

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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## Herschel Grynsman and His Tormentors

The great poet Heinrich Heine once wrote that to rouse the Germans it is necessary to poke them between the ribs with a lamp-post. Hitler's ascendancy to power has proven that Heine was far from the mark in his belief that the Germans could be roused by a mere lamp-post between the ribs.

Since 1933 Germany has been turned into a slaughter house with Hitler, Goering and Goebels and their cohorts wading knee-deep in the blood of their victims. No, not only Jews, but thousands of political dissenters have been tortured and done to death in the hideous concentration camps or on the block. Yet not a voice of protest in Germany or a hand raised against the modern *torquemadas* who lord over that country. To be sure the continued persecution of the Jews and the clandestine and open extermination of other thinking Germans did at first rouse the indignation of the world outside Germany, but it was of short duration. The protests against the horrors of the Nazi regime made no deeper dent than a wagon passing through a stagnant pool. The wheels spread the slimy surface to both sides, the ill-smelling pool remained. Nothing moved in Germany, and public opinion outside also settled down to the fait accompli.

Heinrich Heine's dictum unfortunately applies not only to the Germans. The peoples in the rest of the world also have to be poked between the ribs with more than a lamp-post. Especially is this true since the last world conflagration. Its frightfulness and all that has come in its wake have completely jaded human sensibilities to wrongs, injustice and outrage. The concentrated horrors of the Jewish pogroms were needed to awaken the world again to the savage methods resurrected in Germany from the dead past.

The new awakening to the sufferings of a whole people is indeed commendable. So is the ready response from all layers of society in every land to the great needs of the Jewish victims of Hitler and his cohorts. In the midst of it all it is probably understandable that public opinion should turn against the boy of seventeen who has dared to raise his hand against the ogre that is bleeding and oppressing the German people. Nevertheless the condemnation derision and contempt hurled against Grynsman

are indicative of considerable ignorance and lack of psychological perception of the forces that condition a political act of violence. To be sure the more humane have expressed surprise that a young creature, usually given to sports and idle amusements, should have been willing to stake his own life by his act. It was such a useless act since his victim did not directly participate in the recent frightfulness of the pogrom, they say. While I readily concede that the boy's shot was worthy of a more important fry, I consider the charge of insanity lacking in understanding, and a very cheap method of explaining the intricate motivations of such an act. Besides, the history of tyrannicide, once acclaimed as the highest expression of courage and patriotism, and now considered out of date, proves that these who had risen against tyranny were nearly all of the most impressionable age. The wonder to me is not Grynsman's act. Rather is it that so few inspired individuals now rise against so much oppression in the world.

The most important fact entirely overlooked is that the true murderers of Von Rath were really not the boy now in a lone cell in France and repudiated by his own people as well as the rest of the world. He had merely used the gun loaded for him by the blood-thirsty rulers of Germany and the relentless treatment of foreigners by the French authorities.

The only attempt made to interpret the act of Grynsman was by Henri Jeanson in "S.I.A." now published in Paris. In a very penetrating article the author analyses the forces that have driven the boy to take the life of Von Rath and thereby to sacrifice his own.

I give below the substance of this article:

"In 1920 Hitler burst on the world—for it was in February, 1920, that the Nazi Party decided its programme and promised itself to expel the Jews from the German nation.

On the 25th March, 1921, Grynsman (Herschel Feibel) was born.

During the 15 years, 1921 to 1936, Grynsman underwent all the humiliations inflicted on Jews by the S.A. During these 15 years Grynsman lived in an atmosphere of hate, of blood and of terror. His fellows were imprisoned, tortured and massacred.

## THE FRENCH STRIKE

### C.G.T.'S RESPONSIBILITY

#### WORKERS CAN GUARANTEE PEACE!

Germany is incessantly increasing her armaments and England is consequently obliged (or so we are told), to do the same. It is odd that it has not occurred to our rulers to do a simple thing, nothing very Machiavellian, but which would reduce armaments on both sides. Why don't we stop exporting to Italy and Germany the petrol, heavy oils, iron, copper, nickel, and bauxite without which they could not produce these arms? It is true that this would materially reduce our exports, but that reduction would not compare with the overwhelming expenses imposed by "National Defence."

Though this simple idea is unlikely to appeal to governmental circles, this means of economic warfare should be understood by the working classes who must acquire control of the material they produce.

"Internationalism": Capitalist or working class?

Capitalism is truly international, since we find that American and English petrol fuels war planes of Japan, and that bauxite serves for the construction of Goering's great air force. The Wendel steel works manufacture steel plating for the defence of the Siegfried line and the City of London lends money (including 80 milliard of francs exported for safety by "patriotic" French Capitalists) to Mussolini.

Whilst the capitalist rulers triumph at Munich and in Spain the workers English, French and American, continue to mine the iron ore, to bore for petrol and to turn the shells which will kill thousands of brother workers on the Ebro front or in the streets of Madrid and Barcelona.

In 1936 Grynsman achieved his rebirth—in plain fact he succeeded in escaping from his racial prison. He came to France—to France which has the reputation of a place of refuge.

For two years he lived with his uncle, Abraham Grynsman. He was peaceful and happy. He found work . . .

The German and the Italian Embassies rule over the Ministry of the Interior—and the Surete became their pawn. Refugees were searched out and ill-treated. They were beaten up. They were expelled. This man hunt was quite openly pursued every morning.

The outlaws were expelled—

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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#### ON POLITICIANS

The swarms of cringers, dough-faces, lice of politics, planners of sly innovations for their own preferment.

WALT WHITMAN.  
(Preface to "Leaves of Grass")

I esteem the man who refrains from becoming a politician.

LA BRUYERE

(Jurist Seventeenth Century)

and dignity (sic). The General strike should have followed immediately on the outbreak of strikes in Paris and in the mines of the North, where the workers forcefully expressed their will to resist the Government Decrees by occupying the factories and repulsing the Mobile Guards who came to turn them out. Jouhaux did not intend the strike to be a revolutionary act; it was meant simply as an orderly protest against the Decree-laws; Parliament was to decide.

Is it surprising then that the strike failed, at least in part? Jouhaux left plenty of time for Daladier to surround Paris with troops, to organise the auxiliary forces to man the public services. The C.G.T., by ordering the strikers in the North and in Paris to go back to work and withhold any premature demonstration, broke the revolutionary spirit of the working class, leading them to put their faith in a general strike organised with "calm and dignity." It is this policy of "calm and dignity" instituted by the Popular Front which has led the workers to the edge of Fascism.

The C.G.T. has proved its weakness; the working class will pay for it. Daladier will hardly be intimidated by the oratorical gestures of politicians. He will profit by the hesitation of the workers, when the time called for immediate action, to institute a dictatorial regime with the full support of the upper bourgeoisie who are delighted to have found the "strong man" able to defend their interests and their security; of the capitalists who approve the new financial measures and the super-armament programme, of the British imperialists who want France in the German-Italian alliance.

The French proletariat cannot hope to escape fascism by following reformist leaders and corrupt politicians. To overthrow Daladier and his powerful allies, they must rely upon themselves. Like the Spanish proletariat in July, 1936, they must take the offensive in revolutionary action before it is too late.

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and

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# C.G.T. Congress and French Labour

(From our Paris Correspondent)

Since the great change in Communist policy in 1933 the organised class-war has in France gradually lost its own characteristics and has been turned to the profit of the struggle between imperialisms.

The revival of revolutionary feelings in 1936 stopped to some extent this development. The Congress of Nantes has fulfilled the worst fears of revolutionaries. Working class and Trade Union organisations have become an instrument which the imperialist groups are trying to use for their own ends. The class-war is taking a second place and the struggle for influence between "protector" nations, Russia, England and the United States affects the interior policy of the C.G.T. (The C.G.T. is the French counterpart of the English T.U.C.). Jouhaux's speech, which was acclaimed by two thirds of the Congress was entirely communist. The Stalinist group which did not wish for a too open triumph, nevertheless won every position, and gained the support of all the old trade-union leaders in repressing the anti-Communist tendency, profiting by the weakness of their opponents. But what has Jouhaux said? His principle idea was that the ideal of class must be replaced by the ideal of the nation. He supported the idea that France must form a closer relation with the United States under Roosevelt and that she should maintain her alliance

with Russia—that is to say that she should detach herself from the influence of England. He attacked the Munich pact and took up in a somewhat modified form the Stalinist slogans on the subject of Czechoslovakia and the Negrin Government in Spain. On the subject of the Daladier Government he was only able to reply by vague threats and the hope that the ministry will be upset by parliamentary action.

## THE "ANTI-COMMUNIST" BLOC.

As one might have expected he was applauded by the communist delegates. The only group left to defend Trade-Unionism and to resist the influence of the Communist Party in the C.G.T. and to maintain its working class character was that section, grouped round Belin (leader of the reformists). Unfortunately that was not a large group—"Anti-Communism" has never been powerful enough to struggle against the Stalinist influence. Too many disunited and even contradictory elements were joined in this coalition. Some of them simply seeking to protect their own jobs, would have been satisfied with the guarantee that they would not lose them—Others, bound to political factions, radicals, socialists, or what not, were not able to resist communist demagogues.

The greatest stumbling block of the "Anti-Communist" group has been their lack of individual programme and the want of any real difference between them and the communists for the solution of important problems. The idea of nationalism and of national defence, of class collaboration, the refusal to seek a revolutionary way, the lack of confidence in the capacity of working class action, these were found in both camps. Followers of Chamberlain, Bonnet, Stalin or Roosevelt were all agreed to accept the budget for war and the measures required for defence of democracies.

## A REVOLUTIONARY MINORITY.

The only real opposition to all these old and new reformists was a little revolutionary minority whose spokesman—Serret—who speaking

in the name of the "Class-war Circle" and the revolutionary tendency in the teaching profession—denounced both bellicose Stalinism and the Chamberlainist reformism, reviving as he did the principles of direct action, of sit-down strikes, of anti-militarism, and internationalism. He soon had the whole Congress shouting him down.

In spite of the new rules which make it impossible for the smaller syndicates to be represented directly and in spite of the suppression of minorities by bureaucrat procedures and the sabotage of the propaganda

of the militant revolutionaries, 19 syndicates claimed their support to the idea of direct syndicalist action. This Congress of bureaucrats and job holders, asleep to the interests of the working classes whom they represent was shaken in spite of itself, by the call to the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle.

One dare not hope that this cry would awaken the bureaucrats of the C.G.T., but it will resound among the syndicalists who came into the C.G.T. in June, 1936, and not the C.G.T. of Roosevelt and Stalin. The control of the organisation of

the struggle and defence of the workers in the C.G.T. has been taken out of the hands of its own members.

We cannot hope for a new movement comparable to that of two years ago nor for a great increase of the revolutionary minority. Already the syndicates have ranged themselves on the side of established Society and preparation for war.

The working class giant has taken his seat at the diplomats' tables and awaits instructions.

R.

(Our next issue will contain an article by our Paris Correspondent on "The French Press." In the period through which we are passing this topic is of vital interest to all workers—Eds.).

## SPAIN'S CHILDREN MUST NOT STARVE!

During these recent weeks of political hysteria we have to a certain extent neglected to mention our colony at Masnou in these columns. Similarly, we have not as yet published the illustrated pamphlet on the colony as we had promised in a recent issue of the paper. But it will be definitely ready next week and friends will greatly assist us by ordering their copies now.

But now that winter is setting in, we must renew our appeal to all readers and friends to do all they can to help during these coming weeks so that by the new year, not only will we have our colony filled to capacity—that is with 70 children instead of 50—but will be well on the way to start a new colony where more innocent children may find shelter from the bitter cold and that phantom which is lurking over Spain: starvation. It is reckoned that some 70,000 children will perish this winter if the solidarity of men and women all over the world will not be forthcoming. We, the readers and staff of SPAIN AND THE WORLD have a task before us, the success of which, depends on the efforts and time we are prepared to give to this work of human solidarity. During the coming months all kinds of initiatives must be organised in order to raise funds for our children at Masnou and all the

others we are going to care for in the near future! Socials, Raffles, Bazaars, Dances . . . to swell the funds for the Spanish children.

As will be seen from the list below our Funds have been greatly swelled these last few weeks by a large contribution through our comrade Ventwini who raised this magnificent sum through a raffle which required a total outlay of about 30/-, besides two large contributions through comrades A. Porezoff and J. Holtz. Comrade J. Holtz's contribution is sent on behalf of the Kropotkin Literary Society of Los Angeles. Whilst we are reluctant to refer to the activity of this group on behalf of our children, without also mentioning the other groups such as the Detroit International Libertarian Organisation against Fascism in Spain and may individual comrades' indefatigable efforts, the splendid results achieved by the Los Angeles comrades is worthy of a few lines as an example which deserves to be followed by other groups and comrades. Since we started the Orphans Fund the group has contributed more than \$300 (£60) besides actively supporting many other initiatives.

Finally, and we consider this of utmost importance, readers must be sure that all their contributions go to Spain and do not disappear in "expenses." Of a total of nearly £850 already contributed, our expenses (printing and postages and freight on clothing) amount to £7. A complete balance sheet of our accounts from the beginning will be published at the end of the year and will be available for all comrades.

We have dealt with details concerning the Fund but there remains this final appeal to all comrades and friends to get to work now without another day's hesitation. We want individual and collective contributions for our work for the Spanish children. Send now your contributions however small! Collect contributions from your friends and fellow workers every week or every month and then we shall make headway. A year ago when we had 20 children we said that our aim had to be 80. We are nearly there, and you will see to it that that figure is surpassed by the New Year!

Contributions received for the Orphans Fund will be found on page 6. The next list which will appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD must be even longer!

## SPAIN and the WORLD

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## MACHIAVELLI and "THERMIDOR"—anism

by  
F. A. Ridley

The movement of international socialism is to-day confronted by a double crisis; a political crisis and one that is moral in character. The political crisis represented by the prevalence of Fascism and of other forms of capitalist reaction, is common knowledge; but the moral crisis, only recently made manifest, is perhaps even more serious; corrupting socialism, as it does, from within the movement itself.

Hitherto, every major social revolution has passed successively through the phases of rise, meridian, and social retreat. The "heroic" period of the Revolution is followed in apparently inexorable sequence by the coalition with the moderate sections of the former (dispossessed) ruling classes, which inaugurates a retreat, in the course of which the genuine revolutionaries are ruthlessly suppressed and are relentlessly "liquidated" in the name and in the supposed interest of the Revolution itself. In the vocabulary of revolutionary science this process is known as "Thermidor."

N.B.—The term is taken from the 27-28th July, 1794—the revolutionary month of "Thermidor"—9-10. It was upon this date that Robespierre went to the scaffold, and the rule of the Jacobin club, the heroic phase of the French Revolution, came to a violent end. Throughout the history of revolution "Thermidor" has been a recurring phenomenon. In every case, revolution has thrown up its caste of leaders and their political clients who have consolidated themselves in positions of power, and having clothed themselves with the moral authority of the revolution, of which they have become the official representatives, have used their power to promote ends which are effectually counter-revolutionary in their social character. The "Thermidorean" state is "objectively counter-revolutionary," to borrow a typical phrase characteristic of Thermidorean politics in general. None the less, and this is an undeviating manifestation of Thermidor, the counter-revolution carried out in effect by the new ruling class is never so in name, but is, contrarily, always clothed in revolutionary phraseology, and derives its moral authority from its supposed connection with the Revolution of which it claims to be the authentic heir and residuary legatee.

The major revolutions of modern times have invariably manifested this characteristic sequence. In the great English Revolution—1642-1639—"Thermidor" occurred, first with the

triumph of Cromwell and the army "grandees" over the democratic "levellers," again with the victory of the Whig Oligarchy, over the Puritan extremists, in the Restoration period, and in "the glorious Revolution" (sic) of 1688-9. We have already had occasion to mention the classical Thermidor of the French Revolution.

The science of Revolution being an exact science, it repeats its leading phenomena with a precise regularity in the 20th century also. The Thermidorean era of the Russian Revolution is now in full swing. It was inaugurated by the rise of the revolutionary vested interest which was embodied in the Russian bureaucracy that advanced to power in the shadow of Stalin, "Stalinism" is, if and when considered scientifically, the creation of a new governmental type; one unique in history, viz: the direct dictatorship of the state apparatus itself, a regime more autocratic than any which has yet appeared on the historic stage, since entirely unchecked by the restraints elsewhere exercised by private property. The advent of the Russian Thermidor was bloodily indexed by the "Moscow Trials" which "liquidated" the Russian revolution—and the surviving Russian revolutionaries—in approved Thermidorean style.

While the ancient regime has, indeed, been abolished in Russia, yet as in the case of its historic predecessors, the English and French Revolutions, the results of the revolution have been stolen from the people who made it. The revolutionary State of Lenin which was in process of "withering away" has given place to its exact opposite, the State of Stalin in which everything "withers away"—except the State! With the Russian Revolution has gone for the moment—the World Revolution as well. In the language of astrology our planet is in the "house" of Thermidor.

(N.B. There have, it is true been some inadequate prototypes to the Russian bureaucratic state, to its "dictatorship of the secretariat." Of these partial parallels the medieval Theocracy of the sun-kings of Peru, the Incas, is perhaps the most remarkable. Here also the restraints of private property were largely lacking under the rule of the

priestly bureaucracy of Cuzco. But the Peruvian regime was pre-industrial; the Incas had the Kremlin wax-works, but the radio was denied them! I may add that the contemporary Spanish Revolution also displays strong traces of Thermidor, but I omit any discussion of this in view of the abnormal conditions induced by the Civil War).

If Stalin is to-day the temporary symbol of Thermidorean politics, its permanent symbols, its "guide, philosopher and friend" is Machiavelli. The Florentine ex-bureaucrat (1469-1527) rediscovered Roman *real-politik* and applied it to the modern age, with the steel clarity and cold ruthlessness of a great political virtuoso. Not without a certain plausibility the epithet "Machiavellian" has come to stand for a definite approach to ethics and to life; for the confusion of "ends and means;" for political amorality in general. The Renaissance Master, who was the contemporary of Ignatius Loyola and the "godfather" of Satan—viz: "Old Nick"—was the real author of the "Jesuitical" concept that "the end justifies the means," a concept of politics and of morals, that, inter alia, is inseparable from the practice of Thermidor.

If the 19th century, age of optimism, and of progress, tended to despise all centuries prior to its own, our own disillusioned era suffers from no such contempt for the more remote past; it reserves its contempt for its immediate predecessor, the 19th century! Mussolini justifies with logical precision the scientific immorality of the author of "The Prince" and of the "Ten Books of Livy." Across the Alps Machiavelli, translated into German, loses something of his stylistic perfection, but expressed in the more ragged terminology of "Mein Kampf" his doctrines receive official sanction in the third Reich.

For Fascism on the international field Machiavelli is what Aristotle was for the man of the Middle Ages: "the master of those who know." (Dante—Paradiso). If the sacred scriptures are valid for the true Catholics, solely on the ground of the Pope's infallible endorsement, then doubly valid are the Machiavellian scriptures, since explicitly confirmed by two more than infallible "Leaders," the Duce and the Fuhrer, who both qualify in stage costumes for the historical role assigned by their common Master for his "Prince," rough-riding over every law, both human and divine.

Continued on page 6.



## Revolutionary Culture in Spain

This book supplement would hardly be complete without some mention of the tremendous amount of literature that has been published in Spain by the "Editorial Tierra y Libertad" (Etyl).

Even in normal times, the quantity and the quality of their publications would deserve special mention. That so much literature has been and is still being produced in spite of the difficult period through which the Spanish people are living, is worthy of even greater admiration.

It is significant that the Spanish revolutionaries have always given so much attention to culture and "revolutionary education."

Durruti and Ascaso for instance were men of direct action yet during their exile in Paris, one of the first things they did was to open a small bookshop where workers could obtain books and pamphlets of all kinds.

This eagerness for culture has been manifest to an even greater degree since July 1936. Formerly, most of the revolutionary education the workers and the peasants received had been by word of mouth owing to the state of illiteracy in which the poor people had been kept (thanks to the Church which was responsible for the Spanish Workers general education). Since 1936 there has been an intensive drive against this scourge with the result that thousands of schools have been opened both in the rear-guard and even at the Front where children and adults alike may learn to read and write.

The workers' avidity for knowledge has been amazing and every encouragement has been offered them in the way of artistically produced magazines and albums (Sim's album of paintings, the monthly publications *Tiempos Nuevos*, *Mujeres Libres* . . . to mention but three) besides a considerable number of books by the best known International Anarchist writers and philosophers.

The list is unending for the *Tierra y Libertad* Publishing committee has undertaken a task which will continue so long as International reaction does not overwhelm Spain.

During the last few months "Etyl" has published 3 volumes of Bakunin's "Obras" with copious explanatory notes by Dr. Max Nettlau; "Dictadura y Revolucion" by Luigi Fabbri; "Anarcosindicalismo" by Rudolf Rocker (an English Edition was published in England last year); "El organismo Economico de La Revolucion" (The economic Organism of the Revolution) by D. A. Santillan; "La Moralidad Anarquista" (Anarchist Morality) by Kropotkin; "Campos Fabricas y Talleres" (Fields, Factories and Workshops) by Kropotkin; *Historia del Movimiento Macknovista* (History of the Macknovist movement) by Archinoff; *La Tragedia del Norte* (The Tragedy of the North) by Solano Palacio; *Vida y Pensamiento de Malatesta* (The life and the Thought of Malatesta) by Fabbri; *La Independencia de España* by Jacinto Torयो; *Anarquía* by Gonzalez Prada, etc. . . . At the present time the books in the course of preparation include two by Solano Palacio, the works of Camillo Berneri, Isaac Puente, Fosco Falaschi, Emma Goldman, and A. Berkman, besides ten volumes containing all Rudolf Rocker's works (including "Nationalism and Culture" which was published in America). Furthermore the remaining three volumes of Bakunin's "Obras" will also be ready shortly.

The comrades of "Etyl" must be congratulated on the results already obtained in their immense task of Revolutionary Education in Spain.

## THE OPEN FIELDS SYSTEM A Review by Herbert Read

The Open Fields by C. S. & C. S. Orwin (Oxford Clarendon Press, 21s.)

This is a work of historical research which in the publishers opinion could have no interest for readers of SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Actually it is of great importance for anyone concerned with the practical realisation of anarchism. It does not describe an anarchist system of agriculture; nor a system which in any of its details we would like to revive. Nevertheless, it is a book from which the anarchist can derive considerable support for his theories.

Most people are aware that until a comparatively recent time much of the land of this country was common land—that is to say, communal land, cultivated by the community for the common benefit. They are aware that gradually, but for the most part during the 18th and 19th centuries, these common-lands were enclosed and divided among individual owners. It is true that a considerable number have survived as "open spaces" or "recreation grounds," but the commons as agricultural units have virtually disappeared. They survive actively in only two or three places, one of which is the subject of this book.

The system of agriculture practised under this communal system of ownership is known as the Open Field system—a system which lasted in this country for at least two thousand years, and which was only destroyed by the industrialisation or commercialisation of farming—by the introduction of the profit motive. The Open Fields were originally clearings made by settlers, who then proceeded to work the land in common for the common benefit. But these early settlers were not theorists; they were realists driven by practical and urgent needs to devise the most productive method of farming. This method was one which preserved individual initiative whilst submitting everything to common control. They divided the land into three parts. "A large part . . . was kept under the plough to produce corn for man and straw for his beasts. Another part, much smaller, consisted still of the natural herbage, though cleared of trees and bushes, and this was mown yearly to give hay for winter feed for live stock . . . The third part comprised all that was left of the area under the control of the community, and it remained in its natural state of woodland or waste, except in so far as this was affected by grazing and by cutting timber and scrub for building and fuel."

The extent of the arable land was determined by the number of ploughs in the community, and it was allotted amongst its members in strips representing a day's work with the plough, so that each man's strips alternated with those of his neighbours as day followed day. The strips varied in size and direction according to the nature of the land, and their position changed with the rotation of the crops. The fallow land was used for common grazing. The meadow land was divided in the same way as the ploughlands, each man getting his strip to mow for hay.

One of Mr. and Mrs. Orwin's objects is to show that this system, which at first sight looks so impracticable and uneconomic, was really the best system under the circumstances, and did incidentally result in giving everyone an equal share in the advantages and disadvantages of soils and situation. Inevitably it also involved a pooling of the common stock of knowledge which redounded to the general benefit of the community.

The greater part of the volume is taken up with a detailed examination of the only Open Fields still surviving in England as an economic unit, those at Laxton in the county of Nottingham. In addition to the actual survival of the system, an unusual quantity of documents and maps relating to the parish have survived which make it possible to trace the historical evolution of the Open Fields system with great accuracy. The whole community comes to life—their names, the extent of their holdings, the rents they paid and the daily and yearly round of their activities. But it is the community-life itself, the way in which the parish lived as an economic unit, that has most inter-

est and significance for us to-day. In particular, there are two points to emphasize.

In the first place, the government of the Open Fields was (and still is at Laxton) a pure democracy. The administration of the system was in the hands of the manor court, which consisted of all tenants and freeholders and appointed juries and officers to carry out its regulations. Every member of the community, therefore, had a direct responsibility, not only for the decisions of the court but for their enforcement. Or, in the words of the authors, "both legislative and executive functions are vested in the people themselves." Originally these functions had a far wider scope than the actual farming system. They included the relief of the poor, the repair of the highways and the keeping of the peace. At this point I would like to quote Mr. and Mrs. Orwin at some length:

All these voluntary services, which every one might have to perform, have now been merged in larger administrative units, but in the personal responsibility for the preservation of the general good, which still devolves, sooner or later, upon every one, Laxton has retained something which has been lost everywhere else in the process of the enclosure of the Open Fields. Its people control their own affairs in the daily incidents of their work, by a scheme of voluntary administration maintained by public opinion without recourse to the law of the land and without the expenditure of a single penny. Encroachments upon the highway and upon the commons, trespass by straying stock, disputes as to boundaries, the cleansing of ditches and watercourses and the cutting of hedges—all of these things, together with the observance of the agreed system of husbandry, are settled here by the community at its own court. In other places recourse must now be had to the law, failing compliance with the instructions of paid officials in whom are now vested the powers once exercised by the community. In place of attendance at the court, of sharing in the responsibility for the regulations made thereat, of serving on a jury charged with the duty of securing the observance of such regulations, the dwellers in other parts of rural England can do no more than cast a vote for the election of some one to represent them on some local administrative body. After holding up his hand at a parish meeting or making a cross on his ballot paper, if, indeed, he do so much, the ordinary man thinks that his responsibility for local administration is fulfilled. Small wonder if his attitude towards it, thereafter, is one of complete detachment or of unconstructive criticism.

We may therefore say that up to the beginning of the 18th century the agricultural system of this country, upon which the subsistence of the whole people depended, was carried on without any State interference, without legislature and without a bureaucracy. And this was a system which had endured for thousands of years. As a system it was destroyed by capitalism—by the substitution of farming for profit in place of farming for subsistence. Capitalism has introduced many improvements of a mechanical and technical nature, and there is no necessity to dispense with these. At Laxton the system has adapted itself to such improvements without any surrender of the communal principle. What exists at Laxton to-day could exist again in every parish; it does exist in the agricultural collectives established in Spain.

There is a second point to emphasize. The members of a village community such as Laxton not only have a direct personal responsibility for its social institutions; they have also an equal economic opportunity. Again I will quote the Orwins:

Examples of ascent of the agricultural ladder from the bottom rung may be met with

Continued on page 4

## Ethel Mannin's Anarchist

by P. Chalmers Mitchell

Darkness My Bride. By Ethel Mannin. (Jarrold's London 7s 6d).

I, amateur in letters, must risk being thought presumptuous in praising a book by Ethel Mannin. Naturally "Darkness My Bride" is well-constructed and beautifully written. But it is also a vivid and exciting story, difficult to put down unfinished, and novels, however skilful, unlike this, sometimes have to be taken up again and again, failing somehow to grip. Each character stands out as an acutely observed type, but superadded, are cunning details which make one forget the type and like or dislike the individual. Voyages on tramp steamers, a fire at sea, the atmosphere of Marseilles, Batoum and a German village in the Caucasus, all the drop scenes of the drama are drawn with a sternly enchanting realism. Finally, as might be expected from the title, the whole story is fitted to a half poetical, half mystical pattern, which enchants me.

I hope to have said enough to make any reader of these lines rush off to buy or to borrow the book. But I have another inducement to offer. If the reader has any "Left" opinions, of whatsoever shade, he will be sometimes excited to fury, sometimes delighted by Miss Mannin's judgments and interpretations.

And what better can you have, unless you are one of those who think any deviation from a particular view not only erroneous but malevolent?

But let me be specific. Those who desire social change may be divided into evolutionists and revolutionists. I suppose that Miss Mannin, like me, admits the benevolent intentions of the first, and leaves it at that. The revolutionists share a passionate hatred of the cruelty and incompetence of modern civilisation, and both Communists and Anarchists claim that their ultimate goal is complete freedom of the individual, physical, mental, and moral. But Communism holds that a necessary initial stage is planning and dictation from above. It has had twenty years trial under the Soviets, and Miss Mannin seems to hold that instead of being nearer its ideal goal, it is now throwing a yoke over everything as intolerable as that of a totalitarian dictator. I myself have not been in Russia since the October revolution, and have therefore no experience with which to challenge her interpretation, but, from what I have heard of the freedom of science, music and art in Russia, I doubt it. Anarchism begins with the free individual conscience and regards every violence to it as an evil and corrupting influence, and quite certainly is repelled by the rigidity of the gospel according to Marx Engel and Lenin as much as any other philosophical-religious doctrine as much as any other mental Chinese foot-reducer. Now I have never been in Barcelona, and I cannot judge of the merits of the case Miss Mannin makes for the Anarchists there. But I did see much of them in the south of Spain in 1936-37, and, although I found them more in harmony with my mental make-up than any other men and women at any time or in any place, reckless in their bravery, whole-souled in their devotion and just in their judgments, I also found them often what seemed to me unwise and certainly impractical in a life-and-death struggle of a people. And, lastly, I have to admit, without doubt to Miss Mannin's distaste, her hero whose Odyssey is the story of her book, a worthless drifter through life and through thought. Please forgive me, Miss Mannin!



# Saving Spain From the Spaniards

by Ethel Mannin

Days of Hope by André Malraux (Routledge 8s 6d)  
A Diary of My Times by Georges Bernanos (Boriswood 10s 6d)

Here are two books about different aspects of the Spanish struggle, both by distinguished authors, both of them irritating in parts from the anarchist point of view, yet both of which have importance and should be read. André Malraux's book, is described as a novel; its heroine is Spain; Republican Spain. It is highly intelligent, sensitive, and in parts intensely exciting. Malraux was for a time commander of the International Air Force in Spain, and his book deals with the early stages of the war from that angle. In my opinion this collection of opinions put into the mouths of fighting men in Spain, and exciting accounts of war in the air, does not make a novel; even less of a novel than Ramon Sender's *Seven Red Sundays*, but like that remarkable, inspired, book it has importance; a documentary importance that is not to be denied. It creates the atmosphere of the war in Spain as not even the most vivid newspaper report does; it shows the spirit of the people and the warring sets of ideas that are nevertheless united in the war against Fascism. The book is a mass of talk, and a good deal of it in the nature of rather irritating generalisation; there is a great deal of this sort of thing:—

"The communists—and all who want to get things going properly just now—consider that the fact your friend's an innocent man doesn't prevent him from playing into Franco's hands, if what he does leads to unrest amongst the peasants."

This was the attitude which got

the P.O.U.M. labelled "Trotskyists" and "Trotsky-Fascists" and Franco's Fifth Column. The speaker continues:—

"The communists, you see, want to get things done. Whereas you and the anarchists, for different reasons, want to be something. That's the tragedy of a revolution like this one. Our respective ideals are so different; pacifism and the need to fight in self-defence; organisation and Christian sentiment; efficiency and justice; nothing but contradictions."

Another comrade reflects on how much better it would be if people employed their time "hunting for some basis of co-operation, so as to implement the orders of the government by joint action between the various groups, communist, C.N.T., F.A.I. and U.G.T. Its odd the weakness people have for arguing about anything and everything rather than the practical line of action to be followed, even at a moment when their lives hang on the line they choose. Granted that all manner of views must necessarily be expressed in a book such as this, the reader is nevertheless left with the feeling that the author is primarily concerned with the Popular Front against Fascism, and impatient of the deeper struggle which lit the early days of the war with such promise, until it was crushed by the Communists in alliance with the Republican Government.

Nevertheless the book has great documentary value and an undeniable narrative excitement.

Another distinguished French author, Georges Bernanos, the author of *The Diary of a Country Priest*, gives us in his new book, *A Diary of My Times* (published in France under the title *Les Grands Cimetières, Sous la Lune*)—as vivid and authentic a picture of the rape of Majorca as Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell in his *My House in Malaga* gave us of the fall of Malaga. Irritating as the author's views are on many things, the book has the value of being, as Bernanos himself declares, the testament of a free man. Bernanos is a French Royalist and a Catholic; he abominates the classifying of a people into what he calls "that anonymous mass called a proletariat", he asserts that "there are no more classes", though in one part of the book he refers to himself as belonging "in some queer way" to the "upper class", and to having done his bit for his class and his country because he has brought up six children; and in another part of the book asserts that he belongs to no class. He asserts also, in his aggressive manner, "I'm no anarchist"—on the grounds that "it seems to me perfectly right that the State should look for its civil servants among the more brainy lads of our schools and colleges. Where else could they be found?" His contempt for the working

class is again indicated when he declares, "I am not writing this for the 'working-classes,' who would never read it anyhow." His horror of Fascism is part of his general horror of Terrorism. "I call Terrorism any system of suspects." Such a system he and his wife witnessed for eight months in Majorca. He describes this Terror tersely and unforgettably. You see those great cemeteries under the Majorcan moon all right. I know those cemeteries and I know that Majorcan moonlight and the almost mystic peace it can hold; but during the "purgings" of Majorca the white Spanish moonlight held not peace but a blood-soaked terror. Bernanos and his family survived without interference; he had no contact with "Reds," his son was a lieutenant in the *Phalange*, and he himself was often seen at Mass.

Bernanos sums up:—

"The Spanish war is a charnel house. It's the charnel-house of real principles and false, of good intentions and bad. When they have stewed together in mud and blood, you'll see what kind of a broth you have brewed. There is no more pitiful sight than the spectacle of those wretched men crouching for months around a witches' cauldron, each of them jabbing with his fork and dragging off his tit-bit—republicans, democrats, fascists, or anti-fascists, churchmen or anti-clericals—unhappy human beings all of them, all of them poor devils."

He sees "the Spanish crusade", as he calls it, as a farce,

"for it sets one against the other two heterogeneous partisan bodies who were already futilely opposed over the electoral system, who will always be opposed to no purpose because they do not know what they want, because they exploit force instead of knowing how to use it to their advantage."

A thoroughly irritating book, but obviously the product of a lively, independent, courageous mind; certainly not a negligible book, and for all its contradictions, its aggressiveness, its, in parts, ill-informedness, an important book, provocative, honest, violent, contemptuous, and with its own queer twisted sanity. An infuriating book, but a memorable one, and, like Malraux's book, and Chalmers Mitchell's, of immense documentary value.

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# Two books on U.S.S.R.

U.R.S.S. Telle Qu'elle Est by Yvon (N.R.F. Paris 28 frs)  
Au Pays du Grand Mensonge by A. Ciliga (Ed. N.R.F. Paris 28 frs.)

Yvon has made in his book a complete analysis of the real situation in the U.S.S.R. with the competence of a man who has lived for eleven years in the country, travelling from north to south and working in the most varied groups. He admits with great impartiality that certain results have been achieved, but he also shows that enormous mistakes have been made and he attempts to find the causes of these, which are not to be found in the personalities only but rather in the system itself. Many mistakes are due to the planned economy, which constantly comes up against factors which could not be foreseen and which cannot be attributed to the will of the workers because: "The ordinary man becomes one of the elements of a mathematical equation, the other factors of which are raw material, tools, transports and time." Not even the peasant escapes this mechanisation of the worker. He tends to become more and more a factory hand, working at piece work, enslaved to the scheme of the five years Plan.

Political life is equally deprived of Liberty as is economic life. Everyone lives in fear of prison or death. "The only explanation, says Yvon, is that the Bolsheviks have always preached a dangerous amorality, which finally vitiated the life of the whole country. Nowadays the proletariat is gagged and exploited by a class of bureaucrats and technicians. But, Yvon concludes "the social struggle will be reborn in U.S.S.R. simply because the need of justice and of love is as much a part of man as his stomach and his brain."

Ciliga's book is an important document for all who enquire seriously into political conditions in U.S.S.R. Ciliga has had the privilege of seeing at first hand the prisons of the Soviet Union and he enjoyed the unique privilege of returning alive thanks to his foreign nationality. He has seen the methods of the Tcheka, seen the infamous means employed to obtain confessions and the tortures inflicted on innocent men. For, the directing class hides its own weakness and mistakes behind spectacular trials, and by imprisonment and punishment of workers and peasants at the least sign of resistance.

The most interesting part of this book is that in which the author describes the life he lived in the isolation prison of Verkhne-Oural'sk, where he was imprisoned for three years with the principal members of the opposition. This political prison was the only place in Russia where

people dared to speak freely! The author was able to see and to follow point by point the varied currents of communist opposition and his conclusions where he makes his criticisms are of great interest to us. For example in 1931 Trotsky defined the U.S.S.R. as a proletarian state and reaffirms the socialistic character of the ends and the means of the Five Year Plan. "The Five Year Plan based on the extermination of the peasants and the pitiless exploitation of the town workers was interpreted by Trotsky as "an attempt of the bureaucracy to adapt itself to the proletariat." In short the U.S.S.R. was developed on "the bases of proletarian dictatorship . . ."

If Stalin says: "We have already realised socialism, Trotsky limits himself to the more exact statement "not socialism but only the first step." Thus Trotsky's revolution, to take the most favourable view would change the personnel of the bureaucrats introducing a little liberalism without changing the system, because for Trotsky "the task of the opposition was to improve the bureaucracy system, not to destroy it. To fight against the exaggerations of privileges and the extreme inequality in the standard of life, not against privilege and inequality in general. And later Ciliga says "the quarrel between Stalin and Trotsky concerns party politics and personalities in the party; for Trotsky and for Stalin, the proletariat was a passive mass."

Ciliga after having freed himself from his attachment to Trotsky began to ask himself if Lenin too was not guilty. Was it not true "that he too had preferred power to the interest of the masses? That he preferred victorious bureaucrats rather than the conquered workers? And that he assisted the former to perpetuate their system of domination? He did not recoil before repression when the masses revolted and he abused them and betrayed the whole meaning of their legitimate revolt. Nevertheless these revolts feeble as they were, crushed by the bureaucracy as they were, were they not essential to the Russian Revolution? . . . I began to understand why after his death events moved so quickly. Lenin had shown the way to Stalin." And said Ciliga, "for the first time I understood the meaning of the worker's song:

There is no supreme saviour  
Neither God, nor King, nor  
Leader."

It's only anarchists who sing that song nowadays."

M. L. B

# DARKNESS MY BRIDE

by

ETHEL MANNIN

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# The Open Fields System

Continued from Page 3.

commonly enough all over the country, but nowhere else in England will there be found a village community nearly every member of which is at one stage or another in his progress from the bottom to the top. The rate of progress varies, of course, and not every one reaches or expects to reach the top. But the opportunity is there, and it arises solely from the organization of farming in the Open Fields. A man may have no more than an acre or two, but he gets the full extent of them laid out in long "lands" for ploughing, with no hedgrows to reduce the effective area and to occupy him in unprofitable labour . . . Moreover, he has his common rights which entitle him to graze stock over all the "lands," and these have a value the equivalent of which in pasture fields would cost far more than he could afford to pay.

But however much such a man "progresses," he still remains a responsible member of the community, enjoying exactly the same rights as the poorest cottager.

It is not claimed that the Open Fields system was ideal; poverty and hardship existed, and in the background was the feudal system, exacting service rents, payments in kind, tithes, etc. But at any rate the system demonstrates two facts so often denied: that a democracy does not necessarily imply a State or a bureaucracy; and that an industry can be administered by the workers themselves, without capital and without overseers. In short, the history of the Open Fields is a proof of the validity of the main principles of anarchism.

HERBERT READ.



## Collective Adventure

By Maurice Pearlman.  
(Heinemann, 10/6 net.)

I took great delight in reading Mr. Pearlman's book on the Palestine settlements, both because I have myself visited and lived in them and because of my deep desire to see such a society spreading in other parts of the world.

This book is one that none of us can afford to miss whether we are anarchist or not, for it gives us a very masterly account of a new order of society which cannot be counted lightly by those working for a change in society.

It is amazing how in so short a time as six months Mr. Pearlman could have entered into such an understanding of the various aspects of the life and have caught so well the spirit of the collective life, particularly as he comes from such a capitalistic and individualistic society as ours. As one reads one catches the thrilling spirit of pioneering.

The chapters of the book are well arranged to give the reader a comprehensive stage by stage picture of the life, and he does not distract one by interjecting philosophical and intellectual flights of his own which is always a great temptation in a study of such a life.

What he has to say about the Work side of the life would be a great eye opener for our reactionary friends who claim that the Jew cannot work and is only capable of money juggling and exploiting at the expense of gentiles. Certainly these young Jews have disproved that point as Mr. Pearlman has so well shown.

I am glad that he has gone into detail about the life and education of the children who are so important in any society. The settlements have realised that upon the way they bring up the children depends the future of this thing that they are doing. The author has done well in one chapter, but I do not think he would have bored his readers if he had gone into even greater detail for we all must realise how very important it is to give the young generation the right foundations and how very difficult it is to determine what that ought to be.

The chapters on the equality of the sexes and marriage, etc., provide an interesting study and raise many points of interesting discussion. It is evident that the settlers have taken a very sane view of sex life and brought it to its normal level and position in the lives of the people. They have indeed taken a very sane attitude in every way, it is noteworthy that he is able to say after being present at a conference on equality between the sexes "Nor did they, as I imagined they would, have a bee in their bonnet about the absolute physical strength equality between men and women, or about the necessity for women to soft pedal their femininity. They were extremely reasonable in their claims and frank in their admissions." I admire very much the way he deals with Beverley Nichols over the matter of his remarks about "free Love" in the settlements. It is detestable that people with narrow petty little minds should be able to take away with them tales, which show their lack of understanding of anything approaching progressive society. The truth is the Palestine settlers have developed a normal and sane outlook while the curious visitors are themselves victims of abnormality in matters of sex. This subject is again one of great controversy and what Mr. Pearlman has to say is definitely an addition to our stock of experience in these things.

He gives us a glimpse of the healthy differences which exist between various groups of settlements and shows us fundamentally they are all similar, and how experience is tending to level out these differences.

It is of great interest to read about the use of leisure time and how the communes have provided the very best in opportunity for their members. The question of leisure is always being raised by opponents of the co-operative life. In Palestine they have given an answer to that. There are some very interesting pages referring to the position of the Artist in the community and how in various ways the communities have approached the subject.

The book would not have been complete without the chapter on the Co-operative Settlements, for there are problems which the communal system does not altogether solve and which make it difficult for certain individuals to live in them. The description of the co-operative villages is most interesting and the questions which the writer raises give us a good chance of seeing both sides of the question and forming some kind of opinion.

# — Palestine — Idealists and Capitalists

The introduction and the conclusions combined with the chapter on the defence of the communes give us a very good idea of the setting in which this life is being built up. There is no doubt of the essentially anarchist spirit of the whole movement. We should certainly try and read this book as an education in the building of a new society.  
EDMUND COCKSEGE.

## No Ease in Zion

By T. R. Feivel  
(Secker and Warburg, 12/6).

The first Jews to settle in Palestine were "young Intellectual Russians" who left Russia after the pogroms of 1882 "to devote themselves to simple village life." But the idea of a Jewish State was first envisaged by Theodor Herzl a Viennese journalist. His Zionism had very little idealism about it. As Mr. Feivel remarks "Zionism was essentially a bourgeois and capitalist movement" and throughout the book, in vain does one seek for any traces of idealism in the movement, save in the only too few Communal Settlements which are generally opposed to Official Zionism. As early as 1920 "in the new Jewish

Palestine," the "young and militant Labour Federation already had its ideological difficulties." The difficulties arose because there was, according to the author a "strong Left Wing of young people" with pronouncedly revolutionary views" who rejected all bourgeois ties and advocated militant co-operation between the Arab and Jewish workers. Naturally, as in all capitalist countries, the idealist minority succumbs to the wishes of the Capitalists, and in this case to the Zionist Organisation.

This book can leave no illusions as to the true nature of official Zionism. It is Capitalist to the core. In fact, the Socialist dream was shattered as far back as 1924-25. "The brisk capitalist development in Tel Aviv, Haifa and the cities belt took first place" and needless to say there were "bitter struggles against exploitation." And the author admits that though Jewish emigration would continue "it was obvious that the growth of Jewish Palestine under the British regime would be on Capitalist lines and colonial Capitalist lines at that." And Zionism has since abandoned all attempts at setting up a Press Society in Palestine. Rather has it been the contrary. Capitalist refugees (!) flocked to Palestine while the poor workers who probably had even in some small measure agitated against Fascism were left behind to face

the consequences. The author quite expected this to happen when he wrote "Naturally it was the wealthiest and most efficient Jews who had kept their resources sufficiently liquid, who reached the country first" This sudden influx of capital created "revolutionary economic changes in Jewish Palestine." "There was an unprecedented boom in houses, building plots and cities groves, the only ready channels of investment . . ." land values rose to fantastic heights . . . "and at the same time the Histadrut grew into a close knit, wealthy body of nearly 100,000 members aiming entirely at consolidating the new nationalism, cementing the new Jewish Palestine into a miniature but solid national entity." This passage is full of irony for most of these "colonisers" have escaped from German Nationalism which they have learned to hate by bitter experience, only to create Jewish Nationalism in Palestine. There is some truth in the suggestion that many Jews in Germany would have gladly waved the Swastika if Streicher gave them the chance to do so! Consequently the Zionist attitude towards the Arabs is of interest. Nine tenths of Zionist opinion—according to Mr. Feivel, consider that "The Arab does not exist," which is not exactly the best way to try and work in harmony with the people who have, after all, lived for years in the same land. At

least it is not the attitude one would expect from people who have themselves been driven out of a country which they had considered their homeland for generations. And the author shows us how sure the Zionists always were of their strength and of outside support. They reasoned in these terms: "Ultimately British and Zionist interests must surely coincide. And how could a small Arab population challenge the might of British Imperialism" or as in another example the Zionist assumption "that such a Zionist majority (in Palestine) could be obtained without major resistance by the Arabs, implies that the Palestine Arabs do not exist . . ." Furthermore one reads "Already the Official Zionist name for Palestine-Eretz Israel . . . emphasized this attitude." Also the education of Jewish children in Palestine was nationalist. In fact the whole attitude of official Zionism has been one of non-co-operation with the Arabs.

The Arabs and their cause are dealt with in a very sketchy fashion in a short chapter. The backward conditions of the Arab worker and his domination by the upper class is surely not a reason why these people should be exploited and dominated by a Jewish Capitalist, with the aid of British Imperialism. Nor can one condemn a movement simply because it has "no programme." The Arab demand for independence is far from vague in its significance.

The Arab leaders writes Mr. Feivel show through their writings and their speeches that "they still only half grasp the real world" and have besides, most vivid imaginations. That may be true, but Herzl had a vivid imagination ("the Jewish bankers dismissed him casually as a mad visionary") and what of Ben Gurion, reactionary and Zionist who laid down a ten year plan for the immigration of one million Jewish families (that is five million people) and all he required was £250 million!

To be sure there is no idealism in the Arab overlords as there is no idealism in the millions of Alfred Mond "the ruthless chief of Imperial Chemical Industries" but as the author points out, since the war the population "Arabs, Christians, Jews exchanged a decadent Imperial Master for an up-to-date one" and more up-to-date in his ruthlessness. And so long as Jewish immigration to Palestine has as its aim the establishment of a Jewish State where lack of consideration for those outside its circle threatens to shape in a similar fashion to that in other countries, then the Arabs' cry for independence and their demands that Jewish emigration should cease seem fully justified.

Mr. Feivel, after his detailed analysis which while not favourable to the Arabs is hardly flattering to the Zionists, in the chapter "Palestine and the Jews" tries to look into the future of Palestine. The narrow outlook of Zionism will prevent progress being made in Palestine, and again—for it cannot be stressed too often—the lack of consideration for the Arabs who in Palestine "still live at a deplorably low level."

The persecution of the Jews in Europe to-day is in our opinion but one problem, and their treatment is not a greater a travesty of justice than Mussolini's murderous attacks on the Abyssinians or on the Italian workers who still fill his jails, nor of British Imperialism's policy in India, nor of International Fascism's campaign of extermination in Spain.

We say with Mr. Feivel that "to-day the question of the Jews of Europe has become one which must be solved together with all others—or, together with them, fail to be solved." And we further add that Zionism will not solve the Jewish problems.

The Jewish workers must now unite with the Arab workers, before hatred and suspicion create an unsurmountable barrier, which will make it virtually impossible to rid Palestine of British Imperialism and Arab and Jewish Capitalism, for many years to come.

V.R.

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# THE JESUITS

## A Review by J. R. White

The Jesuits by F. A. Ridley.  
(Secker and Warburg, 12/6.)

Ridley depicts the Society of Jesus as the instrument of the negative Will, swimming against the stream, because opposed to the rising tide of intelligence in the progressive Time-spirit, compromising with, but casuistically perverting that intelligence to defend and preserve a medieval organization; thus sullyng the sincerity of medieval faith to maintain the reactionary power of a Church, which in its prime was an instrument of culture. The negative Will divorced from progressive intelligence, yet harnessing the superficial forces of culture to its reactionary purpose begets a "Science of Counter Revolution" and a corps d'elite, the Militant Company of Jesus, to war against the advancing Time-spirit in all its aspects.

When the Time-spirit has conquered certain positions, they are too axiomatic in the whole field of culture and practice to be suppressed or denied; they must be incorporated, while the further march of intelligence must be halted by poisoning its historical sources, fogging its ethical sense by casuistry, and penalizing its originality at the examination desk, when the stake is no longer available or politic. If the lost positions are abandoned with an air of fraternization with their captors, the inner lines of defence may still be fortified and camouflaged. The discoveries of Copernicus and Columbus had proved the infallible Church to be wrong in its astronomy and its geography. The defence of the old heavens and the old earth, which the Medieval Church had tried to maintain by persecution, must be given up. The opening of a new heaven and earth coincided with, and evoked, the emergence of a new Merchant Class. If they were the creatures

of the Scientific revolution, they needed for their expansion to be the creators of a revolution, at once economic, political, individual and religious. Thus the Scientific and intellectual revolution was accompanied by the concurrent religious and moral revolution that found expression in the Protestant Reformation, which challenged the basis of Medievalism, *not obliquely but directly* by denying the moral authority and divine origin of the Papacy and transferring the seat of authority to the private judgment of the individual conscience guided by the Jesuit cosmistry, which he had by the Open Bible.

Ridley condemns as superficial the parallel so often made between Loyola and Lenin on the score of the diametrically,—one might add, dialectically,—opposite quality and direction of the giant will-power, which they both display. Lenin's will-power, says Ridley, was revolutionary, i.e., directed by the intellect; for the revolutionary will merely effects changes which the intellect has consciously concluded to be desirable. It is only the reactionary, not to the revolutionary, that will is an end in itself; and I might add, in elucidation of Ridley's meaning, authority so desirable in itself that intellect must be suppressed or perverted for fear of undermining authority by extending social justice or appeal to democratic assent. Yet it was the Jesuits who introduced a subtle demagogy, more comparable to the technique of Hitler than of Lenin, relying on conveying to the simple masses, in language of which they are incapable, the primitive thoughts and emotions of their own limited range. Thus autocracy can be buttressed by demagogy and lip-service offered to democracy to defeat its own ends.

The iron law of obedience which renders the Company of Jesus still obedient to the spirit of its founder had to go to the Orient for its model. The famous phrase of Ignatius Loyola exhorting to obedience,—"*Like a corpse or a stick in the hands of an old man*"—is closely paralleled by the constitution of the Islamic Order of Dervishes known as the Hashishin, whose cult of obedience to their Chief, not stopping short of murder at command, has added the word "assassin" to the language. It was amongst them that the principles of centralization and absolute obedience to their despotic Grand Master reached their zenith. Ridley's claim that the Jesuits went to the Hashishin for their constitution and technique is not proven, but by comparing texts of the constitutions of both bodies, he makes a strong prima facie case. The

Jesuit-Jansenist controversy which raged from circa 1640 till 1653, when Pope Innocent X intervened decisively on the side of the Jesuits, recalls the recent case of Mr. Alfred Noyes, whose book on Voltaire was condemned and ordered to be withdrawn from publication by "The Holy Office." The great Jansenist apologist Pascal, found himself in a quandary which vividly recalls the dilemma of Mr. Noyes. Both Pascal and Noyes may be said to represent the struggle of the genuine Catholicism of the Golden Age against the demagogic compromising Romanism, which the Jesuits had introduced. The decline in faith and ethical standards was offset by increased Papal Infallibility in 1870.

Both Pascal and Noyes were fighting Papal Authority on grounds of common decency with their hands tied behind their backs by submission in advance to the Authority which they fought. "Thank God," said Pascal in one of the famous Provincial Letters, "I have no connection on Earth except with the one Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, in which and in communion with the Pope, its Sovereign Head, I hope to live and die, for out of it I am sincerely convinced that no Salvation is possible" and so when the Sovereign Head of the Church, which he regarded as the monopolist of Salvation, condemned as heretical the Jansenist Thesis and upheld the Jesuit casuistry, which he had castigated so brilliantly, Pascal could only take leave of his victims, who by Papal Authority had become his conquerors, with the magnificent but futile farewell—"What I say is condemned in Rome but what I condemn is condemned in Heaven."

I have exhausted in reviewing Ridley's book all the space I can hope to extract from the Editor. The all-important question remains, how is it that men, whom Ridley himself characterizes as amongst the greatest figures of History, men like Ignatius Loyola and Blaise Pascal, can commit their whole will-power and intellect to an allegiance to Rome rather than to Heaven, even when, as in Pascals' case, they realise that the two are in direct opposition. In what deep unplumbed abyss of Human psychology lies the answer to this riddle?

I think I can shed some light on it, if the Editor will grant me space in the next issue, and start my investigations from some things that Ridley has not said or said incompletely in the masterpiece of historical perspective I have attempted to review in space quite inadequate to the subject.

## "SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN SPAIN"

deals with an aspect of the Spanish struggle so far ignored. It shows how the Spanish workers immediately after the fascist rebellion had been crushed in most of the large towns and villages began to reconstruct their economic life in the rearguard; how they laid the foundations of a society, in which freedom and solidarity were the dominating factors.

Gaston Leval's aim is to draw the attention of all those interested in the Spanish workers struggle to the finest example of Socialization which has even been known, and to the greatest example which has been offered the world proletariat in its struggle for emancipation.

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From **SPAIN AND THE WORLD,**  
21 Frith Street, London, W.1.



## Grynspan And His Tormentors

Continued from Page 1.

if one can so describe it. Political exiles had the choice between assassination or suicide—August, 1938, the police refused Grynspan his identity card.

There was no charge against him. He was involved in no wrongdoing. He lived quietly, honestly—but he was one of the pestilent race!

Now, a marked man, where could he go, where hope to escape? How could he live? Where sleep? How eat? Grynspan had been turned adrift. He slept a night here, a night there, always hiding, frightened, a hunted creature, at the mercy of the first informer who found him out.

He had committed no crime, but was forced to live like an animal. He was treated like a murderer—although he was innocent. Why should he not have become a murderer, since, innocent, he was forced to behave like one?

While he was living in this condition, endeavouring to

evade the Police, he learnt that his parents, driven from their home in Hanover, thrust back over the Polish frontier, were dying of cold and hunger somewhere on the German-Polish border.

Then this man whom the police had treated as a wolf, this man whom they had tried to make into a murderer—became a judge. He went to the German Embassy and shot Von Rath.

Grynspan was arrested, but that was not enough. His aunt and uncle were also arrested, guilty of having allowed the poor boy to sleep in their house. As in Germany, when dealing with a Jew, the whole family are considered as accomplices in any ill-doing."

I can add little to this flaming indictment of the tormentors of Herschel Feibel Grynspan except that they and not he are the perpetrators of his act. They and not Grynspan should be branded with letters of fire as the murderers of Von Rath.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

## INDIGNATION TO ORDER

It is understood that the measures taken in Germany against the Jews should provoke general indignation. But it is odd to observe that those who show the most righteous indignation are frequently those with the fewest scruples and the least right to feel this indignation. There were a good many members of Parliament who protested when Hitler ordered the gutting of shops and the burning of synagogues but not one of these was heard to raise his voice when British aeroplanes

bombarded Palestinian villages. When Hitler burns and sacks shops the whole world is disgusted, even Roosevelt takes up his pen; when Hitler's aviators make hundreds of victims every day in Spain we may perhaps find a paragraph of three or four lines in the daily newspapers.

The misfortune of the Spanish people is that they are fighting for liberty. Consequently there are no powerful financial interests anxious to defend their cause.

B.

## A CORRECTION

To The Editor,  
Spain and the World.

Dear Comrade,

Please make the following corrections in the interview with me about Spain in your issue Vol. II, No. 44, November 12th. In the 2nd column, 2nd paragraph, I am quoted as saying that "S.I.A. has also equipped many schools with canteens." That is wrong. It has only equipped special canteens of its own where rations of condensed milk and bread are daily given to each child. The schools are not under the protective wings of S.I.A. They are being looked after by the Catalan Government, the Generality. True, some of these schools have canteens, but that does not have anything to do with the work of S.I.A. First page, third column, 7th paragraph in re prison. I am quoted as saying that the prisons I visited were "on the whole good." What I said was that they were antiquated and without proper sanitation.

Third error—First column on the last page, 2nd paragraph. I am being quoted as having said that it was "our comrade, Secundo Blanco, Minister of Culture" who had helped me to liberate our comrade Jannette, well-known as an active Anarchist in Poland and France. What did happen is as follows. On my arrival I found that Mariano R. Vazquez, the General Secretary of the C.N.T. Committee, had already protested to the authorities against the arrest of our comrade, but because I wanted the matter rushed, since Jannette had already been three months in Comunicado, I spoke about her case to Secundo Blanco and begged him to intercede. He then communicated with Vazquez and added his authority to the request of the immediate release of our comrade. That, however, did not prevent the S.I.M., the military supervision of prisons, almost exclusively all Communists, to keep our comrade an additional week in their own prison and to subject her to all sorts of cross examinations, photographing and fingerprinting her and adding more insults to the injury she had already endured.

The same paragraph also contains the error that Jannette has resumed her work as an electrical engineer. She has no intention of going back to her old syndicate, but she has been promised by our comrade, Puig Elias, who is the brain of the cultural work carried on by the ministry, a place as assistant of one of the professors of physics.

In the same column, 9th paragraph, the name of our comrade at the head of the 24th Division should be spelt Jover, and not Roveres as spelt in the article.

I must also correct the false impression I must have given as regards my visit to the two fronts, of the Division under Comrade Jover, and the 26th Division under Comrade Sanz. Unfortunately I did not get to the trenches, but I had an opportunity of talking to some of the men who comprised the Division, and it is from them that I got their wonderful spirit.

I am sorry to take up so much of your valuable space, but I dislike being misquoted—in this case most inadvertently, I am sure.

Fraternally,  
EMMA GOLDMAN.

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369 London: 2 "T.C. Reds" (per W. Farrer) 2/-.  
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## British Imperialism In India

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

The Central Legislative Assembly of India has passed a law which renders indictable every activity aimed at keeping anyone from enlisting for military service, or the object of which is to incite future recruits to mutiny or insubordination.

The Government claims that in the past 18 months a great many speeches have been made which had the forementioned tendency, and that the results thereof have become perceptible in a falling off in the number of voluntary enlistments. The intention of the law is clear: in a future war the British Empire will more than ever be dependent on human material from the colonies, and it is only too well known that there is fiercest opposition in India to the use of Indian troops for imperialist objects. The new law makes it possible for the Govern-

ment to crush any action against such use. Could there be more eloquent proof of the increasing tension in the world than this law?

The Central Legislative Assembly passed the law by 63 votes against 55. This proportion of votes, says the Press Service of the All India Congress Committee, does not represent the real situation. Actually the new measure on the part of the Government has been strongly criticized and rejected by practically the whole nationalist and socialist Indian press. The Central Legislative Assembly, however, does not represent the nation. It consists of 145 members, 41 of whom are appointed by the Government, in addition to nine European members. The other 95 are chosen on a communal basis: the law obtained a majority because the Mohammedan group took the side of the Govern-

ment. For the present, the law applies only to the Punjab, but it can be extended to all the other provinces at the desire of the provincial governments.

The resistance against this law is not based on non-violent or antimilitarist principles, as clearly appears from the speeches of the opponents. India wants the right to decide for itself whether it will take part in a war of the British Empire or not. It wishes the same rights as the dominions in this respect. At present India has not even the slightest control over the army—one thing alone is expected of India: that it supply men, and pay. Therefore, Desai, the leader of the Congress delegates, declared: When you speak of the defence of India you mean your possessions in India. The army in India is an army of occupation; it is an imperialist army. "I do not want Indians to lay down their lives as they did before, like fools and dupes, between the years 1914 and 1918. We shall no longer be the dupes of this Empire." Satyamurthi said that the British Empire forms the greatest menace to pacifism in the world, and that "Britain is like an old woman who has lost courage and broods over her disintegrating Empire."

Several papers declare that the threatened punishments will not prevent India from starting a campaign against the participation of Indian troops in a war of the British Empire if it is considered necessary to do so.

### GROUPS

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Anarchist Federation of Britain  
21, Frith Street, W.1  
C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bureau  
21, Frith Street, W.1

GLASGOW

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## To ALL Interested Readers

Several comrades have already answered our appeal for Funds. But not in sufficient numbers yet to appreciably reduce our deficit. If SPAIN AND THE WORLD means something to you, then we are not expecting too much in asking all our readers to help to reduce our deficit.

We trust the Press Fund lists which have been sent to several hundred contacts are being circulated amongst comrades and sympathisers and that they will soon be returned to us completed! It is important that all lists should be returned to us within a reasonable time completed or otherwise.

Our thanks to the comrades who helped to make our Social a success in all respects. The paper has benefited by a substantial sum and we trust that the results will inspire other groups to do likewise so that the deficit which threatens SPAIN AND THE WORLD may be considerably reduced by the end of this month. The Editors.

### Press Fund

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NOTE: The Press Fund list published in the last issue was so confused that we have decided to publish it with contributions received since in the above list. Will comrades who notice errors or omissions in this list please inform us as soon as possible.

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## SOCIAL and DANCE

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## The Politics of Machiavelli and "Thermidor"—anism

Continued from Page 2.

Two Dictators. Rather should we say three! For not merely do Hitler and Mussolini, the leaders of international Fascism, capitalist counter-revolution enrol themselves in the Florentine camp, but Stalin, also, the leader of the international Thermidor, the socialist counter-revolution, also throws his grain of incense on the altar of the panegyrist of the Borgias. The Russian Thermidor has trampled all law and all justice under foot. Inside Russia it butchers on a scale reminiscent of Jenghis Khan; its Moscow "Trials" return to the jurisprudence of the Inquisition and rely on "confessions" obtained in solitary dungeons under conditions of which only the familiars of the OGPU hold the Key. While outside Russia the modern Torquemada pursues the critics of "Thermidor," such old revolutionaries as survive, with a campaign of political, and where possible, physical extermination; a moral and physical reign of terror, in which the dagger and pistols of the secret assassin—(Nin, Berneri, Ignatius Reiss)—the firing squads of judicial murder—"Red" Spain—and the poisoned ink of slander and vituperation (the "Communist" press throughout the world)—are directed with equal impartiality against "the enemies of the (counter!) revolution."

Such are the politics of the contemporary "Thermidor," directed from *within* (what still professes to be) the socialist movement by the Stalinist bureaucrats and the yes-men of the Comintern. This orgy of terror and calumny has not merely destroyed the soul of the socialist movement and robbed the revolution of its good name; worse even, its detestable hypocrisy has made socialism stink in sensitive nostrils in a way that even the undisguised atavism of fascism does not stink. For, of all vices, treachery is the most contemptible.

The Revolution must move out of the shadow of Thermidor. As it rises from the ashes of the past it must learn how to combine its noble ends with congruous means. The Nihilist immoralism of Machiavelli, Nechayef, and Stalin, has no place in a healthy revolutionary movement out for social regeneration. In the years that lie immediately ahead revolutionary thinkers who have the courage of their convictions and are unfettered by the scholastic shackles of the past, must fearlessly review the whole periphery of ethics and humanist culture, no less than the concurrent problems of political science, properly so called. For Socialism appeals primarily by persuasion for it, terror if and when necessary is purely defensive in scope and temporary in character.

For revolutionary victory, moral superiority is, equally with material, a sine qua non for lasting success.

In the glaring light which the excesses of Thermidor afford, the pioneers of "Socialism's new start" must review the entire universe of morals and culture, following truth, wherever they find it, and not merely in scholastic texts, whether of Marx, Lenin, or anyone else. It is only in virtue of a new ethic and a new humanism which is really scientific in character, that revolutionary socialism can cease to fight the enemy on that enemy's own ground, and with that enemy's own weapons; it is only by emerging from the Machiavellian shadow of Thermidor that the World Revolution can rise from its ashes, and a transcending the past by a genuine consciousness of moral superiority, can resume the initiative and march forward with confidence to a definitive victory, over which no shadow of retreat and counter-revolution can ever possibly recur. The immortal attack of Marx on economic immoralism must now be extended to the kindred field of political immoralism also so as to exercise for ever the spirit of Machiavelli whether inside or outside the socialist movement. Then, and only then will the World Revolution finally triumph.

F. A. RIDLEY.

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