

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

The State rests on the slavery of labour. If labour becomes free, the State is lost.—MAX STIENER.

(The Ego and his Own)

The State is always a conservative power that authorizes, regulates and organizes the conquests of progress; but never does it inaugurate them.—SYSMONDI.

(History of the Italian Republics)

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CHAMBERLAIN THE UNREADY

In the year 991 England was invaded by an army of pure-blooded "Nordics," Viking bandits of the true "Aryan" breed. The Anglo-Saxon king, Ethelred, unable to withstand these international brigands, bought them off with a tribute of hard cash known as "Danegelt." On account of this military unpreparedness King Ethelred is known to historians as the "redeless"—i.e., who refuses to take advice—or, more generally, as "the Unready."

In 1938 Neville Chamberlain, British Prime Minister, buys off, in intention if not in fact, another assault from international bandits of pure "Aryan" stock. Like Ethelred, his political prototype, he pays tribute to the Vikings. And, more obsequious than his predecessor who sent the money, Chamberlain delivers the goods in person. He is Chamberlain the Unready.

"The Unready." But not necessarily "the man who would not take advice." For it would be to reason in the most superficial manner to assume that the "sudden decision" of the political director of British Imperialism to "square the circle" and avoid a war by hook or crook, was not a deliberate premeditated decision to avoid a world-war at all costs. Undoubtedly Mr. Chamberlain's apparently surprising decision represents the deepest and most fundamental needs of British Imperialism: above all, the need to survive in a world which becomes ever more inimical to the power, and, indeed, to the very existence, of the British Empire.

An International crisis, and, above all, such a crisis in its sharpest form, the imminent threat of world-war, acts like a flash of lightning in the physical sphere; it lights up the murky terrain and brings the whole situation into the political searchlight. In the dazzling light that is shed upon the world situation of British Imperialism by the Hitler-Chamberlain conversations, the elemental landscape is now revealed as never before. Both British Imperialism and its critics of yesterday stand clearly revealed. That historical landscape will repay a moment's attention.

The British Empire now exists on sufferance. Britannia holds her empire by permission: her trident is now permanently in pawn. Such is the final political lesson that emerges from the Anglo-German Conversations of September 15th, 1938. The British Empire, flamboyant with Disraeli, insolent with Kipling, on a circumspect defensive with Baldwin, is now on its knees with Chamberlain, begging for permission to survive. And in all this there is no accident: the contemporary phase of its historic development is adequately expressed. Neville Chamberlain represents British Imperialism in its decline as accurately as his father "Joe" Chamberlain of glorious memory represented it in its heyday. Chamberlain père fought

Britain's last aggressive war, the Boer war; ruthlessly he trampled on the weak—Britain's hands were, of Imperialism fears it, particularly in course, clean: there was no "Kellogg Pact" to outlaw the "aggressor!" Chamberlain flinches to the strong. "Peace, and again Peace," that is his sole cry. Is it that Imperialism "red in tooth and claw," has at long last submitted to "the evolution of

by
F. A. RIDLEY

morals?" Or is it merely that the ravenous beast is old and tired; that his claws are blunted with age; that his teeth are falling out? Both views have their supporters.

The writer of these lines does not subscribe to either of these conflicting opinions. Morality and Imperialism inhabit widely sundered worlds; they have as much to do with each other as, shall we say, Lenin, the author of "Imperialism," and his present *ci devant* Russian disciples tumbling over each other to mount the Imperialist band-wagon! As for German Imperialism, no one could take it lightly as an opponent after its proven military efficiency in the last war; none the less, it can

hardly be supposed that British view of its vast economic superiority, and of the innumerable allies, ranging from "Communist" Russia to Fascist Portugal, all palpitating with ardour to die for Democracy; and, of course, in defence therefore of "the mother of Parliaments." No! Chamberlain (and his allies) have no cause to fear the bankrupt and divided Germany of to-day. If Britain, etc., etc., fights Germany again, Britain, etc., etc., will win. As the British Secret Service has not got the reputation of consisting exclusively of Morons, Chamberlain must know all this as well as anyone.

If Chamberlain fears, as he obviously does, to fight Germany this cannot be because he is "yellow," at any rate in the ordinary sense of the term. (Pace the "News-Chronicle" the British Foreign Office knows its job; and while the "Daily Herald" and the "Daily Worker" may foam at the mouth and demand Chamberlain's impeachment for his refusal "to look the Fascist tiger firmly in the face," yet, after all, the British ruling class, and its political instrument, the Tory Party, have been in the Imperialist game for four centuries; not four years, like the Labour Party, or four months, like the Communist Party! They know all the ropes by this time.)

Why then will not Chamberlain

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NATIONAL SERVICE

The Government plans to introduce conscription. The workers must make no mistake. This would place a tremendous weapon in the hands of reaction—a weapon which the ruling class would not be hesitant to use.

Already the signs begin to appear. "Defense of Factories" is only a cover for attacks against the freedom of workers. Speed-up is increasing everywhere. Under the cover of National Service the Government hopes to manoeuvre the dupes and hired bullies of privilege into disorganising and intimidating the working-class.

War is being used as a method of blackmail. It is not the Fascist blackmail of the "democracies", but the co-ordinated blackmail of Hitler, Chamberlain, Mussolini and Daladier, using the people's natural horror of warfare to intimidate them into accepting tyranny under the cover of defence.

While Communists, Liberals and Labourites stand ready to betray the workers into a new Imperialist slaughter, Anarchism upholds the true tradition of their class—the tradition based on the fact that the workers have no country, for they are the wage-slaves of capitalist exploitation and the enemies of their exploiters.

On the eleventh of November millions of sincere British "subjects" remain in silence to respect the dead. Those are not the feelings of the organisers of the ceremony—for according to their ruling class beliefs, have they not betrayed the cause for which those people died? Have they not, by their own standards, assured us that those men died in vain?

For the ruling classes it is nothing more than an excuse for using the frailty of human sentiment to cultivate the psychology of mass-hysteria and servitude.

Do not accept the usual pro-militarist ballyhoo. They will tell you about the so-called peace they have gained, and will urge the need for preparing for war.

Don't be fooled by politicians, bosses, warmongers or state officials. Use the opportunity to build a movement for workers' direct action, workers' direct control, and freedom, while their is still time.

(Issued by The Anarchist Federation of Britain)

The Internationals who were not present

By Federica Montseny

Barcelona gave a rousing send-off to the volunteers of the International Brigade. Along the streets of Barcelona men of all races and from every corner of the earth who came to offer their all for the cause for which the Spanish people is fighting, marched past upright and sad.

And alongside those who marched past, I remembered those who were not among them. The "Internationals" who were not present . . . those whom no one remembered. Those who were not present . . . I think of Albert Brachet the young Belgian socialist professor, killed on the Madrid front.

I think of Fosco Falaschi, a symbolic figure, the incarnation of the heroic sentiment in life, drawn to anarchism, who fell on the Aragon front . . . A great writer, a man of great culture who came to give his errant Italian life for the cause of the Spanish people against fascism which has enslaved all Italy.

I think of Rosselli, murdered in Paris by Fascism after having escaped death a thousand times in Aragon. Rosselli ideal figure of Italian Socialism, genuine Idealist . . .

And I think of Camillo Berneri, of our Berneri . . .

Yet another of the Internationals who was not present! Yet another of the Internationals who did not march through the streets of Barcelona.

In some hidden corner there is yet a man or some men who, if they read these lines, will feel a cold shudder run through their veins.

And they will recall the man, that almost child-like eyes, that open smile, that gentle voice, that ever questioning look upon his face. And they will see Berneri stiff, covered in

blood dead . . . (6 lines censored)* . . . Berneri!

Poor Berneri! A beautiful personality, all goodness, all frankness, all idealism. When the black history is written, the black history runs current with the glorious history, the world will contemplate the figure of Berneri as to-day it looks upon those of Anarchis Cloutz, Engheim, Lacy and Duval.

And the others. Those unknown men. The workers who came from Poland and Bulgaria, Roumania, England and Sweden, from the most distant corners of America, from the depths of Africa, from the frontiers of the Orient . . . I have seen unforgettable men I have listened to the most unbelievable stories. And nevertheless, true. Because sometimes reality is more vivid than our imaginations.

Men of all political ideas. Communists, Socialists, Anarchist, Liberals and Democrats . . . And angry proletarians, their feelings dominated by the class struggle, who came here to fight the common enemy, to share our bread and wine.

I remember them. And on their innumerable graves, the tombs in which rest men without families, the tombs in which sleep sons mourned by many mothers of many races; above all the earth covered with bodies I cast a sad glance and a broken heart . . .

Tomorrow bards will sing your praises! There will rise a poet—and who knows from what womb will be born and from what far off land will come he—who will write this new and glorious Legend of the Centuries.

(Solidaridad Obrera)

(*These lines must refer to the responsible elements amongst the Communists who assassinated Berneri during the May Days, 1937.—Ed.)

TOM MOONEY TO BE FREED?

The victory of the Democrat Cuthbert Olson as Governor of California reminds one that amongst his promises if he were elected was that he would liberate the Labour Leader Tom Mooney who for the past 21 years has been in St. Quentin prison in company with Warren Billings.

As far back as 1928 Judge Franklin Griffen wrote to the Governor of California:

"The trial judge (myself), the foreman of the jury, 11 members of the jury, the present District Attorney, and every other official, except District Attorney Kickert, the prosecutor, now dead—to-day believe the convicted men were innocent, and are sincere advocates of their pardon."

Since then, appeal after appeal have been in vain. Will the Governor of California now keep his word and free Tom Mooney and Warren Billings? Public opinion must force him to do so if now that he has obtained "power" he forgets his promises!

Tom Mooney had been for many years a member of Moulder's Union Local 164 and was known throughout California as an energetic fighter in the cause of the workers. For many years he had been an effective factor in various strikes. Because of his incorruptibility he was cordially hated by every employer and labour politician of the Coast. The United Railways had tried, a few years previously, to put Mooney behind the bars but even the farmer jury have refused to credit the frame-up against him. Ed.

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AMERICAN LETTER

Harry Kelly

In a world half-mad and wholly chaotic, emotion supplants reason, and the good, the intelligent and the humane side of men and women is drowned in a sea of lies, ignorance and cruelty until men seeking freedom and well-being for all grow discouraged or apprehensive for the future of civilization. The war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy has developed a callousness unbelievable twenty-odd years ago. From time immemorial non-combatants—women, children and old men—were considered immune from attack by the opposing forces in war; to-day they are ruthlessly sacrificed, and the sacrifice condoned by Cardinals of the Catholic Church, the perpetrators of the outrage lauded as Christian gentlemen, and a whole people like the Jews are stripped of their possessions and thrust out to starve in a manner the much maligned Red Indian would have scorned to emulate. If these statements seem exaggerated or overdrawn we, like the radio broadcaster, say "for further details read your daily newspapers."

In our own dear country, the richest in the world, with untold wealth in the shape of natural resources, factories, mills, mines, ships, railroads, aeroplanes and technical skill undreamed of a few decades ago, government research informs us that one-third of the population exist on \$471 per year, for a family of 4.6 persons, that is less than \$2.00 a week per person for everything—food, clothing, shelter, etc.—a sum far below the standards set by Boards of Health all over the land. While this is done millions rot away in enforced idleness, denied the opportunity to work and earn a living for their families and themselves. Is our case overdrawn? Again we say "for further details read your daily newspapers."

Thinking men and women all over the world are puzzled at the contradiction in terms, of want in the midst of plenty. Humane and liberty-loving individuals seek, and seek vainly, for a remedy for a social order that starves and degrades the individual until we have the monstrous contrast of the inflated ego of dictators on the one hand and the almost total destruction of the will power of the great mass on the other. Power over others corrupts and degrades the ruler, lack of power over oneself degrades and ultimately destroys the ruled. Power over the lives of

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Chamberlain the Unready

fight? Why does he go crawling to Hitler in a manner unequalled by any English ruler since King John (1199-1216) similarly humiliated himself. (And even John did at least prostrate himself before the Pope, the Vicar of Christ upon Earth; and not before a political adventurer without a trace of "the old school tie.") If Chamberlain knows, as he must know, that Germany couldn't possibly win against the tremendous coalition now united under the (red?) flag of "Democracy." (sic) Why does he act in so humiliating a manner? No one can suppose he likes making himself, or "the Empire on which the sun never sets" ridiculous in this way. The road to Munich cannot be any more pleasant than the road to Canossa, or Calvary, particularly for the successor of these haughty arbiters of the fate of Europe, Pitt and Palmerston. Chamberlain, to act in so humiliating a manner must be afraid: if not of Hitler, then of something else.

Chamberlain is afraid of the World Revolution. It is the internal, not the external collapse of the Empire that he fears. A second World-War, even if Britain were victorious on paper, would spell irrevocable disaster to the British Empire: it would bring down that political "leaning-tower;" it would lead inevitably to the collapse of that hoary and tottering structure. Revolution in India, in Egypt, in Palestine, in the West Indies: revolution in vanquished Germany, in bankrupt Italy and Japan, even among the war-weary dupes of "democracy." Revolution in Russia against the traitor, Stalin, and on the mountebanks—turned recruiting sergeants

others has changed a paper-hanger, the son of a blacksmith, and a peasant into murderers and developed in them a cruelty that will ultimately destroy themselves, the Hitlers, Mussolinis, the Stalins and the lesser dictators; and submission to this power will first degrade and then destroy those whom they rule. In a lesser sense a humane and intelligent man like President Roosevelt is guilty of the same offence for he knows as well as we do that depriving men and women of the inalienable right to work and exercise their creative faculties is starving them mentally as well as physically, yet he continues to do it in order to uphold a system that stands self-condemned in the eyes of intelligent and humane men and women. Responding to the cries of the ruling class of the country two years ago that he balance the budget he cut down work and direct relief to give business a chance to restore prosperity and in so doing crucified great masses of people. In other words, he proved his contention that business would not or could not restore prosperity at the

cost of human suffering. Need it be said that no man should have the power to experiment with the lives of other human beings no matter how humane he may be or how good his intentions are?

Many remedies have been proposed, many solutions offered, and if honestly tried some might alleviate the ills of mankind. At best, however, they are reforms which leave the fundamental cause of the ills of society untouched. If mankind is to grow and to develop to a higher form of life than the dog eat dog state that exists to-day a society organized on the principle of voluntary association and free will must supplant the present.

We call ourselves libertarians and socialists in the broadcast sense of those terms and define our theories as follows:

"Libertarian-Socialism. The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary."

Emma Goldman in Spain

Our comrade E.G., has returned from a seven weeks' stay in Spain, and although her impressions of the spirit of the Spanish people and of the comrades of the C.N.T., in particular is one of an inspiring fortitude of courage, her report of conditions prevailing in Catalonia are shocking to people of humanitarian principles.

Catalonia, carrying the burden of war production and weighed down by the responsibility of an immense population of refugees from all parts of Spain is suffering from an acute shortage of food. The diet of the majority of the people now consists of soups made of beans or lentils, and a little bread. In spite of these privations a gesture typical of the proud and dignified temper of the Spaniards was their action when recently Franco's planes "bombed" Barcelona and Madrid with fresh bread, the brave though starving people made bonfires of the bribes rather than touch one mouthful. If some very generous help is not given soon it is feared that famine conditions will prevail this winter.

At present every inch of ground is being cultivated, and the peasants are unremitting in their efforts to combat food shortage by increased production, but winter is approaching and this means of supply will soon be limited.

—who have held back the revolutionary workers in peace-time. They would find it a more difficult task to inflict their infamous counter-revolutionary lies on the war-weary masses fed to the teeth with their lying adjectives; and remembering only that Death is a noun! The End of the British Empire, and of the British ruling class, which would not long survive its creation.

World Revolution! This is what Chamberlain fears. Unlike his "left" critics he can see both horns of his dilemma. And, like a true class warrior he fears Hitler less than the World Revolution, as was pointed out by the present writer in the April issue of "Controversy." Faced with his fundamental issue, Chamberlain will sacrifice, if necessary, his Empire to his class.

If the first lesson to be drawn from the present crisis is that the British Empire exists only in sufferance, the second is equally clear: the initiative has passed from Imperialism to the World Revolution. The Imperialists dare not fight because of it: "coming events cast their shadows before them."

To obtain even the limited supplies of food available for the civilian population, endless waiting in queues is imposed on the women. Every other necessary of life is short too, and clothes, shoes, and medical supplies are also strictly limited.

S.I.A.'s ACTIVITY IN SPAIN

S.I.A. has made marvellous progress in its organisation for tackling the problem of relief. So far it has concentrated most of its efforts on the children and the sick. A S.I.A. Hospital has been established at Hospitalet where the dispensary deals with an average of 80 patients a day in addition to its quota of in-patients. S.I.A. has also equipped many schools with canteens, and the object here is to provide a ration of condensed milk and bread daily to each child. However, there are still many schools without canteens.

It is also operating popular restaurants in the big towns where a meal is provided for five pesetas. In Barcelona S.I.A. has acquired an ambulance and a voluntary corps of girls has been formed to render First Aid. Their services immediately following a bombardment are remarkable—for they are on the scene

Cowed by the imminent aspect of a World "October" they dare not pursue their bitterest rivalries to their logical end. What the Leagues and Treaties of Capitalism could never do, that the World Revolution to-day accomplishes: it keeps the peace.

Finish then with our mood of temporary defeatism, due to the passive and active treachery of the Second and Third Internationals, openly manifested as counter-revolutionary agencies in our midst! The War crisis has revealed the weakness of Capitalist-Imperialism, its panic terror before the world-revolutionary "spectre of Communism." Reformism and Stalinism are alike discredited in the eyes of the world. A social system so unstable can only be perpetuated by revolutionary incompetence. Imperialism shows by its deeds that it fears the masses. The time is surely ripe for a new revolutionary International which all make its fear a reality!

Such would seem to be the chief lessons of the war-crisis when viewed in the light of a revolutionary dialectic.

"Libertarian-Socialist: A believer in Libertarian-Socialism; one opposed to all forms of coercive government and invasive authority; an advocate of voluntary association as the ideal of political liberty and social harmony."

How do we propose to achieve this condition?*

1. Contrary to general understanding we believe in organization and define that term as follows: In a free society various forms of association will be entered into at the inclination and according to the understanding of the individuals concerned. For the present we advocate and practice the forming of problems as are purely local on an autonomous basis; these groups do and will continue to, federate with each other to better spread their ideas and to make for more effective propaganda.

2. We are against all wars and maintain that wars in the last analysis benefit only the capitalist or ruling class. Revolution as such is not war. Where it becomes so, as at present in Spain, it is because

of action, attending the maimed and wounded, almost as soon as the bombs have fallen. ...

Sections of the S.I.A. have been formed all over Spain and in every town and village their flags are flying. They have set up a big number of children's colonies in relatively safe zones. One of these colonies, which takes care of 136 children, has also been supplying a daily meal to 600 children from the surrounding villages.

Recently considerable funds have come from the United States and Sweden—and it is hoping to equip 12 more of these colonies.

A S.I.A. Conference was held in Paris last week—and the Swedish and French delegates promised to organise further help. The Spanish delegates were authorised to stop at Marseilles on their way home to purchase blankets, clothes, shoes and other equipment for further children's colonies.

THE MASNOU COLONY.

Comrade Goldman paid an unannounced visit to The Spain & The World Colony at Masnou and she was very favourably impressed both by the personnel and the equipment. The Comrade in charge was a very kindly motherly woman—and efficient. The house was spotlessly clean and E.G. inspected everything from the bedrooms to the laundry. The children are as well fed as is possible under war conditions—but their needs are still considerable.

Generally throughout Spain the adults are willingly foregoing milk, chocolate and anything in the form of luxuries so that the children and the sick may have a bigger share.

CONCENTRATION CAMP.

Comrade Goldman also inspected many of the prisons, and found conditions, on the whole, good—if one allows for the fact that Spanish prisons are for the most part antiquated and with but poor sanitary provision. The prisoners are fed on about the same standard as the civilian population. The political prisoners have all been placed in Concentration Camps with the exception of a few women politicals who still remain in the Modela

One rather distressing condition in the Concentration Camps is that the Fascist prisoners who have been sentenced for espionage or other crimes, are kept in the same camps as untried U. G. T. and C. N. T. prisoners together with many members of the Youth Movements who

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violence has been thrust upon the people by the armed resistance of the privileged class to an essentially peaceful process. Responsibility for the state of war in Spain to-day rests upon the former governing class who resorted to arms with the aid and connivance of the gigantic land owning Catholic Church and the financial, military and trade assistance given openly by the fascist governments of Italy, Germany and Portugal, covertly by the so-called democracies of England, France and the U.S. We are at all times unalterably opposed to conscription and expect to oppose it as best we can under any and all circumstances.

7. The Land Problem has long been the weakest plank in the platforms of reform and revolutionary parties. The Russian Peasant after twenty-one years of a Socialist Republic finds himself a stepchild and has even less say in the affairs of the nation than the city worker. The opinion seems to prevail in Russia that the latter is more intelligent and therefore better qualified to decide the fate of the former than he is himself. Of the non-governmental theories regarding land tenure the two most plausible it seems to us, is "occupancy and use" and a syndicalist form of ownership such as prevails in certain parts of revolutionary Spain. Both are consistent with Libertarian Socialism for this is a theory of social organization based upon experimentation. "Occupation and Use" as the only title to land justifies itself—no man should "own" land unless he is using it, and using it in such a way as to justify his claim. On the other hand, the Syndicalist form of ownership means nothing more nor less than that individuals form themselves into a syndicate to work the land. No mere phrases such as "socializing the land" will satisfy either the peasant, the farmer or ourselves.

8. The three best known schools of non-governmental socialists are Free Communism, Mutualism and Syndicalism. The economics of the first is as its name implies, Free Communism which has nothing in common with Bolshevism or the iron-clad regime of present-day Russia; that of the second is mutual exchange of products by the system known as Proudhon's Mutual Bank; and of the third, as has been explained a form of industrial grouping similar to the modern trade union but transformed into units for the production and distribution of those things that make up our daily life. All three schools are libertarian in that they acknowledge the State as the paramount enemy of man and seek to supplant it with a society based upon voluntary association and good will. It is the State that supports Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and all the other despots, including our own. It is the State that is the tool of the banker and capitalist and makes possible the millions of unemployed, the starved and stunted men, women and children and the evils that flow from them in our present day society. Social theories that fail to recognise this are dealing with details and leave the real enemy untouched.

Libertarian Socialist League,
HARRY KELLY,
Temporary-Secretary,

*Owing to lack of space we have been obliged to omit prints 3-6 dealing with Libertarian Schools; attitude towards Consumer Cooperatives; co-operation with other radical judges.

SPAIN and the WORLD

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French Policy After the Crisis

(From our Paris Correspondent)

The disturbances aroused by the final development of the international crisis could not fail to have repercussions on the internal politics of France. During recent weeks the communists have retreated on two fronts. On the international question the trade unions and political representatives of the Soviet are playing a waiting game, continually repeating their explanations on their attitude in September, but not changing their attitude before a changed situation, and without that clearness and precision which characterises their actions when their aims are clear before them. On the Spanish question even, where one might have expected an indication of the new orientation of Soviet Imperialism, so many unknown factors exist that we must wait for their acts before we are able to understand their policy.

What would give colour to the belief that the U.S.S.R. has not yet made up its mind, concerning foreign policy and the pact with France, is the silence of the Russian Press—Only the Journal de Moscon, propaganda daily in French, has asked the question what is going to become of the Franco-Russian Pact after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. The diminution of Stalinist influence is shown clearly in political circles. Their great war machine is breaking down more and more. The Popular Front is practically wrecked. Already the Senatorial elections have given a demonstration of the weakness of "republican discipline." But even more illustrative has been the atmosphere of the Radical Congress recently held at Marseilles. The Stalinist section, Bayet, Cot and others was completely beaten by the partisans of a group calling themselves "Radical Youth," that is to say the furthest Right of the Radical Party.

Daladier, whose attitude always shows which way the wind is blowing, made a reactionary and anti-worker speech.

The radical party, typically a bourgeois party, very Left in its words but strongly reactionary in its deeds, gave complete power to the government to free itself from the communist influence and to take action against whatever remains of the victories gained by the workers in June, 1936.

Herriot, the "Jouhaux" of the radical party and the apostle of Franco-Soviet friendship for so long, limited himself to defending the pact and attempted to put some warmth into the Congress by his oratorical efforts on the democratic and humanitarian tradition of the Party.

Since this Congress, almost the entire press supports Daladier and his policy. Now we hear nothing but "national reform" "necessary efforts" of "indispensable sacrifices" in short, the vocabulary usually employed to put pressure on the working class, who are too ignorant to understand, that their best interest is served by working 48 hours a week, to force up production, and sacrifice their own rights in order to manufacture war material to defend imperialism!

A little necessary local colour was provided by the declaration, just before the conference, by the organisation of war veterans, demanding a "strong government, free from all partisan influences."

The laws which regulated the

amassing of great fortunes are to be set aside and a whole series of measures are envisaged which will still further reduce the workers' standard of living. The finance minister Marchandeu having been too radical, was deposed and replaced by Reynaud.

On the other hand a huge offensive has been launched in the public press, against the communists. Taking advantage of the loss of several strikes conducted by the Communists for their own ends the employers' organisations are making a great effort to capitalise the disappointment of the workers in the G.G.T. which has been exploited by the Communists.

The working class will be made to suffer for all the faults, all the venalities and the crimes the Communist party has committed in their name during recent years. The anti-communist attitude of the old reformists who are only concerned with positions and jobs, are to a greater or less extent serving the interests of the middle classes and British finance, cannot represent the honest reaction of the organised workers against the organisers of these politically inspired trouble makers.

It is not difficult to foresee the discussions which will arrive at the G.G.T. Conference at Nantes between the right wing reformists and the Stalinists but it is not

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U.G.T. & C.N.T. COLLECTIVES

A Comparison

COLLECTIVES OF THE U.G.T.

In the great majority of the Collectives formed by members of the U.G.T. the wage system has been maintained. Remuneration is according to the work performed. For instance, farm hands, shepherds and women get lower wages than other workers. The Collectives of the U.G.T. are under the control of the Agrarian Reform Institute. This Institute has offices and delegations throughout all provinces, and its mission is to help economically the farm Collectives under its control. This Institute grants them credits, supplies them with fertilizer, farm machinery, seeds, technicians, etc.; it helps them overcome difficulties in transportation, and it buys their output. The Collectives and Co-operatives controlled by this Institute employ outside workers for wages. These hired hands receive their pay from the Institute, just as before the revolution. They have no say whatever regarding the manner of production or working conditions. Strictly speaking, these institutions are not Collectives, for there are employers and employees. The em-

ployer in this case is the Institute of Agrarian Reform.

COLLECTIVES OF THE C.N.T.

But the farm workers reacted against the type of Collectives just described. In many cases they left the Institute and joined the labour unions of the C.N.T., establishing new Collectives of the two-fold basis of work in common and remuneration in common. The majority of the Collectives of the C.N.T. have adopted the system of the family wage. Thus, wages are paid according to the necessities of the members and not according to the labour performed by each worker. Hence the members of the Collectives receive goods in accordance with stocks available, or wages estimated on a basis of the number of members in the family, so that the standard of living of each family is the same. The fact that work performed is not dependent on the wages paid has not resulted in any decrease in production. The work of the collectivized workers is checked through a working card system. Every day the delegates of the Work Groups—they are generally composed of ten members—enter the work done by each member in his or her respective card. The fulfilment of the duty contracted is regarded as the first and most sacred requirement of Collectivism.

THE C.N.T.-U.G.T. COLLECTIVES.

There are C.N.T.-U.G.T. farm Collectives and Mixed Collectives. The latter are usually the best. There is a model mixed Collective C.N.T.-U.G.T. in Tomelloso, in the province of Ciudad Libre. Economic interests unite the workers of all ideas.

(Spanish Labour Bulletin)

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General Union of Workers (Socialist and Communist)
C.N.T. (Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo)
National Confederation of Labour (Anarcho-Syndicalist)

EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT OF P.O.U.M. TRIALS

Comrade Emma Goldman attended the trial of the P.O.U.M. prisoners recently held in Barcelona and it is interesting to have her impressions of this important event—especially as she was grossly misreported in the (Communist) "Humanite" of Paris as having said that "the judges in the spy trial were very fair"—since she did believe and did say, that she found that the five judges—particularly the presiding judge—of the military court which tried the POUM prisoners were very "objective," and they instantly ruled out extraneous matter introduced by the prosecuting counsel with no other intent than to damage the prisoners' characters. But she confirms the report already published that the prosecuting counsel was grossly prejudiced and that all the State witnesses gave the impression of men who had learnt a prepared lesson. One particularly offensive feature of the trial was the inclusion of the evidence of a Franco spy, caught red-handed signalling to enemy aircraft at Port Bou, and who admitted that he had never seen any of the prisoners before he saw them in court. Another shocking miscarriage of justice was the fact, that, when handwriting experts called for the defence shattered the authenticity of important documents produced in evi-

dence, the State made no attempt to support its charges.

The prisoners were defended by a member of the C.N.T. who was heard with respect and who called many witnesses from every political school of thought, whose testimony amply proved that the members of the POUM were not being tried as "spies" but as political opponents of the powers that be.

It was significant that while all the C.N.T. papers refrained from comment until after the verdict, that the Communist evening paper "Rambla" made a violent attack on the prisoners and their ideology on the evening before the verdict, in an attempt to inflame public opinion as much as possible.

Even in the face of a possible death sentence Comrade Goldman reports that all the prisoners were unflinchingly brave and defended their principles without any of the lamentable cringing which has been so much in evidence in similar trials in Russia.

Even the appallingly heavy sentences were met with raised heads and hands clenched in the Workers' salute.

THE METHOD OF REVOLUTION

Herbert Read's Answer

I welcome T. Michelson's very acute criticism of my article, and on some points I willingly accept his correction. In particular I admit that my contrast between a Marxian revolution which can only be achieved over a period of years and an anarchist revolution which is a question of hours is a metaphorical exaggeration. My main motive was to argue against "the inevitability of gradualism". A policy of revolution by planned stages leads to apathy in the revolutionary classes; the direction is left to leaders, whose only thought is to organise their followers in a well-disciplined army. We call it trade-union organization, but what it becomes in effect is an industrial hierarchy which can be taken over by whatever power happens to direct the State. My point is that the control of the State must be seized violently, catastrophically; the re-organization of society can then proceed according to programme. The alternative, for the anarchist, is not any other kind of revolution (there is no other kind), but rather a passive philosophical attitude which strives to direct all social movements towards the anarchist ideal.

Proletarian "values". I do not imply that the proletariat possesses any exceptional wisdom, or any special perceptions or sensibility. The true values are human values, or absolute values in relation to humanity. But it is the proletariat's special function to realize these values. It can only do so by remaining a coherent, independent force, and it can only maintain its coherence and independence by refusing to have anything to do with bourgeois culture and bourgeois "society". I grant

that bourgeois culture contains many of the human values which we all desire to see established; and these will eventually be taken over by a new order of society. But to take them over on bourgeois terms (a seat in the stalls)—that is the beginning of the betrayal.

But much more important is the question of principle involved in the discussion of Stirner and Marx. On this point I must defend myself without reservation, for I believe the whole future of anarchism is bound up with this question. There is a type of anarchist, just as there is a type of Marxist, who is simply incapable of any progressive development of thought. They have their prophet and their dogmas, and no event in history, no advance in thought, can prevail against them.

When Stirner published his great book, he gave perfect expression to a logical thesis—the thesis of individualism. Marx, in his turn, gave perfect expression to a contrary thesis—the thesis of communism. That contradiction must be resolved, and by the very method of dialectics which Marx used to such good effect. I believe that to a great extent Marx resolved this fundamental contradiction, and that it is the Marxists, and not Marx, who, in Michelson's words, "take Society for their starting point and, by making the individual subservient to it, sacrifice light-heartedly its happiness to the entity—society". Marx, I would still maintain, "effectively demolished" Stirner (in the German Ideology), but he also profited by Stirner. He took the advice of Engels,

which was: "But what is true in his (Stirner's) principle, we, too, must accept. And what is true is that before we can be active in any cause we must make it our own egoistic cause—and that in this sense, quite aside from any material expectations, we are communists in virtue of our egoism, and that out of that egoism we want to be human beings and not merely individuals." (Letter of November 19, 1844. Trans. Sidney Hook.) But if Marx could learn from Stirner, we can learn from Marx. I venture to think that I have passed through Marx to something nearer the truth; but in the process I have gained a tremendous respect for the genius of Marx, and until we anarchists have produced an economist and philosopher approaching his stature, it is simply futile to ignore his work. We have to build on the basis of that work; we have to conceive socialist thought as a dialectical development which includes Marx, Engels and Lenin no less than Stirner, Proudhon and Kropotkin. A practical anarchism for to-day must be directed towards the solution of immediate social and economic problems—that is to say, it must be revolutionary and communist. To insist upon individualistic anarchism is merely, in the circumstances, to condemn the whole doctrine to ineffectiveness.

HERBERT READ.

(Herbert Read's original article appeared in No. 40. T. Michelson's reply was published in the last issue No. 43. Copies are still available, price 3d., post free).

THE FUTURE and the WORKERS

Slave State or Anarcho-Syndicalism?

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Emma Goldman in Spain

are there mostly on charges of concealing arms.

Foreign political prisoners are to be expatriated—which is a grievous thought since most of these people are already exiles from their own country, and "state-less."

E.G. was happily instrumental in obtaining—through our Comrade Secundo Blanco, Minister of Culture,—the release of a well known Polish Comrade Janette who had been been falsely accused of espionage. This woman, although she had suffered much in prison, refused to leave Spain; she has resumed work as an electrical engineer.

An amusing paradox was found in the women's prison—the matron was the wife of one of the sentenced POUM prisoners and she openly attended his trial each day.

THE COLLECTIVES.

In spite of every discouraging element the workers' collectives still continue and some new ones have been started, one new clothing factory collective has been formed—almost entirely staffed by women, which operates at night, since more electric current is available at night, when other factories are closed down. Also, as more tram service is available in the early morning hours, for the same reason, the workers are enabled to go to their homes more easily, since, due to the limited current during the day, most workers are obliged to walk long distances to and from work.

The dairy collectives are still thriving too—in spite of the endless difficulties imposed by shortage of fodder, etc.

A more complete article on the Collectives will appear in our next issue.

It is interesting to hear that the whole transfer system, with the exception of the railways, which have been nationalised, still remains in the hands of the Transport Workers Syndicate under the control of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.

FRONT LINE TRENCHES.

E.G. paid a visit to two Fronts and inspected the Division under our Comrade Roveres. Defeatism is non-existent, Fortitude and Courage are dominant. The civilian population refuses to be frightened by bombardment—although air attacks occur several times daily in some parts. It is only possible to get into Madrid by air, and it is impossible to visit Valencia except by submarine or aeroplane. Both methods are entirely dangerous. Nevertheless delegates from these centres attended a recent Plenum in Barcelona. During its sitting an air raid took place, which did considerable damage to the building where the meeting was being held—but not more than three out of the hundreds of delegates present left the room. They merely pulled down the blinds, lowered the lights and continued their work.

The economic crises following the last war brought a series of revolutions, none of them successful, and, in the long run, ruined the revolutionary movement. Not only was revolution unsuccessful but the revolutionary movement that had been built up under pre-war conditions became, eventually, the shock-troops of the enemy.

With the civilised world in ruins, the masses, understandably, began to feel the need for Security. Gradually, it became clear that there were two forms of security that they could turn to. One, conservatism: the preservation of as much of the established order as possible. Alternatively, dictatorship, the security of the slave state.

The hectic post-war years showed quite clearly again that increasing numbers of people were deliberately turning against independent thinking, and turning to either the policy of "enjoy yourself while you can" (essentially complementary to conservatism) or that of "follow the leader" (essentially the policy of dictatorship).

We are faced to-day with the two systems, therefore of conservatism and dictatorship, and (owing to recent alignments) may be asked to choose between them to the extent of fighting for either the one or the other.

Let us make quite clear what the difference is.

It is patently wrong to draw a line of demarcation between Russian dictatorship and any other dictatorship. While there have been, and still are, certain differences between them, the underlying principle is the same exactly, and the trend inescapable. The differences are actually no more than the differences between (for instance) two undeniably Fascist countries, such as Germany and Italy, or (more obviously) between countries like Poland, French-Canada, Japan, China, South America, South Africa, India, Franco's Spain, etc., where Fascism does not exist in name but the same basic principles underly each.

To draw a line of distinction between the dictatorships and the democracies on the grounds of the political tie-ups is absurd—it implies putting Poland and Russia as democracies and some future British Government as a dictatorship.

Nevertheless, the democracies are in some ways different from the dictatorships. In the first place, nowadays they revolve, insofar as power-politics go, around Britain France and America (the WESTERN democracies). Quite obviously, to ram Stakhanovism down the

throats of citizens of the British Isles, or the race theory down the throats of Americans, or a handful of rice a day down the throats of Frenchmen, is asking for trouble. The technique of the new slave state is suited to each country: only those seeking the impossible can maintain that there is any other dividing line between one set of dictatorships or another, or the democracies.

It seems to be the case that the dividing line that does still exist will stay but this is by no means so.

Rationalisation and super-industrialised Fordism in America, the clever GRADUAL Acts of Parliament in Britain, anti-Germanism in France—all bring in the slave state by instalments.

Sooner or later the slave state will be perfected in all the countries of the world—perhaps the small Labour - Government countries (Scandinavia, New Zealand, etc.) will hold out, we are told. It is doubtful, however, if any politician could resist the temptation. Undoubtedly the slave state has its advantages: security being the chief one, security of the people to get along somehow (unemployment, the product of liberal-capitalism, being eliminated by the lowering of the conditions of the employed), and security of the politicians to keep the people enslaved.

The new technique, moreover, for which we have the Bolshevik pioneers to curse, provides that the old slave-state troubles (this is, chattel slavery and wage slavery) can be cured: chattel slavery meant, sooner or later, revolt; wage slavery, thought: state-slavery simply crushes and persuades the masses that it's not so bad being crushed.

Let us face the fact that capitalism is going. The liberalism of the Nineteenth Century is washed out. The bosses are not content with capitalism at all. The slave state is, for them, the only way out. The quarrel is, at present: who shall be the bosses of the slave state?

Shall it be the old capitalists or new politicians? And if it shall be the politicians, which set of politicians shall it be? (In this conflict, of course, lies the hope of revolutionaries; that the quarrelling may be too severe for it to be either).

The question is, to a certain extent, being solved. In the democracies, the old capitalists will probably take control. The democracies are controlled on the economic side, and therefore allow freedom on the political side, which is of no importance. The banks are, definitely, more powerful than Parliament, for instance.

In the dictatorships, the politicians will take control. The dictatorships are controlled politically, and therefore allow far more economic freedom. (Thus they have acted against unemployment in a manner the democracies could not).

When the full flavour of the Munich Agreement becomes apparent, it will be seen that there will be no chance (or very little) of an inter-governmental war. The pockets of the bourgeoisie being their gods, Disraeli - Kipling - Churchill-Attlee Imperialism will go for ever. There will be no more swashbuckling over minor matters of prestige. Instead, the United States of the World will be a practical proposition. The Labourists will be delighted at the coming into being of an international police force, the revival of the League of Nations, the beginnings of international government.

It is one of the most horrible prospects the masses have ever been faced with. The governments of the world will be combined to suppress revolution, and, even more, to keep down the economic level-of the masses as far as they can.

True, the money saved on excessive armaments will probably be spent on social service of some description (maybe super-roads, which will come in useful to carry troops, like Haussmanised Paris). There seems no reason why NECESSARY social service should not be introduced, EXCEPT that with the international co-operation of governments the NEED for bothering about the well-being of the masses will have disappeared. It may be that the end of capitalism (a product of nineteenth century liberalism, not of twentieth century super-production) will see the beginning of the worst period of the world's history.

If and when the old capitalists are eliminated control will pass entirely to the politicians. The world will be in the hands of the States. With this situation we, the workers of the world, have to deal.

What are we going to do to prevent the coming of the system after capitalism? (Marx, be it noted, prophesied this system successfully: he predicted it would be socialism—he could not have foreseen what would have happened to socialism in the meantime: the most potent argument against Marxism).

Firstly, we must make a clean break with politics and politicians. There is no point in continuing with those who are going to be the oppressors.

Secondly, we must organise

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French Policy After The Crisis

impossible that arbitration will be proposed either by Jouhaux or one of his followers. Both Stalinists and reformists are anxious to preserve a powerful C.G.T. and to conceal differences, they are united in the desire to defend "their" democracy, and are both ready, for varying reasons to cede the worker interest to the dictates of the French bourgeoisie.

The only element which would upset this situation and falsify these calculations, which would give hope of a revolutionary outcome, would be the development of a minority "class war" in the bosom of the C.G.T. itself. But unfortunately the so-called left and right wings of the C.G.T. will be easily united to muzzle and to crush such a movement.

The great trouble is, that all capitalists, imperialists, financiers, politicians, trade-union leaders, and that must be throttled, but the working class persists in believing that it has some choice in the matter.

QUICKLY for the overthrow of capitalism and the State BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. Bearing in mind that the end of capitalism means the end, in all probability, of the class-struggle as previously interpreted, we must right now determine on a future programme which will be EQUALLY anti-capitalist and anti-State, based on the working-class itself.

A revolution that takes for the masses the entire economic life, and entirely destroys the political side (that is, the State) is the only guarantee for the masses that they will not be exploited. All their guarantee is in themselves, through their own economic committees.

Therefore, the revolution cannot have anything to do with political parties: it must be a complete revolution, and there must be no allowance for counter-revolutionary and political elements.

The working-class must take for itself the entire machinery of production, unless it wants the State to take that machinery and relegate the masses into complete misery and subservience.

ALBERT MELTZER.

You can effectively help to reduce that £200 deficit by coming to our **SOCIAL EVENING** on **November 19th at 7.45** to be held at **21, FRITH ST., LONDON, W.1** Admission 1/-

IN THE LAND OF THE FREE

On the occasion of the 21th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution the *Daily Worker* published an edition with red headlines which read "Greetings to the Land of Victorious Socialism Staunch defender of the Cause of Peace and Liberty throughout the World." I wonder if the *Daily Worker* is really convinced of this?

On the same page there is a short article "Mullins tries New Press Gag." Should the representatives of the Comintern in this country talk of the gagging of the Press when in the "Land of victorious Socialism" the workers have no choice but to read to official press, the Stalin controlled press in which not one word of opposition to the official party line is admitted? It seems as if Radio is also controlled, judging by the information I have received from a correspondent who says that in Leningrad the workers do not possess their own oets but listen to enormous loud-speakers placed at convenient places at street corners. It goes without saying that the programmes consist either of music or Comrade Stalin's official line.

The Editor's of the *Daily Worker* would do well to omit the word "liberty" from their paper, and certainly refrain from talking of gagging in the Press.

COMMUNISTS AND THE P.O.U.M. TRIALS.

The actual details of the P.O.U.M. trial are dealt with elsewhere, but in these columns it is essential to place before sincere and honest men and women an example of the intolerance and falseness of the Communist Press. This is not an isolated example of the ways and means used by these people to

FRIENDLY and UNFRIENDLY

A Review of Press Views.

destroy their rivals. When they get to power, as in Russia, they hold fantastic trials in which prisoners are accused of everything from poisoning to incendiarism and are guilty and shot.

The P.O.U.M. trial resulted in four men being sentenced to long terms of imprisonment but, to quote from *Le Temps* the court "rejected the prosecution's charges of espionage" and the official verdict recognises that the P.O.U.M. leaders are sincere anti-fascists that they are not traitors and consequently dismisses the charges of espionage, and find them guilty only as rebels against the Government authority because of their participation in the Barcelona May Days Rising.

Compare this now to the "Daily Worker's truculent remarks "Four members of the Executive of the Trotskyist P.O.U.M. (Workers' Party of Marxist Unity so-called) were yesterday sentenced here to fifteen years of imprisonment on charges of high treason and espionage . . ."

This is what is called Yellow Journalism. And these very same people talk of Press Censorship in Italy and Germany and Press Control in this country. Let them first put their own house in order.

RELIGION BASED ON FEAR.

A very good Catholic girl educated at the "Holy Child Convent" and "Notre Dame College" in an article published recently in the *Catholic Times*. Discussing the apathy of Catholics she writes:

"We watch the growth and success of anti-religious and atheistic bodies, but we sit back with a sense of a Macbeth security, for do we not know "that the gates of hell shall not prevail against our Church?" questions concerning the activities of the and adds

"I think, in all reverence, if God were to retract His promise temporarily, then we Catholics would rise as one man and get busy doing what we ought to be doing now."

In other words she believes that Catholics at least do not believe in hell and that for them to become good Catholics they should be made to fear something terrible which is to happen to them once they are dead!

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

In France, the Communists are not even waiting to get into power to compile their lists of desirables and undesirables. In Lyons they are doing the necessary work now. The Party has sent to each of its

members a questionnaire containing 73 member and his wife. Details regarding his profession, his salary, his political activity are all included. Further, he is required to indicate the names of people known to him, either locally or in other towns, who belong to the Trotskyist faction. Presumably this will help when the inevitable "round-up" takes place once the Communists come to power.

Apparently this is the opinion of M. Chalmette, mayor of Vallauris who has returned the questionnaire accompanying same with his resignation and the following letter:

"I have read the personal and confidential document which you sent me with much surprise or rather indignation . . . What you ask is a servile submission and the complete remuneration of the individual to make of him a slave, and worse still, a spy."

LIBERTARIAN.

All readers interested in the Spanish workers' struggle should read **Social Reconstruction in Spain** (36 pages illustrated) Per **3^d** Copy

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