

REVOLT!

INCORPORATING SPAIN AND THE WORLD

EVERY GREAT
ADVANCE IN
NATURAL
KNOWLEDGE HAS
INVOLVED THE
ABSOLUTE REJECTION
OF AUTHORITY.

HUXLEY

(LAY SERMONS)

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DIRECT ACTION FOR SPAIN!

THE TASK BEFORE US

For two years SPAIN AND THE WORLD has been appealing to the English speaking workers to act on behalf of Spain, where the Social Revolution was being carried through by the efforts and sacrifice of our Spanish comrades. It was a lone voice, and the only one to faithfully interpret the true significance of the struggle.

During that time, several enthusiastic men and women have joined our ranks, and as a result, a paper representative of our movement and produced by our groups was essential. REVOLT! is the outcome.

Our cause is that of the workers, ever bearing in mind that this cause is also one of Liberty and the Truth. For these very reasons, our path must lie clear of all political parties, both corrupt and backward.

We will oppose the cowardly political line of the Labour Party, never representative of the working class. We will oppose the leaders of the Trade Unions, and the Unions themselves so long as they remain slaves to their leaders' dictates. We will oppose the Communist Party not only because it is no longer championing the working class struggle but because it has degenerated into a party ridden with political opportunists and dictatorial bureaucrats. We will oppose the Trotskyists because whilst continually criticising Stalin, would willingly put in his place another dictator equally ruthless. We will oppose the I.L.P. (though we respect its honesty and idealism) so long as it does not free itself from its mistaken faith in Parliamentary action.

REVOLT! opposes them all, and in their stead will bring to the workers the ideas and ideals of Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. For us the enemies of the working class are not only the Totalitarian regimes in Italy and Germany, but also those so called "democracies" which in the hands of reactionaries and reformists alike are used to dampen that spirit of Revolt and of class solidarity which are inherent in the socially oppressed throughout the world.

It is for all men and women imbued with the ideas of Free Socialism to join with us in our work, and our struggle.

Our aim is a world of Free Men, not the creation of a new bureaucracy, a new State and as a result, a new weapon of repression.

REVOLT!

URGENT

REVOLT! has no financial backing, only comrades anxious to work hard so that this publication will meet with success.

We need urgently, contributions to our Press Fund, and comrades willing to sell REVOLT! at meetings and demonstrations.

Comrades! Answer our call now!

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN SPAIN IS GRAVE, AND ONLY THOSE WHOSE OPTIMISM IS INVERSELY PROPORTIONAL TO THEIR ACTIVITY ON BEHALF OF SPAIN CAN DENY THIS FACT.

The reasons behind the present tragic situation are not far to seek: the continuation of Non-Intervention. And what is more, Non-Intervention is the responsibility of those who on the surface sympathise with the Spanish workers, but who in fact, are more anxious to keep out of trouble.

After nearly three years of bitter fighting Franco has entered Barcelona, triumphant thanks to his heavy artillery and aviation which met with very little opposition from a practically unarmed people. But the Spanish workers' defeat is also a crushing defeat of International Labour. Perhaps the greatest indictment of British Labour is the fact that some kind of feeling for the fate of the Spanish people has only been aroused by the fall of Barcelona, 30 months after the military revolt had been crushed by the militant workers of that town. And this feeling is limited to demonstrations,

meetings and empty slogans.

Workers' Spain has suffered a terrible blow, yet the indomitable Spanish people want to fight on. In their Press, and by word of mouth they still hope in their final victory. But that victory will never come so long as the workers of the world content themselves with protests at the "betrayal." To-day more than ever, the Spanish people, bleeding from a thousand wounds call to you for your solidarity: "Arms and Food" for their struggle against Reaction.

The great menace in the Labour movements to-day is

the parrot-like repetition of meaningless slogans. Thousands of men will march for miles crying in unison "Chamberlain Must Go!" Inwardly, they must know that Chamberlain won't go unless of course he is constitutionally defeated in the elections in 1940. Yet they were shouting these same slogans in 1936. Then, were the Spanish workers expected to wait nearly four years before expecting any help from the British proletariat? And even if they wait until an Attlee or Stalin-controlled Pollitt stands where Chamberlain stood, will Arms go to Spain?

The answer is NO. The Popular Front Government in France has shown that even when Socialists, Communists and Liberals get power they are still politicians, controlled by the moneyed interests in the country, which are Fascist.

Then why lose precious time shouting meaningless slogans?

"Chamberlain must go" is a snare and a delusion, and the name Chamberlain a scapegoat for Labour impotence and indifference.

The working class has become "Constitutional" in its activity through blindly following its party dictates. Yet, today, more than ever must our action be "direct action." Then only will the International proletariat realize its true strength. Otherwise the obvious contradictions which exist to-day, of workers producing arms to be used against themselves and their fellow workers in Spain, will continue unchecked.

It has been the crime of the Union leaders and Left Press to keep from the workers the true significance of the struggle in Spain. So much so that Spain and Czechoslovakia are synonymous save that our Labour leaders and Communists were prepared to die for Czechoslovakia whereas for Spain they are only prepared to buy food.

Spain, surrounded and invaded by Fascism and betrayed by the workers of the world fights on, but she is fighting a losing battle against a better armed enemy. Franco's advance on the Catalonian front is not the end of the workers struggle. But it is a severe blow; a blow from which the Spanish proletariat may not recover in time.

We are not appealing to the workers of this country, as do "anti-fascist" politicians who warn us of the dangers to British freedom in the Mediterranean with a Franco victory.

We appeal to the International Proletariat in the name of the Spanish workers who have sacrificed everything during these last 30 months of struggle in order to resist the forces of reaction within and beyond their frontiers.

NOW! DECLARE A GENERAL STRIKE, NOT FOR A DAY, BUT FOR A MONTH IF NECESSARY.

LOAD SHIPS WITH ARMS AND FOOD FOR SPAIN AND MOUNT THEM WITH GUNS AND ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS FOR PROTECTION AGAINST RAIDERS.

The Spanish Workers' organizations still ask for arms. It is the duty of the International proletariat to see that arms reach them!

Easy Steps to National Serfdom

The experience of the Great War taught us that the ruling class would only introduce conscription by stages is again given us. The path to serfdom is reached by easy stages.

First we were told of the need of air raid precautions. In this the government was assisted by the administrative machine of the Labour Party and the propaganda of the Communist Party.

Anarchists and revolutionary socialists warned the workers that A.R.P. could not be a serious factor in saving life, but was a potential strike breaking organisation (a strike too is a national emergency) and a subtle propaganda for war preparedness and conscription. That the workers realised this is shown by the class composition of the A.R.P. warden. Typical of London are the examples of Battersea and Poplar. Battersea, a really working class borough needed 4,000 warden and (at the time of the crisis) recruited 500. Paddington with a large bourgeois population (Bayswater, Maida Vale, Hyde Park Ward, etc.) needed 2,000 and gathered 2,007. This is typical of London Boroughs.

The next step was to suggest that A.R.P. was a failure owing to the voluntary principle and not owing to the native incompetence of the administrators.

Having become acclimatised, we are then made familiar with the idea of general "National Service" and a National Register, both to be voluntary at first.

A list of exempted occupations is published, men whose indispensable war work makes them free from military and similar service. A strange list which includes almost

the whole working class!

Essential to the war industries are basket makers, boot polish workers, buyers, chefs, ink workers, laundry workers, decorators, paperhangers, paper bag makers, cardboard carton makers, brewers, tobacco workers, trade union officials and hundreds of other occupations. What effect is this expected to have on its readers? Almost every worker reading the list will find himself exempt. Is it expected that he will not oppose conscription as it only applies to the other fellow? No one believes that patriotism like charity should begin at home.

If conscription comes without resistance it will be easy to take a blue pencil and cancel the exemption of 90 per cent. of these occupations. Even now compulsion is quietly and subtly applied a little more each day. Workers are threatened by dismissal if they do not voluntarily join A.R.P. or Territorial Army. Hunger and want make an efficient press gang. Of course employers are not always subtle about it. Recently a London firm, Messrs. Wilsons (London and Provinces, Ltd.), of Clifton Street, E.C., told their workers "we must make a condition of their employment that they join some unit of the Territorial Forces of this country not later than Monday, February 6th next."

"That is unless they can submit in writing to me an exceptionally good reason as to why he should not join, then we shall be compelled to con-

sider dismissing him from our service at the end of that week, that is February 11th." (News Chronicle 27/1/39).

Well might Lord Stanhope say "Why do not employers encourage, or I might almost say DRIVE their workmen into the Territorial Army?" (Daily Express 28/9/38).

Let no patriotic worker think conscription as to defend his home against a bloodthirsty foreign foe. The armed forces are used not to protect workers homes but to combat foreign capitalist competition, to subdue the colonial peoples and threaten the workers at home. Military conscription laws are used to crush strikes and force down wages.

In July, 1938, the French Popular Front Government introduced a War Service Bill, it was voted for by the French Communist and Labour M.P.s. In November that year the government led the employers attack on wages, the forty hour week and the unions.

When the workers struck work in self defence the government used that law to conscript the strikers and send them back to work under martial law. The strike was broken.

Now in Britain the T.U.C. agrees to operate National Service and discipline the union bodies who resist. Let us vigorously support the unions and trades councils which refuse to prepare their members for the blood bath. Let us as in the last Great War build in each factory, pit and mill, workshop committees with rank-and-file initiative to resist each step to National Service the sweet sounding alias of National Serfdom.

T. BROWN.

"Nationalization" of Petrol in Mexico

A CRITICAL SURVEY

The following article which owing to lack of space we are unable to reproduce in full, was published in the Mexican "Comunismo" (review of the communist opposition). As we do not possess the original, this article is reproduced from "l'Internationale" (Paris).—Eds.

Under a capitalist regime nationalisation, has a reactionary character. It is by means of nationalisation in this sense that the bourgeoisie protects itself against the revolution of the proletariat.

What is nationalised does not become the property of the nation but the property of the state—that is to say the property of the bourgeoisie.

The nationalisation of the railways and the "expropriation" of the petrol companies means merely that this property has changed hands from one group of exploiters (the petrol companies) to another group: the Mexican Government. The nature of this ownership remains unchanged, it is still capitalist as before. The workers are in exactly the same situation as before. They are obliged to sell their work to the owners of the means of production, in this case the owners of the petrol fields, the installation, and the machinery of distribution, while the owner, now the Mexican State, keeps the surplus profit produced by the exploited workers.

In other words, the petrol industry in Mexico has now been converted into one gigantic "Petro Mex" combine with "national" directors and technicians instead of foreign ones and the principal task of the big "Petro-Mex" is the same as that of the smaller company owned by the Mexican State previous to the "nationalisation": to prevent or break strikes, as was the case in the strike of protest last year.

In the Mexican petrol industry, the two classes which are fundamentally opposed within the capitalist society, capitalist and proletariat—or exploiter and exploited—are no less opposed since the "nationalisation" than they were before it. The petrol industry remains what it always was; the prop of the capitalist system in Mexico. Politically it is even stronger than before for instead of several foreign companies protected by the State, the workers now have to deal directly with the State itself, with its labour demagoguery, its conciliation committees, its police, its prisons and its army. Thus the battle of the workers in the petrol industry is a thousand times harder than it ever was before.

The fundamental function of the State is to protect capitalist ownership, but to-day this protection has taken a new form: to insure that the petrol industry is made safe from any attack by the workers, the State has

declared as its property that which is most in need of protection—the property of English and American capitalists.

TRIUMPH OF THE "GOOD NEIGHBOUR."

In reality, effective nationalisation is impossible for a small state, above all when applied to the property of great international companies, owing to the fact that the Imperialist countries are completely in control of the political or economic actions of the smaller states. It is only the Imperialist States that can nationalise, either within their own frontiers, or in the small states under their control. This nationalisation is, needless to say, nothing but a farce—a change of labels. The little "free" and "anti-imperialist" state is "nationalized" by its imperialist master.

The only change possible in the case of a small state such as Mexico, is that it passes from the control of some foreign companies and their governments to other foreign companies and their respective governments.

This is precisely what has happened recently in Mexico. The big North American companies (Standard Oil and Gulf) were formerly obliged to share the control of petrol wealth, and of the fate of Mexico, with the English company (Royal Dutch Shell)

and the British government. With the recent "nationalization" this control has now passed into the hands of what the Mexican bourgeoisie calls "our country."

This was the only thing that could happen in the imperialist phase of capitalism. National redemption means only the triumph of one or another imperialism. In the case of Mexico it is the "good neighbour" who has triumphed.

The international bourgeoisie admits it quite frankly as the following quotation from a bulletin of the Archives of Geneva dated the 7th of June will show.

"From now onward, the United States is the indisputable master of all the domains of Mexico. The last British stronghold (in Latin America) has been demolished to its foundations. The United States have employed the only means of driving the English from Mexico without firing a single shot."

It is also suggested in the Bulletin that it was with the aid of Cardenas that the English were finally driven out of Mexico. This was accomplished without difficulty. While the English were rejoicing in the possession of 60 per cent. of the petrol in Mexico as opposed to the 40 per cent. controlled by the American companies, Cardenas appropriated it all. But, while the expropriation aroused a storm in London, it was greeted calmly in Washington. What would

that suggest? According to the Bulletin, an understanding was reached between Washington and Mexico by which all the petrol would be American "thus demolishing the last British stronghold in this hemisphere."

"El Nacional," the organ of the Mexican Government, evidently interprets it thus, judging from the two following headlines: "Mexico breaks with England" and "The talks with the American companies satisfactory."

There is no better illustration of the transformation of Mexico into an exclusively North American colony than the adulation of the yankee imperialism expressed in every number of "El Nacional," and in the speeches of all the Mexican leaders.

According to them the American imperialism of to-day is really anti-imperialism. Only English imperialism is imperialism.

The great traitor, Leon Trotsky, supports this propaganda with his open letters in which imperialism is understood to be the equivalent of British imperialism. He has nothing to say about American imperialism.

At the same time, by pretending to hand over control of the railways and petrol industry to the workers they could persuade them to make almost unbelievable sacrifices.

Success all along the line! In the form of nationalisation the bourgeois government was able to hand over control of the most important industry of the country to American Imperialism. In this transaction the bourgeois government of

Mexico contracted a "debt of honour" to the American and English bourgeoisie. It is understood that this debt will be paid by the workers and not only will they make what their leaders call a voluntary sacrifice in order to pay it, but will also offer upon the altar of the country the 50 millions demanded by the Companies two years ago! A communication of the Executive Committee of the Syndicate of Petrol Workers, published in the press on April 28th, 1938, states that this syndicate "is perfectly in agreement with their Government, at the time when this is necessary for national considerations, to forego the benefits agreed on by decision of the conciliation and arbitration committees group 7, and that these shall not apply while the present situation continues. This in spite of the sacrifice of the petrol workers (but evidently not of their leaders) and the long years of struggle for more humane conditions on the petrol fields. Moreover, the workers will, through various organizations, reimburse the sum of approximately 140 million pesos and, apart from this sum, being conscious of their duty as Mexicans, give up one day salary a month, approximately 150,000 pesos a month, for an indefinite period, in view of the economic depression in the country."

In addition to these vast sums the "national redemption" cost the petrol workers (not to mention the others) over 190 million pesos. If we take into consideration the millions lost by the workers through trusting to the conciliation committees instead of striking for higher wages from the companies we have a formidable figure. Instead of obtaining at least the 20 million promised by the "favourable" decision of the Committees on the 50 million which were demanded from the Companies, they are obliged to pay to the imperialist companies, through their anti-imperialist government, a sum at least five times larger. Instead of receiving 20 million they are forced to pay 190 million as a contribution to the "debt of honour."

In all the history of the international bourgeoisie, it would be difficult to find a more perfectly executed trick. Under the patriotic words "economic liberty for Mexico" is hidden the most gigantic theft known to history. The workers, while feeling instinctively that they have been robbed, are too blinded by the idea of "the country in danger" to realise the whole truth.

What conclusions can we draw? That the task before the Mexican proletariat is not to make sacrifices in order that the petrol industry and the railways should be paying propositions for imperialist and "nationalist" capitalists, nor to accept the farce of the "handing over" of industries to a so-called "workers administration," but to conquer them, that is to say to snatch them from the grasp of the bourgeoisie by means of the proletarian revolution.

Workers' Empire Conference Fiasco

This conference (held on the 21st January at Friends' House, London) should have been as great a counterblast to the Tory-C.P. "Peace and Empire" conference held some time back as the Workers' Empire Exhibition, running alongside the Conference, was to the Government-propagandist Glasgow Empire Exhibition. As it was, the Conference served only to illustrate the paucity and sterility of the pure-Marxist "left of the Communist Party" movement.

With the speakers actually put up by the organising committee there was, in the main, little fault to be found. Speaker after speaker emphasised the fact that "democracy" and Fascism were synonymous terms to the colonial worker. The bloody stories of French and British Imperialism were told; how the Arab nation was, because of its geographical position, exploited by both these robber-governments, in Syria and in Palestine; how French police fired on demonstrations in Indo-China leaving the dead in the street; how labour organisations were suppressed by France and Britain in their Empires, how bribery and slavery flourished. Abdul Hamid told of two members of the Indian Seamens Union (present at the Conference) who had been beaten up and their money stolen because they had dared

to resist the foreman's customary demand for a "rake-off" on their wages. Kenyatta in particular gave a good speech on the position of the Kenya natives: how their plight was similar to that of the German Jews, only far worse; how racial persecution, confiscation of property, "Ghetto-badges," pogroms were all organised against the workers of Kenya, yet not a word was said on their behalf, because they were a different colour to the German Jews.

It was not with the speakers we had any fault to find, but with the resolution. There was a passage reading that "the Indian National Congress and other colonial organisations have declared that they will refuse to support any war waged by the British Government until they are politically free. It is our duty to support this attitude." UNTIL they are politically free! Then, of course . . .

Against this the two anarchist delegates decided to protest, but, naturally, the chairman (Fenner Brockway, of the Independent Labour Party) wasn't having any. Instead, the entire afternoon was spent in discussion of a set of trifling amendments proposed by the "Militant Labour League," the "Workers' International League" (supporting the other two) and the "Revolutionary Socialist

League!" Were they important amendments? To take one typical case, "Imperialism is one of the greatest evils of our age" (etc.) was suggested should be amended to "The breakdown of imperialism, throttled by its own inner contradictions, results in ever more vicious attacks upon the colonial peoples and the toilers at home" (etc.; and plenty). And it was a pure case of carpet-bagging—each of the three Leagues was Trotskyist (genuine variety, not Stalin sense)!

George Mansur (former secretary of the Arab Labour Federation) spoke on a resolution demanding an enquiry into the atrocity allegations against the Imperial troops in Palestine, into death sentences, house-burnings, imprisonments, shootings as part of a definite policy and not as sporadic happenings. This was carried with only one dissident; our delegates voted for this, of course.

If conferences are to be of any use, it is to attain unity on certain objectives, which are obscured by party politics. It appears, however, that the politicians have a habit of "perpetual recurrence": because of this the only permanent solution seems to be the linking-up of workers' direct action all over the world, and such conferences are doomed to failure.

A.M.

ORGANISED LABOUR IN AMERICA

(From a Correspondent)

It is generally believed, in the U.S. as well as in Europe, that the conflict between A.F.L. and C.I.O. is a struggle between the ideas of craft and industrial unionism. But this is only a half-truth, and at the present juncture a misleading one. While it is true that the original split was largely (though not entirely) the result of the unwillingness of the craft unions to relinquish their paper jurisdiction in certain of the mass-production industries, this stage has long been passed. The necessities of the situation have forced the A.F.L. itself to adopt the industrial form of organisation in one industry after another (e.g. electrical manufacturing, timber), in addition to those (brewing, hotel and restaurant, coal, garment, etc.) in which it had always recognised the principle. On the other hand, the major industrial unions in the C.I.O. to-day are still those which originally left the A.F. of L. (United Mine Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Automobile Workers, Steel Workers, and Textile Workers). Most of these have grown in membership since the split; in the case of Steel, Auto, and Textile Workers the growth has been phenomenal. But this growth has taken place for the most part within the limits of the very wide jurisdiction they possessed while affiliated to the A.F. of L. True, a few thousand new members of the Miners union are in by-product industries not formerly within its jurisdiction; and the United Automobile Workers has, by a rather peculiar interpretation of industrial unionism, organised occasional locals of pickle-workers and saloon-keepers. But the greatest part of the gains made by this group of C.I.O. unions may be traced directly to the prompt and energetic use of the favourable opportunity offered by a period of temporary "prosperity," and the psychological aid to organization provided in particular by the Wagner Act, and in general by the belief of the workers that the government was "friendly to labour." The C.I.O. took advantage of this opportunity by pouring in money, the former largely from the staffs and the latter even more largely from the treasuries of the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Nor in its organizational activities did the C.I.O. confine itself to the industrial form of organization.

Thus in the maritime industry its unions retain the craft form of the A.F.L. unions from which they split, while the "United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers" is, in the main, a craft union of machinists. Moreover, many of its minor affiliates (Shoe Workers, Transport Workers etc.) are dual to A.F.L. unions long possessing the industrial form.

While the most spectacular gains have been made by C.I.O. unions, the A.F.L. has been by no means idle in the period since the split. It has, in fact, approximately doubled its membership, and at least one of its affiliates, the Teamsters' Union, can show gains comparable with those of any C.I.O. union. Moreover, where the C.I.O. has suffered sharply in the industrial slump of the last year, the A.F.L. has continued to grow. The A.F.L. to-day has a membership of about 4 million; it is doubtful if the C.I.O. exceeds 2 million. (An exact comparison is difficult, as

the habit of inexact statement is deeply ingrained in many American trade unions. Thus, Mr. Lewis's Miners claimed 500,000 at a period when their membership had actually sunk to about 100,000. While their present claim of 600,000 is probably fairly accurate, one must view with rather more scepticism the membership claims of Steel Workers and Textile Workers Organization Committees—since these claims are not based on dues payments, and the activities of the two unions in question are largely financed and controlled by the Miners and Clothing Workers Unions, respectively).

While there can be no question that the original formation of the C.I.O. as a group within the A.F. of L. (and even perhaps the subsequent split) gave a tremendous impulse to organization at a time when it was badly needed, the organizational effects of the split are to-day almost entirely bad. Jurisdictional conflicts between the two are frequent; outright scabbing on both sides is by no means rare. (Thus, President Green gave an A.F. of L. Charter to a company union of metal miners, while a group of scabs in an A.F.L. taxicab strike received a C.I.O. Charter). The struggle for power has frequently led each group to seek alliances with government and employers against the other. And on the political field, the alliance of certain C.I.O. leaders with one group of politicians has often been met by A.F.L. support of their opponents. And there can be no question that the mutual recriminations of C.I.O. and A.F.L. tend to repel the mass of the unorganized workers. Why, then, if the effects of the split are disastrous, and growing more so, and if no major difference of principle or tactics divide the two groups, is unity not achieved? Perhaps the most important reason is that unity could only be achieved at the expense of the ambitions for sole leadership which actuate the dominant cliques in both groups.

It was the threat to their control, implied in the organization of the C.I.O., which originally led the groups entrenched on the A.F.L. executive council to order its expulsion; but it was also the desire for power which caused John L. Lewis to walk out of the unity negotiations to which subsequently the moderates in the A.F.L. had forced the extremists to agree. Yet there can be little doubt that the bulk of the members of both organizations are sincerely desirous of unity, despite the gyrations of their leaders. Unfortunately this will to unity is hindered in making itself effective by the almost complete absence of internal democracy in many unions on both sides. Thus, Mr. Lewis's own union, the United Mine Workers, and Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers have both been under thoroughly dictatorial regimes for many years, and it is not even pretended that the members of the Steel and Textile workers unions have the right to govern themselves. Similarly, the building trades, one of the strongholds of the A.F. of L., are permeated with dictatorial practices. (When I speak of denial of democracy

in American trade unions, I refer to a variety of practices, ranging from excessive constitutional centralization of power, through all the gamut of legal and illegal force and fraud, to the stealing of ballots and the murder of opponents). An indication of the temper of the rank and file may be seen in the recent action of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, one of the original members of the C.I.O.—and noted for its progressive and, on the whole, democratic policies—which withdrew from the C.I.O. and stated its intention of remaining unaffiliated until such time as it felt affiliation with one group or the other might contribute to unity.

But such hope of unity in the near future as exists derives, not so much from a likelihood that the leaders may sacrifice themselves to the interests of the rank and file, but from certain ulterior considerations. Chief among these is the political situation. Mr. Roosevelt has sought vigorously to make the trade unions a tail to his political kite, and in this he has received the loyal support of a number of politically minded trade union leaders on both sides. But the A.F. of L.—C.I.O. split has caused serious difficulties in this programme because of the tendency of many A.F.L. leaders to oppose any candidate receiving C.I.O. support. In an effort to eliminate this difficulty, the Administration has been bringing its weight to bear on behalf of unity. Thus it was that Dan Tobin, president of the Teamsters Union (largest in the A.F. of L., and also chairman of the Labour Committee of the Democratic Party) took the floor at the recent A.F. of L. Convention with a stirring appeal for unity. Thus also it is that there is some hope that the dominant forces in the C.I.O.—Mr. Lewis, Mr. Hillman, and the "Communist" Party—all of whom are enthusiastic supporters of Mr. Roosevelt, will now be in a more receptive frame of mind for unity proposals. For there can be no question that the recent elections have shown that Mr. Roosevelt and his allies are badly in need of the votes the A.F. of L. could deliver. Thus a thoroughly desirable end may perhaps be achieved for thoroughly undesirable reasons.

The real hope for American trade unionism, however, lies in a growth of democracy which will enable the members to control their income, and a growth of clear class-consciousness in the members themselves. The first is likely to involve a long and difficult struggle, but one which unity, however achieved, would render much easier. For now the pretext of civil war may be used to suppress any opposition in the ranks of either groups, while in the case of unity, it is likely that each group of leaders would insist on a much greater degree of democracy in the ranks of the other, in the hope of democracy in the ranks of the other, in the hope of attaining influence among them. The growth of a clear class-consciousness of view among the workers is also likely to require a painfully long time, but the increasing pressure on their standard of living, and their repeated betrayals at the hands of bourgeois politicians, are already beginning to show signs of producing an effect, while their militancy in day to day struggles for immediate demands is unexcelled anywhere.

Military Objectives?



By the thousands they flee before Franco's "Christian" Army

NEARER TO REALITY

THE year has opened tragically for the true friends of Spain, but the disasters which have filled us with sorrow and apprehension can also serve to bring us nearer to reality. It is not that we have been living in a fool's paradise; there is nothing, either in the history of our movement, or in the present alignment of forces, that could for a moment lead us to suppose that freedom and justice were easy to uphold. It is doubtful if our cause can ever be established by force of arms, because the arms we bear are dangerous, even to ourselves. The instruments of death are incompatible with freedom. We fervently desire the victory of the Spanish People and with victory we hope to carry forward our libertarian policy. A victory for Franco would mean, instead of an open campaign for freedom, for federalism and for workers' control, a return to the dark battle against tyranny. We do not fear that prospect. We know that though we are without wealth and opportunity to buy the weapons of modern warfare, we fight with the irresistible armament of our ideals. Against us is an embodiment of force and might—a power that must perish of its spiritual and intellectual poverty; with us is the immortal flame of humanity—the truth and love which penetrate all barriers and bring us, through centuries of oppression, nearer to the good life.

The mighty armaments which Franco has secured from his fascist allies may subdue the Spanish people, but they cannot extinguish the knowledge and enlightenment which have come into their lives. Indeed, the effect of this long strife is quite the contrary. It has illuminated, as never before, the misery of a people; it has thrown into sharp

opposition the ideals of freedom and of force; it has caused millions of simple people, who never before dared to lift their minds above the dull routine of their slavish lives, to question the justice of their lot and to yearn for a fairer existence. The ideas which we had to instil by propaganda and education are now a common possession of all the people; and once a people is roused to a consciousness of its rights, once love replaces duty in their hearts, and mutual aid is seen as an alternative to moral and economic servitude, then no power of armaments and no alien mercenaries can for long withstand the spiritual power that is generated in their midst.

By
HERBERT READ

The Spanish tragedy brings us nearer to reality—above all to the realisation that the international solidarity of the working classes, which is the only force we can oppose to capitalism and fascism, does not yet exist. Do not let us disguise the ugly truth: the Spanish workers have been betrayed by their British, French and American comrades. History will record to our shame that in these very years which saw the destruction of the Spanish democracy for want of arms, our own workers were busily engaged on the rearmament of their capitalist masters.

We must create new bonds of international solidarity, free from the weaknesses inherent in parliamentary socialism. We must return to the foundations of our faith; for it is the head, of this giant democracy, and not

the feet, that has proved to be made of traitorous clay.

Our immediate duty is to alleviate our guilt with acts of solidarity. A people, homeless and persecuted because of the faith they share with us, must be rescued from death and despair. We must stir the conscience of our country, so that it gives shelter and food to those who are destitute because we have refused them arms for their self-defence.

SPAIN'S POLITICAL REFUGEES

From Lucia Sanchez Saornil, Secretary of the S.I.A. comes an urgent appeal for the refugees: "DEMAND RIGHT OF ASYLUM IN ENGLAND FOR REFUGEES." We need hardly add many words to this more than eloquent appeal. France has opened her frontiers, but this does not preclude us from acting on behalf of our comrades.

We must demand that political refugees, men without countries such as the Italian and German comrades, and our Spanish comrades whose return to Catalonia would mean instant death, should be allowed to come to this country without political discrimination being made.

This is a responsibility which we must shoulder without another moment's hesitation. Send us funds for the purpose and demand in no uncertain manner, whenever and wherever possible, that this country should admit Spain's political refugees.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD COLONY

At the moment of going to press, we have had no news as to the fate of our children at Masnou. But we still appeal for Funds which will be used both for the women and children and political refugees. We hope that a new colony may be started in France very shortly.

Show your solidarity with the Spanish workers now and during the coming months. Contributions should be sent to: Spain and the World Refugee Fund, 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, England.

Tom Mooney's Resurrection

By Emma Goldman

A sensational newspaper published in San Francisco was sent to me by a friend. It is filled with news about Tom Mooney's pardon and resurrection from his living death. It also reports the joyous and enthusiastic reception given him by representatives of all Labour organisations of San Francisco. I, too, rejoiced with Tom's final liberation, but my joy was intermingled with considerable sorrow that the man who loved him most and was the first to proclaim Tom Mooney's innocence was no longer among the living to rejoice with me. I mean Alexander Berkman.

At the time of the bomb explosion in the Preparedness Parade July 22nd, 1916, I was in San Francisco as one of the cities in my annual itinerary for lectures. I had already addressed large audiences for a whole week. On the historic day I went to my dear co-worker, Alexander Berkman, and our friend, M. E. Fitzgerald, to lunch with them and spend the afternoon. While we were joking and laughing over our meal, the telephone rang, and Alexander Berkman stepped into his office to answer it. When he returned I noticed the extremely serious expression on his face, and I intuitively felt that something had happened.

"A bomb exploded in the Preparedness Parade this afternoon," he said: "There are killed and wounded."

"I hope they are not going to hold the Anarchists responsible for it," I cried out.

"How could they?" Fitzzi retorted.

"How could they not?" Sasha (Berkman) answered; "They always have."

On the way to my apartment I heard newsboys calling out Extra Editions. I bought the papers and found what I had expected—glaring headlines about "An Anarchist Bomb" all over the front page. The papers demanded the immediate arrest of the speakers at the Preparedness Meeting of July 20th. Hearst's

Examiner was especially bloodthirsty. The panic that followed on the heels of the explosion exposed strikingly the lack of courage, not only of the average person, but of the Radicals and Liberals as well. My largely-attended meetings dwindled to a mere fifty persons on the evening after the explosion and the weeks following, the rest of the audience consisting of detectives and police.

A reign of official terror followed the explosion. Revolutionary workers and Anarchists were, as always, the first victims. Four labour men and one woman were immediately arrested. They were Thomas J. Mooney and his wife, Rena, Warren K. Billings, Edward D. Nolan and Israel Weinberg.

Thomas Mooney, long a member of Moulders' Union, Local 164, 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 on the coast. The United Railways had tried, a few years previously, to put Mooney behind the bars, but even the farmer jury had refused to credit the frame-up against him. Recently he had sought to organise again the motor men and conductors of the Street Car Combine. He had attempted, unsuccessfully, to call a strike of the platform men a few weeks before the parade, and the United Railways marked him for their victim. They posted bulletins on the car barns warning their men to have nothing to do with the "dynamiter Mooney," on pain of immediate discharge. On the night following the posting of the bulletins, some power-towers of the company were blown up, and those who knew smiled at the obvious attempt of the railway bosses to "get" Mooney by the peculiarly "timely" branding of him as a dynamiter.

Warren K. Billings, formerly President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, had for years been active in Labour struggles, and the employers had once before succeeded in railroading him to prison on a trumped up charge in connection with strike troubles in San Francisco.

The other comrades of Mooney and Billings were also known active labour men, while Mrs. Mooney was a music teacher.

To charge her, her husband and the other men, with the responsibility for the Preparedness Parade explosion, was a deliberate attempt to strike Labour a deadly blow through its most energetic and uncompromising representatives. We expected a concerted response on behalf of the accused from the liberal and radical elements, regardless of political differences. Instead we were confronted by complete silence on the part of the very people who had for years known and collaborated with Tom Mooney, Billings and Nolan.

There was not a single prominent man in the unions on the coast who now dared speak up for his arrested brothers. There was no one to offer a penny for their defence. Not one word appeared even in "Organised Labour," the organ of the powerful weekly of the San Francisco Labour Council and of the State Federation of Labour. Even Freeman Older, who had so staunchly defended the Macnamara brothers, implicated in the explosion of the Los Angeles Mines Building, and who had always bravely championed every unpopular cause, was silent now, in the face of the evident Chamber of Commerce conspiracy to hang innocent men.

It was a desperate situation. Only Alexander Berkman and I

dared speak up for the prisoners. But we were known as Anarchists and it was a question whether the accused, of whom only Israel Weinberg, was an Anarchist, would wish to have us affiliated with their defence. They might feel that our names would hurt their case rather than do them good. I myself knew them but slightly, and Warren K. Billings, I had never met. But we could not sit by idly and be a party to the conspiracy of silence. Alexander Berkman knew all of the accused well, and he was absolutely certain of their innocence. He considered none of them capable of throwing a bomb into a crowd of people.

During the two weeks following the tragedy of July 22nd, the *Blast*, the militant paper published by Alexander Berkman, in San Francisco, and my meetings, were the only expression of protest against the terrorist campaign carried on by the local authorities at the behest of the Chamber of Commerce. Robert Minor, then an ardent Anarchist, had been summoned by Comrade Berkman from Los Angeles, to come and help in our preparation for the defence of the accused innocent men.

It required several weeks of the most strenuous effort on our part to awaken some semblance of interest even among the radicals. We succeeded in raising at my meetings \$100 and in borrowing a considerable sum for the defence of the arrested labour men. But so terrified was San Francisco that no Attorney of standing would accept the case of the prisoners, who had already been condemned by every paper on the city.

In New York I began my quest for a man with courage and legal standing who would be brave enough to defend innocent victims in the face of the terror in San Francisco. After I had been refused by several well-known lawyers, among them Frank P. Walsh, an eminent attorney in Kansas City, I had to report to the friends in San Francisco that the situation looked hopeless. Thereupon I received word that the International Workers' Defence League, organised in San Francisco, had requested Alexander Berkman to go east to secure an able attorney and to arouse the labour element to the peril of the prisoner.

(to be continued)

They Struck for Spain

When the Spanish workers rose against Fascism in the glorious July, 1936, the international anarcho-syndicalist movement immediately called for strike action against the intervention of British, French, German and Italian capitalism in Spain.

Unfortunately the reformist working class movement was tied to the state political machine and hoped to gain more by negotiating with corrupt reactionary politicians than by workers direct action.

Direct action could have saved the Spanish people two years of sufferings, but let not regret at the years that are lost prevent us acting now.

We welcome the action of the engineering shop stewards in organising a demonstration strike on January 26th. Four factories struck work at 4 p.m. to join an Arms for Spain demonstration in the west-end of London. Hearing of this, groups in other factories defying threats of dismissal joined in.

From 4 p.m. onwards trains and buses from the industrial areas to the west-end rang with shouts of "Arms for Spain!"

In spite of threats and discouragement a large procession paraded London. It was a fine demonstration, without party labels or titles, without political seekings. Further action is planned. Keep it up shop stewards!

T.B.

All who have read our pamphlet agree that it is a valuable contribution to a deeper understanding of the Spanish workers' struggle. If you have not read it yet, order your copy now

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In the Land of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'

1) By a decision of the Council of the Peoples Commissaries dated 20th December, 1938 (quoted from "IZVESTIA" 21st December, 1938), each worker must carry a "work book" as from 15th January, 1939. This book will contain an account of all the changes of employment of its bearer and of the causes of such changes the remuneration he receives and the cause of discharge, should that take place. It will be impossible to engage a worker unless he presents his "work book" which must be retained by the employers until his discharge. The price of the book is fixed at 50 kopeks and a fine of 25 roubles (THAT IS TO SAY 4-5 DAYS WAGES) will be inflicted for its loss. UP TILL NOW WORK PEOPLE HAVE ONLY BEEN OBLIGED TO CARRY A CERTIFICATE OF EMPLOYMENT BUT IT IS TRUE THAT LATTERLY, THE REASONS FOR DISCHARGE HAVE BEEN NOTED ON THEM.

2) The "Presidium" of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union has issued an ukase dated 27th December, 1938 (IZVESTIA 28th December) instituting three new decorations, two of which are particularly designed for workers, a medal "for prowess at work" and another "for the exemplary worker." These medals will be given by the President of the Supreme Council to workers who shall have given the best examples of "Stakhanovism," to those who reach the highest output, and to those who contribute to the advancement of technique, science and culture.

3) By a decision dated 28th December, 1938 (IZVESTIA, 29th December) and

signed by Molotov, Stalin and Chvernik, the heads of the administrative and political power and of the trade unions . . . new measures are to be taken with regard to discipline in industry and social insurance, to take effect after January 1st, 1939.

All executives are ordered to treat severely any attack on discipline in industry, punishment going as far as discharge or even a criminal charge. Any worker who leaves his employment of his own will or who is discharged for an offence against discipline will lose all benefits from social insurance until he has completed six months employment in a new job. Similarly, such workers will henceforth be liable to eviction from their lodgings on ten days notice, without the necessity for legal proceedings. IN THE PAST, WHEN SUCH PROCEEDINGS WERE OBLIGATORY, THEY DID NOT ALWAYS HAVE THE DESIRED RESULT.

Pensions are to be increased from 10 to 25 per cent. for workers having a long record of continuous employment in the same factory or workshop, while they are to be abolished for those who have only a short term to their credit.

There are also to be changes in the regulations affecting benefits in the case of illness or accidents at work.

4) Six years uninterrupted employment in one establishment must be completed before the worker is entitled to sickpay equal to full wages.

Less than two years continuous employment will entitle the worker to only fifty per cent. relief, and those workers not in

unions only receive half these sums, that is to say, either fifty or twenty-five per cent. of their total wages.

AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION EVERY WORKER, WHEN SICK RECEIVED FULL SALARY. UNDER THE FIVE YEAR PLAN, TWO YEARS SERVICE ENTITLED THE WORKER TO FULL PAY WHEN SICK OR INJURED AND THE NON-UNIONIST TO 50 PER CENT. TO-DAY . . .

There has also been a reduction in the paid rest time for women in case of childbirth. Now, 35 days before a confinement and 28 days after are allowed in place of 56 before and 56 after.

Six ukases signed by the President of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, dated January 3rd, 1939 (IZVESTIA, JANUARY 4th) changed the text of the oath required of all soldiers and of the civilian employees of the Red Army, and regulate the ceremonial of administering the oath.

Anything which might suggest internationalism and the work-class movement has been suppressed, and only the defence of country is affirmed.

Each soldier must take the oath INDIVIDUALLY, not later than two months after joining the army.

The oath is to be spoken, then signed, during a solemn ceremony before the regiment in full dress complete with flags, music, and an address by the colonel!

ALL THESE MEASURES WERE PRECEDED AND ACCOMPANIED BY A PRESS CAMPAIGN DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT THE WORKERS THEMSELVES HAD DEMANDED THESE LAWS AND WERE DELIGHTED BY THEM.

SINCE THE 3rd JANUARY THE NEWSPAPERS HAVE PUBLISHED, AS HORRIBLE EXAMPLES, NUMEROUS CASES OF WORKERS DISCHARGED FOR HAVING BEEN ABSENT FROM WORK ON THE 1st JANUARY (AFTER NEW YEARS EVE) WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO GIVE "GOOD REASONS" FOR THEIR ABSENCE.

CONCLUSIONS? DRAW THEM FOR YOURSELVES. THEY ARE ONLY TOO CLEAR. YVON.

Books

The Will to Civilization

Review By F. A. Ridley

To-day is the day of popularization; of "middle-brow" books, which deal with (more or less) high-brow subjects in a (more rather than less) low-brow manner. For the domain of sociology and politics the dominant type is set by "The Left Book Club," which has reduced the ephemeral to an art and the superficial to a science. Amid the din of such literary machines "the still small voice" of original thought is, to-day, in danger, as never before, of being entirely swamped.

"The Will to Civilization" is, definitely, the work of an original and dynamic thinker, who has fully assimilated in all its bearings the dictum of the royal philosopher (Frederick the Great): "What is the good of experience if you do not reflect." Mr. Katz conducts, herein, a vast survey of human experience, backed up by encyclopedic learning, and illustrating with striking consistency a number of elemental philosophical first principles. Definitely, this is a seminal book: one of the few such that have appeared in the decadent phase of Capitalism that became more and more pronounced after the World War.

Katz' fundamental idea, which runs like a golden thread across his

vast canvas, may be summarized thus:—

The essential principle of human evolution is social solidarity, or "Faith in civilization," to borrow the author's expressive phrase. This "Faith" has inspired mankind's long story, which centres around his serial efforts to build a civilization that shall be really permanent, giving satisfaction to all, and beyond the pale of decay and disintegration. Hitherto, all such attempts have failed: the historic highway is cluttered up with the debris of fallen civilizations, with "the ruins of empires." Retrogression is, after all, as much a fact of nature and history as its counterpart, progress. But—and this is perhaps the most daring and important thought in the book,—mankind is no Ozymandias gazing forever upon the majestic ruins of his own social handiwork. No! Defeated on the temporal plane, he takes refuge in the celestial. Beaten in, and by, time, it is in eternity that he takes refuge. Hence, upon the failure of secular civilization, the human race takes shelter in the ark of the Church; beaten by time, it retreats into the timeless. Unable to stand the headlong movement of life, beaten man seeks a metaphysical universe, a world of "pure act" (Aristotle), from which all movement, all change, is forever excluded. Hence, the rise of the church represents the failure of man in "the adventure of civilization." "Both christianity and Buddhism are Tchabods—children of the decline and fall of two of the urban civilizations of antiquity." In fact, it is the essence of the argument that—"in the beginning was the act." (Faust).

If it is only in empiricism, in action, that society advances. Mysticism, metaphysics, and the whole conception underlying the phrase: "My kingdom is not of this world," embody merely the failure of society to act; of its "elan vital," of its "will to live"—socially.

To-day we stand at an historical vantage point wherefrom the world-society is, for the first time, visible and, if we will it, close at hand, mankind can, to-day, reach the world-society, the social goal of civilization throughout the ages. But humanity, if it has the will to live, has, equally, the will to die. It can, now, as in the past, "make the great refusal." It can, yet again, turn its back on life. Fascism, and certain contemporary forms of mysticism already represent its will to die. In Russia to-day, the author might prefer to substitute Spain!—progress is visible, but faulty: Marxism, according to Katz, is prophecy, not science; a beacon to thought, but far from being its boundary. In England, homeland of the empirical since the 17th century, the author holds that there reside great qualities of revolutionary leadership, when once aroused—by national disaster?—from her present mood of paralysis and chronic indecision.

"The Will to Civilization" ends on a note of optimism.

"It has been said that the world is a machine for creating gods. When men recover their faith in civilization, it will be said that the world is a school for making men," these are its concluding words.

Such is a brief and necessarily inadequate summary of a remarkable and stimulating book, combining original thought, dynamic expression, and great learning in a singularly felicitous manner. There are points upon which criticism is permissible, e.g., the distinction between society and the state is not made with sufficient emphasis. The former is permanent; the latter can be dispensed with as society advances. In general, Mr. Katz tends to exalt the gregarious aspect of human society, and does not pay sufficient attention to the equally important role of the individual in the evolution of civilization, and there are other critical points which could be added. None the less, a book which breaks new ground in a constructive manner is sufficiently valuable and rare. Here is definitely such a book!

A.M.

OUR NEW RESPONSIBILITY

Below we are giving our final lists of contributions to "Spain and the World." It is an eloquent tribute to the work of "Spain and the World." But "Revolt!" is a continuation and intensification of this work, and I hope that all our comrades in England and on the continent will give their continued support to "Revolt!" in the same way as they have for the past two years supported "Spain and the World."

V.R.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

PRESS FUND.

(20th December to 20th January).
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TOTAL £30/14/9.

Previously acknowledged £130/15/9.

TOTAL £161/10/6.

(This Fund is now closed. All sums received for Spain and the World will be passed on to the Treasurer of "Revolt!"—V.R.)

Industrial Britain on the Move!

THE popular myth about the conservatism of the British workers has again been shaken. Gradually, but surely, there is another swing-over to industrial direct action. In spite of all the compromises of the so-called "workers' parties" (which comprise very little the average worker) we find all the ingredients of a revolutionary labour movement actually in action.

Suddenly—on top of each other, almost—we find some unions giving a blank refusal to offers of co-operation in A.R.P., "National Service," conscription and speed-up, unemployed demonstrations in the metropolis and elsewhere, and rent-strikes.

The three moves of producer, tenant and workless (it needs only a consumer's boycott of blacklist firms and Fascist-import firms to complete the four ingredients of a revolutionary movement) are one. The workers have learnt from experience what conscription (under whatever name) means. It is the super-form of industrial warfare: militarisation of industry and almost martial law in time of strikes. A few unions have resisted: that is to the good. But it is not enough! Those who have agreed to co-operate with the Government (and we remember that the International Federation of Trade Unions refused to co-operate with our I.W.M.A. on a boycott of Franco) must be subjected to every criticism from the rank-and-file. The class-collaborationists and pro-conscriptionists, recruiting-sergeants and job-holders of the labour movement must be summarily expelled from the labour movement. If the unions co-operate with the Government, it means no strikes ("official," that is) are possible, and "unofficial" strikes are rendered more difficult by Government supervision, restriction and use of "agents-provocateur" and industrial spies, as happens to-day in the dockyards. Those who hope that conscription will be satisfactory—as it will only affect youth—should not be persuaded that they are, from the point of view of their own interests, wrong: they too are not the people who should even be allowed inside a conscious labour movement. They are scabs at heart.

The Tenants' Strike

THE tenants' strikes are good news. Noticeably, they are all in London. The exodus from the Depressed Areas (which the Government orders us to euphemise as "Special" Areas!) in Wales, Ireland, Scotland and the North, to the re-

latively prosperous South and London (where the new factories, etc., are, presumably to make them more easily bombed from the air) has made landlords inflated with their "prerogative" of choosing tenants. Rents are going up—while, in the London and Southern areas, partly because of A.R.P. scares, partly because of usual stinginess, conditions (even the lawful obligations to keep in good condition and repair) are getting worse.

Three strikes are reported, at the moment of writing. In Flower-and-Dean Street, one of the toughest parts of Spitalfields, a 100 per cent. solid strike demands lower rents and little better conditions. Somewhat akin to the wartime Glasgow rent strike, the women are leading the struggle to resist the landlord and his agents. In Quinn-square Buildings—scene of 1938 rent-strike—the eviction of a woman (with five children), one of last year's strikers, is being resisted by the ENTIRE tenement. In the Peabody Estate at Clapham, a similar rent strike is threatened, in solidarity with the secretary of the Tenants' Association, who is ordered to quit (victimisation being the reason).

It is interesting to note the remark of one of the Quinn-square Buildings tenants, made to a capitalist-journalist: "THE BAILIFFS SHALL NOT PASS!" The influence of the Spanish Revolution and the resistance of Madrid has reached through France to England!

The Unemployed Workers Movement

THE unemployed, barred, by the nature of things, from economic action, have been attacking the forces of the State machinery by demonstrations, which, moreover, were well calculated to win the sympathy of Londoners who, at least, have a sense of humour. The lying-down in the roadways, invasion of the Ritz, throwing-out of the banner at the elevated Monument, demanding a square meal (in paraphrase of the railway "distressed" shareholders demanding a "square deal"), chaining to the Unemployment Exchanges and so on, were all actions which focussed attention on the unemployed. And did it have effect? To such an extent that the capitalists were scared enough to throw out immediately a red herring to put the unemployed off the scent: the "Sunday Pictorial" in particular and the Fascists endeavoured to link up the Nazi demonstration in the West End against the German-

Jewish refugee cinema appeals with . . . the unemployed's counter-demonstrations!

The humbug about the refugee menace will be seen. None of these refugees take jobs in this country. The outcry was then against the charity appeals, but the fact of the matter is that the outcriers have not the slightest intention of rifling the funds of the Baldwin Appeal Fund, and giving it to the unemployed. All they intend to do is make a fuss about it, and get the unemployed to do the same, instead of attacking the U.A.B., P.A.C. and Unemployment Exchanges, where, after all something can be done. Fortunately, the unemployed (at any rate, as a whole) have not fallen for it.

It is regrettable that the National Unemployed Workers' Movement is so completely in the hands of the non-revolutionary Communist Party, but even so rank-and-file pressure has forced these demonstrations. In the same way, the trade unions, under the control of Labour Party officials, can be forced to act, on their own bread-and-butter issues. The rising feeling, actually, could very soon force both C.P. and L.P. officials to become themselves eligible for the N.U.W.M.—and not as officials! The same feeling could organise these strikes—tenant, unemployed, producer—and link them up with consumer's strikes. Tenant, producer, consumer—all are the same, and unemployed also the same (if not to-day, to-morrow).

Direct Action

There could be made out of this present feeling a movement towards continued direct action; a movement organised so that it could take control of the industries and dwellings when the bosses and bailiffs had been driven out for the last time.

Unfortunately, this feeling is being dissipated. The politicians will make capital out of it, and then it will all disappear, and the workers will, following another economic crisis, do the same things, and again it will be lost, and again, and again. There is only one thing to stop this waste of the workers' efforts, and that is the organised propaganda that this revolutionary action is anarcho-sindicalist, if without the name, and that the only way for its logical outcome to be achieved is by the gradual building of an anarchist labour movement upon the lines indicated by the organisations that, as is seen, do spring into being on these occasions.

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