

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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Industrial Conscription in England will be a declaration by the Government of its openly Fascist Policy. By accepting it, the workers are signing the death warrant to their Unions and Organisations. Their opposition to it by every means open to them—independently of their reformist leaders—is their only safeguard, and will be the first step towards Free Socialism.

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CAPITALIST PEACE by Ethel Mannin

The world is at peace. That is to say there is no actual world war such as we knew in 1914-18 on. There is a war of Fascist aggression in China, and in Spain, and a war against British Imperialism in Palestine. As I write there are reports of mass air-raids in China, 500 Japanese machines in one attack; Arabs have recently been killed in Palestine at the rate of thirty and forty a day, their villages bombed, their property confiscated; British troops have been 'cleaning-up' Jerusalem; there have been a fresh bout of air-raids on Barcelona, and savage attacks made by the Fascists near Madrid. But the world is at peace. Peace, we know, was made instead of war at Munich when four capitalist-imperialist powers came to an agreement; if they hadn't come to this agreement there really WOULD have been war, all over the place.....

Imagine the reaction of an observer from another planet coming to take a look at Earth and being assured that peace has been made, that the world was not at present engaged in war. He would only be able to conclude either that peace and war did not mean to the inhabitants of Earth what he understood these things to mean, or that the human beings of this planet were all stark raving mad. He could only cry, 'Tis a mad world, my masters!'

But why should anyone expect world-wide peace in a capitalist-imperialist world? So long as States exist they will need protection from the lust for power of other states. Power and the State are inseparable. So long as there are States there must be war, for a State is a jealous body, possessive, grasping, ambitious. It has been suggested in various quarters that a United States of Europe would solve the question of war by the abolition of nationalist jealousies and strivings for power. But what happens to the Imperialist question under such arrangement? The coloured peoples then have not merely one Imperialist Government to fight against, German or French or Dutch or Belgian, or whatever it is, but a whole Federation of Imperialist Governments; a United States of Europe would mean a united front of capitalists and imperialists, so far as the world's subject peoples are concerned—and they too are human beings, though it is common when speaking of the rights and wrongs of suffering humanity to think only in terms of white people. The tendency is to think altogether too much in terms of races; there is only one race, the human

race, some of whom are black, some white, and some yellow.

So long as there is private ownership of the world's natural riches, coal, oil, iron ore, timber, gold, and of the means of production, so long is war inevitable, because there will be the Haves and the Have-Nots among nations and individuals. In short so long as the capitalist system survives. Capitalism cannot guarantee permanent peace. It is not in its interests to do so; sooner or later, however much its statesmen may talk of peace, it is going to be in its interests to wage a war, a war of aggression—expansion is the word used nowadays—or a war for the protection of its interests.

Thus whereas it was not in British interests to go to war over Czechoslovakia, it was very much to British interests to 'restore order' in Palestine, and whereas giving away slices of another state's country is one thing, giving away slices of one's

own imperialist possessions is quite another. When statesmen, averting war for the time being, assert that they are peace-loving men, they mean that they are in favour of avoiding the expense of a war unless it is profitable to wage it; when it is a matter of protecting vested interests, or of colonial expansion, or of asserting the authority of a mandate, it is a case of 'expense be blowed', and human lives with it.

That is why the purely pacifist case of non-violence is not enough; it is not enough to realise that war is anti-social, barbaric, and refuse to co-operate in it; non-co-operation by all means, but the need is to co-operate in the struggle against the root-causes of war. Useless to refuse to have anything to do with an evil, to abominate that evil, yet do nothing to help root it out of society. Anti-fascist fronts will never abolish war, even if they succeed in crushing fascism. Supposing that fascism is

crushed in the world today, finally and forever—do we enter the millennium? Was the world so fine a place before Hitler and Mussolini came to power? Is Franco the only enemy of Spain, the Japanese the only menace in China? Supposing the Republican Government wins in Spain, and Italy and Germany become democracies once more? One set of evils will be crushed, but what of the evils that remain. There will be no Fascist bosses, but the capitalist and imperialist bosses remain; there will still be unemployment, inequalities, foodstuffs destroyed in order to keep up prices whilst thousands go hungry; the workers will still be bottom dogs, earning by their blood and sweat what others spend in their pride; there will still be the everlasting threat of war, in which the workers are called upon to pay with their lives for possessions not theirs.

There is a great danger in regard-

ing Fascism as the supreme evil of the world today. Fascism is an evil, but it is, like war, merely a by-product of the fundamental evil which is the capitalist system. Supposing the crisis had not been aborted at Munich, and there had been a large-scale European war for the protection of Czechoslovakia's interests and the crushing of Fascism; millions of lives would have been lost, hundred of thousands of them would have been non-combatants; the horrors of Guernica and Bilbao and Madrid would have been enacted in England, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia. Nazism might have been crushed, and Czechoslovakia left intact as arranged by the Versailles Treaty—when it was the conquering powers who wore the jackboots and made frontier markings on maps, and were as little concerned with minority rights as Hitler is with the Sudetan Germans. The 'just' war for 'democracy' might have achieved what it set out to achieve, at the cost of millions of lives and wreckage unspeakable; what then? The status quo is preserved in the so-called democratic countries, and democracy restored to the erstwhile fascist states. How much does this benefit the workers? What does it contribute to future peace, the solution of the unemployment problem, the abolition of social inequalities, and the guarantee of security for the mass of people? Precisely nothing. The workers have nothing to gain by capitalist war or peace. At best capitalist peace merely preserves the status quo—and we know what that means: the preservation of imperialism and a system corrupt from top to top.

The workers must always serve the state; the state will never serve the workers. Make no mistake about that. The state is not concerned with the laws of mutual aid, but with the preservation of the interests of those at the top.

No Capitalist statesman can be trusted; no capitalist peace can last. There can be no security for humanity until there has been brought to pass 'the withering away of the State', and only one thing can effect that, the upheaval of social revolution. IN SHORT IF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD REALLY WANT PEACE THEY WILL NOT HAVE TO LEAVE IT TO STATESMEN AND LEAGUES OF CAPITALIST-IMPERIALIST NATIONS, BUT MAKE IT THEMSELVES.

Fifty Children With Good Appetites!

Need we remind readers of our 50 children at Masnou. They have large appetites and we want to satisfy those appetites so that "our" children will grow up strong and healthy, and will be spared the horrors which Spain is facing daily.

As winter draws nearer so the needs of the Spanish children increase. Comrades and friends individually and in your groups support our colony at Masnou which thanks to your efforts was brought into being, and which thanks to your continued efforts will carry on the its good work.

Will we be able to accommodate 70 innocent children before the end of the year? You can answer this question by sending your contributions now!

Industrial Conscription IS Fascism!

Many must have disapproved of the fact that in a recent issue of *Spain and the World* we should have dared to suggest that it was not worth while making subtle distinctions between Fascism and Nazism on the one side and Capitalist Democracy on the other. At least we did not consider that the slight difference (that undoubtedly exists) justified the sacrificing of millions of lives which would strengthen the authoritarian elements in the democracies rather than guarantee more democracy.

Recent statements by prominent members of the Government and its influential supporters expose "Democracy", that democracy of which Englishmen are so proud, to the full light of day.

Baldwin's statement in the House of Lords, in which he considered that industry should be mobilised so as to improve the country's defences in the shortest time was the beginning.

This proposal which has received the official approval of the Government spokesmen, will, if put into operation, quite definitely make the terms "democracy" and "dictatorship" synonymous, for it is quite clear that this scheme is one of industrial conscription, in which those concerned, will, whether they like it or not, be obliged to take part.

While there are many signs of active opposition, there will always be those who in the name of "their country" would sell

every small liberty enjoyed by their fellow beings, and their voices will be louder than the voices of the reformist workers leaders, who once again will betray the workers.

Among the opposition which has so far voiced its dissent, is a statement by the Executive Committee of the Youth Campaign for Peace and Freedom in

Deserters Save Peace

Chamberlain's speech on the Munich conference, and other information now available from various sources, make it clear that Mussolini, by taking the initiative and proposing new conditions other than those of Hitler's memorandum, made the success of the conference possible. It was he who kept the peace. What is the explanation?

On September 6, during the first days of the "diplomatic tension" reports were received that a company of Italian bersaglieri, with arms equipment and mules and led by their officers, passed over the French frontier near St. Martin-Vesubre (Alpes-Maritime).

It was denied the next day in the *Petit-Nicois* (the official paper of the prefecture) but too many people had seen the Italians on the streets of Nice and in the barracks for there to be any doubt as to the fact.

During the weeks that followed there were further desertions on the Savoy frontier which, according to reports received from comrades living on the spot, amounted to several thousands. But the French Government had the information service of the press so well in hand that not a word on the matter was published. (From "Revolution Proletarienne")

in which it is stated that: "The Government is introducing a register for national service as a first step to compulsory service because the Government's policy does not receive the backing of the nation. This backing is refused by the Labour and Liberal parties, the trade unions, and the whole of the peace and progressive movement. The Government is therefore driven to other methods, which under these circumstances must involve a drastic curtailment of individual liberty. Youth cannot not blindly fall into line without becoming the dupes of a policy leading to disaster".

Meanwhile the workers of 28 British war planes factories represented at a meeting of the Aircraft Shop Swards National Council declared that they would oppose Industrial Conscription, whilst early this week forty-nine Labour M.P.s and prospective Candidates issued a manifesto declaring their "most strenuous opposition to the proposed National Service Register".

The man in the street too realises that Industrial conscription is Fascism, as letters to the Radical Press show.

But this opposition must not content itself with mere protests. It must now expose and explain what Industrial Conscription is and at the same time prepare organised opposition in the event that the Government tries to put it into force.

It is a question of Now or Never. R.

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Australia Arms Herself

Towards a Military Dictatorship?

IAMB.] There are optimistic, people who take their wish-dreams for realities, who are of opinion that with the München conference a new era has dawned in the history of the world. Though this shows an unbounded confidence in human nature in general and that of the leaders of the democratic and fascist states in particular, it is hardly an indication of much understanding of national and international relations. If we take into account the actions instead of the words of the statesmen, then it cannot escape us that armament is still the beginning and the end of all wisdom. The English Prime Minister, the one who—you remem-

ber, don't you?—has saved peace, seems after all to have more faith in bombing planes than in putting on a friendly face when it is a matter of bargaining power, and has announced new measures for defence. This surprised Hitler, who was also surprised at the English and French surprise at the fortification of Aix and Saarbrücken. General surprise, you see, and equally general armaments race.

The struggle for power continues irrevocably, and all settlements and

agreements must be considered from this point of view, just as all peace-loving speeches of the statesmen must: all this together forms the game of diplomacy. Peace-loving speeches are just as indispensable as cannons and aeroplanes. They form the mental part of the preparations for war, just as armament forms the material side. Diplomats and politicians know how it is: the nations are only induced to go to war in order to defend peace—a somewhat para-

doxical proceeding, which is however by no means an exception in human affairs, and which the Hitlers, Chamberlains, Daladiers, Mussolinis and Stalins make the most of. But while deceiving others, they do not deceive themselves (no unconsiderable merit)—they measure the value of the protestations of peace of the others by themselves, and determine their attitude accordingly.

Essentially then München has altered nothing—whatever changes it may have occasioned in the formation of the war fronts—and besides from the accelerated rate of armament in Germany, France and England, not to mention the smaller states, this also appears from the new defence measures of America in the Pacific Ocean, from the Dutch papers which are much concerned about the colonial possessions in Indonesia (both because of the possibilities of a conflict with Japan and because it has become evident that England may not be averse to satisfying Germany as to colonies by cutting thongs of other people's leather, i.e., Dutch and Belgian), and from the Second Three Year Plan for Australian armament.

Whereas the first plan, which was passed in 1934, cost 6,500,000 pounds sterling, the expenses for the second plan are estimated at 14,300,000 pounds. This will give Australia the first place in the row of the English dominions as regards armament expenses: a clear indication that one of the drama's in the coming world conflict will take place here. C. Hartley Grattan tells us in the October number of *Asia* that Australia is in a fever of war, as

is shown by the fact that practically everything is judged by military standards, and the economic life of the nation is being commuted to facilitate the preparing and carrying on of war. (Questions of rentability move naturally into the background; just as in the fascist states the military usefulness becomes the criterion here also). Hartley Grattan further reports that the American M-day techniques are accepted as a matter of course, that now already the customs exercise a strict control on incoming books, newspapers, magazines and illustrated journals, and the Government is at present already bringing pressure to bear on the papers to restrict the discussion of international problems. In case of war, censorship of the press immediately comes into force—the wireless is already under censorship—and the Crimes Act now under consideration gives the government extensive powers against the workers and against democratic liberties. The whole labour movement, though on principle in opposition to the policy of Chamberlain and to certain decisions of the government for the execution of this plan, among other reasons because they were to the benefit of capital, in practice supports the armament policy. Indeed, the plan being carried out is, in intent, the plan the Australian Labour Party has always advocated.

Hartley Grattan concludes, that "no stone has been left unturned (to use a favourite British image) to whip the country into shape for war," that there are now plans for creating "a Pacific Defence Council to co-ordinate national and imperial efforts in the Far East and Southern Pacific" and puts the question: "When does the fighting begin?" A question no one can answer. If it were asked: where will the

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A New Step in Collectivisation

The C.N.T. Collective in the District of Liria, although only three months old, is the most successful so far seen in Spain. It unites the eleven villages of the district which had up to that time had each its own collective. The wages varied in the different villages. In Gestalgar, Bbugarra and Pedralba the daily wage was 3.50 Pesetas; in other collective it was higher but always low compared with the wages of industrial workers.

The experience gained in the early days of the village collectives led the way to a higher form of collective—that of the whole district. The fusion of the village collectives was considered by the peasants of Levante as "the end of economic rivalry between villages, and the beginning of real peasant solidarity which transcends merely local interests".

The model collective of Liria represents a big step forward from the first collectives which sprang up all over Spain after the July 19. Its organisation is in the hands of the Economic Council which is divided into the following sections: Secretariat; Treasury; Supplies; Import and Export; Live stock; Labour; Production and Hygiene and

Culture. We cannot give a detailed account of the work of each but a few examples will be sufficient to demonstrate the superiority of this organisation to the more primitive type of village collective.

The raising of live stock provides a good example. A small village left to its own resources often lacks the necessary funds and the knowledge of efficient methods.

The Collective has its own model farm for the whole district where the best breeds of sheep are chosen and horses for draught or farm work are bred. Veterinary inspection safeguards the health of the live stock. Soon there will be other modern farms of the same kind which, while employing the minimum of workers, will produce the maximum of profit.

In the Collective workshop with its carpentry and other sections, all the machines of the district are centralized. This permits of the carrying out of important schemes with the utmost economy. New methods of cultivation are studied and advice given as to the most suitable crops. These tasks would be quite beyond the powers of a local collective.

The new transport arrangements demon-

strate the advantages of centralization. In the short time they have been in operation transport costs have been cut forty per cent. Speaking of transport the Secretary of the District Collective told us: Formerly all goods from Valencia destined to these villages had to be deposited in Liria. This stupid plan necessitated each village collecting its own goods. All goods are now sent direct to the villages which saves many days in the transit. The District Collective has a regular delivery service which insures that the goods arrive in time and that the carts never make an unnecessary journey. Being the only buyer and seller and being in control of all supplies, it can make the best use of all means of transport.

The daily wage is now higher. The standard of living has increased with the greater efficiency in distribution and the elimination of waste in production. The positive results of the Collective are seen in the growing confidence of the workers in the collective system.

Liria is the model for the future unification of agriculture on a national scale which should be the goal of the new Spain which has been born from the struggle of the 19th of July.

THE METHOD OF REVOLUTION

Some Remarks on Herbert Read's Article

I was at once very pleased and a little disappointed to read Herbert Read's article on "The Method of revolution." Very pleased because his article is one of the few contributions to the theoretical side of anarchism to be found in the columns of *Spain and the World*. Disappointed, because it contained some statements which are rather confusing.

First of all, Herbert Read makes the old mistake of dealing superficially with the individualist aspect of anarchism. Like Kropotkin he seems to usurp the term anarchism only for the revolutionary communist anarchism and forgets that there are many other currents of anarchist philosophy which are no less entitled to the use of the denomination anarchism than the revolutionary anarcho-communist one. I need only mention the pacifist-communist, the pacifist-individualist, the ego-individualist, the mutualist, the mutualist, the religious, the syndicalist, etc., tendencies of anarchism which are just as important constituent parts of the integral anarchist philosophy, as revolutionary communist anarchism itself.

From an unprejudiced general anarchist point of view, it is utterly wrong to aver that Stirner's ego-individualism "has only a remote connection with modern anarchism." This may hold true only in respect of the communalistic tendencies of anarchism, but is absolutely absurd if related to the several individualistic currents of it. As a matter of fact, Stirner's sturdy and vigorous anarchism is cherished nowadays not only by the individualists of different denominations, but also by many communist anarchists who are not always in sympathy with some of the aspects of the Stirnerian philosophy.

And again, I don't understand how Karl Marx's criticism may be used by an anarchist as a criticism in judging of the anarchism (if I may use this term) of Stirner's philosophy. For, if Karl Marx, according to Read, has "effectively demolished" Stirner's conception, has he not done (sic!) the same with those of Bakunin, Proudhon and of anarchism in general. Any Marxist will tell us as much. Moreover, any Marxian communist will tell us, with Lenin and Preobrajensky, that anarchism is but a subtle petty-bourgeois philosophy, invented in the cabinet of idle philanthropists, but having no relations to hard facts and therefore being detrimental to the cause of liberty.

Herbert Read seems, however, to have fed too much on Marxian philosophy, otherwise he would never have maintained that "all the necessary principles of anarchism are to be found in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

Nor would he have maintained that "modern anarchism is MERELY a reaffirmation of this view of the State," i.e., that the State is a "power arising out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly separating itself from it." If anarchism was nothing more than this, we may just as well pack up and surrender the field to some current better entitled to lead the struggle for liberty.

Fortunately anarchism is much more than this mere point—it is an entire science of politics, economics, and society, it is moreover a new moral conception which has little in common with Marxian philosophy. Anarchism and Marxism differ from their very starting points. For, whereas the anarchists, from Godwin to Malatesta and from Stirner to Sebastian Faure, take as their starting point the individual, and hold that society is made for the individual and justifies its existence only then and in so far as it fulfils this destination; the Marxists, on the contrary, take Society for their starting point and, by making the individual subservient to it, sacrifice lightheartedly its happiness to the entity—society.

But this, of course, is only the beginning of the differences. Anarchism and Marxism differ on almost every important issue. Even when they seem to agree, as for instance in regard of the repudiation of the State, they do part company sooner or later. For, whereas the anarchists defy the State and strive at a society without either State or Government, the Marxists would use the State as a means of the realisation of their political and economic ideals, and then, by setting up their dictatorship of the proletariat, they bring back, under another form and name, the old order of things. Bolshevik Russia is a sufficient illustration of the workings of the Marxian anti-State philosophy. Or would Herbert Read maintain that there is even the shadow of anarchism, or of the anarchist ideal of society, in the immense territory of the Soviet Union? Of course not, for he himself says respecting Russia and Spain: "the proletariat in a sudden fervour committed its act of revolt, and out of the resulting chaos a minority emerged consisting mainly of intellectuals and professional politicians. This minority constituted a dictatorship in the name of the proletariat; but then almost their first act was to disarm the proletariat, to close the ranks of the party, establish a State army, and a State police, and finally reduce the workers to a state of dependence far more absolute than before." Thus has happened in Russia, thus happens in Spain, and thus will happen everywhere where it is acted upon Marxian prin-

ciples. It is queer then that Herbert Read puts Marx, Engels' and Lenin's conception of the State ("as the product of social distinctions, and an instrument of oppression") on the same level with those of Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin. Or must I tell him that Marx, Engels and Lenin attack only the State of others, the bourgeois State, and believe that the State in their own hands, may become an instrument of the general weal, whereas Kropotkin, Bakunin and Proudhon repudiate every and each form of State?

It is not true either that "the difference between Marx and Bakunin (apart from a difference of temperament) was REALLY a difference in their conception of revolution." Neither is it true that "the Marxian revolution can only be achieved over a period of many years: the anarchist revolution is a question of hours." The difference between Marx and Bakunin was a fundamental one, and its scope is as wide as the difference between Marxism and anarchism in general. As to the "anarchist revolution," it is most absurd to maintain that it "is a question of hours," for revolution, in the anarchist sense of the word, means not only an abolition of the existing order of society, which alone can be by no means be achieved in a few hours or days, but also a reconstruction, a re-organization of society on anarchist bases. Can this tremendous task be "a question of hours?"

Last of all, I don't see what Read means by: "it is for the proletariat to discover its own values; and this it can only do in isolation. It must suspect every voice that addresses it from outside its own ranks; it must reject every idea which it does not instinctively recognise as native to its own modes of feeling and perception. It must close its ranks and create its own clerisy." Where did the proletariat get these special qualifications and this exceptional wisdom from? Since when has anarchism turned into a merely proletarian conception, teaching the proletariat to distrust and keep aloof from the rest of humanity? Does not such a conception open ajar the door to dictatorships "of the proletariat" and such like mischiefs? No, this is not the way towards "an organic community of free and equal individuals."

In closing up the argument I should like to beg Herbert Read not to take in bad turn my criticism of his article, for, my intention was far less to criticise him than to throw some light on the questions at issue, which I considered necessary.

T. MICHELSON.

(Herbert Read's article *Method of Revolution* appeared in No. 40 of "Spain and the World." Copies can still be obtained, price, post free, 3d.).

Anti-Fascist Exiles and the Crisis

(From our Paris Correspondent)

The attitude of many parties and movements which claim to represent working class opinion, during the recent grave events which shook the whole world, have permitted us to take a more accurate view of their real position.

One might have hoped to find a clear revolutionary stand in the movements representing the anti-fascist exiles, those people who have experienced the brutality of the dictators as well as the hypocrisy of the democracies. We might have expected from these men without country, some clear voice denouncing the falsehood of a war for an ideology, and making an appeal for revolt.

But no such appeal was heard. On the contrary, those men whose own errors and laxity permitted the triumph of Fascism, showed themselves the most enthusiastic supporters of war-psychology.

Thus the important Italian Popular Front movement which contains most of the Italian exiles in France displayed its real policy generally hidden under the phraseology employed for the propaganda.

Let us remember that the Italian Popular Union (U.P.I.) conducts its propaganda in France with complete liberty, as well all those organisations which belong to have affiliations with it and which share its views on foreign policy, like the organisation "Giustizia e Libertà" (Justice and Liberty) and the Socialist and Communist parties. Their meetings and propaganda have not only been tolerated but even new groups have been started with every public manifestation.

Those groups, however, which are still revolutionary, not only opposed to Mussolini, but also capitalism in general have been persecuted, hunted, and their leaders put over the frontier.

Nenni, a strongly stalinite socialist was summoned to the Ministry of War to give all the necessary information on the possible employment of Italian refugees in case of war. There was obviously if not direct co-operation at least official contacts and guarantees given by one side to the other.

The Italians in France under the danger of expulsion, were either obliged to attach themselves to fascist organisations under the control of their consuls or to become members of the parties bound to French Imperialism or to Russian

The small groups which escaped from the rival parties were poor in money and in militants, without meeting places or any possibility of expressing their thoughts in any serious propaganda. Nevertheless anarchist and socialist maximalist Italians retained their integrity and saved the tradition of the Italian revolutionary movement.

But to return to the U.P.I., this organisation controlled by the Italian Communist Party or more directly by the Soviet propaganda services,

enjoy the membership of several dummy republicans or socialists to prove its character of anti-fascist union of all the parties. During the week preceding the crisis the "Voce degli Italiani" the daily of the U.P.I. adopted the line of the communist journals calling for "firmness" and "vigour," in a word for an anti-fascist war against Hitler and Mussolini.

At that time these manoeuvres seemed likely to succeed the regional committees and sections of the U.P.I. met and passed motions all similar which contained notably the following passages:

"The Italian Popular Union which is for friendship and good

understanding between two sister peoples of Italy and France and declares that if, in spite of the efforts of the popular masses to save peace, the axis dominated by Hitler declares war, among the 80,000 Italians who live in France, there are hundred of thousands of friends of peace and liberty, who inspired by the example of the Garibaldi Brigade, would fight beside the great French people in the defence of democracy."

These groups did not confine themselves to declaration of principle, we quote here part of a letter addressed by the secretary of the U.P.I. to the prefect of the Isere (a district with a great proportion

of Italian population).

"We have taken the liberty to address the most responsible personality in the Department of the Isere, the following decision, taken at our first congress held at Lyons in March, 1937, which has also been taken by our national council, to declare to you in the name of the 35 section of our organisation in the Department of Isere, which contain 2,000 members, that we put ourselves at the disposal of the local authorities, either for military service, in the manner of the Garibaldi Brigade, as for civil duties in case democratic France should be attacked by the fascist countries, whose expansionist ambitions run

the risk of provoking a world-war." (1st Oct.).

The same parrot voice was found in the "Nuovo Avanti" the organ of the socialists of the II International, and in the "Giovane Italia," the organ of republicans which tends more and more to take the place of "Giustizia e Libertà," which is not sufficiently pliant to the will of the stalinists.

All sorts of abuses have been heaped on those who attempted to maintain any revolutionary resistance and the following, as an example, of this sort of persecution.

"At the request of the government of Barcelona the French police have recently arrested the Italian Anarchist Giuseppe Picone, after a long search in libertarian circles. Picone who was a deserter from the Italian army, had taken part in the anarchist rising in Barcelona in May, 1937. Having been arrested, he should have come up for trial recently, but had made his escape to France!"

R.

THE P.O.U.M. TRIAL

As we go to press the fate of the P.O.U.M. prisoners in Spain is still in the balance. Nor can we gather from the mutilated reports appearing in the Communist Press how successful were the P.O.U.M. leaders in their defences.

According to the Communist Press the P.O.U.M. led the May revolt, had contact with the enemy and abandoned the Huesca front owing to the trouble. With regard to the latter point the evidence of one witness is surely of interest. It reads as follows:

A witness who had stated that the 29th Division had abandoned the front was cross-questioned as follows:—

Counsel: During which days did the 29th Division abandon the front?

Witness (Cordon): During the May Days.

Counsel: Until when?

Witness: Until the Government reducing the battalions of the 29th Division, replaced them by another armed force which occupied the abandoned front.

Counsel: When was the 29th Division dissolved?

Witness: In July, 1937.

Counsel: In these conditions the trenches were abandoned from May until July, date on which the 29th was dissolved, without the enemy attempting to advance and occupy them?

Witness made an unintelligible reply.

Counsel: Is it true that the 29th Division took part in the attack on Huesca in June, 1937, taking by assault "la Loma" and los Milagros" from the enemy?

Witness: Yes, it is true.

Counsel: Is it true that General Pazas reviewed the 29th Division in May, 1937?

Witness: Yes, it is true.

As to their having organised the May revolt Largo Caballero, once much respected by the Communists

stated in evidence that the P.O.U.M. had not organised the events of May, and that he himself had been forced to resign from the Government because he was not prepared to crush the P.O.U.M., which he considered as being an anti-Fascist organisation. He had never believed in the accusations of espionage which had been made against the P.O.U.M. The political attacks made on his Government by the P.O.U.M. had proved nothing. Many other political parties had done as much, if not more.

And finally as to their being fascists Señor Araquistain, ex-Ambassador in Paris declared in court that he had always considered Nin and Andrade as sincere anti-Fascists. "Negrin and I collaborated, during a certain period, with Andrade in a firm editing Maxist books."

The P.O.U.M. was formed in March 1935 from the Left Communist Opposition and Workers and Peasants Bloc. Though not a powerful organisation it was among the first with the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to oppose the Fascist uprising in July 1936. And the numbers of men sacrificed is enormous. Of 900 in Madrid less than 200 are alive to-day. In the first week of the Fascist uprising they mustered together some 10,000 men to defend the Revolution.

Whether our political beliefs are similar to those of the P.O.U.M. or not it is of no account at the present juncture. We cannot but protest when we see men who have served the worker's cause with courage and sincerity now standing trial for a crime which they have not committed. The Communist Party which talks so much of Unity, is the force behind this frame-up which so closely resembles the Moscow trials, and once more lovers of freedom have been brought to face Communist hegemony and opportunism.

V.R.

How "Red" Crimes are Manufactured

A man who until last January, 1938, was "Propaganda Delegate" for General Queipo de Llano, the Fascist who rules Andalusia, wrote a book telling his experiences, from which we reprint the following excerpts:

"A very clever propaganda is made on a basis of photographic documents. In the Propaganda Division there are two photographers—the brothers Burgos who devote themselves to this kind of

work exclusively. They photograph the bodies of persons killed in any accident, taking pictures in all sizes and positions. They take pictures of those executed by the firing squads. Hundreds of the latter have been barbarously tortured and burned so that they may be photographed; then they are exhibited in rebel Spain and abroad as examples of the crimes committed by the "Reds." This picture propaganda has contributed considerably to the creation of an unfavourable opinion about the Loyalists. General Queipo de Llano has in his office a voluminous album with pictures of such crimes committed by the "Reds." These photographs were taken by the brothers Burgos and not a single one of them is genuine.

"In Granja de Torre-Hermosa (Badajoz) when the Nationalists entered the town after a hard fight, they found, naturally, a number of dead bodies. Queipo's forces took these bodies to the cemetery where they were savagely desecrated. A woman had her abdomen cut open; the eyes of another body were gauged out; the skull of a third one was crushed with a stone; the arms and legs of another were severed from the body, etc. The brothers Burgos, who were with the column, took numerous pictures of these corpses from various angles. These pictures, enlarged were shown throughout the world as horrible examples of the crimes committed by the 'Reds' in Granja de Torre-Hermosa. In Almendraleje the dead bodies of two women were made to embrace each other, then sprinkled with gasoline and burnt. When they were about half carbonized, but their features still

clearly discernible several pictures were taken of them. These were also labelled as representative of the cruelty of the 'Reds.'

Through such methods the legend of 'Red' crimes was spread throughout the world. By such methods the Fascists have developed a hatred for the Loyalist cause among persons who do not have true information but who believe the 'Nationalists' who vaunt their chivalry and Catholic faith and in this are endorsed by the high dignitaries of the Church."

—Spanish Labour Bulletin.

Continued from page 2

Australia Arms Herself

fighting start, then it might be possible to give an answer with a greater degree of certainty. But a perfectly correct answer can be given to a third question, the question: what are we to fight for? The fight will be not for democracy, not for the rights and for self-determination of the nations, not against fascism. The fight will be for the oil and banking capital of London, Paris and New York, for the Shell and Standard Oil, for Krupp, Skoda and Schneider-Creusot, for rubber—and mining interests, for the bureaucracy of the fascist party in Italy, of the national-socialist party in Germany, of the Stalinist party in Russia. The fight will be for the most gross and earthy things and end accordingly: in the mud. As in 1914. But if in 1914 a plea of ignorance could be advanced, this is no longer the case at present. Warnings rain down on us daily. The latest come from Czechoslovakia, where the Government is sending tens of thousands of German democrats back to the Sudeten territory where prison and concentration camp await them, those same Germans who were prepared to give their lives for the cause of Czechoslovakian democracy. The interdiction of the Communist Party in Slovakia calls up reminiscences of the massacre of the Chinese proletariat by the Kuomintang in 1927, a forgotten lesson in bourgeois democracy.

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MARKHAM PIT DISASTER INQUIRY

Overloaded cable caused fire.

The results of the inquiry concerning the explosion at the Markham Pit, in which 75 men lost their lives, has just been published by an independent Commissioner—Mr. Sandilands with the Chief Inspector of Mines as his assessor. According to Mr. Sandilands, the seemingly impossible happened owing to "a sequence of events, each one almost fantastically improbable." A coal-dust cloud was produced by the overturning tubs; somehow or other, owing to the impact of a tub, a cable joint box was broken and a small spark was caused which, in spite of the stone-dusting, ignited the coal-dust cloud.

This opinion is not held by an expert, Mr. Chaytor who carried out an investigation on behalf of the Derbyshire Miners' Association.

Conflicting Opinion.

Mr. Chaytor stated that from an examination of the cable it would appear that overloading had taken place in this cable, caused by the demands made on it by machines which it fed. In his opinion the overloading of this cable caused a breakdown in the insulation of the cable some 80 yards outbye from the tub smash area.

In spite of Mr. Sandilands version of the causes of the accident,

and in spite of the fact that he declines the course proposed to him of pronouncing against the use of electricity in mines it seems that the already great risks run by the miners in the course of their work are greatly increased by the use of electrical machinery in the mines.

The *Manchester Guardian* in an editorial on the findings of the Commission adds that "it will not however wholly dispose of the fears, and strong point has been given to the revision of the stone-dusting regulations. The search for safety is never final."

Our Duty.

It is not only the duty of the miners' leaders to see that everything is done to reduce the possibilities of accidents in mines. It is also the duty of all conscious people to show their solidarity with the miners by agitating in every possible way so that radical changes will be made with regard to mine regulations.

The Markham Pit was considered as one of the most up-to-date and safe-mines in this country. What then must be the conditions in the other mines in this country?

It were time more interest was shown in matters concerning the workers.

R.

Crew again Refuse to Load Franco Ship

For the third time, a Scandinavian crew has walked off the ship rather than carry war materials to Franco. Twentyfour Norwegian sailors of the S.S. Gudbar struck here when they learned that the freighter was being loaded with chemicals for Franco Spain.

Only two days earlier, on Sept. 27, the Swedish crew of the S.S. Kleopatra quit in Port Arthur, Texas in protest against carrying a cargo of gas and oil for the fascist army.

A few weeks before, the crew of the S.S. Titanian struck in Baltimore. After a delay of about two weeks, during which the agents made desperate efforts to round up a crew of scab, the vessel left the dock with only officers on board. A scab crew was picked up from a launch down in the bay.

—from Industrial Worker, Norfolk, Va.

After the Crisis

If we are to understand its meaning, the crisis should provide at least one lesson for the socially conscious elements amongst the working-class. It illustrates the fact that a vast, decaying and corrupt Imperialism cannot wage a "defensive" war for "honourable" purposes.

The hypocritical contention that British preparation for military action was against the menace of Nazi aggression has been blown sky-high by the spokesmen of the Government itself. The scattered fragments of the argument have been annihilated by the development of actual events. Chamberlain confirms the "peace" with demands for greater armament. Restrictions of our civil liberties, so far from being removed, become intensified.

The war in defence of democracy is an illusion. It is dissipated into nothing: but its energy remains. And this is Fascist in its form.

Steadily, stealthily, to many imperceptibly, a new insidious propaganda pours out through the daily press. Its honeyed phrases only serve to elaborate a deliberate lie. A vast deception surrounds the pretence that in order to preserve democracy it must needs be made "efficient" at the price of sacrifice.

Working towards the same objective the Government is far from idle in its planning for the destruction of our liberties. Muzzling of the Press and censored news reels. National Registration and industrial conscription. This way lies Fascism.

Nor should there be any retention of the illusion that the opportunist

politicians are dividing the forces of reaction.

Behind the facade erected by the "Left" Wing Press, the forces which determine national destinies press hard for an alignment of Fascism with the Western "Democracies." Chamberlain sees in Nazi aggression against Soviet Russia a magnificent alternative to possibilities of conflict between British and German Imperialist interests. The pathetic sight of Russia, and with it World Communism, licking the dirty boot of British Imperialist "Democracy," will neither gain time nor detract from the kick from forces of self-interest.

The new alignment will be a bulwark of reaction, its policy inevitably Fascism. Not the national Fascism of reaction in its infancy, but the International Fascism of world capitalism in an advanced state of decay; a Fascism that will smash through national liberties and turn its military aggressions against the nations of the world in order of their social qualities and their potentialities of development. For the rapidly spreading contagious disease is in itself an entity: something which will swell beyond the confines of economic analysis. It is the force and strategy employed by a ruling class in decline. It is a superstructure which can be overthrown by nothing short of the revolutionary action of the workers: which all the elaborate manoeuvring of the politicians must inevitably fail to undermine.

R. V. STURGESS.

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.

NOW OR NEVER!

Several hundred "Press Fund" sheets have been sent out this week and we are now relying on the devotion and interest of our comrades all over the world to see to it that SPAIN & THE WORLD may continue to appear regularly every fortnight.

We are glad to say that more activity has been shown among the comrades in London, and several groups for the distribution of SPAIN & the WORLD have been formed or

are in course of formation, thanks to the initiative of the newly formed ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN (21 Frith Street, London, W.1). It is thanks to this group as well that a Social is being held on November 19th (see page 3) in order to help reduce our deficit.

Last week we sent out several renewal notices to subscribers whose subscriptions had lapsed. By renewing them they will be actively contributing to the continuation of our publication. So will those friends to whom we have very patiently been sending specimen copies, for months in some cases, and who have not taken the trouble to acknowledge our notes in which we ask them to either become subscribers or notify us that they do not wish to do so.

In conclusion we would add a few words with regard to the last issue.

PRESS FUND

Wimbledon: E. Mannin £5; London: V.R. 2/6; New Haven: E. Maurizi £1/0/9; Belfast: H. Compton 5/-; London: V.R. 4/-; Geelong: G. Panizzon 7/9; New York: Bolton Hall 4/1; London: C.R. 9/-

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WORKERS FRIEND MEETINGS.

21, Frith Street, W.1.
OCTOBER 30th, T. A. RIDLEY
Subject, "MARXISM and ANARCHISM"
NOVEMBER 6th, BONAR THOMSON
Subject, "G. BERNARD SHAW"
NOVEMBER 13th, J. HUMPHREY
Subject, "ANARCHIST COLONIES"

Scottish Comrades Should JOIN THE ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST FEDERATION

Particulars from:
The Secretary,
287, Netherton Rd.,
Glasgow, W.3.

Published by S. EDELMAN, 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, Oct. 28th, 1938, and Printed by WYNDHAM PRINTERS LTD., 1a Graysden Avenue, London Lane, E.8.

It was, as many readers informed us, a very unsatisfactory issue both from the way it was printed and typographical make-up. There were furthermore a great number of errors. We apologise to our readers, and we trust that the present issue is an indication that we have once more returned to the standard to which our readers have become accustomed during the past two years.

THE EDITORS.

PRO ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS

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MAN! P.O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Cal. U.S.A. (monthly 5c., year 1 dol.)

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FRIENDLY and— A Review of Press views.

WHY MUSSOLINI'S TROOPS LEFT SPAIN.

MANY sections of the Press consider the withdrawal of 10,000 Italians from Spain as Mussolini's grand gesture to the Non-Intervention Committee and that Angel of Peace, Neville Chamberlain.

This is how the *Informazione Politica* explains Mussolini's action: "In responsible quarters in Rome it is revealed that the recalling of a large contingent of infantry from Spain was decided upon long before the Munich conference by the Generalissimo Franco, in full accord with Italy. It concerns volunteers who have been in Spain since January, 1937, and who have taken part in all the bloody battles of this war, from Malaga to Santander, Gandesa, to Barracar, and who not being replaceable deserve to return home now that the fate of the war can be considered as won for General Franco's forces." The article continues, adding even more stress to the fact that this action has been decided upon independently of "any political motives whether International or Mediterranean" nor is it "in accordance with the decisions of the Non-Intervention Committee of whose activity" they have but "vague and intermittent information."

REFUGEES OR CAPITALISTS?

Le Temps publishes a message received from Tel-Aviv which states that: The Congress of American Jews in Palestine has concluded its business by passing a resolution which has been handed to the American Consul-General in Jerusalem in order that it should be transmitted to his Government. In this Resolution, the American Jews in Palestine, on behalf of their 8,000 members, recall the fact that "having confidence in the Anglo-American convention of December 3rd, 1924, American Jews have given and invested 80 million dollars (£16 million sterling) in Palestine." The resolution concludes with an appeal to the American Government to act against all attacks on the rights of the Jewish people and against the provisional restriction on emigration.

Can one wonder why many people are pro-Arab as far as Palestine is concerned? Here you have an invasion of Palestine not by workers but by Capitalists, who are more concerned with their 80 million bucks than with the fact that they are seeking a refuge from Fascist intolerance. It is interesting to note that of the Jewish population in Palestine only 40 per cent. are workers. The rest are investing their millions as all Capitalists (irrespective of "race" or "nationality") do wherever they set foot.

Those who suffer are the Jewish workers and the Arab workers and peasants who are made to fight one another for the benefit of British Imperialism and Arab and Jewish Capital!

—UNFRIENDLY—

HOW DO CATHOLICS DIE?

TWO priests were sitting in a car when a hurricane which swept the North Atlantic seaboard hurled the car and its occupants into a storm tossed reservoir.

One of the priests was drowned but the other managed to keep afloat and at the same time help another man who had been blown in.

In these tragic circumstances one would have imagined that they would have made efforts to reach the side of the reservoir but on the contrary the drowning man thought it the right moment to tell the priest that he was afraid to die.

The priest immediately took matters in hand, and according to the *Universe* (Oct. 21) the following conversation took place:

"Are you a Catholic?" asked Fr. McConnell.

"No," the man answered.

"Do you want to die the way a Catholic does?"

The man was eager and the priest gave him some hurried instructions in Catholic belief while they struggled in the water. Then Fr. Connell baptised the man with the water which threatened to take their lives.

But all's well that ends well! They were both rescued and what is more, the Catholic Church has made a convert. "It is an ill-wind that blows someone (in this case the Church) good!"

DON'T ASK SILLY QUESTIONS.

THE *Universe* has two columns edited by a certain Winefride Holywell and consists of a "choice of recent nose-gays plucked for the diversion of Catholics from the rest of the Press."

I must say that the "choice" is not always of the best taste. For instance this week she quotes from *The Catholic Gazette* which published "a question handed in to the Question Box at Hereford." It reads as follows:

"How can the Catholic Church, based as it is on cruelty (the Inquisitions and persecutions through the ages without number); intolerance . . . and deception (*vide* the *UNIVERSE's* campaign of lies against the Government of Spain), hope to survive and make converts in a world which is sick to death of all forms of Dictatorships? Answer this if you can (I bet you cannot . . . Not such Ignobus).

The case seems clearly stated. The cruelty of the Catholic Church through the ages can no longer be denied. Their intolerance—well, read the *Universe!*

But this good lady is not in the least concerned with the essence of the questions, and with typical Catholic sangfroid (in these matters) answers:

Yet he remains anonymous. And wisely so. For his question is as silly as if he asked me, a tolerably normal Catholic spinster: "How can you (who have poisoned your ten children) hope to survive in a world that is sick to death of all forms of chemical experiments?" But I am glad that the *UNIVERSE* has annoyed him (or her, or it).

Thank you, thank you again Miss Holy-Well for your profound wisdom. The Catholic Church says that when questions become too difficult to answer satisfactorily then one either talks of something else or better, use that cliché "Believe and ask no questions." You are a good Catholic Miss Holy-Well!

LIBERTARIAN.