

REVOLT!

INCORPORATING SPAIN and the WORLD

LIBERTY WITHOUT
SOCIALISM MEANS
PRIVILEGE AND IN-
JUSTICE. SOCIALISM
WITHOUT FREEDOM
MEANS SLAVERY &
BRUTALITY.

—BAKUNIN

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Trades Unionism at the Crossroads

BEHIND large columns of membership and pleasant bank reserves a crisis threatens trades unionism. The dangers which overwhelmed the powerful German trade union movement are confronting the British unions. They are ignored in the comfortable glow of correctly balanced bank-books.

Years of suffering could have been spared the Spanish workers, Fascism defeated and a new society built in Spain had the world trade union movement played its part.

It is very necessary to collect food and clothing for Spain, but much more was needed—International Working Class Solidarity.

The Russian Revolution only lived through its critical years of 1917 to 1921 because of the strikes and mutinies of the working class forces in the imperialist countries. Such strikes have not occurred in support of the Spanish workers, yet such workers direct action would have relieved the overwhelming pressure of the imperialist forces.

To each who would soothe his conscience by walking the West

End "for Spain" we would commend the words of Lord Birkenhead when preparing the anti-trade union bill of 1927. Hearing of vast demonstrations to be held against the bill he said "Make all your speeches, blow all your trumpets, wave all your flags, THE BILL IS

GOING THROUGH!"

When the ruling class has determined the subjection or destruction of a people trumpets and flags or the clip of weary feet will not prevent it, only the industrial might of labour will bend its bloody will.

Yet while the organised workers plead for "Arms for Spain" they labour night and day to arm their masters, they exhaust themselves creating the weapons of their own destruction, the mechanism of the next imperialist blood bath.

Let us not think this is a "Spanish problem," the disastrous policy which betrayed Spain threatens the British workers, it is already striking heavy blows at the French proletariat. The T.U.C. is supporting "National Service" without even bargaining the price of betrayal. "National Service" is but the early stage of industrial and military conscription, Fascism without the coloured shirts.

Let not the trade unions feel impregnable in their palatial offices or behind their bank books. The German unions too had millions of members, a long tradition, a national influence, well-filled treasure chests and landed property. They fell to Hitler without a blow. Years before they stood at the cross roads of class struggle and class collaboration, turning their backs on struggle they united with the class enemy and were emasculated by habitual compromise.

Shall we follow the path of German democracy, the path to self destruction? Shall we wait for the leaders to see what they do? Their path was chosen years ago!

History is now moving fast, too fast. We must not wait, we must act now! In the trade union branch, in the trades council and in the factory raise the banner of revolt!

No "National Service" no matter what the foreign policy of British Imperialism! Direct action to save the Spanish people, to open the frontiers to ALL the Spanish refugees from Fascism! To liberate this heroic people from the hell of French internment camps.

Many trades councils and union branches have rebelled against the T.U.C. surrender on "National Service." It is good but the storm of protest must grow louder and it must be organised into activity, into organised resistance in mill, factory, shed and pit.

We must organise in each indus-

trial unit a workers committee representing all the workers in the undertaking no matter what the craft, sex or age. These committees must be linked together to present an unbroken front against the Imperialists and their batmen. They must not be an appendage of a political party but obedient only to those who elect them, they must never obey the obese and cynical bureaucracy but express the will

and aspirations of the workshop rank and file.

By such organisation which they called Anarcho-Syndicalism the Spanish workers waged a triumphant struggle against Fascism until betrayed by "non-intervention" and parliamentary plottings, by such means did the French workers triumph in the 40 hour week battle of 1936 only to lose that 40 hour week by parliamentary compromise.

By this means shall we conquer war and Fascism, by this means conquer the social problem.

FORWARD! REVOLT!

Spain Waits

The struggle against the Spanish people has been speeded and intensified. Already the British Government has recognised Franco "in principle." Now the inspired press paves the way to open acclamation of the usurper.

Outstanding as a feature of the Government's pro-fascist intrigue is its desire to force Spain into accepting unconditional surrender. British reaction awaits the moment which will be expedient for delivering the blow.

France must appear to take the initiative. The whole force of the British State is used as an instrument of coercion. Talk of pledging the British Army to defence of France is not without significance. Chamberlain hands to the French ruling class an excuse for a further betrayal.

But the despicable work of Britain's Fascist wire-pullers has not been entirely immune from difficulties. Another British ship was seized by Franco on 5th February. Fascist attacks upon British ships are not good propaganda for a Government which intrigues with Fascism on the pretext that it is doing so in the interests of peace. The

news was withheld from the public for a period of twelve days. Incidents of this kind make the position of the Government extremely embarrassing.

But embarrassing Chamberlain will not defeat him. Shouting slogans at demonstrations will not make him go. The only action which will defeat Chamberlain and Fascism is the Direct Action of the working-class.

Fascism and Democracy act with a continuous increase of co-operation. They move together to defend themselves against the workers. Whatever the form of government it is an instrument of exploitation. The parliamentary opposition to Fascism becomes increasingly fantastic as the democratic basis of its existence falls to pieces with decay.

Breaking away from political futilities Spain's two million Anarchists have given an heroic lead to the workers of the world. Political confusion of the issues, misrepresentation and the conspiracy of silence, all have played their part in bringing about the present plight of the Spanish people. Above all the treachery of the Democracies and the passive sabotage of the official Labour movements of the world.

With the help of Chamberlain the blackguard Franco will advance against the Government. But the Spanish workers, although battered down, will never be defeated. They await those actions of International Solidarity which alone can save them from the bonds of Franco's slavery, the actions which can save the world from Fascism and War.

SPAIN'S FIGHTERS

Prisoners Behind Barbed Wire

FRANCE has with bad grace, finally opened her frontiers to all refugees from Catalonia. But what is the treatment accorded to the harassed, exhausted and wounded soldiers of Spain? The conditions under which they live are so deplorable that even the French Press, little enough in sympathy with the refugees has expressed indignation. There are many witnesses to the fact that the refugees herded together like animals in concentration camps have not only to suffer from cold and hunger but are submitted to every humiliation. As for the wounded, they lie on straw surrounded by filth and half ruined buildings. The *Sunday Express* reports that:

"In this hospital of 2,500 wounded men, of whom 1,000 are too ill to move, there is

ONE basin,

ONE bed pan,

TWO or THREE two-quart jugs—a man does nothing all day but try to get water round to the men.

FOUR doctors,

EIGHT nurses."

The fate of the women is no more enviable. They are the prey of the white slave traffickers who have flocked to Perpignan to exploit the defenceless refugees. They try to "get exhausted girls who cannot speak French and long for a meal, to go away with them. I spoke with a woman whom they tried to get into a car," (*Sunday Express* and confirmed by the *Manchester Guardian* and *Paris S.I.A.* reports.)

The Spanish Anarchists are hounded, imprisoned, but the

slave merchants can ply their infamous trade without interference ... Women are separated from the husbands, children from their mothers.

Behind all this the aim of France is clear. She wishes to make life impossible for the refugees so that the largest possible number shall return to Nationalist Spain. This is the choice offered by Democratic France to the Spanish combatants. The concentration camps, return to Franco or the French Foreign Legion.

What wonder that many have died in the concentration camps. And in these concentration camps those men who fought so many months for freedom now find themselves prisoners behind barbed wire, under the bayonets of the Sengalese guards.

We could hardly have hoped for better treatment for them from the Daladier Government. But what are the C.G.T., the Socialist and Communist parties doing? They have sent a delegation to the government. In lieu of organizing for the

(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

SOLIDARITY

JAN.-FEB. ONE PENNY
Workers, Resist War!

RUSH AID TO SPAIN
FRANCO MAY MURDER
TWO MILLIONS
UNLESS YOU ACT!
POUM DEFENCE COMMITTEE
Look out for forthcoming
Poum & Spanish Revolution Exhibition
in Glasgow.

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SUNDAY, 26th MARCH at 7 p.m.
"DAWN IN SPAIN"

A C.N.T.-F.A.I. Film, showing in
Shettleston Public Hall,
Wellshot Road, Glasgow.

With an address on
"The Workers Collectives in
Spain."

Tickets: The Anarchist Commu-
nist Federation, 287, Netherton
Rd., Glasgow, W.3. The Clyde-
bank Magistrates have banned
the above film, but it will be
shown in or near Clydebank
shortly. Over 600 attended the
show in City Hall, Glasgow.

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PRISONERS BEHIND BARBED WIRE

(Continued from p. 1)

liberation of the soldiers from the camps they are insisting that they be sent back to the front. Now when they should be demanding the evacuation of refugees from Madrid and Valencia, the French C.P. is urging that those who have escaped being massacred by the fascists should be sent back!

But if the Socialists and Communist lamentation and war cries rather than to offer effective aid to the Spaniards that is no reason why they should stand in the way of our French Comrades' efforts. We learn from well informed sources that, the Communists, jealous of the work of the S.I.A. (mentioned for its wonderful work on behalf of the Spanish refugees is made by Nancy Cunard in the *Manchester Guardian*) have done everything to put obstacles in the way of our comrades.

And now comrades, what conclusions must we draw, and what action must we take? The English proletariat must not be allowed to continue in the belief that the refugees are now in safety under the protection of the French Government. The only desire of the French Government is to get rid of, by any means and as soon as possible, the refugees it was so unwilling to admit. They will not be allowed to live in France. They will not be allowed to live in

"DEMOCRACY" in INDIA

DHENKANAL is a small State in Orissa, India, part of the great British Empire which stands as a bulwark of democracy (so we are told). From the India press we gather the following news:

The people of Dhenkanal lived in misery and terror, spending 90-100 days in the year in forced labour, building palaces, roads, and buildings. There were forest and import grievances also, in addition to an unjust system of government—the Raja's own frame-up court outside the regular administration, which brought money for the Raja. "There is no crime against humanity which has not been alleged against the Raja and his men," says *National Front* (from which most of these facts are gathered).

There began a boycott of *pan*, to break down the monopoly. The boycott was successful, and the Raja began taking action. The *Proja Mandal* held mass meetings against him. Then the Raja tried concessions, and also recruited Sikhs and Gurkhas ex-soldiers to the local police force. The Raja got at the leaders of the *Proja Mandal* to visit him. Finally, the Raja made an announcement—he would do nothing for the people. Dhenkanal was inflamed.

A formal conference of the *Proja Mandal* was held in September. Castemen, aborigines, harijans—all caste barriers broken for the first time. The Raja arrested the leaders, on the ground of a boycott of

freedom anywhere unless as a result of the united action of the English and French proletariat.

It is the International proletariat which is in part responsible for the betrayal of Spain. The International proletariat can still demand the right of asylum for the refugees. It can demand that every country receives them not as prisoners but as free men.

Neither should we forget the thousands of combatants who yet remain in Madrid or Valencia. In the event of a Franco victory we must do our utmost to prevent the massacre of these survivors.

England and France should send ships to the Spanish ports ready to take off the refugees.

IT IS FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAT TO DEMAND IT!

State servants. Then armed police attacked the crowd cheering the prisoned leaders, with lathis, bayonets, butt-ends, driving horses and cars into them. The news spread! People rushed to the town. But the police held the way with horses and elephants. By 3 p.m., however, 20,000 people were gathered at the railroad. The Durbar concentrated its forces there, and fired on the crowd. 155 were wounded, two by guns, one was mauled by an elephant and one died. This was the first blood-bath of the Dhenkanal proletariat.

The Raja set up an Enquiry Committee to gain time. Meanwhile 50,000 had come into the centre from Dhenkanal and the neighbouring states also, and wanted to attack the palace. One of their slogans was: *Turn Every Village into a Fort!* The administration was paralysed. Officials fled and left the control in the hands of the masses. For two weeks there was freedom in Dhenkanal, somewhat similar to Asturias in 1934.

Meanwhile, the Raja was not inactive. A contingent of British troops arrived: The King's Own Scottish Borderers, from Calcutta. The military invaded Parganj, stronghold of *Proja Mandal*. Rape, arson, looting and violence, in accordance with his Majesty's Government's foreign policy, were the order of the day. Young men were ordered to fall down and let the police kick them senseless.

For a time there was a move to leave Dhenkanal, but the looting of villages stopped that. There rose instead a demand for *Satyagraha*. To counter that demand, the police began the usual tactic of lathi-charging, raping, and looting. In Dhenkanal Town a police raid took six wounded and one death; in Nilkanthpur four deaths and two later deaths in hospital, and in Hindol Roadethu six people wounded (two of whom were 12 years old). In Tumusingha three or four were killed. In Katumanda, with its seven households, a police party of 100 raided the village to inquire about an escaped prisoner. Men denied knowledge of him; indiscriminate beating began, the men ran away, and the police opened fire and killed two and wounded two, another three being severely wounded by lathis and bayonets.

THE WILL TO CIVILIZATION

by John Katz

In F. A. Ridley's review of this book we omitted to state that it was published by Secker & Warburg, 12s.6d. net.

From firing alone 17 were killed and 194 injured. The movement collapsed, not being prepared for the terror. The Raja threatened to withdraw existing concessions: but the people were in no mood to bother.

The economic strength of the movement began gaining concessions from the Raja, but they realised that the Raja was only marking time, that he would break his word as easily as give it and that he would not allow any sort of freedom amongst the masses.

The *Proja Mandal* began organising secret squads of volunteers. Dhenkanal was placed under military law. To show the movement was not dead, bands of *Satyagrahis* were sent into Dhenkanal. Just as things began to develop, there came news of Gandhi's instructions to stop the importation of *Satyagrahi*, and the stabbing in the back of the Dhenkanal uprising.

The leaders betrayed Dhenkanal, after all the bloodshed!

A.M.

THE MASTERS OF THE COUNTRY

We quote the following lines of A. Ciliga published in *Euro-päische Monatshefte* (January, 1939) under the title: *The Masters of the Country*.

"During my period of exile in Siberia I heard from some workers the original and amusing definition of the social situation in the U.S.S.R. We are no longer the workers, we are the bosses, the proprietors. The workers are Stalin, Kaganovitch, Molotov..."

"In the same way the people of Krasnoivask describe bitterly the difference between the trains: the Express passes, occupied by bureaucrats, specialists and members of their families. The passers by say: 'That's the workers' train!' When the real workers' train passes dirty, with poor passengers packed together like sardines, then comes the sarcastic comment: 'There go the masters!'"

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THE many disasters which have overcome the workers of Europe cannot be justly attributed to lack of sacrifice, heroism or "activity" but to lack of knowledge. Equipped with the right knowledge they could have conquered capitalism. Consideration of the problem of the state shows the greatest confusion among all classes and parties, it is the subject needing most attention, it receives the least.

All socialist writers of repute have studied it profoundly. Marx, Engels, De Leon, Lenin, and of course Bakunin, Kropotkin and the other Anarchist writers have produced learned works on it. Yet socialists as cheerfully ignore all their heroes wrote with as much cheerful indifference as that of Christians towards Holy Scripture.

The difficulty is that the individual is inclined to judge the experience of the whole race by his own alone. "The State has existed all his life so it has always been. It had no beginning so it can have no end. It is eternal." So he reasons—if he reasons.

Yet while mankind has existed for over a million years the State only originated about 6,000 years ago and that on a very small part of the earth's surface. 3,000 years later it yet only existed in a few places, while some peoples have continued till living memory without this institution.

The North American Indians have given anthropologists examples of a stateless people. Here were peoples without kings, police, bureaucrats, standing armies or politicians, without written laws or gaols. Living in a condition of communism they needed none of these private property protection devices. The proceeds of the chase were shared equally, even with the aged and sick. None was richer or more honoured because of birth. If one

THE STATE

received greater respect it was because of his character and not of his birth or class, for classes did not exist.

Through this experience most peoples must have passed. "Lawrence of Arabia" tells us of substantial survivals of this among the Arabs of our own time.

How then did the State begin? With the theft of land and the institution of slavery. A naive theory has been formed to explain the private ownership and monopoly of land. "Some were less thrifty or lazier than others and so came to work on another's land, giving him a large share of their produce."

But why should one give part of one's labour in rent if free land were available? Even to-day there is enough land to support twice the earth's present population. When private property in land originated there was more than sufficient for all. Clearly, force and not peaceful economic development took from the people their right to the land.

With conquest chattel slavery too was established, prisoners were no longer slain but made slaves. So in the dawn of written history we see foreign conquests, the victorious people becoming a ruling, owning and exploiting class, the conquered natives a subject, toiling and exploited mass.

We may see the foreign conqueror as ruler in China, Greece, America, Africa, India, and elsewhere.

Now the rulers, often being a minority, needed a strong machine to keep the slaves in subjection. So the state was born. Whilst

in a condition of freedom it was a right and social duty to bear arms, the people were now disarmed, it being a crime for a slave to arm. But the rulers were heavily armed.

Then laws protecting and regulating the ownership of property were made, kings and rulers assumed power, bands of armed men were employed. The state was born.

"The State began with the crack of the slave driver's whip!"

Because the early states were often city states (Rome, Athens, Carthage, etc.) the Greek word for city gave us the word politics. Early social organisation was by blood relationship and social custom, no class conflict being waged no repressive machine was needed, with the rise of classes we find the birth of politics, the government of man by man according to territory.

When ancient slave society fell a new class, the feudal lords, came to power, using political force to subject and exploit the serfs. The state of the middle ages was as much an instrument of class oppression as the state of the ancient slave-owners.

Serfs were forbidden to bear arms, whilst the nobles armed and wore armour, new laws were made, new armies raised, castles and prisons built.

The castle of the feudal lord, the new symbol and means of political power, was to the serf his chief obstacle to land and freedom. He clearly saw the class nature of the state and in peasant revolts attacked and destroyed the robber lord's burg as he did the Bastilles and chateaux of France.

Mediaeval society declined, a new exploiting class, the capitalist arose. Using most revolutionary methods they destroyed the old state.

But the new society, capitalism, was yet a class society. The masses were yet exploited, capitalism needed a political machine to subject the wage slaves. The modern state was born.

As in previous class societies the people were disarmed, the rulers heavily armed, new laws to protect property were made and larger prisons built. The new state was as much the instrument of class oppression as the old. But with the rapid development of instruments, from the simple to the complex, the state also became complex and more difficult to understand, so it was possible for the ruling class to fool the people into believing the state to be above classes, to be the same as society or the community and to believe that they choose their rulers.

The state is not society, as muddle-headed "left" politicians often say. The state is a private growth on society, threatening to destroy society by its ever increasing demands. The workers do not choose their rulers. *The State is the Executive Committee of the employing class.*

Socialism, by giving the workers the ownership of the means of production, by abolishing the capitalist class, will make political government unnecessary, "will put the state in the museum of antiquities, side by side with the bronze axe."

Let us see clearly the class nature of the state. Let us build a new world of free men without the robber burg of capitalism.

TOM BROWN.

Should We Boycott Fascist Goods?

From time to time the order goes forth—chiefly launched in the Left newspapers—to boycott goods coming from Fascist countries. During the years 1931-33 it was against Italy, subsequently against Germany, later against Japan, and then against Germany was the chief object against whom this kind of propaganda was proclaimed.

For the most part the boycott remained but a formula, since very few buyers—even among those who believed in this kind of propaganda—took the trouble to ascertain the country of origin of the goods they purchased. To this must be added, moreover, the fact that it is so easy to camouflage the trade mark of any article produced.

According to statistics which it was possible to verify, the practical result would appear to be very poor indeed. As far as Italy is concerned, it was absolutely insignificant, owing to the fact that it is only a few revolutionary organisations which propounded this means of fighting against the Fascist regime. In 1931, after the execution of Schirru, the order for a boycott was launched at the big meetings of the C.N.T. at Barcelona, but it remained a dead letter.

As for Germany, where other economic factors did not play a part in this regard, a certain amount of progress was made in respect of certain categories of goods. For instance, with regard to toys which the United States used to purchase in large quantities in Germany, but these have since been bought chiefly from Egypt. In this domain, French toy manufacturers were also able to benefit by the boycott. It is necessary to add that where the mechanical part is concerned at any rate, the German efforts to utilise all metals for their war industries have considerably benefited the consumption of the democratic countries.

However, since the outbreak of the renewed anti-semitic persecutions, and this problem having become of such great importance in public opinion, especially due to the attitude of the Jewish capitalists in America, the restricted purchases of German goods by the United States as a result of this may certainly be said to have been considerable. Here again, though, one must take into account the contributory factor of the antagonism and rivalry existing between the United States and Germany over trade with South America.

For the rest, the refusal of dock-

ers to discharge German ships or handle German goods in any way—which is a special form of boycott—has met with but scanty success and must be regarded as of very little importance.

As for Japan, it was only by rigorous restrictive Customs measures that it was possible to check the dumping of goods that country has been practising on the world market. So that the refusal to buy Japanese goods could be carried out on a very limited scale.

This brings us to the question whether boycott campaigns are not going to be utilised by those who desire to protect their own manufactures and to safeguard their own privileges? The Fascist countries have of necessity indulged in the practice of selling their goods at cut-prices, or at cost price. This is, at any rate, true to say about Germany and Japan, who have thus entered upon a desperate struggle in the economic field against the countries that have so far remained Liberal in their politics. In this way the fight between the lean wolves and the fat ones is being pursued with much fierceness, until such time as it will be resumed in the air by raids and bombardments. The fact that the organised working masses have ranged themselves alongside the Bourgeois Democrats introduces an important element into the resistance against the dumping of Fascist goods, that is to say, against the competition of their most dangerous rivals.

This aspect of the question serves to complete the measures taken in

all other spheres with a view to winning over the greatest possible numbers of the populations to the idea of a war against the Fascist enemies, and helps to strengthen the bellicose atmosphere so carefully prepared for some years.

If the proletariat and the organisations who are mustering them, will maintain their attitude of strict independence, and will act only in so far as it affects their interests as a class, if they will make no decisions unless calculated to further the aims of Socialism—then the weapon of boycott would indeed be most efficacious and well worth considering. As it is at present, however, the anti-German, anti-Italian and anti-Japanese agitation is arranged to suit the purposes of the democratic imperialists. In view of this, we might well ask ourselves whether we would not do better to abandon a form of action which is only likely to further embitter the international relations, and which, escaping the control of the workers, would only be of advantage to those who pull the strings of public opinion. In any event, at a moment when it is of the utmost urgency for the revolutionary ranks to maintain a clear and independent view on the situation and not to allow themselves to be lured by bellicose songs of the patriotic sirens, there can be no question of joining in their chorus.

Such an attempt was made, and at one time succeeded in interesting and enthusing not a few good militants, when the slogan was raised:

good fruit. But, above all, it is important to get the proletariat to participate in a campaign that it can understand; which it feels able to carry on and to control, and not to inveigle it into adventures, the mechanism of which is incomprehensible to the proletariat. In the first instance it has the effect of strengthening the proletariat in its confidence in its own strength while in the latter case it results merely in discouraging the workers with the bitter feeling of having been made the victims of a trick carried out in the name of Socialism.

C.R.

U.S.S.R. and Boycott

While the Communist Party in every country demands a boycott of Fascist countries, U.S.S.R. makes economic treaties with Italy. The Soviet News Agency Tass issued the following communique:

"M. Stein, U.S.S.R. Ambassador in Rome and M. Popov, commercial representative of the U.S.S.R. and Count Ciano have to-day, Tuesday, signed several protocols and agreements of an economic nature for a settlement of the litigious questions ruling the commercial undertakings between the U.S.S.R. and Italy."

On the same subject the Economic Financial Agency publishes the following:

"This (the agreement) is significant. Firstly, because the proposed agreement once effected will have a far greater scope than any treaty previously signed between Rome and Moscow. The exported imports affected may represent a milliard lira yearly, as compared with 400 million lira during the previous year. Secondly, Italy will obtain certain of the raw materials she lacks: wood, coal, manganese, and above all, petrol. Rome can also be able to remedy the mediocre harvest by obtaining barley and wheat from the Soviet. Finally, because such an agreement between two States which have been and still are frequently opposed to each other, offers an eloquent proof that ideological antagonism must take second place where economical interests are involved."

Moreover there is an indication that the boycott of Germany and the other Fascist aggressors is no more a reality than the boycott of Italy.

A message dated Jan. 24th, announced the arrival in Moscow of an important German commercial delegation whose mission it is to negotiate with "comrade" Mikoian in order to effect a considerable increase in Russian-German Commerce.

We refrain from any comment. We are sure that our readers can draw their own conclusions.

Trotsky Protests Too Much

By EMMA GOLDMAN

First-hand information on the Kronstadt Rebellion. A timely pamphlet for all workers. Per copy 2d. (2½d. post free) from FREEDOM PRESS DISTRIBUTORS, 21, Frith Street, London, W.1.

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A 'Square Deal' for Engineering Workers

THE capitalist concerns have been recently shouting in no uncertain manner for a "square deal." Their cry is for an opportunity to make large profits.

Let us look at another side of the question of "square deals" especially with regard to an industry which is passing through a boom period. It will be shown that the higher the shareholders' dividends the lower are the workers' wages!

We refer to the Engineering industry. As the figures will show, there is a boom in this industry yet the employers complain that they cannot meet the claims for better wages "owing to the state of industry." This bad "state of industry" is not of course connected with profit making. Those who suffer are the workers who are unemployed. During the last nine months 3,500 members of the A.E.U. (Amalgamated Engineering Union) have been thrown out of work making a total of 9,352 at the end of December, 1938. The total number of "temporary unemployed" engineering workers in October, 1938, was 17,714 as compared with 4,679 a year ago.*

Yet figures for 297 Engineering Firms show a general increase in gross profits. Whereas in 1929 they were £30.4 million, in 1935 £34.9 million, 1936 £44.3 million, the 1937 figure shows a gross profit of no less than £53.6 million.

Furthermore, on the very day that the employers refused to consider the workers' claims for increased wages and restoration of wage cuts, several firms (including Dorman Long, the steel manufacturers, and Humber, Ltd.) announced record profits and the firm D. A. Lister announced a record profit and increased ordinary dividend to 17½ per cent.

WORKERS' CONDITIONS.

Since 1927 some of the wage cuts have been won back, thanks to pressure by the Unions. But at the same time (and this is the important point) the cost of living has risen faster.

The Year Book of Statistics of the I.L.O. shows that money earnings were 4.7 per cent. higher in October, 1937, than in October,

1936. But the cost of living over the corresponding period has risen by 6.8 per cent. Thus, relatively, the engineer's wages have fallen in spite of the general prosperity of the industry.

The average weekly earnings of the 750,000 engineering workers during 1935† was 54/7 a week. The average wage for men was 68/- and for women 32/7.

The appalling wages for women should be specially noted. Women earned 30/9, girls 16/6. Youths and boys constitute one sixth of the employees in the industry. Their average weekly earnings were 22/- while there were 18,000 girls under 18 receiving an average weekly wage of 17/9. Through strikes, however, increases from 2/- to 9/- have been won.

The working conditions in the factories of the past stand no comparison to those existing to-day. New systems have been introduced (such as the Bedaux system) which exact every ounce of energy of the workers and do not permit of a moment's breathing space. These new systems have been created not to help the workers but to do away with many and thereby reap fatter dividends. We can quote an instance of the new Bullard Multi-Matic machine which has been introduced in a London firm. Amongst other things it is used in machining crown wheels for Morris cars. Whereas engineers were paid 1/8 to 2/- for each job, to-day they are paid 2/1 per dozen. There are other instances in which one man now does the work of three (Keller Tool-room Die sinking machine).

Again, since conveyor lines were run in every shop at Morris Motors, Oxford, the plant has never been working to capacity, and in April, 1938, a worker getting 30 hours of work a week was considered lucky. Yet profits in the last three years have totalled £7½ millions which is more than the capital issued. (Yes, that's how Nuffield gets the money to give away with great pomp and ceremony. He gets the new contracts and the peerage and the workers less money to feed their children). Amazing figures can be given for output in the electrical industry between 1930 and 1935. During that period, output per worker rose 80 per cent. but wages rose from 45s. to 46s. and

the average week in 1935 was 49 hours!

WHO BENEFITS FROM WAR.

An eloquent answer can be found in the balance sheet of the Vickers group. Their interests extend to International armaments interests, control of aircraft firms, and big iron and steel interests. Their profit last year was £1,350,000, which is 43 per cent. increase over the boom year of 1929, and 100 per cent. increase on 1934 profits. Handley Page (aircraft firm) showed a profit of £8,000 in 1932. Their 1937 figure was £210,000. John Brown & Co. is another firm closely connected with the Government's arms programme. Amongst its shareholders F. G. Burt, a director of Ellerman lines, holds 117,213 ordinary shares which were sufficient to bring him a tax free income of £20,000 (that is more than ten engineering workers in all earn in 15 years from the sweat of their brow). James Cook, M.P. for Hammersmith, has sufficient shares to provide him with an income of £6,700 last year.

The list is unending. But it is representative of what is going on in the whole industry. Fortunes are being amassed whilst the workers toil under humiliating conditions. There is no middle way, for as we have shown, increase in wages is counteracted by (1) increase in cost of living, (2) increase in efficiency of production and consequent increased unemployment amongst workers. In Italy in 1920 the workers seem to have understood; in France in June, 1936, the workers seemed to have understood; in July, 1936, in Spain, again the workers understood. And whilst they understood (some still understand in Spain) they not only freed their industries of the parasites and profit makers, but have taken over the responsibility of organisation. Then and then only were they able to feel that they were free men co-operating in a communal effort for the common good. And it is this lesson that the workers throughout the world (including the U.S.S.R.) should learn: that their emancipation will come only when they decide to take the means of production into their own hands. So long as they leave the bargaining with the employers to their Union leaders, they are doomed to failure, and slaves to a privileged class will they remain.

V.R.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

"Good enough" says the reader. "This is the sort of message we have been waiting to hear. I'll have a talk to the lads tomorrow morning. Things are pretty strained with the boss in any case."

Such are the thoughts of many of the people who buy REVOLT. And that is the right spirit. The first step in working-class organization is to get busy without delay.

But there is another question many of our readers ask themselves. "Is there nothing we can do immediately?" Yes, comrades, there is.

REVOLT is published only by our overcoming endless difficulties, by the self-sacrifice and enthusiasm of our militant comrades.

The most continuous of all these difficulties concerns finance. This is where everyone can help.

Go out NOW, get a Postal Order for whatever you can afford, and send it off at once. This will enable us to carry on with the good work.

Meanwhile comrades who sell the paper must do all they can to increase their sales. Those in the Provinces who have a chance of selling it must write in for consignments.

REVOLT is a paper without financial backing. It is only by means of universal effort that we can hope to make it pay its way.

Send your subscriptions, contributions and bundle orders to:

REVOLT!

21 Frith Street, London, W.1.

* These and other figures printed in this article have been obtained from the pamphlet "Engineers v. Profiteers" (Labour Research Dept.)

† The latest year for which inclusive figures are available.

The Church: Reactionary Force

TOO many men and women to-day still consider the Church in the light of an organization of simple God-fearing souls, so wrapped up in their worship that the worldly things—the political life of the world is of secondary importance. Yet in reality the Catholic Church more than ever is imposing itself wherever it can as a political body, and with the same cunning.

The Catholic Press has during the last three weeks provided evidence of its bad faith and its opportunist tactics. The majority of Left organizations, however, never give the matter of the Church and its policy any great prominence. This is easily explained. The capitalist "Left" papers know only too well the influence that the Catholics of this country can wield to show any wish to criticize. Even so called open forums such as the World Review (editor Vernon Bartlett, Progressive M.P.) recently informed the present writer that they regretted they could not publish certain cuttings from the Catholic Press alongside other amusing ones which they regularly publish because "not all their readers would think it funny." Why this reserve only for Catholics? Why was the editor of World Review not so particular about offending other organizations? This is a detail, but it has its significance. Similarly, more so-called Left Parties, whose sole concern is membership, cannot offend the Catholic Church. Thus we find the Communist Party of America wooing the Catholics with the same ardour displayed by Thorez, French Communist leader, towards Cardinal Verdier. The Communist Party of this country likewise aims at being in favour with the Church, and if it does not directly flirt with the Catholic Church, it goes to great pains not to offend it. The "Left Book Club" too asserts its respectability through its Religious Section in the hands of that convert to Stalinism: the Dean of Canterbury.

On the other hand, the Church has its politicians and opportunists. And this is effectively illustrated in their press. Thus in the February 3rd issue of the Universe we read the headline: "Fascism is Pagan" which naturally appeals to many, whilst its editorial is entitled "Why the Universe Supports Franco." It cuts both ways. The first headline refers to Cardinal Hinsley's address to the Birmingham Catholic reunion, in which, among other things he said "It is inexplicable how English Catholics can wisely and safe-

ly adopt the label 'fascist'."

Why is the Universe for Franco? "We have openly supported General Franco and his followers from the beginning of their revolt because there never was the slightest doubt that they were attempting at all costs to restore civil security and religious freedom in Spain." There are two important points in this statement. Firstly, the Universe admits that Franco did revolt, a fact which has been strenuously denied by Franco supporters. Secondly, since they revolted, by so doing they have acted contrary to the wishes of the Church of Rome which through its mouthpiece, *L'Osservatore Romano*, stated as far back as 1934 that "The duty of the legal Government to crush all revolts is indisput-

able, and all Catholics who are obedient to the wishes of the Church must uphold the Government in its struggle against all kinds of revolts ..."

As regards Intervention, the Universe states that, the fact that "General Franco has been aided by Italian troops is not disputed." (For obvious reasons, no mention is made of Germany's intervention, for Germany represents paganism. Another example of opportunism!) and explains this in a most blatant manner by stating that Italy would not have intervened had not Russian and French arms and the International Brigades come on the scene at the beginning. The Universe is quite right when it says that "the difficulty of ascertaining the truth from the Press ... is notorious."

This certainly applies to the Universe which regardless of the true facts can make such statements. Memories are short, but we have not forgotten that aeroplanes which were being sent to Franco in Spanish Morocco from Italy crashed in N. Africa as early as July 15th, 1936!

But it would be wasting space to deal with all the points raised by the Catholic Press concerning Barcelona and Spain in general. We refer readers to articles which have appeared in Spain and the World during the past two years.

THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

The relation between the Church and the State is one of vital import. It is a problem which in an Anarchist

Mass Observation

Mass-Observation is not only interesting; it is significant. It is a reflection of that grim struggle which is going on everywhere in the world to-day, the struggle of ordinary men and women to determine their own destiny.

Not the least alarming aspect of our modern culture is its headlong flight from realism and reality. "Britain By Mass-Observation," *Penguin Special*, 6d., is an admirable corrective. Its message is all the more effective because it is not consciously propagandist but a skilfully arranged collection of objectively ascertained facts.

For the revolutionary this book is indispensable. The only danger is that its interest as a narrative may tempt the reader to overlook some of its wealth of information.

A considerable section deals with reactions to the crisis. Significant in this connection is the fact that opinion is anti-Hitler and not anti-German. The inclusion of Chamberlain as an enemy gives it a vastly different social content to the "Hang the Kaiser" spirit of the last war.

Extremely important in this connection is an "irreducible minimum" which defied the required standard of classification. Abnormalities bring the inscrutable within the focus of objective understanding, so it is worth while to examine them.

In rough analysis half of this two per cent. were either foolish or futile, a quarter were psychopathic, and the remainder were militantly revolutionary. It is the proportion of the last two which appears significant. Distraction and revolutionary realism are in equal counterpoise. It is distraction and revolutionary realism which are the underlying issues of the age.

Another fact illustrated in this book is the contemptible nature of the daily press and the almost universal distrust of it. There is evidence of disillusionment with politics, of a widespread and often revolutionary pacifism, and above all, of a growing desire for knowledge and understanding.

Three hundred regular patrons

of a rough-house all-in wrestling booth were asked which of ten things they thought contributed most to happiness. Pleasure, politics, leadership, and so on. Almost an open contest. And KNOWLEDGE won the day.

The revolutionary reader should beware of assuming that only the political aspects of the Observation have content of social significance. The section dealing with the Lambeth Walk is particularly instructive.

Interesting in this connection is the ill-founded anti-Fascist objections to the dance as anti-social. It appears that basic in determining this attitude was the fact that contributors to this opinion thought it involved bourgeois patronage of the workers. Observations were made in fashionable places. Here is an interesting illustration of the fact that correct analysis of social problems cannot be made in expensive surroundings. The revolutionary must not be detached from the working class.

This is one of the many lessons brought home by this valuable factual contribution to our social thought. "Britain By Mass-Observation" is a biting criticism of that pseudo-intellectual humbug and hypocrisy which is the reflex of a social order rapidly approaching its last stages of decay.

R.V.S.

LIBERTARIAN.

Tom Mooney's Resurrection

By Emma Goldman

(Continued from previous issue)

IN San Francisco the "Blast" had been suppressed and its office raided twice, because of the papers, anti-war work and its efforts on behalf of Mooney. During the last raid our friend Fritz was brutally handled, and her arm almost broken by an official ruffian. It became impossible to continue the publication on the coast, and Fritz brought it to New York, where she joined 'Sasha' Berkman in his activities for the California defence.

Tom Mooney had been convicted and sentenced to death. Neither the eloquence of W. Bourke Cochran, nor the absolute demonstration that the leading witnesses of the prosecution had perjured themselves availed anything. The grip of the Chamber of Commerce upon official justice in California, proved to be stronger than the most unshakeable evidence in favour of the labour defendant. There was hardly a citizen in San Francisco who did not know that the State witnesses, the Macdonalds and the Oxmans, were of the very dregs of debased humanity. Their testimony bought and paid for by District Attorney Charles Ficketer, the willing tool of the employers. But innocence did not count. The bosses who had declared themselves for the "open shop" (non-union employees) had determined to hang Tom Mooney, as a warning to other labour organisers; and Mooney's doom was sealed. Warren K. Billings had already been railroaded to prison for life, without much ado.

Meanwhile the world-stirring event happened in Russia, the February-March Revolution. Thousands of Russians and Russian Jews in America rushed back to what they thought was their liberated, beloved Russia. Many of our comrades were among them. Our resourceful Sasha conceived the idea of a manifesto to the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers, and we wrote it just in time to send it with our own group, among them were a number of men and women who had worked with us in our various campaigns in the "Blast" and "Mother Earth." The manifesto was entrusted to one of the most courageous women Anarchists, who had come to America, Louise Berger, and S. F., our closest and most dependable friends. It was an appeal to the masses of Russia to voice their protest to Washington against the condemnation of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. We thought it the only method left to save the innocent, convicted men.

Shortly after we received the following telegram—"San Francisco, May 25th, 1917. Superior Court to-day held Oxman for trial. Chief Justice Angellotti said evidence of Oxman's guilt overwhelming. Special committee appointed by San Francisco Labour Council and Building Trades Council appear in person before Attorney-General Webb requesting answer on his disposition of Judge Griffin's request confessing error in my case. Attorney General said that records did not show error and it would be impossible confess same.

"Powerful publicity, monster demonstration, absolutely necessary for successful outcome. California lynch law crowds fighting desperately to save themselves.

"This precludes new trial unless the unforeseen happens. Give these facts wide publicity."—Signed, Tom Mooney.

Fickert, the Prosecuting Attorney, realised that some of his old witnesses, exposed as perjurers and professional prostitutes, could not be used against Mooney, although they had been used against Warren K. Billings. He therefore

prepared others of a similar calibre, the star among them being a certain Frank C. Oxman, an alleged western cattle man. It was mainly on the evidence of Oxman that Mooney was convicted. He testified that he was in San Francisco on Preparedness Day, and he identified Mooney as the man whom he saw placing a suitcase (supposedly of explosives) on a street corner along the route of the march. An investigation proved that Oxman had not been in San Francisco on the date of the parade. Moreover, a letter by Oxman to his friend, F. E. Regall, was produced, in which Oxman urged him to earn "a piece of money" by coming to testify against Mooney. The proof of Oxman's perjury was so overwhelming that District Attorney Fickert was compelled to bring him to trial.

Notwithstanding all these developments, in spite even of the admission of the trial judge, Franklin A. Griffing, that Mooney had been convicted on false testimony, the Supreme Court of California refused to intervene. Mooney was doomed to die.

The country-wide campaign that Sasha had started for Mooney almost a year previously had meanwhile borne fruit. The case had been taken up by radical and progressive labour organisations throughout the length and breadth of the land, and many organisations, as well as influential individuals, had become interested. Work to save the convicted men from the gallows continued without abatement. It was, however, Alexander Berkman (Sasha) who carried the whole brunt of the campaign, working 18 to 20 hours a day, knocking at the doors of every union, buttonholing every man and woman of importance to help him save Mooney.

Meanwhile we became involved in an anti-conscription and anti-war campaign when President Wilson rushed America into the world war almost without the knowledge of the American people.

The problem was now how to use the demonstrations in Russia to the best advantage. We had wide collections and channels to bring the matter to the attention of the labour bodies, by meetings and circulars, but other means were needed to interest those who were in a position to intercede for our friends in San Francisco. It was again Sasha who suggested that I confer with his friend, Ed Morgan, a former socialist, now an I.W.W. member. He had been very active on behalf of Mooney and he might prove of great help in his case, Sasha thought.

Ed Morgan proved a wizard. In a short time he succeeded in getting more publicity for our purpose than we had got in months. His first step in the capital had been to find out President Wilson's favourite morning papers, his second to bombard them with news items about the agitation in Russia over the San Francisco frame-up. Then Morgan buttonholed influential officials in Washington, made them familiar with the happenings on the coast and enlisted their sympathy.

Shortly afterwards came further news from Russia of still greater moment. A resolution proposed by the sailors of Kronstadt and adopted at the monster meeting, called for the arrest of Mr. Francis, the American Ambassador in Russia,

who was to be held as hostage until the San Francisco victims and Sasha should be free. A delegation of armed sailors had marched to the American Embassy in Petrograd to carry out the decision. Our old comrade, Louise Berger, who with other Russian refugees had returned to her native land after the outbreak of the Revolution, served as their interpreter. Mr. Francis had solemnly assured the delegation that it was all a mistake and that the lives of Mooney, Billings and Berkman were in no danger. But the sailors were insistent, and Mr. Francis in their presence cabled to Washington and promised to exert himself further with the American Government to secure the release of the San Francisco prisoners.

The threat of the sailors evidently had an effect on the Ambassador, and on President Wilson, with the result that the latter prevailed upon the Governor of California to commute the death sentence of Mooney to life imprisonment. He must also have prevailed on Governor Whitman of the State of New York, to be careful about his decision in extraditing Alexander Berkman to California.

While we were serving the two years in prison for daring to oppose the world war, it was our faithful friend, Fritz who continued the work for Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. She had organised a conference in Chicago attended by all the labour leaders, but she had found that the labour politicians were busy side-tracking the Mooney activities. There was a disheartening lack of unanimity in favour of a general strike on behalf of Mooney and Billings, she wrote us in prison. Moreover, there was a deliberate attempt to hush up publicity. "Diplomatic" methods were to be used to liberate the man. The participation of Anarchists was to be greatly discouraged. They had been the first to sound the alarm in the San Francisco cases, and Sasha had consecrated himself to the work, at the jeopardy of his own life. Now the Anarchists and their efforts were to be eliminated from the fight. It was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that Anarchists burnt their fingers in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for others, but if Billings and Mooney should regain their freedom we should feel our work amply repaid. From the very beginning we felt confident that Mooney would be liberated if the campaign would continue in the same militant and uncompromising manner begun by Alexander Berkman, but we were deported to Russia and could do no more for the imprisoned men. That Tom Mooney had to wait for 22 years for his resurrection is due entirely to the political wire-pulling which had been carried on on his behalf. But the main thing is that Tom Mooney is free. As I said, I rejoice in his liberation. I only wish my comrade had remained alive to share the happiness with me and with those who really remained staunch to Mooney and never wavered in his innocence.

In other words, it was primarily the tireless activities of Alexander Berkman and his resourcefulness which helped to save the life of Tom Mooney. More than any of the labour leaders who had refused to believe in Mooney's innocence and who 22 years later came to pay him homage, it was Alexander Berkman who all through the years held high the innocence and defence of Tom Mooney.

*Compiled from "Living My Life," by Emma Goldman).