

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

AND  
THE

On Empires.

I have remarked again and again that a democracy cannot govern an empire . . . empire is a despotism.

Thucydides (111,37)

In embracing Imperialism it has, as the phrase goes, contradicted itself, for the fundamental idea of a democracy is not a particular form of government, but the reconciliation of government with liberty, and Imperialism is the negation of liberty.

L. T. Hobhouse (Democracy and Reaction)

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## Democracies attack on Freedom of the Press.

### Swiss Daily Suspended for three months.

Not only is France a democracy, but she also has a Popular Front Government which administers the law. Consequently you are told by the Socialists and Communists that the "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité" which symbolises French rule should be defended against "Fascist" invaders," etc.

One of the advantages of democracy, as your politicians will tell you is the Freedom of Speech and of the Press, which in fact does not exist in Totalitarian States. But they do not tell you how far this "freedom" goes. If they did you would not think so highly of the "advantages" of your democracies. An example of its limitations should be helpful.

We have already mentioned the fact that the *Libertaire* has been seized several times by the police. It was again seized last week in even more interesting circumstances. The *Libertaire* of October 8th supplies the details: "We learnt that on the Wednesday evening the police had carried out a general visit to the kiosks and agents to intimate that they were not to put our paper on sale, and they were threatened with reprisals should these notes be ignored." In this manner the police hoped to save themselves the trouble of having to seize the paper again. But the paper came out just the same. Then the agents were visited again by the authorities. The editors of *Le Libertaire* were again charged with "provok-

ing the military to disobedience" and with anarchist propaganda as its aim. Fearing that our comrades would bring out a new edition, the commissioner of police of the district went to the printing shop of the *Libertaire* and placed the forms and the flings under seal.

All this happened in peace time! One can imagine what liberty of the Press there would be in time of war.

In the event that some may object that *Le Libertaire* is an anarchist paper and cannot be considered in the same light as the legal press of the Socialists, etc. (though we cannot see any objection ourselves), then another case of freedom of the press under democracy is provided by the suspension of the *Journal des Nations* by the Swiss Government for a period of three months. The Manchester Guardian's own correspondent describes the incident in the following terms:

The Swiss Federal Government has dealt its first blow at the liberty of the press to-day by suspending for three months the well-known international daily paper published in Geneva, the "Journal des Nations." The action is taken under a Federal decree of March 28, 1934, according to which a paper should be formally warned before any action is taken against it. No such warning has been received by the "Journal des Nations."

## The Railworkers' Strike.

(from our Correspondent)

"Unless we win this fight," said a striker who was talking in one of the cafes frequented by the Euston railway porters, "We might as well tear up our cards." Those words are characteristic of militant opinion amongst the workers of the L.M.S.

"Make no mistake about it," he continued; "There is more behind this than the case of an old man refusing to join up in the Union. It is a test. It is a test of whether the Trade Unions can be any use to us at all."

The workers are beginning to understand the futility of unions that are not backed by 100 per cent. support. They are beginning to understand that unless they control their unions themselves there will not be any decisive action taken in the interests of the working-class. That is why criticism of the Trade Union "leadership" is rife.

Militancy has been undermined by confusion arising out of the fact that the workers are split up into different unions, but in spite of this the men stand firm. The attitude towards those clerks who have been mean enough to take on the jobs of porters, is one of absolute contempt, but there is nothing but admiration for the strikers amongst those who have not yet become concerned.

"The porters are the worst paid workers on the railway," said an engine driver at St. Pancras, "And yet they are striking. They have certainly got guts."

Here the spirit is even stronger. But there is reason for believing that Euston will follow up by adopting a similar line. A few of the men who still remain at work are beginning to feel uncertain about the correctness of their attitude.

Strikes of this description are not the sort of quibbles over insignificant formalities that the capitalist press would wish them to appear. The cases that are presented to the public are no more than trigger actions which serve to fire some fundamental cause for discontent.

The inadequate wages and dis-

Continued on page 4, column 5

## A WAR FOR DEMOCRACY?

### An answer to our critics.

An immediate World Conflict seems to have been averted, but "peace in our time" seems as remote to-day as it was a fortnight ago.

In spite of the Munich non-aggression pact between Hitler and Chamberlain, both England and Germany are continuing their arms race; England intensifying her rearmament programme, and organizing all the services and man (and woman) power in the rearguard, whilst Hitler is continuing his programme of fortification.

Nevertheless there is breathing space, and it should be used by the workers, not as a period when they can sigh with relief

and inwardly thank somebody (Italy says Mussolini, Germany, Hitler, England, Chamberlain and the Archbishop of Canterbury thanks God!), but as a lease of life so that their opposition to war can find expression amongst all their fellow workers. The greatest menace to progress and civilization to-day is the National Press. It has the power to think for and to control the very actions of the workers. Only a few critics oppose them and as a rule they are either ignored or forgotten.

A month ago we suggested that the last war would be "no more a war for Czechoslovakia democracy than the last war was for Belgium independence". These reflections were lost in the praise of pro-war literature which paralysed most people.

Yet last week the pugnacious First Lord of the Admiralty in his speech to the House said quite plainly that "It was not for Czechoslovakia that we should have been fighting if we had gone to war last week." "It was not for Serbia or Belgium that we fought in 1914 through it suited some people to say so..." Meanwhile Pollitt in his pamphlet on Czechoslovakia was talking of uniting with France and Russia in "defence of her (Czechoslovakia) independence and the democracy of the world." How well informed is the Leader of the Communist Party! We also suggested a month ago that a message should reach the German workers in which the British proletariat clearly stated that it would not fight to defend Capitalist inter-

Continued on Page 2.

## We need our Pacifists

I who am an old man with one foot in the grave have most of my life looked forward to the United States of the World. With that union of Mankind wars would cease

By  
HAVELOCK ELLIS

and a true civilisation at last become possible. I would like once more to repeat that message which has never seemed so urgent as at this time of crisis.

The United States of Europe is the necessary step towards a wider Union. The historical phase of nationality is over. To speak any longer in terms of nationalities is to court inevitable disaster. So is also a direct fight against Fascism in defence of other principles of nationality..

When carrying on their negotiations it is time our diplomats ceased to harp upon the rights of nationalities. Czechoslovakia, an artificial State created by a few powerful and arrogant nations out of the chaos of the last war, is demed to have such an individual national sanctity as to justify a world-wide war over the question of its defence or dismemberment. Germany has no more

right to rule over all German speaking people than we have to rule over all English-speaking people.

Bones of contention, Alsation, Sudetan or other, will always exist so long as men go on thinking nationalistically. Such a country as Switzerland might well be torn to pieces between three powerful nations on account of its three different languages. Nations are among the most artificial creation of Man, totally arbitrary for the most part, for the old racial notions are now scientifically exploded.

That Europe is in a sore plight as the aftermath of nations having mistakenly jumped at each other's throat 24 years ago is no reason to continue piling catastrophe upon catastrophe in the name of a murderous gospel long out of date in the light of science and common sense. Neither is it anything but madness to blame Germans for behaving like hogs in a Europe where they have been treated like hogs after a war for which cooler judgment has long since led most thinking people to find wrongs fairly equal on both sides. Nor are hoggish dispositions so peculiar a phenomenon in Europe. He who sees the mote in his brother's eye does not see the beam in his own.

Some of us would die happier should we see the group of fellow-men to whom we belong ready to stand, even at this time of crisis, for an immediate proposal of total disarmament and an invitation to all other nations in the world to meet through their representatives, in view of promoting parallel total disarmament and of creating the United States of Europe.

No more patched up maps of intensified nationalities, but the first draft of a new map, and the possibility of world-control of production, transport, and so on.

England seems well placed to take such a step with hope of success if its uncompromising pacifists are called forth to replace the type of worn-out and old-fashioned diplomats.

The alleged reason for the suspension is an article on the Munich conference published in the paper, in which the four-Power conference at Munich was described as the "club des chareutiers" (mangler's club), a name given to the four-Power pact by the late Eugene Lautier, the French Minister, to indicate that its purpose was to carve up the small countries of Europe. The *Journal des Nations* gave the phrase in inverted commas as a quotation from Lautier.

The official announcement of the suspension asserts that the use of this phrase "is of a nature, in view of the present international situation, gravely to imperil the good relations of Switzerland with foreign countries." A more significant reason for the suspension may be gathered from the statement in the official announcement that the expulsion from Switzerland of Señor Prato, one of the editors of the "Journal des Nations," some time ago, was due to "numerous démarches made by the Governments concerned."

### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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## AN APPEAL THAT CANNOT REMAIN UNANSWERED!

We have on several occasions made appeals in these columns for a concerted effort to be made to meet our obligations and reduce the deficit. In spite of the fact that we stated that SPAIN AND THE WORLD would have to discontinue, we have continued publishing, more or less regularly every fortnight. But this a special appeal which must not go unanswered if SPAIN AND THE WORLD is to carry on in its work. The deficit

has risen to within a few pounds distance of £200. With a debt of this magnitude and shows no sign of diminishing, we must state quite definitely that we cannot continue publishing SPAIN AND THE WORLD regularly, now of all times that our voice should be 100 times more powerful than before.

We are issuing collection sheets for our PRESS FUND and are sending them to all active contacts.

Should any other reader wish to collect we shall gladly send sheets.

We are confidently awaiting the reply of all readers.

The Editors

London: V.R. 5/6; Bristol: J. S. Richfield 1/-; San Francisco: p.p. picnic Sept. 18th per L.N. £3/1/6 San. Francisco: Jones 50c., Paolino \$1, Pollin 50c., Baggio 50c., (per L.N.) 10/3; London: V.R. 3/6 London: T. Brown 2/6; London: D.A. 10/- — £4/14/3.

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**WAR FOR DEMOCRACY.**

Continued from page 1

ests. Some time later the Press published the text of a message which the Labour Party had sent to the German workers through underground channels. It was to the effect that the British workers did not have any grievance with the German workers. This was followed by an appeal by the organization "Voluntary Industrial Aid for Spain" asking for funds so that, rather than drop bombs on Berlin they could drop pamphlets instead.

We have mentioned the above by the way of showing that our suggestions are not impracticable as so many around have us believe.

We have also been criticized for an apparent change of position. Whereas, we are told, our position has been all along opposed to Fascism, to-day we remain impotent when an opportunity presents itself to effectively oppose Fascism!

This apparent "impotency" is owing to the fact that we have our ideas on the meaning of the terms Fascism, "Anti-Fascism" and "Democracy".

**Spain and a World War.**

For this reason we cannot compare, for instance, the struggle in Spain and the war which was to have come. Nor could we see Spain helped in any way by a World War. Many people in good faith we are sure, imagined that a war in which Italy and Germany were involved on the one hand and the three "democracies" on the other would mean immediate help for the Spanish workers in the form of arms and perhaps men and the consequence crushing of the Fascist forces in Spain. These people ignored that Italy and Germany would have done likewise, arming and strengthening the Spanish Fascists and intensifying their aerial attacks on the civilian population in Spain, from their heavily fortified base in Majorca. The result—Spain would become the battlefield for two wars. The one, between the representatives of the working class and the Capitalist system, the other between rival imperialists. An effective answer is given to those who hope for a "world war in order to save Spain". The official organ of the C.N.T. in Paris publishes a very strong article in which it is stated that: Even before President Negrin made his statement before the Assembly of the League, we, on our own initiative, affirmed that it had never been in the mind of the humblest Spaniard to hope for a world war in order to seek a solution to the Spanish drama, or in order to increase the possibility of a victory of the Loyalists, or a definite and sensational victory. No. We have stated it and we repeat it".

"The Spanish people know of

all the horrors of war". "The Spanish people do not wish to see, for anything in the world, blood being shed all over Europe for them". The remainder of the article merely strengthens the ideas expressed above. This attitude precludes those Left parties and organizations from given as an excuse for their pro-war propaganda, the defense of Spain!

**Refugee Problem.**

Nor can they show their attitude was governed by their sympathies for the refugees that would flee before Hitler's advance into Czechoslovakia, for if it was so there should have already been revolutions in every 'democracy' in Europe as well as on the other side of the Atlantic where refugees are treated with the same "respect" as shown by Hitler (e.g. political refugees in France sent back to Italy and Germany. German Refugees in England sentenced to terms of imprisonment and then deported to Germany. And how many examples could be given of the ill treatment of refugees in America the stronghold of democracy?)

Then if the possible refugees were not considered, was it Czechoslovakian democracy—as an institution, that was to be defended?

**Czechoslovak Democracy.**

What is the record of this democratic institution which has received so much publicity, so much praise by the Capitalist—Radical Press? So strongly has public sympathy been worked up by their press that the romantic figure of a General in front page news, and Dr. Benes is the man of the day, offered chair in America Universities and Nationalist candidature for the Glasgow rectorial elections, whilst readers write to their papers putting forward that Benes should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize!

Yet these people are unaware that Czechoslovakia is in the hands of its 12 families in the same way as France is in the hands of its 200 families, U.S.A. its 60 families, and England its bankers and industrialists. Must we therefore sacrifice millions of lives to safeguard these 12 families? Would Harry Pollitt and the C.P. tell the British workers to fight and defend those whom they call the "Cliveden gang"? No! Then why expect those very same workers to defend Czechoslovakia's "Cliveden gang"?

We are told that Czechoslovakia has treated her minorities well.\* Is that a justification for them to remain under Czechoslovakian domination. Is that any more justification than to suggest that the Irish should remain under British Domination?

Further discussion should be unnecessary. The First Lord of the Admiralty in his few words has said all that should be said. He should have exposed in the eyes of the workers at least, on what is based the System of which he is one of the aggressive exponents.

The war-mongers are not only in Germany and Italy. They exist in every country, no matter whether they label themselves democrats or Fascists. In point of fact only a few days after the crisis, Chamberlain restored the export licenses to the armament manufacturers, so that they might help every country in the world (except Spain of course) to arm themselves to the teeth, irrespective of whether they

**IS FRANCE GOING FASCIST?**

From our Paris Correspondent.

All informed opinion agrees that the power of Fascism is increasing in France. Flandin and Doriot have latterly launched an attack of great fury; meetings posters and attacks against the Jews. Jews who prided themselves on their war services have been insulted and beaten. These occurrences are frequent. If this thought that open and official Fascism is gaining ground creates anxiety there is little to reassure us in the proceedings of the actual government under Daladier—which is democratic in name only, but acts exactly like a dictatorship. Daladier demanded plenary powers, after the Munich agreement, in the pretext that full power was necessary for the re-establishment of the national finances—which had been greatly

disturbed by the enormous expenses of the mobilisation.

The "solution" of the financial problem has proved to be a further deflation of the franc—which can only result in raising the already high cost of living.

What has become of workers conquests, so bravely fought for in May, 1936, during the occupation of the factories and workshops. They have been lost little by little. The forty hour week has been practically abolished, the 45 hour week is re-established, and now the talk is even of the return of the 48 hour week on the pretext of increasing production, in spite of the fact that the unemployment figures are rising!

Strikes which have broken out recently have been without success since the government has employed force to evacuate the strikers. The Marseille dock strike, which lasted two months, ended with a victory for the employers as strike breakers were brought in who worked under the supervision of the armed police. Just a few days ago a factory employing 2,000 workers was forcibly evacuated by the police.

At the same time that union liberties have been abolished so also have political liberties.

During the recent crisis meetings were banned—syndicalist and anarchist newspapers have been prosecuted for attacking the preparations for war—their publishers and contributors have been charged and

several of them are still in prison. In all this we see the results of the Popular Front policy. In June 1936, the working classes were all powerful, and were able to impose their will. After two years of Popular Front politics, they have been weakened, gagged and betrayed.

Blum was afraid to annoy the radicals—the government which followed him—has succeeded in demanding every sacrifice from the workers on behalf of National Defence. The Communists, who had the greatest influence in the C.G.T. have also pressed the workers to make concessions.

The tramway strike at Lille, and the strike in the building industry, have been sabotaged by the Stalinist Trade Union leaders.

Only revolutionary action by the great Unions can arrest the advance of Fascism in France.

The workers must realise that the political parties have only used them for their own propaganda, and have succeeded in making them forget class consciousness. The working class should know that national defence, national honour—and the improvement of business have no value to them—what they want is peace, the breakdown of capitalism, the right to self-expression.

It is only by such means that they can successfully resist Fascism.

M.L.B.

**WITHOUT COMMENT**

THE name of Sir John Anderson the former "Iron Governor" of Bengal, is being strongly "tipped" in political circles for the succession to Mr Thomas Inskip as Minister for Co-Ordination of Defence.

Since he returned to England last December Sir John has broken the speed limit by the rapidity with which high political and commercial appointments have been showered on him.

Within three months of his return from India he had been appointed to the Privy Council, elected National Government member of Parliament for the Scottish Universities, made a director of Vickers, and joined the board of the Midland Bank.

Since May he has been appointed a director of Imperial Chemicals has refused the chairmanship of Imperial Airways, and has made his maiden speech in the House.

If now, before the year is out, he becomes Defence Minister, he will break all existing records for quick promotion.

(Our only comment; italics are ours!) *Evening Standard.*

are democrats or Fascists! The Skoda armaments factory of democratic Czechoslovakia (the largest in the world) also actively helped to arm the world with fearful machines of destruction—but that is apparently forgotten now!

Let those who during the recent weeks have blindly accepted what their Daily Press has poured forth, put to one side those capitalist-controlled sheets and try and think rapidly and independently.

And as they think of recent events which have dominated their existence, they may find reason and agree with one of the rare truisms uttered by G. B. Shaw; that the Englishman does not know what Liberty really means. He thinks he does because Politicians and the Press tell him he does. But if he weighs up the evidence, his conception of "democracy" must necessarily be modified!

There is a breathing space... The workers by their actions, by their responsibility towards themselves and their fellow workers can make it PEACE FOR ALL TIME!

V.R.

**Two opinions on PALESTINE**

(We are reproducing these two articles much for the reason that they represent "other opinions" on Palestine. The fact that we are publishing them does not necessarily signify our approval of either).—EDITOR.

**From the "Palestine Post," Jerusalem.**

When we remember the profound influence that Palestine through the Scriptures has had on the religion and the speech and therefore the thought of the British people, it is not surprising to find ourselves carried back beyond historical records to the realm of mythology. In this way the connection between Palestine and Britain dates back further than most people would think.

According to the fervently held belief of some, part of the seafaring tribe of Dan left Palestine for Greece—where they embodied their name in the Dardanelles—whence they made an expedition to Ireland and settled there, even before the days of Jeroboam II. They then crossed to Scotland and were later—fifteen hundred years later—joined by a second part of the same tribe who had wandered in a north-westerly direction overland across Europe and settled in what they made known as Denmark, whence they invaded Britain. The tribe of Simeon became the Scythians, then became modified in name to Kimmerii, then Cymri, by which name the Welsh call themselves even to-day. They called the country which they finally occupied

**From "As-Siraat al-Mustakim" (Arab Nationalist), Jerusalem.**

There has been a great deal in the press of late to the effect that British policy vis-a-vis Palestine is being dictated by World Jewry. What is the truth? How is it possible to believe that a great Imperial power with the resources of Great Britain, and which rules over large tracts of the earth's surface, would humble itself before a handful of Jews; and would be the willing servant of a few million sons of Zion? We do not believe that Great Britain would allow her might and strength to be used in the interests of these people. He would have to be clever indeed who would persuade Britain to take any line of action except in her own interests.

Where is this much vaunted power of Jewry? It was amply proved to the world by Hitler that it was built on foundations of deceit and questionable methods. Thus, we have a man like Dr. Weizmann uttering words to this effect to Great Britain:

"We shall remain in Palestine whether it is pleasing to you or not. You are able to accelerate or impede our progress at will. But you would be well advised to render us every assistance; otherwise our powers for construction could well be turned into powers of destruction, which would have disastrous results for the world!"

The Jews, a self-confessed helpless and weak people, threaten the world with destruction! No one should have any fear of these people, particularly now that their weakness has been laid bare by a Hitler!

**BRITAIN'S IMPERIALIST AIMS**

It is fact which admits of no argu-

Britain; they themselves were British, that is Brit-ish, which is Hebrew for "People of the Covenant." Now the Saxons are plainly Isaacsons—that is obvious, and the Normans are but a branch of the same group of Northmen. The present inhabitants of the British Isles are therefore simply a reunion of the tribes of Israel, and their to-day's occupation of Palestine—their country or origin—is seen to be natural and pre-ordained.

Thus are first and last things united. Not only, according to this belief, is the connection between Britain and Palestine a racial one. There is the strongest of personal links. For when Jeremiah went into exile after the destruction of the First Temple he did not go to Babylon, as is commonly supposed, but to his kinsmen in Ireland, taking with him a princess of the House of David. This lady married the ruler of Ireland, who was himself descended from Zarah, the son of Judah, and from them sprang the direct line whose representative in our own day is His Majesty King George VI. So much for mythology, as the British-Israelites read it.

ment or contradiction that it is manifestly in the interests of Great Britain to dominate Jewish policy. It is because of this that she favours a kind of Anglo-Zionist policy in Palestine. She is bent on breaking the power—however illusionary this might be—of the Jews as she has of other people who have stood in the way of her imperial ambitions.

Do not the Jews realise that the promise of the establishment of a National Home is rendering their existence in Europe untenable, quite apart from threatening them in Palestine itself? They can never recover their former position in Europe. They know well enough that they are in the hands of Great Britain and that this power is in a position to dictate to them as she has dictated to others.

Let the Jews do some heart-searching, and then they will be compelled to admit to themselves their great blunder. But they lack the courage to give voice to their thoughts, for by doing so they would lose the only sympathy left to them: that is, the sympathy of Great Britain.

Looking at the matter from another point, it would be well for all Arabs and Moslems to pay little heed to this mythical power of World Jewry. If the Arabs can convince Great Britain—and they are doing so—that her interests lie in the seeking of Arab friendship, even though the scales are weighed heavily against the Jews, then her policy will take a new turn in the direction of service towards the Arab and Islamic worlds.



## Revolutionary Economy in Spain

# The Workers Statute in Palancia | PRODUCTION INCREASES IN SEGORBE.

**STATUTES OF THE FEDERATION**  
Segorbe (Castellon)

Owing to the length of the Statutes we are printing only the most important articles.

### SECTION 11.

**Object and scope of the Federation.**  
Art. 4 The object of the Federation to bring together within its organisation all the Co-operative Collectives of the district of Palancia by means of a mutual solidarity pact between the said collectives. The district of Palancia comprises: Azuebar, Altura, Ahin, etc.

Art. 5 The aims of the Federation are:  
(a) To encourage increased production by a study of the problems of the work among the collectives, and a regulation of this work to insure stability and maximum profit from the production.  
(b) To acquire collectively the machinery, agricultural implements and any new technical improvements for the betterment of working conditions and production in general.  
(c) Export of surplus stock held by the Collectives.  
(d) The regular importation of those products necessary to the life of the Collectives.  
(e) The control of production and other activities. To unite the producing organisations for the economic, social and cultural progress of their members.

Art. 9 The union of these Co-Operative Collectives will be the guarantee of the Federation. The Administrative counsel must insure the economic, administrative and social harmony of the agricultural workers.

### SECTION IV.

Art. 10 All Co-operative Collectives in the District of Palancia may belong to the District Federation under the regulations set forth in the Statutes.

Art. 11 The Federation exercises full judicial rights. It may acquire and possess goods, undertake obligations, bring civil law suits, negotiate loans and give credit to such collectives as are in need. It may enter into contracts both at home and abroad, provided that they are compatible with its main purpose which is to defend the

interests of the collectives.  
Art. 12 Accounts must be kept, and all statistics of production must be given to the Federation by the Co-operative Collectives.  
Art. 13 All goods for exportation must pass through the hands of the Federation, which is responsible for all exchanges between other producing organisations and the District, Provincial and Regional Federations.  
Art. 14 The Federation authorises the Co-operative Collectives to exchange goods with other organisations within the same

district. An account must be kept of these exchanges.

Art. 15 No Collective may realise sales or exchanges without the authorisation of the Federation as set forth in the Statutes.

Art. 16 Failure to comply with these articles will be punished on the first occasion by a fine proportionate to the profits of the negotiation that has been made. A repetition will be punished by expulsion from the Federation.

Segorbe is situated in a rich fruit growing region. It has a population of 7000 inhabitants in normal times, but this has been increased since the war.

The agrarian collective, was formed by the inhabitants and refugees from Madrid, on the initiative of the militia column

of 'Torre Benedicto'.

Previous to July 19 the only syndicate was that of the C.N.T. which had a long history behind it. In 1920, under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, the local Federation was dissolved only to re-appear, stronger than ever, in 1931.

On the outbreak of the war the civil guard moved to Teruel, Capital of the province, leaving the village in the hands of the C.N.T. The militia columns passing through from Valencia, worked for the formation of the Collective, and by August 10 the Local Federation had drawn up the statutes of the Collective of Agricultural Producers, which was definitely approved on Feb. 14 1937.

150 families and 700 individuals work in the collective. The majority are ex-day labourers, but there are many small proprietors possessing a few acres of land.

The very large properties belonging to Fascists were taken over, as in the case of Domingo Orero, who owned 20,000 fruit trees.

The village is on the edge of the orange zone and among the great variety of fruits cultivated the orange is most important. Segorbe fruit is world famed and natives of the village were sent to Russia to teach their methods of fruit growing.

At the time of Souchy's visit, in Sept. of '37, 5,000 kilos of fruit were being sent daily to Barcelona.

Other produce includes: rice, olives, almonds, carob, grapes and flowers.

Those proprietors who have remained loyal to the regime, may continue to rent their land, the rents being paid by the collective.

The collective has its own Rationalist School.



Every man woman and child are in the streets to welcome the C.N.T. columns. A striking contrast to Franco's "triumphal entree."

## PEACE ? NO, BUT A MOMENT'S RESPITE!

It is no mere accident that such strikes as this have often shown to follow after the reactionary activities of governments, for the growing discontent of the masses, the defeatist attitude of workers' "Leaders," the opportunist manoeuvring of political acrobats, and the ruling class drives towards Fascism and wars, are all of them but reflexes arising out of capitalism's vast internal malady: a malady that will drag down humanity into a new age of slavery and barbarism unless the workers rise and use the surgery of civil war.

And now, granted these facts, let us examine the situation created by the peace of Munich. To be sure, this agreement implies profound changes. Firstly in the position of Germany in central Europe. The incorporation of 3 millions of nationals and of rich industrial regions, cannot fail to greatly increase her political and economic power. But above all, the decline of Czechoslovakia must bring with it serious consequences. Henceforth, this state will be unable to maintain the role assigned to it by French and Russian imperialism, that of an obstacle to Germany expansion in Central Europe and the Balkans. Cut off from regions essential to her economic and military existence, fettered, dominated geographically by the Reich, abandoned by France, Czechoslovakia must maintain an attitude of extreme humility or even resign herself to gravitate in the orbit of her more powerful neighbour.

Moreover it has been pointed out that the Anglo-German declaration may be but the preliminary to a manoeuvre which would fundamentally change the equilibrium of Europe, at present depending on the two groups constituted by the Rome-Berlin axis, and the Franco-British entente in which, with certain important reservations, we might include Russia.

Will Germany consent to a

separation from Italy, whose ambitions in the Mediterranean are causing anxiety to Great Britain, the originator of this new alignment of powers? In London, in the conservative circles supporting Chamberlain, there appears to be no doubt of it. They are working for a "rapprochement" between France and Germany on the essential condition that the former renounces the Franco-Soviet Pact.

This accomplished Italy, being isolated would, like Czechoslovakia, find herself obliged to yield to the power of Great Britain.

One cannot yet judge of the effects of these ingenious machinations of the English conservatives who have not yet digested the conquest of Ethiopia, the occupation of the Balearics and Mussolini's audacious threats against imperial possessions and important routes.

But, even now, one can predict upheavals which will affect the whole European structure.

In considering the reaction of the public to the recent crisis we notice two things: First, the recent events which brought us to the verge of war, reveal a complete failure of the proletarian organisations, both political and syndical, to take action for peace. On the contrary, the existing organisations, particularly in France and England, have been enthusiastically bellicose. In striking contrast to this war-like attitude, the rank and file, in the Dictator countries, just as much as in England and France have, by their enthusiastic acclamation of Chamberlain and Daladier, and by the despair of the mobilised and civilians at the prospect of the unspeakable horror of war, manifested an immense desire for peace. There could be no doubt that the masses only wanted peace, and could not be influenced by the chauvinist propaganda of "Messidor" and "Humanite" any more than by the speeches of Hitler and Mussolini.

It is said that a king is convicted by the silence of the people. Have the kings of to-day been aware of the antagonistic silence of their subjects? If that were so, then the Munich understanding may have important consequences for the national and international workers movement. Are not the first conditions for it embodied in the declaration of the C.A. of the C.G.T. published in "Le Peuple" on Octo-

## The People must decide

While the People fight, programmes are planned in the name of the People. We have our own ideas as to what our people are fighting for. Certainly they are not the "fundamental reasons" which have recently been defended by certain sections, in the fight against fascism and for liberty. For, in spite of what we keep hearing to the contrary, we are still fighting for the revolution. The workers, that is to say the immense majority at the fronts and in the field of production, are also fighting for the revolution.

It is said that after the victory the People will be free to decide its own destiny. That is what we want. Provided complete freedom of determination can be guaranteed this is the only formula we can work to. But if this is true then on what are they based—these programmes pointing out the economic, political and social directions that Spain must follow? How can these plans, which are obviously of reactionary origin, be reconciled with the free will of the People, which

is to manifest itself once fascism is overthrown?

The fact is, that the People have not been consulted. It cannot be called upon to make politico-social programmes, either good or bad, for the simple reason that the People is on the battle fronts. Those who form the People's Army are those who have the right to say what Spain is defending now, and what she aspires to become in the future. Until the voice of the People is heard, and not through the interpreters of political parties, it cannot be said that or that programme corresponds to its wishes. Once that circumstances permit of the full expression of these wishes, only the voice of the People shall be heard.

Remember, all of you, that fictions don't go down well with the Spanish proletariat. Better leave them to totalitarian regimes. Here we have to obey the real orders of the People. Now and always.

Tierra y Libertad



# Friendly and Unfriendly

## A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

### TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF JUSTICE.

It is often said, and quite rightly that there are two laws: one for the rich another for the poor. The October number of "North Camberwell Citizen" explains with facts how these two laws operate:

"Two smart, intelligent-looking aircraft apprentices wearing the R.A.F. uniform appeared in the dock charged with stealing an aeroplane and with being in possession of a sawn-off shotgun.

The adventure ended in disaster, the plane, valued at £2,000 was wrecked, and the lads arrested.

They came from good homes, their fathers being professional men. They were defended by counsel, who entered the plea that they were foolish, high-spirited lads in search of adventure.

They were bound over in recognisances in the care of their parents and the probation officer.

A little later two other lads of the same age entered the dock in khaki uniform of His Majesty's Army—they were charged with stealing a motor car.

They both came from poor homes, and their appearance showed their upbringing.

They were undefended and were given three years in a Borstal institution. The learned Chairman of the Bench was kind and sympathetic, and could do no other."

### EDUCATION ON MILITARY FOOTING.

EDUCATION in time of war is the topic dealt with in a letter to the Times (October 8th). The writer suggests that in order to maintain the required level of education some special measures should be taken right now. He suggests that teachers within the age limits would be conscribed for the Army, but unless they were required for "specific war-duty" their duty would be to teach. And then follows the main idea behind this letter. "But, being in the Army they would wear uniform, receive the rates of pay obtaining in the services, and be appointed for duty at school... as it would be a Government plan, teachers conscious that they were physically fit for active service, but none the less drafted to teach, could wear their uniform with pride, knowing that they were for the moment "doing their bit". The uniform, you see, makes all the difference!

### HARD CENTRE CHOCOLATES!

FEATURES of the smuggling across the frontier of gold, platinum, precious stones, and Italian and foreign banknotes are described in an inquiry conducted by the *Piccolo*. Chocolates stuffed with diamonds, railway cushions and bookbindings padded with banknotes, a platinum bar converted into a hummer and thrown, in apparently careless fashion, among the normal tools of a motor-car driver, are some of the methods devised by the fertile imagination of professional smugglers catering for rich customers who, in exceptional times, wish to transfer property abroad. Among the latest finds of the Customs police on the Italo-Yugoslav frontier was a motor-car number-plate made entirely of gold and painted in black and white.

These are the patriots who talk of the anti-patriotic "Reds." These are the people who applauded when Mussolini announced to the Italian people that they had an empire! With apologies to Shakespeare one should add. Patriotism should be made of sterner stuff!

### LET'S HELP THE BOSSES!

THE "Brochure Populaire" (No. 19) this month gives an account of an "Information Meeting" which was organised by the French Communist Party at the end of August. It contains real gems, and it is a pity that lack of space prevents us from reproducing many.

One militant stated that "a recent decree granted the right to the management to inspire a 45 hour week... Those workers who care for the security of their country have executed this decree good humouredly!" Viva la patrie should have been added to the remarks of this 1938 Communist. Further on one reads that: "During repairs some workers lose on an average 15—20 hours every fortnight. This morning they sent their delegates to protest and demand that the 40 hour week should be reinstated in their workshop, not wishing to be paid for work they had not carried out!" The bosses must be grateful: more dividends for them, more misery for the workers and their families.

A Stakanovist in the Citroën factory states without blushing that: "the daily production in 1937 was 218 cars per day with 17,246 workers, whilst in 1938 17,500 produced 252 cars. He adds that whereas in 1928 there were 35,000 workers, there were now only 21,800!

Another militant remarks that the administration of the factory where he worked "was satisfied with the production" and that they were producing more than in 1936!

Long live the Bosses!

### ATROCITY STORIES.

ONE need hardly reproduce here the number of atrocity stories that have been circulated by the Catholic Fascists in Spain as to the treatment meted out to the nuns and priests in "Red" territory.

What have these Catholics and their supporters to say about maltreatment of priests in Vienna for instance, and at the hands of those very people who are the "Saviours of Christianity" in Spain and constantly praised by that newspaper "The Universe"?

The following is an extract from a report in a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian*.

"While a group of demonstrators stormed the palace other tried to force their way into the vicarage. As it appeared impossible to break through the heavy door of the vicarage they broke a window and opened the door from inside. Several priests in the vicarage were assaulted. One, Father Krawarik, aged sixty, was thrown out of a window from the first floor to the yard. He suffered concussion and fracture of both legs...

In well-informed clerical quarters it is stated that the tension between the Church and the Nazi party is much worse now in Austria than in the old Reich.

Apparently it is not only in "Red" Spain that the Church loses its privilege. Cardinal Innitit addressing 8,000 Catholic youths said:

"You have lost nearly everything in the past month. You have lost your Catholic clubs and your Christian unions. LIBERTARIAN."

## THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN.

Unity in action is a measure of sincerity. It indicates something which is even greater, recognition of reality.

That is why the meeting held on Sunday the 9th of October was one of great significance. The inauguration of The Anarchist Federation of Britain may well become a turning point towards the true development of British Anarchism.

The Movement has become united by its clear recognition of the advancing danger of Imperialist war. That must not become obscured by shadows falling from the past. The United Movement must look ahead towards its opportunities and its responsibilities.

The crisis facing the workers today is far more serious than anything which has occurred in recent history. Retreating before the drive of reaction, Communism moves along the disastrous course laid down by the inexorable logic of its opportunist policy. The Labour Movement flirts with the treacherous concept of giving unconditional support to Chamberlain's pro-fascist Government. Maxton speaks as the voice of the Independent Labour Party by sending Chamberlain on his flights for Fascist intrigue with his wishes for God's speed. The voice is indistinguishable from the false and treacherous pacifism of the reactionaries who hail their claims to saving peace with more demands to prepare for war.

Now is the time for the Anarchist Movement to increase its energies and extend the scope of its activities. Already enthusiastic workers have produced a leaflet on the war danger and sent it on its way to the printers. Others will follow. A representative committee will bring before the workers the day-to-day issues of the class struggle. Those who can distribute literature, help us with technical information, or send us money, must unite in a concerted effort with every shoulder to the wheel.

R.V.S.

Anyone interested in this organisation should get in touch with the Secretary, 21 Frith Street, London, W.1.

### Scottish Comrades Should JOIN THE ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST FEDERATION

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

### WORKERS FRIEND MEETINGS AND SOCIAL

CELEBRATION OF 39th ANNIVERSARY OF THE "FREIE ARBEITRE STIMME" on SUNDAY, 23rd, OCTOBER 1938.

Speakers: Dr. J. Steinberg, A. B. Mace, Geo. Cores, and Delegates from Anarchist Groups and Friendly Organisations.

W. West in the Chair.  
Commence 7.30 p.m.

### LECTURES

OCTOBER 30th. T. A. RIDLEY  
Subject, "MARXISM and ANARCHISM"

NOVEMBER 6th. BONAR THOMSON  
Subject, "G. BERNARD SHAW"

NOVEMBER 13th. J. HUMPHREY  
Subject, "ANARCHIST COLONIES"

### PRO ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS

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### PEACE? NO, BUT A MOMENT'S RESPIRE. Continued from page 3

ber 2nd? Of this declaration, we read that certain passages relating to the Munich agreement were passed by majority vote. Does this mean that the majority of the C.A. has at last managed to shake off the yoke of the Stalinists, who are increasingly committed to the war policy demanded by the leaders in Russia? If this is really so, then a new stand of the syndical movement, leading to a return to internationalism, is possible. This would be another justification of our anxiety: the worst peace agreement is better than war for it leaves a loophole. The war leaves nothing.

But now the proletariat, conscious of the terrible danger we have run, must use this respite which has been granted us to

build a lasting peace. Not the precarious peace that rests on diplomatic combinations, but peace founded on unity of the peoples regardless of frontiers. The Munich Agreement is the result of the efforts of governments to settle peacefully the bitterest imperialist conflict since the world war. With the C.A. and the C.G.T. we congratulate them on having prevented the worst evil.

Nevertheless, it would be madness to think that we can now dispense with action from the working classes. Immediate action to widen the field and to direct their affairs regardless of the diplomats. It is the voice of the working class that should be heard now.

Le Libertaire.

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### THE RAILWAY WORKERS STRIKE. Continued from page 4

graceful conditions of labours have long been a cause of growing dissatisfaction amongst workers on the railways. The true spirit of slave driving which characterises the transport bosses is symbolised by a brief but informative notice which may be seen upon the walls of the Parcels Office at Euston Station. "Keep awake and you will not get hurt." There is more significance in those few words than in all the beatings of the railway companies, designed to show that it is necessary to retain the miserable wages and conditions of the workers, in order that there swelling profits should continue to be made.

Many comrades and group secretaries have sent in advance orders for our pamphlet. Those who have not done so, would greatly assist us in estimating the quantity to be published if they would let us know within the next two days at the latest.

### Social Reconstruction in Spain

by *Gaston Leval* is a detailed account of the constructive work carried out by the workers in Spain. It is an eloquent answer to those who maintain that without Central control, order and effective management is impossible. The results, you are told, are chaos and bloodshed. Spain has shown just the contrary. From the smallest, insignificant village to the large industrialised towns, collectivization, carried out by the workers themselves, has proved itself wholly satisfactory, for not only does it put all men on equal basis; it also abolishes that evil spirit of competition between men (which is encouraged by the Capitalist to further its own ends) which for obvious reasons destroys their feeling of solidarity towards one another. But, *Gaston Leval* points out, this lack of competition does not mean death to individuality and individual initiative. They manifest themselves even more strongly, for the workers know that they are working not to keep a few individuals in luxury out for the common good.

### SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN SPAIN

is a pamphlet that should be read by everyone. All interested in the Spanish workers' struggle should make sure that our pamphlet has a wide circulation in every corner of the world where English is spoken!

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## The Children of Spain need your Solidarity.

As the War drags on, so the heeds of the Spanish children increase. Our children at MASNOU are, thanks to the readers of SPAIN and the WORLD from all over the world, being well cared for, and will we hope be spared the horrors of war. But there are thousands of children in Spain without shelter and care. It is our bounden duty, an expression of gratitude to their brave fathers and mothers who are sacrificing all for an ideal, to do all in our power to alleviate all the

suffering among the innocent children of Spain. We must be able to accommodate another 30 children at Masnou (there will be room for them as soon as the repairs have been completed) before winter takes its toll of the frail little ones who have already suffered too great hardships. Send all you can, now, to "Spain and the World" Orphan Fund, 21, Frith Street, London, W.1 EVERY PENNY goes to the children of Spain!

### ORPHANS' FUND.

(Sept. 30th—Oct. 12th)  
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