

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

ON WAR

"We have war because we are not sufficiently heroic for a life which does not need war."

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

From the Letters of Sacco & Vanzetti

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CZECHO-SLOVAKIA—

WORKERS WILL NOT FIGHT TO DEFEND CAPITALIST INTERESTS AND PRESTIGE!

WAR clouds are once more paralysing Europe. The fate of Europe this week depended on the context of Hitler's Nuremberg speech. The speech has been delivered; a speech which emphasises Hitler's sudden apparent preoccupation for the Sudeten Germans.

Meanwhile, the national press in this country is working up pro-war feeling, and is succeeding to such an extent that normally sane people are being convinced that the next war will be fought in defence of "Czecho-Slovakian democracy." It has suddenly received much publicity and is being ardently defended even by those conservatives who until a short time ago were writing enthusiastic articles on the advantages of Fascism and quoting at

length from its achievements in Germany and Italy. But with Jawaharlal Nehru, we ask "how will this Government, with its patent sympathies for the Fascist and Nazi States, advance the cause of democracy and freedom?*

As we have not been paralysed by recent political events, we can still think, and a brief review of events and British policy during these last few years will suffice to show that the next war will be no more a war for Czecho-Slovakian democracy than the last war was one for Belgian independence.

* From a letter to the "Manchester Guardian, Sept. 12th, 1938.

"DEMOCRACY'S" RESPONSIBILITIES

At the end of the last war a democratic government was in power in Germany. The democracies (for they called themselves "democracies" at that time as well) did everything in their power to humiliate the German people. Germany was totally disarmed, yet did the other countries realise their beliefs that it had been a "war to end wars" by actively seeking to bring about disarmament throughout the world? There can be no doubt that this state of affairs greatly assisted Hitler in his rise to power.

But let us look at more re-

cent times, and we discover that the policy of the present Government has in every respect been one of active support for Fascism. From the half-hearted economic measures taken against Italy when she invaded Abyssinia, the complete indifference to Fascist intervention in Spain (which will have its significance when the next war for "democracy" is fought).

There is another feature about this "democracy" ramp which deserves to be remembered. The raw materials required for the manufacture of arms as well as petrol without which no modern army can carry on an armed aggression are in the hands of the "democracies."

A large proportion of Germany extend its influence in the one of the "democracies"! Recently the syndicates of the Eastern region of France petitioned the French Ambassador in Berlin to use his influence to increase the exports of iron to Germany!*

It should further be known that Germany possesses no oil fields to supply her with her wartime needs. But Hitler does not worry himself unduly. He obtains the greater part of his petrol supplies from U.S.A., Dutch East Indies (British companies), and from U.S.S.R. ... all upholders of democracy, to such an extent that they are prepared to hurl millions of men on the battlefield to defend Czechoslovakian democracy! Even more interesting is the fact that the Soviet Union has a contract to supply Germany with petrol until 1939!

In other words the Government's iron comes from France, want to make you, the workers of the world, believe that the next war will be for the defence of democracy, in spite of the fact that when Mussolini and Hitler aided by Franco, attempted to strangle a true democracy in Spain not once was it suggested that we should go to defend Spanish democracy.

The war of tomorrow will again be a war between Capitalist interests. On the one side a German Capitalism anxious to extend its influence in the Balkans and the East (and to do so will use as cannon fodder those three million Sudeten Germans about whose health

* The reason was that in this manner more men would be given work.

and safety Hitler is now so pre-occupied). And on the other side British, French, Soviet and American Capitalism will use those ten million Czechs (about whose Liberty they are so concerned at the moment) to defend their economic interests!

T.U.C. AND WAR

And from this country and from France, Russia, etc. . . . millions of workers will be sent to their doom.

The recent T.U.C. Congress has clearly shown what can be done once power is in the hands of bureaucrats whether they be from the "upper" or "lower" classes.

Two years ago when the Spanish workers were fighting against all forces of reaction, and had succeeded in spite of the deplorable lack of arms, to establish Free Socialism in all parts of Spain under their control the T.U.C. OPPOSED ALL DIRECT ACTION IN THEIR FAVOUR FOR FEAR OF "STARTING A WORLD WAR." THIS YEAR AT BLACKPOOL THE T.U.C. AGAIN CATEGORICALLY REFUSED ALL DIRECT ACTION (even a general strike was excluded) IN FAVOUR OF THE SPANISH WORKERS. YET AT THE SAME CONGRESS THEY GAVE THEIR COMPLETE SUPPORT TO ARMED INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. This is in no uncertain manner a definite betrayal of the Spanish workers and the workers' cause.

It is also the betrayal of British workers whom the Trade Union leaders are prepared to have butchered in the name of a false democracy.

Workers of England; workers of the World do not be misled by your leaders and by the Capitalist Press! The workers of Germany have no desire to be slaughtered in the name of Capitalism. They are being misled by Fascism in the same way as your leaders and the National Government are trying to mislead you!

Let the workers of this country, of France, of Russia, (if they are still free to do so), of America, make it clear to the German workers:— THAT THEY WILL NOT FIGHT TO DEFEND CAPITALIST INTERESTS.

This message can reach the German workers before it is too late: before the world is plunged into a fratricidal conflict from which it will never recover!

More Reactions to War

FRENCH WORKERS FACE FACTS

[The article which we have translated from "Le Reveil Syndicaliste" is the opinion of that section of the French working-class movement which can still think independently of the Jouhaux and other reformists. "Le Reveil Syndicaliste" is a workers' newspaper in every way, from the public which reads it and distributes it, to the editorial and administrative staff which produces it. Though we reproduce the article we do not endorse all the opinions expressed; especially those concerning Spain.—Editors.]

HOW does peace progress?

During the last month many things have occurred in the international situation. If these events have not already produced the catastrophe which has been threatening since the Spring, if they still leave us the hope that we may escape this year, they have not really checked the causes which have produced the danger and the fear that the worst may happen at any time in the coming weeks.

In Central Europe, the hungry wolves, "the fascists," and the fat wolves, "the democracies," are playing a double game through the medium of the Sudeten Germans and the Prague Government. Germany, France and Russia, are all watching each other, finger on trigger, and while waiting for someone to make the first move, continue the use of the "pacific" aims of diplomatic battle, intimidation, the display of military force, appeals to allies, economic manoeuvres and financial propaganda.

In Spain, the great imperialist powers who are struggling in the name of fascism and democracy, fight by means of intermediaries. By the blood of Spanish workers and peasants, constrained by terror, Franco and Negrin, and their backers, Italy, Germany and France, continue their economic and strategic rivalry, and fight out their own battle on the territory of Spain. At the same time Russia is tightening her hold on Barcelona (as witness the dismissal of Aiguade and Irujo) so as to be certain of torpedoing the Western compromise arranged by Great Britain which would leave Germany a free hand in the East.

In the extreme East, the incident of Chank-Ku-Feng provoked by Russia at an opportune moment, when Japan had her hands full with the Chinese War, has allowed Russia to recover some of the military credit which has been so tarnished by the "purges," "treacheries" and "desertions" of the last years.

Upon reflection, Nipponese imperialism which rests on a relatively weak economic basis, decided that it was unable to conduct two wars at the same time. For the first time in many years the Japanese retreated before the Russians and this retreat has caused a rapprochement between the Stalinist State and American Imperialism (Lindbergh in Moscow) and even the English "City," both these powers being happy to have the aid of their so-called "red" ally, against their Japanese rival in China.

No matter how important the Japanese war is for the Capitalist Powers, its prolongation is earnestly desired by France and Russia, as this comprises even more the Anglo-Italian agreement, and in consequence all the fantasies of the Four Power Pact, the point of the most extreme tension at the moment, is the situation in Czecho-Slovakia. Our readers know what to understand in this country by the grand words "democracy," "national independence," etc., as well as those of "Fascism" and "national rights," so we will not enlarge on these points. The only thing we need to remark is the extraordinary con-

firmation which Lord Runciman's mission at Prague has given to our thesis. That an English Lord should attempt to settle a quarrel between a "Sovereign" State and a fraction of its citizens explains a great deal on the artificial character and on the independence of that for whose honour our labour leaders call on the workers to risk their skins! Under the cover of the Czechoslovak problem is really the problem of the dominance of French Capital in Central Europe!

If in conformity with Benes' memorandum of 1919 the centralist state of Prague should transform itself into a federal state the Franco-Czech-Russian military alliance would collapse, thereby leaving a clean field for German expansion not only in the Danubian countries but towards the Ukraine, Rumania and the Near East. French Imperialist and the Stalinist State prefer war to this eventuality.

As to England she baulks at the idea of an immediate war, and would regard calmly German expansion in central Europe, where she herself has no capitalist interests, and in Russia, since Russia is always more or less of a menace to the Indian Empire, through Central Asia, but she would fight to the death to prevent access to Rumania and the Near East from which England draws the greater part of her petrol supply and which is also the gateway to the Indies.

Will England, exasperated by Russia—and its envoys—arrange with Prague on compromise which will permit German expansion at the expense of Russia without imperilling her own preserves in Rumania or Iraq? Or paralysed by the opposition of Franco, will she at least gain enough time, at Prague, to postpone the war for another year—or will Hitler and the Capitalists who lead him, lose patience and, gambling on rushing everything for a great stake, push on to the war before which they recoiled last May?

That is still the secret of the coming weeks.

At such a moment, when the collapse of the balance of power between the victors and the vanquished of 1918 makes the question of an imperialist war an immediate problem; when the visit of the English King and Queen to Paris has swept away the last remains of the League of Nations and consecrated the return of the bloody politics of alliances—how can we fail to denounce the characteristic policies of our trade union leaders, whether national or International?

When leaving for America on August 18th, Jouhaux declared in his own inimitable manner: "We must put greater understanding between the peaceful democracies in the place of most importance."

When these pacific democracies, or rather when the bankers and industrialists who control them—are preparing to keep by war the profits which they have gained by the exploitation of the vast mass of people; when the "popular front" government of Daladier strikes at the legitimate conquests of the workers, before throwing them into the massacre, we say, we the Syndicalists: "It is because we understand only too well the true nature of our democracy; it is because we remember the 10 millions dead of 1914-1918 that we lump all these great Capitalist States—whether they be fascist or democratic—and refuse the sacrifice of our suffering and our lives to these sordid Fatherlands."

JEAN BERNIER.

(I.W.M.A. Press Service)

Anarchist Movement in Germany Carries On

We extract the information given below from a report forwarded to us by some German comrades resident in one of the provinces of the Reich.

The German fascist organisation for the coming war is perfect. A long time ago, all German citizens, and even the school children, were assigned their places in the coming great slaughter. The "non-dependable" elements (commencing with the Strasser tendency, then the Marxists, and right up to the Anarchists) have been placed on "black lists" in every town in the Reich. In our province that has 300,000 inhabitants, there are 12,000 persons on the black list. Should the great war against international progress commence, these persons will either be shot or sent to the front lines . . . and with them, the

tens of thousands of men in the concentration camps and prisons of the Reich.

As a consequence of the cruel persecution of all the non-fascist elements, a common front of the various anti-fascist factors is being slowly formed. The various political differences are losing importance even to the point of disappearing and there is surging forth a new common base for the workers struggling against fascism. However, despite the fact that the active forces of this struggle are continually being weakened by the terrible campaign of persecution, the system of punishment and the concentration camps, a new generation of militants is forming that is experimenting in all the methods

of clandestine struggle. Certainly the present social struggles of the German proletariat are not being brought to a head in the light of international publicity. These struggles assume a clandestine character and only the very attentive observer can see all the little "moleholes" that are riddling the entire country. Naturally, public speakers and "know-alls" play no part in this struggle of the German proletariat. Only the silent and nameless energy of the mass comes into action notwithstanding the terrible menace of death that hangs over all.

punishment. More than a dozen of our comrades were murdered during the course of the trial. We mention only the names of the better-known among whom were A. Rosinke, M. Delissen and T. Kronenberg.

At every opportunity, our methods of struggle are imposed more strongly than before. The results are direct action and sabotage everywhere, particularly in the economic institutions of the country. Slowly confidence is being reborn in the workers—a new confidence that will crush the espionage organisation of the Nazis.

We are perfectly aware that the Gestapo watches our every movement. In X, one of our comrades was arrested, and in the Commis-

sariat of Police he was shown all the numbers of the German edition of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. bulletin and our paper, "Die Soziale Revolution" which, for some time, was published in Barcelona. For us, the German anarcho-syndicalists, there is but one aim to-day: to struggle in conjunction with all the anti-fascist forces against World Enemy No. One, i.e. fascism. We do not want to give the impression that there is not, in the spirit of the old social-democracy, the desire to make peace with the democratic bourgeoisie. But we are definitely convinced that only with the destruction of fascism as the first step will a new way be opened for future developments as well as to give light and air to the new socialist germs. By means of our propaganda and acts of sabotage, we, in Germany, are on the side of the international proletariat.

The Spanish Revolution and the struggle that resulted from it had a tremendous effect on the German proletariat. In our little province we collected, within the period of a few weeks, 500 marks for our brothers in arms. In other provinces, our old militants were arrested in mass and were condemned to sentences totalling hundreds of years imprisonment and

ALL workers should have read our NO-WAR SUPPLEMENT
A few hundred copies of this issue of "SPAIN and the WORLD" are still available.

It contains facts and figures which show how the "democracies" have supplied the raw materials with which Mussolini was able to carry on his war of aggression in Abyssinia and support Franco in no uncertain manner in Spain.

These are facts which no representative of the so-called democracies can answer. These facts prove conclusively that a war between "democracy" and "fascism" in Central Europe will be but a repetition of past wars: A WAR OF CAPITALIST INTERESTS. There is only one way of abolishing capitalism. These views are expressed in our

NO-WAR SUPPLEMENT
by Emma Goldman, Ethel Mannin, Herbert Read, John Cowper Powys, etc. If you have not already obtained a copy send for it now, price 1/6d. (post free), 100 copies 5/9 (U.S.A. \$1.75) to: "SPAIN and the WORLD," 21, Frith Street, London, W.1.

Manifesto of Argentine Workers

MANIFESTO OF THE REGIONAL WORKERS' FEDERATION OF THE ARGENTINE
"TO THE WORKERS AND THE PEOPLE."

NEVER at any time, and still less during these so uncertain and menacing moments as the present, could anyone laugh at the moral prestige of the movement of the Regional Workers' Federation of the Argentine (F.O.R.A.). For, to-day, when a coalition is being made between all the reactionary forces of Capitalism and the State uniting the eternal turn-coats of syndicalism for the purpose of destroying the F.O.R.A., it is absolutely necessary to defend our organisations and our militants. This is not a mere demonstration of protest and solidarity, it is an imperious duty of all those liberty-loving people.

Judges, police, and political leaders have exposed absolutely the democratic legalist lies in their sinister campaigns of repression against the militants of the F.O.R.A.

The reports published by the oligarchy with regard to the 'suspension' of the deportations, could not show more clearly their desire to justify these deportations. The fact that the governors and the police want to present the deported comrades of the F.O.R.A. as common criminals to the public view, reveals their intention to continue with the expulsion of honest men from the country, men, who in every way—in work and in ideas—are superior.

The deported comrades are not common delinquents, nor disturbers of society. Thousands of the workers who

are being persecuted have, for a long time, worked in various trades. They have contributed to the aggrandizement and material wealth of the country first of all; and next, to raising the moral level and cultural level of the working people in organising them and educating them according to their conception of a new sociology. As a consequence, they have had to leave their wives and children in absolute want and misery. The military and fascist governments, during the course of the past few years, have made it their aim to persecute, imprison, and deport thousands of members of the working-class. These have been deported for the sole crime of being idealists and for having, by the example of their activity, shown the path of emancipation to their brothers in misery and unhappiness.

The function of the politician is to lie in order to gain power. The function of the government is to lie to conserve power and defend the privileges of the ruling-class. The people, vegetating in the sordid morass of the "ranches", from north to south, live the most degrading and the greatest of material misery in ignorance. And for pointing out these simple truths, those who protest are treated as "agitators," that is to say, they are regarded as "professional agitators." Infamous charges are laid against them or else they are placed in the power of Mussolini. What a destiny for a country that is no more but a common English colony and which entrusts the problem of its development and the guarantee of its rights of life to politicians and the State.

ITALIAN FINANCES

Italy has up to date spent more than 6,000 million liras on the Spanish war. There is a deficit of 17,000 million liras in her budget and her reserve of gold is extremely low. Her total national income is approximately 100,000 million liras and her expenditures on her own state organisation amount to about 50,000 million! In other words 50% of her income, whereas not so long ago it was only 33%.

Her foreign trade has diminished considerably, due not only to her foreign policy but also to the expansion of German industry in central Europe. The index of her production in certain fields speaks eloquently:

Aluminium in August of 1937 was 882%; in January it fell to 573%. Copper was 242% in July; in January it fell to 160%. The general index of the metallurgical production shows a decrease of 25% from July 1937 to January 1938.

The index of consumption shows even more clearly the general impoverishment of the nation, with a total decrease of 28%.

Moreover, this year's crop has been disastrous. Production of wheat has decreased from 80 million quintales (a quintal is 100 lbs.) in 1937 to approximately 60 million for 1938. If, also, we bear in mind the fact that the importation of wheat has lately been curtailed over 60% it will be readily seen why the Italian will have to consume much less bread than the usual amount, and this mixed with 40% corn meal.

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THE METHOD OF REVOLUTION

By HERBERT READ

ANARCHISM is a word of many meanings, many interpretations. Because of its vagueness, because of its associations with terrorism and with the pathetic actions of deluded individuals, it often seems advisable to abandon it. But no other word will do. Anarchy—*anarchia*—absence of government: it is an exact symbol of our meaning and is sanctioned by long historical usage. For these reasons I think we must retain the words anarchy and anarchism, infuse them with new thought and definite policies, so that reanimated and redeemed they will stand for a new way of living, a whole philosophy of life.

From its very earliest days the socialist movement included two opposed elements, which were philosophical rather than political in their essence. They perhaps derived, in the long history of European thought, from the old scholastic distinction between realism and nominalism. It is the distinction between those who believe in the real existence of universal qualities or ideas, and those who believe that all such ideas are abstractions derived from the world of experience. When Hegel raised the State to the level of an abstract entity, there was a part of humanity ready to follow him and to subordinate all variety and individualism to this conception. For if the State is given an absolute existence, it becomes the supreme end of all worldly activity: it is conceived as the perfect organisation of all our social activities, and no activities can be tolerated which interfere with its unity and order. But Hegel's conception of the State did not command general assent: another part of humanity refused to believe in the real existence of such an entity. The only reality, they said, is the individual: the individual with his sensations and desires, his weaknesses and grandeur, his folly and heroism. The State, they held, is only valuable in so far as it secures and promotes the happiness of the individual.

That statement already gives a relative value to the State: the State is valuable in so far as it promotes the well-being of the individual. The extreme egotism of Max Stirner, which asserts that only the individual and his desires have any validity, is not in question. That particular philosophy, which is not without its historical interest and importance, was effectively demolished by Karl Marx, and has only a remote connection with modern anarchism. What we have still to distinguish is, on the one hand, an attitude which values communal effort only in so far as it promotes the happiness of the individual; and, on the other hand, an attitude which is prepared to sacrifice that happiness to the wholeness, or perfection, or power of this abstraction called the State.

Naturally every politician and reformer will protest that his ultimate aim is the greatest happiness of the greatest number of individuals, and rationally it is difficult to see how any other doctrine can be held. But very few of the doctrines for which men organise themselves can be described as rational. The history of religion, the history of politics, the history of civilisation itself, is merely the passage from one form of obsession to another; and in the name of such an obsession—which is always called an ideal or a principle or simply "the truth" or "the faith"—men are enslaved, deprived of their freedom, and compelled by force to act against their individual interests.

Socialism has always been in this same danger. Properly regarded, socialism is the rational organisation of society to the end that men shall live together in freedom, security and plenty. There is nothing idealistic about such an aim. It is a question of the practical ordering of production and distribution, and though certain principles are involved, such as equality and justice, these are not so much abstract ideals as economic quantities. To equalise the burdens and benefits of production is a simple sum in division: it does not depend on the invocation of any articles of faith.

If we examine the principles of socialism as expressed, for example, in the Communist Manifesto, we do not find any arguments in favour of an idealistic conception of the State. Far from it. The State is everywhere recognized by the founders of modern socialism—by Marx, Engels, and Lenin no less than by Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin—as the product of social distinctions and an instrument of oppression. I could quote scores of texts to that effect, but let this summary from Engels's book on *The Origin of the Family*, quoted with approval by Lenin in his book, *The State and Revolution*, suffice:

"The State is therefore by no means a power imposed on society from the outside; just as little is it 'the reality of the moral idea,' 'the image and reality of reason,' as Hegel asserted. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, may not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power apparently standing

above society becomes necessary, whose purpose is to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power arising out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly separating itself from it, is the State."

Modern anarchism—the consciousness that is growing up within the socialist movement and which cannot be stifled by any accusations of Trotskyism, liberalism, idealism, etc., is merely a reaffirmation of this view of the State. It expresses the conviction that, in the actual process of revolution, society has once more become entangled in an insoluble contradiction, has been cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms; and it asserts that these antagonisms have produced a form of State more absolute than ever.

Though I maintain that all the necessary principles of anarchism are to be found in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, nevertheless in examining the historical development of socialism during the last hundred years in search of the cause of this sad deviation, I think we are bound to discover that in certain questions of revolutionary tactics, Bakunin and not Marx was right.

The difference between Marx and Bakunin (apart from a difference of temperament) was really a difference in their conception of revolution. Marx conceived revolution as an historical process—a violent change, no doubt, but a change brought about by a trained and disciplined class-conscious proletariat.

Bakunin, on the other hand, conceived revolution as a spontaneous act—an explosion of forces that could no longer be repressed. Marx thought out a plan of campaign, with every step consolidated on an economic basis. Bakunin saw elemental passions directed to the immediate destruction of evil and to the equally immediate establishment of justice. This aspect of Bakunin's creed has since his time received a powerful reinforcement in Sorel's theory of direct action and the general strike.

But there is also this difference: Marx regarded the process of revolution as a process of inevitable evolution, comparable to the evolution of organic life. Capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and so revolution was held to be only possible in societies which had undergone a complete capitalist development, and were ripe, as it were, for the change—ready for the fruit to fall. But Sorel saw nothing inevitable or organic about the process of revolution; according to him, the proletariat must hold itself completely

S. Wales Miners and the Spanish Struggle

LEADERS OPPOSE DIRECT ACTION

(From our Correspondent, who was present at both Sessions)

It was a truly representative gathering of all branches of the workers' movement in South Wales, nearly 400 delegates being present. As is usual, the time of the Conference was taken up by the platform telling us what we all already knew, in other words the flogging of a dead horse. The speakers were D. Grenfell, M.P., J. Griffith, M.P., and Mr. Strauss of N. Lambeth.

The value of the Conference was, in fact, that it showed the militant spirit of the rank and file workers of this region; a spirit that was utterly at variance with the official policy of the Labour Party on Spain and the Means Test. This was proved by the questions that were put to the platform. One delegate wanted to know why the Labour Party in the Commons did not adopt the method of the Irish nationalists of forty years ago, in obstructing business until the Government finally yielded to the demand of Arms for Spain. Cold water was poured on it by the platform, Griffiths saying it would lead to nowhere. I then got up and asked if they were prepared to adopt the alternative of putting into practice the suggestion made by Brailsford several times in "Reynolds" of carrying on a campaign to raise sufficient funds to buy a shipload of arms and send them to Spain as a challenge to the Chamberlain Government. Grenfell's reply was that it would be hopeless to expect to raise a fraction needed for that, in view of the poor response of most of the workers to the appeal for funds for food and milk. This reply in face of what the A.E.U. have already done and are prepared to do. I then asked if the Labour Party in general and the platform in particular were aware of the fact that the Spanish workers had resigned themselves to the fact that they had been deserted by the workers of the so-called democratic countries. Grenfell (who, by the way, has been in Spain two or three times) got up and indignantly denied this, whereupon I jumped up and said that I could prove my statement by the sheets that I held in my hand, which was a copy of the Bulletin which I had received that morning from Barcelona. The

Chairman, however, refused me a hearing.

Questions were then asked by different delegates of bringing about a General Strike or a one day strike to force the hands of the Government on the issue of

arms for Spain, Griffiths replying to the effect that it was all very well to put forward such a suggestion but it was they, the leaders and officials of the S.W.M.F., who would have to carry the responsibility, and he doubted whether the call for action would be responded to by the Lodges. This again in face of the fact that two of the Miners' Lodges to my certain knowledge have been wanting to take action on behalf of Spain for the last three months; those about five

or six miles from here.

When the time for discussion came on I got on my feet several times but was refused the chance to speak by the Chairman, presumably because of the scene caused by me at question time. This session of the Conference ended with a feeling among the vast majority of the delegates that it had been a waste of time, seeing that the platform had refused to accept or endorse any resolution or suggestion of a concrete character that would lead to action being taken.

MEANS TEST

The afternoon session on the Means Test showed the same acute difference between the policy of the official party and the delegates as was the case on Spain in the morning. The feature of this part of the day's proceedings being that Aneurin Bevan, M.P., disassociated himself from all the remarks made from the platform denouncing the sending of another deputation to Rushcliffe as a waste of time and money, and stating that the only remedy was to amend the U.A.B. or sweep it off the Statute Book and that a march from S. Wales to London be organised with that objective. Those remarks were loudly cheered by almost all the delegates present, and showed, as already stated, the general disapproval of the official Labour policy, a policy which, in fact, does not exist.

S.M.

Neath, Glam.

The fact remains that as in the majority of cases, the South Wales Conference has come to nothing, not because the workers were not prepared to act but because once again their leaders refused to give support to direct action.

The same has happened at Blackpool. The T.U.C. leaders solemnly stated at the Conference that their action for Spain would be to try and bring Non-Intervention to an end.

In the words of Sir Walter Citrine, there was complete unanimity in the Trade Union Movement on the need for complete support of Spain, BUT EMPHASISED THE DANGERS OF AN EXTRA-CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION (Gordon Schaffer in "Reynolds News, 11/9/38).

Our correspondent was correct in saying that the Spanish workers "had resigned themselves to the fact that they had been deserted by the workers of the so-called democratic countries." But Mr. Citrine's conscience is at ease because he has voted the enormous sum of £5,000 for the Spanish workers! —Editors.

OUR DEFICIT £182
ARE YOU HELPING
TO REDUCE IT, COMRADE?

A F.A.I. Manifesto

ON the occasion of the second anniversary of the uprising of the Spanish masses against the Fascist attempt to overthrow the Republic and make Spain another Italy or Germany, the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation) has issued a manifesto, commemorating that eventful day in which its men, with lightning initiative and daring saved Spain for freedom.

This manifesto admits that because Democracies have done nothing to help Loyalist Spain and on the contrary have done much to thwart Socialistic attempts of the people, the Spanish Anarchists have had to inhibit themselves, sacrificing the revolution for the sake of winning the war against national and international Fascism.

"Consequently," says the manifesto, "after two years of war and revolution, we record the loss of many conquests of the workers; many experiments have been throttled despite the organizing and constructive ability of the workers."

The manifesto further recalls how the Republican government and the political parties had been, due either to stupidity or cowardice, unequal to the challenge of the enemy. "Had it not been for

the prompt and decisive action of the CNT and the FAI, which we agree were followed by all the anti-Fascist sectors, the 19th of July, 1936, would have ended with the triumph of the Fascists, because the government was unable to meet the situation. The government was undermined from its very foundations; treason lurked everywhere; the rulers were isolated. Then came the People, the authentic, genuine People, the People with a capital P, to take upon itself what the political machine had failed to do. When the "left" parties and the so-called working-class parties had failed because they did not check the reactionary elements, nor prevent the military uprising (despite the constant public denunciations of the CNT and the FAI who saw the manoeuvres of the reactionaries and knew of the weakness of the government of the popular front), the revolutionary proletariat made its appearance upon the scene in the political and social life of Spain, offering its own solutions. And it did not fail. It was this proletariat that made it possible to reevaluate the liberal and democratic content of the Spanish Republic, making it the international symbol of the struggle against Fascism."

The manifesto admits that the workers made some mistakes when they took over industries. "Errors made by labour unions, defects in the execution of the plans, of the projects which were improvised, on the run. How was it possible that such errors should not occur when the Spanish proletariat lacked preparation in the economic field; they lacked the aid of indispensable technicians and were hindered by the opposition of overt and covert enemies who wanted to see the workers fail."

The manifesto ends with the following call:

"WE WILL FIGHT UNTIL THE UNIVERSAL ENEMY OF THE PROLETARIAT, OF ALL FREE MEN IN THE WORLD, IS CRUSHED. WE WILL FIGHT TO MAINTAIN THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE MASSES IN ALL COUNTRIES, IN THE ASSURANCE THAT ONLY THE PROLETARIAN MASSES THROUGH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISM WILL BE ABLE TO OPPOSE FASCISM AND THE COMING WAR. WE WILL THUS PUT AN END TO THE CAUSES OF THE CATASTROPHE THREATENING EUROPE AND THE WHOLE WORLD."

aloof from all such gradualist concepts; it must "build up institutions without any parallel in the history of the middle class"; it must "form ideas which depend solely on its position as producer in industry"; and finally it must "acquire habits of liberty with which the middle class nowadays are no longer acquainted." The whole success of a revolution will depend on the proletariat having developed a new spirit, a new ethics, a new philosophy of life which breaks completely with all existing conceptions of society, and which is established with catastrophic violence.

It is obvious—more obvious now than it was in 1906 when Sorel published his "Reflections on Violence"—that a doctrine of violence can be used in more than one direction. Sorel's most effective disciple, in actual fact, has been Mussolini. But it is equally obvious that a doctrine of discipline and training and organic continuity with capitalism can be used in more than one direction, and the National-Socialist party of Germany is there to prove it. But if we keep close to what we have regarded as the essential test of socialism—the disappearance of the State—then we shall be able to make the necessary distinctions.

The practical difference between the two methods of revolution is a difference in the time element. The Marxian revolution can only be achieved over a period of many years: the anarchist revolution is a question of hours. But this is too abstract a way of looking at the question: what is actually involved is human psychology. A revolutionary policy which needs a period of years for its accomplishment must work through the intellectual faculties—the passions are subordinated, or excluded altogether. But a violent revolution is achieved by passion, and the intellect is dormant. What is destroyed is destroyed in anger: what is created is created by instinct.

The word "instinct" will be seized on as evidence of an underlying mysticism, but I do not refuse that term, or rather what it implies. I am not a mystic, but my whole reading of history convinces me that nothing worth while is ever done that is not done in a spirit of fervour, of exaltation, of glory. In that spirit the Bastille fell, and the Commune was established; in that spirit the Russian Revolution triumphed and in that spirit the unarmed workers of the Spanish Republic threw themselves against the guns of the insurgent army and rendered the revolt abortive. But having achieved your end in righteous anger, there comes the task of consolidation. It is then that the calculators come forward, the men of craft and cunning, the doctrinaire economists and the dogmatic politicians. Men who are brave in battle are often humble in affairs, and easily surrender the position to these agents of efficiency. The position is then lost again.

"Politicians," says Sorel, "argue about social conflicts in

exactly the same manner as diplomats argue about international affairs; all the actual fighting apparatus interests them very little; they see in the combatants nothing but instruments. The proletariat is their army, which they love in the same way that a colonial administrator loves the troops which enable him to bring large numbers of negroes under his authority; they apply themselves to the task of training the proletariat, because they are in a hurry to win quickly the great battles which will deliver the State into their hands; they keep up the ardour of their men, as the ardour of troops of mercenaries has always been kept up, by promises of pillage, by appeals to hatred, and also by the small favours which their occupancy of a few political places enables them to distribute already. But the proletariat for them is so much cannon-fodder. . . .

The reinforcement of the power of the State is at the basis of all their conceptions; in the organisations which they at present control, the politicians are already preparing the framework of a strong, centralised and disciplined authority, which will not be hampered by the criticism of an opposition, which will be able to enforce silence, and which will give currency to its lies."

These prophetic words, let me again remind you, were written more than thirty years ago.

The great necessity to-day is to study the causes of revolutionary failure. There is scarcely an honest socialist anywhere in the world who is not perturbed by this problem. Those who are orthodox attempt to explain it away on economic grounds: the survival of capitalist elements, the lack of adequate machinery for production, the necessity for evolving in logical historical phases, and so on. But these are precisely the reasons which do not convince the anarchist. In the course of history revolution has failed too often, and always we are given these same excuses. But look at the objective features of these failures, these reactions, these relapses, and what do you find? Always the same features! The establishment of a central governing body, the acquisition of privileges by this governing body, the creation of a new governing class, the re-division of society into rich and poor, master and servant, the powerful and the oppressed.

This process does not need an economic explanation. There is an explanation nearer home, nearer the truth, an explanation based on the limitations and weaknesses of the average human being. In short, the explanation is to be found in psychology rather than in economics.

Marx and Lenin repudiated one abstraction—the State. But in its place they put another—the dictatorship of the proletariat. They defined the proletariat as "the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to

live"—a very clear and just definition. And we have seen that the revolution is to be effected by this class becoming conscious of itself, organising itself and forcibly overthrowing all existing social conditions. Having secured power, this class is to maintain a dictatorship until all injustices have been abolished and all class distinctions have disappeared. The nation will then be one vast community of producers organised for mutual benefit, and the proletariat as such will disappear and the State itself will wither away.

What actually happened in Russia, and what is now happening in Spain, is something very different. The proletariat in a sudden fervour committed its act of revolt; and out of the resulting chaos a minority emerged consisting mainly of intellectuals and professional politicians. This minority constituted a dictatorship in the name of the proletariat; but then almost their first act was to disarm the proletariat, to close the ranks of the party, establish a state army and a state police, and finally reduce the workers to a state of dependence far more absolute than before. There then ensues a series of intrigues among the politicians themselves whose sole purpose is to maintain a particular group in power and finally there emerges a single power within the group, a dictator or leader.

Socialism is in retreat. Everywhere in Europe it is being compelled to adopt the methods of its adversaries, to establish tyranny to resist tyranny; and in the process it is corrupted, defeated spiritually and materially. Socialism must retreat still further—to its first principles. It must recognise that a revolution will never be effected or maintained unless it is based on a complete and independent philosophy of life. The proletariat must have its own ethics and its own culture—something other than a watered version of bourgeois morality or a respectful imitation of academic learning. It must establish its ethics on the basis of its life and labour, and a new culture on fresh perceptions. Perhaps there are certain eternal verities in morality and art; but there is no reason to suppose that they are embodied in the manners and taste of a decadent civilisation. In any case, it is for the proletariat to choose, and not to be intimidated by the values established by the capitalist epoch. It is for the proletariat to discover its own values; and this it can only do in isolation. It must suspect every voice that addresses it from outside its own ranks (including the one that is addressing it now); it must reject every idea which it does not instinctively recognize as native to its own modes of feeling and perception. It must close its ranks and create its own clerisy. If it cannot achieve its own destiny, it has no destiny to achieve. Its dictators are projections of its own weakness; the shadow of its own death. Its only life is in the first principle of its faith: an organic community of free and equal individuals.

Herbert READ.

Friendly and Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

BARCELONA AND THE BRITISH PLAN—ITALIAN VERSION.

TO GET an idea of the way news can be distorted by the Italian controlled Press, the following communique which appeared in the *Gazzetta del Popolo* (September 1st), dealing with the Barcelona Government's answer to the British plan for the withdrawal of volunteers, can be quoted to advantage:

"The virtual rejection of the British plan for the withdrawal of volunteers on the part of the Spanish Marxists as a result of the discussions between the Ambassador for the Reds and Lord Plymouth, has been received in Parisian diplomatic circles without much surprise. Nevertheless, even knowing that the pseudo Government of Barcelona, in agreement with the Comintern, is manoeuvring in order to wreck the British plan, we would have thought that the Marxists would have at least tried to keep up appearances."

The fact is, as everyone knows, that Barcelona accepted the plan, and Franco (or should we say Mussolini and Hitler), after playing for time (they took six weeks to answer) finally rejected it in its entirety.

NON-INTERVENTION

MANY prominent Franco supporters in this country have often stated in articles and letters to the Press, that once the War is ended in Spain they are confident that those two gentlemen, Mussolini and Hitler,

would immediately withdraw all their "volunteers" now fighting presumably for Spanish independence!

These gentlemen, brought up on the old English tradition of "it isn't cricket" or "fair play, you cad," are too credulous.

In spite of their optimism we are not so sure. A paragraph in the Italian newspaper, *Il Resto del Carlino*, confirms our doubts. Dealing with any possible attack on Majorca, this newspaper stated that—

"An operation against Majorca would be an operation against Italy, and Rome will not tolerate it. He who threatens or attempts to touch Majorca is threatened with mortal danger. For Majorca is a nest of the Fascist eagles, who are ready for the offense, the attack and the most terrible repressions."



Le Canard Enchaîné (Paris)
"What authority have you for believing that I have any influence over this fellow Franco?"

Those who have read Camillo Berneri's book, "Mussolini a la conquete des Balears," in which our comrade showed that even before the Fascist rising in July 1936, Mussolini had his attention focussed on the Balearics as a possible Italian colony, are not surprised that now that Mussolini has been able to occupy this island, it will be a difficult task to get rid of him.

STARVATION IN THE MIDST OF ABUNDANCE.

FEW CAN be unaware of the terrible food shortage in Spain to-day. From comrades coming from Barcelona we learn that the children, in spite of all that is being done for them by the adult population, are suffering as a result of undernourishment.

Yet in violent contrast to these conditions one reads of the abundance

of wheat in France. One would have thought that the French Popular Front Government, which professes its sympathy with the Spanish Government, would have facilitated matters so that the surplus wheat could be sold to Spain. Instead of which, the "synthetic products" maniacs are trying to obtain a synthetic petrol from the surplus wheat.

Do you want to know why? Well,

because of the collapse of the world market a quintal of wheat is worth 90 francs in Chicago, less than half what it costs in France. Consequently, even if the State allows special prices for exportation there will still be a considerable loss involved for the foreigner would not want to pay more for French wheat than he would if he were to buy it in the world market.

So, in the official Government communique we learn that, "The distilling of excess harvests has been practiced for many years with wine and beet. Thanks to this method it has been possible to assure a certain stability in price and production for these two essential products of our agriculture. The same policy must be used for wheat." There is the explanation, comrade. Meanwhile Spanish men, women and children are suffering from undernourishment. . . . But after all, this is the essence of Capitalism!

FRANCOMANIA.

MR. PATRICK DONNER, the member for the Basingstoke Division of Hampshire, is a Diehard. He was formerly secretary of the India Defence League; to-day his principal enthusiasm is for the Spanish Nationalists. He has even named his two principal bathrooms "Franco" and "Mola."

Londoner's Diary, Evening Standard.

THE SOCIALISED WOODWORKERS SHOW THE WAY.

COLLECTIVISATION and Socialisation have often been criticised by "impartial" sociologists as being uneconomical. Yet innumerable

CORRESPONDENCE

Reg. Reynolds Answers

To the Editor,
"SPAIN and the WORLD,"

Dear Comrade,

As my dear friend Emma Goldman is anxious that I shall not be misunderstood she will appreciate this attempt to set right her own misconceptions regarding my views on Palestine.

I must thank Emma for the assurance given to her friends that I am not anti-Semitic; but I completely disagree with the statement that my article of July 29th "unfortunately gives such an impression." No-one can show me a single sentence in it which, taken in its context, gives any such impression to an unprejudiced mind. Dr. Johnson once said: "Sir, I can give you an argument, but I cannot provide you with an intelligence." I am in the same position, and cannot answer for what prejudice may read into my words. Bakunin was also called anti-Semitic. . . .

At no point was my article concerned with Jews as a race or with Arabs as a race. It was concerned with the right of self-government which the Arabs claim and the Zionists oppose. In common with the Anarchists I believe that the ideal society is one where there is no government at all. But I also believe that where people do not yet realise this fact, democratic government—that is to say, government by the explicit consent of at least a majority of the people—is better than autocratic or bureaucratic government. The Anarchists in Spain seem to be impressed with the same fact, or they would not have given even limited co-operation to the Government against Franco.

But just as Anarchists realise that Fascism is worse than "democratic" capitalism, so most of them will agree with me that imperialism is worse, and for the same reasons. Those who cannot see this as a matter of common-sense should study and compare conditions—say—in India and the British colonies with conditions among British workers. I do not need Emma Goldman to tell me the limitations of "democracy," or of national independence; but to regard such objectives simply as "a delusion and a snare" is to deny the whole basis upon which whatever liberty we possess has been built up, and the present basis of co-operation between Anarchists and other anti-fascists in Spain. And for my dear friend to say that she is "not opposed to the struggle" for national independence is surely a half-hearted gesture towards those who are bearing the brunt of the fight against British Imperialism. As I pointed out in my article, only active support will impress the colonial peoples; and if they receive such support from the Fascist Powers whilst Anarchists are content with being "not opposed to them," I fear that the masses now suffering oppression under the Union Jack may form alarming conclusions as to who are their real friends. Whose fault will that be?

Personally I am not prepared to stand aloof from a struggle between oppressor and oppressed because the oppressed have not grasped 100% of the truth as I see it. I shall help the underdog because he is the underdog and because it is the only way of impressing him with my sincerity if I wish to teach him anything in the way of politics or economics. And I shall not be frightened by misrepresentations, intentional or unintentional. I know that to oppose British Imperialism in Palestine (and Zionism, its ally) is to invite the accusation of being anti-Semitic. I know that to criticise the Spanish Government or the French Front Populaire is to brand oneself as a "Trotsky-Fascist." Neither prospect disturbs me in the least.

I am not impressed by the fact that Jewish workers have contributed financially to back up Jewish emigration to Palestine. British workers contribute to a number of foolish things, including Sir Walter Citrine's salary. As to the statement that "the land should belong to those who till the soil," I neither accept it nor see its relevance to Emma Goldman's case. Ideally speaking, the land should "belong" in my opinion, to the whole community—since all wealth comes out of it. But if I accept Emma's statement, then the land in Palestine should have belonged to the Arab peasant; and the Arab landlords had no right to sell it to Jewish immigrants who dispossessed these Arab tenants. That is the only sense I can make out of Emma's statement, unless she means that the land belongs to whoever can grab it—i.e. that it belonged first to the Arab fellahen but now belongs to those who pushed the Arab off. "Finding is keeping" is a good motto for conquistadores and imperialists, but not, I should have thought, for Anarchists.

Next there are three opinions which Emma attributes to me for which there is not the slightest foundation. I have nowhere "sponsored the Arab capitalist rights" and I have nowhere said that "the Jews have no business in Palestine." Also I did not "justify" the closing of Australian ports against the Jews. Quite on the contrary. Discussing the views of the Australian representative at the Evian Conference, I said: "No Socialist or Anarchist would, I hope, endorse that view." Is that justification? But I added that if Australia excluded Jews there would not be an attempt to force her to accept Jewish immigrants by landing an army of occupation. It was simply a statement of fact; but I am prepared to make it one of opinion, and to ask whether Emma Goldman or anyone of her persuasion is prepared to advocate such a step? If I say that I am not going to interfere forcibly with my neighbour's household it does not necessarily mean that I approve of everything he does; and I am sorry if Emma cannot see the distinction.

My attitude to Palestine is based on the same principles. The prime question is not whether I approve of Jewish immigration, but who shall decide on its extent. At present, it is determined by a foreign government—our own—whose decisions are enforced upon an unwilling population at the point of the bayonet. The alternative of Madagascar would present the same problem (though Emma confuses it with the problem of Australia, as though both were self-governing and autonomous). Hence my suggestion that a little constructive thought should be devoted to discovering "some part of the world where they (the Jews) can live at peace with their neighbours by mutual agreement." This is what my

dear friend calls "denying these unfortunate people a chance of taking root in new countries."

Emma's worst confusion is in her accusation of inconsistency because I support Arab independence and oppose Jewish nationalism. I support Moorish independence; but that does not mean that I should support the Moors in Spain, where they are the enemies of Spanish independence. I am not as Emma appears to imagine, interested in nationalism for its own sake, but only where it is an expression of revolt against imperialism. And just as I am opposed to the Moors when they appear as conquerors in a fascist army, so I am opposed to the Jews when they appear as colonists in a British scheme to create an "Ulster" in Palestine. To follow this Irish analogy a little further, I am anti-Catholic; but in the Irish struggle for Catholic emancipation I should have been an emancipationist; not because I love the Pope, but because I do not believe in depriving a nation of its rights on account of its religion. Just so, in Palestine, I stand for the rights of the people against the claim of a minority to over-ride them, irrespective of all other considerations.

Finally, Emma implies that I am guilty of the same "intolerable arrogance" with which (she says) I charged the Jews. (I actually used this phrase of the Zionists, but let it pass.) And this because I have dared to speak of a "just demand"—referring to the Arab demand for democratic self-government. Well, of course, I may be wrong. Socialism may not be just. Anarchism may not be just. Franco may be a good man, the saviour of Spain, whom (in my "arrogance") I have condemned. But I'm prepared to risk it; and I notice that Emma too has sufficient arrogance to take sides in a fight when it suits her. For my part I will say that if the cause of self-determination is not a just cause, then the word justice has no longer any meaning for me and can be left out of the discussion. I only know that self-determination is the basic principle of both socialism and anarchism as I understand them, and that I will fight every system of society in which this principle is not fundamental.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

[We have received other correspondence on the subject, but unfortunately, owing to our limited space, we cannot allow all views to be expressed in these columns. In the next issue we hope to publish an article which will attempt to deal with both Emma Goldman's and Reginald Reynolds' views, and point out certain features which have not been dealt with at all by Reginald Reynolds and which have been too generalised by Emma Goldman.—Editors.]

Support the Innocent Victims of Fascism!

In spite of the good news we gave our readers in the last issue, we have received poor support for our Spanish children so far this month. If our work on behalf of the Spanish children—who according to reports reaching us from Spain are ever more in need of our solidarity—is to be intensified, we

must first be able to assure the children already cared for at Masnou of our financial support.

...It has been suggested that we should organise our Orphans Fund on the basis of membership. Briefly, the suggestion is that we should issue membership cards to all readers who would be prepared to subscribe 1/- per month to the Orphans Fund. Thus if we have 1000 members our income would be £50 per month and would guarantee our colony at Masnou. The remaining income from groups and individuals could then be used to form a new colony.

Will comrades and friends who would be prepared to help in this scheme—by interesting people to become members, please get in touch with us as soon as possible so that we may have an idea as to the possible support for such a scheme.

ORPHAN'S FUND

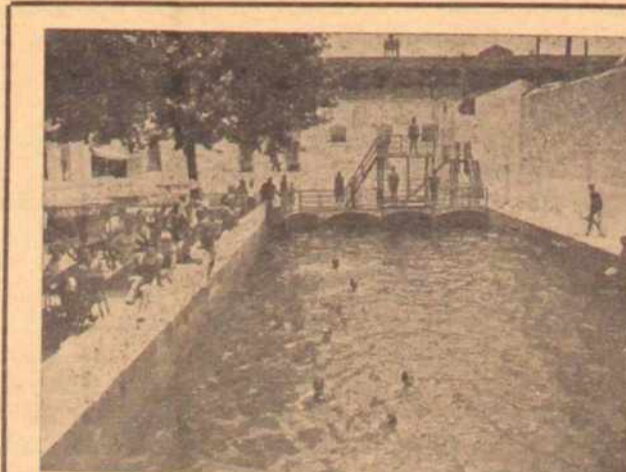
- 341. London: W. West 2/6.
- 342. Geelong, Australia: O. Rigutto (per G.P.) 11/6.
- 243. Mt. Carmel: J. Persoff 4/1.
- 344. Stroud: Harold Morgan (per N. Morand) 1/-.
- 345. London: E. Man 2/-.

— £2/0/1.

Previously acknowledged £241/18/2.

TOTAL: £243/18/3.

examples can be given by which it can be shown that only by these methods have industrial and agricultural enterprises been able to pay their way. In *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona), we read of yet another example. The Socialised Wood Industry employs 12,000 workers, and has a wages bill of nearly five hundred thousand pesetas a week. In spite of difficulties in obtaining raw materials, besides others created by the war conditions, the comrades have managed to make a monthly contribution of 80,000 pesetas to the municipality.



The workers in the Socialised Wood Industry have constructed their own swimming pool.

These results are the fruits of nearly two years intensive work on the part of all the comrades in the industry, and it should be emphasised that "There are neither committees nor directors; only syndical delegates and technicians." It certainly does show up those individuals who believe that without directors the workers could not possibly organise work in factories and workshops.

Those interested in the work of the Socialised Woodworkers should refer to No. 28 of SPAIN and the WORLD, which contains a detailed article on the methods adopted in the workshops, and which have contributed to the excellent results obtained.

LIBERTARIAN