

REVOLT!

INCORPORATING SPAIN and the WORLD

Law is simply an instrument invented for the maintenance of exploitation and the domination of the idle rich over the toiling masses. Its sole mission is the perpetuation of exploitation.

—P. KROPOTKIN

(Memoirs of a Revolutionist.)

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Cripps and the Peoples' Front

Refuse to Support the Coming War

THE war-clouds loom over Europe. Hitler's march into Prague has threatened the Democratic powers, and the beat of the drums can be heard in the distance. War-fever is being lashed up by the Capitalist press and the Social-Democratic and Popular-Frontist traitors. All the stage is set for a repetition of 1914-1918. The war is coming.

Very few voices can be heard to protest against the jingo-cries of the professional patriots. Even the pacifists, against war though they may be, place ALL their activities for "peace" and, in consequence, are even driven into the arms of Chamberlain's "appeasement," which also means war.

What is going to be the use of a war for "defence of democracy"—a war to save the decaying Empire? Why should the workers fight for the capitalist government that exploits them in time of peace and in time of war?

It is useless, and worse than useless, to imagine that in fighting the Fascist countries, the workers will be fighting Fascism, any more than the defeat of the Kaiser meant the defeat of "German Militar-

ism." The only way to defeat Fascism is to defeat the system that breeds Fascism, the system that is just as rampant here as abroad.

The workers must resist the war, must resist the steps leading to war: "national service" (compulsory and otherwise); conscription; and A.R.P. and such measures. The advice of anarchists and revolutionaries generally given during the last war was: "The enemy is in your own country!" That still holds good. The enemy of the workers is not only the foreign dictators, but the oppressors at home.

The way to resist war and war measures is to build a revolutionary movement to press for its own aims of anti-militarism and workers' action. Refuse to serve "your" country! Refuse to assist the State in its manoeuvres for murder! Forward to the social revolution, through workers' action on the economic field and AGAINST the forces of the governing-class!

DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST WAR!

Will it Help the Workers Struggle?

TO the worker seeking to relieve the pressure of capitalism on his daily life or to build a socialist society two paths seem to lie open: one, the older traditional method of workers' direct action developing from strikes for daily bread to the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, the other the "easy" indirect path of returning to Parliament politicians who would legislate away his troubles.

Unfortunately for the world the German and British workers largely chose the latter.

After raising the highest hopes this tempting path leads to a slough, where not only hope dies but even political action seems almost impossible.

Wallowing in the clinging mud of political procedure, his mind darkened by the disillusion born of his own action, the Labour Party worker may gladly listen to any voice which, using noise to cover poverty of thought, promises to revive his former fond hopes.

It is inevitable that these voices are most often those of wealthy men. Parliament is an institution with a welcome open door to the rich man but high financial barriers to the worker. Parliamentary activity is so costly that even the Labour Party must open its ranks to wealthy men able to pay their own election expenses.

Such persons have an influence within the party out of proportion to their political development. Finding even the pale working class tint of the Labour Party too much for them their loyal bourgeois minds scheme revolt.

Such a case was Mosley's, while still in the Labour Party he decided to turn Fascist and concealing the Fascist name, but scarcely the aims, split the Labour Party.

Proceeding according to plan from "memorandum" to New Party and so to Fascism he received the support of a number of Labour M.P.'s and officials, some of whom now support Cripps and the People's Front.

Now a new voice is heard, the voice of the agile Cripps, not so eloquent, even less original, but just as thoroughly bourgeois.

Blown about by every wind of doctrine he now impudently attempts to bamboozle the Labour Party members with the thoroughly discredited "People's Front."

We are presented with a programme of the old nebulous election promises of political hacks, promises as well defined and clear as a London fog, "a policy of peace, higher nutrition for mothers, shortening of hours, co-ordination of transport, fair wages and control of the Bank of England."

Against these cloudy promises stands the tragic experience of the People's Front victory in France. In June 1936 the French workers, using the Anarcho-Syndicalist method of striking by seizing the factories, shops and transport, gained sweeping victories.

The forty-hour week increased wages, holidays with pay and recognition of unions were the battle honours inscribed on their victorious banners. All these were gained in a few days without the long starvation and misery of the passive strike so bitterly experienced by the British trade unionist.

But almost at the same time the only half awakened workers helped to return to Parliament a majority of Socialist, Communist and Liberal M.P.'s. Led by Leon Blum, the socialist Prime Minister, this People's Front has since consistently attacked the French and colonial workers.

The forty-hour week was increased to forty-five and now to sixty, wages reduced, the general strike broken by military conscription and thousands of militant workers victimised. Working-class papers were suppressed and anarchist and socialist workers imprisoned.

Let us never forget that the general strike of 1938 was crushed in a thoroughly fascist manner by a law voted for by Socialist, Communist and Liberal M.P.'s. The People's Front of 1936 still has a majority in the French Parliament.

"But what of Spain? Let us have a People's Front to help Spain" say the popular frontiers.

When confronted by human suffering the humanitarian considers what he may do to lessen that misery. Seeing that suffering, the politician thinks only, "How can I gain some political advantage from this?"

When the Spanish revolt took place there were four years to pass before the next general election. Were the Spanish workers to wait four years until a British People's Front Government sent them help?

But such a government existed in France; that government introduced "non-intervention" which even the "popular frontiers" admit helped Mussolini and Franco and cost hundreds of thousands of Spanish lives.

The politicians are not concerned with helping Spain but in gaining votes, the only currency they deal in.

If the workers are to gain a shorter working week, higher wages and safeguard their freedom, they must do so by building their own class organisations and not by giving power to discredited politicians.

TOM BROWN.

Spain's Refugees Must Not Be Forgotten

(From Our Correspondent in Perpignan)

I VISITED two of the largest camps, near Perpignan, at St. Cyprien and Argeles.

The first sight that greets one's eyes on entering is the punishment camp where those prisoners who have disobeyed, or who for some minor reason have been proved to be undesirable, are confined. These refugees are without any shelter whatever and sleep in holes hollowed out in the sand, their only provisions being bread and water.

Near the entrance a microphone is installed, so that visiting families may call for any refugee, but in the general noise many never hear the call, and they leave the camps without seeing their families.

Nearby is an enclosure surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by soldiers armed with rifles. I saw about a hundred men awaiting their families. They may only see them across the barbed wire entanglements and under the constant surveillance of the guards.

I saw some tents in which fifty wounded men were lying about one on top of another in the most unbelievable filth without either blankets or warm clothing. In some places tent have been replaced by rough barracks—erected by the refugees themselves from any rough material that has come to hand.

It was the meal hour when I arrived. There was one loaf for every two men (to last the

whole day); some chick peas and a little nearly-raw meat; but all means of cooking was lacking. You see men walking about eating bread and sardines, their whole supply of food for the day. Men walk or loll about everywhere — most of them shoeless — some, having been missed in the rough distribution of the food, wander about begging from their comrades. I saw men—too weak to stand—seek to support themselves by grasping the barbed wire, and pull back their bleeding hands, and then reach out again to the dangerous wire, without strength to remember their danger. Many, too weak to leave the tents, lie there from morning till night, on the bare earth.

The greater number of them are or wounded. None but the dying are taken to hospital (which is only there to save the face of the authorities). An average of ten deaths a day takes place in every hospital in Perpignan, I was told by the director of one hospital. Many die in the camps from cold, hunger, fatigue and mere lack of care.

During my short visit I actually saw several die. Suddenly the fell down—finished! Two men come and carry away the corpse as if it were the most ordinary occurrence in the world.

One gets the impression that these refugees are no longer considered human. Obedience is enforced by blows with rifle-butts—men hardly able to walk

are urged on by blows on the legs!

After visiting one of these camps it is easy to see why so many have elected to return to Franco Spain. The number shocked us at first.

What struck me almost more forcibly than the sick, the dying, the rags and filth, was the expression of disgust or of complete indifference on every face. I even saw men greet their families without the slightest change from this horrible expression of apathy.

What can be done in face of this terrible mess of suffering humanity? One must denounce the ill-will of the French Government, which, for example, took two weeks to produce sufficient bread to ration the camps, while it is well known that the French camp has the means to provide enough bread for the entire population in one night, and that one platoon can in ONE night provide bread for 350,000 men!

It is imperative that fuel be distributed, otherwise it is useless to give the refugees uncooked supplies. It is also particularly necessary that some form of shelter be provided in case of bad weather. And it is above all imperative to provide at least the bare requisites for personal hygiene, so that the wounded may be cared for, those with infectious diseases inoculated, and that all may

(Continued on page 3)

Anarchist Tactic For Palestine

THE Arab revolution is centred on Palestine. The re-awakening of the Arab nation and the consequent nationalist revolution has brought the masses of Palestine in conflict with British Imperialism. Every movement against British Imperialism must be welcomed as the rulers of this country rule (or, synonymously, misrule) the larger part of the world's colonial peoples. The opposition of revolutionaries to British Imperialism and its allies must be taken for granted.

The clashing of two nationalisms (Jewish and Arab in this case) has inevitably given rise to controversy abroad. In the Houses of Parliament sympathy is naturally pro-Zionist; as one M.P. is reputed to have said, when asked why he supported the Jews in Palestine against the Arabs: "In my constituency I have thousands of Jewish voters—I haven't a single Arab." The Labour Party, free from responsibility in the Government of a bloody suppression of all

vestiges of Arab life, urges the Government to insist upon the policy of a Jewish National State. The majority opinion here seems to be pro-Zionist, perhaps because the Zionists are so definitely pro-Imperialist while the Arabs are vaguely accused of being pro-Fascist. It would be a surprise, therefore, to read about the Government's rejection of the Jewish side in the Palestine talks (up to the moment of writing) if the Government had not to reckon with millions of other Arab and Moslem subjects in the Empire. Chamberlain's policy of "Appeasement" has up to now not been primarily in the interests of the Democratic Imperialisms, and in the Palestine issue, again, he is far less concerned with the maintenance of Imperialism than his "Left" opponents!

What is the case for Zionism? Zionism represents the age-old desire of the rabbis to return to the "Holy" Land. The significance of the word "Zion" (the Biblical and traditional name) will be noted. The rabbis, whose jobs depend on the keeping-up of the race-barriers and the consequent survival of the religion, in the fear of assimilation, have fostered these artificial laws in order to maintain, by tribal "totems and taboos" a separate race. Naturally, they have failed, and Zionism is the way they are endeavouring to succeed. There is to-day no pure race, despite the claims of Hitler and the Rabbis. It will be noted that the revival of Judaism has only been a reaction to pogroms and persecution. In times and countries where there has been complete racial and religious toleration, assimilation has begun; intolerance always defeating its own ends.

Herzl began the move for "Back to Zion." Was the primary concern for the refugees, then fleeing from the pogroms of the Tsar? On the contrary, Herzl refused far more suitable land in Africa, insisting on the "Holy" Land. Finally, the Balfour War Government promised Palestine to the Jews, as well as to the Arabs, when Turkey was defeated. Since the Mandate, the introduction of capitalist Western ideas have undoubtedly benefited the Arab workers, as has the introduction of the proletarian organisations of Europe. But this is no excuse, whatever the Zionists may say. Capitalism introduced

in this fashion benefited everywhere the working class; the same thing happening in Russia was hailed as a triumph for "communism." It was nothing of the sort. Despite the coming of capitalist benefits, the struggle against capitalist malevolences must be fought.

Originally there was no agitation against Jewish immigration; moreover there was never previously any anti-Semitism in the Arab countries. Not until immigration became colonisation, and the aim of a Jewish State did the trouble commence. The Zionist leaders, keeping up a pretence that they are struggling against Fascism, have been the motivators of Fascism in Palestine and have the responsibility for the heavy toll of wasted lives. Fascism? From the "Jewish Hitler", Vladimir Jabotinsky, with his "Storm Troop" Revisionists to the Rothschild and Imperialist Zionists in London (who take good care to keep out of the "Holy" country), from the "Nuremberg" laws of the synagogue to the basic ideology of Zionism (nationalism based on race and not on country) the whole of the Jewish nationalist movement has been as fascist as any other nationalist movement which has left its early liberal phase. The labour leaders like Ben Gurion accuse the Arabs of being in the pay of Hitler and Mussolini and under that pretence act the Hitlers and Mussolinis. Meanwhile they dupe the masses of Jewish workers in the pogromist countries that there is only one future—Palestine—and furnish the excuses for the anti-Semitic governments.

Undoubtedly the Arab revolution must have the support of the workers abroad. Let us not be duped as "revolutionary socialists" have been duped, however. There is no hope for the future in a Palestine under the Grand Mufti and Company. There is no reason to suppose that a bourgeois nationalist

government will do more for the working-class than did the imperialist government. The lesson of Ireland alone affords proof. The struggle must be against imperialism first, against Zionism secondly, and lastly against the bourgeois nationalist government when created.

There is no evidence that the present nationalist movement is capable of such a task. The task is to forget the past and to build up a revolutionary labour movement in Palestine, without consideration of nationality. The only hope there for workers' unity is a movement that will not include within its ranks the religious leaders of Judaism or Mohammedism, exclusive of Jewish or Arab or British exploiters. From which side it will come remains to be seen, but if it comes from neither side there is little hope for a revolution in Palestine becoming a social revolution. It may be necessary at the moment to struggle alongside the petty bourgeoisie against Imperialism, but it must be borne in mind that they can neither play a revolutionary role, and that neither the Nehrus in India nor the Muftis in Palestine can be considered as friends, but only as pawns, of the revolutionary working-class.

The programme of the new Palestinian labour movement must be for the overthrow of the Mandate; for autonomy; for a struggle against the autonomous government when created, for workers' control and freedom. The anarchist tactic for the situation in Palestine is the only road that will lead away from the present debacle; the co-operation of the Arab revolutionaries throughout the Near East, in co-operation with the anti-Zionist Jewish minority and all workers, of whatever race, will alone push forward the opportunity for a complete revolution.

ALBERT MELTZER

Victims of British Rule

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY CECIL WILSON, M.P.
Colonial Office. Rec. 6/3/39.

SCHEDULE.

1. The number of houses destroyed by order of the Government:

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| (a) Since May 1936 | 1024 |
| (b) In the year 1938 | 681 |

2. The amount imposed in fines and the number of towns and villages involved in collective fines in connection with political disturbances:

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| (a) Since May 1936 | LP.36,692 |
| (b) In the year 1938 | LP.13,721 |

(LP. = Palestine Pounds.)
Two hundred and thirty four towns and villages were involved.

3. Casualties since May 1936 to end of 1938:

| | Killed | Wounded |
|-----------------|--------|---------|
| Arabs | 752 | 1459 |
| Jews | 367 | 783 |
| Europeans | 25 | 25 |
| Military | 98 | 226 |
| Killed Wounded | | |
| Arabs | 503 | 598 |
| Jews | 255 | 390 |
| Europeans | 14 | 16 |
| Military | 63 | 200 |

4. Casualties for the year 1938:

| | Arabs | Jews |
|--|-------|------|
| Number of death sentences imposed since May, 1936 to end of 1938 | 75 | 2 |
| Number of death sentences imposed during 1938 | 63 | 2 |
| Life sentences imposed since May 1936 to end of 1938 | 50 | 3 |
| Life sentences imposed during 1938 | 35 | 3 |
| Number in custody on 31/12/1938: | | |
| Convicted | 1185 | 88 |
| Unconvicted | 490 | 10 |
| Detenus under the Emergency Regulations | 1814 | 41 |

Our Responsibility

In the first issue of Revolt! we told our readers that we had no news as to the fate of "our" children at Masnou. Since then we have learned that all the children from SIA colonies were safely brought into France but that rather than allow our comrades of the SIA to re-organise the colonies in France, the children have been with families or in groups in the care of Catholic institutions.

We still do not know therefore whether we shall be able to take over the responsibility of another colony for some time.

However there are numerous things we can do with the money we still have in hand, but before doing so we want the opinion of all those friends who have sent contributions to the fund.

Much can be done in helping those comrades still in the camps, and much can also be done to get them out. Naturally it will be our aim to see that these comrades, who will be rescued from a slow death both physically and morally, should obtain permits to work and thus be independent. But this takes time, and in the meantime it is

our duty to help them. We as an organization cannot do anything on a large scale, but the fact that we can help a few men and women to start a new life is surely something worth while.

If the comrades who have sent money to our fund approve of our suggestion with regard to the disposal of the funds on hand (naturally we will do our best to start another colony if it is possible) will they please write to us immediately. If they have other suggestions will they send them on to us and we will do our best to comply with all their requests. But what is most important, WRITE NOW so that we will not lose time unnecessarily.

Also, will comrades who have not yet announced our appeal for funds do so now. It is never too late to help the victims of Fascism and so-called Democracy.

Send your contributions to:
Spain and the World Refugee Fund,
21 Frith Street, London, W.1.

ORPHANS FUND — LIST No. 1 (Jan.-March 1939)

| No. | | |
|------|--|-----------|
| 381. | Edmonton: P. Giacosa | 7/10. |
| 382. | Stroud: Lillian Wolfe | 10/-. |
| 383. | Stroud: per M. Morand | £2/8/0. |
| 384. | Southend: M. Kavanagh | 5/6. |
| 385. | Stroud: Lillian Wolfe | 10/-. |
| 386. | Detroit: International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain (per E. Vivas) | £20/16/8. |
| 387. | Washington: Danenburg | 4/2. |
| 388. | Toronto: Gruppo Libertario (per L. Bortolotti) | £6/6/10. |
| 389. | London: per G.L. | 2/6. |
| 390. | S. Rhodesia: L. Sribante | 10/-. |
| 391. | London: S. Llewellyn | 10/-. |
| 392. | Southend: M. Kavanagh | 14/6. |
| 393. | | £22/18/0. |
| 394. | Edmond: J. Panizzon | 7/9. |
| 395. | Detroit: per J. Porezoff | £13/16/7. |

TOTAL — £70/8/4.

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'History'

(From a letter to the "Manchester Guardian")

"Sir—May I draw the attention of your readers to the following extract from the newly published school text-book "The Modern Class-book of English History" Senior Book V, by E. J. S. Lay, published by Macmillan?"

Civil War in Spain.—In June 1936 the Spanish Civil War began. The government party, generally known as the Reds, strongly supported by Soviet Russia, seized control of Madrid, looting the banks and transferring the money to Soviet hiding places. The Anti-Reds, under the command of General Franco attacked the Reds in order to order to save Spain from Communism. He was aided by Italy, who feared to have a communistic country facing Italy, and later other nations sent men, more or less secretly, to aid him. Nevertheless, throughout the war, European countries endeavoured nominally to follow a policy of non-interference, which in the main was successfully pursued.

In his "Prefatory note" to the book Professor E. J. C. Hearnshaw, of London University, states: "Every effort has been made both by Mr. Lay and myself to see that they (these books) are free from serious historical error. No pains have been spared to free them from every suspicion of any sort of political or religious propaganda."

BOMBS!

Another interesting report, however, stated: "There was an almost universal feeling that they were the work of foreign agents, but whether or not this has any foundation, one has the strong impression that it will tend to smooth French party politics . . . It will be remembered how, when Jean Jaures, the Socialist leader, was assassinated on July 31st, 1914, all parties rose in anger at the dastardly outrage, WHICH ULTIMATELY LED TO A SINKING OF PARTY DIFFERENCES." (Thus French militarism was the victor.)

We offer no comment on the above statements, which are particularly interesting now that there seems to be an epidemic of bomb-throwing in Britain.

Let us note these facts, however: The I.R.A. is accused of all the acts. On the face of it, it seems that the I.R.A. must have had some responsibility in it, although THE ORIGINAL BLAME MUST UNDOUBTEDLY BE PLACED ON THE WINSTON CHURCHILLS AND LLOYD GEORGES WHO SAVAGELY CONDUCTED THE WAR AGAINST IRELAND FROM 1916-1922. Naturally, the Government gives no vicious sentences to those originally responsible, but only to the "prisoners of war."

The fact must not be overlooked that these men and girls have been their feudal belief that they can suppress such movements in blood? Will the suppression of the I.R.A. by Chamberlain's Government in London and his sub-government in Dublin mean that the Irish question will be solved? Have

these measures solved it any time these past hundred years?

And does the Government imagine for one moment that its underhand treaties for war-time with De Valera will be honoured by the masses of Ireland? Have not the events of the past few months shown them that at least a good proportion of Irishmen already consider themselves at war—with England?

Meanwhile the oppression in the Northern part of Ireland continues, and Craigavon's Government imprisons without trial. In addition, the reactionaries in this country endeavour to use the bomb explosions for the fostering of anti-Irish feeling; race prejudice to be used again for economic reasons.

There is no smoke without fire. There would be no bomb explosions in England by Irish Republicans if England were not oppressing Ireland. Not a Member of the House of Commons has said a word about the obvious fact that the only aim of the I.R.A. (if it is responsible) can be RETALIATORY WARFARE. Yet every Member of the House of Commons has got his soft job through Lord John Russell's Reform Bill of 1832. Let us remind them of Russell's words: "If anyone asks me if such-and-such a nation is fit to be free, I ask in return: IS ANY MAN FIT TO BE A TYRANT?"

It is the Government's attitude to Ireland that is endangering the lives of the British workers.

A.M.

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The Situation in Madrid

OWING to the misleading information published in the Capitalist Press on the recent events in Madrid, we felt it necessary to publish at some length, news and other information obtained from the Spanish Press and other direct sources.

Not only the Capitalist Press but also the Left press has contributed in no small measure to the confusion. The *Daily Worker* for instance attempted (it no longer mentions Spain in its current issues) to explain the situation as one directed by England and France, and at the same time attacked the members of the Defence Council, who previously, from Miaja to Cipriano Mera, had been receiving praise from them.

The information we are publishing comes from CNT sources, which give quite a different interpretation to the whole situation. It would however be useless were we unable to draw any conclusions from these recent events.

It is quite clear that the unpopularity of the Communists and Negrin played an important role in the defeat of the former, and we who have, from the very beginning considered the Communists as being the responsible elements of counter-revolution in Spain, are not sorry that they should have been eliminated swiftly and with relative ease. But did the people take revenge on the Communists only for their past misdeeds — their counter-revolutionary action, their secret Cheka which terrorised everyone as its counterpart still does in Russia—or was it motivated by a sincere desire of the people to seek peace? From reliable information in our possession it would seem that it was useless to continue the struggle, owing to the increased difficulty in obtaining arms, and the blockade of the coast which would prevent food supplies from reaching Central Spain. These two factors, (surmount-only by the will of a revolutionary International Proletariat, which unfortunately does not exist) made it obvious to the Spanish militants that to continue the struggle was to sacrifice more lives. Furthermore the Revolution had long been lost, and the struggle had developed into a war of National Independence, the results of which would only affect the militants who would either be spared or shot in the event of a Franc victory. The Revolution, which had its roots in the glorious days of July 1936, was lost after the events of May 1937. We cannot prophesy what would have been the final outcome if the workers at the barricades during the May Days had not listened to

News From Central Spain

(Though the British Postal authorities have stopped their service to Spain, it is nevertheless possible to receive mail from Central Spain. We have before us copies of FRAGUA SOCIAL, organ of the workers of the CNT in Levant. In this issue we will limit ourselves to the reproduction of news and speeches published in that newspaper and from other direct sources of information. We will further comment in our next issue.—Editors.)

Peace at all costs ?

Casado, in a speech, said that: "Our struggle will not end so long as you will not guarantee the independence of Spain. The Spanish people will not lay down their arms so long as there is no guarantee of peace without reprisals. It is not I who speak to you; one million men, equipped for war, and a rearguard with neither frontiers nor retreats, prepared to struggle unto death for the attainment of these ends, which are for peace; to guarantee the independence of Spain, and to prevent our country from being drowned in a sea of blood, hatred and persecution."

From the Manifesto of the Defence Council

... As revolutionaries, as workers, as Spaniards, as anti-fascists, we could no longer carry on accepting passively the shortsightedness, the lack of organisation and the absurd inactivity for which

their leaders who called on them to cease fire. One thing is certain, that the situation could not have been worse. It is in this respect that we cannot agree with *Fragua Social* editorial which praises the workers for having ceased their attacks on the counter-revolutionary elements in Barcelona in May 1937. The fact that *Fragua Social* (9th March) publishes a report by the Defence Council in which it states that: "during two years they (the communists) have carried on their work of undermining, especially in the Army, and a few ambitious leaders have favoured a red dictatorship. This attitude produced unrest, so much so that during the persecution of the leaders of the POUM, the climax was reached in Communist activity, and was to consist of a coup d'etat by Negrin, the beginning of which was the nomination of Communist leaders for the command of different towns." It is admitted then that the Communists have been undermining the struggle for the past two years, that is, since May 1937. It is not illogical to believe therefore that had the workers eliminated the Communists in May 1937, the situation would have improved rather than to the contrary.

Thus, view in this light, we cannot consider the final elimination of the Communists as a victory for our comrades. Rather must we admit that their whole attitude (the CNT more than the FAI) in refusing to make public in Spain and the world at large the nefarious work being carried on by the Communists and other counter-revolutionary elements in general, for fear of breaking up the anti-fascist front, was a serious tactical mistake, partly responsible for the tragic situation in Spain.

Having to choose between a Negrin and a Besteiro, the Spanish Anarchists have chosen the latter in order to shorten a useless war. This is the lamentable situation, the result of having allowed the Stalinists for the past two years to crush the Revolution and lose the war.

V.E.
M.L.B.

the Government of Dr. Negrin is responsible. . . . Many weeks have passed since the liquidation of the war in Catalonia by mass desertion. All the promises made to the people in the most solemn moents were forgotten. Whilst the people in arms, during the bloody hour of battle were sacrificing by the thousand their best sons, the men who had put themselves at the head of the resistance abandoned their posts and fled to save their lives, even though it was at the expense of their dignity.

This cannot be repeated in the rest of anti-fascist Spain. It cannot be conceived that whilst the people struggle on, that plans for flight should be made. It cannot be allowed that while the people struggle and die a few privileged individuals should save their lives abroad."

In order to prevent this happening; in order to efface so much shame; in order to prevent the possibilities of desertion during the most critical moments, these are the reasons for which the National Defence Council was formed, and to-day fully aware of the importance of the mission which we have imposed upon ourselves . . . we direct ourselves to all the workers and to all anti-fascists in order to give them a full guarantee that no-one, absolutely no-one, will be able to escape the accomplishment of those duties and evade the responsibilities which are incumbent by his words and by his promises. . . . And we affirm our own authority as genuine defenders of the Spanish people; of men who are determined, giving their own lives as a guarantee, that the fate of one will be the fate of all, and that no-one will escape the accomplishment of the sacred duties which rest equally on everyone. We are not here to pronounce fine words, nor to indulge in vain heroism; we are here to show the road which will make it possible to avoid disaster and to go forward along with other Spaniards and all to share in the consequences. . . .

The causes of the Rising

The Communist Party in league with Negrin and Del Vayo, fearing that they would be deposed by the will of the majority or organizations and parties, prepared the way for the coup, taking control of all military key positions. Negrin taking advantage of the confused situation, and without consulting the other ministers, made a number of nominations, placing Communists at the head of all the armies and getting rid of those who did not agree with their policy. This was too much for the people, for it was considered impossible that those who had not been able to defend Catalonia, and has committed more than one error, should be placed in the responsible position of commanding that region of Spain still under workers' control. The people's answer was the formation of the National Council for Defence. The Council represented all parties and organizations save the Communists:

Miaja and Casado, professional soldiers.

Besteiro for the Socialist Party.
San Andres for the Left Republicans.

Del Rio for Republican Union.
Carillo for the UGT (Socialist Union).

Val and Marin for the CNT (Anarcho-Syndicalist Union).

Crushing the Revolt

The fact that the struggle in Madrid lasted several days is due to the fact that under the cover of darkness the Communists were able to occupy the most important buildings in Madrid, and thus were able to offer a strong resistance.

It is interesting to note that when the Communist leader Francisco Galan was appointed to the com-

mand of the naval base of Carthage, he was so confident of the reception he would receive there that he arrived at headquarters with two armed brigands and several tanks!

General approval of the Defence Council

From all part of Central Spain messages of approval and adhesion were received by the Defence Council. Amongst them one can mention the Provincial Council of Valencia; the co-ordination committee of the CNT-UGT of Valencia; the Municipal Council of Enguera; some 40 other towns in the Valencia district; the Libertarian Youth; the National Committee of the Railway Workers (C.N.T.); the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. (Socialist Trade Union); the Executive Committee of the Provincial Federation of Socialist Youth; the Provincial Council of Castellon; Anti-fascist women's group of Madrid; etc.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN

21 Frith Street, London, W.1.

Glasgow:

ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST FEDERATION

287 Netherton Road, Glasgow.

WHO ARE THE TRAITORS ?

From "FRAGUA SOCIAL" (C.N.T. ORGAN)

The solution of the communist rising in Madrid has been made by normal continuity which is being carried out by the National Committee for Defence. From the moment in which the rebels lost their arms complete normality was assured. The National Committee of Defence organises and directs, working with the absolute and enthusiastic adhesion of all the anti-fascist forces. The act of rebellion on which we comment has been beheaded, with its suicidal and sorrowful lack of conscience, through the virile and energetic attitude of the National Committee of Defence and through the conduct of the figures of the party which promoted the happenings. Their leaders have fled to France in aeroplanes belonging to the Republic, and enough has been done to disarm the resistance. There is now liquidated a fatal and catastrophic policy, through the transformation of the organs of the Government, as has been marvellously defined in the declaration of the National Committee of Defence and in the speeches of Besteiro, Casado, Cipriano Mera and General Miaja.

We have declared our firm proposition. We do not put forward a policy of repression. Communism is for us perfectly legitimate and respectable. But the conduct of those who assume the responsibility of directing the Communist Party has been an obstacle to the anti-fascist necessity of organising war and victory for the loyal army. Communist direction has been manoeuvred in the places of control of the Army and the State. It has thrown on the shoulders of the people the general interests of anti-fascism, and has subordinated everything important to the particular conveniences of one party.

What has happened had to happen. The people and the army have reacted against proposals for dictatorship. The audacity of the party camarilla endeavoured to attenuate the disaster of Catalonia by acquiring larger proportions. In one gulp the discredited politicians tried to rise on the shoulders of everybody. And everybody resisted, liberating themselves and re-establishing the norms of collective harmony, which were in danger of violation.

And then those who lost through this imperative action would not remain lost. They tried to rebel and when the rebellion was crushed they organised the flight abroad without honour and without glory.

This is the tragedy of those who subordinated the victory over Fascism to the pre-dominant need of their sectarian proposals, of those who did not want that victory if it were not a condition that they should not exclusively pluck its fruits.

Contrast this attitude with the attitude of the CNT. On two occasions during the war it showed its sense of

SPAIN'S REFUGEES MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN—cont. from p. 1

have the means of washing. Otherwise the first warm weather will produce a terrible epidemic. It is also unnecessary that these men should be obliged to spend their entire time with no occupation or recreation. Their only literature is the pro-Fascist "Matin."

The French Government is well aware of what it is doing. It is preserving "national honour" by giving "hospitality" to the refugees, thereby easing the consciences of the French workers and middle-classes (and those of other countries, too), but the lives of the refugees is made so wretched that they have no other desire than to find their wives, their homes and their work, and then they will accept Franco's Fascism as a deliverance, after the French "welcome."

I saw the Italian comrades. They did not complain either of the cold or the bad food (they must be well-used to hardship, for all were ill-clad and without adequate protection) but they asked that we should send something to put in the water as a disinfectant!

We MUST send them CLOTHES too (no-one has any change of garments; and their present clothes are falling to pieces).

The women refugees are scattered everywhere. At Perpignan I saw a loft, where a number of women were confined without permission to go out at all. There were women and children lying everywhere, in a small space, on hay which has never been changed.

responsibility and probity. In May of 1937 they pushed us out of the direction of the war and of the civil administration; more lately they dissolved the Committee of Defence of Aragon. We had the moral organised strength both civilly and morally to have rebelled. We did not do so. We refrained from aggression by word and deed. Instead of thinking of the particular interests of our organisation, we thought of the general interests of anti-fascism. We faithfully bent our whole energies to the winning of the war.

These two conducts will be judged by history. We made no rebellion. We remained faithful to the principles of 'good comradeship' and 'solidarity'. We remained faithful. This conduct was always practised by us and it is what collective harmony demands.

The position is very grave. The National Committee characterised the situation in just and true words. While they organised the safety of a few, they demand of those who remain—everybody, fighters and producers—a rigid and inflexible resistance. Their desertions broke up the Catalan fronts, and then they wanted to remove from office the best chiefs who had not had their columns broken up by the enemy.

A new stage has been entered, clean and honourable, which has re-established confidence and vigour for those who fight and produce. From now on we know that we struggle for peace, but that this peace must be dignified and free from crime and persecution.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN SPAIN

The Spanish workers and peasants provided the civilized world with the first examples of Free Socialism by their re-organization of life free from the fetters of the greedy landowner and industrialist. These experiments in a new way of living have been generally ignored by the international proletariat, though for a deeper understanding of the significance of the Spanish struggle everyone should be acquainted with these achievements.

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Books

Who is for Liberty?

Review By Ethel Mannin

Who is for Liberty, by Hugh Ross Williamson, published by Michael Joseph, 10/6d net.

HERE is a book as intellectually exciting as its gallant title, a book which everyone who believes that he or she holds libertarian views should read, the rigid Marxists, the strictly party-line Communists, the eager Left Book-Clubbers, that trustful flock shepherded by Messrs. Gollancz and Strachey, the heresy-hunting socialists of the various denominations. For here is an honest, sane, courageous book by a man who though a Labour Party candidate is more concerned with liberty than with party politics, and who has a wider vision than is dreamed of in contemporary "Left" philosophy.

The Daily Herald, the "socialist" party's capitalist organ has had the impertinence and the crass stupidity to dismiss this book with half a dozen lines asserting that it is full of "good stuff about Ruskin and the grand old man of socialism" and that this is "interspersed with some of the most inaccurate, ill-informed criticism of the Labour Party that has yet appeared in print." Unless that reviewer is a congenital idiot he or she knows perfectly well that this is not a book full of stuff, good or bad, about Ruskin and the older socialists; the author merely opens with a quotation from Ruskin. The book is concerned with contemporary politics and the contemporary scene generally. The author deals with the so-called "freedom of the press," and has some terse things to say on the subject of the censorship brought to bear by, for example, advertising interests, Roman Catholic influence, and the Government "press liaison." He mentions, also, the political censorship of the Left Book Club. He writes of the censorship at work in the B.B.C., the theatre, and the cinema, and with a sympathetic intelligence on the subject of the abdication of Edward VIII. He points out that had Edward VIII been "so great an intimate of financiers as Edward VII and the plutocracy had wanted to keep him on the throne and allow him to marry the present Duchess of Windsor, all the propaganda used to discredit him and his intended marriage would have been reversed. The public would have been prepared by a long and elaborate newspaper campaign, not for the Abdication but for the Marriage... for a King of England to marry an American commoner would have been shown as an unprecedented and unpredictable act of statesmanship, a magnificent gesture which entitled Edward VIII to virtual leadership of the world." He sees the sacking of Edward VIII as "a conservative plot to get rid of a reforming King."

On the post-Munich situation he observes that 1939 sees the final triumph of Conservative statesmanship in that it has at last, after a series of brilliant political manoeuvres, destroyed the country's will to peace which has hampered its policy since the end of the last war. By getting the nation to sanction the expenditure of £1,000,000 a day in armaments for the defence of the "Imperial interests" of the great plutocrats whom Conservatism represents, and by creating (by the distribution of useless gas-masks) sufficient panic to make possible what has never before been possible in English history—peace-time conscription—it has contrived to regiment a puzzled people so that it may throw them, when the time comes, into a war "for the Empire." He blames the Left largely for the situation forced on the Government at Munich—like John Scamlon in *Very Foreign Affairs* he is aware of the "Left" as the political section in favour of war, the war to "save democracy."

He points out that the reason the Left today finds itself in this predicament is its leadership and the propaganda to which it has been

subjected for the past few years. "All labour propaganda, including the Daily Herald, is, it must be reiterated, in the hands of the Transport House bosses." Is this courageous statement the reason the Daily Herald dismisses the book in half a dozen grossly misleading lines? And because he refers to the "save the British Empire" speeches of Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. A. V. Alexander, during the crisis?

There is no need to agree with the author on every point—I myself am far from doing so—to appreciate the courage and honesty of this book, and that it the product of a lively intelligence, deeply and sincerely socialistic, and passionately dedicated to the cause of human freedom. The title and text of the book is G. K. Chesterton's stirring verse:

"In that city set upon slime and loam,
They cry in their Parliament; Who goes home?
And there comes no answer from arch or dome
For none in the city of graves goes home.
Yet these shall perish and understand
For God has pity on this great land.
... A voice valedictory: Who is for victory?
Who is for liberty?
Who goes home?"

British Colonial Policy

Warning from the West Indies by W. Macmillan (Penguin 6d.)

The West Indies To-Day (Africa Service Bureau, 6d.)

HERE ARE two excellent and timely little brochures on one of the most blatant "backwaters" of British Colonial policy. Prof. Macmillan's is an amended reprint of a study, made three years ago, by a student of African politics with a West Indies field experience, now able to point out where the plantation system, the background of slavery, the differential climatic effects on black and white man, the problem of the conflict between the demand for a maintenance of cheap labour necessary for the "spacious leisure" of a planter class and the "land hunger" inseparable from the building up of an independent peasantry for a democratic co-operative community (one of his useful comparisons is between Jamaica and Denmark); the white superior minority and the support it gets from the "coloured" (intermixed) in its control of financial and economic powers which render political equality a sham; the starvation of education and public health budgets which make a "social and economic study of the West Indies therefore necessarily a study of poverty"—where all these combine to raise difficulties not so very different from those of colonial Africa, demand solutions equally drastic, and receive the attention (or rather the negligence) of the British Government (the West Indies are Crown Colonies) by no means less damaging.

The story is capped by an up-to-date preface, not the least of whose important conclusions are that apparently we are able to "afford to allow it to continue to be a habit to wait until there is riot and bloodshed before taking notice of the grievances of our fellow subjects..." "Any change," the author writes, "for the better in the state of the dependent people will, it is feared, reduce the supply of labour or increase its cost... Reconstruction therefore is blocked. The crucial weakness is near the top, with the planter, farmer, settler, as the case may be, in the West Indies, South Africa and Kenya."

and later:

"The landless proletariat of casual workers left stranded by the long and gradual decline of the industry which brought them there (cane sugar) is the distinctive West Indian problem."

In view of the recent acute question of the return of colonies and "rights" to own and administer them, the known attitude of the totalitarian states to "labour" in general and the German official statement of native policy for co-

loured peoples in particular, this line of argument, is nothing else, may be expected, by an enlightened liberal of the Lord Olivier school, to appeal to what little commonsense there is left in government circles.

The second work, as might be expected from its imprint, puts no faith in the Colonial Office and teaches that any improvement in the conditions of the West Indian proletariat will come the same way as it has come elsewhere—selves. Where Macmillan deplors repeatedly the almost criminal neglect of population, surveyal and other cultural statistics, the African Bureau gives what figures there are available (mostly 1921-31) and lets them tell their tale. Commission after commission has collected evidence and given details of facts and made recommendations, yet the West Indians know that they are little better off than they were in the '60's. Macmillan can say:

"With no lack of intellectual ability, these select circles (the Europeans) seldom question the results and never concern themselves with the defects of the social and economic system." (p. 48)

and again:

"In face of this selfish pre-occupation of employers with their own immediate advantage, the development of a free peasantry is very slow, being hampered... actually by the tenacity with which the old owners, hoping that fortune will change of itself and bring a better market, cling to possession of unprofitable and often only partially used estates." (p. 89)

and still again:

"Even the latest Trinidad Commission (1937-38) lends its countenance to a proposal to resort to flogging as a remedy. Like an earlier Barbados Report it sees in the prevalence of predial larceny one of the major obstacles to a peasant policy. It looks much more like proof positive of general poverty and of the clamant need for land reform." (p. 148). (Our emphasis) But the *African Service* (p. 40) reminds us that

"From the planters and shareholders it is useless to expect much in the way of voluntary concessions; so also the Colonial Office, their tool, is unlikely, despite fine words, to push forward with vigorous policies an economic redistribution, or to extend the franchise... The struggle for political and economic freedom in the West Indies has to be fought by the West Indians in the West Indies themselves... They know that unless they act for themselves they will get little. And so throughout the islands the people are organising to secure the fulfilment of their objectives."

Correspondence

Workers' Empire Conference

To the Editor REVOLT!

Sir,

May I be permitted the space to reply to the report of "A.M." appearing in your issue of February 11th apropos the Workers' Empire Conference?

It is indeed regrettable that your correspondent could not be at least constructive in his criticisms. I would like to ask him just what is his attitude to the colonial question and what concrete suggestions has he to make with a view to exposing the intolerable conditions existing in the Empire at the moment? The report of the Conference presents no solution to this problem. In the final paragraph he states "the only permanent solution is the linking-up of workers' direct action... Perhaps he will tell us how it is possible to do this linking up without the necessary organisation. And that after all was the purpose of the Conference.

To come to some of the criticisms raised. We are told that the Chairman refused to allow the Anarchists to present amendments—this is not true. The resolution for discussion was, unlike Stalinist conferences, submitted to the organisations prior to the Conference and amendments were asked for up to the opening of the Conference. As it was the Chairman agreed for the Trotskyists to present their amendments which were in fact received shortly after the Conference was opened. If, during the discussion, and I do not know whether this actually happened, delegates decided to submit amendments, I think you will agree that this was completely out of order. To say that the Trotskyites monopolised all the time of the Conference is untrue because they were taken alongside the general discussion.

I raise these points, comrade Editor, because I, at least as Secretary of the convening body and I think for our Committee, must make it clear that we had no intention of acting in the bureaucratic fashion suggested by your correspondent, but, on the contrary, desired to have the maximum of freedom of discussion.

From the Conference a permanent committee was established, consisting of ten representatives of the colonial organisations and ten members of British organisations. The Committee has already got down to the job of a campaign on the Palestine question, together with assistance to the Indian National Union of Seamen in their struggle against the bribery system. They have also taken steps to prepare an International Manifesto on the colonial question and to that end have already had discussions with French Colonial sections for co-operation with

a view to "linking-up working class action" on this matter. Space forbids a long statement of our work, but I think sufficient has been said to prove the futile attitude of your correspondent.

I feel sure that all sincere anti-imperialists in your organisation will endeavour to give assistance to our work. If we are to achieve anything constructive in the struggle against Imperialism we shall have to drop the petty points of difference that have been raised in the report you published and similarly in the report published in the Trotskyist paper attacking us for what is termed a "wishy-washy centrist policy."

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR BALLARD,
Secretary, British Centre
Against Imperialism,
35, St. Bride Street,
E.C.4.

What is our attitude to the colonial question? The answer is that we are opposed to colonial workers being used in defence of Imperialism IN ALL CIRCUMSTANCES. Our criticism of the resolution of the Conference is that it suggested that the colonial workers should support British Imperialist War IF they were given their freedom. Comrade Ballard must know perfectly well that British Imperialist promises of freedom to colonial workers are broken as easily as they are made. Let him ask Comrades Kenyatto or Mansur who were on the platform!

Our fundamental criticism of the platform was that its policy appeared to endeavour to set the imperialist interest of "defence" against the interest of exploitation. The fallacy of the tactics of trying to divide ruling-class interests has been illustrated by the disastrous policy of the Popular Front. What is wanted today is the Direct Action of the working-class and a breaking away from all those obsolescent concepts which belong to the period of capitalist expansion but which are devoid of meaning in its period of decay.

There can be no hard-and-fast "concrete suggestions" for exposing the Fascist reverse side of the Democratic-Imperialist coin. "Sincere anti-imperialists" will get on and do it.

It was NOT stated that the Anarchists tried to present amendments. The attack was made on the length of time devoted to those of the Trotskyists.

Where we differ from the Conference is that we do not intend to tell the colonial workers that it is their duty, in certain circumstances, to support their enemies. This is neither "futile" nor a "petty point of difference."

Encouragement for Our Work

I enclose one dollar to extend my subscription from *Spain and the World to Revolt*.

Between insanity and sadistic cruelty rampant on the one hand, and stupidity and seeming indifference on the other, a few of us must make a stand for Reason and Justice, hopeless though it seems.

A. L. GOLDWATER.

Dear Comrades,
We were sorry to see the passing

of *Spain and the World*, and grateful that you have incorporated its great spirit in *Revolt*. Let us hope that *Revolt* will be as progressive, illumined and helpful to the working class as was *Spain and the World*.

Keep up the good work. With all good wishes.

Enclosed \$1 for my subscription.

BEN L. REITMAN.

Chicago.

What do you Think?

JUDGING by the correspondence we have received during the last few weeks there are many people who find *Revolt!* refreshing and a worthy successor to *Spain and the World*. Therefore, there must be many comrades and friends disappointed by the fact that they have not received a copy of *Revolt!* since February 25th. The reason for this delay is not far to seek:

FINANCES.

Now how are we going to overcome this serious difficulty? Either we must immediately increase our sales by 1,000 copies, (which could easily be done if our subscribers and sympathisers were each to get a new reader) or else we must have a guarantee fund. Each issue of *Revolt!* that we publish raises the deficit by £8. We need therefore only 80 comrades who will subscribe 1/- (25c.) every week, throughout the year. To many comrades this is impossible; well, let them give whatever they can afford as a gesture of their support of our work. But there are many comrades who can manage but who do not help because it is too much trouble to buy a postal order and

send it off! Think of *Revolt!* as your personal responsibility. In fact, more than ever it is the responsibility of all lovers of liberty to guarantee the continued publication of their Voice.

The publication of the next issue depends on you. Help the paper by selling it to your friends and at meetings. Help the paper by contributions regularly to the Press Fund.

All contributions to REVOLT!

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