popular Front": that of an all-embracing Popular Anti-Fascist Front.

... THAT the programme of the

Popular Front has no practical application in the present circumstances.

... THAT it is ridiculous to say that the "Popular Front" represents all anti-Fascist Spaniards.

... THAT the "Popular Front" is not and cannot be the rallying point for anti-Fascist parties and organizations, because it was born and was active in a period which has been superseded by the Revolution.

... AND THAT the 'Popular Front' sets up its standard at a moment when the only triumphantly unifying solution is the creation of a real anti-Fascist bloc, with a plan of action adequate for the present moment, and objectives in line with the revolutionary desires of the Spanish people. This is to be found in an Anti-Fascist Front — or whatever it may be called—which should include all anti-fascist elements.

CORRESPONDENCE

Emma Goldman Appeals for Support of S.I.A.

To the Comrades of "Spain and the World."

You will be interested to know that the English Section of the SIA (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) was organised in London. Among the sponsors are some of the most outstanding men and women in letters. We have already started a fund for the purpose. At our meeting on January 14th we collected £75. Since then we have received many contributions. We have organised an Exhibition which is held at the office of the SIA at 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, and we are organising a literary and musical affair at the Friends House, on April 1st for the same purpose.

The SIA organised in Spain only six months ago has already met with remarkable results. In Spain itself it has a membership of 100,000. The French section has members in every part of the country. Its members contribute a certain amount a month to the SIA voluntarily of course. Speakers canvas France from one end to another on behalf of International Solidarity.

In the United States the American

section also meets with great success. The same in Holland and Sweden. We hope that we will soon be able to say the same thing about England. We are certainly trying our utmost to make the English section as successful as in other countries. That it may not be a mere boast we need your help, co-operation and generous contribution. We want membership and anything you can give out of the fullness of your heart to the SIA.

If you do not yet know we wish to inform you that the SIA is covering tremendous ramifications in the way of succour and support to the thousands of thousands of refugee women and children, and to the care of our heroic fighters at the front and to the wounded at the rear. Surely a commendable undertaking. Will you respond? If so please send us contributions to the English section of the SIA.

We beseech you comrades and friends to do your utmost in your efforts for the SIA.

Fraternally,

EMMA GOLDMAN,
March 1938.

The Situation in Palestine

Editor, SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

Dear Comrade,

Owing to my absence from England I have only just received your issue of February 2nd and note your invitation for "comments" on Almoni's *Facts Concerning Palestine*.

It seems indeed strange to read in an Anarchist paper an article which is in effect a defence of governmental terrorism. Nobody who has even read the daily papers and the Parliamentary debates can doubt the fact that Palestine has been subjected to a régime comparable to that of Hitler and Mussolini, and that the object of that terror has been to maintain British rule in defiance of the known demand of the Arabs for democratic self-government.

Democracy is to our minds an inadequate demand and we may even doubt the sincerity of those who most loudly demand it. But surely those who have seen fit, in the case of Spain, to side with a democratic government against a fascist dictatorship, will hardly wish in Palestine to support a dictatorial government against the demand for political freedom? The Arab leaders may be even blacker than Almoni paints them; it makes no difference to our attitude to their demands, in so far as those demands are just. Indeed, it is doubly important that we should sponsor those demands—firstly, to call the bluff of the Arab leaders, who will presumably go back on their popular slogans if ever those slogans are given concrete form; and secondly because we can only check the spread of fascist ideas among the Arabs and other colonial peoples by proving that we (the Socialists and Anarchists and working-class movements generally) are their true friends.

Already we have seen the tragedy of Spanish Morocco, where the Moors fell for Franco's bribes and promises because they had learnt by bitter experience that "left" and "right" governments in Spain were all alike in their imperialism. Why should they care about a "democracy" which was not extended to their own country? From the French Empire in North Africa comes similar news of oppression by the Blum Government, which (in the name of democracy) smashed up socialist and nationalist organisations, shot down workers and claimed that the "unrest" was due to German and Italian agents. The claim may be half-true: *what of it?* Is it not to be expected that fascists will take advantage of the situation when the working-class becomes the instrument of imperialist oppression? And does this fascist opportunism make a cause less just because Fascists pretend to support it?

In Palestine we have had concentration camps and deportations, martial law, imprisonment without trial, destruction not simply of a few isolated houses, but of whole streets of dwellings, and the execution of Arabs for the mere possession of fire-arms. All these things are on record and the special measures by which they were made legal read like fascist de-

crees—naturally enough, for our fascist dictators only copied where British Imperialism had shown the way for nearly 200 years.

This is not a justification of Arab anti-Semitism any more than it is a justification of the fascist ideas which have spread among the Arabs since the working-classes of Britain, France and Spain made it clear that "democracy" was a European product and not for export. But if we want to trace the cause of anti-Semitism among the Arabs then we must ask how it came about that Jews and Arabs once lived together peacefully in Spain and other countries and cannot do so to-day in Palestine. The answer is, because it is and has been the avowed intention of the Zionists to make Palestine a Jewish country with the help of British imperialism and in spite of the wishes of the Arab population, which is still the majority population of the country. Such a policy could only be pursued by the dictatorship concealed in the League of Nations "mandate," and Almoni must be aware that the Arab demand for democratic self-government has been consistently opposed by the Zionist organisations for this reason. Zionism is a policy which can only be fulfilled so long as Britain keeps its bargain, made in the Great War to secure the support of Jewish financiers. For strategic reasons it pays the British Empire to adhere to that bargain; and the long arm that strikes down the Indian peasant is to-day upholding in Palestine the interests of its Jewish allies. As for "our own" interests, they have been repeatedly admitted in Parliament and elsewhere by representatives of the ruling class.

I have tried in this letter to confine myself to the principles at stake and to facts which the ordinary reader can check for himself. One can argue interminably about the crimes of the Government on the Arab terrorists, the economic effects of Jewish immigration, etc. The outstanding points remain: (a) Do we approve of British imperialism? (b) If not, can we approve of a policy (Zionism) which depends upon British imperialism for its success? and (c) Do we support the demand for democratic self-government (reserving the right, of course, to demand a great deal more than that—but simply regarding this as a minimum claim) irrespective of the real or alleged motives of those who sponsor it? No amount of sympathy with the Jews because of their persecution in Germany and other countries can prevent me from saying "No" to the first two questions and "Yes" to the last. The very reasons which make one pro-Jew and anti-Nazi in Germany lead logically to the pro-Arab, anti-Zionist position in Palestine. And those who really wish to combat anti-Semitism ought to realise that Zionism is their worst enemy because it has made the whole Arab world regard the Jews as enemies of the Arab people.

Yours fraternally,

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

F.A.I. Comment on Spanish Parliamentary Policy

PARLIAMENT has met again, and it might be worth while for the FAI to make some observations respecting the affirmations made. This is not, however, because it was hoped that the statements would be more to the point. If it was never expected that Parliament should have a clear vision of what was happening outside, much less should it be expected today, above all in Spain, where, since July 1936, Parliament has been nothing but an anachronism.

However, judging from what was said in the recent meeting of Parliament, neither speakers nor listeners had the slightest inkling of the fact. Everyone agreed to attribute to themselves an important role in the tragedy of Spain. Is this really the case? To answer this question would take too much space. Let it suffice for the present to say that we are all actors in this tragedy and that the role of the members of Parliament, and above all that of the Government, is not by any means predominant. It has never been predominant in relation to any serious problem, and now, in Spain, much less than ever.

The impression gained by the ingenuous and inexperienced, on reading the speeches made in Parliament, would be completely contrary to what we have affirmed. "The Government will win the war;" "The Government has reorganized the police force;" "The Government is going to establish on a firm basis the economy of the country," etc., etc. The Syndicates, on the other hand, do nothing but place obstacles in the way.

A short summary of what has happened in Spain since the 19th July 1936 would completely refute such statements. If the Syndicates had waited for the Government to take the initiative in the war, and also in regard to industry and finance, what would have become of us? From the Syndicates came the men who faced the rebellion; the Syndicates provided the men who placed themselves at the head of the industries; the men who dealt with the economic problems and solved them as well as could be done at the time, were members of the Syndicates. Did they act foolishly? Perhaps they did, sometimes. It was sometimes difficult, under the circumstances which prevailed at the time to find the shortest way to a settlement of the problems which arose.

The Government, however, took neither the shortest way nor the longest. It kept perfectly quiet; it had not yet recovered from the blow received, which it had not foreseen, when the most indifferent Spanish citizen had seen what would come.

Now the Government is no longer quiet. It has gradually emerged from its lethargy, with a slowness which we would be glad to see endure for a longer time, and already it begins to give orders. And this means, not that everything is going to improve or has improved, but that it is going to do everything possible to get rid of the essential results of the movement which arose in July 1936 and resisted the military attack.

The war will be won, not as a result of the action of the Government, but rather because the members of the Syndicates, that is to say, the majority of the Spanish people are conscious of the danger implied in losing it. The industries continue to function for exactly the same reason. National economy has not completely collapsed due to the same causes. The action of the Government, since it began to give orders, that is to say, since it renewed its function, is, inevitably, frankly disturbing; it produces a great degree of discontent with its innumerable and inappropriate activities in relation to the men who ensure that the prosecution of the war, industry and national economy suffers no decline.

The analysis of each of these activities of the Government would take up a great deal of space, and this is not the place for it. We

shall content ourselves by indicating that, if the winning of the war were not a question of life and death, nothing would be more likely to make victory uncertain. This enthusiasm for State totalitarianism is too like that of the enemy. It is not prudent to insist on this argument, which is, however, so conclusive. Therefore we shall not say another word in this connection. The hint has been given. The objections of the FAI against the monstrosity implied in the idea that everything should be in the hands of the State, are not new. Events have re-affirmed them and have given them an irresistible force. We should like not to have to make use of these arguments.

The people are doing everything and now the Government desires to take everything out of the hands of the people. In order to achieve this with the acquiescence of the neutral masses, which represent the aspect of inertia of all societies, the people are blamed for errors and faults for which they are not responsible.

Policy

Their many successes are denied or ignored, as also the gesture which saved us all, and still preserves us, from the claws of fascism.

We do not want History to record the facts in this manner. We want to point out that we are making History and prevent it from being falsified at its source.

We have deliberately left till the end our comments on the services for maintaining public order. If the intention of the Government were to produce the kind of services which existed before the rebellion, of the bourgeois type, to offer a happy hunting ground for the profiteer, the grasping business magnate, the exploiter, and, in a

word, for the multitude of parasites who live on the labour of others, perhaps it may be said that it has succeeded. But this is very far from a revolutionary order, in conformity with the rhythm of the intensely tragic times in which we live.

Up to the present we have been dealing with the Government; the attitude of the Government in the meeting of Parliament. As regards the members of Parliament, they applauded indiscriminately and without exception. They applauded everything which implied the censure of the Syndicates. It would be well to say that it was a socialist who spoke and that the majority of the listeners were socialists, that is to say persons who owed their place in parliament to the masses of workmen grouped in the Syndicates. This fact is pointed out here without comment. The reader will make the comments if he likes.

In this meeting of parliament which has so often been mentioned, something new took place: the rep-

resentative of the Communist Party asked that the CNT be invited to take part in the labours of the Government. This is surprising? Is it not? Everything that the Communist party has done in Spain since the military rebellion and even before that, has the element of surprise. But the astonishment of the attentive observer becomes less and less. We are attentive observers. We were not surprised at their request.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S ATTITUDE

In order to see what is behind the words of the representative of the representative of the Communist Party we should examine the recent past. Who caused the representatives of the CNT to be excluded from the Central Government and the Generalidad? Who persecuted, in every way, the members of the CNT? Who, at the front, and behind the lines, tried to make their life insupportable? Who declared war on them to the death and without mercy? Who libelled and slandered them? Everybody will remember that, since May 1937, the Communist Party has hardly done anything else, always the most underhand methods and without paying any attention to reasoning or arguments, however well founded, which were contrary to their way of acting. For this no word of censure could be too hard.

At one time the Communist Party believed itself strong enough to destroy and create in Spain whatever it liked. What was the obstacle which was in their way? The CNT, the men of the CNT. And, further, the FAI, and the men of the FAI. Thus they resolutely fought the CNT and the FAI using every means. These two organisations must be destroyed. Any means conducive to this end was good. Any proceeding was worthy. And they did not shrink from any means. It was necessary to fulfil the object in view.

Nevertheless, in spite of the methods used, they did not destroy the CNT and the FAI. The two organisations continued as before, with their forces rendered more consolidated than ever. The Communist Party, however, as its membership had been artificially increased, as it had no strength on which to rest, and as it had no basis, soon commenced to decline. That dream which came to it in a moment of fever, to create and destroy in Spain whatever it thought fit, has completely vanished. Today it has been cast out from everywhere, and it is afraid, doubtless with reason, that the Government will also exclude this party at some time or other. Under these circumstances to whom can it turn? The CNT and the FAI still have their forces intact. Perhaps it would be worth while to seek support from them in order to continue to live? Why not try it? What if we did fight against them in the past? What if we slandered them? It does not matter. Perhaps they will have forgotten it. The most important thing is to make sure that the Party may continue to mean something in the life of Spain!

This is what was behind the words of the representative of the Communist Party. We have expressed it roughly. Reality is always crude. But we do not withdraw, nor do we forget that the present situation of Spain obliges us all to do things which in normal times we would resolutely repudiate. Thus, with the Communist Party, and with all who are prepared in future to play fair in the conflict we are carrying on, we are disposed to fight to the utmost limit. Just as we have done ever since July 1936. But we expect from others the same condition, i.e. that they be prepared to go to the utmost limit, with all the cards on the table. Not a single false step. This is definitely, clearly, the attitude of the FAI.

F.A.I. PENINSULAR COMMITTEE

Barcelona, February 1938.

The Economic Council of Workers

By AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

(Continued from No. 30)

III. Work

THE dream of the Socialist workers' movement is fulfilled. The point of production is in the workers' hands. The first early inspiration continued. Where there was no necessity for specially trained or specialised crafts there was no problem. Where the technicians were on the side of the workers, there was no difficulty. Where one is not thrown back upon the resources of the outside world or where the imports are not larger than the exports, there is no hindrance. The ideal will be realised. With communal work, the gas, water, and electricity industries, the hotel trade, the cinema trade, the amusement business, all will work as had previously been thought out.

However, in other branches of economic life, in the textile industry, in the metal industry, and in parts of agriculture, there are many difficulties to struggle with. In the siezed and collectivised trades technical guidance is often missing. Twenty years ago it was the same in Russia. There are proprietors who are at the same time economic leaders or technicians. These are lacking now. In other places there is no raw material. Trades must be idle or work only three days a week, though the workers must eat seven days a week. The collectives are paying wages for seven days a week. This situation has lasted several months, and a financial weakening of the industry is inevitable. Except for the factories, machines, tools, and a little stock, the collectives have no industrial capital. They need help from others. The industries must help, though the State does sometimes.

The collectives should not restrict themselves to the trade, business, and agriculture of a village; such development cannot be stabilised. That is not yet socialism, it is only the way to socialism.

The working-class must show that they can make a better economic system without capitalism. In all workers' organisations, in the press, at every opportunity, the organisation of work should be discussed.

Much is to be organised. In order to increase the guidance of industrial trades, technicians must be placed throughout the united industries. They must be sent into all trades. Comrades must be technically qualified and industrially trained. Backward trades must be brought to the high standard of modern efficiency. (And that there are backward trades in Spain, can be related by foreign workers' delegations). On the land also, are needed technicians, scientific experts, farmers. The land has passed into the hands of the workers, as it should, but the methods of agriculture are still not modern and almost like those of Caesar's time. The Levant can thank irrigation for its fruitfulness, a system introduced by the Arabs many hundreds of years ago. In many places the scientific cultivation of the ground is quite unknown. Therefore there are about five hundred trained farmers of the Confederation in the Levant alone. They are experts in the different branches of agricultural economics, from stock farming to orange growing. Men of international fame are under them, but they all place themselves at the service of the agricultural workers' federation, and help and advise in the collectives.

The mobilisation of these technical powers in the service of the collectivised and socialised economic system, that is one of the problems of the economic council.

One of the good signs for the future is, that since these experts were in control of the land and the means of production, the workers have shown an interest in the production, while previously that had been very rare. Now they show that they have learned their lesson well; earlier, they were the objects of economy, to-day they are actively interested in the economic growth of the land: a lesson for the advocates of city industrial control. This vindication stimulates the worker in favour of the new economic system. Now the worker himself guarantees technical progress and economic growth.

IV. Wages

Immediately after the 19th of July wages were increased and the standard of living showed a corresponding rise.

Then speculation on the peseta set in. Prices did not rise as a consequence of the raising of wages. The more the worker gets the less the contractor keeps, the charges remain the same, only the distribution is fairer. For example, the transport workers of Barcelona raised their wages in the same way as the other workers. Fares were not raised, however, for the transport system was in the hands of the workers themselves.

The trust in the cause of the Spanish republic was small at the beginning of the struggle, and in Paris and London the peseta sank in the money market. Before the 19th July, 1936, one hundred Spanish pesetas were worth two hundred French francs,—one year later, thirty francs! The raw materials and commodities bought outside Spain increased in price, a wave of increase in prices swept Spain, and now a worker's ninety pesetas per week will not buy as much as fifty would have done earlier. Let me give one example among many: An empty wine-flask formerly worth twenty-five centimos is to-day priced at two pesetas! A suit of clothes, earlier at one hundred pesetas, is to-day sold for three hundred, and more!

Wages in the collectivised trades are still not at a standard sufficient for men's needs. They do not sell their products so dearly as the free business men or other factories. The prices of agricultural produce, fixed by the Government, remain the same as previously. Bread still costs sixty centimos, and the farmer's price for 100 kilos of corn is 55 pesetas, the same as before the 19th of July. The official price of rice is 1.05 pesetas per kilo, but in the smuggling trade in Barcelona one pays 6-8 pesetas per kilo. The prices of country produce are just as in capitalistic countries in times of crisis. There is no centralised fixing of prices. Industry should control all this, but is it very far from controlling the general economic life. We are still very far from a unified or even totalitarian economic system. Nevertheless the agricultural workers, under collectivisation, have raised wages, in spite of the low sale prices of bread and rice.

The economic difficulties pile up. In the munitions industry the Government pays the worker 200 pesetas weekly, while the collective pay only 120 pesetas to their members. More they cannot pay, otherwise they would be bankrupt, or would be forced to raise prices.

A difficult problem. It will be presented to the workers' council in all its difficulties.

It is a difficulty that arises in any country in times of crisis.

BOOKS

Woman's New Inequality in U.S.S.R.

ONE fact stands out in Kleber Legay's book "Un Mineur Français chez les Russes: the position of women in the U.S.S.R. One expects to find equality, moral and physical in a Socialist Republic, but as the author rightly points out, "the formula of equality of man and woman must recognise, in our opinion, the right for woman to work, but at work suited to her sex."

In the U.S.S.R. Legay notes that women work in every industry and trade. Even from his compartment on the Moscow bound train he saw many women working on the permanent way, whilst others could be seen carrying shovels (p. 27).

"We saw in Moscow — he adds (p. 112)—women working as scavengers or emptying dustbins into carts, whilst in front of them, strong youths sold bootlaces, polished boots or kept coffee stalls. We saw women engaged in banking the streets of Sochi; mixing stone for concrete and carting it off in wheelbarrows. At the station, where our carriage was shunted during our sojourn in Makeifka, we saw them digging up the stones under the sleepers, carting off earth and stones in hand barrows, others carrying rails. All this work was done under the supervision of young men with their hands thrust in their pockets."

"In a factory in Makeifka we saw some women at 11 o'clock at night, working near furnaces, in mines." Everywhere throughout the day and night, women are engaged in exhausting and unhealthy occupations. When Legay visited the mines in the Gorlofka district he noticed that women were occupied in every kind of work, despite the fact that an official had previously assured him that women were only engaged in "light work at the mouth of the pits" (p. 57). "Out of 45 persons whom we met — he continues (p. 58)—I counted 22 women." Of their work he writes: "At the foot of a sloping seam that was being worked were three women. Two of them had to load 20 to 25 tons of coal obtained from the seam into wagons holding 1 1/2 tons."

Another was engaged in collecting the coal hewn by a miner.

This work consists in heaving back for several yards, from 18 to 20 tons of coal in return for a salary of 180 roubles a month, whilst her male comrade, who is a "stakhanovist" earns 700. The latter can earn this sum only so long as the woman continues to supply this effort." Furthermore the possibility of accidents are such that even Legay, an experienced miner, admits that "during the course of our visit we were scared." "I publicly state that in France no miner would agree to work under such conditions. The French Communist Deputy who was with us, had to recognise the imperfections in the organisation of working conditions. It was he, in fact, who proposed to Sinot (a member of the deputation) not to continue our visit."

When Legay expressed surprise that women should be engaged in such work under a "Socialist Regime," Schmidt, president of the Miners syndicate, answered that it was better to see women engaged in work in the mine rather than to see them, as in France, given up to prostitution! A fallacy which Legay tried to rid him of, without success! The man was just repeating what the Soviet Press tells the Russian people about the wives of French workers.

Legay learned from one of the women whose job it was to load the wagons, that she was not obliged to work in the mine, and that it was simply because she wanted to earn more that she had applied for the job. In the author's opinion there were two ways of obliging women to do work "for which she is not suited, and which the slightest common sense condemns." The first, the use of violence. The second, by making it impossible for

Anarcho-Syndicalism

By RUDOLF ROCKER

Anarcho-Syndicalism by Rudolf Rocker (Secker & Warburg 3/6.)

IS it not surprising that little is known about Anarchism and its economic counterpart Anarcho-Syndicalism in this country. The words Anarchist and Anarchism are often used, even in the House of Commons, with reference to chaos and disorder, and other people, whose intelligence should have been the guarantee of more understanding in their interpretation of Anarchism as the Ideal that it really is, make the same mistake. A certain amount of interest in Anarchism however, has been aroused since the outbreak of hostilities in Spain, for at the beginning even the English Press could not completely suppress from their columns some details as to the work being carried out by the CNT and the FAI. The Manchester Guardian stands out as being the most broadminded on this question, and the apparently Socialist Daily Herald, the most narrow minded, save on one occasion when it published an article by Victor Schiff, which dealt with the anarchists whom he met in Aragon. Furthermore the comments of many well known people and the numerous books which have extensively referred to the Spanish Anarchists, Seven Red Sundays by Ramon Sender (Faber), Behind the Spanish Barricades by Langdon-Davies (who has since repudiated all he wrote by becoming C.P. mouth-piece), Spanish Cockpit by Dr. Franz Borkenau, (Faber), Spain between Death and Birth by Peter Merin (The Bodley Head), Storm Over Spain by Mairin Mitchell (Secker & Warburg), My House in Malaga by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell (Faber) to quote a few. But what was really needed was a complete work on Anarcho-Syndicalism, in which the subject would be dealt with in all its aspects. In Anarcho-Syndicalism by Rudolf Rocker we at last have the book. It has no pretensions of being complete in detail; that would need a much longer book. However it is as well that the book is short, for by its brevity it succeeds more successfully in its aim: to briefly explain Anarcho-Syndicalism to the uninitiated... and the initiated. The aims of Anarcho-Syndicalism, its history, its objectives and methods are all discussed in its 150 odd pages in such a manner that reading never becomes tedious or difficult.

In the chapter on Anarchism: Its Aims and Purposes, Rocker reviews first the currents of thought which preceded the modern Anarchist ideals, from Lao-tse, the Hedonists and Cynics to Tolstol, Rabelais and Godwin. The latter, for instance "recognised very clearly that the cause of social evils is to be sought, not in the form of the State, but in its very existence" and that "human beings can only live together naturally and freely when the proper economic conditions for this are given, and when the individual is no longer subject to exploitation by another..." Proudhon's influence on the development of Anarchism was even greater and in fact took a stand on his teachings though extending them on the economic side. Then followed Kropotkin who "set himself the task of making the achievements of modern natural science available for the development of the sociological concepts of Anarchism."

AIMS OF ANARCHISM

Of the aims of Anarchism Rocker writes: "Anarchists demand the abolition of all economic monopolies and the common ownership of the soil and all other means of production, the use of which must be available to all without distinction; for personal and social freedom is conceivable only on the basis of equal economic advantages for everybody." and he compares these with the Marxian theories and the 'proletarian dictatorship' in Russia, in which "the aspirations of a particular party for political power have prevented any truly socialist reconstruction of economy and have forced the country into slavery of a grinding state-capitalism." "Socialism — writes Rocker — will be free or it will not be at all."

BEGINNING OF LABOUR MOVEMENT

"Movements arise only from the immediate and practical necessities of life, and are never the result of purely abstract ideas... Socialism is not the creator of the modern labour movement; rather it grew out of it. The movement developed as the logical result of a social reconstruction out of which the present capitalist world was born."

The advent of the steam-engine resulted in the rural population flocking to the cities. The new machine created more wealth for the privileged minority, whilst the workers were "plunged into the most revolting misery." Machine production had for instance driven out of work more than 80,000 hand weavers and the laws saw to it that cheap labour was easily obtainable. "Under these conditions — writes Rocker — a new Social class was born...: the modern industrial proletariat."

The Reform Bill of 1832 was a victory for the middle class over the aristocratic landowners, but the workers recognized that they had been betrayed again. They were convinced, as a result, that their struggle was not one of political reform but that their "real strength lay in their character as producers." Robert Owen, who had until then been unsuccessfully putting before the workers his plans for the "reconstruction of Society" was finally suc-

cessful at a conference of Trade Unions held in London in 1833. The immediate result was the founding of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union of Gt. Britain and Ireland (G.N.C.) at the beginning of 1834. This organisation met with immediate success and soon had more than 500,000 members.

When, for instance, the 10 hour day was being discussed their slogan was: "The adults in factories must by unions among themselves make a short Time Bill for themselves." How different is the attitude today, when the workers leave everything to their leaders and these in turn to the Government which turns down all proposals in the House!

However, as a result of the unsuccessful outcome of the revolutions of 1848-49 on the continent, the G.N.C. lost ground and pure trade-unionism once more came into its own. "Only with the founding of the International Workmen's Association was there a revival of the doctrines of a militant and constructive Socialism, but after that they spread internationally."

OBJECTIVES OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

"Modern Anarcho-Syndicalism," writes the author, "is a direct continuation of those social aspirations which took shape in the bosom of the first International and which were best understood and most strongly held by the libertarian wing of the great workers' alliance." The most important representative today is the CNT in Spain, and the author notes that its simple form has not only sufficed the Spanish workers for turning the CNT into "a fighting unit of the first rank" but has also safeguarded them against bureaucracy in their own ranks.

In the pages that follow Rocker describes the construction of the Anarcho-Syndicalist organisation and its activity in Europe, especially emphasising its activity in Spain.

The methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism are Direct Action: strikes, boycotts, sabotage, anti-militarism, "and in peculiarly critical cases, such for example as that in Spain today, armed resistance of the people for the protection of life and liberty."

It is a common belief that Anarcho-Syndicalists take no interest in the political struggles of the time. This, Rocker points out, is completely false. The CNT's struggle against Fascism in Spain should be sufficient proof. If Anarcho-Syndicalists reject participation in the work of bourgeois parliaments it is not because they have no sympathy with political struggles in general, but because they are "firmly convinced that parliamentary activity is for the workers the very weakest and most hopeless form of the political struggle."

Intellectual development for the workers is impossible so long as they continue to live in abject misery.

Furthermore the capitalists view the aspirations of the workers with mistrust. In the words of a Spanish minister, Juan Bravo Murillo, "we need no men who can think among the workers, what we need is beasts of toil."

The concluding chapter deals with the strength and influence of Anarcho-Syndicalism in the world. In Spain the CNT embraces a membership of two and a half million workers and controls thirty-six daily papers besides innumerable weeklies and reviews.

In Sweden there is an active Syndicalist movement which is affiliated to the I.W.M.A.; it has 40,000 members and publishes two daily newspapers. In Holland likewise they are active and the most important unit is the metal workers' Union.

The movement in Argentine has now been driven underground, though since the war the Anarcho-Syndicalist Trade Union organisation (F.O.R.A.) had grown to a membership of 300,000 and for the last twenty-five years had published the daily "La Protesta." Propagandist groups are also actively working in Norway, Poland, Bulgaria and Japan.

The above is but a brief account of Rudolf Rocker's excellent book. It is impossible, in the space available to bring out all the detail which it contains. "Anarcho-Syndicalism" should be read by all who wish to become acquainted with the subject, for an understanding of Anarcho-Syndicalism. So far the few books which have been written during the past two years have been generous in their distortion of the objectives and the work carried on by the Anarchists for the achievement of true Socialism; this is understandable, for the authors have been communists! "Anarcho-Syndicalism" on the other hand is written by one whose life has been dedicated to the Anarchist ideal and struggle, both in Germany and in America.

V. R.

Copies of "ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM" by Rudolf Rocker can be obtained from "Spain, and the World" offices — Price 3s.6d. or 4s. (U.S.A. \$1.00) post free. Send for your copy NOW!

What is Good Propaganda?

"Daily Worker" and McGovern Pamphlet

THE "Daily Worker" (14/3/38) publishes in its correspondence column a letter from William Gallacher, the Communist M.P., in which he makes reference to John McGovern's pamphlet, "Terror In Spain." He writes:

On the front page of to-day's "Daily Worker" I saw the phrase "Pro-Fascist rag embraces I.L.P. leaders." (Reference to I.L.P. letter to Stalin regarding Moscow trials—Ed.)

Last night Lady Astor, one of the moving spirits of the Cliveden gang (Cliveden is the home of the Astor family) came rushing over to the Labour benches displaying a pamphlet on Spain.

"I got it from my friend, John McGovern," she shouted.

Comment is scarcely necessary. WILLIAM GALLACHER.

A comment is necessary (unless one belongs to the Communist Party) for Gallacher asserts that the I.L.P. is playing into the hands of the Fascists by publishing this kind of propaganda.

Now, there seems to be confusion somewhere. Whilst the majority of people say that the publicity on the Moscow trials has been a way of playing into the hands of Fascism, the Communist Party asserts, on the contrary, that it "is the strengthening of Communism." Yet McGovern's pamphlet, which exposes the enemies in the Negrin-Stalin camp in Spain is treated by the Communists, not as a means of strengthening the anti-fascist front in Spain, but as the best way to play into the hands of the Fascists!

The 21 members of the "counter-revolutionary bloc of Rights and Trotskyists," to quote the "Daily Worker," were accused, amongst other things of wanting to "restore capitalism"; of having poisoned Gorky and of having been the organizers of the murders of Kirov and others.

McGovern, in his pamphlet, refers to the "change of objective from 'Workers Power' to 'Defence of Democracy'" under the influence of the Liberals and especially the Communists; of the way the Communists tortured their prisoners in order to make them speak; of the comrades who have been murdered or kidnapped by the Cheka, and the imprisonment of thousands of comrades without trial.

The reports of the Moscow trial, published by all the Communist Press (extensively reproduced and exploited by Fascist newspapers*) and the detailed information with regard to the Communist Cheka in Spain contained in McGovern's pamphlet, both accuse their enemies of the same crime: the attempted destruction of the workers' achievements in Russia and Spain respectively. Yet Gallacher (consequently the C.P.) gives one interpretation (a favourable one) for the former report and condemns the latter as playing into the hands of the Fascists!

It seems appropriate that we should conclude — Comment is scarcely necessary, and add — for people who think!

LIBERTARIAN.

* An article in the "Popolo d'Italia," generally believed to come from the pen of Mussolini reads as follows: "In face of the catastrophe of Lenin's system, it seems that Stalin has secretly become a Fascist, but being a Russian, or rather, a Georgian, that is to say a kind of semi-barbarian, he does not have recourse to castor oil to punish the Communist chiefs who are so stupid and criminal enough to still believe in Communism. He cannot (Continued at foot of previous column)

the husband to earn sufficient money to feed and clothe his family. He rejects the former theory but is convinced of the latter. (p. 60).

These are obviously only a few of the injustices of the Bolshevik system against women. These are the injustices which Legay was able to see with his own eyes despite the efforts of the officials to make them see and hear just what they thought should be seen and heard by foreigners. But they are sufficient for all lovers of Liberty to draw conclusions. V. R.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on March 18th, 1938, and printed by THE NAROD PRESS (T.U.), 129-131, Bedford Street, London, E.1.

SPAIN and the WORLD

Fortnightly dedicated to the anti-Fascist struggle and the Social Revolution in Spain.

Price 2d.; For U.S.A., 5 cents.

All correspondence and moneys to be sent to the Editors, "SPAIN and the WORLD," 21 Frith St., London, W.1, England.

see the ironical simplicity in this kind of purge. He has recourse to the system which existed in the Steppes of Genghis-Khan, and which put before Europe the fierceness of its tribunals. By putting Bolshevism before us in its true light, Stalin is doing a great service to Fascism by mowing down in "big sweeps" his avowed enemies, now that they are impotent."

HELP US TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT by sending your subscription

13 issues 2/6, U.S.A. \$0.60 post paid
26 " 4/6, U.S.A. \$1.00 " "