

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

We desire the moral and material elevation of all men; we wish to achieve a revolution which will give to all liberty and well-being, and we are convinced that this cannot be done from above by force of law and decrees, but must be done by the conscious will and the direct action of those who desire it.

—E. MALATESTA.

(From "Freedom")

Vol. 2. No. 34.

LONDON, 29th APRIL, 1938.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

## TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

**T**HE International Working-Men's Association, the revolutionary syndicalists of the world, address themselves to-day to the workers of all lands. Soon it will be May 1st, the traditional day for the demonstration of the international workers' movement against capitalism.

The workers' demonstration on May 1st, initiated with the purpose of celebrating the revolutionary gesture of a few courageous men who, half a century ago in America, suffered death because of their activity in favour of the working-class, has, for some time now, degenerated into a mere demonstration of political parties and has reached the stage where it is only a national holiday just like any other and where the demonstration marches in orderly procession through the streets of the cities of the world. That is, until the fascist regimes made use of this day in order to organise mass demonstrations in favour of tyranny and imperialistic aims. ...

May 1st, 1938 offers us an opportunity to bring the May Day demonstration back to its original revolutionary character. The tragic circumstances through which we are passing at the present time, makes this an urgent necessity. The world is coming nearer and nearer to a new world war; the working-class is menaced, more and more, by authoritarian regimes that, under various guises, are installing themselves in nearly all the countries of the world with the sole purpose of continuing the exploitation of man by man and destroying the last semblance of liberty that remains from the liberal epoch of capitalism and the conquests of the militant proletariat.

For almost two years now, international fascism and the vanguard of the international proletariat — that is the Spanish working-class



MAY 1st, 1938: DIRECT ACTION FOR SPAIN!

— have been engaged in a bloody battle on the soil of the Iberian Peninsula. On July 19th, 1936, the Spanish proletariat rose, to a man, to defend themselves against the fascist insurrection. For the first time in the history of its development which until then had continued uninterrupted throughout the whole world, fascism encountered a very definite resistance. Also, in the districts where they conquered, the Spanish workers immediately established the beginnings of a new society of justice and liberty. But

the Spanish proletariat was alone and isolated.

Spanish anti-fascism, its base in the working-class who to-day, with more energy than ever are trying to surmount all the traditional divisions in order to bring about unity on a syndicalist basis between the two great organisations of the country, finds itself in an extremely difficult situation. Only the incomparable heroism of the Spanish people has made the prolonged resistance to national and foreign fascism that is devastating the fields and destroying the cities of Spain, possible up to this moment. Because of its desertion by the world proletariat, that which promised to be the beginning of a grand emancipating movement of a social character with enormous libertarian possibilities, has become of necessity converted into a war of national independence which imposes enormous sacrifices on a great people who love liberty even more than life itself.

The International Working-Men's Association directs the attention of the workers of the world to Spain. The time has come to accomplish the only intervention that can really save the Spanish working-class and the revolution commenced on July 19th, 1936: the intervention of the working-class by means of direct action.

In its boycott and embargo plan against the fascist countries, the International Working-Men's Association has indicated the way to help truly the Spanish proletariat. The direct action of the Spanish workers, the 19th of July, 1936, conquered fascism throughout half of Spain although it had triumphed over the workers' movements in other countries that had depended disgracefully on parliamentary methods. And today, it is the direct action of the working-class of the world that can, and must, save the Spanish working-class that is struggling not only for its own lib-

erty but for the social future of the exploited in every part of the world.

Only direct action can compel the so-called democratic governments to change their attitude to anti-fascist Spain. And direct action demands unity of action by the working-class; unity such has been demonstrated by the Spanish workers; unity such has been shown by our Spanish organisation, the glorious National Confederation of Labour which for more than four years, has propagated the idea of

action on a syndical base, and for which in Spain, it has not been sparing in sacrifice.

Through the medium of the organisation adhering to our international, we appeal to all the workers to keep in mind the common cause and the necessity of creating a basis of direct and proletarian action that will pass over all political divisions.

Here is the slogan of the International Working-Men's Association for May Day, 1938:

**DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE ACTION FOR WORKING-CLASS SPAIN BY THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!**

To bring about such action, the world proletariat can and must be inspired by the attitude of the Spanish CNT that has always known how to keep alive and strong the class spirit of the struggle without being corrupted by anything or anyone. It is the Spanish working-class that is demonstrating to-day to the international proletariat what unity is and what is the struggle against Fascism.

Workers of the world! do not abandon your Spanish brothers who are being sacrificed by the thousands in defence of not only their own liberty but also in defence of yours!

The hour for action is here. Let the world proletariat do its duty as the Spanish working-class has done.

On May Day, 1938, the one and only slogan must be:

**LONG LIVE THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT! LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FOR OUR SPANISH BROTHERS! LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF JULY 19th! LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN DIRECT ACTION AS THE PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL EMANCIPATION!**

International Working-Men's Association. (Secretariat).

### "SAVE SPAIN" CONFERENCE Comments and Impressions

Much has been made in certain sections of the English press concerning the great "Save Spain" rally at the Queen's Hall on April 24th, and the "News-Chronicle," (April 26th) reports the Spanish newspapers as full of the meeting, seeing it as an expression of "the

Britain, Save Peace." Over and over again the speakers, especially the Liberal and Labour M.P.'s, hammered home this point, "Save Spain, Save Ourselves." Several of them made no bones about it — they wanted the British Empire saved from Fascist aggression, and said so in so many words. There were several references to British interests in the Mediterranean, and a tremendous insistence on the preservation of Democracy. The plea was never "save the Spanish people, save the revolution," but save democracy in general, and with it Britain and the British Empire. In short, the Conference said in effect — indeed almost in so many words — let us try to save Spain, not because we want to see the Spanish people free, but because it will be a bad look out for us if we don't.

It might be urged, "what does it matter if the right thing is done for the wrong reason? The important, immediate, urgent thing is the lifting of the arms embargo," (Continued on page 2)

By Ethel Mannin

sympathy of the British people," and, as such, a basis for "effective help in the future." What effectiveness the Conference will have remains to be seen. Writing as a delegate (S.I.A.) who sat through both morning and afternoon sessions I can only say that the majority of the speakers appeared to regard Spain as a peg on which to hang a British Popular Front against the general menace of Fascism to Britain and the British Empire. The slogan of the Conference — displayed all over the hall — was "Save Spain, Save

### Something More Than Words: DIRECT ACTION FOR SPAIN

**H**AVE human justice and Solidarity been dragged to such low and vile depths that it can remain dormant in face of the Spanish tragedy? Or has solidarity of the 20th century been generally interpreted in terms of money only, in terms of the number of pounds sterling, dollars or francs, that can be collected on behalf of the victims of Fascist aggression? A communist writes to us that "England has raised more money for Spain than the rest of the world ... We admit that England could do more but the working class very little more." This, unfortunately is the general apathetic outlook of the so-called anti-fascists in this country. A few thousand pounds, and they feel that they have fully shouldered their responsibility. Even if we consider the help given the Spanish people by the British proletariat, it seems a poor effort for some 4,000,000 organized workers to contribute about £500,000 in the course of 2 years. But the true solidarity, apart from the very essential financial one, must go deeper. It must

be the conversion of words into hard facts. We have often heard repeated at meetings that Arms must be sent to Spain. This cry has been heard all over the country. Yet nothing has been done. Why? Because so many men and women in this country are like that communist who wrote that the British workers had done all they could for Spain and implied by that "we admit that England could do more" that the Government alone could raise the embargo on arms. Yes, that Government which consists of men like Chamberlain who only a few days ago signed a treaty with the Gangster of Rome, or Halifax, the friend of Nazi Germany, or Lennox-Boyd the "Friend of Nationalist Spain." These are the men on whom our correspondent pins all his faith for the future of Spain! And it is simply because there are in this country so many other men and women who by the very traditions of the country, have this blind faith in their Government (even a Conservative one, for they (Continued on page 2, col. 1)

## SPAIN and the WORLD

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

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

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

### DIRECT ACTION FOR SPAIN

(Continued from page 1)

still believe it to be "democratic"), that the popular causes in countries threatened by Fascism have to finally succumb due to the lack of support from those countries still reasonably free from dictatorship.

Even to-day, ships leave this country for Rebel Spain, in spite of the lead given in isolated cases by the dockers in Middlesboro' Southampton and London.

Even to-day, Russia is still sending petrol to Italy which in turn uses it to feed the aeroplanes which rain death on Barcelona and other open towns in Spain! The Communist Party slaves, blind in their worship of the Soviet political machine and its providential leader, put forward the excuse that if Russia did not supply the petrol other countries would! "Non-Intervention" during the early days of the Spanish war was supported and encouraged by Soviet Russia and in this country by the Labour Party. This was the beginning of Spain's betrayal. As *Tierra y Libertad* so rightly pointed out:

Arms for Spain! Planes and guns for Spain! These should have been the motto of the workers of the world during those decisive days when Italy and Germany flung themselves shamelessly into our struggle, invading the Peninsula with their troops and weapons of war.

And since then the Labour Party has seen its mistake. What has it done to counterbalance this costly mistake? There was a moment, after Attlee's visit to Spain, when one was led to believe that the Labour Party would give the lead to the workers. It was a flash in the pan. Despite the numerous meetings held nothing concrete has been decided upon.

With events in Spain moving as rapidly as they have been during the last few weeks, with Spain cut into two isolated sections, the international proletariat must ask itself—possibly for the last time—whether the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of combatants and non-combatants in Spain—and amongst them workers and intellectuals from all countries, who have offered their lives for the cause of Freedom—will have been worth while, or whether the rivers of blood poured out by the Spanish proletariat will be followed by violent and bloody repression all over Spain as Franco's hordes overrun the remaining territory in the hands of the heroic Spanish workers.

And the international proletariat can decide by choosing between **Apathy and Direct Action:**

"Direct mass action of the workers can bring about a speedy straightening out of the alignment which Fascist politics embroiled in non-intervention. Workers' action, tenacious, and carried to the limit, can translate into reality the longings expressed at great public meetings.

Planes, arms of all kinds, comrades! These are what we need. But those who ought to let us have them will only listen to the voice of the people, when it is backed by hard hitting, by threats, by uprising, by the spirit of fight.

(*Tierra y Libertad*)

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on April 29th, 1938, and printed by THE NAROD PRESS (T.U.), 129-131, Bedford Street, London, E.1.

# ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST ACTIVITY IN MEXICO

DURING the course of the last few weeks, events in Mexico have been greatly occupying the attention of the world. We intend to give soon information regarding the problems that are taking the interest of the country. For the present, we do no more than relate some news that will give an idea of the position and the activities of the Mexican anarcho-syndicalist comrades.

These comrades are gathering strength in order to create anew, a truly syndicalist and revolutionary organisation in Mexico that will be able to adhere to the I.W.M.A. The Mexican General Confederation of Workers which, for some time, had constituted a part of our international, is still apart from it. But our comrades are beginning to propagate the ideas of direct action of the proletariat and the constructive syndicalism of the I.W.M.A. in the ranks of this organisation. They are rising against the idea of legal revolution, directed from the summit to the base; and whatever is read in their press organs, that these comrades rec-

ognise the austerity of the President of the present republic, to the proletariat they state that the sole and real revolution and the defence of proletarian interests must be directed from the base to the summit, by the workers themselves who must have organisations based on the liberty of the adherents and not be sold, no matter what the circumstances to political parties. However, they can make common cause with certain political sections, as, for example, the party of President Cardenas.

But let the Mexican comrades speak for themselves. In their organ, "Regeneration," the issue dated March 15, 1938, contains the following article:

### THE CONGRESS THAT PROMISED: THAT OF THE C.G.T.

"When, some months ago, at the Congress of the C.G.T., resolutions

were passed they caused a certain surprise in the syndicalist centres, and a certain optimism in us. These categorical declarations were against political immission in the syndicates; for working-class militarisation against Creole fascism; and for concrete action in the social struggle. In a word, a completely anarcho-syndicalist conception of revolutionary orientation. We thought that the C.G.T. had abandoned the colourless and personal kind of syndicalism that was peculiarly theirs. However it appears that these declarations were for no other purpose than exportation or to justify the division of the workers' organisations, all of which lack a definite orientation.

"Up to the present, we have not seen the C.G.T. acting in conformity with the resolutions taken at the Congress. On the contrary, we have seen them flirting with poli-

ticians and decide to enter the 'One Party.'

"Comrades of the C.G.T.! It is stupid merely to speak for the sake of speaking. That is only demagoguery. Declare yourselves for a really syndicalist line and conform to the declarations made at your Congress. If you think that the 'Sole Party' is an imperious necessity for crushing reaction, make your agreement with it for this determined action. But do not identify yourselves with this party if you still think of the future of the Mexican proletariat which will continue to be betrayed if there is no organisation of revolutionary Syndicalism to combat it. The C.G.T. has a tradition. It must return to it!

### DIRECT ACTION AMONG THE PEASANTS

"On February 18 last, numerous peasants took possession of the fields and buildings of an estate in the State of Tlaxcala, near San Martin Texmelucan, Pue, which had been abandoned. They commenced immediately to till the ground and organise future work. As this action had taken place without legal permission, brought about solely as a result of the misery in which the peasants lived, the Tlaxcala Government sent soldiers to compel the peasants to give up the lands. But the occupants remained determined and defended that which was their natural right and which they had recovered.

Like the Governor of Tlaxcala, there are numerous officials who understand by Revolution, interminable red-tape that has lasted for years in the Agrarian Bureaux, the anterooms where discussions are carried on for weeks on end, and the humiliations before the Governors and the Deputies with the end of obtaining a miserable couple of acres of earth, which they think is due as an electoral obligation to the happy "beneficiaries."

"The peasant must act always according to necessities and these are always such that they do not permit of complicated procedures. If there are formalities to comply with, they do so afterwards. But first, they must eat!

### A PEASANT'S MEETING IN TEXMELUCAN

"Regarding the menace which weighs upon the peasants who have occupied the land, and of which we have already spoken, the delegates of forty-six agrarian communities came together in Texmelucan on March 1. In the course of the debate the delegates decided to assist the revolutionary action of their comrades and to defend it at all costs.

"The representatives of the C.G.T. were responsible for leading the delegates along an anti-religious, anti-capitalist, collectivist and a-political line. Can we interpret this as the signal for the practical achievement of the decisions of their Congress? If so then, forward! . . ."

### THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNION

21, FRITH STREET, SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.1. Meets every Wednesday Evening at 8.0 p.m. at the above address. (First Floor). All interested in the principles of ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM or who wish to gain some knowledge of same are cordially invited to attend.

A copy of our new publication "Dictatorship — An Alternative" will be sent post free to any address. Write for your copy at once to the address given above!

## 'Save Spain' Conference

(Continued from page 1)

an end of the non-intervention farce; never mind the ulterior motive behind the Conference so long as Spain is saved." It is possible that some good will result from the Conference, but it will be in spite of, not because of, the popular front drive behind it. The so-called "peace alliance" of the popular front does not give a dam for Spain except as a pawn in its own game; it is frightened of the growing power of Hitler and Mussolini, worried about its capitalist-imperialist interests — witness the Duchess of Atholl who said at the Conference that she believed that "there is a growing number of Conservatives who regard with anxiety what is happening in Spain," whilst Sir Charles Trevelyan freely declared that he wanted to see the British Empire pulled together.

Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell more nearly approached the issues at stake in Spain when he repeated something which had been said to him by three peasants, who told him that they were fighting for better living conditions, for a new and better life; he made no mention of the CNT-FAI, although in his book he tells a similar story of such a talk with some Anarchist workers. Apart from this meagre scrap there was all day not one word even remotely suggesting the revolutionary struggle of over two million workers behind the struggle against Fascism. Had Sir Peter been as generous on the platform as in his book regarding the ideas and ideals of the CNT-FAI he would have disturbed the complacency of the Conference — but introduced truth into the midst of the "democratic" humbug.

A fine and courageous militant spirit was shown by several of the trades-union delegates, and if their proposals for industrial action should be backed by their national executives the Spanish people's victory against Franco would be assured. Mr. James Griffiths of South Wales made a stirring appeal to trade unionists to go back to their districts and rouse their fellow-workers to use their industrial power; he was not afraid to refer boldly to the weapon of the general strike. It was a militant speech from a member of the working-class to the working-class, and followed upon a similarly militant speech from another Welsh trade unionist, Mr. D. J. Williams, who declared that the South Wales miners were ready for action. Mr. T. Schofield of the Aircraft Shop Stewards National Council told the Conference that the committee had passed a resolution to bring the necessity of strike action before the various unions, and he and his colleagues were employing their overtime

making motor bicycles to send to Spain.

All of which is very fine, but what the British workers seem incapable of realising is the power of direct action of their own initiative; they allow themselves to be led by their trade union bosses — with what disastrous results has been seen over and over again. The South Wales Miners' Federation decides to send a deputation to Transport House to urge upon Sir Walter Citrine that the T.U.C. should convene an emergency meeting to bring pressure to bear on the Government to save Spain. And what happens? Citrine refuses to see the deputation. It may or may not have significance that the chairman of the T.U.C.

was unable to be present at the Queen's Hall rally.

Over 1,800 delegates were present, representing over 1,200 organisations. The Conference has been described as convened by representatives of all parties; the Independent Labour Party, however, had no representative amongst the conveners or on the platform; delegates who wished to speak were asked to hand in their names; it was stated that as obviously not all the delegates of those who wished to speak, the speakers would be selected from the most representative organisations. Emma Goldman, the accredited representative of the CNT-FAI, to which belong the majority of the Spanish workers, was not called upon.

An ovation the like of which Hitler or Stalin themselves would have found not creditable was accorded to Harry Pollitt, something approximating to three-quarters of the house rising cheering to its feet. An even greater ovation was given Frank Copeman, the young commandant of the British Battalion of the International Brigade, the house rising with one accord, and an attempt made at starting to sing the International. The two other high peaks of the day were Sir Charles Trevelyan's impassioned demand for a national and international Popular Front, and the declaration of a young Manchester Liberal, Mr. Donald Moore, that he was proud to work alongside Tories, Socialists, Communists, to save democracy. Miss Ellen Wilkinson reading a telegram from La Pasionara to the Conference declared her the greatest woman living.....

It was a day of facile, semi-hysterical enthusiasms. The Conference by unanimous vote is pledged to secure for the Spanish Government the right to buy arms, to secure food, transport, anti-aircraft guns, and financial and material assistance, and to support any political, economic, and industrial action which might be taken in support of these objects.

Aye, there's the rub. Not which will be taken, by the workers themselves, without reference to trade union leadership and parliamentary machinery, but which 'might' be taken. It will be interesting to see what will be effected.

## May Day

1938

Will all readers and sympathisers in the London area please note that the organisations listed below have co-ordinated their activities for a United Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist platform in the May Day Demonstration to Hyde Park on Sunday, May 1st.

Comrades and sympathisers should muster at the Charing Cross Underground Station (Embankment entrance) at 2 p.m. and march behind the Libertarian Banner.

There will be a van in Hyde Park from which members of the organisations listed below will be speaking.

After the Demonstration has concluded, a Social Gathering will be held at 21, Frith Street, W.1 (first floor). All sympathisers will be welcomed.

Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, 21, Frith Street, London, W.1.

London Freedom Group, Hon. Secretary, George Cores, 72, Strode Road, London, N.W.10.

Workers Action League, Hon. Secretary, R. P. Mills, 121, Ashbourne Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

C.N.T.—F.A.I. London Bureau, 21, Frith Street, London, W.1.

Revolutionary Youth Federation, 2, Malden Crescent, London, N.W.1.

"Workers' Friend," 163, Jubilee Street, London, E.1.

### HELP US TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT

by sending your subscription

13 issues 2/6, U.S.A. \$0.60 post paid

26 " 4/6, U.S.A. \$1.00 " "

Recent back numbers of SPAIN

AND THE WORLD can still be ob-

tained price 3d. post free from

21 FRITH STREET, LONDON, W.1

Briefs from the News

**Franco Receives the Pope's Blessing**

Vatican City, April 18.

The Pope has sent his apostolic benediction to General Franco following a message sent him by the latter on the occasion of the canonisation of the new Spanish Saint Salvatore de Horta yesterday. General Franco's telegram read:

On the occasion of the canonisation of the Franciscan missionary Salvatore de Horta, who in life united the supreme ideal of faith with apostolic virtues, I desire to send to your Holiness, together with the gratitude of the Spanish people for the canonisation, of symbolic value at the present time when we are striving towards the summit of our purest aspiration through struggle and sacrifice, renewed pledges of the loyalty of Spain and myself to your Holiness.

The Pope replied to General Franco in the following terms:—

We are glad to hear vibrating in your Excellency's message the traditional faith of Catholic Spain, whose crown of faith is enriched for its better fortune by a new hero of Christian fortitude, and we send you with all our hearts the apostolic benediction, propitiatory of Divine favours.

AT THE same time as he sent his "apostolic benediction, propitiatory of Divine favours," the Pope deplored "the misery which is covering the world," in an address to 5,000 pilgrims at the Vatican yesterday, referring to the wars in China and Spain.

It is difficult to understand the true position of the Church from these statements. But this is not surprising. The Catholic Church supports Mussolini's death campaigns in Abyssinia and Spain and deplores Hitler's policy, whilst church dignitaries in Vienna give their full support to Germany's invasion of Austria!

**Editor forced to Kiss Swastika**

Four men, believed to be Nazis, invaded the New York office of the magazine, *Uncle Sam*, and forced the editor, Charles Weiss, a 31-year-old cripple, to kiss a Nazi emblem.

They then beat him, stripped him, and painted black swastikas on his body, says the B.U.P.

**Communist Definition of a Patriot**

THE APRIL issue of *Controversy* reprints the headlines which appeared in the Press when Major Fey committed suicide last month. It is a well-known fact that he was largely responsible in directing the murderous attack on the Viennese workers' homes during Dolfuss' period of office.

The *Manchester Guardian*, the Liberal daily wrote: "Minister who destroyed the Socialists (17-3-38), whilst the Communist *Daily Worker* had the following headline: "Austrian Patriot Leader's Suicide" (17-3-38). It is the first time that we have heard of a Fascist being considered a patriot by the Left Press, other than ironically.

**Do Not Forget!  
FRIDAY  
April 29th  
(See page 4)**

**The C.N.T. Defends Workers' Rights . .**

COMRADES, Anti-fascists everywhere.

We can affirm, from this solemn moment, that Independent Spain, the cradle of Liberty, is unconquerable.

All the speeches that have been made in defence of the Union of the two Syndicalist organisations can be summed up in this categorical affirmation.

Through the pact of the CNT-UGT the working people have come together, to tread in step, the path that leads to victory.

We are aware that no small annoyance has been caused to those who found it hard to believe that the UGT and the CNT had agreed on many points, and had drawn up a big programme on the basis of unified action, for immediately tackling the winning of the war and the restoration of our disorganized economy.

We are not, however, much concerned at the annoyance of these people, and propose to pay a little attention to them.

The Union of the proletariat which has been effected through the pact between the two Syndicalist Unions, including both the workers of muscle and brain, is bound to achieve results far in advance of those yet made in any stage of the social struggle where the workers have acted in unity, and that, because there was never so all-embracing an understanding.

The workers of the CNT and the UGT died together in those July days, when almost defenceless, they flung themselves against the fascist hordes and were victorious in half of Spain.

They died together, when after overcoming the rebellion in villages and cities, they spontaneously attacked the fascist forces in open warfare and freed enslaved people.

They are now dying together, these comrades of ours, who form four-fifths of the Popular Army, which has given such great victories to our cause on all fronts, in the fight against German and Italian divisions.

And together we will continue not only in thought, not only in will, not only in illusion, but in stern unity of action, under co-ordination of energy, which will bring us to the utmost pitch of effectiveness, both at the front and behind the lines.

The blood of the workers of the UGT and the CNT, which has met in a single stream on mountains, in cities and hamlets and at the front, is the Jordan which purifies absolutely, all the grievances, struggles, differences and malicious feelings of the past.

So sublime is the meaning of all this, that we can only work. Work all of us with intensity to bring it about that this unity of action goes on obliterating once and for all, existing petty differences, and the suspicion that prevent understanding.

We must immediately set up joint Committees CNT-UGT everywhere, which have tremendous work to do in the present delicate circumstances, and which must be effective to the utmost limit.

And these Joint Committees must be the training grounds of those who are ready to work in the fortifications

which are so essential for resisting the onslaughts of the enemy.

The Joint Committees will also be responsible for seeing that the speculator does not get rich on the people's tragedy.

A gigantic work, this of the Committees. Hour by hour and day by day, forging the monolith of proletarian unity, against which all our enemies of the vanguard and rear beat in vain.

A wearing work, but a sublime one. A work on whose results depend the security of those behind the lines, so that the workers may carry on with enthusiasm and security their work of making refuges, against the deadly action of the criminal fascist bombardments. A work from which a solid war industry will arise, guided by a single voice, that of the National Council of War Industry. A work which will ensure that the prow of our economic boat is turned towards prosperity, towards the utilization of all our potentialities, under the guidance of the National Council of War Industry. A work which has to infuse in all the armed forces, as in the case of the Army on land, a new mental attitude in the wearer of a uniform, carrying the assurance that under the watchful eye of the political commissar, he will never lose sight of the fact that he is serving the people, and not a particular party, tendency or person. Here is plenty of work for us to carry out.

Ah! but we are on the road to victory. Syndical Unity enables us to get energy from that bottomless quarry formed by the working people, from whom we had the abominable custom of getting nothing but sacrifices.

Today this is no longer so. The two syndicalist organisations united in action, guarantees that the sacrifices of the people will not be forgotten. They will have to be remembered, for if perchance some obstinate fool chooses to be unmindful of them, the overwhelming power of the workers and fighters will bring him to reason.

The CNT asserts this, because it takes its stand on the reasonable ground that the workers not only have duties, but rights.

Rights which have to be given them, rights of action, of guidance, of information and of law.

The Proletariat, note this well, contributes more than anyone to the fight and is affected more deeply than others by victory or defeat. The proletariat defends the interests of everybody, is first in sacrifice, and, in short, carries on its shoulders the weight of everything that goes on, while it formulates its life for to-day and for the future.

United, Comrades, to assure the efficacy of our effort, of our sacrifice, of the perseverance which we must put into our struggle, of our work which must be carried to the end to gain the victory.

United, to prevent the results of popular enthusiasm being watered down, as it beckons us to the triumph.

The UGT has done no less on signing our basis of action.

We are confident that no one is going to put difficulties in the way. It

**. . The Communists Oppose Collectives and C.N.T. - U.G.T. Joint Activity**

AT a meeting organised recently by the P.S.U.C., Councillor Vidiella made a speech, and in this speech he went to the length of explaining the lack of foreign assistance in the clearest possible manner, though his attitude was hardly revolutionary. Comrade Vidiella said some things which are bound to attract attention. His observations, however, are somewhat in conflict with those made by "Pasionaria" on the same subject, also at a P.S.U.C. Meeting.

Some of the Minister of Work's remarks are extremely eloquent. He said, for instance, amongst other things:

"Recently we had the honour of a visit from some French comrades. They were keen observers and remarked to us that in a number of Spanish towns, in almost all of them in fact, they had been surprised by the letterings C.N.T. and U.G.T. — C.N.T. and U.G.T. on industrial concerns, both large

would go ill with anyone who did, for to-day the people are full of optimism and strength, and are in no mood to tolerate obstacles, delays and retractions.

United and onward always, let us advance with our heads on high.

As a symbol of the embrace of the Spanish proletariat, united through the pact signed by the CNT and the UGT, I embrace at this moment comrade Rodriguez Vega, Secretary of the UGT.

Embrace each other, workers of Spain, and sing the hymn of victory.

And learn your lesson, you proletariats of all countries. Only by following our example will you conquer, and shall we conquer international fascism, which threatens to obliterate the liberties, the victories of the people, the progress in freedom which we have gained at the price of blood and prison. Learn and follow the path that we show you. Away with your jealousies. The common enemy demands that of us all, if only by instinct of class and preservation.

We, to-day, are conscious of our strength, all of you, workers and people. Therein lies the victory.

Its Motto: UNITY! Its means: CNT-UGT!

Workers and soldiers! Handworkers and brain-workers! Town workers and peasants! Soldiers and Airmen! Arm in arm united for the victory.

Never let the unity that we have gained be broken.

Let no one betray it.  
Let no one underrate it!  
Let no one hinder it!  
Let everyone work for it!

Long live the Alliance of the Syndicalists!

Long live Liberty and Spanish Independence. —MARIANO VAZQUES.

and small. This, said they, spreads the belief abroad that your war is not one of national independence or part of the international struggle of advanced and progressive humanity against a brutal fascism, but a communist domination of Spain; the very argument that Franco, Hitler and Mussolini make use of to justify their intervention with certain democratic governments.

"Imagine, comrades, the bad effect that this causes when we are looking for allies to defend our great cause of democracy and national independence.

"Try and understand the kind of impression that is made in England, when it is understood there that Spain is labelled and collectivised. England is always the deciding factor and she will never come down on our side if she thinks that we are carrying out a socialist or communist revolution. The English proletariat is guided by the instinct of reformism and cannot understand the nature of our struggle. English comrades also come to visit our country and make the same observations as our French comrades. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that they do nothing for us. If the English workers know, or were convinced that our war is in defence of our country and of democracy, they, democrats, and all England would help us. For the struggle in Spain and in all the world for some time past, is established not between the workers and the bourgeoisie, but between democracy and fascism; between the democratic workers, peasants and bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the forces of reaction on the other.

"How then can a change in our favour be brought about on the International Front? This depends not only upon the abandonment of these labels, but also upon that of the collectivizations that were forced upon the anti-fascist bourgeoisie. Does our triumph, then, depend upon the collectivization of barbers and ladies' hairdressers, or the municipalization of houses? No, comrades, no! Our victory rests upon the unification of all the anti-fascist forces, workers, peasants, and bourgeoisie, against the enemy, Franco, Hitler and Mussolini.

"All of which does not mean that we must fail to take over the houses, the lands, the commerce, and industries of the fascists. But only of the fascists. Never of the non-fascists, lest many of them go over to the enemy and help to swell the Fifth Column."

So much for the outstanding militant of the P.S.U.C.. Comment is unnecessary.

We think that you, comrade, will agree here. "Pasionaria" has made some remarks that her party comrade might conveniently have a look at. As he also might carefully and quietly peruse the bases recently agreed upon by the U.G.T. — to which he belongs — and the C.N.T.; to say nothing of the famous Generality decree on collectivizations.

(Tierra y Libertad)

J. R. CAMPBELL, the Marx of the *Daily Worker* (judging by an article on the leader page of that paper describing how he compiled his daily column of questions and answers) once wrote in his column that the "War and the Revolution" in Spain were "inseparable". And yet the representative of the Communists in the speech reproduced above denounces everything that belonged to the Spanish Revolution in order to satisfy the capitalists of England and France. We hope that J. R. Campbell will include the above speech in his archives for future reference so that the next time a correspondent asks him to explain the Communists' attitude towards the revolution in Spain he will be able to give the answer "straight from the horse's mouth." —[Eds.]

**AN APPEAL FROM SPAIN**

WHEN Spain is weakening herself in defence of those rights which are the prerogative of all noble and upright men, when we are struggling to prevent peace being mutilated by the Prussian jackboot or the Florentine dagger of the Blackshirts, it would be unforgivable if the workers of Europe and of the world, or the great democracies, who could avoid a catastrophe by striking with energy and speed, were simply to be content with an attitude of platonic, passive sympathy, thus allowing the mercenary airmen of Franco to give full rein to their lust for destruction and violence, to the wrecking of open towns and the wholesale massacre of peaceful citizens, old people, and children.....

The cowardice of the democratic countries, is leading the world to the bottomless pit of war and the end of civilisation.

The democracies, the anti-fascists, the proletariat are in time to stop all this —

"Arms for the Spanish people," "open frontiers for the Spanish Republic," "abandonment of the wretched non-intervention policy" which means international intervention on behalf of the Fascist invader.

The workers and anti-fascist people must see to it that these demands are on everyone's lips and they must translate them into action.

Gifts and excuses are unavailing. It is the spark of Sarajevo over again in Spain. The smoke that has been raised over our cause by Spanish and foreign Fascism, is no justification whatever to those who have been to see us and taken part in the struggle with us. The loud-voiced extremists exploited by the traitors of Burgos and Salamanca are non-existent here. The reign of order in the republic, guided and supported by all, is plain to everybody.

We shall struggle to the bitter end, determined to conquer and not

be wretchedly sacrificed to an aggressive and bestial fascism. Our determination is irrevocable. Our defeat would mean the complete disappearance of the hopes on which the workers of the world count for crushing Fascism, and the democratic powers for upholding peace. We are, and will continue to be a people who waves the flag of its country's liberties, and holds aloft the banner of Right and Justice.

Workers, Liberal and Democratic peoples of the world! Our cry, a cry of peace and happiness, is yours. Our defence is also the defence of your homes, of your children. He who neither understands nor acts becomes worthy to be crushed by Fascism in its onward trample, destroying towns, abolishing culture, wiping out liberty and bleeding the world. Comrades of the World, shout with us:

**ARMS AND PLANES FOR SPAIN!**

**OPEN FRONTIER FOR THE REPUBLIC!**

**DOWN WITH THE POLICY OF NON-INTERVENTION!**

National Committee of the C.N.T. Barcelona, 9 April, 1938.

Scottish Comrades Should

JOIN

THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST FEDERATION

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

Burgos Justice, by Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana (Constable, 7/6 net).

II

THE first part of this Book was reviewed in our issue of April 8th. The second part deals with certain possibilities in the Rebel side, Government, Law, Property, The Church, The Army, and so on. It is a depressing account that Sr. Vilaplana gives, for nothing is more damnable than the holding down of the lives of peoples by a gang of mediocrities, which is of course what is going on in Rebel Spain. The best man is the military man, no matter if he is but a fatuous little lieutenant. He can bully and rob and swank to his heart's content, he can compel a rebel created system of justice to sanction his capers, on the one hand and the Church will see to it that his soul is safe, on the other, if he attends Mass properly armed for murdering "Reds."

Franco, who owes his prominence largely to a mistaken Fascist notion of his talents, is shown by Sr. Vilaplana to be a dumpy, amorphous, second-rate kind of a Rebel, who has let his bosses, Hitler and Mussolini, down rather badly. He is a poor personality, but he has a mystical Catholic wife, which may account for his prominence, and certainly for his cruelty.

Queipo de Llano, who is in command of the South, is representative of a type that can always count on popularity in Andalusia. His broadcasts, famous all over Europe for their quaint blend of mendacity, audacity, sadism and personal abuse, cast in a framework of shamelessness, cause one to wonder what his administration can be like. This rebel is entertaining, but an atrocious murderer. Sr. Vilaplana gives a few specimens of Queipo's microphonosities.

## Book Review

# The Rebel Leaders

### Seen by a Spanish Magistrate

Though Burgos retains the status of capital, which it was, so long as the military movement followed Monarchist and Catholic lines, Salamanca thanks to the imposition of Franco by the Fascists, has practically ousted it as the seat of Government. The Army and political headquarters are there and the ministries, Burgos carrying on work of secondary importance, technical commissions, etc. Sr. Vilaplana gives an amusing account of the administrative personnel, which he says is chosen "from the same old politicians, mediocrities, and former officials of ministries that have disappeared." "The more reactionary he is, and the greater his tale of woe, the more rapidly will he find a job." The "tale of woe" must consist of tortures that he and/or his family have undergone at the hands of the "Reds." A sort of bestial Gilbertianism pervades the whole business.

Military rule started on the law at once. The judges and magistrates were rendered impotent by a rain of martial law decrees. It was imperative that established justice should be crippled. A certain simplification of it had to be kept up for window dressing, and so a thorough sifting process began, the qualifications for selection, says Sr. Vilaplana, "entirely depended upon the degree of Right and Catholic sympathies," and "the extent to which he was likely to be adaptable and pliant to the will of the military." It is not difficult to imagine the brutal

force that has arisen out of these beginnings. Sham judicial proceedings, emergency courts-martial, an array of commissioners of justice, notaries, registrars, professors, all mobilized and given military rank. Evidence not of fact, but of suspicion, vengeance, hatred and so on, and so on, and a background of power over life and death in the hands of barbarous imbeciles.

Sr. Vilaplana's chapter on the Church is as moderate as the rest of his writing. There is, he says, not an iota of evidence that the Church was persecuted by the Republic. Be that as it may, the broad impression left by his account of the Churches attitude, and by that of every other impartial writer who has dealt with this important subject, is that the Church in Spain has, in and out of season, upheld injustice, supported all reactionary legislation, fought the spread of secular education tooth and nail, and has been hostile to freedom as generally understood in modern countries. All these things have to be borne in mind. The people, defenceless and simple, felt that the Church has engineered and connived at the rebellion, that it was a second enemy. And they reacted with violence against it. The behaviour of the Catholic Hierarchy and certain priests during the war has amply justified this popular mistrust. So Sr. Vilaplana gives us a simple formula: "The Army rules the people and the Church rules the

High Command of the Army." Sr. Vilaplana gives instances of priestly denunciation of Socialists and Liberals, which are models of non-charity, and he shows how the lists of those suspected of Freemasonry are engineered. The ghastly communion service described on page 196 should open many people's eyes to the dangers of Spanish Catholic fanaticism. Sr. Vilaplana, himself a Catholic, calls it "horrible sacrilege" and a "diabolical crime." The Church in Spain has many such to answer for. The Pope's recent blessing of Franco, notwithstanding.

Sr. Vilaplana shows how the ordinary people caught in this Army rising, at first ignorant, then intimidated by terror and controlled by an endless stream of calumny and bias, have sunk under military bullying. Fearful of the consequences of refusal, many join the rebel forces. His chapter "The People" is of extraordinary interest, and is, so far as we know, the first authentic account by a qualified observer of the civil community inside Franco's territory. The rebels own opinion of the affection imposed by their regime is admirably summed up in a quotation from "Domingo" a Salamanca weekly review "Let us be under no illusion. When this war is over we shall have a host of conquered but not one convert."

About the "Foreign Invaders" the humiliation and bitterness felt by Spaniards both civil and military, at the privileges accorded to and taken by them Sr. Vilaplana has some terse remarks.

A fine epilogue, confessing the author's feeling of shame at all he had been obliged to witness and offering himself to loyalist Spain, concludes the book. Everyone who cannot afford seven shillings and sixpence, should certainly steal it and read it.

Starting with a quotation from Benedict XV's famous encyclical on the outbreak of the European War, where that Pope recommends his spiritual maker to harassed Governments in the famous passage "Force can repress the body but it cannot repress the souls of men." Flanders goes in detail into Rome's alliance with Fascism to suppress both body and soul. The open and universal support of Franco is shown as one uniform policy with the spiritual exploitation of Abyssinia, as soon as the physical arm of Mussolini's conquest suppressed the Abyssinian Coptic Christian Schools. The Rivalry and Unity of Rome and Nazism in Germany are examined. Finally the dangerous permeation of the Labour Movement by Catholic Guilds, which are characterised as Fascist cells inside the Trades Unions is set out with close inside knowledge of the menace to which Labour has been too long blind.

J. R. WHITE.

A Review by J. R. WHITE

## "The Churches and Their Policy"

"The Churches and their Politics" by Alan Flanders (International Publishing Co.).

Alan Flanders' pamphlet "The Churches and their politics" should be read by every anarchist. Opening with a recognition of the change of emphasis in the Protestant and Free Churches from dogma to sentiment, he sums up the influence of the Churches as dangerous to militancy of the workers. A sentimental objection to certain aspects of Capitalist Society offers no guide to the roots of the evil and certainly no clear policy to overcome them. The net practical

expression of this mental attitude is the policy of class-collaboration, political reformism (relying on the power of conversion) and peace in industry. Perhaps Alan Flanders is hardly fair in excluding from mention the school of Revolutionary Christians like Conrad Noel and the Catholic Crusaders. Their tenets and influence are not on the side of reformism or were not, though the identification of most of their personnel with the C.P. may by now have led to a conflict between their revolutionary theory and their practice. For Libertarians, Comrade Flanders analysis of Roman doctrine and policy is the best part of an excellent pamphlet.

## THE CAR OF DEATH

UNTIL November 18, the date on which I made my escape from the fascist inferno of Majorca, 2,250 workers had been murdered under the direction of Count Rossi in Palma alone. If we add the towns of Soller, Alcudia, Campos, Manacer, Pollensa, etc., the number rises to the enormous figure of 5,250.

There was a tragic car which was called the "Car of Death." This car would leave early in the morning. It would go to the outlying districts of Palma where the workers live, and where the fascists knew they would meet only with curses, looks of contempt, of terror and of hatred.

The men were dragged from their

homes, taken to the headquarters of the Falange where they were insulted and humiliated and made to shout "Arriba Espana," the fascist salute, and then, following the Italian fascist methods, the victims were made to drink a quart of castor oil.

The victims were again taken to the car, tied together in pairs, and the car would then proceed with the lights out until it reached the road close to the cemetery; then the men were made to descend and were cowardly shot in the back. After they had been murdered and robbed, their eyes were gouged out and their faces mutilated by machete blows so that they would not be recognized.

One day I ventured to the cemetery accompanied by a family one of whose sons had been murdered, and I saw lying on the cold marble slab fourteen bodies; they were unrecognizable, mere pieces of bloody flesh. They were naked, the blood of their bodies and the dirt from the ground forming a crust over their wounds, their eyes out of their orbits, their faces disfigured by the machete cuts.

There are over 6,500 men in the jails of Palma de Majorca, in the castle, if the boats anchored in the harbour and in the new jail that had to be built in order to accommodate so many prisoners. Among them there are 270 civil guards and carabinieri and nearly 100 Catalan soldiers.

—From MALLORCA BAJO EL TERROR FASCISTA, by M. Perez.

## Can War Be Abolished?

A War in the near future is the topic of discussion everywhere in the world to-day. Every country is seeking new means of making warfare more destructive and bloody. The largest proportion of public money is being spent on armaments and the means of protection against aerial and gas warfare.

Many people, and amongst them many quite sincere progressive people, believe that the next Great War will be fought by the great forces of anti-Fascism on the one side and the Fascist beast on the other. They do not realise that it will be yet another capitalist war, and that those who will gain by it will not be the anti-Fascists or the workers obliged to fight in the name of Fascism, but those venomous individuals whose very existence depends on the quantity of destructive machinery that their factories of death can produce.

Can Science, the wonders of nature discovered by Man after years of research, be used, not to destroy man but to help him?

Can war, which to-day haunts the existence of millions of men and women, be brought to an end, and future wars made impossible?

Answers to these and many more questions will be found in a special No-War issue of Spain and the World which will be on sale on May 1st, and which will contain articles by well known men and women of letters.

This special issue will include articles by:

HERBERT READ,  
JOHN COWPER POWYS,  
ETHEL MANNIN, etc.

and in order that we may reach as large a circle of people as possible we are having an edition of not less than 10,000 copies which will be sold at 1d a copy.

Comrades! It is your duty to see that every one of these copies reaches the workers, for it is they who in all wars have to suffer and sacrifice their lives for the privileged members of society.

Copies may be obtained direct from us at 21 Frith Street, London, W.1. Bundle rates: 12 copies 9d., 100 copies 5/9.

Comrades! send your orders now!

THE EDITORS.

## LITERARY AND MUSICAL EVENING

FRIDAY 29th APRIL at 8 p.m.  
AT FRIEND'S HOUSE, EUSTON RD., E.C.

SIDONIE GOOSSENS ..... Harp  
MAY HARRISON ..... Violin  
MAX PIRANI ..... Piano  
ELSE RYKENS ..... Soprano  
FREDERICK WOODHOUSE ..... Baritone

BRIAN HOWARD  
MILES MALLESON  
ETHEL MANNIN  
HERBERT READ

also  
GROUP SONGS & GROUP DANCING  
12 BASQUE REFUGEE CHILDREN  
(first appearance in London)

Reserved Seats: 12/6, 10/6, 7/6, 5/- 3/6, 2/6, 1/6. Tickets on Sale S.I.A. Office, 21 Frith Street, W.1., Collet's Bookshop and Socialist Bookshop, and at Friends House on Friday evening.

Proceeds will go to the SIA in SPAIN  
and the Basque children at Street.

## FOR the VICTIMS of FASCISM

With the civilian population fleeing before Franco's advancing troops, and seeking shelter in Catalonia, we must all redouble our efforts on behalf of the innocent women and children of Spain.

Thanks to the continued efforts of some of our readers we have been able to take over a colony, which is situated at Masnon, about 40 kilometres north of Barcelona, and attend to the wants of some 50 small refugees from Aragon. This is a great responsibility which our comrade readers all over the world, we are sure will gladly shoulder.

We would also remind those comrades in or near London that the London Section of the S.I.A. has organized a Literary and Musical evening, and many well-known artists and writers have offered their services for this important occasion. We sincerely hope all our  
(continued at foot of next col.)

## OUR BALANCE SHEET

SALES:

Glasgow: F. Leech, £1; Stroud: T. H. Keell £1/5/0; Toronto: D. Giesecke £1/4/11; London: W. Farrer £2/3/6; New York: W. Starrett 4/-; London: Bookshop £2/15/0; San Francisco: L. N. 6/-; Southend: M. Kavanagh 5/6; London: Sundries 6d.; Los Angeles: Dr. Holtz 16/-; London: E. Man 15/-; New York: W. Starrett 4/-; London: E. Man 15/-; Neath: S. Mainwaring 5/-; London: Mrs. Healy 2/-; London: E. Man 12/-; London: M.L.B. 13/4; Chicago: B. Yelensky £2/11/5; Southend: M. Kavanagh 6/6; London: L. Cooks 1/-; Stroud: T. H. Keell £1/5/0; Leicester: E. G. Meeting 4/-; New York: W. Starrett 4/-; Yorks: H. Poplewell 3/-; Allentown, Pa.: M. Lucetti 8/-; London: E. Man 15/-; Plymouth: T. Edmunds 8/6; Southend: M. Kavanagh 6/6; London: B. Bloom 10/-; London: Mrs. Healy 2/-; London: Workers Action League 9/-; Liverpool: Meeting 2/6; London: M.L.B. 3/10; Nottingham: Bookshop 5/6; Neath: S. Mainwaring 4/-; Toronto: D. Giesecke 15/9.

— £22/13/1

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Seattle: J. Borov 4/-; Birmingham: J. Southall 2/6; Leicester: E. Hassell 4/6; Nottingham: H. Mace 2/6; Nice: D. Rondani 4/6; N.Y.: M. Palay 4/-; Middlesex: A. Soper 2/6; Washington: (per L. Kisliuk) G. Danenburg 4/-, M. Silver 4/-, V. Levine 4/-; U.S.A.: L. Ampicore 4/-; Belfast: H. Compton 2/6; New York: S. Naft 4/-; London: J. Dobson 2/6; London: (per P. Bernstein) H. Chaplin 2/6, J. Wolchower 2/6; Montreal: R. Bernstein 4/-; Broken Hill: (per E. Kirby) W. Bolton 5/-, E.K. 5/-; Bristol: J. Richfield 4/6; Sheffield: W. Lomas 2/6; Oslo: E. Gleditsch 2/6; Surrey: J. Baldelli 2/6; London: G. Crier 2/6, S.G. 2/6; H.G. 2/6, B.G. 2/6; London: A. Hallis 2/6; New York: Dr. Goldwater 4/-; Washington: 2 subs per L. Kisliuk 8/-.

— £5/5/0

SOLIDARITY FUND

Seattle: J. Borov 8/-; Philadelphia: Circolo di Educazione Sociale £2; Johannesburg: F. Bosazza £1; Bristol: J. Richfield 1/6; London: B.R. £5; San Francisco: Comrades per L.N. £5; San Francisco: Jones (per L.N.) 2/-; Geelong, Australia: J. Mazzocato (per G. P.) 7/9; Los Angeles: I. Isgur (per Dr. J. H.) 4/-; McKeesport, Pa.: (per J. Rossetti) R. Gonzalez 6/-, J. Artinez 4/-, A. Molinero 4/-, J.R. 4/-; Belfast: H. Compton 6/-; London: Tab (per W. F.) 2/-; London: T. Brown 2/-; Trenton, N.J.: per E. Sebastiani 8/-; Stratford, Conn.: per P. Mozzi £1; Clairton, Pa.: J. Briganti 8/-; Glenmaggie, Australia: G. Franchescini 19/8; Stroud: P. Parsons 2/-; Dublin: Sybil Kirkpatrick 10/-; Bristol: J. Richfield 1/-; Worcester, Mass.: per Ciani 12/-; London: Tab 5/-; Detroit, Mich.: per A. Alvarez) Club Juventud Libre 16/-; Toronto: A. Bortolotti £1; Lynn, Mass.: Lynn Aid Association (per L. Constantini) 16/-.

— £23/8/11

TOTAL INCOME £51/7/0

	£	s.	d.
Printing No. 31	13	10	0
Postages	3	7	0
Printing No. 32	13	10	0
Postages	3	14	2
Printing No. 33	12	12	9
Postages	3	5	11
Blocks	18	0	0
	50	17	10
Deficit c/f	162	8	6
	213	7	0
Income	51	7	0
Deficit	£161	19	£

(cont. from foot of previous col.) comrades and readers will be present on the evening and will also induce their friends to do likewise.

Besides being entertainment of a high order, it is a means of helping the refugees in Spain as well as the I.L.P. colony of Basque children at Street (Somerset).

All information of this musical evening appear elsewhere in this issue.

## ORPHANS FUND

2nd LIST

Previously acknowledged £55/1/11.

265 Detroit, Mich.: A. Alvarez £2.  
266 London: "T.C. Red" 2/-.  
267 Stroud: P. Parsons 2/-.  
268 Stroud: L. G. Wolfe 10/-.  
269 Stroud: T. H. Keell 8/-.  
270 Philadelphia: Circolo Emancipazione Sociale £5/18/5.  
271 Johannesburg: F. Bosazza £4.  
272 Bristol: J. Richfield 1/6.  
273 San Francisco: Comrades (per L.N.) £5.  
274 McKeesport: R. G. Gonzalez 7/9.  
275 Los Angeles: Kropotkin Literary Society (per Dr. J. Holtz) £9/17/10.  
276 London: E. Man 2/-.  
277 London: G. Leech 2/-.  
278 Plymouth: per L. Avery 10/-.  
279 Australia: G. Panizzon 10/-.  
280 Stroud: T. H. Keell 10/-.  
281 Stroud: L. Wolfe 10/-.  
282 Bristol: J. Richfield 1/6.  
283 London: per Miss Sidonie Goossens £3.  
284 Detroit: (per A. Alvarez) Friends of Spanish Orphans and Refugees £3/12/0.  
285 Umtali, S. Rhodesia: Scibante 10/-, E.A. 10/-, M.E. 10/-.  
286 Toronto: per A. Bortolotti £6.  
287 Lynn: Lynn Aid Association £1.  
288 London: 2 T.C. Reds (per W. Farrer) 2/-.  
289 Umtali, S. Rhodesia: Friends, per L. Scibante £9.  
Total: £106/3/8.

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Internationalists, we shall combat all Nationalist propaganda and all attempts which have as their aim to lead the workers into a new Imperialist War, no matter their source.

Vol. II. No. 34 (Supplement)

LONDON, MAY, 1938.

PRICE 1d.—U.S.A. 3 CENTS.

## An ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

Too often does one read that war is but the result of human nature, and that wars have existed all through history and consequently it is impossible to ever dream of abolishing them. Others write that it is the sub-conscious feeling of the survival of the fittest. This argument is even less plausible. In modern times it is not the strongest who survive. The arms used in modern warfare almost completely eliminate the physical condition of the individual as the deciding factor for victory. In modern warfare the fittest of an underfed country are sent to the front to kill and be killed, whilst the aged and the unfit and the half-starved babies in arms who manage to survive the aerial bombardments, are all that remain as a result of this war for the survival of the fittest!

We have done more than merely take a stand. We have provided a solution, a means of abolishing War. Herbert Read, whose clear and sincere article appears in this issue, has explained the cause of wars. It lies in the very existence of the State, and consequently in the existence of Government.

Whereas the common interpretation of Anarchy has been one of confusion or chaos, Herbert Read shows that it is in fact just the contrary, and that GOVERNMENT MEANS VIOLENCE. Many will say that Anarchy is an Utopia for which man to-day is not prepared. And to answer this, we have published an extract from Emma Goldman's report of her second visit to Spain. She describes the town of Hospitalet. It is not pure Anarchy, it is not the ideal, but it is an achievement—and this is not an isolated case but one of hundreds of similar successful experiments in Spain—which is even greater when one pauses to consider that it has taken place in a country labouring in a war which is wiping out whole cities and villages.

Now—whilst we still have the possibility of expressing our opinions—is the time to reach the workers with the human and powerful messages that have been contributed by writers and militants of the stamp of Herbert Read, John Cowper Powys, Ethel Mannin and Emma Goldman. Their words must surely be an inspiration to men and women who love liberty, that liberty which, in the words of Bertrand Russell, is "the greatest of all political goods" and for which no sacrifice is too great.

"Workers of the world, you alone can save the world. You—alone."

SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

# The Next War And The Workers

THE ruling-classes have their processions galore, their Coronations, Jubilees, royal weddings and funerals, their Lord Mayor's shows, their military tournaments and tattoos, all carried out with lavish show, as befits the circumstances of pomp and power. But once a year, "in the sweet month of May, when the May hawthorns are coming into flower," the workers have their own show, all very simply carried out, as befits men and women not concerned with pomp and power. Very brave are their banners and slogans, and the speeches they make under the budding trees. "Workers of the world unite," they cry.....but not until now has it occurred to them to ask with whom they should unite, and for what. This year the slogan is more elaborate, more involved. The workers of the world are being urged to unite, and, stranger still, are urging each other to unite, with Tories and Liberals and bishops, anyone who is anti-Fascist; Unity now is all the cry; it is easy to foresee that Unity and Popular Front will outshine if not altogether replace the old Marxist slogan on this year's May Day banners, and colour this year's May Day speeches.

But the Liberals and Tories and Bishops will not march, I think, with their new-found comrades in the May Day processions, rubbing shoulders with Communists and Socialists. Will they march together in the war they are pledging themselves to unite together to fight against Fascism? And when the workers have united with the employing classes and rulers — of Parliament and Church — and are engaged in yet one more just war, the war to make the world safe against Fascism this time, a war to

save the doubtful virtue of that bedraggled hag which is the contemporary conception of democracy, when the workers are thus engaged, what precisely are they going to get out of it? Once more they will be fighting to preserve the status quo — with its dole and means-test, its exploit-

ation of the many by the few, its criminal wastefulness and stupidity. When the Fascist enemy is defeated — what then? Will it have been worth the flow of workers' blood, that fight for the protection of interests not their own, for the land of which most of them own not even the backyard of tenement block or jerry-built council house? Those that have survived will be thrown back into the lap of that bedraggled hag that has nothing to give them but unemployment or exploitation.....flung back by the very people who urged them to unite with them, for

the protection of capitalist-imperialist interests masquerading as democracy.

'Tis a mad world, my masters! Another strange spectacle of the May Day processions this year will be the anti-war people clinging to the Popular Front idea as a "peace alliance." Hating war and Fascism, they cry, "We must have a Popular Front of all anti-fascists, irrespective of class or political creed, so that we may make a stand against it!" Brave will be the speeches, and brave the slogans under the budding trees. Do they never pause to ask themselves how they propose to support this united front of anti-Fascists in the face of Fascist aggression? If they achieve their heart's desire with a popular front government, how do they propose to back it up against the Fascist enemy they are jointly pledged to oppose? They can only find themselves involved in one more war between capitalist-imperialist governments, with poor little Czecho-Slovakia, perhaps, replacing poor little Belgium of 1914, and instead of the war to end war it will be the war to end Fascism, and hundreds of thousands of workers will die as they died in the first world-war for something they never possessed, and in defence of the interests which exploited them in life.

O Lord, what fools these mortals be! When will the workers of the world learn that there is no war worth the spilling of a single drop of workers' blood but the war against the capitalist system? That no war between capitalist-imperialist governments is any concern of theirs except as an opportunity to seize workers' power? When will they realise that they and they alone have the power to make wars impossible? When the lilacs were coming into flower did we not see how sweetly Inskip wooed the engineers? As an eminent K.C. recently remarked, the government so urgently needs the workers behind it in its armaments program that it is even prepared to pay them a living wage in order to get them!

Strange how no one learns from any experience but their own — and as often as not, not even then. We have seen the Popular Front in Spain throwing into gaol those workers who wanted more out of the anti-Fascist struggle than the preservation of the status quo; we have seen it strike-breaking in France; what have the workers of any country to expect from it, except reaction and the negation of their own interests? Yet Unity will be all the cry under this year's May-day banners, and those who venture to ask Unity with whom and for what will be lost voices crying in a wilderness.

"Save Spain" will figure on the banners, but how much of it will be "save Spain as part of the international workers' struggle," and how much "save Spain as part of an international popular front against Fascism" — to save British and French imperialism?

Such questions as these the Workers assembling on May Day will do well to ask themselves under the budding trees.

And why not workers' action, direct action from the workers themselves, in field, factory and workshop, without dependence on trade union executives and parliamentary machinery — workers' action at once to save Spain, and save civilisation from capitalist-imperialist war?

That is the thought to take to the parks and open spaces on May Day — Workers of the world, you alone can save the world!  
You — alone.

Send your subscription to  
"SPAIN AND THE WORLD" NOW

6 months: 2/6 post free  
12 months: 4/6 post free

Office at:  
21, Frith Street, London, W.1.

Le Reveil Syndicaliste.

## "Our Concern Is The Revolution And Peace"

THE DOGS OF WAR are out and its threat hangs over us and what a War! The most agonizing, the most ignoble, the bloodiest of Wars.

Such is the fruit of 20 years of Imperialist politics. This is where all Imperialisms have led us, French Imperialism like the German, English Imperialism like the Italian: all the States — all, without exception where reign the oppression of Man and the exploitation of the worker.

Everything seems ready for the massacre: the instruments of death, perfected, refined, manufactured on all sides at a terrifying tempo.

The preparation of the "morale" by lying cant which overflows from the Press poisons the air. To help the German workers our brothers to free themselves from Fascism, a particularly savage and cruel form of capitalist domination, let us take good care not to unite with our masters who are in solidarity with the exploiters of the world and the organisers of fascism.

Is it fraternity, is it internationalism which would hurl the one against the other like dogs, German workers and French and English workers?

Out of solidarity would workers and peasants of Germany, Spain, China and every part of the world, let us struggle without weakening against the perpetrators (?) and instigators (?) who in our own country still hold the reins of power. Europe established by their stupid treaties of 1919 and 1920 is breaking up on all sides, we will not fight for a worthless and crazy statute.

Neither slavery nor war, war being the worst of slaveries, the struggle against war being nothing but one and the same battle. Comrades, union workers, workers of all classes! We can still make the monster draw back. Let us free ourselves in time from the hateful fetters which the ruling class and their accomplices of the parties and the unions have burdened us with.

Not one hour of overtime for "National Defence!" All that weakens Capitalism in our own country, weakens war.

Our class war arouses and strengthens class war in other countries. Let us force our rulers by our unflinching opposition to pass from compromises with their rivals, to fear the violent solutions to which they would have recourse, to withdraw from the terrible event.

Let us eliminate from the leaders of the Unions those who are too free with our lives! Our unions belong to us, we must make of them the fortresses of the struggle for peace!

Nothing is yet lost if we raise on high the banner of working class internationalism; if we stand side by side and if altogether, when the time comes, we cry the troubles of the capitalists, the bourgeoisie and the generals are not ours. Our concern is the Revolution and peace, it is the defence of the proletariat masses of the world, the defence of all humanity which the general massacre would cast into bondage or extermination.

WAR is a cancer that threatens to destroy the life of our civilisation, but I doubt if any direct surgery will remove it. Its symptoms are obvious, but its causes are secret, deeply buried in the history and habits of the body which bears it. The problem is not so easy to solve as most of our pacifists assume. It may be that there is an abstract ethical question, and that the answer is unequivocally in favour of universal peace. It may be that there is a concrete biological question, and that the answer is as unequivocally in favour of war. I doubt very much whether all the answers to all the questions that can be raised on this issue can be unanimous. There is not only a conflict of values involved, but also a hopeless confusion of motives. Some of the most aggressive and egotistical people I know are active pacifists; some of the gentlest and most sensitive men I have ever met were professional soldiers. They, too, hated war; but they accepted it.

I do not accept war. I consider that it is an insult to the life of reason; that it is cruel and senseless and wholly evil in its effects. Of its economic and social consequences I do not propose to speak; it is surely obvious enough to all who have lived in the post-war epoch that these have been disastrous. I seem to remember that Mr. Douglas Jerrold once maintained that the Great War had been worth while because it had achieved the westernization of Turkey, but most of us find it hard to believe that the abolition of the harem and the fez was worth the sacrifice of twelve million lives.

In my opinion, the most convincing arguments for war are not logical at all, but based on certain obscure psychological motives. I do not mean that the arguments are convincing because they are obscure (a not unknown state-of affairs). I mean that certain rationalizations of war persist because they are the expression of an emotional energy which would otherwise be repressed. When these rationalizations take a definite and elaborate form, the process of sublimation is obvious enough to anyone with a psychological training. But it is more difficult to explain a far more general attitude towards war and peace which is not active opposition or defence, but uncertainty and apathy. There may be two hundred thousand active pacifists in Gt. Britain; there are a few thousand active militarists; but the millions who will be

## The Pre-Requisite of Peace

By HERBERT READ

decimated in the next war remain in the mass indifferent to the fate which threatens them, as sullen as gunpowder before it is fired.

I do not underestimate the important psychological factors which dispose the individual and the nation to a state of war-mindedness. But the psychology of mankind is unalterable: it is on the contrary the most fluent and adaptable aspect of human life. We are at the mercy of unconscious forces, but what is unconscious can now be analysed and brought to the surface; we can discover the physical and material elements which cause or "condition" these unconscious forces; and by controlling these basic elements we can eventually change the mental life of mankind. This mental life has changed often in the past, but only haphazardly

that only the most prejudiced capitalist can pretend to ignore its importance as a factor in the encouragement of warlike instincts. But the capitalist is quite logical (and for once he has the support of the psychologist) when he points out that warfare has a longer history than capitalism, and that the establishment of socialism in Russia, for example, has by no means been accompanied by a decline of the martial spirit. It may be argued that the militarism of the U.S.S.R. is purely defensive; but it is militarism none the less, and there are few countries in the world where the pacifist is less free to preach his gospel of non-resistance. So long as nationalism persists as a sentiment, so long as collectivism masquerades as socialism, so long will socialist units be nothing more than capitalist units writ large.



The Workers fight and die. The Capitalist prospers by their folly.

and irrationally; we need the knowledge and resolution to change it deliberately and reasonably.

The only immediately realistic approach to the problem of war is economic. Economic imperialism is so demonstrably dependent on the support of armed force

War increases in intensity and effect as a society develops in group organisation. The greatest intensification of the horrors of war is a direct result of the democratisation of the state. So long as the army was a professional unit, the specialist function of a limited number of

men, so long war remained a relatively harmless contest for power. But once it became everyman's duty to defend his home (or his political "rights") warfare was free to range wherever that home might be, and to attack every form of life and property associated with that home.

The economic foundations of peace will never be secure so long as national boundaries exist; they will never be secure so long as collective units such as the nation exist. So long as it is possible to unite men in the name of an abstraction, war will exist; for the possibility of uniting the whole of mankind under the same abstraction is too remote to be worth considering, and so long as two or more abstractions exist with collective forces organised behind them, the possibility of war will exist.

The only pacifist peoples are certain so-called savage tribes living under a system of communal land tenure in a land of plenty: communities where the accumulation of capital and the power it gives has no purpose and therefore does not exist, and where there is no possibility of one man exploiting the labour of another. These conditions create, not only the social and economic possibilities of peace, but also the much more important psychological possibilities. Such communities are, in the precise meaning of the word, ANARCHIST communities.

There is no problem to which, during the last twenty years, I have given more thought than this problem of war and peace. There is no problem which leads so inevitably to anarchism. Peace is anarchy. Government is force; force is repression and repression leads to a reaction, to a psychosis of power, which in its turn involves the individual in destructive impulses and the nations in war. War, therefore, will exist so long as the state exists. Only a non-governmental society can offer these economic, ethical and psychological conditions under which the emergence of a pacifist mentality is possible. We fight because we are too tightly swathed in bonds — because we live in a condition of economic slavery and of moral inhibition. Not until these bonds are loosed will the desire to create finally triumph over the desire to destroy. We must be at peace with ourselves before we can be at peace with one another.

HERBERT READ.

## PETROL EMBARGO BY THE WORKERS CAN END WARS

CAN we stop a war already begun, and prevent the coming war, the Great War, polite and civilized, conforming to all the rules of diplomatic civility? Yes! For all the raw material needed to carry on a modern war, all those "materials" of the technique of collective murder, are practically all in the hands of the "democratic" block, completely devoted to "collective security." So much so that the countries which pose as being "democratic" and "Friends of Peace" have it in their power to force their fascist adversaries to their knees and to force them to Peace, when they will decide to stop supplying war materials to those countries they denounce every day as being the "enemies of Peace"!

Petrol is just one detail in the problem of raw materials needed for modern war, but it is a particularly interesting case. Without petrol and heavy oil war is impossible. Without petrol and heavy oil, tanks, motorized columns, warships and aeroplanes would stop dead. Now, we note that the Fascist States, like all large industrial nations other than U.S.A., use much more petrol than the amount they produce. Japan's petrol deficit, for instance, was 1,260,000 tons in 1930; in 1936 it was 3,400,000! Italy's was 1,724,000 in 1933 and in 1935 had reached 2,200,000! Let us note that the wars in Abyssinia and Spain for Italy, and China for Japan, must have certainly considerably increased this deficit.

The world's petrol producing countries.

Who then produces and sells to the Fascist Powers that petrol which they use to massacre the peoples who resist them? The pro-

ducing 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).

Petrol Transport.

Finally, who transports this 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 powers together possessed a total of 116 ships totalling 582,000 tons.

Who supplies the Fascist States?

Who are now the suppliers for the Fascist States? For Japan they are, in order of importance: U.S.A. with 63%, Dutch Indies 27%, U.S.S.R. 10%; nine-tenths of petrol of Russian origin comes from the concessions of Sakhaline, granted in 1925 by a contract renewed for 5 years in December 1936. The heavy oil imported from Sakhaline is exclusively for war use. During the first quarter of 1937, U.S.S.R. supplied 50,000 tons of petrol to Japan, whilst during the whole of 1936 she had supplied Japan with only 22,000 tons. Finally, Japan buys considerable quantities from British Borneo where a concession was granted in 1930 to the Borneo Oil, allied to the Royal Dutch, which would thus be its largest suppliers.

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.

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.

It will suffice to note three facts:

- 1) All petrol supplies are in the hands of those powers who profess to be friends of Peace.
- 2) Without petrol, fascisms cannot continue the wars in which they are engaged, nor undertake new ones, even in the form of reprisals.
- 3) The "pacific" powers have therefore the possibility of preventing war by refusing to supply the aggressors with the means for aggression.

WE SHOULD like to answer a certain number of technical and political objections which are usually brought up in the campaign for the embargo on petrol. We begin with the technical objections. We shall ignore, to begin with, all arguments depending on the existence, in the greater part of those "great democracies," who all, nevertheless, have the right of mobilisation on their simple citizens, of a legal machinery permitting a government to forbid be it in agreement with two or three other "great democracies" by reason of its national or international trusts, the petrol industry with

(Continued on Page 4)

**SPAIN AND THE WORLD**—what a summary of the present condition of the human race lies in these four words!

Never has our poor, thwarted, bewildered, distracted humanity been more torn in its soul than at the present moment. All the most obsessing passions that have ever stirred the blood of men have been let loose at once; and let loose just at the fatal moment when that dangerous and treacherous and heartless and yet God-like servant of our race, Science, has given into the hands of touchy, reckless, unscrupulous rulers and tyrants and demagogues, engines of destruction beyond the dearest hope of Alexander or Caesar or Attila or Napoleon; just at the moment, too, when the conquest of the air has made it possible to rain down death in its most terrifying form upon the masses of the most innocent and the most helpless!

And simultaneously with this appalling gift of Science to a humanity that has always found destruction and force easier than creation and wisdom, the unhappy individual who tries to obey his conscience is besieged over the air and through the press by the most crafty, insidious, corrupting, lying propaganda, made possible by wireless, cinemas, and newspapers, that has ever been exerted in the history of our race, to swamp, drown, pervert and hypnotize every attempt he makes at thinking for himself.

To "think for yourself" has become to-day the one unpardonable sin! Surrounded by new ideologies — and how that fatal word will suggest pain and death and every sort of cruelty to our happier descendants!—"ideologies" that were unknown a few hundred years ago, the wretch who deludes himself into the idea that it is either possible or permissible to "think for himself," will be lucky if his conscience allows him to bark the words of the nearest hypnotizer while his individual soul hides deep in the straw of its kennel!

We see our own Empire, we see the Democracy of France and the Democracy of the United States, so terrified of another World-War — and one can excuse them when they think of a universal devastation twenty times worse than the last — and we see the Dictator of the Russians and the Dictators of the Germans and Italians, like the upper and nether mill-stones, each with an "Ideo-

# The Real and the Ideal

By John Cowper Powys

logy" pregnant with death and destruction for all within their borders who believe in the right of the individual soul to think for itself. This is no new thing in the history of humanity. The new thing, the wonderful thing, the miraculous thing, will soon be more rare geographical spots still left on the globe where freedom of thought, speech and pen is still allowed!

Spain and the World! *The Spanish Inquisition* is the most perfect example history offers us of the case for the efficiency of mass-thought and well-directed propaganda. The silent protest made by Dostoevsky's Christ, in Ivan Karamazov's story, might be imitated by a Catalan Anarchist today as he contemplates the orderly advantages offered him in the destruction of this dangerous, this inefficient liberty!

All power to the Soviets! was the plausible cry that inaugurated the Russian Revolution; that movement which to all liberty-loving spirits seemed an historic bridge into paradise.

But the urge to power proved stronger than the urge to freedom and in this cruel and terrible choice between liberty and efficiency Russia, like Germany and Italy, chose efficiency.

Our own Empire and Dominions, along with the United States and France, still cling to the old-fashioned idea of Govern-

ment by Discussion which implies a preference for liberty over efficiency. But here, of course, as we know well enough, as long as the money-power of Capitalism prevails, there will be plenty of economic pressure to limit and even annul such liberty. Democratic Capitalism does at least, however, give the individual theoretical liberty, and though in practice it often, perhaps usually, takes it away, it does not do so with quite as much effrontery, or as much outrage to our individual feelings, as when an arbitrary dictator does it.

The majority of the working-people in Spain, whose Government — before the champions of the priests and the land-owners revolted — was about the most easy-going Government by Discussion the world has ever seen, were as we know neither state-socialists nor communists. They were Anarchists; and they remain so. That is to say they hold views about the organisation of human society so enlightened, so intelligent and so rational, that if they could be put into efficient practice a real Utopia would result. These Spanish Anarchists are prepared to defend the individual liberty of the working-man, not only against the insidious oppression of Capitalism and the shameless hypnotism of Fascism, but against any kind of Dictatorship, even the kind in which Russian Communism has resulted.

Held back by their own and still more by their Government's fear of another world-war and universal death and destruction, the working classes of France and Great Britain find themselves in the invidious situation of having to look on in helpless indignation while the rebels in Spain make use of the efficiency of the Dictators—or perhaps we should say while the Dictators make use of the rebels in Spain—against the one single province in the world where a system of human liberty, never before tried in the history of our race, is being created. And in this epoch of the murdering of ideas by "ideologies" what a comfort to think of something new being created that will serve the future of mankind when this dictator era has become a pathological study for historians!

Dictatorships, of course, live by glorifying war. Efficiency in war is their *raison d'être*. And this is the reason why, when individual liberty is so desperately at bay, it seems hard for all extreme mystics and extreme egoists to do sympathetic justice to pacifists. Deep in our hearts—for such is human nature—we long for the enemy "ideology" to be crushed by force; and then, and only then, and not till then, let us have the peace of the world!

Pacifism to-day — whereas in the last war it was no negligible power—seems to have fallen into the category, along with the policing of the world by the League of Nations, of what one might call *Postponed Ideas*; ideas that for the moment's pressure renders inopportune, like the idea of Cosmic Relativity when you are rowing in a life-boat.

A sympathetic and cynical person might well be pardoned for thinking that not only no ideology—for that anyway is a blood-thirsty monster—but no idea even, is worth the present sufferings of the civil population and of the refugees in Catalonia; but it does after all remain, even if the first really self-respecting and completely free life for the working people of the world were bombed into annihilation, that something more than an idea, a living experience, has come into being, to which, when humanity has disillusioned itself of these murderous and childish ideologies of efficiency, it can at last return.

## Revolutionary Economy

### THE COLLECTIVITY OF HOSPITALET

THIS TOWN in normal times had a population of 35,000, but to-day holds double that number on account of the many refugees. The whole town is collectivised. The municipal area is of 3,000 "mujades" (one "mujade" equals about five acres), and all the cultivated land is mainly dedicated to growing vegetable. The tillage has increased one-third as compared with last year.

"How was Collectivisation begun? After the 19th of July many labourers found themselves without work. On the other hand the land was divided into big farms which the workers were unable to develop through lack of financial resources. The Syndicate of the C.N.T. called a meeting of farmers and labourers and proposed the collectivisation of the whole land in the Municipality. This was unanimously accepted and to-day the old owners work in the Collective, some as simple labourers and some as technical advisers, but both labourers and advisers draw the same pay.

"One thousand heads of families are members of the Agrarian Syndicate and of these 50 belong to the U.G.T. and the rest to the C.N.T. The wages are 48 pesetas for women and 48 pesetas for youths. The land is divided into 42 zones and in each zone there is a delegate to advise on technical matters. The majority of these delegates were the former proprietors and they meet every 15 days. One of the duties entrusted to them is the allotment of the necessary seed for sowing. The rate of pay is fixed by an assembly of affiliated members.

"The Collective of the peasants of Hospitalet has had to struggle against many difficulties, the principal one being the lack of funds with which to commence their activities. The granting of a credit was asked from the Generalidad and it was refused. The Syndicate issues every three months a statement of accounts which is printed and distributed among the affiliated members. During the first few months the turnover was 1,000,000 pesetas and in the months of June, July and August, 1937, had reached the figure of 4,000,000 pesetas. Cash in hand at the end of August amounted to about 89,000 pesetas.

"What is done with the surplus

cash? It is loaned to other Collectives who are not so economically independent. 50,000 pesetas have been advanced to the Council of Economy and 15,000 pesetas to the Builders Syndicate.

"Collectivisation in Hospitalet has met with ready response. Not only the old labourers but also the former proprietors are very pleased with the new order of things. Hospitalet has an Economic Council for all the Collectives in the town. This Council, together with the Municipal Council, forms a new type of Corporation based on federal and communal socialism. It is well to mention that the immense majority of the citizens belong to the C.N.T.; there are very few affiliated to the U.G.T. and the C.P. hardly exists.

"There are three agrarian organisations in Catalonia: the Union of Rabassaires; the Peasants Syndicates of the C.N.T.; and the Union of Workers (Peasants Section of the U.G.T. Collectivisation is only favoured by the C.N.T. The Union of Rabassaires and the U.G.T. are against it and in favour of Co-operatives based on small proprietors.

"The Agrarian Commission of the Council is enacting a sort of statute designed to legalise the collectivisations, including the land that was taken by seizure. Whether this will ultimately be done remains to be seen. The position at the present time is that no act has so far been passed in Catalonia giving legality to the seized lands and Collectivisations. The minority represented by the

Continued on page 4.

## For Democracy

Excuse me, Comrade:

I am about to disembowel you—

It's for Democracy, you know.

I have to hate you, Comrade:

I could not do this frightful thing

If I had not learned to hate you.

You see, Comrade,

Your boss is a Fascist:

But mine, Comrade,

Mine is a Democrat.

That is why, Comrade—

That is why I am about

To plunge my bayonet into your belly

And scatter your guts upon the earth.

This is a good war, Comrade:

The Comintern say so.

My boss says so, too.

Everybody says it's a good war.

Democracy must be saved, you know.

Of course, the workers can't strike any more;

Men are being conscripted for the war;

And those who don't like it

Can't shoot off their mouths;

But that isn't Fascism!

Oh my, no!

That's Democracy in an emergency.

You keep your damn' mouth shut

When Democracy faces a crisis.

So when the hot iron sears your guts

And I twist it, so,

Excuse me, Comrade:

That's for Democracy!

CHARLES M. SANDWICK

From the "Bucks Labour News"

## Who's Who

John Cowper Powys.

Author and Lecturer.

Novels include: *A Philosophy of Solitude* — *The Art of Happiness* — *Philosophy* — *The Religion of a Sceptic* — *The Meaning of Culture* — *Visions and Revisions*, etc.

Ethel Mannin.

Novelist and Journalist.

Associate Editor of "The Pelican." Books include: *Children of the Earth* — *Ragged Banners* — *Commonsense and the Child* — *Women also Dream* — *Commonsense and the Adolescent* — *Women and the Revolution*, etc.

Herbert Read.

Editor of the Burlington Magazine. Author. His books include: *Reason and Romanticism* — *Phases of English Poetry* — *Meaning of Art* — *Art and Industry* — *Art and Society*, etc. Assistant Keeper of Victoria & Albert Museum, 1922. Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Arts, University of Edinburgh, 1931. Sidney Jone Lecturer in Art — Liverpool 1935-36.

Emma Goldman.

Anarchist and Revolutionist whose whole life has been a battle for individual and Social freedom. Author whose works include: *Anarchism and other Essays* — *Social Significance of the Modern Drama* — *My Disillusionment in Russia* — *Living my Life*. Editor and publisher for 12 years of "Mother Earth" Magazine (New York, 1906-1917).



# The Black Spectre of War

By EMMA GOLDMAN

AGAIN the European sky is black and sinister with impending war. The powers that breathe war and their allies who grow rich on the implements of death and destruction are again competing with each other. The cry for armaments, more deadly machines, more devastating explosives, greater man-power, a mightier navy, again rent the air. The shibboleths used in the last world conflagration to deceive the masses are again to serve the war-mongers of the day in their conspiracy to lead the masses to slaughter. "The War to end War," "the war for Democracy." What a lying face was hidden under the hideous mask of democracy.

We who had fought the Great war had never for a moment been deceived in the din and tinsel that loudly proclaimed the alluring motives stressed by the war apologists. We knew too well that the aftermath of the war may prove more terrible than the ghastly thing itself, yet even we did not imagine the monstrosities that will arise out of the four years horrors.

Yet here we are in the throes of Fascism and National Socialism. The most frightful world menace came quick enough on the heels of the war. Gaunt and hideous it has infested a large part of Europe, devastating all social and human values, and savagely exterminating those in their way.

Fascism and National Socialism and all the frightfulness they imply are the direct legacy of the last war. Their thirst for blood, their will to murder their sadistic trend to the vilest deeds have found their innings in the world carnage. And so have their dupes whom the trenches and the battlefield have twisted out of human semblance. Brutalized and degraded they have been caught in the blood-drunk obscene orgy of Fascism and National Socialism. For in these ranks alone, millions of war derelicts are finding an outlet for their accumulated hatred and vengeance for the forces that had driven them to the battlefield.

To be sure there is a danger of greater awareness to the malignant growth all wars for conquest and loot have brought in their wake.

But their clamour for peace is only bringing nearer and nearer the black spectre of war which will again engulf the world in a new sea of blood and tears.

One of these perfectly senseless ideas of peace entertained by many well-meaning people outside the charlatans at the helm of the State is non-intervention in Spain. To-day, even the most weak mentally are beginning to grasp the fact that non-intervention in anti-Fascist Spain has been the greatest loan to the Fascist side and has already prepared the stakes of the coming conflagration. The villains in this world drama are the democratic countries, England and France. They have, and are still, playing the most despicable role.

It can at least be said of the Fascist megalomaniacs, Mussolini and Hitler, they have openly and brazenly boasted of their alliance with Franco. Nor have they minced matters in the support they have given him in arms and men to better enable their hireling to crush the Spanish people. The hypocritical measures were left to the British and French democracies. The National Government, originally supported in the non-intervention policy by the British Labour Party, and the old Socialist Blum supported by the Popular Front, under cover of their love of peace, have worked right into the hands of Franco and incidentally have paved the way for a new war, more devastating than the last. In other words the democratic countries and the workers' "fatherland" have outdone Judas in their black treachery of the heroic Spanish people. No, not for the pitiable biblical 30 pieces of silver are they helping to crucify the Spanish workers and peasants; their stakes are higher, much higher. Nothing less than the rehabilitation of their imperialist

power and wealth will satisfy these pseudo-democrats. It is for this and this alone that Spain is permitted to bleed to death, and the rest of the world brought closer to the nightmare of another world holocaust.

However the end of Spain is not yet. Those who now glibly insist that the anti-fascist forces have lost simply do not know the Spanish people. They do not have the slightest inkling of their fortitude, their courage, their utter fearlessness of death. Moreover they do not know the personnel of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). These men and women were not only the first in the whole world to rise against the military and fascist conspiracy on July 19th, 1936, they were also the first in any revolutionary period to begin a magnificent constructive work. In defence of this grandiose achievement and because liberty to them is the most dominant driving force, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will make no peace with Fascism. Their flaming faith, their burning enthusiasm and their iron determination to fight to the last man permeates every letter that comes to us from Spain. Such a people cannot possibly be conquered. No matter the outcome of the unequal battle now reaching the most crucial period it will not crush the Spanish masses.

Again and again they will rise in defence of their revolutionary gains, in defence of their libertarian ideal.

If only the workers of the world on this First of May — Labour's demonstration of strength, would come to the rescue of their Spanish brothers. Not by lip-service only, or by some small contributions. Nothing but direct action can check the march of Franco. Direct action in the form of a general strike, in a boycott of all materials sent to Franco will save anti-fascist Spain.

In thus giving real aid to the gallant Spanish workers and peasants, the International Proletariat could, if it but willed, kill two monsters with one stroke, check the growing menace of Fascism and pull the props under the capitalist system, that is at the back of every war and is drawing ever nearer the black spectre of the next war.



... they will rise in defence of their revolutionary gains, in defence of their libertarian ideal."

## REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY COLLECTIVITY OF HOSPITALET

(continued from page 3)

C.N.T. put forward a scheme proposing the socialisation of the land, but it is not yet known if this has been accepted.

"In Hospitalet there is no question of seizure to be taken into consideration since all the landowners agreed on Collectivisation. The Agrarian Council is in favour of the Agrarian Syndicate, composed of the three agricultural organisations, U.G.T., C.N.T. and Union de Rabassaires. In reality it has not much power, but at present it stands as the lawful organism of the Generalidad. The Collectives are of the opinion that the small landlords and the Co-operatives of the Union of Rabassaires should sell their produce intended for export to the Syndicate. The Syndicate has its Head Office in Barcelona, and according to the Generalidad should be the nerve-centre of Catalonia's agricultural life.

"All these organisations, commissions, functions, etc., which at the present time form the new life in rural Catalonia cannot be said as yet to be working towards a definite goal, and it is to be hoped that the idea of collectivisation will triumph in the end against the doctrine of self-interest that characterised the old social order."

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on April 30th, 1938, and printed by The Narod Press (T.U.), 129-131, Bedford Street, London, E.1

# Petrol Embargo Can End Wars

(Continued from Page 3)

certain clients more particularly undesirable form the quadruple point of view of Peace (which is also ours) of the "defence of democracies" and of international Right (which is theirs in one sense, and ours in another) and of national Defence (which is completely theirs). If the necessary legality does not exist then we shall insist that it be created. It is quite true that a government always lifts its hands to the sky as soon as one asks it to act against trusts. But undoubtedly this same government would readily discover and very quickly too, an unsuspected course of action, as soon as its public opinion would tire of seeing rearmament imposed in the name of national defence accompanied by a touching regularity (before war . . . and after) of a rearmament not less intense on the part of the eventual enemy all engineered by the same eclectic national industries, and would let him know that there would be no mobilisation whatsoever of lives as long as the mobilisation of benefits of trusts had not preceded it.

Let us remember that most of the trusts are already entirely or partly State trusts (as an example of the Syndicate of Russian Naphtha, and the Compagnie Française de Petrol in which the French Government possessed 48 per cent. of the shares of Anglo-Persian and in which the British Admiralty has 56 per cent.

Lastly, let us remember that from now onwards, and apart from all new laws, governments are not without means of pressure on trusts to whom they can refuse the right of export, the authority of emission, financial support without which capitalism, already starved in the present crisis, would be unable to exist, since it only does so thanks to the clientel which constitutes the state, especially for the products of war.

In the same way we will set aside all objections of juristic quality, for example that of commercial contracts which binds governments, producers of petrol, with their fascist clients. Public opinion would not tolerate for one single moment that international legal considerations should take precedence over the categorical command: "Stop the massacre!" There is no contract with murderers. . . .

A more serious objection is the necessity of bringing "compensations" to the states, as in the case of Rumania and Venezuela, who exist almost entirely on the export of petrol

petrol a country would have to stock in order to successfully wage a war, or even to take revenge on those imposing the embargo by carrying out reprisals against the sanctionist countries. It has been calculated, in fact, that in time of war, a nation disposing of an air fleet of 1000 chasers, 250 bi-motor and 250 tri-motor aeroplanes, which are in action during two hours only each day, would use 630,000 litres of petrol daily. It should be noted that there are besides the aviation, the navy, tanks, motorised columns, transport of troops and material also to be taken into account, without even considering the undiminished needs in the rearguard.

The existence of synthetic carburants, the other hand, does constitute a serious objection. Meanwhile, these carburants are extracted either from the crude oil, or from lignite, by hydrogenisation of the carbon, and since Italy and Japan are very poor or completely lacking in one or the other, the danger is to be expected as yet from these countries. To import these raw materials is very costly indeed, in view of the poor results obtained with large quantities: the synthetic petrol industry costs five times as much as the extraction from natural petroleum. Italy and Japan have attacked this problem with all the ardour of warlike powers who have understood that without petrol war is impossible! But their industries for replacement are still in their infancy, in spite of Mussolini's bluff in announcing his autonomy petrolic for 1939. Meanwhile it is essential to act quickly . . . in Germany, on the contrary, the danger is not deniable, for she possesses much coal, and sufficient lignite for 400 years . . .

In 1937 she was thus able to produce 300,000 tons of synthetic petrol. However the "technicians" of collective murder estimate that to carry on a war on two fronts would require 5,500,000 tons, and further, one cannot imagine that Germany will engage in a war alone, without the participation of her allies for which she would not be in a position to supply the petrol demand, if the "democracies, friends of peace" ceased to supply them with the means for warfare!

There remains to be considered a number of objections of a political order, which bear upon the danger which this theoretically peaceful means of struggle against war can present for Peace itself. The first danger: will there not be the risk of the "economic sanctions" strengthening round one dictator, the unity of a people which will be the first and only victim, and which, exasperated in its national pride and in its economic life, will be further instilled with the fierce desire of victory in spite of everything? This argument, quite correct as far as economic sanctions are concerned will not apply to an embargo on petrol, a raw material almost exclusively used for war purposes, and the privation of which will not condemn the population of the country to conditions of famine but only, and rapidly, will cut conscription and allow them to return to their firesides. That is why we regret that the Communist Party, in answer to the question on Petrol put to the popular gathering by the Socialist Party, should have avoided the issue in place of the Pact of the League of Nations and also that the Executive of the International should have avoided the same issue by comprising it with the boycott of products exported by Japan, and other "economic sanctions" likely to ruin and starve a people with the result that the prestige of its military caste is strengthened. . . .

It is in the Popular Embargo that we pin our faith, on the direct action of the working masses! And when they will have, by their own means, halted the bellicose forces of Fascism which menace them at close quarters, they will soon understand that one must go farther afield, and that it is their own "democratic and pacific" States, their own armies, their own military men that they must disarm and render harmless by the same purely proletarian methods of action . . . Thus conceived, the campaign for the embargo of raw materials for warfare, can become one of the strongest levers for a Revolution which will not be born in, by and — alas! — for war but, for the first time, would destroy, along with capitalism, war and militarism as well.

We thus bring a double technique for economic struggle, negative by refusing Governments the means to kill, positive by offering all peoples means to live. This dual method will demand the suppression of all the large profits of our own capitalisms.

Our pacific "realism" will have utilised the very notions imposed on the workers in free countries by the neo-nationalist brain cramming (collective security, defence of democracies, etc.) and will have led them, through their own experience, to understand the trickery of a National Defence against an "enemy" armed by them themselves. And once they will have understood this, the Revolution — the true one, the one which abolishes wars — will no longer be "for tomorrow."

Helene Modiano.  
(Translated from "Essais et Combats")

## SPAIN and the WORLD

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

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

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

Supplies of our NO-WAR issue can be obtained at the special rates of 9d. per dozen or 100 copies 5s.9d. post free.