

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Neither your country,
nor humanity, neither
you nor your class—
the Workers—gain
anything by War.

It is only the big
financiers and capital-
ists who profit by it.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN
(From "Now and After")

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WORKERS! OPPOSE THE MASSACRE

Those who make War possible

Those who produce and
sell petrol.

The producing countries are, in the first place, the United States, Russia and Rumania, States which supply their own needs and export a large proportion of the production (U.S.A. which imports about as much as it exports, furnishes to the Fascist powers alone more than half the world's production), then Venezuela, Persia, Dutch Indies, Mexico, Columbia, Iraq, Argentine, Peru and India, which export almost all they produce.

Who exploit these petrol wells? Excluding the U.S.A. four trusts share amongst themselves 86 per cent. of the world's needs. They are in order of importance (from 1934 figures): the Soviet Naphte Syndicate, The American Standard Oil, and two English companies, Royal Dutch Shell (of Dutch origin) and The Anglo-Persian (or Anglo-Iranian).

Those who supply petrol
to Italy.

The suppliers to Italy are: Rumania, U.S.A. (Standard Oil), U.S.S.R. and Iraq. In 1936, during the Abyssinian War, Iraq, thanks perhaps to the participation of Italian capital in the Iraq Petroleum Co., obtained 120 million tons for Italy; but after the conquest the Italian group renounced its participation in the Iraq Petroleum, a quarter of whose shares belong to The Anglo-Persian, another quarter to Royal Shell and a quarter each to the Cie. Francaise des Petroles and the allied Standard Oil Co.

Those who supply petrol
to Germany.

Finally, Germany replenishes her supply through the U.S.A., Dutch East Indies, Persia, Venezuela and U.S.S.R.! A commercial agreement dated the 1st January, 1935, does not expire until 1939, and contracts for Russia to supply petrol to Hitlerian Germany, whose desire for war the Soviet Government is denouncing every day in heated terms and against which (provisionally?) Russia is directing all her diplomacy.

Those who transport the
petrol.

Transport is guaranteed by tankers belonging, in some cases to private individuals (in a small proportion), in others to the above-mentioned trusts, and in other cases to Governments. The Scandinavian countries in particular are fairly well specialized in petrol transport. Japan, Italy and Germany have only a small tonnage in petrol tankers. A few figures for 1934: Norway alone possessed 213 tankers for petrol transport, with a total tonnage of 1,507,000 tons; the three large anglo-american trusts possessed together a fleet of 563 ships totalling 5,288,000 tons; against this, Italy—the most supplied of the three Fascist States—had only 65 ships of a total tonnage of 315,000 tons; the three Fascist powers together possessed a total of 116 ships totalling 582,000 tons.

of FELLOW WORKERS

FIGHT CAPITALISM AND NOT THE GERMAN WORKERS

By the time these words appear in print, the fate of Europe will have been probably decided. The possibilities are that war will ravage the face of the earth. Science will destroy that which science and man have built. The uncontrollable and lowest passions in man will be let loose in blind fury; fury against an enemy towards whom he bears no malice, for a 'cause' which is not his.

War feeling is being worked up every day to an ever increasing degree by the yellow Capitalist controlled Press whether of the Right or the "Left", while the State, through its A.R.P. creates a war psychology among the women and innocent children. Children who will not be used as cannon-fodder to-day will be evacuated to safety areas so that they will not perish. They are the cannon-fodder of to-morrow. The women, the mothers, are prepared to be separated from their children or, where they are of age, to have them butchered in the front line trenches in the name of a "democracy" whose benefits they have never experienced. These women, who have brought the youth of to-day into the world, will be those who during the long period of war hysteria will distribute the white feathers to those who refuse to kill or be killed.

And the very people and organizations which have for two long years refused even the means of defence to the Spanish people; who have never ordered work to be stopped for one day—for one hour—in favour of the Spanish workers in their struggle to destroy the greatest evil facing mankind to-day: CAPITALISM, are prepared to sacrifice tens of millions of lives in the name of a "democracy" which they know to be Fascism in a disguised form.

The war of to-morrow will not only be the responsibility of the Hitlers, the Chamberlains, the Mussolini's and the Capitalists. It will be the responsibility of the T.U.C., the Labour Party, the Church and the Communist Party leaders in England and the corresponding bodies in other "democratic" countries!

WE WILL OPPOSE this "war to end wars" in spite of the fact that Harry Pollitt and the majority of the bourgeoisie have already labelled us as "agents of Hitler"!

WE WILL OPPOSE this war because it is a war not between Capitalism and the Working Class, but a war between two Capitalisms, fought out, not by the Capitalists themselves, but by their dupes, the working class.

WE WILL OPPOSE THIS WAR because we believe that the working class will not benefit by their sacrifice. The last war has shown us that. It produced the Treaty of Versailles, and two openly Totalitarian States. It has brought death to hundreds of thousands of homes and widespread misery throughout the world. Even in England, the nerve centre of the mighty British Empire, from which British Imperialism has sucked every drop of blood, 40% of the population is underfed!

Workers; Act now, before it is too late!

Will you be misled into sacrificing yourselves and your brother workers the world over for the sake of Capitalist Interests and Fascist prestige?

Do you think it worth while sacrificing 30 million (or more) of your flesh and blood who toil day-in and day-out as you do yourselves, so that the idle rich may continue to live in comfort and at your expense?

The Spanish workers in July 1936 gave you the example. They rose against Fascism in Spain, not in the name of "democracy" but in the name of Revolution. The landlords and the factory owners fled. The workers took over industry and cultivated the land for the common good. They had something to fight for, something to die for!

They were defending the liberty which they had won on July 19th. The factories belonged to them; in village and town private property has been abolished.

They had achieved something, something worth defending: Liberty. And had delivered a death-blow to Capitalism.

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They Oppose War

FRANCE

One can say that the only active opposition to the War comes from the Anarchists and certain left groups such as Le Lutte de Classe group which publishes Le Reveil Syndicaliste, from which we reproduced an article against the war in our last issue.

The Anarchists however have been the most active and have obtained good results in spite of the war hysteria created not only by the Capitalist press but by the Union leaders as well, and raids by the police on their headquarters.

During recent weeks, de Libertaire, organ of the Union Anarchiste has been seized by the police. Two weeks ago an excellent issue of Le Libertaire against war and all the horrors of modern warfare, was seized by the police both at the publishing office and on all the book-stalls in Paris. The editors as well as the comrades responsible for the S.I.A. were to appear yesterday charged with "provoking the military to disobedience by means of anarchist propaganda". At the moment of going to press we have heard nothing as to the results. We can add however that one comrade has also been charged as a result of a raid on the printing works where posters against the war were being printed. Fortunately 5000 posters had already been posted all over Paris, as the remaining posters were destroyed by the police. 50,000 handbills were however successfully distributed.

Le Combat Syndicaliste organ of the Anarcho-Syndicalists was seized by the police for the same reasons as for the Libertaire.

Le Reveil Syndicaliste in its manifesto concludes that it "is by strikes and the occupation of factories" that war can be stopped. "Imperialist compromise is worth more than war between peoples". But, the add. workers must take advantage of this moment's respite in order to rise against the imperialist blocks.

Of the workers' groups in France, one must specially mention the resolution passed by the syndical sections of the P.T.T. (Post Office Workers) representing 45,000 members, expressing their surprise at the workers reaction to general mobilisation and is indignant at the attitude of the council of the C.G.T. which is consenting to the Union Sacree and for preparation for war "though and for preparation for war though "no decision of the Congress allows the Council to reject proletarian internationalism and the traditional anti-militarism of the workers". The postal workers, even if they have to remain isolated, will struggle to the end against all wars no matter the pretext given for them and in spite of the attitude of the Governments, parties and even the C.G.T. itself.

Similar reaction can be witnessed at meetings held by food-distributors in Lille and elsewhere in the North of France. Furthermore, at the school-teachers congress recently held in France, one quarter opposed the "union sacree" which means that they were openly opposed to war.

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WOMEN'S ARMY OF 25,000

More men will be sent to the front line to be butchered.

As we go to Press we learn that an "Auxiliary Territorial Service" has been formed for women. The number of women needed is 25,000. There will probably be a rush for jobs amongst women who have spent their lives working in the home without a feeling of independence.

But there are other times, and different ways for woman to be independent.

The terms of service are four years and recruits will be used as "motor-drivers, clerical workers, cooks, orderlies and canteen supervisors."

You know what this means. By undertaking work which has been

formerly done by a man, you are responsible for another man being sent to be butchered at the front.

Women in the last war were proud of the fact that they were able to take over transport, and work in factories. They were probably unconscious of the fact that they were helping the Government to send to the front-line trenches men of all ages.

This time they should learn by their experience. They should pause to reflect for one moment whether it might mean that by volunteering for this work their brothers, or husbands may be obliged to go to the fighting line and perhaps never return.

Women can stop wars. They can refuse to replace men in the rear guard, and once they have overcome their prejudices, they can prevent their husbands and sons from being recruited.

Let them not forget that during the first Abyssinian campaign (1896) the Italian mothers prevented the train with "volunteers" from leaving. They can do it again to-day when they will be conscious of their responsibilities and their strength in society.

Women of England, America, of Germany and Italy and France, STOP YOUR MEN FROM BEING SACRIFICED!

Tierra y Libertad asks

WHO WAS RIGHT...?

...IN SAYING that the value of workers organisation lies, not in its numerical strength but in the degree of class consciousness and revolutionary spirits of its members. Those organisation functioning within the framework of bourgeois legality, in ignorance of the fact that bourgeois laws are designed to keep the workers down, are of no value as liberating forces. The proletariat is being rendered powerless by reformist policy in the syndicates. This policy is the disastrous result of reformist socialism.

...IN BELIEVING that before all the proletariat must awaken to the fact that its interests are opposed to those of the bourgeoisie. In creating a revolutionary consciousness in the masses and not trusting to luck that by a natural movement they will somehow find their way to socialism.

...BY POINTING OUT to these organisations the results of the lack of faith in their own strength, their over confidence in legal procedure, and the false hopes which they build on changes in the Government. The incorporation of the syndicates into the political bourgeois democratic framework must by its conservative tendency, end in the destruction of all revolutionary elements.

...IN FIGHTING all forms of nationalism and patriotism which result in the subjection of the workers to the national bourgeoisie.

...IN REMINDING the workers that, in the decisive moment when only a rising of the masses can save the people, the big socialist-reformist bodies, lacking that confidence which is only gained by experience in the struggle, would be powerless to act.

...IN DEPLORING the lack of independence shown by the large socialist organisations in submitting to the domination of all powerful chiefs whose interests are bound up with the legal apparatus for the protection of capitalism.

...IN CONDEMNING a system which gains by a gradual process some slight advantage for the workers without having any clearly defined revolutionary aim. These advantages would be lost the moment bourgeoisie, relying upon the inaction of the proletariat, was strong enough to fight.

...IN ADVOCATING direct action by the organised forces of the proletariat. Strike, boycott, sabotage and insurrection.

What have we learned from the experience of these years of war? What has been the result of the reformist policy of the international proletariat which, incapable of taking effective action has confined itself to making declarations.

The answer lies in the tragedy of the Spanish People who, finding the workers of the world unprepared, and themselves isolated, continue to fight the bloody battle alone.

SPAIN and the WORLD

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WHY SHOULD THEY FIGHT ?

A MANIFESTO BY COLOURED WORKERS.

To Africans, people of African descent, and colonial peoples all over the world :

You, the most oppressed and exploited, will soon be called upon to take part in a war which threatens to slaughter millions of men, women and children and bring ruin, misery and devastation on a scale unheard of before.

Our rulers will have us believe that this war is to be fought to save CZECHOSLOVAKIA, a small country, about which most of you have never heard, from Hitler. THIS IS A LIE. If Britain and France go to the aid of Czechoslovakia it is not to defend international law and order, as they say, but to prevent Hitler from over-running Europe and stealing their colonies. Czechoslovakia in 1938 is being used as a pawn by the Imperialists in the same way as Belgium was in 1914—to win our sympathy and pity. THIS IS THE TRUTH which they dare not tell us. If these democratic countries are so interested in saving small nations and preserving law and order, why did they stand aside and allow Mussolini to attack our defenceless black brothers in Abyssinia and Murder men, women and children with poison gas? It is to mislead you that our Imperialist masters and their black agents are trying to deceive you by asking you to join up and fight for Democracy against Fascism.

DEMOCRACY! Black brothers what do we know of democracy? This is just a bait to catch us. In 1914 they also talked to us about fighting for Democracy and self-determination. Millions of us died on Flanders Field, in Palestine, in East, West and South Africa. But what did we get? More slavery, more oppression, more exploitation.

Brothers of Africa and African descent, what democracy, what liberties, what rights have we got in this "glorious" British Empire that calls upon us to shed our blood in its defence? Our greedy and merciless oppressors have robbed you of your land, broken up your civilisation and substituted instead a regime worse than slavery. They segregate you in your own country, pen you in reserves and locations like cattle, make you carry passes like common criminals, and then pay you starvation wages of 4d. a day.

You in the West Indies, after a hundred years of so-called emancipation, are still denied the most elementary rights of human beings. When you ask for bread they give you hot lead! The conditions under which you live are those of Colonial Fascism.

We denounce the whole gang of European robbers and enslavers of the Colonial peoples. German Nazis, Italian Fascists, British, French, Belgium democracies—all are the same, IMPERIALIST EXPLOITERS.

While we deplore a war and the ruin it will cause, Europe's difficulty is Africa's opportunity. The blacks everywhere, under whatever flag, in war as in peace, know but one goal: INDEPENDENCE, and we summon our brothers everywhere not to be caught by the lying promises the Imperialists will make. We call upon you to organise yourselves and be ready to seize the opportunity when it comes.

To the Indians, Ceylonese, Burmese, Arabs and all colonial peoples who fight for the same end we offer a firm alliance and we brand as traitors all colonials who try to drag us into this bloody butchery. Be vigilant, comrades. Watch the traitors in your ranks.

THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS EXPLAIN—

Between Anarchism and all other political movements, including Marxism, lies an impassable barrier: the State. As long as the opposing political parties continue to maintain their present position this barrier will continue.

If we pass in review the great mass of Anarchist argument and propaganda we find that all controversies centre round two great problems: one tactical, the other doctrinal.

The strongest arguments in favour of revolutionary action have been addressed to the Social Democrats and the more or less advanced Liberals. Meanwhile the work of world propaganda and action which is the preparation for the Social Revolution has never for a moment ceased.

On the theoretical side the Anarchists, in opposing the party thesis of the utility of the State and Government before and during a time of revolution, are reaffirming the fundamental principle on which their existence as a revolutionary force is based. The strength of a capitalist society lies in the State no matter what political party is in control; in a period of revolution, of any profound political economic and social change, the State can only act as a brake; as an organ of reconstruction the State cannot guarantee the liberty won by the masses because, by its own nature, it tends to create privileged classes and leads to the inevitable dictatorship which invalidates the revolutionary work of the masses.

Neither the bourgeois Marxism of the Social Democrats nor the more revolutionary Marxism of the modern Bolsheviks can ever eliminate Anarchism, because Anarchism is the only militant socialist movement that recognise the interdependence of political liberty and economic equality. In other words the suppression of Capitalism with the suppression of Power.

The issue is perfectly clear. For or against the State. The Anarchists have always believed that the Government can never serve as a liberating agent for the masses. The tyranny and futility of the State has been demonstrated by the study of historical events and analysis of economic and moral problems. Also experience in a period of revolution, during which the State, composed of many shades of political opinion and more or less advanced parties still functioned, the Anarchists have seen their theories confirmed by actual events.

On outbreak of war in Spain, Anarchism, which has never before had an opportunity of putting its principles into practice was called on to demonstrate its strength and capacity for realistic movement. Spain was the home of the strongest Libertarian movement which, from the work of Fanelli in the last century, had developed and taken from in the two great bodies of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

It is not necessary to give a history of the Spanish movement. Its revolutionary action both before and during the revolution is sufficiently well known. The revolutionary tactics of the masses, both on the field of battle and in the social-economic sphere have given glorious proof of the efficacy of Libertarian ideals and methods. The Spanish Anarchists have carried the fight against Fascism further than has ever been dreamed of.

Then something happened which drew the attention of the entire world and caused surprise and apprehension among the Anarchists abroad. Anarchist, the avowed enemy of the State were entering the Government! In Catalonia the C.N.T. and F.A.I. already completely in control, had representatives in the Catalan Government. A few months later, on the eve of the attack on Madrid the C.N.T. entered the National Government. There were Anarchist counsellors and ministers. The Anarchists were co-operating with the Government which had always been the impassable barrier dividing them from all forms of authoritarian socialism

Had the whole doctrinal structure of Anarchism collapsed? Was it impossible to translate Anarchist ideology into realistic action? Was not this going back on first principles in itself an admission of failure?

The Anarchists organisations which were taking part in the tragedy said that it was nothing of the kind. This break with traditional tactics had, they explained, been forced on them by the exigencies of the war.

The explanations and justification of this action have been so widely discussed both in Spain and abroad that it is unnecessary to dwell on them. It is enough to say that they are all bound up with one problem, one reality: The Anarchists were fighting Fascism but they were not alone. Without arms defeat was certain. After considering the international repercussions of the internal politics of Spain they arrived at certain conclusions which they believed would be justified by subsequent events. Thus their line of action was determined. The complex problems of the war left them no choice. There were moments when the fate of the Spanish people, and the very existence of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. depended on the progress of the war against Fascism. This fate hung on the decisions of the Anarchists. They could not take any precipitate action, they could not allow themselves to be swayed by a desire for vengeance, they could not risk any daring innovations.

The same responsibility rested on the Libertarian Militants. In this fight to the death they had to be, by whatever means, in direct contact with the people. They must insure

that the masses should not be cheated of the liberty for which they fought. It was essential that they should direct the war if only to be in a position to control the actions of the other parties. And they must share the burden of the proletariat suddenly unable to act freely owing to pressure from abroad. The masses must not be allowed to lose hope in the hour of danger. Every means of winning the war must be used, otherwise we should find ourselves facing the enemy unarmed. It was a matter of life and death that the Anarchists should agree to militarisation which the nature of the opposing forces rendered imperative.

The Anarchists entered the Government, accepted the militarisation of the armed forces of the people, put down the quarrels in the rear which would have led to disaster, sacrificed revolutionary gains, were endlessly patient with disloyalty and double dealing, they never wavered in the fight against Fascism and they were always with the people. All this they did because they believed, whether rightly or wrongly, that the Libertarian movement would be committing an act of madness if it allowed any internal quarrel to jeopardize the cause of the people against Fascism.

Perhaps had they shown less tolerance, had they known when to cry 'enough' to those who had no respect for the peoples' heroic sacrifice, and they used force, or exerted pressure by some daring move, they might have led us to triumph and saved us many days of blood and sorrow . . . It is in this 'perhaps' that the whole problem lies. At the actual moment we still have the potential power of the Libertarian Militants always in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement, we have the respect of the masses in spite of all that has been lost on the revolutionary field. PERHAPS, had we been more intransigent on certain occasions, our situation would have been no better

Now, while the battle of ideas continues, while we are weighed down by international consideration, while the war goes on, we have to ask ourselves some questions. The men of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have to decide whether they are going to act with more energy or less. Whether they will be tolerant or intransigent. Once the decision is taken it must be carried out but only the practice will show whether or not it was a wise one. This problem is the most serious the revolutionary movement has had to face. In considering the actions, past and present of the Libertarian Organizations in Spain must be borne in mind. The responsibility borne by these organisations must be carefully calculated.

WAR AND DEMOCRACY

By ETHEL MANNIN

During the past few weeks there has been a nauseating flood of sentimentality, and a horrifying amount of humbug let loose. With a bland disregard for a minority's right to its nationalist self-assertion has been combined a sheep-like bleating about democratic freedom and justice. Anyone who ventures to suggest that the Sudeten Germans have a reasonable case against the Czechs, and that Hitler had just cause when in his Nuremberg speech he referred so scathingly to the humbug of the so-called democratic countries, is labelled "pro-Hitler" by the man-in-the-street, and Trotskyist or Trotsky-Fascist by the politically "informed." Backed by the Labour Party, the Communists, the Left Book Club, a new set of initials, the "I.P.C."—International Peace Campaign—has been feverishly organising mass meetings and distributing millions of leaflets demanding peace in terms of war, insisting that "the Hitler menace" be smashed now and forever. In 1914 it was Kaiserism that had to be smashed, and it was not poor little Czechoslovakia but poor little Belgium. Then it was the war to end war we were being urged to support; now it is the war to save democracy, with Hitlerism in the place of Kaiserism, the Fascists in place of the Huns. Hundreds of thousands were misled then, and the same frightful tragedy is slowly being worked out all over again, with the masses following a wolf in sheep's clothing, a wolf that calls itself peace but which is in fact leading Europe straight to the next large-scale, all-in European war.

Has the world so soon forgotten that the greatest war in human history was fought by democratic countries? What IS this democracy the peoples of the world are once more being asked to defend with their lives if necessary? If peace and democracy go hand in hand how comes it that Britain, the supreme champion of peace, has to bomb its North West Frontier so often, and send battleships to quell unrest in Jamaica? And what of Palestine? Is it any wonder that Hitler is cynical? What is this

"Hitler menace" to the millions in the British Empire outside of Great Britain—a menace to their civil liberties? They have none. Democracy or Fascism it is all one to them; one master is very like another, and they who already know Democracy's concentration camps, beatings, forced labour, and imprisonments without trial, are not to be awed or moved

the greatest evil in civilisation, with Hitler as the embodiment of that evil. His sense of justice is outraged by stories of Jew-baiting—and he does not stop to ask himself whether it is any worse than nigger-beating and race-baiting. And the press, the mouthpiece of our democracy, hammers away night and day, unceasingly, insisting on the menace of Hitlerism and

British Imperialism, and if we are to talk in a highfalutin' strain about "betrayal" and the violation of peace and democracy it were as well to recall the Versailles Treaty and its betrayal of the world's future peace, and its shameless violation of democratic justice. Our so-called democracy is only reaping now, in this European impasse, what our statesmen sowed then for

bluff as the I.P.C. would have us is to hurl Europe into the abyss; Hitler is not bluffing. Our statesmen are astute enough to know this. What then is the solution, the choice between the two evils, on the one hand the increased power of Fascism in Europe, on the other the horror of a world-war to crush Hitlerism? There is no solution within the existing system. Fascism, war, capitalist and imperialist oppression and exploitation masquerading as democracy, they are all evils. If war comes it will be a war between capitalist-imperialist nations fighting for the preservation of their power and their vested interests, an affair of Governments and their political and economic aspirations; it will be no affair of the humble masses, not worth the loss of a single worker's life, British, French, German or Czech. It will not be a war of liberation; make no mistake about that; the most we can hope for from it is that it may create a revolutionary system in every country in Europe—including Soviet Russia; if the world must be plunged into a chaos and bloodshed greater even than it knew in 1914-18—and it will be greater, for the machinery of war has diabolically "improved" since then—good can only come out of it if the workers of the world awake to the fact that here is THEIR opportunity, not merely the opportunity for statesmen and dictators, capitalists and imperialists, to fight for domination, a survival of the fittest in terms of the most powerful bully, or combination of bullies, coming out on top.

We have seen how British and French "democracy" have betrayed the Spanish people in their struggle for Freedom against Fascism. We have been warned. There is no spoon long enough to make it possible to eat with the devil with impunity. When thieves and cut-throats fall out honest folk have nothing to gain by participating in the scrap in any capacity whatsoever; on the contrary they have all they hold dear, materially and in their dreams, to lose; but whilst the brigands exhaust and destroy each other, united the masses may find and follow a path to freedom beyond the reach of governments and their hypocrisy and corruption.



by stories of Nazi atrocities.

But the man-in-the-street is not very well informed; he knows little or nothing of the Fascism rampant within British and French "democracy," the Fascism of Imperialism; his imagination is easily inflamed by stories of Nazi atrocities, and by the press propaganda which envisages Fascism as

that it must be smashed, representing Czechoslovakia as a united nation about to be dismembered by the rapacious hands of the most evil thing in the world.

Fascism is an evil thing, but it is not more evil than the system that spawned it; it is begotten by Imperialism out of Capitalism. Nazism is not a greater evil than

the protection of capitalist-imperialist interests. Those who live by the sword—of parliamentary and military power—sooner or later perish by that sword; it is inevitable.

If there is a war "to save democracy" it will be *la grande illusion* all over again. To attempt to prevent war by calling Hitler's

NORWEGIAN CREW REFUSE TO TRANSPORT CHEMICALS FOR FRANCO.

What may be considered the first really effective move to help Loyalist Spain in this country, took place a few days ago when the crew of the Norwegian s.s. "Titanian" went on strike in Baltimore. They refused to man the boat unless its cargo of chemicals for Franco was unloaded.

The move was inspired by the Local No. 5 of the S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity) and was immediately taken up by the other anti-Fascist organizations, such as the Medical Bureau, the Sociudades Hispanas Confederadas, etc.

The women's section of the S.I.A. pickets the boat all day and part of the night, and despite all the efforts of the captain and other interested parties to make the sailors return to their posts, at this writing not one has returned. The striking sailors paraded carrying banners which read:

THE NORWEGIAN SAILORS DO NOT TRANSPORT WAR MATERIAL FOR FRANCO.

Like lightning, New York responded to the call of Baltimore. Every day, from 10 a.m. till 4 p.m. pickets may be seen in front of the Norwegian Consulate, at 115, Broad Street and at the shipping offices at 22, Whitehall Street, opposite South Ferry, exposing the fact that there is a Norwegian ship trying to help the enemies of Spain by carrying chemicals to be turned into bombs to kill innocent women and children.

The boat must unload or it will never leave the port of Baltimore, say the striking sailors and the anti-Fascist elements who are enthusiastically helping them.

(Spanish Labour Bulletin)

Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

SURPLUS WHEAT.

I SPOKE of the wheat surplus in France in the last issue and mentioned that rather than sell it to Spain, the scientists were going to extract alcohol from it.

The *Glasgow Herald* of September 19th has headlines: "365 million Bushels Unwanted"—"Embarassing Crops." "Unwanted," indeed! When throughout the world large proportions of people are underfed (40 per cent. in England), and as a result are prone to all kinds of infections. Meanwhile the *Economist* (September 17th) states that the price of wheat has fallen in the Liverpool Futures Market—by 3s. 7d. per cental as compared with a year ago, and adds: "A fall of such dimensions spells hardship for the farmers . . . and causes unemployment among the industrial communities because of the shrunken purchasing power of the wheat growers."

The old argument that is levelled at Anarchists—when they talk of a classless Society in which competition (as understood to-day) would be non-existent—is that "without competition there is no progress." And yet here we have an interesting case. Thanks to the hard work of the land workers a much larger crop of wheat has been obtained. The result is not progress, but "embarrassment" according to *The Glasgow Herald* and "hardship and unemployment" according to the *Economist*!

In the collective villages in Spain where competition does not exist, the bumper crop would have been welcomed by everybody, and would have meant better conditions for all the village workers and the surplus would have been used to help other collectives which had not had such a successful harvest.

But under capitalism production must be kept down so that prices of commodities should not decrease. That is capitalism—or the "democracy" for whose defence you are supposed to lay down your life in the next war!

GIFTED HORSES.

THE *Fascist*, a monthly publication which calls itself the "organ of racial Fascism" and which is naturally anti-Semitic, contains the following lines in its September issue:

"In Poland a pair of horses ran away and killed a Jew. The Chairman of the Endek (anti-Jewish) Party sent a special gift of several cwts. of oats for the horses."

SELF-DETERMINATION.

SELF-DETERMINATION is on the lips of everyone, and no political leader can avoid using it. It is, however, interesting to see the way in which this term is used. Mussolini, for instance, when he spoke at Trieste, referred to the Sueten Germans' right of "Self-determination," but did not mention the right of self-determination for the Abyssinians. Conversely the great Harry Pollitt, when he spoke at the Communist Party Congress, spoke of the right of "self-determination" of the exploited members of the British Empire but refused the same right to the Sueten Germans, who number over three millions.

CATHOLIC ETHICS.

THE "Enquiry Bureau" of the *Universe*, in which answers to questions sent by readers are published, contains several interesting answers this week. For instance, if you are in doubt as to the value of a Low Mass write to the *Universe* and they will answer "The usual offering for a Low Mass is five shillings." However, the Church does not stop there. In the same way as you can go into your local grocers and be offered different quality goods so can you with your Mass. All you have to do according to the *Universe* (September 9th) in order to "arrange for a Foundation Mass to be said in perpetuity is to communicate with the treasurer of the diocese in which you live, who will inform you as to the cost." There it is, cut and dry! But not all people can have prayers said for them publicly: "Non-Catholics are outside the Church, and as such they may not be publicly and individually prayed for."

As regards obedience, they are very strict, especially when it concerns a priest's directions. These must apparently be observed with the same care as a patient observes his doctor's directions in his prescription. Thus in answer to a correspondent "D.A.B." the *Universe* writes:

The priest's directions must be observed. Hence if he tells you to "say" as your penance such and such a prayer, you must "say" it with your lips, though not necessarily aloud. Similarly when he tells you to "make an act of contrition," this will naturally mean the formulation of an act of contrition with your lips as well as in your heart.

These are not the only topics dealt with in this column. There is a most interesting revelation with regard to aggression. In answer to a correspondent the *Universe* writes:

"Catholic theologians do indeed say that the killing of an unjust aggressor may be lawful in certain circumstances, e.g., war."

But how does the Church explain the fact that it also gives its sanction to apparently unlawful aggression such as in Abyssinia and Spain, in both of which cases the aggressors were labelled as "Christian soldiers" and their flags and arms of destruction publicly blessed by the Catholic Church?

But the most worried correspondent is a certain "Agnes." The *Universe's* answer to her query is: "Why should not a pregnant mother who dies before her child is born go to Heaven? If she dies in a state of grace, she will certainly go there eventually." She must die in a "state of grace" otherwise I suppose she will remain for eternity in Hell with all other mothers who failed to die in a "state of grace"!

FASCIST RADIO.

LAST Sunday evening the Rome transmitter gave details of the two demonstrations held in London; the Trafalgar square meeting and the Catholic men's silent parade. The former was referred to as the meeting organized by the "Massonic-Jews" and the latter was described as consisting of 100,000 men who marched in the name of world peace. It may be the interpretation that the controlled news system in Italy wished to give to the march. It is quite inaccurate. Taking the *Universe* (September 23rd) as my authority, one learns that it consisted of only 45,000 (without taking into account any exaggeration on the part of the *Universe*) and was composed of Catholic men "praying silently in reparation to Almighty God for public insults offered to him," which refers not to the war menace, but to the Freethinkers' Congress recently held in London!

LIBERTARIAN.

German Intervention in Spain

According to the "News Chronicle", London, German intervention in Spain goes much further than mere helping Franco to victory. German aid to Franco has increased considerably of late, thus, the Kondor Legion which includes all the German aviation in Franco's territory, is under the exclusive control of German officers and is now composed of 1,050 officers, 3,600 sub-officers, radio-telegraphers and mechanics.

"In addition to the German air bases already built in Santander, Salamanca, Caceres, Burgos, Seville, Avila and Burgo de Osma, the Germans are preparing new aviation fields throughout all the Northern provinces. They are building another air field in Caceres and enlarging the one in Vitoria.

"Although the Kondor has 600 planes, it has recently received considerable reinforcements. Nearly 50 Messerschmidt chasers, 48 Heinkels, 18 unker bombers, 12 Heinkel bombers; and 6 Rohback bombers have arrived in Bilbao. It is affirmed that at least 150 airplanes have been sent to Spain since February by the Junker Plant.

"During the last few months, a large number of German parachutes jumpers arrived in Spain, and 2,000 of them are in Rebel Spain. The first group, made up of 1,200 men and commanded by officers of the first light Wuppenthal brigade came to Spain in the middle of May.

"The shipments of war material continue in a large scale. In March and April, 800 tons of aircraft bombs and 350 tanks were unloaded in Bilbao.

"Ceuta has become a centre of munitions making, directed by Germans. Some regiments of German cavalry sent contingents to Spanish Morocco in April.

"It is estimated that at least 12,000 German technicians are in Rebel Spain today. The German personnel in the Rebel navy is about 5,000."

—Agencia Espana

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AN understanding of the situation in Spain must necessarily include an understanding of the constructive efforts of the Spanish Workers. From the beginning of the struggle in Spain the workers have been modelling a new society and a new way of living, in spite of the opposition encountered with on the part of the bourgeois elements both within and outside the Government. In our pamphlet

Social Reconstruction in Spain

which we are publishing early next month, the constructive work of the Spanish workers is explained in detail.

All readers of SPAIN & THE WORLD, interested in the Spanish workers struggle, should be sure of obtaining a copy (and if they can, more than one copy to send to their friends), price 3d. (postage 1d.) from

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(Continued from Page 1)

When the workers of Spain were attacked from outside, they called to you, the workers of the world, to lend your active support. They needed arms, not men, for in Spain there were millions of men to defend the Revolution.

You, the workers of the world, did not respond! You were bullied into silence by your Citrines and your Bevins. The fight in Spain still goes on, and we know from reliable sources in Spain, that in spite of Negrin and the Stalinists, the masses are Revolutionary and refuse to give up that which they have obtained by untold sacrifice.

Still the proletariat does nothing. Yet, that same proletariat is being coerced by its leaders and by its "democratic" government to take up arms to defend Czech democracy!

Comrade workers! We repeat: Do not be misled! Bethink you before you lay down your lives for a cause which is not yours.

Your battlefield is not along the Maginot line but at home, against your Government which you know is composed of politicians; diplomats, who by their very education have been taught the A.B.C. of intrigue, and diplomatic bargaining; who have learnt the art of repression the moment you workers rebel against the present order of things. They are the same the world over, British or German, Left or Right!

Wars will only be abolished—as our martyr Vanzetti said—when we will be sufficiently heroic for a world which does not need war.

Therein lies the secret. We cannot stop at half measures, at subtle distinctions between our present day "democracies" and Fascism.

Socialism—FREE SOCIALISM must be our immediate goal!

SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

PRESS FUND

(Aug. 27th-Sept. 27th)

Stroud: P. Parsons 2/6; Tampa, Fla: per A. Coniglio 12/-; Pittson, Pa: Comrades p.proceeds picnic 30-31 July £2; Geelong: O.Rugutto (per G.P.) 4/-; Framingham: Dramatic Club (per Secretary) 8/2; Mt. Carmel: J. Persoff 6/-; McKeesport: per J. Rosetti (1) £2/11/-; Barnett: T. Bard 10/-; Philadelphia: Cicolo d'Emancipazione Sociale, p.proceeds affair Aug. 14th (per A. Alleva) £1/0/5; Allentown, Pa: (per N.L.) Lucifero \$1, Spaeth \$1.8/2; Mass: Martin Sternberg (per J.C.) 6/2; S. Rhodesia: L. Scribante 10/-; London: V.R. 3/-; £9/1/5 (previously acknowledged £68/15/0)

TOTAL: £77/16/5

(1) F. Miramonte \$1, A. Carballo 50c, R. Perez \$1, Picnic July 17, \$10.

NOTE TO READERS

We would again remind readers of our new arrangements with regard to SPAIN & THE WORLD finances. All money in respect of Sales and Subscriptions as acknowledged by a printed card and any comrades who send us money, and who do not receive a card within a reasonable time should get in touch with us without delay. A balance sheet containing all remittances sent between August 26th and September 30th will be available within the next few days, and a copy will be forwarded to all who have contributed as well as to group secretaries.—Editors.

ORPHANS' FUND

No.			
346.	Stroud: L.G.Wolfe		£1
347.	London: V.R.		£1
348.	Johannesburg: F. Bosazza		£1
349.	Johannesburg: L. Scribante	10/-	
350.	London: E. Man	2/-	
351.	London: C.R.	10/-	
352.	Johannesburg: F. Bosazza	£4/13/6	
		—£8/15/6	
		(Previously acknowledged £243/18/3)	
		TOTAL: 252/13/9	

WORKERS FRIEND GROUP (Anarcho-Syndicalist)

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OCT. 9th, H. J. JONES
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OCT. 16th, Capt. J. R. WHITE
Subject, 'Lessons From Irish History'
OCT. 23rd, "THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF THE 'FREIE ARBEITRE STIMME'"
OCT. 30th, T. A. RIDLEY
Subject, 'Marxism & Anarchism'

Please Make These Meetings Known

Admission Free. All are cordially invited

Questions and Discussion

(Continued from Page 1)

From this brief outline of anti-militarist activity in France it can be seen that whereas the majority are carried away by the general war hysteria, there are still some strong groups opposed to imperialist wars. R.