

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

ON GOVERNMENT

The State and Capitalism are inseparable concepts. In history these Institutions developed side by side, mutually supporting and reinforcing each other. They are not bound together by a mere coincidence of contemporaneous development, but by the bond of cause and effect, effect and cause.

KROPOTKIN.

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ANTI-FASCISM: CAPITALIST OR SOCIALIST?

A problem for all Socialists and which is attaining ever greater proportions is that of a clear definition of the terms "anti-fascist" and "anti-fascism." These two words during recent months have been flaunted with the same generosity and facility as the Communists who group all opposition to the Communist Regime as "Trotsky-Fascist." A very comprehensive term, it is true. Anti-Fascism as understood to-day means a person who is not in agreement with Hitler or Mussolini's dictum on certain points. We stress the fact that to be "anti-fascists" they need only disagree on certain points. They may deplore the persecution of the Jews and ignore the persecution of the Socialists; they may deplore the concentration camps but admire the "discipline" under fascism.

And at home, we have people like the Duchess of Atholl, generally known as the "Red Duchess," which implies that she is "anti-fascist." She is an "anti-fascist" because she has shown deep sympathy for the Spanish children and is campaigning for more

food for them. She is also an "anti-fascist" because she opposes Chamberlain's foreign policy. And because of these two facts she has the official (or unofficial) support of the Communist, Liberal and Labour Parties! The fact that she is a diehard; or that she declared against better nutrition of the men, women and children in this country, is of secondary importance! The Perthshire elections are of no interest to us, in that they will not contribute in any way to change the present state of things. They are of interest, however, in order to illustrate in a concrete form the way the term "Anti-fascist" has developed in "democratic" countries. "Forward" the Glasgow weekly, has been publishing the opinions of prominent citizens on the forthcoming elections, and one reads such opinions as that of the Dean of Canterbury (another Communist Party and Left Book Club protégé) who declares that he would vote for the Duchess for her

"honesty and humanity make me feel, as many more do, deeply indebted to her. I think it would be disastrous if through

any split in the anti-Fascist forces she were to be deprived of the victory that might be hers, and Parliament would be sadly weaker without her at this juncture."

Thus, there is no doubt as to the fact that the Dean considers the Duchess an "anti-fascist."

But another definition of "anti-fascism" is given by the Communist Party mouthpiece, Gallacher.

"It is ever at any time, anywhere, have the opportunity of casting an effective vote against the National Government I shall certainly exercise it."

WHY THE DUCHESS IS "ANTI-FASCIST"

Given more space we could add to these definitions of anti-fascism. (see *Forward* Nos. 30-32). More useful perhaps would be a quotation from the Duchess's book *Seachlight on Spain* (Penguin Series). Her conclusions, we believe explain her "anti-fascism."

"... in the Mediterranean lie Malta, Cyprus, Palestine and Egypt which, though now an independent country, we are pledged to defend as it commands the direct route to the East by the Suez Canal. From Haifa in Palestine, moreover, comes our main supply of the oil, on the possession of vast quantities of which the waging of modern war increasingly depends. There is... military authority for the view, that, important as is the defence of our cities against air attack, even more vital to our existence as an Empire, indeed as a nation, is the maintenance of our trade routes. Thus the importance to us of Spain not falling into hostile hands cannot be exaggerated. A friendly Spain is desirable, a Spain which is at least neutral is essential."

In other words the Duchess's "anti-fascism" is motivated by the fact that Fascism in Spain will undermine the Empire, the life-line of the wealthy British Isles and its parasites. If she knew that a Fascist Spain would not close the Mediterranean route to the Empire... then Fascism in Spain would do!

OBJECTIONS TO FASCISM

What are the objections put forward by honest (but often short-

Our Strength . . . and our Weakness

"The strength of a chain is in its weakest link" so goes the saying. The weakest link in our chain is FINANCE! Our strength lies in our being able to publish in SPAIN AND THE WORLD articles and information which is unknown to, or ignored by the Capitalist and other controlled Press.

Finance will not make SPAIN AND THE WORLD weaker in its ideas (as is generally the case when money comes into the picture) but will allow our voice to be heard more widely everywhere.

Our deficit at the present moment is £183, a few pounds less than the last time we appealed in these columns. But to continue our work we must settle this outstanding amount once and for all. What it comes to is that we must wipe out the deficit we accumulated mostly during the first year of publication (£136). Once this is done we must make SPAIN AND THE WORLD pay its way each issue so that no more appeals will be made.

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sighted) anti-fascists, excluding the Duchess, Mr. Eden, or Mr. Churchill and other "anti-fascist" fungi which have grown overnight. They claim that Fascism means control of the Press and suppression of opposition. It implies concentration camps and racial persecution; military discipline and the desire to dominate the world. This is the essence of public opinion judging by correspondence published in the radical National Press. But whilst seeing clearly the faults of the German or Italian systems (*) they fail to see the faults which underlie so called "democracy."

Englishmen always boast of the Freedom of the Press in this country. An article "They are trying to muzzle us" in the December issue of *Controversy* contains some illuminating examples of the pressure brought by the Government on the Press in this country and should be an eye-opener to those optimistic Englishmen who still accept tradition and do not face actual facts. In the *World Press*

*Some whose "Anti-fascism" did not go beyond criticism of Hitler's persecution of the Jews, failed to see the relationship between Italian and German Fascism until Mussolini brought into force decrees which struck down the Jews from participating in the public life of the country.

News the editor protests that "not a day passes without official requests for silence on one subject or another."

"Opposition" in this country has not been suppressed as yet, because it is not sufficiently militant to offer real opposition. Two years' "agitation" on behalf of Spain with its negative results; confidence in parliamentary action (Vernon Bartlett and the Duchess!) as opposed to direct action (strikes, etc.) besides the absence of a really revolutionary movement (the Communists are respectable, the I.L.P. is split, conscious Anarchists are few in number) to direct the masses towards their only goal: Socialism, gives the Government very little to worry about.

Otherwise the opposition here too would be suppressed in the same way as the French "Democratic" Government is suppressing the French workers and showing very little respect for their organisations.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM

As to the point that Hitler and Mussolini want to dominate the world, our "anti-fascists" forget that they are living in a country which has a vast Empire (as has "demo-

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The Spanish Proletariat will show the way to Freedom

It is possible that the events which have been taking place in Europe may have caused certain surprise to the Labour and political Internationals, but as far as the Spanish workers are concerned they were foreseen and discounted a long time ago. On the other hand, it seems that Destiny put on trial the spirit and determination of the Labour organisations with their millions of exploited workers the world over and found them wanting. To cite only one instance, we recall that Congress recently held in Oslo where none other than the leader of the English Trade Unions condemned the proposal to boycott all fascist goods on the fantastic plea that it would mean irritating still further the Dictators! This declaration, if more proof were needed, came to fill up the cup of our disillusion, pointing out, at the same time, the road which we should have to follow in future and of pinning every hope of victory in our own efforts and rejecting all that was false and ineffective in outside help.

Time and time again have we been compelled to express our great surprise at the apparent inability of these Organisations in adopting the necessary and proper means directed to protect the freedom and independence of the Spanish people in defense of their invaded territory and against the suicidal inertia of the so called Democracies. Repeatedly have we pointed out the way in which they could use the undoubted moral force at their command without the necessity of violating the spirit of their constitutions nor recurring to force. By calling their attention to the existing International Law, several standing Pacts and to the League of Nations, we showed that since all these things were built by the Democracies without the intervention of the workers, they more than any one else were bound by them and therefore obliged to abide by the laws and regulations thereof.

On certain occasions we were led to believe in the formation of an International Labour Movement of Aid for Spain, so strong and determined in its purpose that it would ensure the protection of Spain on the one hand and of China and Czechoslovakia on the other. Was it a dream? Unfortunately it appears so, although it is hard to understand such a lack of vision and intelligence on the part of the said International Labour Organisations. From the very beginning they had our warnings and suggestions that would have enabled them—without resorting to revolutionary tactics—to play a decisive role in a conflict from which hung the liberties of millions of human beings and the hard won social reforms of the world workers. No notice however was taken of our appeals. The tactics suggested by us were abandoned, class interests forgotten, and in their place the innocuous and easy method of organising collections was adopted. Some will put it down to lack of leadership, but what about the proletarian masses themselves? Have they also not shown a complete absence of class consciousness, spirit and courage in dealing with the whole situation? Because their Organisations in the so called democratic countries have lost their revolutionary ardour the consequences will be grave for all the oppressed.

Thus left alone we have come to realise that there is nothing else for us to do but to rely entirely in ourselves and through our own efforts and determination prevent another Czechoslovakia in Spain. We therefore declare our resolution to carry on the struggle until the final victory of our cause, lighting in this manner the way to salvation for those whose inertia has emasculated the revolutionary movement in other countries. They could have become the forgers of our destiny yet by their indecision and selfishness we have become their guides.

(Translated from "C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bulletin," Barcelona)

Lament for Spain by Herbert Read

We are the victims of a trance that stay
In England's April bower this fateful year.
Our eyes are filled with drowsy light: a warm breath
Drifts gently over the withered fields. Upon the hills
The cherry-orchards lie like fallen clouds
Through which the sun has poured its tranquil gold.
Bright with firstling flowers my garden mocks

The dungeoned spirit brooding in its midst.
Among the birds that fill the virgin dusk
With plaintive songs, one voice that was not heard
Since love and longing ceased under the summer sun
Drops into the chilling air its vivid notes.
The nightingale is here again: he sits

On the same bough of the self-same tree
Where year by year with scarce a day's delay
He keeps his tryst. Down all the vale
Where oak trees rise above the ragged hedge
His fellow migrants take their stand, and as the stars
Throb into sight above the leafless elms,
Their songs, which faltered for a while,
Swell into a loud and sequent threnody.

Hither as he winged his way, this bird
Rested in some Iberian grove and saw
Tangled like the olive roots the limbs of men
Fallen that day defending Spain.
In the abandon of death they had embraced
Earth or sky; the silver light revealed
Cords of blood across their naked breasts.
They were a remnant band that stranded here
Fought till their last shot was gone.
Then met the armoured horde with lifted fist
And the cry of their faith: **No pasarán!**

Their bodies stiffen in the upland air.
The night is not still guns and limbers
Rumble on the distant road; a burning house
Wounds with its ruddy glow the dove-soft sky
And moaning women search the ruined fields.

Like the shadow of a falling leaf you flitted
Through the intricate thickets of death.
Your spirit was driven to seek
A cool nest in the north. You did not sing
Over these sombre men; but you caught as you passed
A sobbing note, and now when you sing
In an English valley, your passionate song
Is no longer serene. Symbol of love and life
It fills this April night with a wild lament.

PUBLIC OPINION IN FRANCE

THE discovery of printing brought a new possibility of emancipation to the world. Also a new means stuffing the human brain with propaganda. The present state of the press in France would in itself be a sufficient reason for cursing the discovery of Gutenberg.

In the complete corruption which characterises French politics the press plays an outstanding part. It is impossible to find an independent news organ.

The Republic employs a means of defence which is far superior to the Garde Mobile, the police or it's Ministry of Interior—the corruption which is rife in every quarter. The situation is faithfully reflected by the press.

The dailies can only exist on the subsidies which cover any deficit and assure a living to a host of sharks both great and small. Funds come from any sources—in many cases the publicity chief will raise money from wherever it can be found and apart from subsidies supplied by the Ministries funds are distributed by Embassies and foreign propaganda

agencies.

Added to this are the funds supplied by industrial and financial groups and by private individuals. The money from these various sources does not flow in regularly but is given out or withheld as the circumstances dictate.

Hence the sudden birth and rapid disappearance of so many publications of very kind which are bought and sold without the public being

aware of the transaction taking place behind the scenes.

It is true that certain organs do maintain a consistent policy. These are the cases in which the capital is assured and the promoters in a sufficiently secure position to sway a certain section of public opinion. But lack of scruples and gangsterism is the general rule throughout the press. Every contributor from the sports editor who makes the racing

forecast for Longchamps and Deauville, to those who can increase their salary by drawing directly from the funds, participates in the racket.

Added to this general corruption are the combinations and alliances of the provincial papers completely committed to the policy of "services rendered" proper to a democratic regime. In short the french press from the wretched sensational monthly dealing in blackmail, to the big monsters of

the daily press is entirely in the hands of "big business," and that the "voice of public opinion" is in reality, the voice of those who pay the piper.

A rapid review of the principal newspapers of France enables one to verify the truth of this assertion.

All the Soviet papers—"Humanite," "L'Epopee" (Kerillis) "L'Ordre" (Emile Brue) whatever their social trend were agreed on foreign policy. Genevieve Tabouis is entirely devoted to Russian imperialist politics but nevertheless "L'Oeuvre" openly sided with the City during the crisis of September.

"La Liberte" (Doriot) is doubtless backed by the Hitlerian Embassy and imminent, been the exponent of the "Le Jour" (Leon Bailby) has, up until the moment when war seemed foreign policy of the Duce.

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SPAIN and the WORLD

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FOOD FOR THOUGHT

This is the time of year when people feel generously disposed towards one another and buy each other all kinds of gifts. This is also the time of year when people make merry and more than satisfy their stomachs with food and wine!

Amongst these merry makers are some who will pause a moment and think of the MILLIONS of people, men, women and children, all over the world who will be eating a crust of bread and drinking cold water, and who will be unable to buy themselves a bag of coal to keep warm.

There are millions of children in Spain who will be cold and hungry on Xmas Day, through no fault of theirs! Many of them are separated from their families; others have no family. Their fathers have been killed fighting Fascism; their mothers . . . perhaps the victims of Franco's hands.

Ought we not to try and relieve the suffering of these innocent children?

SPAIN AND THE WORLD'S readers are responsible for 70 children at the SPAIN AND THE WORLD COLONY at Masnou. They represent but few of the child refugees in Spain, but they are nevertheless 70 human lives and it is our duty to assure them all they need in order

to grow strong and healthy. They have good appetites! They must be clothed. For all these necessities they rely on you, the readers of Spain and the World.

So far, the responsibility has fallen on the shoulders of a limited number of people. This is not enough. We need more comrades and friends who will help to guarantee the needs of "our" children and make it possible for us to do even more on behalf of other Spanish children.

This week we have sent off a supply of sweets, dried fruits, soap, pencils and writing pads, and some toys as a special Xmas treat for "our" children. It is very little, but it will nevertheless make their Xmas brighter and may help to make them forget the terrible past.

We have this month, splendid examples of solidarity for our children. From Whiteway a big cheque from friends who held a Jumble Sale to raise money for our fund. And we understand that much credit is due to the children, who provided the entertainment. Also from Whiteway another contribution from our friend Lilian Wolfe. Whiteway friends are also responsible for many boxes of clothing which have been forwarded to Spain. Other contributions come from comrades who have been regularly supporting our

Fund. To those who have not . . . during these few days of leisure, give the Spanish children a thought and help, our fund by regular contribution!

EVERY PENNY GOES TO SPAIN!

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THE ARTIST AND ANARCHIST SOCIETY

by Rudolf Rocker

EVERY culture embodies the sum total of all creative activities of social life, and the more freedom the individual enjoys and the more spontaneous his efforts and his ability to express himself, the more colourful, vivid and varied will be the general picture of any particular period in social life. The more deeply the artist has been able to take root amid his surroundings; the more opportunities he has for hearkening to the subdued aspirations of his time, and to give expression to our innermost yearnings for Freedom, Justice and Beauty, the more easily will he succeed in achieving greatness in his creative work and overcoming the narrow and restrictive confines of tradition, preconceived notions, party prejudices, and dull routine.

It is doubtless this realisation which prompted Herbert Read to proclaim himself in favour of Anarchism, which he justly conceives not as a rigidly confined social system, but as a certain trend in history which is opposed to every form of "chaperonage" and every kind of political domination; which envisages the natural association of voluntary activity, which are the most important factors for the full and fruitful development of society. The poet-author, the defender of *Anarchism in Life* as against the political father-complex in history, describes the conclusions he has reached in the following words:

"I realise that form, pattern, and order are essential aspects of existence; but in themselves they are the attributes of death. To make life, to insure progress, to create interest and vividness, it is necessary to break form, to distort pattern, to change the nature of our civilisation. In order to create it is necessary to destroy; and the agent of destruction in society is the poet. I believe that the poet is necessarily an anarchist, and that he must oppose all organised conceptions of the State, not only those which we inherit from the past, but equally those which are imposed on people in the name of the future. In this sense I make no distinction between fascism and marxism."

Those who have grown up with ideas of Marxism might well interpose here by saying: "Why, wasn't Karl Marx himself who had declared war against all kinds of invented systems of the so-called utopians?" They forget, however, that it was Marx who had elaborated history itself into a system in which the individual was merely one of the collective producers under certain conditions, and that under the influence of those conditions, irrespective of his own will, he had to fulfil certain *historic missions*. The basic idea of political absolutism was thus translated into economic absolutism, and consequently led to that fatalistic social conception which saw in every new phase of Capitalistic Imperialism an essential stage on the road towards Socialism. He entirely overlooked, however, the fact that each new phase of this development tended immeasurably to extend the sphere of influence of the modern State with its economic Monopoly, thereby rendering ever more difficult the advent of social Emancipation.

Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the Socialist movement, in its overwhelming majority, should sink ever deeper into the morass of the present political and economic order, and that it should only too often be made to serve as one of its necessary appendages.

It was Liberalism which dealt the first deadly blow to political absolutism, thereby diverting human thought into entirely new channels. Recognising, with sure instinct, that it was the maximum of personal freedom which was the actual lever of all cultural progress, the spiritual protagonists of Liberalism aimed chiefly at reducing the power of the State to a minimum. In this way they opened up new vistas for future human development, and this would inevitably lead to the curbing of all ambitions of small minorities to seize political power, and to the administration by experts of all social activities, in the interests of the community as a whole.

The Socialist could well have become the executor of this new

and fruitful trend of thought. By advocating the abolition of economic monopoly and insisting on all productive activity being placed at the service of all, it could have given a positive basis to the new ideas. By this economic addition to a fruitful political trend of thought, it could have become a powerful factor in human consciousness and the bearer have become a powerful factor in human consciousness and the bearer of a new social culture in life. Instead of this, with incredible shortsightedness, it combatted the tendencies of a Liberal social conception, and in doing so, it often broke a lance in favour of the old political absolutism (though its leaders for the most part were scarcely aware of this), thereby giving a new lease of life to the fatalistic faith in the almighty State.

It was undoubtedly this tendency towards hatred of freedom on the part of authoritarian Socialism which may well be said to have paved the way for the Fascist conception of the Totalitarian State. Fact is that the so-called Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia presented the first picture of a totalitarian State, which subsequently served, in many respects, as a model for Fascism. The Bolshevik Dictatorship was certainly a step backwards into the forms of an absolute regime. This was all the more fatal in its consequences since the young Russian State subjected also those other spheres of social life which Tsarist Absolutism was compelled, up to a certain point, to respect. The complete suppression of all human personality, the mad idea of collective responsibility—even for the most tyrannical measures taken by the State—were the conscious negation of all political and social principles which the old Liberalism had once represented and which had met their spiritual defeat during the numerous revolutionary risings of the last three hundred years.

Herbert Read is doubtless aware of all this, as failure to understand this would make the present European situation altogether unintelligible. He will therefore no longer allow himself to be misled by the idle declarations of the "necessity for a Dictatorship as a transition stage" to Socialism. He knows, along with Proudhon, that it is the aim of every Provisional Government to become permanent, and it is in the light of this realisation that he judges the Marxist phrase as to the "withering-away of the State." He knows, moreover, that the so-called "excrescences" of the Dictatorship are rooted not in the person of the Dictator, but in the very nature of the dictatorship itself:

"For Trotsky as a writer and dialectician I have a considerable admiration. In his political aspirations and intrigues I have not the slightest interest; and I have no guarantee that a doctrinaire like Trotsky would be any improvement on a doctrinaire like Stalin. For fundamentally I renounce the whole principle of leadership and dictatorship to which both Stalin and Trotsky are personally committed."

Every culture finds its widest and most profound expression in Art. For this reason, the spiritual and social atmosphere in which the artist lives is of tremendous importance for the development of his individuality, which is at the basis of his creative work. Advocates of the Totalitarian State, however, declare that "the time for the individual is past." The artist has to create merely that which the protagonists of the State consider useful: this standard becomes the main principle in Art as in Life. In Germany every deviation from this principle is branded as "Jewish degeneration." In Russia any sign of originality is condemned as "bourgeois individualism" and latterly as "Trotskyist perversion."

In the second essay in the book before us, Herbert Read deals with the tragic fate of the Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky. The latter, at one time the feted poet of the Revolution whose verses were aglow with revolutionary ardour, began to be aware

of the ever narrower confines drawn around his creative work, as it became apparent that the Revolution was being bled to death by the Dictatorship. For the attitude of the Dictatorship towards the artist is not that of indifference, as is the case with Capitalistic doctrinarism; the Dictatorship is bent on pressing the artist into its service and insists that he must employ his talents to promote its interests. In doing so, however, it destroys the very values which inspire and stimulate the artist in his creative work:

"A genius is the tree which has produced the unknown fruit, the golden apples of Hesperides. But Mayakovsky was a tree which one year was expected to produce plums of a uniform size and appearance; a few years later apples; and finally cucumbers. No wonder that he broke down under such an unnatural strain!"

Mayakovsky's suicide seemed to Herbert Read to have a symbolic significance: it is the tragedy of the poet within the Totalitarian State, which is likewise the tragedy of Humanity as a whole. Herbert Read emphasises the need for Anarchism, not because of his desire to escape the brutal realities of our time which he as a sensitive artist would feel more acutely than the average individual, but because he realises that Freedom offers the only practical condition making the escape from the hell of material want and spiritual oppression possible. He sees the terrible results produced by economic monopoly and political centralisation—results productive of endless new terrors. He knows, too, that men are not made happy by being forced into the same yoke and reduced to the same standard. It is just because they have overlooked this fact that the Revolutionists of yesterday have become the Reactionaries of to-day. It is the will to power which is forever blinding their vision:

"That power takes various forms—the power of gold, the power of tradition, the power of inertia, the control of information—but essentially it is the power to keep other people in a state of ignorance."

One cannot make people happy by force, but one can create conditions which will make it possible for every one to become the master of his own happiness. An attempt in this direction the author sees in the heroic struggle of the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists, the only great popular movement which has not allowed its strength to degenerate into a dictatorship, and this is because this movement has its roots in the spirit of Freedom and Solidarity. Such a movement appears to him much better "than to go through the slow-motion agony of a so-called "transitional period." A transitional period is merely a bureaucratic device for postponing the inevitable."

Amid all the terrors and turmoil of our days, this book appears as a bright star and fills us with new hope. It is the harbinger of a poet who has realised that any creative work must forever be a striving and searching after new forms of expression, and therefore ultimately revolutionary and anarchistic. All reaction is stand-still and stagnation, hence gradual decay and death. It is this realisation which has turned the poet Herbert Read into a rebel against the present conditions and has brought him into the ranks of the fighters for the unconquerable idea of Freedom and Social Justice.

Poetry and Anarchism

by Herbert Read

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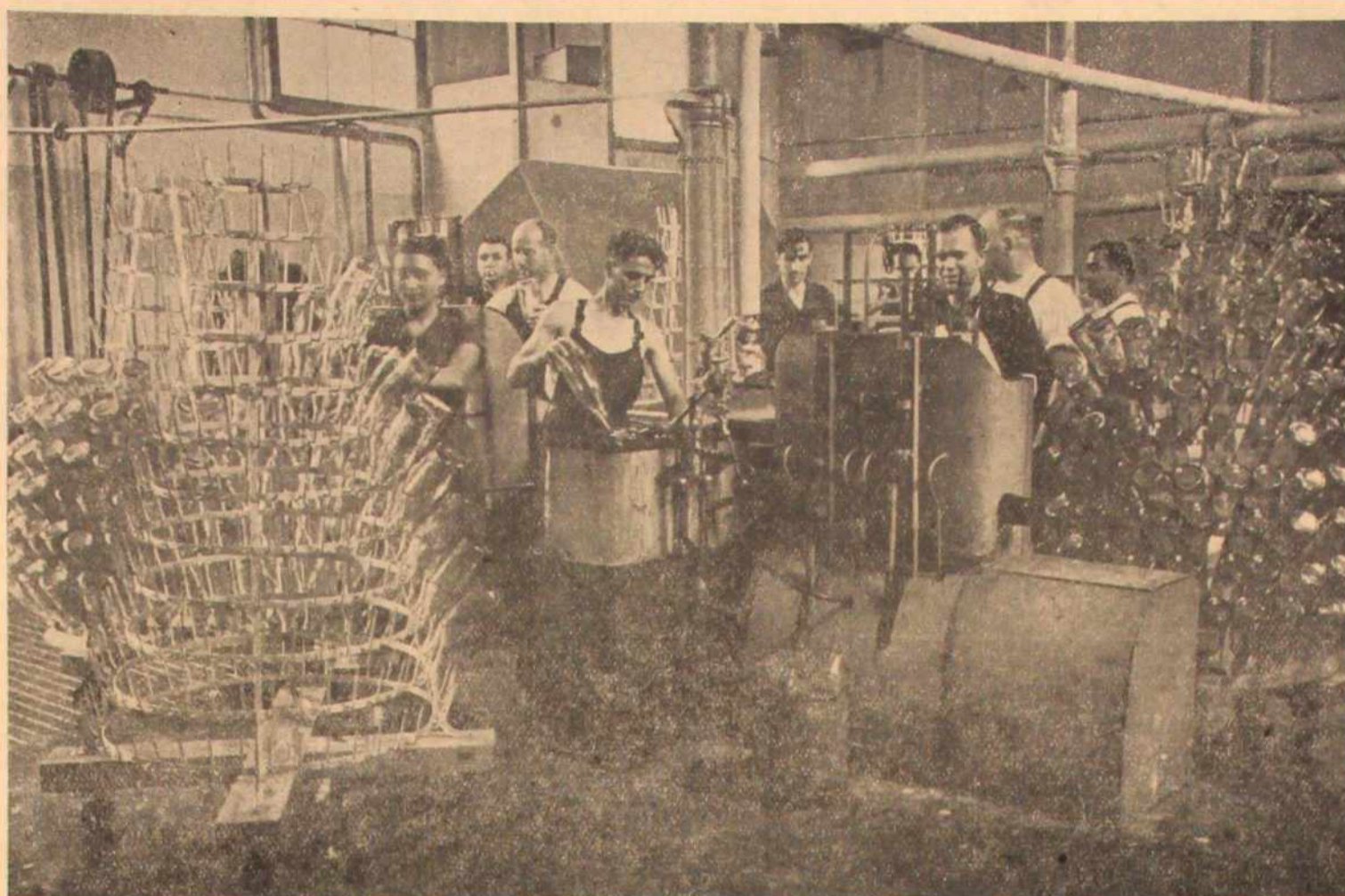
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Revolutionary Economy in Spain

THE socialised milk industry was reorganised by the workers of the C.N.T. after July 19th, 1936, and placed on a modern and hygienic basis. This was the more necessary because the supply of milk in Barcelona had formerly been in the hands of small traders more interested in profits than the quality of the milk. In point of fact milk was adulterated with considerable admixtures of chemical substances. Cows were kept in filthy sheds without air, sunshine or a chance to be taken to pasture. As a result of it, a large percentage of the cattle were tuberculous. In addition was the fact of outrageous exploitation of the workers engaged in the milk dairies and industries. The reorganisation was begun entirely under the guidance of the C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Organisation). As a result, *Industria Lactea Socializada* (Socialised Milk Industry) became a special branch of the food industry. Among the immediate steps taken was to create entirely new and modern methods to increase the quality and quantity of milk. Cooling stations were established. Seven of these were opened in Catalonia alone. The peasants from the surrounding villages bring the milk to the cooling stations. Here it is reduced to a temperature from 5 to 7 degrees above zero, and put into thermos flasks. Thus the milk reaches Barcelona at an even temperature.

We visited several cooling stations, at Las Franquesa, Clot near Gerona, Satoville, at La Perpetua de la Moguda, since renamed Granja Germinal. The first of these stations was placed in a former wine depot. It was completely renovated and equipped with machinery brought from Barcelona. Five men and five women work there, their wages being paid them by their syndicate in Barcelona. It averages 160 pesetas per week. Instead of 30,000 litres of milk that could easily be cooled in this station, only 1,000 a day actually pass through the process. The reason for this was lack of fodder which unfortunately induced the peasants to slaughter a number of cows. In Clot a large factory was established and condensed milk and butter are being produced there. The entire produce is regularly taken by the military authorities for use at the front. In Clot we came upon an interesting case which, like so many other phenomena one meets, can only happen in Spain. Although the cooling station is collectivised, the widow of the former owner is being paid off the cost of the place in

COLLECTIVISED MILK INDUSTRY



A SECTION OF A FACTORY OF THE COLLECTIVIZED MILK INDUSTRY.

monthly rates; in addition she is permitted to keep her living quarters—much more comfortable I found than the homes of many workers in the large cities—and is also given a daily ration of milk. No wonder she assured me that she was very contented and that the *Campanieras* were most kind to her.

The estate of Satoville, about 50 kilometres from Barcelona, had been abandoned by its former owner in the July days. He retired in safety to Barcelona, where he died in 1937. Although he was known to have Fascist leanings, he had in no way been molested. No doubt he ended his days hoping to his last breath that Franco would soon come to

deliver him from the "Reds" who had turned his neglected estate into a well-organised and prosperous farm.

Ninety-four cows, many pigs and sheep, as well chickens and rabbits, make up the live stock in Granja Germinal. Thirty-two hectares of land are under complete cultivation. Sixty peasants and an equal number of dairy workers are employed in this place, their pay averaging from 160 to 200 pesetas a week. Already this socialised venture has spent 90,000 pesetas on new cowsheds and other improvements to bring the estate up to date, and to make it yield returns it never had before. We returned to Barcelona to visit

the largest enterprise of the milk syndicate. It is housed in the former Frigo Factory which manufactured milk by-products; all kinds of modern equipment in the way of pasteurising machinery, butter churners, machinery for the production of cheese and Yoghourt, skimming appliances and a new ice-cream producing plant, had been established. In addition a number of model dairy depots were built for the retail sale of milk. Before July 19th this factory had a working capacity to produce 7,000 litres of milk daily. Now it could handle 100,000. The number of workers also had to be reduced from 350 to 200. The syndicates have reason to be proud

of their great achievement. Far from that, they are most discontented because they cannot produce the increased amount of milk needed for the population in Catalonia. Formerly 200,000 litres of milk daily were used in Barcelona—to-day 300,000 are necessary, owing to the great influx of refugees and the increase of the population. Formerly Catalonia used to buy large quantities of condensed milk in the north of Spain, now in the hands of Franco. Also large numbers of cows from Switzerland, Holland and the north of Spain, used to be imported. All that has been made impossible since the beginning of the war. Another explanation for the famine in milk is to be sought in the calamity which had befallen Catalonia in May, 1937. Owing to the plot against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in Barcelona which resulted in the great disturbance, the former owners of the cattle evidently thought that the good old days had come back; they raided the collectives and led the cattle to their own sheds. When they realised that the syndicates were still in control, they slaughtered their cows rather than give them back to the collectives.

Yet with all the drawbacks, all the vicissitudes, the socialised milk industry stands out as a very great achievement. In point of truth, the milk syndicate have demonstrated that they were able to create a remarkable venture in a short period of months, which had taken the peasant co-operatives in northern Europe decades to grow.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

FRANCE

The History of a Defeat

The Decree-laws of Paul Reynaud, minister of finance, were published at the time when the C.G.T. was holding a session at Nantes.

The decrees constituted a terrible blow to the working classes. Articles of common consumption, such as tea and sugar, were heavily taxed, the price of popular transport, the metro and buses was greatly increased and all salaries were taxed 20 per cent. The 40 hour week was done away with and the rates of pay for overtime reduced. The corresponding sacrifices demanded from the rich were purely theoretical. True the income tax was raised, but absence of control makes this rise fictitious. Moreover incomes exceeding 500,000 francs are not to be taxed and furthermore the control of wholesale prices was abandoned.

For several weeks the press conducted a campaign which prepared the way for the sacrifices necessary to meet the enormous expenses of national defence.

Nevertheless the first reaction among salaried workers was of indignation. Already hit by the increased cost of living, which the slight rise in wages had failed to keep up with, they rebelled. The eyes of the workers all over the world were turned towards the Congress of the C.G.T. There were many speeches but no results. Several proposals for an immediate general strike, but Jouhaux and the communist section, whilst utilizing the emotion aroused by the government as tending to unity, did not insist on any

definite action being taken.

The Congress broke up with only a somewhat vague decision that fight against the decrees "might be carried even so far as a strike."

Though the non-economic aspect of the decrees made little impression, the restrictions to workers liberties and particularly the repression of foreign workers, whether or not political refugees, called for action.

During the days that followed the C.G.T. elected its administrative Commission. These elections were not free from dishonest deals and bargains between the reformists and the Stalinists.

In many industries where the owners, confident in the decrees, took the offensive against the workers, the discontent was growing.

POSITION OF COMMUNIST PARTY
The visit of Mr. Chamberlain to Paris announcing the settlement of the war in Spain, and a drawing together of the European powers, was the cause of anxiety to the partisans of Russian imperialism.

The position of the Communist Party was clear. It desired to overthrow the Daladier-Bonnet cabinet which had been co-responsible in the Munich pact. It held one trump: the enthusiasm of the workers. One opportunity: the arrival of the British Premier. One obstacle: the indifference of the reformist leaders who were still in favour of the Anglo-French entente.

The first wave of strikes broke out in the metallurgical plants in Paris and in the mining centres of the North. The metal workers fought with enthusiasm. The Renault factories could only be evacuated after a battle which sent more 'gardes mobiles' than workers to the hospital. One can understand their surprise then, on being ordered by the Stalinist

leaders to evacuate the workshops. The Stalinists acted as intermediaries between the oppressors and the strikers and endeavoured to facilitate the occupation of the factories by the police.

This however was not accomplished without difficulty owing to the metal worker's failure to grasp the subtle policy of the Soviet, which aimed at overthrowing the Daladier cabinet but did not favour any action of the workers which might frighten the bourgeois partisans of the Franco-Soviet pact. It was owing to this misunderstanding that so much damage was done before the last strikers had been driven out by tear gas bombs. It was two or three weeks before the factories were functioning normally once more. Disorder reigned in the workshops, machines were destroyed and windows broken.

In the north, the strike was smashed by the requisition order of the government.

The first result of the communist move was that the C.G.T. (General Workers' Union) though hesitant and divided, gave way under extreme pressure and opted for a demonstration strike of 24 hours.

On Friday, November the 25th, the C.G.T. announced its decision to call on the proletariat to cease work on Wednesday the 30th.

THE GOVERNMENT'S REACTION

The Franco-German pact was announced. The indignation against the decrees had subsided a little. During the five days which the government had been given to prepare for the strike, every means of blackmail, intimidation and propaganda were brought into play.

It was given out that the general strike was a political move aimed against the "pacifist" policy of the government. This argument carried more weight owing to the fact that the Communist Party had concerned itself more with the attacks on the "Munich Butchers" than on the results of the decrees.

All the power of the Press, radio and cinema was utilized in order to change the opinion of the man in the street. Simultaneously with this came Daladier's decrees which requisitioned all public services in the National interests. Military forces were stationed round all the industrial centres.

In answer to this the C.G.T. did nothing beyond the administrative work of circularising the Federations, Unions and Syndicates. The fact was that, to

the C.G.T., the legal parliamentary issue was still undecided and the days before the strike were passed in continual visits and interviews between the ministers and the leaders at the workers' centres.

Blum and Frossard were trying to persuade Daladier to give way in favour of a government of National Union. The communists declared themselves ready to make any sacrifice in the support of such a government headed by Herriot.

THE GOVERNMENT ACTS

But on this occasion the blackmail failed to achieve its object. Daladier stood firm and neither the efforts of the parliamentary group of the U.S.S.R. nor the offer of mediation of the "Association d'Anciens Combattants" (Ex-Servicemen's Association) resulted in the dismissal of the ministers. Confident in the support of England and of all the reactionaries, the government were able to gain time and to delude their opponents by spinning out the official negotiations. Counting on the weakness of the syndical Federations the Ministry decided to fight.

On Tuesday the C.G.T. found itself holding the baby—a general strike for which it had made no practical preparation, and with public opinion equally unprepared.

The following day the strike began. At eight o'clock in the morning the order to strike given to the transport workers was cancelled; at two o'clock the order for the P.T.T. (Postal Workers) was given.

Only the members of the Printers' Federation had come out solidly. The metal workers and builders unions also held out, and the numbers were greatly swelled by the workers employed by individual firms. In Lille, Marseilles, Nantes, Toulouse and Clermont-Ferrand, there were local strikes of the miners, tramway workers and dockers. In the last mentioned town the strike continued until the evening, the "mobiles" not venturing to interfere.

Nevertheless it was clear the strike had failed completely, and Jouhaux admitted the fact the next day.

Measures were now taken by the owners to profit by the Syndicalist defeat. In the metal industries, there were lock-outs in many shops. The workers when re-engaged found that they had not only lost days of their holidays with pay, but that their delegates had been suppressed. (A worker must have been employed for three months before he has a voice as an elector, and six months before he is eligible as a delegate). The minister of finance was able, in certain branches of industry under State control, to take measures for the dismissal of the more active workers.

Conflicts broke out in many places and, at the meeting of the Federations of Industry, which was entirely in the hands of the communists, it was decided to oppose the mass dismissals and the sanctions used against the workers.

Ribbentrop arrival was announced for the following Tuesday.

There is no doubt that the social war in France will continue. It is no less certain that the syndical forces can still deal a blow. But the essential aspect of the war is that leaders are aiming at the overthrow of Daladier and not of capitalism in France.

The imperialist conflicts are rapidly changing into the class struggle which is exploited under imperialist slogans.

Paris. R.



"Collectivized Milk Industry C.N.T.-A.I.T."

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"Bombing the Daylight out of them" - by Reg. Reynolds

Not long ago I saw one of the best films I have seen for a long time: "You Can't Take it with You." There are many excellent things in that film, especially an argument with an Income Tax official about why the tax should be paid. In that argument and throughout the film I felt that I was at last seeing and hearing the anarchist case properly presented for the first time. Most anarchists merely succeed in being boring without being convincing.

There was one mouthful that seemed to me prophetic and profoundly true. "Abraham Lincoln said: 'With charity towards all and with malice towards none.' Nowadays they say: 'You think as I do or I'll bomb the daylight out of you.'" That about hits the nail on the head, I thought. And the first duty of the anarchist as I see it (a mere friendly outsider, so to speak) is to oppose that attitude of mind with all his force, both in himself and other people, knowing that nothing but dictatorship and bloody murder can come of it.

When Voltaire said: "I detest your opinions, and I would die for your right to express them," he gave expression to the fundamental principle upon which all scientific progress and all human progress depend. The principles upon which any dictatorship is founded may be expressed as the logical antithesis of Voltaire's dictum (if it was Voltaire's, and I've never been quite sure). Thus we could say that dictatorship implied the view that "Your opinions may be right, but in the interests of discipline and unity, it is unwise for you to express them and, by God, I'll fill your belly with lead if you do."

The patriot stands by England, right or wrong, drunk or sober. To

the Catholic, the Pope is infallible. For the Communist, Russia can do no wrong, and Stalin's word is law. Germany recognises but one will and one judgment. So also Italy. In Europe, by all appearances, the possession and use of a mind already places one in a minority.

But it is not only dictatorship as a theory that menaces human freedom. The avowed enemies of dictatorship in any form are continually found using the methods of dictatorship to enforce their will. The enemies of fascism in France oppress the French colonial people, even as their brethren of Spain oppressed the people of Spanish Morocco. Just as the Pilgrim Fathers, fleeing from persecution in this country, went out to America and massacred Red Indians; just as they later persecuted religious "dissenters" among themselves (including the Quakers); just as the Children of Israel fled from the oppression of Pharaoh and massacred the people of Canaan—so to-day we find that those who have suffered most at the hands of dictators often support the British dictatorship in Palestine and oppose self-determination.

Dictatorship is more than a theory: it is an attitude of mind towards other people which is found among the loudest protagonists of "Democracy" and even among self-styled Libertarians. When the Communists justify their ruthless methods by the necessity for the defence of the Soviet Union imply that that interest is paramount. In other words they by will and intention submit the whole world to the dictatorship of the U.S.S.R. and their own party. It is not for the people of French Indo-China or Algeria or Tunis or Morocco to say whether they shall be

free or not: if it suits the convenience of Stalin that they remain slaves, then slaves they must remain to the greater glory of French Imperialism and the Franco-Soviet Pact. If the French colonials don't like that, the French bourgeoisie will have them knocked on the head (they have already done so) with enthusiastic approval from the prophets of Democracy, including Thorez and his merry men. That is the essence of dictatorship—the colonial people must think as Stalin thinks or he'll bomb the daylight out of them. And in this case what they are required to think is that it is very delightful to be ruled by the French bourgeoisie without even the compensations of "Democracy." This "Democracy" is something that the colonial conscript is expected to die for, but by no means to share.

Many who have not this attitude of mind so far as Russia and Stalin are concerned arrive at a similar position from a different angle. Unless I am much mistaken, Spain is becoming the focussing point of a similar train of reasoning. Once one has realised the importance of the Spanish struggle it is all too easy to slip into the fallacy of concluding that it is more important than anything else and that the necessities of the struggle justify anything and everything—just as the Stalinist believes that the preservation of the Soviet Union justifies everything.

For example: the Spanish struggle leads us straight into the same pitfall as the defence of the U.S.S.R., a pitfall aptly described by my friend Dr. Edward Conze as *the menace of anti-fascism*. The danger is that those who are simply "anti-fascists" without any intelligent understanding of all the other social evils from

which the world suffers, will easily become (if they are not already) the fools of British or French imperialism and of imperialist war. Like the Communists, they may very soon find themselves (in intention, even if they are impotent to implement it) condemning millions to death in a European war in order to vindicate their individual sense of what is right. That would be dictatorship, and like all dictatorships its bloodiness would be ten times more-bloody because its heart was pure.

Imperialism is older than fascism; and though fascism has had far more books, and pamphlets written about its twenty years' existence than have been written about the centuries of imperialism; there is little to choose between the two in foulness and beastliness, except that imperialism is probably rather more hypocritical. If ever in our anti-fascist zeal we should forget this and support the British Empire against Hitler or Mussolini we should not only be condemning millions of people to death in a struggle for power between two groups of bandits, but we should be forced into the same position that the Communists have adopted with regard to the French colonies. That means, we should have to say to the people in India and the British colonies: "We know you have no democracy; we know you are and have been oppressed in the same way that the people of Germany and Italy are oppressed and with less justification—because none of you ever asked for it. But unless you behave yourselves and do as you're told while we kill German workers to prove the superiority of democracy to fascism, we'll blow you to smithereens too."

It sounds somewhat crude, but I suggest it's the only way in which such a war could be fought. The method is known as dictatorship and will also be used for home consumption. And all who favour such a war against the fascist powers, whatever labels they may give themselves, are enemies of human freedom and dictators at heart. They are the worst enemies of everything that anarchists should stand for.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

ANTI-FASCISM: CAPITALIST OR SOCIALIST?

Continued from page 1

cratic" France). Yet whether a Labour or Conservative Government is in power the condition of the Empire workers remains the same. Repression is the order of the day. The recent bloody repressions in Jamaica (from which some titled "anti-fascists" draw fat dividends); the continual cleaning-up operations in India (which during the last two years have cost £1,747,500 and 1142 casualties amount the pacifiers); the savage repression of the Arabs in Palestine . . . all these are symbolic of British Imperialism.

Now that Germany and Italy are clamouring for colonies the "anti-fascists" protest because "they know" that the colonial peoples prefer democratic masters to Fascist masters. To these unfortunate people in the colonies one master is as bad as another. Franco has the Moors killed to further his ideas. In North Africa, French democracy has the Arabs (the Spahi regiments for instance) killed in order to strengthen "democracy"! In Palestine British Imperialism kills the Arabs as enemies and in India has Indians killed in defending British interests on the North West Frontier. Meanwhile Mussolini has the Askaris killed in Abyssinia to further his Imperialist ambitions, whilst in "civilizing" Lybia, that ruthless soldier Graziani killed off thousands of Askaris!

All the foregoing, and much more which could be added, space allowing, merely brings one to an obvious conclusion: *Anti-fascism, besides being International, must be ANTI-CAPITALIST*. Within the framework of Capitalism nothing will ever be achieved by the workers in the "democratic" countries, both for themselves as well as for their brothers living under fascism, whether in Germany or Italy or in the colonies.

SPANISH WORKERS EXAMPLE

The Spanish people have shown the way in that their struggle was not just for a forty-hour week, or the bread-and-butter question pure and simple (this is surely proved by the fact that to-day they are physically worse off than before) but for something more revolutionary: the overthrow of a rotten and inhuman System. For they knew that by completely changing the present state of things, only then could they look forward to a new life.

It is this example (and it is an example in spite of the setbacks which may finally destroy the revolutionary achievements in Spain) which must be followed by the International Proletariat.

To elect a "Red" Duchess or a Vernon Bartlett to Parliament are mere petty consolations for the new "anti-fascists." Nay, to elect a Labour Government is to elect merely another group of politicians (*vide* French Popular Front Government 1936-1938).

Yes, fight Fascism, but not with arch-reactionaries who merely oppose the present Government for personal reasons or for fear that under Fascism their political careers will be at an end. Fascism will be combated effectively only when a militant proletariat will refuse to be the dupes of the ruling class, that is, will refuse to manufacture arms destined for their own destruction and will refuse to be enslaved by the idle class or by their own Union leaders.

The moment the workers understand their role, and realise that isolated victories (such as could have been achieved in Spain) can be achieved only on condition that real International Solidarity exists (refusal to transport any material to the Fascist powers, and assure the workers all they require by legal or extra legal means), headway will be made.

This will be real ANTI-FASCIST Solidarity, and the first step towards Free Socialism.

V.R.

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THE EDITORS.

P.S.—We might mention here that to add to our difficulties of distribution, even those bookshops which do take our publication generally hide it in some corner of their establishment where no one can see it!

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Public Opinion in France

Continued from page 2

The giant "Paris Soir" is dependent on the groups controlling the sugar and textile industries who not only control this paper but are able to bring pressure to bear on other news organs such as the Soviet "Ce Soir" which has been reduced in size.

The "Comite des Forges" and the "Houilleres" own the "Journée Industrielle" and "Temps." The smaller dailies like "l'Homme Libre" "l'Ere Nouvelle" or "Victoire," having a circulation of only a few hundred are in the hands of private individuals, politicians or financiers.

In the provinces it sometimes happens that two dailies, one "left" and one "right" are both in the hands of the same owner as in the case of the "Depeche Dauphinoise" and the "Petit Dauphinois" in the Alps.

Lack of regular funds makes for even greater corruption in the weekly publications which, in search of subsidies from whatever source, can only exist by intellectual prostitution and blackmail. They often reach the point where contributors will write completely contradictory articles at short intervals—often in the same day. It is not unusual to find the same editors on the staff of a pro and anti-Soviet organ and the same journalist who wrote for Doriot's revolutionary organ in 1936, was shortly afterwards writing for a Jesuit publication. He then composed the manifesto of the Count of Paris, to whom he referred later as a degenerate aristocrat after a quarrel over the terms of payment.

The revolutionary firebrands are at an even greater disadvantage. In the rare cases in which they are free from corruption and influence from other quarters, they are exposed to the expert sabotage of the "Hachette" trust, which no news organ relying solely on the sales and subscriptions to pay the costs of printing and paper can stand up too.

From the foregoing facts it will be seen that the free press is fighting a very unequal battle.