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TRUE & FALSE SOCIETY.



Lecture by

Wm. Morris, 24/3/1834 - 5/11/96.

not only as an individual, but as a member of a body corporate, nay, as a member of that great corporation—humanity. Thus considered, it would be hard indeed if it could not be understood readily by a person of ordinary intelligence who can bring his mind to bear upon it without prejudice. Such a person can learn the basis of the opinion in even an hour's talk, if the matter be clearly put before him. It is my task to attempt this, and whether I fail or succeed, I can at least promise you to use no technical phrases which would require explanation, nor will I, as far as I can help, go into any speculative matter, but will be as plain and as practical as I can be.

Yet I warn you that you may be disappointed when you find that I have no elaborate plan, no details of a new society to lay before you, that to my mind, to attempt this would be putting before you a mere delusion.

I have been asked to give you the socialist view of the Labour question. Now in some ways that is a difficult matter to deal with—far beyond my individual capacities—and would also be a long business; yet in another way, as a matter of principle, it is not difficult to understand or long to tell of, and does not need previous study or acquaintance with the works of specialists or philosophers. Indeed, if it did, it would not be a political subject, and I hope to show you that it is pre-eminently political in the sense in which I should use the word; that is to say, it is a matter which concerns everyone, and has to do with the practical everyday relations of his life, and that

What I ask you to consider is in the main the clearing away of obstacles that stand in the way of the due and unwasteful use of labour—a task not light indeed, nor to be accomplished without the most strenuous effort in the teeth of violent resistance, but yet not impossible for humanity as we know it, and as I firmly believe not only necessary, but, as things now are, the one thing essential to be undertaken.

Now you all know that, taking mankind as a whole, it is necessary for man to labour in order to live. Certainly not all things that we enjoy are the work of man's labour; the beauty of the earth, and the action of nature on our sensations, are always here for us to enjoy, but we can only do so on the terms of our keeping ourselves alive and in good case by means of labour, and no inventions can set aside that necessity. The merest savage has to pluck the berry from the tree, or dig up the root from the ground before he can enjoy his dog-like sleep in sun or shade; and there are no savages who have not got beyond that stage; while the progressive races of mankind have for many ages got a very long way beyond it so that we have no record of any time when they had not formed some sort of society whose aim was to make the struggle with nature for subsistence less hard than it otherwise would have been, and to win a more abundant livelihood from her.

It was unfortunately necessary to cut this article at this stage, but it will be continued in subsequent issues.

BOYCOTT

the Japanese militarist butchers, who are making a shambles of China, raining death from air, sea and land, particularly on the proletarian districts, brutally murdering thousands of women and children. But why not also boycott Italy, Germany and their puppet Franco, all of whom are equally guilty of atrocities on non-combatants, above all against the common people. But just as the 'National' Government has consistently shielded the slaughterers of the Spanish people, so do they now propose to prevent a boycott of the Japanese. Workers, if you want a boycott, impose it yourselves by the method, not of parliamentarism, but of DIRECT ACTION!

The Anarchists in Spain

A REPLY TO EMMA GOLDMAN

By Ethel M'Donald

Barcelona, 20th August, 1937.

This is an experiment. Let me know immediately if you receive this letter. My former method of writing to you no longer exists and getting news to you is becoming a very big problem indeed. It is a terrible feeling to know that you have to be careful of everything that you say and even then not to be sure that that will be alright. Such is censorship.

I have just been reading the issue of "Spain and the World" for 2nd. July which makes very interesting reading. In it there is an article from the pen of Emma Goldman and I think that as an experiment in the art of being on both sides of the fence at the same time, it is perfect. I do not say that because one does not accept the position of the official element of the CNT-FAI, one must necessarily defend the position and action adopted by a certain section of the French Anarchists. But at last one must make up his mind with reference to the stand taken by the CNT-FAI. To explain why the CNT took the stand it did, does not excuse it, if it was wrong, from taking that stand. And if, as Emma says, she foresaw all that would take place from the moment when the Anarchists entered the Ministries, then she had no right to be so willing to be the official element of that organisation in Britain but should have continued to criticise the Anarchists in order that the world would hear the opposition point of view. Not all the foreign comrades present in Barcelona agreed that the concessions made by the CNT-FAI were the first wrong step taken in the rise of the Revolution. Some did and on all occasions put forward their point of view. But it is also true that certain of these comrades who spoke against the CNT position were gradually eliminated by the persons in charge of the foreign propaganda here in Barcelona. That is, not by the Spanish comrades, but by those foreign comrades who, according to Emma, foresaw what would happen.

I also believe that the leaders of the CNT did not wilfully betray the movement but what does that matter. The fact remains that the revolutionary spontaneity of the workers was wasted during the May Days by the hesitating and unanarchist behaviour of those persons who were in the position to lead but who in fact proved themselves less revolutionary than the mass of the people. The explanations put forward by them for this behaviour are perfectly logical. If the workers had gone forward in the May Days and taken complete control throughout Catalonia there is no doubt that there would have been direct intervention against this on the part of England and France. It is also highly probable that there might have been disruptions between the alleged anti-fascist sections at the fronts. But would all this have had the same serious result as has had the criminal cooling-down of the revolutionary ardour of the people? And by our capitulation, have we maintained the anti-fascist front? Surely it is obvious to all. To-day there is serious trouble in the anti-fascist front. Because of our weakness the Communist Party are now going to every length they can to eliminate the Anarchists and drive every foreign revolutionary from the country. To-day we are in the position of the Anarchists before the revolution—we speak in whispers, we have to be careful where we utter our opinions, we are not sure if the person sitting next to us is a police spy or not. Each day more and more comrades are arrested, many of whom have fought and been wounded at these very same anti-fascist fronts.

No! If the Anarchists had gone forward they could have assumed their rightful place as the true voice of the libertarian people of Spain. But the

leaders stilled the urge of the people and now, as I have said, there exists, more or less, a dictatorship based on the Russian variety. In a social revolution can we expect to have non-intervention on the part of the outside governments? Surely, at least, we should know that much. That whenever there is a revolution, there also will there be foreign intervention. At the anti-fascist front what have we done? Sabotage of these anarchist and revolutionary battalions who were struggling, not for a democratic republic or for a Communist Party dictatorship, but for the social revolution. I have written you before of the treatment to which the comrades in these battalions are subjected and of the efforts that are made, with some success, and the tricks that are employed to bring about their disintegration. The anti-fascist front is being broken up, not by the Anarchists, but by our Communist Party and Republican friends. With all the compromises made, we have gained nothing. We gave in to militarisation. Has this yielded such great results? Are we advancing? Has the bombing of towns and the murder of innocent people ceased?

To come back. Emma is not in agreement with the position adopted, but where did she criticise our comrades of the CNT? Had the criticism been public it might have had some effect on the trend of the Spanish Revolution through making the workers in Britain conscious of the difficulties with which the Anarchists were faced and so making the workers act that the compromises would have been out of place. But Emma becomes sentimental and harks on the old tale: "Which one of us has been consistently true to his ideas?" She cites Kropotkin and the anti-Anarchist stand taken by him during the Great War. But even with that, says Emma, no one would have thought of charging Kropotkin with treachery and corruption. Well, I am not sure. Kropotkin was charged with treachery. And it seems to me that a man or woman who has constantly urged opposition to war and who, at the first opportunity that is presented to prove his words, fails, that person is certainly guilty of treachery. How many developed an opposition to war by the words of Kropotkin? And how many became Anarchists and opposed to government and lack of faith in the workers through the propaganda conducted by those very same persons who denied their old work by their behaviour after the Spanish Revolution commenced? No matter how ugly the term may be, it is nothing less than treachery. And as such should be denounced.

And from the Anarchist point of view since when did the struggle in Spain become but an anti-fascist war?

Emma says: "What about ourselves? We were against the world war and some of us went to prison for our opposition to it. Yet we immediately rallied to the support of the anti-fascist war. We did so because we consider fascism the greatest menace in the world, the poisonous contagion which disintegrates all political and social life. The fascist countries as well as the Russian dictatorship certainly prove this. One can still breathe in democratic countries, little democracy though they may have. One can still raise one's voice against every political abuse and social iniquity. One still has a certain amount of security to one's life and limb. All this is obliterated by Fascism."

As Anarchists we are opposed to war. We are opposed to imperialist war, to wars for spoil and plunder, to wars that use the working-class merely as cannon fodder for the purpose of increasing the wealth of one or another ruling class. And as Anarchists we ought to understand that Fascism is not something new, some new force of evil opposed to society, but is only the old enemy, Capitalism, under a new and fearful sounding name. Capitalism is the "greatest contagion which disintegrates all social and political life. There are still but two classes in society; those who have and those who have not; the rich and the poor, the persecutors and the oppressed. But this is waived aside and the menace "Fascism" is waved before the nose of the working class and under the guise of "Anti-Fascism" elements are admitted to the working class movement whose interests are still diametrically opposed to those of the workers. Spain proves this. Here in the "Anti-Fascist" movement we have gathered all the petty bourgeoisie and all the reactionary elements. Anti-Fascism is the new slogan by which the working class is being betrayed. Our stand, as Anarchists, with regard to the Spanish Revolution was taken, or should have been taken, not because we were Anti-Fascists but because we are social revolutionaries. We did not give our support to the Anti-Fascist war as such but to the social revolution that commenced in Spain on July 19th, 1936.

We supported the workers of Spain then, and to-day it is those same workers who need and expect our support. And our support only goes to groups and organisations to the extent that those groups are the revolutionary voice of the masses.

Let us be frank. The workers were betrayed in May. They were betrayed because they forgot that always they should go forward disregarding obstacles that are placed in their way and the voices that try to dissuade them. July 19th was possible because of that understanding. The May Days have given rise to a trail of persecution and oppression because of their forgetfulness. All of the people are revolutionary at one time only very occasionally, and anyone, under no matter what pretext or excuse who wastes such periods should never again be in the position to do the same under different circumstances. Let us agree that they betrayed unconsciously, but let us see that they will never be able to do it again. For before the anger of the revolutionary workers, everything is swept aside. In May the Anarchists could have taken all. But only when the new upsurge of the masses comes will that be shown.

(The above letter from Ethel MacDonald was posted secretly in Barcelona on August 20th; was received in Glasgow on October 13th. It is published in the "Workers' Free Press," as being the challenging organ of Anti-parliamentarism.

Only a personal paragraph describing the author's precarious situation at that time in Barcelona is omitted.—Ed.)

If you wish this paper to continue, show us your solidarity by pushing the sales. The bigger the circulation, the bigger the paper will be.

LITERATURE YOU SHOULD READ:

- "THE SPANISH REVOLUTION." (U.S.A.)
- "CONTROVERSY." (Published by C. A. Smith).
- "VANGUARD." (U.S.A.)
- "THE NEW LEADER," (I.L.P., weekly, 1d.)
- "SPAIN and the WORLD," (Anti-Fascist Fortnightly, 2d).

Guns are Made of.....

Despite Hitler's bombast, the Nazi regime cannot escape the contradictions inherent in capitalism, and totalitarianism does not enable it to defy economic laws. There is friction between different sections of the capitalists and Dr Shacht, until recently chief financial adviser, represents one of the factions. Although now deposed from his position, his words still carry weight and he has severely criticised the mad inflation that is taking place. He sums his criticism up in the phrase: GUNS ARE MADE OF STEEL, not paper."

This is true, but only half of the truth. Of what is steel made? Iron treated with carbon, consuming coal, etc., in a modern furnace? Again this is but half the truth. Coal, Iron, Copper, and all other metals, are "made," not by paper, not money of any kind, but by LABOUR—the labour of hand or brain as it is usually termed. Guns, or any other "commodity," represent the consumption of thousands of hours of LABOUR in every land and every clime, for no modern industrial plant could exist but for the cooperation of millions of workers in every part of the world, many operating the mostly expensive machinery, which in turn is also naught but the congealed LABOUR of tens of thousands of workers. And since labour—the workers—make all, they should assert their consequent right to take all, instead of yielding the bulk of their produce to the international gang of legal robbers who profit by this present iniquitous wage-system.

When, through the social revolution they do so, the "necessity," of guns instead of butter will disappear, as will the guns. Only then will peace be possible.

FROM HOLLAND: THE WORKERS TO-DAY

[We are indebted to comrade Guy Aldred for permission to reproduce the following interesting and thought-provoking letter.—Ed.]

Dear Comrade Aldred,

After my return to Holland from Spain, I was more disappointed than ever, as I contrasted the spirit of the Dutch working-class against that of the Spanish. The latter carries over into the class struggle against Capitalism the best romantic traditions of feudalism. The Spanish workers are self-conscious, and possess a pride that recalls only the gallant traditions of the middle-ages. They seem scarcely touched by the first influences of International Capitalism. The Dutch workers, including the unemployed, are very interested in International football, boldly represented by the bourgeoisie, as a means of stimulating brotherhood. Actually, so-called International sport is a hidden, or secret and insidious way of increasing chauvinism, developing the spirit of national pride and prowess, for the sake of national unity in the next world war. If only the workers had the wisdom of the capitalist class, they would evolve such unity, that the proletarian revolution in Spain would not be lost. But the world's workers are stupid and are not interested in the realities of the class struggle. They are not inclined to develop action and so are incapable of doing so. And so our discussions remain abstract and not vital theory, because there is no "ripeness" in the proletariat individually or collectively for self-action. The workers' incapacity for self-action has an appalling effect on propaganda. The principle, the essential principle of Socialist thought and education, becomes impossible. The speaker is forced to stop discussion, and to become a tutor or leader. In this way, priestcraft and dictatorship develop, until life turns to death. All because the many despise the few who believe in the many, and meet their joyous agitation with bored inattention. At the best, devoted to International football, the many, from politeness, advance silly ideas concerning leadership, authority, competition, etc. To keep contact with our fellow-workers, we, who are Socialists and Anarchists, and not parliamentarians, are forced to assume the role of leaders. We don't want to be leaders or to seem to be such. But what can we do?

Can we keep ourselves apart? Yes. Let the workers face the problems themselves, and they will develop, not the idea of self-action, but of directed action, wrongly directed action. They turn to opportunism and stagnation. To-day, the workers have organised themselves through labour unions and political parties, into nothing. They are nothing and they do nothing. They cannot even pay the price our Spanish comrades are paying. They will the price, but not for social revolution: only for war, for death, for foul and bloody murder. To avert this, we are compelled to contradiction. **WE MUST TEACH AND LEAD THE WORKERS TO BELIEVE IN LEADERLESS SELF-ACTION.**

It is amazing to observe how incapable the Dutch workers are of thinking. They believe the meanest lies of the social democrats and "Communists" (sic!—3rd. Int.) about Spain. They fall for the greatest nonsense about class-politics, the latest name for frank opportunism and class betrayal. And so capitalism uses Socialism and Communism so-called to kill the character of the workers, and their solidarity of action. Capitalism will use this Moscow charlatanism more and more. Are we not less and less inclined to believe that a world-war can be converted into a world-revolution? The progress of industry has brought about the disappearance of orthodox religions, or, at least, transformed their beliefs, and diminished their influence: but it has replaced them with new religions, Oxford movements, faith-healing, Christian Science, Astrology, Progress! Christ is dying and Stalin is replacing him! We no longer believe in the

divine rights of kings, but we must believe in the divine rights of the Kremlin-dictator! Our superstition is labelled "Communism" and our king is a Soviet-bureaucrat! Progress! It gives such freedom of mind and is so healthy for all who think and feel genuinely!

There are some points of light on the horizon! The working-class is only fit to enjoy Fascism, so long as it believes in "Communist" butchers, its spirit critic-less, its vision narrowed to the aims of leaders and the need of leadership, its great confidence reposed in Governments. The workers who expected freedom from the State and regard from the State are heading for Fascism, all power to the State!

But Fascism will destroy itself.

1. Under Fascism, contradictions of wealth and social status become more open, more evident, than under charlatan democracy.
2. Under Fascism, the influence of political parties end. People no longer have political leaders to urge on them the errors of the State, to plead for them, to play at reformism and practice opportunism. The issue is defined: **ALL POWER TO THE STATE!** And to the people, who are robbed? Direct thought; secret but direct speech; secret but direct, and then open and overpowering action—revolution.

This brings me to another aspect of the struggle. I do not know if you have read Wilhelm Reich. His views, politically, are not right, but when he writes about psychology and sexual life, he should be studied. And he may be right on the question of revolutionary development. I will write about him later. It is enough to say that, during the long period of increasing misery, the working class will lose all idea of bourgeois morality in general, and in particular the existing sexual ethic of property society. This completion of revolution in the thought of man will mean social revolution.

Yours for Liberty and Revolution,

C. P. A. de WIT.

The Hague, Holland, August, 1937.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE.

"The Workers' FREE PRESS" is offered to the workers and their propagandist groups in Glasgow and district as an open forum for discussion. At this stage the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, of which the Editor is secretary, do not wish to accept the responsibility for such a venture, but it is published never-the-less with their full cooperation and support. But any bona-fide worker or propagandist, irrespective of whether he has our view-point or not, will find these columns open for discussion and criticism, without fear or favour. It is hoped, that as a result, there will be in the near future, a Revolutionary Alliance of the working class forces in Glasgow that believe in the ideal of a class-less Socialist Industrial Democracy, brought into being by the overthrow the present rotten system of exploitation and murder, by means of the revolutionary workers' Councils of Action. If we expect the workers in Spain and elsewhere to co-ordinate their forces, it is up to us to do likewise, so that a revolutionary united front may be shown to imperialism, fascism and Stalinism—in a word CAPITALISM, whatever its form. This is an offer, but it is also a challenge. Those who do not accept this opportunity have themselves to blame. It may not occur again for some time if this venture falls through.

Open air meetings held at Albion Street, 8 p.m.

Saturday—U.S.M.
Monday—S.W.R.P.
Tuesday—A.P.C.F.

THE STRUGGLE IN SPAIN.

WHAT HAPPENED IN BARCELONA

BY ETHEL MACDONALD.

[Comrade Aldred informs us that this essay was written by comrade MacDonald on her arrival at Nimes, and was intended to be published specially by her A.P.C.F. comrades, acting in co-operation with the U.S.M.; and was sent specially to the "Workers' FREE PRESS."—Ed.]

With the debacle of the Barcelona May Days, the Communist Party commenced a formidable repression against the revolutionary elements that had fought against them on the barricades in the streets. The counter-revolutionary aim of this Moscow directed party could no longer be hidden. Between May 3rd and 8th, they had exposed themselves for all the world to see. With the Assault Guards and the Civil Guards they took their stand against the workers of Barcelona in an attempt to take the control of the enterprises and social life away from the masses organised in the CNT and to a small extent in the UGT. Their efforts did not succeed as well as they expected, for within a few hours the workers had risen to a man to defend their interests. Workers of the CNT, members of the FAI and the POUM, side by side, struggled against them.

But the struggle on the streets was brought to an abortive end and the fury of the Communist Party was brought to bear against the members of the revolutionary organisations. In an attempt to cover up the role they had played during the May Days, the CP with the assistance of the Delegation of Public Order controlled by Valencia, began to lay the responsibility for the uprising on the Anarchists and the comrades of the POUM. In proper Russian style, those who had fought against them were designated "Trotskyists," "provocateurs," "Fascist agents," etc. Not immediately could they bring their pressure against the CNT-FAI; they started with the POUM.

The POUM is composed of Marxists of various tendencies and associated with them were many Marxist groups from various countries. To label these groups "Trotskyist" is typical of the CP but entirely false. There is only a small section inside the POUM that is definitely in sympathy with Trotsky and many sections are completely opposed to him. But all these sections had one thing in common with the Anarchists—they had no sympathy for the CP and so in a sweeping fashion, thus hoping to hide their own treachery, the CP made them Trotskyists without exception.

Within two days, the headquarters and the locals of the POUM were seized, their printing presses taken over and the Spanish and foreign comrades thrown into prison. Comrades living in houses that had been taken over by the POUM after the July revolution were arrested, their personal belongings searched and their papers and documents seized.

I had occasion at this time to visit daily a Dutch anarchist comrade who was imprisoned without having any charge preferred against him. The day after the arrest of the POUM leaders I went as usual to visit him, accompanied by another woman anarchist comrade. In the office of the police station where the visiting permits were issued I encountered five comrades of mine three of whom were associated with the POUM; the other two being members of the CNT-FAI. They informed me that the Assault Guards had entered their houses that morning, placed them under arrest and seized their goods without giving any explanation whatever.

Because my friend and I had spoken to these people, we were detained. We were not allowed to leave but when we protested we were informed that we were not "detenidos" but merely "retenidos." The fact that we had spoken to our arrested comrades was a sufficient reason for refusing to permit us to leave.

That day there was a continual stream of comrades, mostly foreigners, who had been arrested in a manner similar to the comrades first arrested. In fact, the arrests were so thorough, that even the woman who sold cigarettes outside the door of the POUM headquarters was taken and only released when she had vigorously protested that she was a member of the UGT and had shown her card of that organisation. Women comrades bringing food for their husbands and comrades were arrested and generally it was not safe to be seen near the vicinity of the police station.

The arrests had not ceased with the members of the POUM. In the Hotel Falcon were lodged many comrades of the CNT-FAI and men from the International Brigade. These men of the I.B. had come to Spain under the auspices of the CP of their country with the genuine intention of aiding the struggle against Fascism. But the behaviour of the persons in charge of them at the fronts was so dictatorial and anti-communist that they were compelled to protest. An to protest meant imprisonment.

Gradually it became obvious that the CP was not content with the extermination of the POUM. With the POUM out of the way they began on their real enemy—the comrades of the CNT-FAI. The foreign comrades, especially were, to them, a menace. The comrades knew the truth of the May events and one and all were anxious to get the truth abroad. But the workers' control of the frontier had been displaced and taken over by the civil guards and it was impossible for any person, other than a sympathiser of the CP, to leave the country. Each day that I visited my Dutch comrade in prison, he gave me the names and information of comrades, who, attempting to leave the country, had been arrested at Port Bou and brought back to Barcelona and put in prison.

I spoke with many comrades during my stay in prison and at least I had this compensation for my arrest, that I was able to learn from ex-comrades themselves how great was the disgust felt for the part played by his huge deception called the Communist Party.

The POUM is made responsible for the May uprising. But the Spanish people and we foreigners who were in Spain at the time, know that the responsibility for the bloody days of May lies not with the POUM but with the CP and the fascist elements that swell its ranks. If the POUM was responsible, then the anarchists also were responsible. And if the anarchists were to blame, then the mass of the people also must accept the blame, because the anarchists of Barcelona are the people themselves. And who are Communist Party members to question the will of the people?

To-day, thanks to the Stalinists, there is being prepared an international list of revolutionists that will be placed at the service of any government that requires it. Can there be any purpose in arresting wholesale the comrades? Why do they photograph each person and take so many copies of their finger-prints? With these, they are able to follow the movements of the revolutionists and make it impossible for our comrades to move freely.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

held alternately by the A.P.C.F. and the U.S.M.
SUNDAY EVENINGS, 7-30 p.m.—Bakunin Hall, 71 Stirling Road, C.4.,
and Abstainers' Hall, Forbes Place, Paisley.

Ethel M'Donald will speak
in Glasgow soon...probably
7th NOVEMBER.

PHILOSOPHICAL MUSINGS ON ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM

(BY CHARLES DORAN)

The writer, it is necessary to state as a preface to what follows in criticism, has been actively associated in the past with the Anti-Parliamentary movements in Glasgow and London; in fact it was his whole life for about 15 years up to about 1934, when he made a breach with tradition by voting Labour at a General Election. The reason for this breach and the evolutionary factors which induced it will be covered generally here.

The auto-biographical note, will, I hope, give me the necessary intellectual credentials to enter the arena with my former comrades and associates, with most of whom I still am friendly. I harbour the dubious pride that whilst some of them placed no exaggerated value on my powers of reasoning on fundamental questions, they nevertheless considered me honest in my endeavours to help on the cause. The first point may be settled in the first discussion. The second, I sincerely hope, will never be disputed. However, to lift the question to the impersonal plane I want to seriously suggest that Anti-Parliamentarianism is dead as a method of approach to the present political struggle of classes.

It died after a short period of seeming vitality chiefly because, despite its theoretical strength, it was unable to fit itself into Reality—the struggle for bread and kindred things which, unfortunately are of paramount importance in the daily lives of the millions whose minds are not pre-occupied with contemplation of the ultimate truth and logic of Anti-Parliamentary philosophy.

I wish further to assert that the good Comrades of the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Movement are not Materialist reasoners. They are, I think, unwittingly subjectivist in their whole approach to the question of political struggle. They start off from the very erroneous point of view that the workers in Britain are ready for not alone the Social Revolution but even for an Anarchist form of Society.

This erroneous conception is born of the feeling and I use that word elaborately, that the idea is paramount and must triumph in its unsullied and pristine purity over those hostile forces to which we give the name External Conditions.

Here, it might be well to remind my Idealist friends that the precious Idea itself is an integral part of those same conditions. Consequently the inter-play of mutually hostile forces, without which life is non-existent and Natural Law unknown have a modifying effect for good or ill, according to the point of view, upon all things. So our precious Idea is no longer what it was. It has been emasculated by contact with opposites, it itself being an opposite although belonging as all opposites belong to the totality of things—human as well—which we call Nature.

As all Individuals have an individual world so all those worlds must be finally merged in one common world that the individual worlds may be recreated in the Intellect.

This, as I explained on the last occasion on which I was granted the courtesy the A.P.C.F. platform, is my understanding of the case for Anarchism and how it will come.

The opposites must be merged in a higher unity, which we call Communism.

Meantime Capitalism is here and the workers are at work building up the war-machine which will ultimately demolish themselves.

The unemployed are still unemployed and not looking for Emancipation from Capitalism, the nature of which few of them are considering. They are looking for jobs if such can be had, and certainly looking for bread, butter, tea, sugar, etc., lower rents and higher scales

of relief. More reforms! quite true, but very real, not of course to the bourgeois-minded philosophers in our ranks who don't understand us anyway, we being proletarian wage-slaves, but to the people who have to inhabit slums and semi-slums, to cadge for jobs in industry, to stand in queues at Labour Exchanges and at Parish Councils and submit individually to all the large and petty vexations and humiliations pertaining to their lowly status. And who but those who have experienced it can appreciate in all its horror the sordidness and unceasing struggle to make ends meet in the separate homes (little worlds) of the common people not only during slumps, but, indeed during periods of so-called prosperity.

But, it will be objected, these are the objective conditions for Revolution. Yes and No. Yes, if all other things are equal and the pressure of exploitation is un-variable and constant in its similarity of degree over the majority of the victims. No, if we discover on closer scrutiny that while misery is the common lot it is variable and inconsistent in its pressure in the special circumstances of individual persons and families and groups.

Furthermore, we must take into account the psychological factor which is now recognised as an important one. Whilst it is true to say there is a working-class psychology more instructive than informed to a very large extent, arising out of the growing desperation to live as Capitalism declines and appetites grow with Society's cultural developments, it is none the less true and must not be overlooked that there are individual psychologies, and although arising from a common mass root, are indisputably different and in the nature of things mutually contradictory. Our old materialistic friends the opposites again make their appearances and must be finally resolved in the Higher Unity.

How then is this Higher Unity to be achieved? My Anti-Parliamentary friends say "Boycott the ballot box and call the workers to a Revolution to establish a principle." The innocents! Apart from their failure to grasp the significance of historical processes and their lack of understanding of the complex nature of Capitalism and the further fact that what is aimed at by the really advanced elements of the proletariat is the Social Revolution, with almost all the odds in favour of the status quo, the Anti-Parliamentarians ignore the necessity for a mass basis for their Idea.

This is splendid isolation in practice and naturally keeps them restricted to a propaganda that is heard only by a small number, most of whom are already converted. The Editor of "The Workers' Free Press," despite his able and conscientious work on the platform, knows this to be substantially true. So how will he and his group, who are certainly not lacking in earnestness and ability, to establish touch with the workers in their millions?

I shall here anticipate his reply of "Workers Councils." But what form will these Councils take? Will they be based upon abstract Revolutionary phrases or on Reforms under the existing system? And if the latter, will this not liquidate their Anti-Parliamentary philosophy as interpreted by the Editor and his colleagues? By all means build up your Councils if they can be the means of bringing you into direct touch with the mass of non-Socialists. But be under no illusion that the said mass will take the Revolutionary field to consciously fight for the realisation of a grand Ideal. History is not made that way unfortunately, since Man is primarily an animal with animal needs.

The workers in their cussedness will only fight, and even then only timidly, unless goaded beyond the point of endurance, which point seems afar off in this particular country, for the small things of Life, such as half-pennies on their pay, half-hours off their work-time and extra loaves of bread, etc. It is in the course of the many struggles for these, to them, real achievable ends that they will be ultimately compelled by the apparent inability of the Capitalist class to concede and in the process of refusal to concede actually worsen their condition that there is any hope for the Revolutionary challenge as a prelude to conquering political power.

In conclusion, therefore, I would advise my former associates to re-analyze and re-view their Ideas in their relation to present conditions and ask themselves if the time has not come to seek a wider audience on a wider platform. I submit that the I.L.P. of to-day has that platform. Although not yet a member, I can see no other medium apart from A.P. C.F. for expression of Socialist agitation and propaganda.

We cull the following excerpts from an article in The New English Weekly, 29/7/37, by George Orwell, who returned from Barcelona late in June.

. . . . the Spanish Government (including the semi-autonomous Catalan Government) is far more afraid of the revolution than of the Fascists. It is now almost certain that the war will end with some kind of compromise, and there is every reason to doubt whether the Government, which let Bilbao fall without raising a finger, wishes it to be too victorious; but there is no doubt whatever about the thoroughness with which it is crushing its own revolutionaries. For some time past a reign of terror—forcible suppression of political parties, a stifling censorship of the Press, ceaseless espionage and mass-imprisonment without trial—has been in progress. When I left Barcelona in late June the jails were bulging; indeed the regular jails had long since overflowed and the prisoners were being huddled into empty shops and any other temporary dump that could be found for them. But the point to notice is that the people who are in prison now are

NOT FASCISTS BUT REVOLUTIONARIES,

they are there not because their opinions are too much to the Right, but because they are too much to the Left. And the people responsible for putting them there are those dreadful revolutionaries at whose very name Garvin quakes in his goshes—the Communists.

Meanwhile the war against Franco continues, but . . . the real struggle is between revolution and counter-revolution; between the workers who are vainly trying to hold on to a little of what they won in 1936 and the Liberal-Communist bloc who are so successfully taking it away from them. It is unfortunate that so few people in England have caught up with the fact that Communism is now a counter-revolutionary force; that Communists everywhere are in alliance with bourgeois reformism and using the whole of their powerful machinery to crush or discredit any party that shows signs of revolutionary tendencies. . . . ”