

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

"When we can cast out the fear of death and renounce any desire to dominate the least of our fellow men then we can live in peace and happiness. And this is the final aim: neither to believe, nor suffer, nor renounce; but to accept, to enjoy, to realize the anarchy of life in the midst of the order of living."

HERBERT READ.

(Poetry and Anarchism)

Vol. II. No. 36.

LONDON, JUNE 24th, 1938.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

A MESSAGE FROM SPAIN

SPAIN'S FATE

THE settlement of the Spanish question is the condition of His Majesty's government before the Anglo-Italian pact can come into force. Mr. Noel Baker has asked if the government were prepared to state what such a settlement would be. There have been no further explanations. "Settlement" has been generally interpreted as the substantial withdrawal of Italian fighting forces. This would jeopardise the Duce's prestige in Spain. On the other hand, it would loosen the purse-strings of British capital, which Chamberlain is dangling over Mussolini's head.

Then, there is Germany to deal with. Franco's Spain is practically a colony of the Germans. All the economy, politics and military organisation are in the hands of German technicians, military advisers and competent tradesmen. The Nazi party has its controlling branches in every important centre of activity throughout Franco's territory. It is not likely that Germany will relinquish her grip on the natural wealth and strategical resources of Spain. This in the eyes of the British rulers, is perhaps alright. It is a trading position, and the big interests need only invest in the German enterprises in Spain. It would be simply a matter of a few slight changes in book-keeping entries—and the dividends would go on as previously.

There is France, caught between the ropes—and terribly afraid to move in any direction, other than by the dictates of the ruling powers, which are still concentrated in Downing Street.

As for the Spanish people themselves, they are of very minor consideration in the international sphere. Over a million and a quarter killed, hundreds of thousands maimed for life, massacred women and children by German and Italian bombs; foodships, flying the British colours, sunk in the very harbours of starving populations—all these are mere trifles. Non-intervention is still the best policy for Great Britain, as France is ordered to shut her frontiers in a one-sided brutal attempt to force a truce, whereby England may take the best trading position on behalf of her "vital imperial interests."

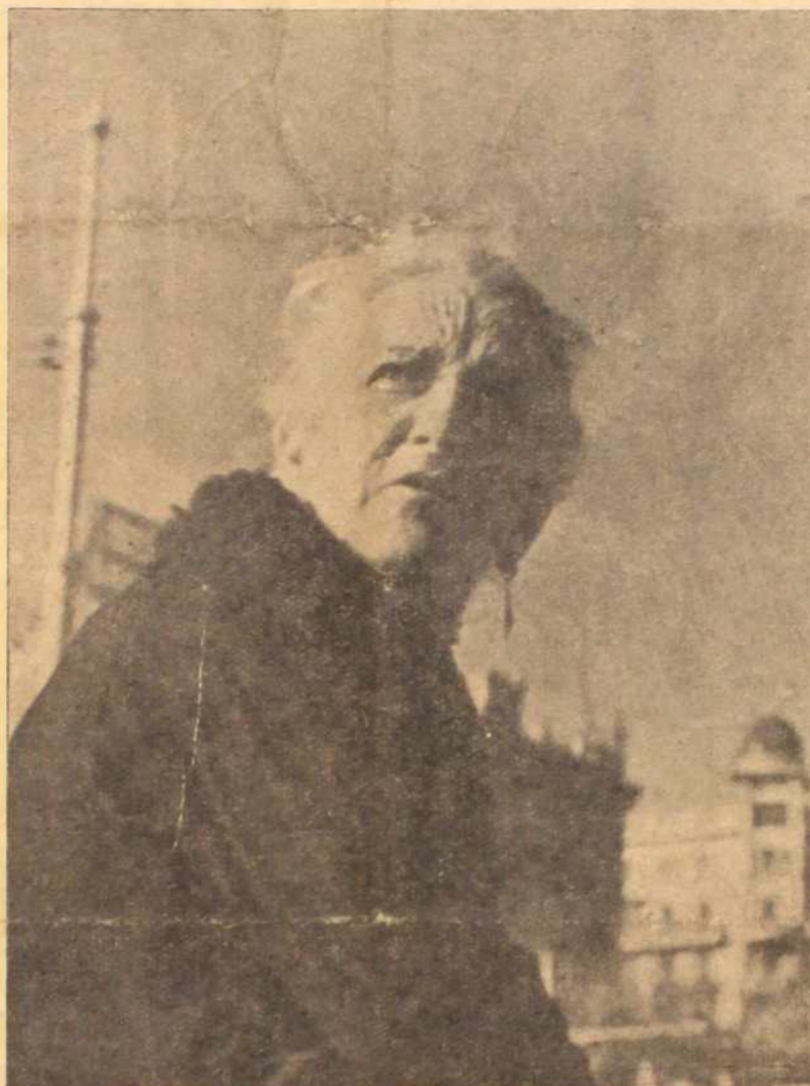
Yet, it is possible that the forces of decency are still alive in what are known as free countries; it may come to pass that self-respecting Englishmen, Frenchmen and Americans will rise in a body, and the cry of "Shame" from millions of indignant citizens may bend the necks of insensible rulers, and save the elemental condition of freedom for the martyred Spanish people.

MOCK SYMPATHY

Chamberlain, speaking of the bombing of Canton, said:

"Indeed, if it were not that China is so far away and the things that are taking place there are so remote from our everyday consciousness, I think the sentiments of pity, of horror, of indignation which would be aroused . . . might drive this people to courses which perhaps they have never yet contemplated."

The "Manchester Guardian" rightly comments: "Yet on the horrors of Alicante and Granollers, so unremote and so greatly in our minds, the Prime Minister was silent. He said nothing in reply to a sensible suggestion that anti-aircraft guns might be exported to both sides in Spain which would hardly violate the spirit of the Non-Intervention agreement, that fine curtain behind which have lurked for so long deceit and shame and cowardice."



She waits for Franco's "message of liberation" to be dropped from his bombing planes.

must fatally plunge the entire world into the ever widening jaws of the Fascist dictators.

At such a time, there can be no isolation, no indifference, no party bickerings, no personal and demagogical disputes. It is a time for concerted action by the workers themselves, directed against a common enemy, and on behalf of the workers in Spain, on behalf of their women and children. Solidarity—anti-Fascist solidarity—International anti-Fascist Solidarity—in its full sense, is a goal worthy to attain, and in favour of which all political parties of the left, trade unions and independents can unite and support the popular demand TO LIFT THE EMBARGO ON ARMS FOR SPAIN, and the prompt organisation of means to relieve the sufferings of the workers' families at the mercy of the Fascist bombs.

L. FRANK.

THE "CITY" AND THE COMITE DE FORGE

It was in London that I first learned of the rebellion of the Fascist murderers in Morocco and Spain. I thought that it would be an event of small importance, then. But when I saw Blum, leader of the Popular Front Government, treat international law as a scrap of paper, and refuse the necessary arms for her defence to the Spanish Government I felt the presentiment that Blum would cover himself with Spanish blood, just as Laval was bathed in Abyssinian blood. Why this treason? Alas, I understood soon that Blum was being towed by the "city" and the comité de Forge, Rothschild, de Wendel, etc.

I was one of the first of all the French writers of the Left to ask in August, 1936, (my articles bear witness to this.) "Is it already treason? Must we believe in our impotence?" which appeared in the "Etincelle Socialiste" and "Le Travailiste." I was only too right! The Spanish Freemasons tried to shake the apathy of the French pub-

lic, and began with the French Freemasons, who were half asleep, if not completely indifferent. I had enormous difficulty in convincing various Freemasons, in 1936, that they must publish and repeat everywhere the tragic truth, that the Spanish revolution had no worse enemies than the "city" and the Comité des Forges, that is to say, Capitalism, as much Fascist in England and France as abroad.

My friends in Barcelona doubted the truth of my gloomy predictions. I have since recalled to them many things about the French and British Governments which leave no doubt of the complicity with the Fascist murderers. It is only too sure unfortunately that the "City" and the Comité des Forges have more confidence in Franco's bludgeon than the central syndicates of the Spanish Revolution. Thus, the Fascist Capitalists of London and of Paris, have, for the last two years, been giving underhand Jesuitical support to the Spanish Fas-

cists, when they did not do it with cynical openness.

M. Blum undertook a policy of Non-Intervention, the most shocking piece of cant that the "English shopkeepers" have ever imposed on the French conscience, absolutely opposed to the wishes and ideals of the Popular Front, and submitted the Quai d'Orsay to the direction of the Foreign Owce.

For nearly two years France has had no foreign policy, it is the "city" which directs it, in company with the Roman church, whose game in London is only too comprehensible. But that is another story, of course.

Although it seems horrible to write, I believe that the Spanish Republic will be gnally crushed, not by the Fascist killers of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler, but because of the base treachery of the "democracies," British and French, that is to say, by the "City" and the Comité des Forges.

For, as Mussolini once said to a journalist naive enough to talk to him of Western Democracies, "Democracy? you have nothing but the illusion of democracy." Mr. Mussolini knew what he was talking about, and one may believe him.

Plutocracy leads the world, and Plutocracy is Fascist.

G. GOBRON

The children of Spain need your solidarity!

We need your active support to maintain our colony at Masnon. There are 40 children in our colony who depend on you, the comrades and readers of "SPAIN and the WORLD", for their daily bread.

An Aspect Of Democratic Patriotism

(From our Paris Correspondent)

EACH day brings a new document for the dossier of the bankruptcy of the Popular Front. This time they are worried about "foreigners." The Left parties, in the heart of the Popular Coalition, have included in their programme the regulation of the right of asylum, to put an end to the arbitrary methods of the police and administration who condemn political exiles to a wandering, illegal life, to suffer the humiliation of searches, of expulsions on pain of imprisonment, and who put these unfortunates on the outskirts of society.

Since the first of Blum's cabinets the prescribed have been heaped with promises. A project of Marius Moutet, a parliamentary Socialist, was to have been passed, they said.

Months, then years passed. Nothing is changed. The only perceptible changes were those which showed themselves in the steps to withdraw permits of residence from this or that refugee. In place of asking help from the politicians of the Right one went to ask it from those politicians of the Left. But the coming of Daladier's Cabinet brought new troubles. The laws for foreign workers were fixed by decree.

The detestable arbitrary administration continued. But a series of similar things tending to a more strict control and increasing the final penalties are being taken against those unfortunates whose status is illegal.

Thus the deportees who return secretly to French territory which is frequently the case, because the neighbouring countries are also expelling them, will be punished by a year in prison and, in case of a second offence, by five years imprisonment. Thus the unfortunate refugee, unable to find shelter elsewhere, expelled by all countries, is punished ten or twelve times, each offence adding from one month to two years to his punishment.

But worse still, the French citizen who helps the refugee is also liable to criminal proceedings. The French citizen needs as beasts of burden, Poles, Italians or Hungarians for the commonest labor. They do not wish to have awkward or intelligent people with whom to deal. It is about three weeks since these police decrees have been applied. The pursuit of foreigners has attained a degree of bitterness and cruelty never yet reached. For the first time in many years the French bourgeoisie have made such a serious effort to rid themselves of the International 'Plague'.

Clean sweeps and denunciations without cease. Police cars continuously comb the streets in those quarters where there is a large proportion of foreigners. There is no suspect corner which is not searched with care. Even public squares and markets do not escape inspection. The coming visit of their gracious majesties of Great Britain has done nothing to diminish these persecutions. Not that there is any indication that any section of public opinion regards the visit of the British Royalty with an unfavourable eye. But the police have been let loose, and are taking all sorts of precautions, no matter how stupid and useless.

When the fetes for the King and Queen of England take place the whole police force will be mobilised, assisted by the Mobile Guard and regiments of troops. Every dwelling situated on any of the important routes will be searched and the tenants interrogated. Safe conducts will be necessary for the inhabitants to come and go, and janitors will be replaced by police inspectors during the time of the royal visit.

Up to the present only the little weekly and the monthly papers of the revolutionary nature have protested against the police measures, and against the persecution of political refugees. Neither the C.G.T. nor the Communist Party, nor the Socialist Party have organised a

big protest, which would be truly effective. Only here and there in the reformist journals has one read some mild criticisms from the workers' deputies, or occasionally one of these deputies has recovered his sense of internationalism enough to telephone a colleague in power when too outrageous a case has been brought to their notice. For the rest they wash their hands of responsibility.

It is all one can expect if the Communist Party refrains from applauding these measures. This attitude is imposed by their "Neo-Patriotism." The party has de-

manded that violent measures be taken against agents of "Fascism" Already in the South of France, Italian anarchists have been deported because they had denounced at meetings, the Union Populaire Italienne, which is an instrument of the Communist Party. If the efforts of those international nuclei of workers fail to unleash a general protest by the Unions, yet we must turn to proletarian solidarity, simple and efficacious.

In the war against bourgeois nationalists and Chauvenists of our day, the fear of illegal action must be abandoned.



The Master's Last Lesson

Chamberlain and British Merchant Navy

It is worth while recording the attitude of Mr. Chamberlain—and consequently the National Government in regard to the continued bombardments of British Shipping in the Mediterranean. It is an attitude which cannot be accepted by the workers of this country, and the sooner they come to the conclusion that it will be by their action (and not by any future action of a Labour Government or some such reformist body of politicians) that such murderous acts will be stopped. Chamberlain and the Clivedon gang are not interested in the lives of British seaman.



Britain protects her ships from Franco's aeroplane attacks.

Mr. NOEL-BAKER: A great number of attacks by General Franco have been made on the high seas.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: We are talking about policy now. A particular attack may take place and there may be no British ship in reach to punish the aggressor at the moment. We cannot have a British ship in every square mile of the Mediterranean. But what Mr. Noel-Baker was attributing to us was a deliberate difference in policy as to whether the ship to be attacked was carrying aid to one side or the other.

Mr. NOEL-BAKER: Did the Prime Minister apply his high moral principle about profiteering to the ship that was taking aid to General Franco? If not, why not?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not assume to myself a high moral principle. I was merely imagining what the Labour Party would have said. The point I was dealing with was the difference between ships on the high seas and ships in port. I say again, that Mr. Noel-Baker was unfair and unjust and indirect when he suggested that since the late Foreign Secretary resigned we had changed the policy that had been adopted by Mr. Eden.

—That is not true at all. We still maintain the policy that he laid down for action on the high seas in the event of attack on British ships—to give due protection to British ships.

It was not a nice thing to hear of British ships being attacked in ports, but so far as he knew there was no foundation for any suggestion that those ships had been carrying arms or munitions. They had, of course, been carrying food, coal, oil, and other stores which were all of value in carrying on the war, and no doubt that was the reason why they were attacked, but the Government would not admit the right of General Franco or anybody else to attack those ships. "What we say is that we do not see any practical means of preventing it without adopting a policy which would be completely at variance with what we believe to be in the true interests of this country."

A Labour Member: The great British Navy can do nothing.

British Imperialism In Action

OUR ears have become accustomed to the numerous statements of horror expressed by the British Government at bombing outrages whether in China, Abyssinia or Spain. And the average British citizen who accepts all that his Government says with traditional loyalty, does not for a moment imagine that the British Government, the Government loved by a mighty Empire should use similar means to convince its "happy" subjects that might is right. The following letter, therefore, which we have extracted from the June issue of the "World Review" should make a few Britishers realize that their Government is no different. If anything it is worse than the blatant Fascists, for under the guise of democracy and its love for peace it can bomb the civilian populations of Palestine and India and prevent Spain and Abyssinia from obtaining the arms required to defend themselves against continued air-raids and the consequent loss of life.—EDITOR.

Sir,

The following is a fully summarised translation of a proclamation issued by Mr. Ingrams, "Deputy of the British Government and Resident Adviser of the Qu'aiti Sultan," before the recent bombing of the Humum tribe.

It is addressed to the chiefs of the ten sections of the tribe specified in detail.

"You are accused," it begins, "as follows, namely:

(a) that on January 20th a party of Humum attacked a lorry and robbed it of 2,000 Ri-yals;

(b) that on January 29th a party attacked a lorry and took two boxes containing 1,350 Ri-yals and clothes worth 400 Ri-yals;

(c) that you attacked and fired on a Government lorry;

(d) that a party attacked a lorry between Ghail and Shihr with the result that the Governor of Ghail and another man were killed.

(a) So, whereas you have committed such acts against your Sultan and the Government and have after the necessary warnings refused to obey the terms of the Government, we warn you that from dawn on February 13th you are forbidden to use your villages and houses and everything in them and also your wells and fields and pastures until further notice.

(b) The Government will enforce this prohibition by making

the villages below mentioned and the wells and the fields belonging to you unsafe for you and your cattle at all times by day and night by dropping bombs from aeroplanes and machine-gun fire over all the Humum villages especially to the east of the Kaf road and all villages in which the Humum are; and you should know:

firstly, that some bombs will explode immediately while others will not do so for many hours so that from the beginning of the bombardment it is unsafe for anyone to remain in that area by day or night until your submission is received by the Political Officer at Shihr and he agrees to stop the bombing;

secondly, that it is dangerous for anyone to touch or pick up any unexploded bomb.

(4) So we warn you particularly that at dawn on February 15th you should remove from the villages and places mentioned—you and your women and children and cattle to places of safety outside the area and for your safety we warn you that none should approach within rifle-range of any fields near the area of bombardment. For the Government is not trying to kill any of you and in truth the Government is making every effort to avoid doing so, and the only killings you will suffer will be of those persons who disregard these orders and go to the dangerous places specified of their own accord.

(5) The conditions of your submission and obedience for the avoidance of your bombardment or after you have been bombarded, are:

100 she-camels, 100 rifles, the value of the money and effects stolen by you, surrender of all accused persons and two hostages for each section.

Now, as soon as the bombardment begins there will be a Political Officer at Shihr to receive this penalty, namely (the fulfilment of) the terms. And, when he receives your obedience and submission, he will stop the bombardment and allow you to return freely to your villages and to remain in the places formerly forbidden."

The bombing and ultimate submission of the tribe followed in due course. Comment is almost unnecessary. There does not seem to be much essential difference between the methods of persuasion adopted by totalitarian and democratic Powers. The end justifies the means. A new philosophy, but surely monstrous!

Jidda.

H. ST. J. PHILBY.

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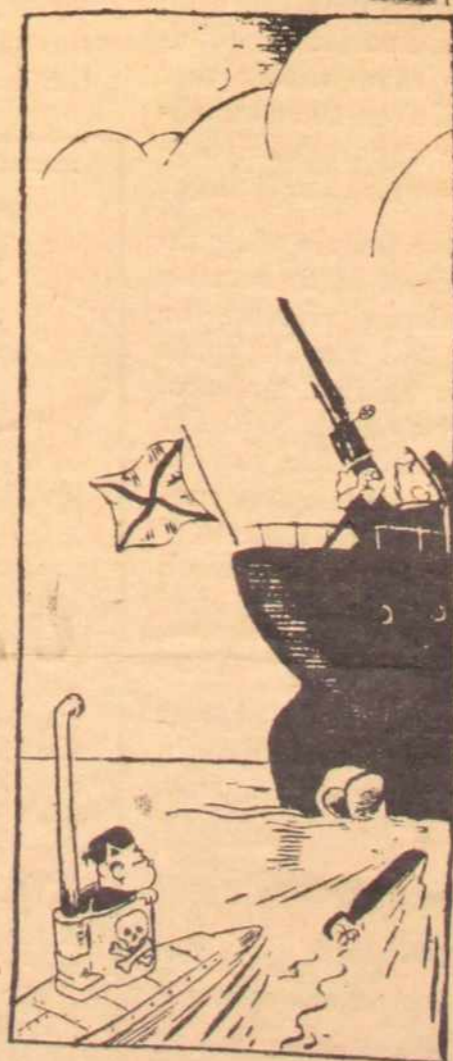
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Britain protects her ships from submarine attacks.

FROM THE SPANISH PRESS

WE have been reading some learned arguments directed against the revolutionary achievements of the workers. The specialists in syndicalism "sui generis" have proved scientifically that the "audacity of the visionaries" is not a practical proposition. They do it with the "I told you so" air of those who, even in their most contradictory attitudes, are always right.

These "libertarians" who have evidently imbibed a strong dose of Marxism, harp on the well-known theme of our backwardness in industrialisation. By reason of these objective conditions it was not possible to make a revolution, they say.

In a paragraph of the Declaration of the Syndicalist Party the writer employs the classic terminology of rigid and mathematical economics in order to teach us that the revolution can only be made when the existing conditions are precisely those predicted by the theorists. From here to a self-apology is only one step—that is to say one paragraph.

The "visionaries" refused to listen to the experts in successful revolution. And now, when

The "Visionaries" at the Barricades and Front

it is the fashion once more to say that we are not fighting for the revolution, the "practical" revolutionaries have come out into the open. With unanswerable logic they say: "We told you so." Away with the utopias and the audacity of the visionaries. There is no revolution of that kind.

We are sorry to hear it. But we are not going to argue about it with the scientific anti-revolutionaries. We feel that facts have demonstrated sufficiently what the so-called "visionaries" are capable of. At the barricades it was they who decided the fate of Spain; in the centres of production it was their organising ability which saved the national economy from disaster. Collectives have been formed everywhere by the

efforts of the workers. At the same time they had to meet the exigencies of the war—their war. If the revolutionary transformation of Spain has not progressed more rapidly it is not the fault of the workers. It is due to the war and to politics.

The "visionaries" are the saviours of Spain. They fight now in the front rank for her liberty; they work for the victory. And still, in spite of all the lessons of the anti-revolutionaries, they fight for the revolution. They will not cease to fight for it. They do not await the orders of learned economists bound by their dogmas to bring about the triumph of the revolution.

Tierra y Libertad.

THE course of events has placed us before one of those crucial moments, which constitute a dividing point of History. The 19th of July was such a point, separating the past from the future. In the profound tragedy of our sufferings, there has penetrated a vision of the future, which we are forging in these extraordinary hours of our lives.

This vision of the future is the best means of rising above the poverty of spirit still subsisting from the past; it is the best way of surpassing the imponderables of routine, of selfishness and petty passions. We must act with the conviction that we are building a new world; our daily acts will serve as a guidance for future generations. We must show that our struggle represents the double liberation of a People, attacked by international mercenaries, while at the same time it is expressing a new sense of justice, which is to animate the working masses of the world.

Our destiny belongs to those who have faith, conviction and moral courage. Individually we are mere episodes; what counts is the sum total of our achievements. It is facing death to triumph over it. This war of ours, provoked by the golden calves, has served to evaluate the intrinsic

Facing the World

condition of the Iberian race, not in the anachronistic historical concept of its tradition aspect; but in its pure popular origins, in its flavour of a people that labours, suffers and aspires to its liberation.

It is not a matter of the rebirth of the old legendary military grandeur, nor the rememorial of Sagunto, Cadiz, Zaragoza and Bruch; but of the incorporation of the Spanish people to the access of food, culture, liberty, to its full dignity as men and producers. The issue in our land is the overthrow of the black fatidic Spain, dominated by capitalists and political bosses, brutalised by illiteracy and hunger, oppressed by legions of parasites and symbolised by the Civil Guards clubbing workers and beggars.

This is the struggle being ventilated in the trenches. It is the eternal fight of the People against the oligarchies; of the labouring masses against the usurpers of the land, of the means of production and of the conscience of the inhabitants. It is the struggle that passed over

the last century. Rebellions in all the territories, the wars between liberals and Carlists, the military uprisings, the implantation of the Republic of 1873; all of them at bottom, are nothing else than the manifestations of the same nature, the efforts of a People which yearns to free itself, breathe, live its own life.

Later, these popular aspirations find their centre in the workers' movement, in the social conflicts. From there on, the protests, fights and strikes grow in volume until they culminate in the repressive measures of the Black Hand, of Monjuich, of Alcala del Valle, of Cullera, of Cenecero, and then on to the collective manifestation of 1909 in Barcelona; the movement of 1917; insurrection of Asturias in 1934; in the crushing of fascism in 1936; in the epic struggle we are sustaining in the battlefield. These are all links of the same chain, the chain of liberation of the Spanish people.

—Solidaridad Obrera.

THERE is no exception to this law. It is the people themselves who forge their destiny. From the revolutionary point of view, a rising against an oppressive regime, for the creation of a new social order, is always a possibility. Those peoples who are incapable of rising up and fighting for their liberty must pay the price in their own sufferings. If they are unprepared and lacking in revolutionary forces they must inevitably be dominated by tyrants who live by the brutal exploitation of the labouring masses. The people who can liberate themselves, who can transform the economic, social and political conditions of their lives, are those who, besides having the will to be free, have, by the creation of revolutionary forces, prepared themselves for their emancipation.

The movement of a people towards slavery or liberation is determined by its particular characteristics and by the predominating organisations. The result of a mass movement depends not only on the opportunity, but on the choice of tactics and the passion and intelligence with which the workers engage in the fight. Where the masses are bound by the methods of reform and collaboration, where the people are ready to abdicate to the dominant classes, social revolution is an impossibility. To oppose the sway of a dictatorship a people must have a real passion for liberty, must be ready to fight for it and a profound faith in its own strength and ability to win. Those peoples who are not disposed to resort to revolutionary methods in the face of tyranny will fall vanquished in the struggle.

We shall not discuss here the question of how far the people who are incapable of defending and enlarging their liberty should be held to blame. Every step forward in the march of humanity is marked by blood. Terrible defeats have overwhelmed the proletariat in many countries. One glance at the world panorama today will convince us of this. An objective study of the proletarian forces will reveal the reason for the continued power of capitalism, for the growth of the totalitarian states, the increase in Fascist domination and the isolation of the revolutionary struggle; the reason lies in the lack of conscience or capacity for revolution in the large organisations and the predominating absolutism of the reformist bodies.

The People Themselves Forge Their Destiny

Spain has been the exception. Here the proletariat has been organically prepared by the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movement. Moreover the anarchist ideology has penetrated to other sections with other political tendencies. For this reason the proletariat was able to do in Spain what it could not do in Italy, Austria or Germany; what it cannot do in any country of the world where the workers remain tied to the reformist yoke and condemned to impotence by collaboration with exploiters and rulers.

The people themselves forge their destiny. The people of Spain were ready and able to orient their lives in accordance with their libertarian ideals. The Spanish proletariat does not provide material which can easily be moulded by the dictatorial groups or parties of any class. But they know their duty. They have thrown all their forces in to the fight against national and international fascism. They realize what defeat or victory will mean to them. But they will not renounce the building of the future.

With this supreme faith in itself the Spanish proletariat, surrounded by enemies, fights on. Those who deduce from certain manifestations, certain withdrawals, certain situations forced by internal conditions and the pressure of the war, that the revolution has been liquidated, or its problems set aside indefinitely, are deceiving themselves. The proletariat knows that on its strength depends Spain's and its own destiny. Now, in the war to the death against Fascism; after the victory, when the day of reconstruction and of final liberation shall dawn.

The people of Spain hold their destiny in their own hands. With this principle as guide, the Spanish proletariat fights on; fights on secure in the knowledge that no-one is going to make a mock of its genuine aspirations. In Spain, the proletariat will be master of its fate. It will be free.

Tierra y Libertad.

On Counter-Revolution

WITH the strength of titans, with unbounded enthusiasm, each hour, each day, the workers are building, creating. To workers and peasants, in great cities, in villages and on the land, the collectives means the beginning of a new life. All are working for all. For the first time in history the producers direct and administer their work and care for it with all their being.

When war let loose the fascist hordes on cities, villages and the country side, nothing of the precious work remained. The savages killed all the best men and, with them, the fruit of their labour. Where fascism has passed nothing is left standing. There is only blood, ruins, and terror. . . .

Tierra y Libertad.

INTER NOS

One month has passed since an issue of "SPAIN and the WORLD" last appeared, and judging by the numerous comrades who have written or have enquired as to when the next issue of "SPAIN and the WORLD" would be on sale, it clearly indicates that our publication is still anxiously sought after by many comrades who feel that it is accomplishing a necessary task on behalf of our Spanish comrades. . . . Well, amongst the several reasons why "SPAIN and the WORLD" did not appear a fortnight ago was the very important one of funds. As comrades will see, our deficit is still in the region of £200, and as we pointed out in a previous issue, either this deficit must be appreciably reduced within the next few weeks, or "SPAIN and the WORLD" will have to follow those voices of Liberty which have been silenced by lack of funds.

All comrades can help in some way or another to save our publication from an untimely end.

Firstly.—Have you paid your subscription, or if you are a regular reader, have you renewed it?

Secondly.—To those friends to whom we have been sending specimen copies during the last few months. Have you sent your subscription, or if you are not interested in our publication, have you asked us to remove your name from our mailing lists, and thereby save us unnecessary expense?

Thirdly.—Are you taking a bundle of each issue of "SPAIN and the WORLD" and selling copies at meetings or inducing your local newsagent to stock it?

Fourthly.—When you have a little odd change why not send it on to the Solidarity Fund and thus help to wipe out our deficit.

Comrades! It is ever more necessary that our voice should be heard. Your solidarity will prevent it from being stifled!

Our Balance Sheet

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EXPENDITURE:

Printing No. 35 13 10 0
Blocks 11 4
Postages 3 14 5

17 15 9
Deficit from previous issue 178 0 0

Income 24 11 2

DEFICIT £171 4 7

SPAIN and the WORLD

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

Price 2d.; For U.S.A., 5 cents.
All correspondence and monies to be sent to the Editors, "SPAIN and the WORLD," 21 Frith St., London, W.1, England.

Women and the Revolution

(Continued from previous issue)

There stands Rosa Luxemburg, that Jewish Russian Revolutionary who, side by side with Karl Liebknecht, embodied the highest ideals of the German Revolution. Hers are the words from the manifesto of the "Spartacus Bund": "Merciless Revolutionary action and most generous humanity—this alone is the true breath of Socialism." There are the anonymous women of Spain who, side by side with their husbands and sons, have for two years defended the freedom and honour of mankind. And here too rises the small figure of Maria Spiridonova who was destined to bear a "double ordeal." She was not only made to feel the iron hand of Czarism; since 1918 she has become a martyr for a second time. In Revolutionary Russia, which she had helped to raise by her sacrifice and enthusiasm, she became a victim of the Bolshevik state. It is heroism not to forsake the fidelity to the pure idea of Socialism under such conditions, and to continue to serve even when condemned to silence and suffering.

Emma Goldman is also included in this gallery, the only great Revolutionary whom Miss Mannin knows personally and whom she describes with much enthusiasm. Emma Goldman has spent a lifetime in fighting for ideas which have met with little understanding even in the proletarian world. She hoped to see her visions realised in the Russian Revolution and it was there that she encountered her terrible disappointment. Yet

Women and the Revolution, by Ethel Mannin (Secker & Warburg, 10/6).

she has never betrayed her mission and has always stood for it with the same youthful vigour. It is easier for the fighter to die on the barricades than to see those very barricades manned and corrupted by false friends. Emma Goldman has passed the most trying of tests: she has not lost her courage, not even in the face of defeat, not even when her barricades were outraged.

Miss Mannin's book contains a second part, in which she treats problems of womanhood in the light of Socialism with much clarity and inspiration. Yet I see the significance of her work in that part, where she appeals to the noblest emotions of her readers through a description of her heroism. She asks: "Such fearless, active women as Maria Spiridonova, Louise Michel, Rosa Luxemburg—where are such women today? And she rightly answers: "There are such women, hidden in the ranks of women of all countries and all classes, working for freedom and a better way of life for all."

But to me it seems that, if Miss Mannin wants to rouse heroic spirit in man, she cannot bind herself to Marxism. Actual Marxism, as we have recognised it in Germany and in Russia (in the Social-Democracy and in Bolshevism) has undermined the moral foundations of revolutionary heroism. In favour of the Party, the class, the State, it has destroyed personality in the Socialist camp, crippled its liberty and responsibility. It has made the Socialist calculating, business-like, political. Marxism has always

sought the proletarian in a man, while it is the task of Socialism to seek and educate the man in a proletarian.

Miss Mannin declares with admirable courage that "in many respects the results of the Russian Revolution have been a bitter disappointment. And she explains it by the "concentration of power into the hands of a few leaders until it ceased to be a dictatorship of the proletariat in the true sense." But why has this "Dictatorship of a handful of politicians" come about? Is it not connected with the Marxist foundation of a proletarian dictatorship? And has struggling Spain not pointed to other ways?

But this leads us away from the main subject of the book. We must be grateful to the author because she has introduced us—men as well as women—into a sublime atmosphere in which we breathe the air of heroic men and deeds. We lay the book aside with the conviction that if such men and really one day be free.

Dr. J. STEINBERG.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Secker & Warburg:

Homage to Catalonia, by George Orwell, 10/6.

*Anarcho-Syndicalism, by Rudolf Rocker, 3/6.

The Jesuits. A Study in Counter-Revolution, by F. A. Ridley, 10/6.

Storm Over Spain, by Mairin Mitchell, 6/-.

Women and the Revolution, by Ethel Mannin, 10/6.

Faber & Faber:

My House in Malaga, by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell, 8/6.

Poetry and Anarchism, by Herbert Read, 6/-.

Gollancz:

Spanish Testament, by Arthur Koestler, 10/6.

The Civil War in Spain, by Frank Jellinek, 8/6.

United Editorial Ltd.:

Foreign Intervention in Spain, Vol. I, 7/6.

Franco's Rule, 3/6.

Inside Spain, by Geoffrey Breton (Quality Press, 3/6).

Burgos Justice, by Ruiz Vilaplana (Constable).

Carlo and Nello Rosselli—A Memoir by Gaetano Salvemini (For Intellectual Liberty, London, 2/-).

Dans la Tourmente. Un an de guerre en Espagne (B.I.P., 28 Blvd. St. Denis, Paris X., 12 francs).

*Mussolini a la conquete des Baleares by Camillo Berneri (B.I.P., 10 francs).

La Chine, Le Japon et les Puissances, by Felicien Challaye (Rieder, Paris, 6 francs).

*Pensieri e Battaglie. Camillo Berneri (20, rue de Terre Neuve, Paris, 12 francs, England 2/6).

Barcelone fin Juin 1937, by Felicien Challaye. Reprint from La Grande Revue, Paris.

*Does God Exist? by Sebastien Faure (Kropotkin Library, 10 cents, England 3d.).

Hommes (poemes) M. Martinet (Les Humbles, Paris, 10 francs).

*Mussolini alla conquista delle Baleari, by Camillo Berneri (Barcelona).

Spain at War. Illustrated Monthly (United Editorial, 3d.).

Workers Free Press (W. McDougall 31, Rosehall Street, Glasgow, 1d. monthly).

Spain: Revolution and Counter-Revolution, by William Krehm (4, Alexander Street, Toronto).

*Il Lavoro Attraente, by Camillo Berneri (C. Frigerio Casella, Stand 128 Geneva, 20c., England 3d.).

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Austria and After

Austria and After, by Dr. Franz Borckenau (Faber & Faber, 8/6).

Says the author—Unfortunately, the dry statements of the sociologist have little chance to give so true a picture of essentials as the pretendedly fictitious approach of the artist. — In the "Spanish Cockpit", Dr. Borckenau has combined the scientific outlook with the approach of the artist. The flat statements of facts are rounded out into a living truth. It is an excellent reference book and will take its proper place hereafter among the welter of Spain books shortly to go on the scrap heap. But more than that. It is true, with the immediate pulsating truth of the moment. If you have been in Spain you know that it is true. If you know nothing of the country you feel that it is.

Many of us who are not political experts want to learn how not to repeat the revolutionary mistakes which have left Europe in its present disastrous state. We can learn. But perhaps not by reading all the books that bear the slogan "arms for Spain." We wonder sometimes whether the majority of these books benefit the cause or even the writers. Some of us prefer a book that does not merely give a vivid picture of the kind described on

the blurbs. Unfortunately the pictures painted by the average reporter in Spain are far from vivid. All light and shade is lost in a wash of red romance. Adult Spain readers, who have long since given up wild west stories, are bored by the inevitable anecdotes of picturesque anarchists with pistols and big sugary hearts.

In "Austria and After" the author has not employed the eye witness method of the "Cockpit." There are none of those revealing conversations or incidents by which the reader is drawn right into the middle of a mass movement and which make the political adventures into something more than a very interesting pattern. The moves and counter factors, causes and results, stand out clearly shorn of emotional undergrowth. We meet one or two political leaders, and Austrian Nazis, Catholics and Socialists but not one plain Austrian. This book is a political survey. The other showed human beings caught in the political maelstrom.

It would be stupid to complain because a professor of sociology has written a very enlightening political survey with no people in it. We hope, nevertheless, that the artist and scientist will collaborate on a future occasion.

G.F.

MUSIC

"Belshazzar"

Presented by the London Co-operative Societies' Joint Education Committee.

The co-operative adventure which took place at the Scala Theatre during the third week of May, when Handel's oratorio "Belshazzar" was mounted for the first time on the stage and presented as an opera, does not seem to have attracted the attention it deserves. Yet this is probably a superficial observation, since the amount of interest events of this kind arouse, and the extent to which the significance is understood, is seldom to be estimated in the terms of the number of inches which is devoted to them in the popular press, and the impression on a quite considerable section of the community must have been real and lasting.

Such an impression must first have the form of amazement, firstly at the vision which had conceived such an undertaking, and secondly at the executive ability which had carried it through. But I am convinced that in the bosom of every spectator sensations of agreeable astonishment soon gave way to an appreciation of the solid musical worth of the performance, judged by any standards which might be set. There is a facile method of dismissing such enterprises by calling them triumphs of organisation, which in this case, though true, would give a quite false idea of the actual results. There was no sense of laborious effort, but simply of a thoroughly interesting and moving way.

This is no place for the handing out of bouquets to individuals, and of artists like May Blyth and Parry Jones it is

enough to say that they sang with the generous wealth of tone and expression that everyone knows. Inspired by their lead the chorus rose to truly remarkable heights, and developed a plasticity of tone and a dramatic sense which was perpetually alive and at times electrifying. They sailed through Handel's complicated fugues, all, of course, from memory, with a wonderful assurance, the various points of imitation being given with firmness and clarity, and the intonation being excellent. The assembling of fourteen choral societies from all parts of London to form this vast concourse is still a matter of wonder to me, but even more wonderful is the degree of unity achieved by Warwick Braithwaite in conducting 300 odd singers, of whom I imagine only a very small percentage had ever been on a stage before, and some of whom were so remotely tucked away at the back of the stage that they could scarcely have been visible.

The artistic director of all this was Alan Bush, who sees in the Babylonian Empire a symbol of the decadent capitalist-imperialist states of to-day. It makes a very good symbol, if it is thus lifted out of its context, and is isolated, as it were, on the stage; for history is either history or a symbol, but can rarely be coherently both. Presented in this way the allegorical significance was effectively realised, and the underlying feeling of an internationally-minded working-class movement burst out at the final curtain in the exciting spectacle of 300 clenched fists!—an unusual experience in a London theatre. ALAN RAWSTHORNE

For the Innocent Victims of Fascism

THOUGH we have not been making a regular appeal for the Spanish orphans, their needs are still as great and urgent as ever. Owing to the difficulty in obtaining direct news, we have not been able to give

But we need money if the colony is to continue its work. We appeal therefore to all those comrades who have already given so generously, as well as to those who have not yet done so. The least we can do is to show our solidarity with our Spanish comrades by assuring them that their children will be cared for.

ORPHANS FUND.

- No.:
303. Edmonton, Australia: P. Giacosa 5/6.
304. London: A.F.M. 2/6.
305. Detroit: C. Gonzales (per A. Alvarez from sale of "Victimas inocentes") £1.
306. Philadelphia: A. Carbone 4/-.
307. Paterson: per Zilda Dei £2/2/6.
308. Bristol: J. Richfield 1/6.
309. London: E. Man 2/-.
310. Philadelphia: part proceeds picnic per J. Russo £3/4/0.
311. Stroud: J. Parsons 2/6.
312. Stroud: T. H. Keell 17/6.
313. Stroud: L. G. Wolfe £1.
314. Miami, Fla.: Comrades per P. Mero £2/10/0.
315. Detroit: Social 9th April per I. Refrattari £1.
316. London: per Miss Sidonie Goossens £5.

—£17/12/0.

Previously acknowledged: £142/10/10.
TOTAL: £160/2/10.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on June 24th, 1938, and printed by THE NAROD PRESS (T.U.), 129-131, Bedford Street, London, E.1.



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