

# new trends ...

VOL. I., No. 5-6.

FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1946

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

## New Tactics for Labor

By Sidney Morrison

ON THE HOPEFUL SIDE of the balance sheet in organized labor's dramatic struggle for higher wages is the demand by many of the striking workers that wage increases should not be accompanied by a rise in the prices of the goods they produce. This demand is indicative of a profound change in the thinking habits of the organized working class which until recently tended to limit its activities to the struggle for such things as higher pay scales, the right to organize and bargain collectively, but failed to see the connection between their job struggles and the workings of the capitalist economic system as a whole.

The labor movement in the past ten years has not only grown in size, but it is beginning to understand the facts of economic life: a gain in money wages may be offset by a change in price levels; high wages for some workers and low wages for the others eventually tend to set worker against worker to the detriment of all; workers have a stake in the general economic well-being of the country and should have a voice in determining the basic conditions of such well-being.

Only a very limited degree of success in this respect can be looked for at present, for the capitalists still have the biggest say in running the show. The steel workers' strike ended in a partial victory. Their wage increase of 18½ cents an hour is accompanied by a \$5 per ton boost in the price of steel. But there's no question that it would have been worse without the pressure of labor's price demands.

New growth of social and economic consciousness is evident in the unique character of some of the strikes that have included nearly two million workers in automotive, steel, electrical, meat-packing, and other industries. In the face of a strategically planned attack by billion-dollar corporations to consolidate war-time financial gains at the expense of labor's living standards, organized labor has acted with a display of solidarity that has completely closed down struck plants and mills. Thus far no significant attempt at direct scabbing has been made in any of the big strikes. Reports from picket lines and strike headquarters all over the country gave one the impression that the technique of running a strike has been considerably developed, that the strikers have achieved a certain degree of support among elements of the lower middle class such as local small businessmen and the public in general, and that the rank-and-file, determined to stick it out this time, is much more militant than the lead-

ership. The strikes also appear to have shattered reactionary hopes that veterans and racial minorities would be used against labor. Cynics, pessimists, and retired radicals are being shocked by the degree of social consciousness generated by this historic up-sweep of labor.

### The Weapons of Capital

Realizing that the strategy of the corporations cleverly undermines both the level of wages and the structure of prices while they are backed up by huge reserves and government tax rebates, the unions have counter-attacked on the wage and price fronts. Some of the corporations have backed down a little. Ford and Chrysler granted wage increases of slightly more than half of what the union demanded. But the industrialists can hold out a long time and although settlements are being made, of course, they have other weapons of a more subtle nature which organized labor does not yet fully comprehend. Those weapons are founded on the ever-growing monopoly of capital in the economic and political spheres, a monopoly which expresses itself in numerous ways such as withholding of goods, influencing legislation, control of major channels of public information, etc. While labor tries to stabilize its position in the complex capitalist economic mechanism by moving the levers of wages, and now prices, the capitalist class utilizes the numerous other levers which it can manipulate. Today it finds a direct at-

(Continued on Page 5)

### IN THIS ISSUE

- New Tactics for Labor*.....SIDNEY MORRISON  
*Shadows in "Free" Russia*.....JOSEPH HARAP  
*The Spanish Dilemma*.....DOCUMENTS  
*Spain-in-Exile: Its Background*...GABRIEL JAVSICAS  
*Accident or Murder?*.....JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL  
*Ivory Tower or Market Place?*.....J. S. WHITE  
*Death Stalks the Coal Fields*  
AND OTHER EDITORIALS  
*Syndicalism in France*  
*New Tresca Suspects*.....ERIC DUANE



# new trends ...

*A Magazine of Modern Thought and Action*

Published Monthly by

NEW TRENDS ASSOCIATES, Inc.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Telephone: VAnDerbilt 6-4185 - 4186

Subscription rates: 1 year: \$1.50. Single copies: 15 cents.

## C.N.T. AT HOME AND IN EXILE

**O**UR READERS will get acquainted, elsewhere in this issue, with the sharp internal struggle developing within the revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in Spain.

The unfortunate experiment, during the civil war in Spain, from 1936 to 1939, of the Spanish National Confederation of Labor (CNT) having accepted participation in the Spanish Central Government as well as in the Catalonian (regional) Generality, is the main bone of contention.

Had such participation given however slight a symptom of usefulness, we might have admitted the necessity of examining today all over again the need of participating in the present government-in-exile and, particularly, in the future government of the Spanish Republic.

But it is now admitted by all that the participation of the CNT during the civil war has brought nothing but moral weakness to the CNT. It lost much prestige; it disrupted its unity which was proverbial and historical; it rendered it responsible for untold misdeeds carried out by its government partners and, last but not least, it strengthened the aggressiveness of the till then lilliputian Communist Party of Spain and of that other bolshevik offspring, the POUM.

The spirit and future of the Spanish people is being heavily mortgaged by the neo-politicians within the CNT. With Franco's disappearance, the interest to be paid by the Spanish working class, by the Spanish people as a whole, on this mortgage may spell bankruptcy for the whole Libertarian Movement because of internal disintegration. This is the great danger to be fought against.

The Spanish Libertarian Movement-in-exile has taken almost unanimously a strong stand against the new political policy of the CNT in Spain. It is to be regretted that the Libertarian Movement within Spain is not yet able to raise its voice. We have a hunch that were its voice to be heard, the Libertarian Movement all the world over, Spanish or non-Spanish, would give a deep sigh of relief.

## A SLIGHT CHANGE WHICH REQUIRES AN EXPLANATION

**T**HE FIRST ORGAN of the CNT-in-exile to be published while the war was on was *Solidaridad Obrera* in Mexico. It appeared with the sub-title "Voice of the CNT-ist Militancy-in-Exile."

It remained true to the historic principles of the CNT.

When participation in the government-in-exile was decided upon, *Solidaridad Obrera* of Mexico became the official organ "of the CNT-ist Militancy-in-Exile" and the "Voice of the National Confederation of Labor of Spain." It also added to its title the International Working Men's Association three initials "AIT," indicating its affiliation to the International Working Men's Association (IWMA), known as the Anarcho-Syndicalist International.

That these additional three letters have been inserted at the very moment when the paper became pro-collaborationist brings up the question: What is the attitude of this International toward the new policy of the CNT?

The IWMA was inactive during the war, but its Secretariat is still in Sweden. It should inquire from all the sections that exist in the various countries, what their opinion is on the CNT policy.

## FULL STEAM AHEAD TO WORLD WAR III

**V**ICE-COMMISSAR VISHINSKY attacks Great Britain's policy in Greece; Iran complains of Soviet intervention in its internal affairs; then we read Foreign Secretary Bevin's strong rejoinder that the USSR is the chief danger to world peace. Add to it such "small" matters as the Russians accusing the Americans of interfering in Korea, or the Poles (or is it again the Russians?) accusing the British of feeding a Polish army to be thrown against the present régime in Poland—and you will have a fairly good picture of the disunited nations and of its Insecurity Council now quarrelling in London.

The problem will again be that of making the other fellow the chief culprit in breaking the peace.

And the atomic bomb, supposed to be used "exclusively for peaceful and humanitarian ends" will come in for its more "immediate" purpose.

What does that immediate purpose mean?

The first atomic bomb which was released on Hiroshima resulted in—according to an official report from Supreme Allied Headquarters — no less than 306,000 casualties of which over 78,000 are dead, with about 14,000 still missing and presumably dead too.

## PRESIDENT TRUMAN IN CONFLICT WITH "PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES"

**T**HE PRESIDENT'S broadcast to the people on January 3rd hit on the head the role of the "people's representatives." "Experience has repeatedly shown," President Truman proclaimed dejectedly "that once the public knows the facts it can make its opinion felt in a practical way." And a little later: "From personal experience, I know that contact with the people back home helps every public servant. I urge you to tell your public servant your own views concerning the grave problems fac-



ing our country. In a free country the voice of the people must be heard."

But then, if the people have to tell those they elect what they [the elected] have to do, why not introduce the Swiss system by which every question arising out of the country's needs goes first to a popular referendum, the result of the referendum becoming law?

So far, alas, the so-called "servants of the people" have always shown themselves masters of the people's destinies.

The latest proof is the vicious filibuster in the Senate against the bill making permanent the Fair Employment Practices Committee. As it happens, President Truman's own political friends have shelved the bill he was anxious to have passed.

Parliamentary representation is a farce for the people's "representatives"; it is a tragedy for the people.

#### MILITARY IMPLICATIONS?

**T**HE RECENT SALE of planes to Franco Spain by the U. S. Army was, as the State Department put it, "solely a commercial matter without political implications."

(So, by the way, was the sale by the United States of scrap metal to Japan.)

Are the planes to be used for bombing the people of Spain when the day of reckoning will come?

And will the blood of the Spanish people be on our hands because of Dean Acheson's "no implication" mercantilism?

#### FRENCH OFFICIAL LABOR AGAINST STRIKERS

**T**HE PARIS PRINTERS went on strike and no papers appeared in the Ville Lumière. Louis Saillant, one of the Secretaries of the General Confederation of Labor and a Moscow carrier pigeon, had to arbitrate. He ruled against the strikers because their demands "conflicted with the Government's deflation program" and ordered them to go back to work.

Starve, fellow workers; the government's program is more important than your and your children's hunger. And remember, unruly strikers, that the Communists intend to take power into their own hands. You will know then what it means to strike.

#### WHERE ARE THE MATURE?

**T**HE MOST INVIGORATING and brilliant speech by Lillian Smith at the annual dinner of the League for Mutual Aid, raises a most important question: Who are the mature and who are the immature people nowadays? Lillian Smith points her finger in the right direction. The so-called political leaders doubtless belong to the immature: they continue to speak the language of nationalism, imperialism and aggressiveness, and it matters very little whether they come from the right wing or from the left wing.

People who cannot read or write are frequently more mature than scholars and lawyers.

But there are those who, having boasted of being

mature, have now found out that it was but illusory. And so we have three groups: the unconsciously immature, who want to lead the world; the consciously mature, who are tired of being led; and those who are conscious of their desire to become mature but whose entire background and education are linked to those who cannot see themselves otherwise than as leaders.

This last group has a great function to perform: erect an impossible barrier between the leaders and the led, and let the latter have the unhampered chance of building a better world without wars, because wars are the manure ground on which immature leaders thrive.

#### DEATH STALKS THE COAL FIELDS

**N**OT LESS than 73 large Kentucky mines operate without coverage by the State Workmen's Compensation Act. "To insure against a repetition of the Four Mile tragedy," says the *United Mine Workers' Journal*, "presidents of three UMW districts in Kentucky announced that employment of members of the union in any mine not fully covered by compensation insurance will be prohibited."

Good—but not good enough. It's akin to locking a barn after many thieves have stolen horses within. Kentucky has had a workmen's compensation law ever since 1916.

"The UMW contract provides for safety committees at coal mines," its publication continues, "but such committees have no power of enforcing, other than by strikes, any recommendations they may make to management."

Certainly there could be no better reason for a strike, and for cutting off coal production, than to force the setting up of proper safeguards for workers in the mines.

Yet the UMW now passes the buck to the government. Commenting editorially, its *Journal* says:

"If the operators are unwilling or incapable of complying with safety provisions, then the operators might as well accept the inevitable. Some governmental agency will take over and do the job of protecting life that the operators have so miserably failed to do."

What governmental agency? Do the UMW editors think the states abounding in coal will ever agree upon joint safety action? At last accounts safety in that industry was governed by different codes in 29 states. And does any one expect Congress to do the trick? Congress never provided for federal mine inspection until 1941 — despite the tremendous death toll through the years and a string of great mine disasters.

To many persons who regard human life as sacred and who know how many lives are sacrificed to coal production this hope of seeing any governmental department make the mines really safe will seem like rose-tinted and highly perfumed optimism.



# Shadows in "Free" Russia

By Joseph Harap

IT IS ALMOST TEN YEARS since the last general elections in the U.S.S.R.

It has never made any difference in the Soviet Union whether elections were held or not. The general rule which suffers no exception is that all the candidates are unanimously elected by the 110,000,000 voters, no other candidates ever having the possibility of presenting themselves in opposition.

This tragi-comedy of totalitarian parliamentarism is taken seriously by outsiders.

What is most interesting is that even under the ruthless rule of the Soviet Gestapo, over 600,000 dropped blank ballots into the ballot boxes in 1937—the only way to show anonymously one's opposition to the regime. This is the *official figure*, as no one is able to control that figure: the counting of ballots is a one-sided affair entirely carried out by NKVD G-men. As a matter of fact the very figure of 600,000 may be a Soviet invention. But if this figure of 600,000 is correct, it means little; it places into the same bag adversaries from the right and adversaries from the left. No one knows the proportion between the two, and the blank ballot paper is but a silent protest, while the secret of the protesting elector's real wish remains unbroken.

After almost thirty years of uncontrolled power over a fifth of the inhabited world, bolshevism remains as tightly entrenched behind a steel wall of G.P.U. bayonets, frightened of its own shadow and in terror of its own people.

The fourth five-year plan promulgated by Premier Marshal Generalissimo Stalin threatens the world with a powerful military upsurge against "any eventuality."

## Stalin's Speech Is Revealing

Although he extends a promise to abolish the existing rationing system and to focus a production of goods for mass consumption, he demands in the same breath that the new Five-Year Plan produce "50 million tons of pig-iron, 60 million tons of steel, 500 million tons of coal and 60 million tons of oil." That these figures have nothing to do with "mass consumption" is clearly shown by Stalin's very next statement that "only under such conditions [of mass production] will our country be insured against any eventuality." And when we read Stalin's pre-election speech where he says that "if we render the necessary assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to overtake but also in the very near future to surpass the achievements of science outside the boundaries of our country," we shall easily feel the impact of the recent information that Russian scientists have discovered the "secret of the atomic bomb. . . ."

While Stalin speaks of mass consumption, he prepares a Five-Year Plan for mass destruction. This is an inevitable consequence of totalitarianism which

can only exist through war as it can only prosper through mass war production by which employment to all is best guaranteed. Hitler's regime was made possible by the Janus-headed policy of promising a higher standard of living through aggression. Hitler's erstwhile partner Stalin carries out the same policy.

When Stalin, in this same electoral speech, declares shamelessly that the Second World War had "as one of its aims the re-establishment [in Russia?] of democratic liberties" and forgets to mention his pact with Hitler, he barefacedly spits into the face of the starved millions of Europe and of the people of this country. The tragedy is that most of the so-called liberals and intellectuals wipe their faces with a pink handkerchief and speak, in the language of the Weather Bureau, of a drizzle. . . .

## Other Nations Also Responsible

By stating that Stalin prepares, by his new Five-Year Plan, a fertile ground for a Third World War, we do not intend to exonerate the so-called democratic countries of the Western World from a very heavy responsibility.

British aggression in Greece and Indonesia is no better than Russian aggression in the Balkans, in Manchuria, in Korea, in Turkey, except that the Russian system is more subtle and less brutal—outside of Russia, of course.

Britain wants to protect its imperial life-line, whichever government may be in power. Russia challenges this desire by intervening in Turkey, in the Aegean islands, in Eritrea, in Tangier, in Tripolitania, in Iran, in Afghanistan—all strategic points along and around this British life-line. At the same time Russia reminds the world, through the lips of Molotov, that "reactionary forces in the capitalistic countries are still alive" and that the Soviet Union must above all strengthen the Red Army because it will be respected only if it is strong.

The Stalin speech, to which we must add some other pre-electoral speeches of the peripheric constellations (Molotov, Kaganowitch and a few others) sets the pace for a new armament race, a race in which this country will not be, by far, the last competitor to enter the ring.

## Quarrels Settled Only on Surface

Meanwhile, the United Nations Organization "makes up" quarrels which remain quarrels and earnestly discusses where it will build its headquarters. The League of Nations Palace in Geneva was built just in time for the Second World War. The UNO intends to spend five years (another Five-Year Plan) on building the new streamlined Palace of Peace. Will World War III break out in 1950-1951?

In 1933 a new force appeared on the world diplomatic and aggressive scene and its success was be-

(Continued on Page 22)



## New Tactics for Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

tack on wages not so easy, because of labor's great solidarity, so it may temporarily compromise, but only to come back in the near future with what may very well be some form of fascism or violent reaction.

Whatever the outcome of the present strikes, it is evident that the leftward swing of American labor will continue at a rapid pace, and is bound to result in a deepening of the class struggle. There will be temporary let-ups as labor and capital marshal their forces. In fact, at the present writing most of the major disputes, except that of General Motors, have been "settled." This turn of events is no doubt an indication of retreat by the top leadership of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. frightened by threats of repressive legislation and the stubbornness of the big corporations.

### Changes in Labor Strategy Needed Now

The significance of the new tactics now being adopted by the large industrial unions is that the workers have grasped such ideas as the importance of wages and prices in determining what share of the national wealth goes to capital and what share goes to labor. The coming struggles will, however, find them unprepared unless this understanding is further developed.

A prerequisite to the current organized activities of labor was the freedom to organize, to express themselves; in the future battle against capital the issues will go deeper and therefore the freedom to control his economic and political destiny in a much bigger way will be necessary to prevent a defeat such as the American worker has never known. The alternative to defeat is the breaking of the hydra-like monopoly of capital. And this means a fundamental change in the system which permits a small number of people to control the economic destinies of the masses; it means a new economic set-up where all the people can share in the prosperity of our great resources and industries. The rate of intensification of the class struggle is accelerating to a degree which may shatter the illusions of cynics, and the working class must be prepared to demonstrate its strength, its ability to organize for production-for-use as well as for struggle, and its faith in the value of freedom. The negative approach of fighting against the employers must be re-made into a positive program for socializing the basic industries with control from below, by the many—not from above, by the few. The socially awakened workers who demand that prices be kept down are the logical ones to organize and work hand-in-hand with consumers' cooperatives. A network of unions and cooperatives can provide the groundwork for a functioning economy where the levers of control will be diffused among the people so as to minimize the opportunities for monopolistic power. Ample proof of labor's inherent ability as efficient organizers and operators of large-scale, well-coordinated activity is seen in

the amazing efficiency and smoothness with which today's tremendous strike action is accomplished.

### Misleading Leadership

In the history of man's fight for progress, the masses of those in the battle line have frequently been far ahead of their leaders. In the present strike situation the leadership has displayed much more willingness to settle for a small part of the original demands than the men and women on the picket lines. Secret negotiations (as in the Ford and Chrysler cases), reliance on government arbitrators, and phoney clauses in contracts are among the stumbling blocks to the healthful growth of unions. And these must be written down on the darker side of the ledger in the current strike situation. Here again, history is being made in the American labor movement: the "company security" clause in some of the contracts made by the United Automobile Workers (CIO) permits the company to fine and even dismiss workers who engage in or encourage "unauthorized" strikes. This will provide the company and the union leaders with a powerful weapon against many of the best militant elements in the union; but the chances are the workers will not take this scheme lying down. In their present mood the rank-and-file may do some housecleaning of their own.

Conservative and class-collaborationist leadership is bad enough. What is worse, however, is betrayal by so-called "left-wing" leadership. When the C.I.O. auto workers struck G.M., the C.I.O. electrical workers, led by Stalinists who are out to break Walter Reuther, took their time about joining their fellow workers, even though they work for the same corporation. And while the auto workers were still out the C.I.O. electrical workers secretly signed a contract with G.M. and sent their members back to work for one cent less than the auto workers union was asking—in face of a prior understanding not to negotiate a separate settlement. The auto workers' position was weakened by this stab in the back, and they will long remember the hypocritical Stalinists who publicly collected money for G.M. strikers while secretly carrying on factional fights against their interests.

During the war, labor made the mistake of leaving most of the initiative to the employers and the government, and is now finding it difficult to overcome many of the problems created by the entrenchment of government in the processes of settling labor disputes. The leaders of the packing-house workers, for example, have yielded under government action of taking over the industry, and will find it difficult to resist any wage settlement offered by the government, but their employers will now find it much easier to get price concessions from the government. Workers have yet to learn that the role of the executive branch in this period is to guarantee a large profit to the corporations, regardless of what the worker gets; and it is a certainty that price increases will be granted in autos, meat-packing, and other basic industries. The hysterical union-busting laws



# The Political Problems of Spain

IN OUR NOVEMBER ISSUE we published the resolutions passed by the Regional Federations of the CNT who met somewhere in Spain July 1 to July 16, 1945.

These resolutions have given rise to the most spirited and often bitter debate in the ranks of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT-in-exile—in France, Mexico and elsewhere. In the following pages we give the *pro* and *con* of the argument dividing the ranks of the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. The question raised is: Should the CNT participate in the Spanish government-in-exile, support it in its struggle to resurrect the Spanish Republic of 1931-36, or should the CNT remain faithful to its fundamental principle of non-participation in any government?

The problem thus stated answers itself. Participation in or collaboration with any government, whatever its composition, is a violation of the basic principle of Anarchism which holds that the liberation of the working classes and the emancipation of man from the domination of man can be attained only by direct action against all governments.

However, those who are in favor of collaboration do not admit that they have thus abandoned the struggle. They insist that they are faithful to the ideals of Anarchism. They propose only that under the leadership of the Spanish government-in-exile to work for the immediate goal of freeing Spain from the fascist régime of Franco and the Falange. Thereafter, the CNT will be free to follow its prescribed course of revolutionary organization and action. As Jose Leyva states his case, by joining the government-in-exile as a cabinet minister, he has not mortgaged the future of the CNT, nor does the CNT in Spain intend to give up any of the basic principles of Anarchism.

## End or Means to an End

Inevitably, however, the good faith of those who propose temporary collaboration is questioned by the opponents of collaboration. It will be remembered that the followers of Karl Marx, both Social-democrats and Communists, originally held the same views as the pro-Collaborationists of the CNT today, on participation in the bourgeois government and on the transitional state.

According to the early Marxists, the conquest of the bourgeois state by legal means (elections) or by

---

introduced in the Congress should be sufficient indication of the degree of faith to be placed in that body by the working class. It is to be hoped that the American working class will quickly recover from the effects of the errors made during the war and gain from its inspiring struggle today the tools of class-consciousness, solidarity, and awareness of its inherent powers to carry still further its courageous fight for a life of freedom and plenty.

illegal ones (revolution and *coup d'état*) was merely a means to an end. The end was to be the establishment of a free society based upon complete human liberty and economic equality. The experience of the last 30 years and more are conclusive. In almost every European country Socialist cabinets were in power at one time or another. In Russia the communist state has been firmly established for about a generation. Socialist principles of government, control over industry and socialist reforms have been adopted and applied in every capitalist country in the world including the United States under the aegis of the New Deal.

These "practical" political methods and institutional means of reaching the end desired, liberty and equality, have so far produced two world wars in one generation. Of the 30 years of socialist and communist ascendancy, 10 were spent in mass slaughter and 20 in the preparation of that slaughter. The territorial extent of socialist and communist control matches the time element. At least one-third of the inhabited surface of the world was turned into concentration camps for part or all of its inhabitants. Moreover, the process of increasing the power of the state has nowhere been arrested by the Second World War. It is going on at an accelerated pace and a Third World War is generally accepted as possible if not probable.

Meanwhile, the ultimate goal of Marxism and Socialism was lost in the scuffle for power. The goal passed not only from the mind but even from the vocabulary of Socialist politics. The means (political power) have become the end.

Should the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists of Spain follow the road already traveled by the Marxists, they will, of course, find the same fate awaiting them at the end of the trail. They will become dictators or get their throats cut by preparing the ground for fascist and/or communist dictatorship.

## Allied Promises and Reality

But although we are convinced that the opponents of collaboration by the CNT in the government-in-exile are fully justified in their opposition, we are not surprised that the idea of collaboration originated in Spain proper while the CNT-in-exile is generally opposed to the idea.

Since the end of the civil war the Spanish people have remained isolated from the rest of the world. Exhausted by the bloody struggle of 1936-1939, by hunger and continued persecution, the only voice of hope and deliverance which reached them came from the Allied propaganda organs, the radio and the information sheets issued by the British and American embassies and consultants in Spain. The Allies stated their war aims in the most generous terms: "All peoples who have been forcibly deprived of their liberty should have their freedom restored to them and live under governments of their own



choosing." It must also be remembered that compared with the ferocious repressions of the Franco régime the unlamented Spanish Republic took in retrospect a rose-colored hue of sweetness and light. The Spanish people as a whole would have been less than human, if it had not seemed to them that the language of the Allies was the authentic voice of liberty, since in that voice alone was there a glimmer of hope.

The Allies had declared war on the Germans and the Italians who had supported Franco. They were suffering endless reverses of the kind familiar to the Spanish people from their own civil war. Inevitably when the tide turned, when Mussolini fell, when the Allies landed in France and drove the Germans before them, enthusiasm for the Allied cause became universal in Spain. With the liberation of France and the destruction of Germany it was thought in Spain that the Allies would inevitably turn their attention to the last remaining satellite of the Axis power: Franco Spain.

It seemed that the Allies would support a Spanish government-in-exile which united all anti-Franco forces, and that it would be foolhardy to refuse one's support to hasten the day of liberation. Considerations such as these were of decisive influence, and opened the way for those who sought in collaboration personal advancement for themselves. No organization of the size of the CNT could possibly be entirely without such elements.

Nevertheless, not until Spain is liberated shall we know whether even during the battle of France, the belief in liberation by the Allies was strong enough to win the support of the rank and file of the CNT for the collaborationists. It does not seem possible that the delegates to the national convention of the Regional Federations of July 1945 represented a cross-section of the CNT membership, because after all they had to be selected underground.

### Internal Struggles

Meanwhile, the CNT members exiled in France have had a much clearer view of Allied war aims and have remained free from the illusion that Spain could hasten its day of liberation by catering to the hopes of the government-in-exile and its republican supporters. Their press recalls that the idea of aid by the democracies had backfired once before in Spain.

At the outbreak of the civil war, on the 19th of July 1936, the CNT had the field entirely to itself. On the first day of the battle of the streets against the Franco uprising few if any members of the political parties of the left were to be seen in the open, while their leaders prudently stayed indoors, to a man. But for the action of the CNT in Catalonia, Aragon, Andalusia, Levante and elsewhere, and partly by the joint forces of the CNT and UGT in Madrid, the Spanish Republic would have expired as peaceably in 1936 as the Weimar Republic faded away in 1933 when Hitler seized power without firing a shot. Having won the day, however, CNT leadership faltered. A curious mixture of generosity

of spirit and timidity before the magnitude of their own victory induced them to offer collaboration to all anti-fascist parties on a basis of equality in a government of republican concentration. Within a few weeks of the formation of such a government of concentration the Anarcho-Syndicalist ministers were ousted, to be followed by the Socialists, leaving the field entirely to the Communists, who alone could count on the support of a great power outside of Spain.

The CNT had abandoned the method of direct action at the very moment when it had proved its value in the fight against fascism. The CNT had been victorious in Spain, while the political means so warmly recommended by the Marxists had failed everywhere else to halt a fascist seizure of power. But by abandoning direct action, the CNT opened a way to power for the Communists and was thereafter forced to resume the method of direct action to defend itself against the government which sought to dissolve the Anarchist militia, oust the CNT from control of the industries in Catalonia, and destroy the collectives of the Anarchist peasantry of Aragon. There were those of the collaborationists who like Federica Montseny then spoke their *mea culpa*, coupled with the vow of "never again," while others like Garcia Oliver, became hopelessly enamored of the glamor of government and of political power.

### The Tide Will Turn

The split, however, is not a fatal one. Whatever the next hour may bring forth, no government-in-exile can hope to return to Spain without a revolutionary uprising of the CNT and probably of the UGT as well. Inevitably it is a revolution of Spanish organized labor within Spain which will determine the future of the country. Such a revolution has never failed to take a course of its own, undeterred by the ambitions of exiled politicians, or newly dyed supporters of governmental solutions.

Meanwhile, the violent quarrel which the collaborationists have provoked in the ranks of the CNT is in our opinion the most significant event of the post-war era. While the labor movement in the rest of the world has turned conformist subject to the will of union bosses or political parties, or is dominated by Communist Russia, the Spanish CNT has retained all the fragrance of its revolutionary past. It would not be true to say that it has not been touched by the corruption which emanates from the world wide movement of totalitarianism, but it has shown itself capable of reacting vigorously against this corruption.

Inevitably, the tide will turn against totalitarian principles in the rest of the world. Sooner or later there will again be a strong movement for liberty outside of Spain as well. It will then be found that the CNT, by maintaining its federal structure, its freedom from union bosses and the independent spirit of its local unions and individual members, has been a sort of Noah's Ark in which libertarian ideals were kept alive during the long night of the flood.



## In Favor of Collaboration

[From the pro-collaborationist arguments expressed within the CNT and the statements made by Leyva and Pietro (CNT members of the Spanish government-in-exile), it is apparent that the so-called *Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas* (ANFD), is a body which was formed by the CNT and the UGT. It is not quite clear whether the political parties left of center joined in a body or whether politicians belonging to the leftist parties joined as individuals. Below we give a statement by José E. Leyva published December 8, 1945 in *Solidaridad Obrera*, Mexico City.]

"As I crossed the Spanish border I had on me a manifesto by the *Alianza* . . . ending as follows: 'Only a government of ample anti-fascist base, composed of the parties and organizations which fight underground, could and should take over the direction of the state without transition of any kind.' Since this statement may give rise to misunderstandings unless one takes its context into consideration, I consider it indispensable to declare:

"1) That the above manifesto was prepared in August, 1945, and was printed and put into circulation in September, 1945. 2) That at that date there was no news in Spain of the formation of the Giral government. We had no knowledge of it. 3) That the paragraph referred to the attempt of Franco to form an unpopular government and to impose solutions by force. 4) That the government presided over by Giral, in which the CNT is represented, fulfills all the conditions laid down by the *Alianza* since Senor Giral has solicited the collaboration of all the parties and organizations which are at work within Spain. I am glad to announce the total adhesion of the *Alianza de Fuerzas Democráticas* to the government presided over by Senor Giral, which has known how to express the aspirations of the struggle and the noble democratic and republican ambitions of the Spanish people."

## Unite for the Defense of Spain

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** This plea for the close co-operation of all Libertarians in behalf of the Spanish working people, even to the extent of possible compromise in the form of collaboration with Spain's government, was published in "Solidaridad Obrera" of Mexico City on November 24, 1945.

**T**HE PROBLEM OF THE FUTURE orientation of our movement has been raised precipitantly and scandalously: the very opposite of what our organization needs and what would be fitting. With what happened we shall arrive only at diverting the attention of the militants from the central problem. We shall only produce a stupid division in our ranks when action for the liberation of Spain from the claws of the Falange and the Spanish reaction should force us to close our ranks. We regret deeply this development.

We have striven here in Mexico to keep the matter of deciding future orientation of our movement in the background. First, because we have complete confidence in our comrades in Spain whom we have defended against interpretations more or less born in the clouds. Second, because we esteem that all the energy of the emigration should be determined by the highest mission which is to liberate Spaniards from the straitjacket into which they have been forced by the assassins. This work requires more energy, much more attention than the entire united emigration can supply. How much time has been lost! What evil deeds, what lack of help to those who alone risk their lives. This need has not been recognized by certain sections of the emigration and the consequences of such neglect may cause incalculable damage not only to our organization but also to the entire Spanish people. Would to heaven that a halt be made on the road on which they have begun to travel.

They were pooling resources not to liberate Spain, but to divide it. They are not giving aid and comfort to those who are in the thick of the fight, but they are weakening them. The aid they need so desperately in not forthcoming, it is being withheld. Instead, they have raised problems among those who should really be solving them—problems which are certainly non-existent among those inside Spain; they have raised doubts as to the legality of such help. . . .

### New Obstacle to Co-operation

The action of our comrades in France who have raised an enormous obstacle against the wholehearted cooperation between the CNT-ists of the interior and those who are outside in exile, cannot be justified. The participation in the government of Giral, as in any other government which might have been constituted, and the dispatch of men designated by a National Plenum of our movement, are of very clear importance and significance to our militants of the interior. It is a decision which cannot be eradicated by the caprice of those who would direct the CNT from outside, a CNT which fights and gives battle within the peninsula.

Action which should be taken outside must be based upon a well-defined proposition. The internal pact established must not be compromised or "mortgaged." This pact comprises a series of understandings about the development of activities which must lead to the fall of France. Any interference by those who are outside of Spain may redound to the prejudice of the general interests of the people at the head of which are the workers. At this point they must carry on in the best possible manner. And the CNT, for very good reasons which need not be belabored, is the guarantee that the solution has as its final aim the liberation of Spain from those who today strangle the country.

Besides the active, full and responsible contribution, at this stage, there are other considerations which compel our men in the interior to go outside



and take contact with the emigration. . . . To establish a firm correlation of thought between the two zones of action (those on the outside and those on the inside) is a just and opportune obligation. For that we have raised our voice in this paper. And it is precisely by the action of the CNT that this has been realized.

We, too, the emigration of the CNT in Mexico, have insisted upon the necessity that this organism should not be a government, but an organization which, while in a certain sense bearing the same obligations, could have its hands free to act in accordance with the demands of the fight against Franco. Ultimately, it became obvious that we shall have to accept the fight in the real sense of the word. But this became impossible. It is Spain that accepted the type of action which we regarded as less efficacious. Nevertheless, faithful to our idea to aid in accordance with the wishes of the interior, we have accepted the decision arrived at in Spain and we are serving it here wholeheartedly.

#### Hold Strongly to Ideal, Is Plea

We have set aside all differences of opinion on the tactics to follow, because of our hunger to serve our organization and our people.

The morrow, that is to say the future of the CNT, is not the question at stake. That tomorrow will be determined by a National Congress, to which the comrades of the interior will have to submit. Why wedge into the duties to be fulfilled now things which belong to another stage of our very much alive organization? Why hamper the will to destroy Franco and his henchmen with speculations of a doctrinal nature? Such considerations should have played a part yesterday when we had hundreds of thousands of men under arms. Yet they played no part then. Is it not incomprehensible that those who today have the knife of the hangman at their throat should be served with ideological definitions?

No, comrades. Let us hold to the fundamental ideas of the CNT. We want it free from any compromise or confusion of ideology which would paralyze its ability to fulfill the social ends which it has set itself to carry out. We want it ever stronger, more and better sustained by the popular will, by the passion of our magnificent people. Let us celebrate them for their ability to live a collective life under the flag of individual liberty and social justice. Never let us change this ideal nor submit to imperfections which may occur.

But this is not incompatible with the acceptance of duties which at this moment are inescapable. Today we must pool our forces with those who are prepared to fight for the liberation of Spain without subjecting it at the same time to the domination of any other country. If this form of compromise requires our collaboration with the government, as it did during the civil war, let us do it simply and wholeheartedly. Beyond that, the future belongs to all of us, and when we shall all be back in Spain we shall build our future.

## Youth and the Terror

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Something of the part played by the younger generation in the present Spanish conflict is shown in this article, which appeared in 'Solidaridad Obrera' of Mexico City on December 8, 1945. It tells, too, about the organizing of the ANFD (the National Alliance of Democratic Forces), and of the activities of the CNT and the UGT.

**Y**OUTH IS IN THE forefront of the battle against the terror regime which is engaged in the assassination of the Spanish people. In the mountains, with units of the guerillas; in the cities, our youth fights heroically, nurturing the underground with the sap of its life. The generation which began to flower during the civil war has taken upon its shoulders the tremendous burden of breaking up the enormous repressive machine erected by Franco and the Falange. The prisons and penitentiaries, the walls of execution and the torture chambers are silent witnesses of the battle unto death on which they are embarked. . . .

"Our comrade José E. Levy, representative of the CNT in the republican government-in-exile, is the embodiment of the anti-fascist Spanish youth. . . . He is a militant educated in our ranks; he knows in detail the entire process of the organization of popular resistance . . . an artisan of the National Alliance of Democratic Forces, the fighting body which has undertaken the direction of the struggle against Francoism in Spain.

"We asked him: 'How did the CNT arrive at the conclusion that it must collaborate with the other anti-fascist forces in order to uproot Franco?'

"He replied: 'At the end of the civil war (although the fight never really ceased and it is therefore incorrect to speak of the end) there was in Spain a Council of Defense constituted by Socialists, Republicans and Libertarians. . . . As a consequence of the conditions under which the military contest ended, the diverse sectors remained in contact with one another. The first attempts to establish underground unity were made in the prisons by means of the growing solidarity between the various tendencies among the militants. . . . Thus was formed the embryo of what later was to become the Alianza. At the same time the Communists formed their 'Junta Suprema' of National Union. The leftist parties,—Socialists, Republicans and Libertarians—refused to join this Junta and invited the Communists instead to join the Alianza. But the Communists, on orders from abroad, refused and continued to exist in complete isolation.'

#### Two Pillars of Resistance Movement

"Question: 'What contributions has the CNT brought to the work of the Alianza in blood and effort?'

"Answer: 'It happens that the CNT is the most interested in maintaining relations with the political forces loyally opposed to Franco. . . . We have spared no effort to give real life to the Alianza. . . .'



*Question:* 'What are the relations with the UGT?'

*Answer:* "At about the time of the formation of the ANFD, CNT and UGT renewed their pact of unity established during the civil war and issued a manifesto to this effect. Since then, the two national labor bodies have been among the most valuable instruments of the Alianza in its fight against Franco. They are the two organizations which most readily carry out its directive. You may rest assured that the Alianza as a political organism and the CNT-UGT committees of coordination as labor organisms are the two pillars which uphold the resistance movement. However, aside from these activities, the CNT and the UGT prepare economic plans for industry, collectives, cooperatives, schools and in general for the solution of all problems which are of interest to the working classes. These plans are being developed with a view to submitting them in due time to the ANFD and to the future government of the Republic.'

*Question:* 'Are there other agreements reached among the youth movements?'

*Answer:* 'Republican, Socialist and Libertarian youths were the first to establish coordinating committees to aid the prisoners, rescue anti-fascists from concentration camps and carry out individual acts against the present regime. The youth of all ideologies have been the most audacious, the most enterprising and those who never hesitated to offer their lives for the cause of resistance. The first plots organized in Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid and other cities were organized by youths between the ages of 20 and 25 . . . the real Spanish youth which at no time let itself be roped in by the vainglorious fake patriotism of the Nazi-Fascist aspirations.'

#### 150,000 Active Members in CNT

*Question:* 'How is the CNT organized in the underground?'

*Answer:* 'In classical form: local federations, regional confederations and the National Committee. . . . During the period 1939-44 two national conventions took place, the last one under such normal circumstances that the resolutions could be discussed by the entire organizations at the base, by the comrades in all the prisons and by all the guerilla formations. And it can be stated without exaggeration that in all Spain from 70 to 80 thousand comrades were able to take part in the discussion. . . . But the number of controlled members is very much higher. Including the guerillas, there are about 150 thousand active members of the CNT.'

*Question:* 'Do the compromises reached in the Alianza constitute a mortgage on the action of our movement in the future?'

*Answer:* 'The resolutions passed by the two conventions are conclusive. The CNT considers that the period of collaboration began on July 19, 1936 is still in full force. It will end when the Republic has been restored and consolidated,\* that is to say when we shall return to democratic normalcy. It is

## Opposed to Collaboration

### SPANISH LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT IN FRANCE\*

*To the National Committee in Spain:*

**M**ET TOGETHER in extraordinary session, the Plenum of the National Committee of the Libertarian Movement-CNT in France has read the telegrams sent by Mr. Giral and by the secretary of the general sub-delegation in Mexico, Comrade Gregorio Jover. We have taken cognizance of the course and purpose of the consultations with the CNT to form part of the government constituted in Mexico. The National Committee of the Spanish Libertarian Movement in France sees itself under inescapable obligation to declare as follows:

- 1) That the MLE-CNT in France cannot accept the proposition that the CNT or the Spanish Movement of Liberation be represented in the government nor that any comrade be designated as minister, until such time as a regular Congress in Spain so determines. With due respect to the character of the CNT and the ideas which the Spanish Libertarian Movement represents, it is inadmissible that anyone or anybody adopts resolutions of such gravity and transcendent importance without first entering into full consultation with the organization and the movement, which alone are qualified to decide.
- 2) That the Libertarian Movement is anti-authoritarian by nature and definition. At no time or circumstance can it, or should it, renounce what constitutes its *raison d'être*. Its tactics and methods of action, recognized as effective throughout its long historical record should also be affirmed with finality.
- 3) That the National Committee of Spain can under no pretext accept the procedure or the conditions laid down by Mr. Giral for the designation of CNT representatives, conditions which diminish the importance of the organization and which no

\*This open letter to the National Committee of the CNT in Spain is taken from *Cultura Obrera* of New York. The initials CNT stand for *Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo*—the great anarcho-sindicalist labor movement of Spain. Translated, the name is *National Confederation of Labor*. It acts jointly with the MLE, which means the Spanish Libertarian Movement.

then that a National Congress of the Libertarian Movement will determine with all democratic safeguards the future tactics of the CNT. As long as this Congress has not taken place (it will take place as soon as fascism has been ousted) the CNT will fulfill all its obligations under the political compromise with the ANFD and its compromise with all the public institutions of Spain. *That is to say that the federal movement of Spain has not mortgaged nor will it mortgage in any way the future of the CNT.\**

\* The italics are our own. [Ed.]



Committee of the CNT and of the Libertarian Movement could ever admit without violating the sovereignty and the dignity of our glorious movement.

#### Compromises Must Be Avoided

4) That non-participation in the government in no way diminishes the intensity of our action against Francoism and in favor of the liberation of the Spanish people. On the contrary, participation in the government without fixing conditions of such participation, and even if such were fixed, must inevitably take such form as to cause the organization and movement to lose its independence of action and constitutes a mortgage on its future. It would be forced to offer a very inferior service in the cause of liberating the Spanish people and of emancipating the working class, as compared with the service it can give by avoiding all compromises with power.

5) That as a consequence of what it represents to Spain and in the world the Libertarian Movement has no reason to repudiate its past. There are no strategic reasons or circumstances which can take precedence over the fact that the Libertarian Movement is the most genuine expression of the feeling and the thought of the Spanish people and of the conscious working masses who have not lost their faith in their own power and their own ability to act in accordance with the basic principles of the First International: "The emancipation of the working classes must be the work of the working classes themselves." The first duty of the workers is to destroy every subjugation to political and economic power.

6) That the Libertarian Movement-CNT in France, declines all responsibility in the action of those who participate in the government and in its consequences. Those who have so decided, those who support and sustain such participation bear alone the responsibility. They know well that they cannot do so in the name of the CNT nor in the name of the Libertarian Movement. No one, be it said, is unaware of the form and circumstances under which we and, above all, the organization in Spain, will take action.

#### Danger in Participation

7) That whoever has a clear view of all that the CNT and the Libertarian Movement represent must consider participation in the government as one of the gravest errors one of the most harmful ever committed, and most damaging to the cause of the emancipation of labor.

8) That the previous participation in the government during the period 1936-39 constituted a sacrifice that no one has been able to understand or to appreciate. Under no circumstances can it serve as a justification for those who wish to base themselves on that accident, on an experience which in fact proved absolutely negative, a line of conduct which must necessarily lead to failure and discredit.

9) That in order to participate in the government there is no need to compromise the Libertarian

Movement and the CNT. Those who think it wise and convenient to join the government will find the doors of all the political parties open to them or may create a political party of their own corresponding to their needs, without disturbing the life and the evolution of an organization and of a movement which will never repudiate themselves and whose course is clear and well defined.

10) That all these considerations constitute no obstacle to the determination of the CNT and the Libertarian Movement to give its unstinted aid and support to our comrades and to our organization in Spain, nor will they prevent us from using all our forces for the destruction of Franco and the Falange and to assure the liberation of our people.

11) That in spite of all the complex factors in the international world and despite all the arguments which weigh in the balance of the life of the nations we hold to the realities of the Libertarian Movement-CNT in France and to its militant members wherever they may be. We shall watch over the Libertarian Movement and the National Confederation of Labor that they may remain faithful to their ideals and to their historic mission. We hold to our way, enriched and revitalized by our own experience during the revolution, during the World War and the post-war era, certain that we thus interpret and define the will and the supreme interest of the producing masses to reach the goal of Libertarian Socialism.

#### Absence Will Not Retard Solution

The absence of the CNT and the Libertarian Movement from the government will not in any way retard the solution of the Spanish problem. From the point of view of juridical and political legality nothing has changed. It is not a secret that the CNT and the LM differ fundamentally from any other party or organization, all of which believe in the efficacy of parliamentary methods and action by government within the framework of the political state and the capitalist system.

The Libertarian Movement-CNT in France considers that there are no obstacles to the normalization of the political and legal status of the CNT even though it takes no governmental responsibility. The MLE-CNT consider that they must remain opposed to all concessions to the common enemy and to all solutions that do not take into consideration the real desires of the Spanish people or tend to defraud them in their hopes and aspirations: hopes and aspirations which they have placed in the CNT and the Libertarian Movement and not in any government. With a constituted government or without it, the first and most urgent action which imposes itself is to start the rout of Franco and that action cannot be subordinated to any compromise with governments. The solutions demanded by the Spanish people are not solely governmental in character nor solely of bourgeois juridical legality, nor that of a political apparatus of so-called democracy vitiated by capitalist influence under the aegis of international capitalism.



The Spanish people have the ability to organize their lives freely in a manner which could serve as an example to a world which knows only of solutions by power.

Without fanfare, without turning once back upon the realities, this is the only way by which all can realize the fundamental aspirations of the Spanish people.

Neither the road of peaceful evolution nor that of forceful revolution should be closed. If it was no crime to be a revolutionary in the 19th century, neither is it a crime in the 20th century. The rhythm of evolution and revolution of a people can never be throttled. The constructive revolutionary action of the CNT and LM has the right to manifest itself without hindrance and demagogy.

#### Historic Mission Is Cited

The CNT and the Libertarian Movement have a mission of their own to fulfill which must keep them apart from the struggle for governmental power. It is the mission they had yesterday and they have today, and which they will never renounce. When the people are deprived of the means to realize their own way of life apart from government action they cannot be said to be free.

The sectors which thought it necessary to construct a legal apparatus in order to fight Franco, who please themselves in the continuity of this structure which dates back to the monarchy, are perfectly justified in evolving an action based upon legality. But the Libertarian Movement and the CNT, who will never give up until the power of Franco and the Falange are destroyed and who will remain resolutely opposed to the restoration of the monarchy as to any other tyrannical solutions, have the duty to reject all narrow concepts of legality. They will continue to stimulate the direct action of the people in all respects where popular action can contribute to the liberation of the Spanish people. They will, at the same time, safeguard their independence which alone can enable them to erect a structure and a social system in line with their own needs.

Conditions today are not what they were in 1936-39 where the CNT participated in the government. That period is definitely closed. The exceptional conditions of that time cannot reproduce themselves. The CNT, arms in hand, defended a legality which the government itself had proved important to defend against the fascist uprising.

The liberties of the Spanish people, its positive conquests will never be assured by laws and decrees of a government necessarily impotent and incapable. Nor could these liberties be guaranteed by an army the sovereign powers of which have been vicious from its origin.

#### Use of Economic Power Urged

The liberation of the Spanish people needs men, fighting material and money. The Libertarian Movement and the CNT who are not niggardly with their forces in this struggle must demand from the government that it too use all the economic power it

may dispose and put it to work where it can do the most good. Instead of joining the government and taking a share in its responsibilities, we must hold the government responsible for its failure to accomplish even that little which it can do, it being understood that no government, however constituted, can be in accord with the needs, interests and aspirations of the Spanish people and the Spanish working class.

Free from the responsibility of power, the CNT and the NM maintain their independence, can make their voice heard, use pressure intelligently and make their influence felt with complete freedom, thus remaining the expounder of the deep and just aspirations of the people.

The MLE-CNT cannot renounce being what they have always been, nor can they repudiate their ideal. To secure victory they must not repudiate themselves.

We must also point out that the position which you have adopted is even in contradiction with the decisions of the Regional Plenum regarding "the governments which may constitute themselves in exile" and the position which the Plenum took with regard to the *Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democráticas*.

We hold the National Committee of Spain responsible for the deviations which may be caused in the movement itself, now or in the future, by the decision to participate in the government and we hold them still more responsible for having failed to consult in any way the groups in exile on this matter. We maintain firmly that only a regular congress of the movement and the CNT in Spain could decide about the participation of the CNT and the Libertarian Movement in the government, and so long as there is no decision of this kind no one can represent the movement in any government and the comrades who have taken ministerial posts in the government have no authority to do so in the name of the CNT or of the Libertarian Movement. Consequently, any decisions of governmental character which are arrived at cannot be taken in the name of the MLE-CNT nor have they any validity in the eyes of our organization and of its affiliated units.

#### Letter Sent to Exiled Groups

We are sending copies of this document to all groups of Spanish libertarians in exile. Although the contrary would not make us change our position, we are convinced that feeling and thought of our Spanish organization are with us. Had you been able to consult them properly you would have found that they are in agreement with us, and in due course this will be apparent. It has already manifested itself among the majority of the affiliated militants and libertarians in France. The Congress of the Spanish Local Federation in Paris has given it ample publicity and translated them into agreements which direct the activities of the National Committee and of the Libertarian Movement in France.

We must also express our amazement that you have failed to keep us informed of your action in joining the government although we had served



as your intermediaries up to that date in all your relations with the outside world.

Do not interpret this letter as a manifestation of hostility towards you personally, but as a cordial though firm expression of our confidence in that which our organization and our movement represent. Written with serenity we expect you to judge it with the same high-mindedness with which it was conceived and with the same love for the ideas which are dear to all of us, for which we have all fought and to which we have dedicated the better part of our life.

With fraternal greetings we remain yours for the cause of freedom.

For the NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE MLE-CNT IN FRANCE, in agreement with the Extraordinary Plenum.

(Signed) ESGLEAS, *Secretary*

Sept. 30, 1945.

## An Inescapable Dilemma

By Jose Viadiu\*

WE PROCEED FROM the principle that every militant organization bases itself upon a well-defined principle of action. Whenever that principle is diluted it harms the end it seeks to attain. Our movement cannot hope to escape this rule. Every concession to the enemy is evidence of weakness or a case of faulty tactics, given the fact that one cannot with impunity adopt methods to which one is opposed in principle. The importance of a movement springs, before all else, from the vigor with which it defends its ideals at every moment, from the practical and firm position which it adopts. It must always validate its postulates and tactics, since recourse to extraneous and often diametrically opposed methods cannot fail to be harmful to that which the organization defends.

To our way of thinking the question is: are we with or against the state, with or against power politics; with the working class or with the capitalists? We do not intend to describe at this time what political collaboration means. Its defects and vices have been described often enough and we do not see why it should be necessary to repeat ourselves. What can be said, however, is this: In every country where working class organizations have been subject to directives received from political parties — supposing that something of that sort is in the minds of the present innovators within the CNT—in Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, etc., the working class movement has patently shown itself helpless, incapable of putting up a fight, and surren-

\*One of the most illuminating articles on the question of Collaborationism versus Anticollaborationism in the CNT was written by Jose Viadiu, former editor of *Solidaridad Obrera* of Barcelona, and present editor of *Estudios Sociales*, "Review of Clarification," published in Mexico City. The excerpts printed above are taken from Viadiu's article published in No. 9 (September 1945) of *Estudios Sociales*.

dered unconditionally to the enemy at decisive moments.

### Proud of Proletarian Action

Is this what we pretend to imitate? Do we wish to follow upon the sorry road already traveled by the workers of Italy, Germany and France? In truth, we believe they should follow our example and not we theirs. We must confess that we prefer a labor movement which is impulsive and savage to a domesticated and debased one. We are much too proud of the accomplishments of the Spanish proletariat, particularly during the courageous and heroic days which began in July 1936 and continued up to the last; we cannot now condescend ignominiously to the kind of conduct and methods which we repudiated as very inferior to our own.

With all that, we are not oblivious of the fact that the Spanish Libertarian Movement has its shortcomings. It is not perfect. It would not be amiss to find an equilibrium between its action and the end it seeks to attain by eliminating all chaotic and sporadic actions and replacing them by joint and well aimed actions. Nor do we think it superfluous to try to conquer certain tendencies in the unions where some professionals have set the defense of the interest of individual unions above the common good. Thus, we still have to make certain that the common good is placed higher by the movement than the good of its individual units. We also recognize that many aspects of economic and labor functions, of political administration of the municipalities, of regulating social life, require better defined revolutionary formulas, etc. It is precisely in this direction that valuable contributions should be made, that defects should be eliminated, imperfections removed, voids filled in, but all this—without the adoption of extraneous methods, without employing such methods as we have condemned when employed by our enemies and opponents. On the contrary, we must give new value to our ideology by providing solutions in harmony with the needs of the struggle and with the spirit of the movement.

### Warning Against Pitfalls Sounded

Moreover, the road which the collaborationists seek to follow is well circumscribed. They will not be moved by a free, spontaneous movement which responds to the will of the great masses of the people; instead, become subject to discipline, regimentation, to absolute obedience to a chief, or to a many-headed collaborationism. All the impulses and longings of the working classes are reduced in that atmosphere to speculation about political elections where the bureaucracy and the party machine counteract the revolutionary spirit of the masses, nullify their action, converting them into submissive and defenseless elements, always at the mercy of their exploiters.

The fate of the Libertarian Movement and the CNT will be no different if it ceases to be what it has always been. The alternative is: Either a libertarian movement with all the imperfections



which the active intervention of the multitude implies, or some other movement castrated and impotent if subordinated to the ends of politicians and governments.

We are, for this reason, constrained to qualify as negative those attempts which seek to transform a well-defined ideology such as are the Libertarian Movement and the CNT, into supporters and defenders of that which they must combat; we must, for this reason, regard as an aberration the fact that the movement is utilized as an opposition to the state and provides at the same time ministers from its midst to serve a government policy; that on the one hand an anti-political line is followed and on the other hand a political line diametrically opposed to the former has to be taken. The conclusion is inescapable that such contradictions can bring us nothing but confusion, disgrace and discredit.

### The Vicious Circle

We must admit that the disease of collaborationism is the tribute which we paid during the civil war against the Spanish oligarchy. It was then that the virus was inoculated in our midst. It shows how inconsistent and changeable human nature is. Did this collaborationism bring to the movement new and fruitful ideas? Need we describe in detail what happened? The most sorry motive which feeds the spirit of the collaborationists—we respect those few who thought that such action was effective and consequently defended it disinterestedly—is the memory of easy jobs which the turn of fortune brought them. Consider for a moment, that one fine day—that is what happened during our war—mechanics, carpenters, printers, tailors, waiters, by pure magic, or by the change of circumstances, saw themselves removed from the place of their work and transformed miraculously into consellers, diplomats, heads of departments, colonels, advisers, ministers. . . . Who is to tell them today that their dearest dreams could not be fulfilled a second time? That is inadmissible!

There is no doubt that in following this kind of road we must always return to the fountainhead. It has in fact begun. Yesterday we were told that the participation of the CNT and the Libertarian Movement in the government is necessary if we are to win the war; recently it was said that we must contribute ministers to the government-in-exile to overthrow Franco; tomorrow it will be said that we must have our ministers in the government in Spain to facilitate the reconstruction of the country. . . . It is clear that those who wish to collaborate will never lack motives to do so.

Very well then! Is it suitable and efficacious to travel on that road? What benefits or harm can the movement derive from collaboration? The first participation in the government ended disastrously. To put it bluntly, the CNT ministers who participated in the Caballero government were ousted by a shady maneuver of the Communists. Participation in the government brought us nothing but discredit and loss of strength, without enabling us to prevent either violence being done to our comrades at the

front, or the bloody provocations, of May 1937, or the loss of the war, which in reality was already lost when the four ministers of libertarian persuasion entered the government.

### Must Hold to Ethical Principles

We expect this fate to overtake us again. Every movement contains something which is fundamental in it and which cannot be mishandled with impunity. Our own comrades laugh too frequently at what they call with sarcasm "the secret principles." We do not pretend in the least, to be the vestals who preserve the sacred fire. The one is as dangerous as the other. The one who insists that anything not in harmony with his own narrow horizon and stultified spirit is damnable is as much a drag on the movement as those cynics who seek their personal advancement in the name of an ideal. These exceptions confirm the rule that every organization must have fundamental ethical principles, an ideological orientation and tactics which within a flexible framework and subject to the exigencies of the hour conserve a line of action which corresponds to the theory and the ideas which it seeks to defend.

Basing ourselves upon this principle we are certain that collaborationism will always be a source of trouble and disturbance for the movement and the CNT precisely because it moves outside the established orbit, or better said, because it denies it. For this reason it would be wrong to say that the opposition to collaborationism is proof of a narrow and dogmatic concept. From a practical as well as an ideological viewpoint, every concession made to conceptions which are opposed to ours, every collaboration offers to the organism something we consider inimical, achieves nothing but the strengthening and the perpetuation of what we intend to destroy. Let us put it clearly: If we regard the state as an oppressive instrument in the service of capitalism, why should we, in the name of the proletariat, give aid and comfort to the state?

If we pretend to give force to federalism, to the municipality, to labor unions, to individual initiative, to the progressive evolution of man and society apart from all tutelage and all coercion, what business have we to take part in the formation of a government which by its very existence must tend to counteract all our efforts?

### Tribute to Pestaña's Sincerity

Let us have a look at the proposition of the collaborationists. Is it a question of a new idea calculated to invigorate our methods of fighting? Is it proposed to adopt new theoretical and practical procedure to renovate our movement? If that were so, these contributions would be most welcome indeed. We are impatiently waiting with a biting appetite for someone competent to take the task in hand. But, where are those ideas? To date the only clear cut proposition we have perceived is the attempt to drag the Libertarian Movement and the CNT on the field of government and politics, with no greater

(Continued on Page 17)



# Spain-in-Exile: Its Background

By Gabriel Javscas

**I**N HIS SUITE at the Hotel Lincoln in New York, Senor Jose Giral, Premier of the Spanish government-in-exile, had his bags packed and his seat on the Clipper reserved. He was ready to leave for France and set up his government there on what he hoped would be the last lap, and a short one, on his way to Spain, when the blow fell: Charles de Gaulle had resigned the presidency in France. Senor Giral cancelled his passage and called a hurried conference with the provisional President of the Spanish Republic, Senor Diego Martinez Barrio, who had his suite across the hall in the same hotel. They decided to await the end of the crisis in France and see what would be the declaration of de Gaulle's successor on France's policy toward Spain and the Spanish government-in-exile.

A few days later, the Socialist Felix Gouin stepped into the shoes of de Gaulle and made his declaration of policy. He said that France continued to desire a break of diplomatic relations with Franco Spain. He promised to maintain and extend the hospitality that France has not ceased to accord to Spanish Republicans. But while he thus renewed the invitation to the latter to set up their headquarters in France, he also let it be known that he will "seek to preserve the entente of the great powers before he will act on the resolution of the Constituent Assembly which called for a break of diplomatic relations with Spain."

To Jose Giral and Martinez Barrio this declaration carried an ominous note. For the entente of the great powers cannot easily be preserved. As far as Spain is concerned, it has yet to be attained. De Gaulle, seeking to give France a strong and independent foreign policy of her own, was prepared to recognize the Spanish government-in-exile despite the opposition of Russia and the Spanish Communist Party to that government. Unless Gouin should surprise the French Assembly and turn out to be as tough and inflexible as de Gaulle, Jose Giral may have to resign and give way to Dr. Juan Negrin for the sake of "preserving the entente" among the great powers.

## Russia Ignored by de Gaulle

When de Gaulle sent out his invitations to the great powers to consult with France regarding a common policy toward Spain, Russia was omitted from the invitation. Not having any diplomatic relations with Spain, Russia could not be invited to break them off—a circumstance which de Gaulle found opportune to exploit by asserting his independence without openly snubbing Russia. The unanimous opposition of the Spanish Republicans of all shades to any intervention by Russia in the internal affairs of Spain was an even better opportunity for France. De Gaulle could seize the initiative in freeing France from a potential enemy in its

rear and at the same time make certain that Franco was replaced by a Spanish Republican government free from Russian domination.

Neither Washington nor London had manifested quite such determination to cross Russia in the matter of Spain. They were at best allergic to any action. British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin, beset with Russian problems in the Middle East, the Balkans and Poland, found that Britain had enough trouble elsewhere in the world without borrowing trouble in Spain. Less oratorical on that subject, Washington manifested an equal degree of indifference by permitting the sale of army transport planes and trucks to the Iberian airways, once owned by the Germans and now a Spanish government monopoly.

## Parallel in Civil War Days Recalled

Present policy toward Spain in London and Washington thus constitutes a close parallel to the non-intervention policy of the democracies in the days of the civil war. The refusal of all aid to the Spanish Republic forced the Republicans at that time to accept Russian aid; and Russian terms included the person of Dr. Juan Negrin as premier and his sidekick Alvarez del Vayo as foreign minister. As the situation is now developing, Russia may once again impose Dr. Juan Negrin on the Spanish Republicans. But a government-in-exile made in Moscow would be unacceptable to both the Spanish Republicans and labor unions. It also would be a most potent argument in Washington and London against breaking off diplomatic relations with Franco Spain. It could be said that Spain is not to be thrown from the frying pan into the fire.

During the last year and a half of the Spanish civil war, Dr. Juan Negrin was prime minister and disposed of a majority vote in the Spanish Cortes (Parliament). To refuse him his vote would have led at once to the cutting off of the supply of arms by the Russians. After the defeat, however, the deputies-in-exile were free to speak their minds. Only the Communist deputies and a few dissident Socialists, a mere handful in all, continued to support Dr. Negrin. Throughout World War II, Negrin was consequently opposed to the calling of the Cortes-in-exile. He was the last prime minister of Spain and was determined to remain in his post. The formation of a new government would have to await the unity of all Spanish factions and the liberation of Spain. His friends in Britain and the U.S.A. defended his position because, said they, no Spanish government-in-exile which is not headed by him count on Russian aid and without Russian aid Spain could not be liberated.

When the Cortes finally met in Mexico City, these arguments were rejected as baseless. Diego



Martinez Barrio, last Speaker of the Cortes, was elected provisional President of the Spanish Republic. Dr. Negrin had to hand in his resignation and Jose Giral was appointed prime minister. In an effort to appease Russia, however, Dr. Negrin was offered the post of vice-premier and the ministry of foreign affairs. But Negrin refused, counting heavily on continued Russian support. He wanted all or nothing.

#### Communists Alter Their Position

At this point, however, Russia deserted him. The Spanish Communists, afraid of being left out, shifted their position. They continued to argue in favor of a "broader base" for the government-in-exile which should include the militarists, clerics and monarchists opposed to Franco, but they let Jose Giral know that they themselves were willing to join. At the same time, the Communists in Spain declared themselves ready to join the *Alianza Nacional de Fuerras Democraticas*, a body set up in Spain by the two Trade Unions of Spain—the Socialist UGT and the Anarcho-Syndicalist CNT. The other leftist parties had already joined this alliance and the Communists had been left out in the cold nursing their so-called *Junta Suprema*, which claimed to unite all anti-fascist elements in Spain. In reality it existed mostly abroad among the Spanish Communists in France, and only Negrin and del Vayo could be regarded as non-Communist members because they had never formally joined the party.

Meanwhile, Negrin's friends in the United States, clustering around the *Nation's Associates*, were not told of the change in the Communist party line. They brought considerable pressure to bear upon Dean Acheson, Assistant Secretary of State, to snub the Spanish government-in-exile by consulting with Negrin regarding the French note of invitation. Accordingly, Acheson called Negrin instead of Fernando de los Rios, who had taken the post of foreign minister after Negrin had turned it down. Acheson expected to hear from Negrin that Russia was still opposed to the Spanish government-in-exile as "not broad enough" in composition. He almost fell off his chair when Negrin, incensed by the Russian double cross, told him that he had given his unreserved allegiance to the Giral government and hoped that it would be recognized as the legal government of Spain.

#### Breach May Be Healed

Although Negrin and the Spanish Communists thus got their wires crossed, there is nothing final in the breach. And the change in the French government may be the signal for reconciliation. Negrin and the Spanish Communists are in fact indispensable to each other and both are indispensable to Russian policy in the western Mediterranean. The Spanish Communists are frequently heard of, because they dispose of many friends in the newspaper world abroad, but their influence in Spain is nil and Russia cannot use them as a lever with which to

control Spanish internal and foreign policy. It thus requires a personality who remains outside the party while lending himself wholeheartedly to its cause, and Negrin is the only Spanish politician of any stature who is willing to perform that function. Washington and London are, of course, fully aware of the fictitious quality of Negrin as a non-Communist, but while they would resist any Russian pressure to favor the Communist Party of Spain, they are willing to play the game for the sake of preserving the unity among the great powers. A policy which Felix Gouin seems likely to follow.

There is thus good reason to believe that the Russian strategy may be crowned with success. Negrin may yet be the recognized leader of the Spanish government-in-exile. But such an event would block indefinitely the return of the Spanish Republic to Spanish soil. While Russia will not recognize a Spanish government-in-exile, Washington and London will do nothing to force Franco out for the sake of replacing his totalitarian régime by another totalitarian régime of the Communist variety. It would be obvious to all that Spain would merely be thrown from the frying pan into the fire.

What is more important, the ascendancy of Negrin and the Spanish Communist Party might remove the incentive from the Spanish revolutionary movement inside Spain to overthrow Franco. Washington, London, Paris and Moscow may break diplomatic relations with Franco Spain and institute economic sanctions to boot, but Franco will stay in power unless the country itself acts to effect his overthrow.

However, should a compromise with the Communists be effected by all Spanish opposition parties and Russia were to give unreserved support to the Spanish government-in-exile, there is still (1) no certainty that Washington, London and Paris will break diplomatic relations with Franco in concerted action; (2) that such a break of diplomatic relations will suffice to cause the overthrow of Franco or his peaceful departure.

As always, the final word remains with the Spanish people themselves.

#### The Fundamental Problem

No radical change can take place in Spain, in its social and economic structure, without the direct action of the people. The history of the Spanish Republic from 1931 to 1936 is proof sufficient that a radical reconstruction of Spanish economy and society is impossible by government action and legislative methods. Whatever the compromises the maneuvers and intrigues which go on in the sphere of Spanish Republican politics, whatever the composition of the government-in-exile they may bring forth, it is not through political action that Spain can be liberated from the scourge of successive repressive governments. Neither Monarchical nor Republican régimes have been able to cope with the fundamental issues of Spain, the agrarian problem, the problem of labor participation in management of industry and the nationality problem. All these and the various secondary problems, such as education



and religion are far too complex, and the evils are far too deep rooted, as to admit of reforms and makeshift solutions. This, at any rate, is the conviction of about half the working population of Spain.

Then, there is the opposition of the Catalans, of the Basques and of other Iberian nationalities to a centralized government.

Though there are separatist movements in other European countries, only in Spain is that movement inspired by confederated ideas regarding government. In an Iberian confederation autonomous groups would combine with others for the pursuit of common ends but guard their local independence in all matters not pertinent to the whole peninsula. The idea of confederation has as yet been given no concrete organizational form by the various nationalities of the Iberian peninsula. The Anarcho-Syndicalist labor movement alone has translated the principle of confederation into practical reality. The *Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo*, or CNT as it is commonly called, is in fact an organization in which the local unions enjoy complete independence, combining into regional and national federations

only for the pursuit of common ends. Such an organization differs radically from the usual run-of-the-mill trade unions outside of Spain. It permits of no centralized direction of the union by union bosses; on the contrary, the final decisions remain always with the rank and file. No national congress of the CNT has ever been able to impose decisions made at the congresses upon the rank-and-file local unions. Its function has been to gather the decisions made on the lower levels and to coordinate these decisions into a program of common action.

Such an organization has the inestimable advantage that it is free from the leadership idea, thus permitting the spontaneous action of the rank and file. The CNT was able to react instantly against the fascist uprising of July 1936 without having to wait for orders from the leaders. Whereas every other labor union in Europe and America failed even to give pause to the onward march of fascism, the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists won a signal victory lost only to the overwhelming forces of Germans and Italians aiding Franco.

Additional documents dealing with the Spanish situation will be published in our next issue.

## An Inescapable Dilemma

(Continued from Page 14)

aspiration than to intervene in those cross-current internal fights dictated by the greed for power.

It seems to us by far more logical than those who feel like joining the government to enter some political party. The road which Angel Pestaña took is a case in point. So many of those who fought him are now ready to pay tribute to him as a precursor. Pestaña created a party, the Syndicalist Party, while the CNT and the Libertarian Movement continued their development until Pestaña and his friends left the CNT. We confidently expect that the situation today will resolve itself in the same manner.

Nevertheless, it is well to point out that the road which Pestaña took was more loyal. He began by creating a party. He tried to organize his party members along the lines which he had always followed. He consistently stuck to his guns—in our opinion he was wrong, as we told him at the time—he wanted to make his voice heard in official spheres, and that voice would reflect the wishes of the working class. That was his intention. We never thought of him as a traitor nor as self-seeking. He was just on the wrong road. The truth is he was tired of a type of fight which demanded nothing but sacrifice without offering any compensation other than—and this was no small compensation—the knowledge and the personal satisfaction of having remained in the breach, the pride of being a combatant. And one must say that Angel Pestaña, during a matchless decade of active life in the Libertarian Movement and the CNT, remained at his post against storm and flood. It is bare justice to recognize this.

But may we ask what is the intention of the

present collaborators? We know well that there are comrades who want to make use of collaborationism for the moment only, in order to fight Franco. But there also are those—and it would be stupid to deny it—who have no other desires than to push the CNT and the Libertarian Movement into governmental politics. It is to those that we put the question: Are you planning to transform the CNT and the Libertarian Movement from a non-political and anti-state body into an instrument of politics and government? Do you believe that the bulk of the comrades in the CNT and the Libertarian Movement will submit to this? It is pitiful to see how little vision you have.

It is clear that to follow an uncertain and confused road leads to failure. It is certain that all intervention in governmental politics—even in the low cunning politics now in use—requires first of all some preparation, the formation of a party, some directives, some objectives more or less concrete. . . . What have our enthusiastic collaborationists to show in that direction? Where are your preparations, your techniques, your political capacity, your organization?

This aspect does not interest us. But we do feel deeply that many who represent the CNT and the Libertarian Movement,—its clear and heroic history, the memory of its victims, the importance of its deeds, the hunger for the liberation of the masses, those who carried our hopes in a brighter future—may one day degenerate into a sort of Lerroixism [Tammany Hall type of Spanish politics, of which Alexander Lerroix was the leader], into disgusting lackeys of deputies and ministers devoid of ideals and of wider horizons.

It is this perspective which makes us tremble with indignation.



# Accident or Murder?

By John Nicholas Beffel

WHEN COAL MINERS die from a gas explosion in a mine where the safety laws have long been flagrantly violated, is that tragedy the result of an accident, or is it murder? The answer depends upon whether the question is asked of a mine owner or of a miner's widow and orphans.

Twenty-four coal diggers were lately killed in the Kentucky Straight Creek Company's Belva No. 1 mine in the shacktown known as Four Mile, Ky. That's near Pineville in Bell County, where unions met with stubborn opposition for years. Three weeks later 15 more died from a blast in a New River & Pocahontas Company mine at Havaco, West Virginia. Glaringly unsafe conditions prevailed in both those mines.

Volunteers began rescue efforts quickly after a detonation rocked the far-reaching network of tunnels in the Belva mine on December 26, and in the fifty-fourth hour nine miners were found unconscious a mile from the entrance. Two of these soon expired.

Searching for others who might still be alive went on valiantly for five days. Then the mine was ordered sealed by Harry Thomas, Kentucky Department of Mines chief. "It will be sealed to smother the fire in the coal veins and will remain sealed from 30 to 60 days," said a United Press dispatch. "At the end of that time it will be reopened, the bodies removed, the damage repaired. Then men again will labor in what is now a tomb."

## Company Deaf to Danger Reports

Not only did the owners of that mine violate the safety laws, but they ignored the State Workmen's Compensation Act, which provides for \$12 a week minimum payment to dependents of killed workers—if a mine is operated under that law. Such coverage is not compulsory in Kentucky. So the UMW had to raise a relief fund to aid the widows and orphans.

"Nothing is being done toward safety in the Belva mine and mine law is being neglected in every respect," State Mine Inspector Rufus Bailey reported in January, 1945. The mine's second opening (presumably the air shaft, through which rescuers tried vainly to enter the coal tunnels) was blocked by slate falls.

Bailey urged that coal dust be removed from Belva No. 1, and that it be rock-dusted at once, to cut down the danger of an explosion. This was not done. Four successive reports by the U. S. Bureau of Mines described the same hazards that Bailey noted, the *United Mine Workers' Journal* for January 15, declares.

Yet "apparently the Kentucky Department of Mines made no honest effort to enforce the law at the Belva mine," the *UMW Journal* states. Mine

inspectors in that state are political appointees, and have no power to close mines for cause. They hold their jobs at the pleasure of politicians, and coal companies have great political power in Kentucky.

## Smoking Allowed in Gassy Mine

The U. S. Mines Bureau classed the Belva mine as *gassy*, and recommended that only *permissible* electrical equipment be used in it. But the moss-grown Kentucky laws gave that mine a *non-gassy* rating, and the owners kept on using *non-permissible* equipment. Also, though they knew that the inspectors had shown the presence of explosive gas, their employees were permitted to smoke underground.

McKinley Leath, union local secretary, told a legislative investigating committee that Earl Lewis, son of the company head, asked him not to make an issue of safety conditions after Bailey had reported what he found.

The men who survived were saved by the quick thinking of Bud Towns, Negro miner, who had lived through a Kettle Island explosion which killed six in 1929. When the Belva mine blast, gas, and fire cut off exit for the mine, Towns hurried the others into a side room, and directed the building of a barricade across its entrance. Outside the barrier he left a message on a slab of slate: "Nine miners in here. 11 a.m. Wednesday."

Then he had all the food and water put in one spot for rationing, and, the eight followed his example in stretching out on their backs to conserve their oxygen supply. They sang and prayed, and lay close to one another to keep warm.

## Coal Dust Is Ankle Deep

Both state and federal inspectors attributed the Havaco explosion to coal dust, which was ankle deep at the shaft bottom. Management was warned of disaster if precautions were not taken, the *UMW Journal* for February 1 avers. Three of the mine bosses did not have certificates of competency. Large quantities of explosives were stored underground. No fire-fighting organization was maintained. . . . This was the third fatal blast in the Havaco mine. Eighty-one were killed there in 1912, and four in 1918.

I have seen those bleak coal towns in Bell and Harlan counties, and have been in the drab homes of Kentucky miners. And I know the scene at Four Mile as well as if I had been there — for I saw the aftermath of the mine disaster in Cherry, Illinois, in which 279 men were buried alive when fire swept a coal tunnel 380 feet down. The unsafe conditions in that mine in 1909 were akin to those in Belva No. 1.

As a young reporter for the United Press I watched for 11 days the intermittent rescue efforts



by weary volunteers, saw dry-eyed women waiting hopelessly around the mouth of the main shaft, saw scores of dead miners, burned black, lying under tarpaulins on the frozen ground, saw the mine sealed tight while living men were still entombed below.

### "Safest Mine" A Death Trap

The people of the town appeared stunned, dazed. They stood silent at the mine-mouth for long hours, or moved about like phantoms. Many nationalities were represented there — Scotch, English, German, French, Irish, Lithuanian, Polish, Scandinavian, Italian.

Reputedly "the safest coal mine in Illinois," the Cherry mine, owned by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway, had no fire alarm system, no fire-fighting apparatus, no water pressure, no fire drills. The main shaft and the air shaft were only 180 feet apart, instead of 300, as required by law.

Several days earlier a part of the electric light system had burned out, and had not been repaired. In its place open torches were used. One of those torches ignited a car of hay intended for the mine mules. Flame then jumped to the timbering, and to the coal face. For two hours the fire raged before an alarm was sounded, either to miners in the 500-foot vein or to any one on the surface.

Ten of those who died in Cherry that Saturday were rescuers who were burned to death when the flow of air was suddenly reversed through some blunder above while they stood in the cage at the 380-foot level waiting to be hauled to the top. Thus a torrent of flame was poured into the man-filled cage.

On Sunday night the mine openings were sealed tight with concrete, with the idea of shutting out the air and smothering the fire. I remember my horror at seeing this. Surely it meant death for any miners who might still be alive below.

### Sealing of Shafts Called Murder

Soon after the mine was sealed, a woman with a black shawl over her head pushed her way through the watching crowd to the closed mouth of the shaft. There she fell, shrieking in protest. "It's murder," she cried. "You kill my man. You give him no chance." She clawed at the fresh concrete, as if she would tear it open. Quickly several men, sheriff's deputies sworn to protect property and preserve "law and order," lifted the struggling woman to her feet and hurried her way into the darkness.

Others, too, felt the horror of the situation—union officials and local residents—and were moved to protest against the sealing of the mine. But it stayed sealed. How or when the decision to take that action was reached I don't know. The president of the state mining board (described as "a mine owner himself"), was in charge of the rescue work.

On Monday oxygen masks were brought from the University of Illinois Geologic Survey in Urbana, the shafts were reopened, and more volunteers went down. Now the fire was under control, isolated in

one section of the mine, and through the week the searchers continued exploring the labyrinth of tunnels below.

### Living Men Eight Days in Tomb

Twenty miners were brought out alive on the eighth day. I talked with the first two as they rested a few minutes later; they were like tired runners after a gruelling race. Cut off by the flames, they, too, built a barricade to shut out the gas. Lying in the dark, they heard far-off sounds which gave them hope that rescuers were at work. But there were long stretches of utter silence. Hymn-singing, led by an old Scotsman, cheered them. When food gave out they chewed shoe leather and bark from timbers. When water was gone, they drank seepage from the earth, with a coal taste, collected drop by drop in tin cups. In the dark, one of their number, tortured by thirst, stole the seepage belonging to another.

In the tented morgue I saw the body of a baby-faced boy—we wrote of him as "little Jan"—who, though under legal age, had been permitted to work in the mine. He was the sole support of a widowed mother. Her anguished words were unforgettable: "The company, the company! They owned him alive and they own him dead!" For she had no money to bury him.

The close tie-up of the mine owners with the lives and deaths of Cherry's people was accentuated when A. J. Earling, president of the railroad, assured them that the company would meet the cost of all burials, including the gift of a cemetery, the town hitherto having had none.

### What Price a Miner's Life?

Illinois had no workmen's compensation law then, and the Cherry mine was not covered by industrial accident insurance. Facing damage claims from the dependents of the 259 who died, the company engineered a compromise under which it paid only \$1,800 for the death of each married man. I lack other final figures, but in March, 1910, the company offered \$500 as indemnity for the life of each single man.

For many years coal mine fatalities in this country exceeded 2,000 annually. The killing of more than 1,000 coal diggers by "accidents" every year since 1930 is proof that mine owners still place profits above care for the lives of the men whose labor produces their wealth.

It is, of course, too much to expect that the employers will voluntarily eliminate the causes of such widespread tragedy. Their indifference to safety for the miners is one of the strongest possible arguments for socialization of coal mines throughout the United States. By demanding nationalization so loudly and clearly that no one could ignore the issue, and by using its massed power to stop production, organized labor could compel the full enforcement of laws designed to protect the miners and to establish similar laws where they do not now exist.



# Ivory Tower or Market Place?

By J. S. White

JAMES T. FARRELL has, in his most recently published book,\* presented his views on a number of diverse literary topics and directed his anger at a few "philistines." He has given us one essay, "Literature and Ideology," which interests us a great deal, as much for the confusion which the essay leaves us in and the need thereby raised for clarification, as for the importance of the subject itself, for the relationship between literature and ideology extends beyond that narrow context to its relationship to life.

The problem of the relation of literature and ideology is mixed with a number of other problems: the role of the artist in society, art and social responsibility, what is literature (often, in Farrell's discussion, we found ourselves wanting to know what he meant by literature). It would require more than the space at hand to deal with these problems even summarily. As a revolutionary writer Farrell has a social perspective that enables him as distinguished from his philistine fellow writers, to derive greater meaning from events, to see behind the superficial, or to put it another way, to see how fundamental the superficial is (I don't know if this would be his attitude toward it). But insofar as he allows his *particular* revolutionary philosophy—as a world system—to introduce into his writing he is hampered as a writer. His discussion of literature and ideology—which he applies to others—is an example of the straitjacket that ideology can put on him. However, Farrell is not completely in uniform and is still an artist—from this fact arises the inconsistencies to be noted later.

## Objectivity May Be a Mirage

The position taken by Farrell, the Marxist author of "Studs Lonigan" was indeed one that leaves the reader with a question in mind. In discussing how he came to write "Studs Lonigan," he says "I realized then that the writer should submit himself to an objective discipline. These early manuscripts of mine were written in the main, out of such an intention." He is attempting to achieve in other words a realism which on the one hand appears to us impossible of realization, for always the realism is not untainted and rises from certain social attitudes and is only one element of the complex of motivation and may not even be part of the emotional values which set him to writing "Studs Lonigan"; and on the other hand this objectivity is in variance with "the dreams, the fantasies, the aspirations" he expects from literature. He is right only if the artist has no personality of his own, if he is a mere sounding-board—something we do not believe, nor think Farrell believes either. The "aspirations" may then become the artist's aspirations in which case objectivity is a mere mirage.

In explaining the genesis of "Studs Lonigan,"

\* "The League of Frightened Philistines," by James T. Farrell. The Vanguard Press, New York. \$2.75.

Farrell recounts the unhappy mood and state of mind he was in at the time of the conception: periods of elation alternated with periods of despair, a deep sense of failure and inadequacy hounded him, and the agonizing onrush of irretrievable time drove him frantic. He was taking an advanced composition course with Professor Linn and had handed in many manuscripts. Most of them related to "death, disintegration, human indignity, poverty, drunkenness, ignorance, human cruelty." One of the stories written at the time was "Studs." What is being indicated here is that Farrell's state of mind did not contribute to any degree of objectivity. This is shown by the subjects in his enumeration of manuscripts — these are heavily laden with morbidity, suffering and a sense of human indignity. It seems an impertinence to refuse to accept the honest words of the writer's own explanation of his act of creation. "I set as my aim that of unfolding the destiny of Studs Lonigan in his own words, his own pattern of thoughts and feelings. I decided that my task was not to state *formally* what life meant to me, but to try and recreate a sense of what life meant to Studs Lonigan." I have purposely italicized "formality." Farrell's use of word shows rather definitely that his approach was not objective. Was he trying to state what life meant to him—only informally? The admission is tacit.

He had social values in mind. And it was these social values (as well as the artist in him) which caused him to write "Studs Lonigan" the way he did. That the novel meant more to him, and by intention was meant to contain much more than a mere objective portrayal of a character is further supported by his own statement: "My attitude toward it and toward my character is a simple one. 'There but for the grace of God go I.' . . . There but for the grace of God go — many others." A whole world of values is contained in this statement—and one expects this attitude from a revolutionary socialist like Farrell.

## Artist Has a Right to His Views

Why, then, does he cultivate this appearance of objectivity? Is it because it would make him less of an artist if he included his own values (granting that he can keep them out) in his writing? It did not diminish James Joyce's greatness—in fact, the contrary—that his "Ulysses" is honeycombed with his own political and religious views: his hatred of England, his quarrel with the Catholic church, his estrangement from Ireland. Or to take a lesser figure, Alex Comfort, whose "The Power House" has been criticized for being almost unbearably naturalistic in description, has carefully *incorporated* his views into the novel at the same time that he indicated that he portrayed real people, characters whom he knew. It would appear, then, that what is important for the novel is not that the author finds a place for himself in his book, like director Alfred Hitch-



cock who makes a momentary appearance in his films, but *how* he makes that appearance. Objectivity does not appear to be a good in itself and is not necessarily a goal to strive for. At best it is only a technique. Perhaps we misinterpret Farrell but then he should give more adequate definition to "objectivity."

One cannot include Farrell in the statement when Jean Paul Sartre writes that the realist "aspires to the sterile impartiality of the scientist"—for Farrell is far from a sterile, impartial social scientist except insofar as some sterile Marxian social doctrines make him one. Furthermore, impartiality can be seen, more than ever before, as an illusion. It is for that reason that the danger of impartiality—in literature as in science—is so ominous today. The writer "is 'in it up to his neck', whatever he writes, is branded, committed even in the most distant withdrawal."

"I hold," Sartre continues, "Flaubert and Goncourt responsible for the repression which followed the Commune, because they wrote not a single line to prevent it. It may be said it was none of their business: but was the case of Golas the business of Voltaire? The sentence of Dreyfus the business of Zola? The administration of the Congo the business of Gide?"

But it may be urged that these matters are "not the business" of the *novel*. The business of the novel is whatever urges the novelist to create, unhampered by false ideas of objectivity or by directions alien to the artist. Alex Comfort puts it this way: "There is not the smallest reason why a poet should not write odes to the Russian Revolution or the Dnieper Dam if these subjects move him, and represent the message which, on behalf of some of the submerged voices, he is attempting to interpret."

#### MacLeish's Motives Questioned

It would require an interesting bit of investigation to discover the reasons for Farrell's emphasis on objectivity: was it Professor Linn or some other teacher's impression on a sensitive mind, was it the influence of some social theorists with whom he came in contact at the time, or perhaps the "pure" attitude of a Flaubert that guided him? Whatever the reasons may be, his objectivity has developed to a point where it yields a hybrid conception of freedom. The desire for freedom is quite understandable as a necessity to his growth as an artist; certainly to one who is at odds with all the powers—that-be it is a requisite. Though to one who is aware of the freedom that Trotsky permitted during his period of supremacy in Russia it comes always with a shock when the word is uttered by one of his followers. In taking his stand for the freedom of all writers, this double-fisted Irish writer swings to the left (at the New Masses crowd which was only interested in "proletarian literature," the story with content, the "modern directives" of Slochower), and to the right (MacLeish, who after a tussle with the Communists during the thirties over "proletarian literature" and for freedom of the artist now

emerges demanding the use of the word as a weapon). To the New Masses crowd MacLeish was a fascist, to Farrell he is now a philistine, sold to the interests.

MacLeish is representative of the type whose aim "is to compel the writer to abort his work in the name of formal political ends and to impose critical and political legislation on him." If this is what MacLeish is trying to do we are in agreement with Farrell's objections. No art of any sort can be produced by imposition or decree—the artistic process is one of seepage from the outer world into the inner world of the artist where what is congenial to him intermingles with his nature, the product of which process is called art. Farrell goes to some length, quoting historic examples, to demonstrate the necessity of freedom if art is to prosper. But a curious *non sequitor* develops in his reasoning. The writer must have freedom, his art, nevertheless, precludes his discussing politics since politics deals with serious matters — bread-and-butter problems. Politics is for experts—for politicians. Farrell writes:

"Today, as then (Karl Marx's time), literary men are trying to smuggle ideology into literature. 'Smuggle' is an excellent word here. They seek to consider, to discuss, and to educate people in an indirect, oblique, yes, even casual, manner concerning the most serious problems confronting the human race. Instead of discussing questions such as Socialism and Communism, Democracy and Fascism, in terms of the relevant problems raised by those issues, they want to smuggle a discussion of such issues into novels, poetry, dramatic criticisms, book reviews, motion picture scenarios, cheap swing songs, soap opera, banquet speeches, and books labeled as literary criticism. I do not hesitate to label such conduct as frivolous; often it is positively immoral. Politics is serious. It is the arena in which the fundamental bread-and-butter struggles of men, of groups, of nations, of social classes are conducted. He who is frivolous about politics is guilty of a grave disservice to his fellow men, especially in times of deep social crisis. The problems of politics are basically concerned with action and with power. Literary men have the habit of rushing into the periphery of politics and they contribute to political struggles—not knowledge, not practical experience, not theoretical analyses, but rhetoric. Rhetoric is the one commodity in politics of which there has never been a scarcity."

#### Why Shouldn't Writers Know Reality?

The happy, free writer! he has so much less to think about now. Farrell seems to give the literary man the very humble and irresponsible place (the ivory tower, the naturalist position) of the nineteenth century. Why shouldn't the literary man know of the world about him — even as Farrell does—and write about it in the way that pleases him, the way his creative urge acting upon the forces around him compels him to write? Why say of him, as Farrell does, that he cannot "predict" and his predictions "prove nothing." There is no reason to



expect predictions or prophecy from him (does he make *predictions* or voice *aspirations*?) or from any one else. It is certainly not his peculiar role which incapacitates him in this direction, however, for even so great a politician or social scientist as Marx proved how tremendously inadequate his prophetic powers were. Farrell clinches his point and provides the poet his proper role with the sarcastic question, "Why do we not elect lyric poets as our political leaders?" Unfortunately, they would not then remain poets. But one cannot deny they could not have done a worse job with the world than the experts, the politicians of all shades, have done.

But one must be careful not to misunderstand Farrell for he does not mean precisely what he says, or rather, that he says a number of things *not* precisely. For after the long quote above he hastens to add: "I merely suggest that the requisites of all responsible action are that one be serious and that one accept the obligations and duties which that imposes on one." Now what does this mean? That all his previous remonstrations go for naught if the writer has a serious and responsible concern for what he is doing? But this is an altogether different standard of judgment by which to establish the do's and don'ts of the writer.

It would be stepping out on a limb to adopt the position that his objectivity springs from his Marxism, from Socialist realism. It does not necessarily spring from such a viewpoint but it might. Following Trotsky, Farrell says, "Literature generally reflects life. It often limps, even crawls, behind events. Trotsky had said, "All through history, mind limps after reality." If literature is a superstructure, the mind a reflection, of the basic reality, of the constructive relationships of economic life—then what could be more natural than a literature that is objective and a freedom that is meaningless? Farrell fortifies his position by pointing out that literature is written after the event and illustrates this with Stendhal's "The Red and the Black," which was written not while the author was with the French Army in Moscow, but after the battle of Waterloo.

#### Literature Must Be Kept Free

But here again we must be especially careful not to misunderstand Farrell, for he has other things to say, apparently different in meaning. "In all serious literature," he writes, "there is truth—truth of insight, of observation, truth about the world, as well as the consciousness of men. And truth will make men free, although it may disturb the critical legislator and the ideological smuggler." Coming from Farrell, a Marxist, this is an unexpected admission—that literature will make men free. Literature takes on a much more important countenance than was previously indicated. It is not merely superstructure or reflection but becomes endowed with an independent character, a creative possibility of its own—for it takes more than a limping, crawling thing to make men free. And a re-valuation of literature becomes necessary, because its possibilities are so im-

portant. The state has always been aware of these possibilities and has always attempted to buy off—or kill off—the poet and writer. The fascist state has used the direct, murderous way, the democratic state has bribed him with luxuries, or starved him. This is simplification, but essentially true. Knowing the power that lies in the hand of the writer—the power to make men free, i.e., in conjunction with other forces and relationship in society—it follows that coercion of the artist can only result in poor art, but efficient for its purpose, and worse politics, but equally efficient for its purpose. In order to free men literature must be free.

Gorky's position was contradictory to Trotsky's, even as Farrell is contradictory within himself. Reality, according to Gorky, is created by "the inexhaustible and intelligent will of man" and "reality lags behind the human mind." Dialectics would be the easiest method by which to reconcile these contradictions, for it is the study of how there can be identical opposites. Gorky is as wrong as Trotsky. Their mistakes lay in the question of precedence. Herbert Read has given us a picture of reality as a "four-pronged magnet (matter, sensation, intellect and intuition) with the same lines of force running through its parallel prongs." Reality, life, is a result of the action and reaction of the forces emanating from these prongs. The notion of superstructure is thereby laid aside and so is Farrell's confusion which makes literature limp after reality at the same time that it helps make men free.

---



---

#### SHADOWS IN "FREE" RUSSIA

(Continued from Page 4)

wildering. It needed the Second World War to break its backbone.

In 1945, the U.S.S.R. appeared as the sole powerful totalitarian system which victoriously emanated from that war. It is now the leading figure in aggressive policy making.

If the people of the world, beginning with the Russian people themselves, do not look out we shall be heading toward an atomic smash-up.

The general comic opera elections just held in the Soviet Union give as yet no indication of a renaissance.

The actual carrying out of the Fourth "Peace" Five-Year Plan dictated by Stalin will be a much better barometer of what the people of Russia think of their little father and of his totalitarian imperialism.

Meanwhile, the world barometer, as judged by UNO intrigues, stands at stormy, due to the clash of capitalist and Soviet imperialisms. If judged by the general state of the people involved, it stands at unsettled stillness which is not quite what is understood by "calm weather." Clouds may be gathering and not until a far-flung cloudbust drives off these two imperialisms, harbingers of constant wars, can we hope that mass production all the world over will be truly carried out by the people themselves and for their own welfare.



## Anarcho-Syndicalism Moves Forward in France

**D**EVELOPMENTS within the French labor movement are taking an important turn since the French Communists have been allowed to infiltrate into the executive bodies of French syndicalism—nationally as well as regionally and locally.

We can report today two such interesting developments:

A meeting of active Syndicalists from all parts of the country was held in Paris on October 8, 1945. The following resolution was unanimously adopted after a thorough discussion of the labor situation:

"After having examined the form and substance of the decision taken by the National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T. which met from the 3rd to the 5th of September 1945, the Assembly of the militants of Paris and the provinces expresses the following viewpoint:

1) By deciding to take part in the forthcoming elections, and to vote the Communist ticket in these elections, the C.G.T. has repudiated its basic doctrine as well as the Constitutional Charter of Amiens essential to syndicalist unity.

2) In nominating two General Secretaries of the C.G.T., the National Confederal Committee has contravened against Article 9 of the Confederal Statutes which permit only a single General Secretary.

3) In designating an Executive Committee of four members chosen from the Confederal Committee already enlarged to 12 members without authorization, the National Confederal Committee has created in effect a directorate not provided for by the statutes, an innovation which it had no right to make.

4) In authorizing the secretaries to run in the forthcoming legislative elections, the National Confederal Committee has violated the formal dispositions of Article 10 of the Confederal Statutes.

5) That in making these decisions the National Confederal Committee has violated all the rights which belong properly to the Confederal Convention, alone qualified to decide such questions involving the entire C.G.T. after consultation of the members and of the unions.

6) That all these decisions made by the National Confederal Committee in violation of the statutes were not submitted to nor discussed by the syndicates and the members in accordance with statutory forms, nor were they rendered valid as they ought to have been by a Confederal Convention. These decisions should therefore be considered as null and void by all members and by the Confederal organizations (Article 51 of the Statutes).

"Be it resolved therefore that this Assembly considers that neither the Charter nor the statutes of the C.G.T. serve any longer as guarantors for the rights of the Confederal organizations, nor are they representative of the unity of all the tendencies within the framework of syndicalist democracy in all respects; that the violations above enumerated constitute a negation of the independence of syndicalism and of the C.G.T. in relation to political parties;

Calls upon union men and syndicates, upon regional unions and trade federations to revolt against the decision of the National Confederal Committee;

And declares moreover that it is incumbent upon the syndicalist forces of the C.G.T. to group themselves in opposition syndicates on every confederal level: local union, regional union and federation; that these opposition unions form themselves within their local and regional coordinating committees and that the latter get in touch with the National Committee of Coordination created in Paris.

Later the situation will be thoroughly examined with a

view of adopting a solution which will be in harmony with the interests of syndicalism and of the workers whose interests and demands are at present abandoned by the C.G.T."

A couple of days earlier, the Constitutive Convention of the Libertarian Movement in France was held in the famous Hall of Scientific Societies. We publish the Convention's resolution referring to Syndicalism:

The constitutive convention of the Anarchist Federation:

Considering that the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) is the only international organization inspired by the revolutionary and federalist principles which animate us;

That the French Syndicalist Federation (FSF) is the expression of that International on a national basis;

Invites the members of the Anarchist Federation who can join unions to become affiliated with the IWMA through the FSF.

Considering on the other hand that the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT) unites the largest section of workers organized without distinction of tendency and presents, therefore, a favorable ground for propaganda in favor of our conceptions of Revolutionary and Federalist Syndicalism,—this in spite of its chiefs having forsaken its fundamental principles,—gives freedom of action to its members to join the CGT and carry out there their tasks as Anarchists.

To this effect, the Anarchist Federation decides to set up a trade union commission which will be in close and constant touch with the FSF insofar as the latter will remain the true expression of the IWMA, and invites its trade union sections to act in the same manner locally and regionally.

### A VICE-PRESIDENT WITH A PAST

**T**HE VICE-PRESIDENT of the French Republic is now Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, upholder of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 and refugee in Moscow during World War II, while his French fellow-citizens were being slaughtered by his ex-ally Adolf Hitler. *Sic transit...*

The Fourth Republic has had a bad start: First de Gaulle, then Thorez . . . two phases of the same imperialist ideology.

TO BUILD A NEW POSTWAR WORLD  
REQUIRES NEW IDEAS, NEW METHODS,  
NEW PRINCIPLES OF RECONSTRUCTION  
IF YOU LIKE "NEW TRENDS . . ." GIVE  
IT TO YOUR FRIENDS TO READ  
MAKE THEM SUBSCRIBE TO IT

NEW TRENDS . . .

60 E. 42d Street, N. Y. C.

Subscription: One Year \$1.50

Enclosed please find \$1.50 for one year's subscription to NEW TRENDS. . . .

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....ZONE.....

STATE .....



## Tresca 'Clues' on Page 1

By Eric Duane

**M**ID-FEBRUARY saw the Carlo Tresca murder case on the front pages again. Kings County (Brooklyn) authorities were questioning a Sing Sing convict and a local gangster, and it was reported that one of them admitted that he drove the car in which the killers of Tresca, anti-totalitarian editor, escaped, and that he was the finger-man and got \$2,500 for pointing the victim out to the slayers.

The two men grilled were John Sorlucio, alias Jack Malone, who headed the liquidated "Black Hawk" gang and drew a 40-to-80-year sentence last November on an assault and robbery charge, and Joseph Di Somma, who also was in that gang. Supposedly the actual murderer is now serving a long prison term.

District Attorney Frank Hogan had no comment to make about the "admissions" said to have been obtained in Brooklyn.

Meanwhile more than 1,000 persons who attended the memorial meeting in Cooper Union Institute on the eve of the third anniversary of Tresca's murder still awaited the next move by Hogan's office in the case. Obviously Hogan was put in a defensive position that night, January 10.

There were two surprises on the program. One was when former Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, in paying tribute to Tresca, declared that the failure to solve this crime was "one of the blackest spots in the nation's history of jurisprudence." The other was a speech by Eleazar Lipsky, who had lately resigned as an assistant district attorney.

Invited to speak by the memorial committee, Lipsky attempted a defense of Hogan's office, correctly termed "more vehement than logical." He asserted that "outsiders" had given out information "that should not have been made public."

Norman Thomas, committee head, presiding, pointed out the emptiness of Lipsky's remarks, and then revealed that despite Hogan's claim that "all clues" had been investigated, three years had passed without any one in his office ever questioning three of Tresca's close friends, familiar with his political enmities. When he was killed he had in a pocket a check for several hundred dollars, signed by one of those friends, a prominent labor official.

Lipsky's position was further assailed in a letter to the press signed by Oswald Garrison Villard and Mr. Thomas. They declared that their committee had never given out any information that could possibly have hampered the Tresca investigation and that they didn't know of any one who had.

"Mr. Lipsky did not meet any of the charges against Mr. Hogan's office," they said. "He contended that his associate in the Tresca inquiry, Louis Pagnucco, who long handled the Italian end, was honest and 'not pro-Fascist.' We never attacked Mr. Pagnucco's personal integrity. We simply held that he was not in a position to examine effectively persons from whom he had received honors and awards."

The Cooper Union assemblage passed a resolution calling Hogan's office "either incompetent or indifferent," and requesting and authorizing the memorial committee to "take any steps, in the form of legal or other practical action, necessary to bring about a genuinely exhaustive investigation of this case."

"In April, 1944," the Villard-Thomas letter to the press also stated, "Mr. Hogan was urged to ask the Federal Bureau of Investigation for help in the Tresca case because of its international implications. He refused to do this, asserting that his men were 'just as competent' as those of the FBI. After 21 months, with no apparent progress, isn't it time for him to reconsider this refusal?"

## Comments on Contemporaries

The meeting of Socialist and totalitarian roads is at last beginning to haunt all those who find themselves in the postwar blind alley. Will Herberg in *Politics* (December 1945) is unable to dissociate totalitarianism from social-democracy and makes the latter responsible in great part for the former. In his study "Personalism against Totalitarianism," Herberg most reluctantly has to admit that "it was the German socialist movement that first began the 'politicalization' of everyday life and the 'coordination' of the social activities of the masses." From trade unions and cooperatives down to socialist Sunday schools and Sunday working, everything was controlled by the party: "If a man, woman or child liked to play chess, to put on amateur theatricals, to go on hikes or to take snapshots, he was to do it together with like-minded comrades in a socialist organization."

"This system of total organization," continues Will Herberg, was taken over and immensely perfected by the Communists and Fascists. . . . It was the objective logic of obsessive collectivism and engulfing organization that brought socialism to this desperate plight. That socialism itself should have nourished the demonic spirit whose first victim it became is one of the tragic ironies of the history of our time."

It is not *Socialism* that is to blame for the totalitarian tragedy. It is *state socialism*: it is the idea that the state has a *positive* function to perform in human relations. This is the fundamental fallacy. When you begin to lend the state a *constructive* value, you admit, consciously or unconsciously, the inevitability of totalitarianism.

\* \* \*

"The Network" has ceased publication with its November-December 1945 issue. We are told, in a valedictory editorial, that "the 'Third World War' has, in fact, already begun—and that in a more acute form than the beginning of World War II with the Manchurian incident in 1931. In all corners of the world, the Western Powers are in open conflict with the Russian expansion; there are no forces in existence which can halt this trend. In this crisis, we must assign ourselves new tasks more adequate for the new situation than the mere exposure of Stalinist technique. . . ."

Are we going to be misled again, as we all were in World War I, and in World War II, that we are fighting for democracy? Or are we going to start understanding that one world war is but the prologue to another world war? How many experiments must we go through before we accept this truism?

\* \* \*

The *New Leader* (January 12, 1946) publishes an interesting document issued by the German Communists for *internal use only*, but which Gerhart H. Seger brought back with him from Germany.

Machiavellian as all Bolshevik documents are, this latest edition of the end-that-justifies-the-means strategy should not surprise anybody. A couple of quotations will show what we mean, the italics being our own:

"The relationship of forces does not enable us to approach our goal in a *straight line*. But the demand of a free democratic Germany must . . . so change the ratio of forces that this *tactical retreat of ours* will open to us the road to our strategic goal.

"If we are successful in keeping this movement [of mobilizing all anti-Fascist forces] going and do not let it freeze then we Communists, being the most active, clear-sighted and *flexible* ones, will seize the lead eventually."

The "flexibility" of the Communist brazen line has already shown that Bolshevism is never able to straighten itself.

It will remain flexible and crooked.