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THE "NEW DEAL"

UNDERLYING the general line of the New Deal Policy of the Roosevelt administration, as embodied by the flood of emerging measures of the last two months, there is the realization growing among the American people that the automatic functioning of the capitalist system cannot be relied upon any longer for the overcoming of the crisis. Carried to its full length, the process of deflation—the automatic regulator of the former crises, clearing the road for a new upswing—would under the present circumstances drag the whole system down to its utter ruin. Some extraneous control is necessary, some form of a socially-conscious planned interference is required in order to make the system work and keep it functioning—that is what an ever greater number of American people have come to realize now.

They came to realize it as a result of the bitter lessons driven home to them by a terrific crisis which left all others behind in the scope of its ravages worked upon the country. It took the tragic experience of the last years to shake the naive faith in the all-sufficiency of the automatic regulators of the capitalist system. This faith lingered on in this country much longer than elsewhere. It was justified to some extent by the specific conditions of the American economy in the past, and that is why it was rooted much more deeply in the consciousness of the American people. And that is also why the disillusionment of the last years marks a greater break with the old traditional attitude, why there is more of hope placed in the New Deal than what its potentialities warrant. The emergent State Capitalism—and that is where the New Deal leads—is idealized here in America more than in the other countries. There they had more of it, and although driven towards it by the same relentless force of an economy on the down-grade, sinking into the parasitism of a State ward, there they are at least more sober about it. They are not taken in so easily by its idealized, New Deal picture drawn by well meaning college professors and middle class reformers.

For socialism cannot be superimposed upon capitalism in a mechanical way. The principle of social control and planning cannot be realized by an anti-social agency such as the State is. Hopelessly outdated as the mechanism of a capitalist economy is, it does not lack a certain logic,

which in some very crude and distorted way does reflect some basic laws of social equity. And that logic cannot just be substituted by arbitrary bureaucratic decreeing—that is, by the utter lack of any logic. The price mechanism of a free market is not just an artificial contrivance—it does reflect in some way the laws of labor value, without the measuring of which no rational economy can be carried on. This mechanism is less and less suited to the complexities of our life; but can it be supplanted by a clumsy system of price-fixing Governmental Bureaus? Can the subtle interplay of struggling interests characterizing the competitive capitalism be compensated by the stiff and rigid control of a monstrous bureaucratic apparatus?

The blind alley into which the chaotic forces of capitalism are driving our economic life force an ever increasing measure of state interference in the functioning of our economic system. But while succeeding here and there in some emergency case, this interference, taken as a whole, in all its tendencies as exemplified by the New Deal Policy, cannot but lead to the further degradation of our social life. The rigging and freeing up of prices at artificial levels will head to the gradual elimination of labor values as the regulating element of price. Political manipulation and not an economic standard of value will become the determining factor, political influence, bureaucratic fiat—instead of the healthy pressure of economic laws. This will leave the door wide open to monopolistic exploitation of the population by the powerful trusts, exerting their pressure via state regulating commissions. The trusts will be much more in politics than now; politics will take the place of economic activity it being much easier to obtain a higher price by political manipulation than by a strenuous economic effort. And the political apparatus itself, bureaucratized by the tremendous burden of economic regulation, will become more and more self-sufficient, less and less subject to democratic control. It will be the executive branch that will become dominant to the extent of completely overshadowing any other branch of government. Democracy will become attenuated to the vanishing point, the powerful trusts merging with bureaucratic State apparatus, the workers' organizations deprived of any right to strike and act independently, "coordinated" with the State; the jealous spirit of the State, its sole and undivided authority pervading the whole field of social life,—this is the trend of the new policy. This is the trend toward Fascism, and whatever the subjective intentions of the framers of the New Deal policy might be, the objective tendencies of the latter cannot but lead in the direction of the gradual fascisation of our social life.

The American people is entering now upon the very elementary phase of its socialist education. Rudely awakened from its nineteenth century fixations, it grasps eagerly at the crude adulteration of social planning peddled out by the shrewd politicians and professional "planners." It has yet to learn by bitter experience that the State cannot be identified with Society, that the new progressive social order for which it is beginning to hope cannot be the progeny of two social monsters—the State and monopolistic capitalism. S—X.

Socialism and the Principles of the International Working Men's Association

THE DEVELOPMENT of the labor movement in most of the countries following the dissolution of the First International places into sharp relief the baneful influence—tactical and political—which authoritarian socialism—whether reformist or pseudo-revolutionist—exercised over the proletarian movement. Taking part in the politics of the bourgeois state has not brought the working class one inch nearer to true socialism, but on the contrary, it lost in dynamic power and importance because of it. The old saying, “he who dines with the Pope dies from it,” has been fully confirmed in this case. One who is drawn in by the gear of the state machinery is destroyed by it, parliamentary activity having gradually undermined the labor and the socialist movement, destroying in the first place its faith in the necessity of creative and independent action, and imbuing it with the belief that its salvation may come from above. The consequences of this delusion have become clear more than ever since the war, especially in Germany, where it struck deep roots. So that even a bourgeois paper like the *Frankfurter Zeitung* could write with reason that until now no revolution was so poverty-stricken in its ideas as the November revolution of Germany. There was not the slightest tinge of any great ideas—economic or political; it was a collapse of a labor movement in spite of the millions of workers organized politically and in the trade unions, and the slow but ceaseless process of sliding down toward the present Fascism, against which it did not even make an attempt to defend itself. The engrafting of the labor movement upon the state and its sinking to the position of a mere tool of the latter could not but lead to these results.

One of the main causes of the prevailing confusion of ideas is this fallacious conception of the relative value of the State, a conception which leads people to ignore the role of the political factors of state power in history. Under the influence of the Marxist dogma about the decisive importance of the given conditions of production, there has come to prevail the view which considers the various forms of the state and its apparatus as the political and legal complements of a certain economic structure, a view according to which the economic structure “gives the key to all social phenomena.” But in reality each chapter of history gives us a thousand examples how because of certain forms of state power the economic evolution may be turned backwards or imprisoned in certain retrograde forms for several centuries.

And do we not now see how the State completely closes the way out of the present crisis and delivers the future of great countries to generals, politicians and adventurers. Another proof is given us by Bolshevik Russia in which a party drunk with power has to the last moment blocked economic rebuilding upon the basis of true socialism, and has thrown the country into a state of slavery, chaining it to a state capitalism, whose far-reaching consequences for the future of Europe have hardly been realized by the proletariat. Two distinct conceptions of socialism manifest themselves in the aspirations of the working class.

They played a great role in the past, but in the near future they will have a more decisive importance. Economic equality is not identical with social enfranchisement. Even in monasteries, prisons and barracks, there is a certain degree of economic equality: dwellings, uniforms, food, equal service. The old Inca state and the Jesuitic state of Paraguay succeeded in establishing a regimented equality for all the inhabitants of the country, in spite of which there reigned the worst of despotism, the individual being but an automaton obedient to the superior will. That is why socialism without liberty would be the worst slavery imaginable. The impulses of social justice will assert themselves fully if rooted in the libertarian sentiment of humanity. That is, "socialism will be free, or there will be none." The right to exist on the part of the I. W. M. A. finds its deepest justification in the fact that it acknowledged and accepted all those principles. The struggle developed between the Socialists and the Bolsheviks, despite its seemingly violent nature, is of no basic importance, and this will continue to be so in so far as the Russian government will see in the foreign Communist parties a fit instrument of its foreign policy. Socialists and Communists hold the same position and their tactical methods differ but little. Both rely heavily upon the state apparatus and both aspire to a form of society which could be called State Capitalism. The declaration made by the leaders of the Austrian Social-Democracy confirm this opinion. That is why we should not be misled by the clamorous, superficial and purely fraternal struggle. Even the fight between the Lassaleans and the Marxists was not carried on without white gloves. The question is whether they have any common basis for fusion, and as to this, there can be no doubt.

But less than ever does such a common basis exist now for the I. W. M. A. For never did libertarian Socialism have so much moral significance as now, when the whole world is swept by a furious reaction which finds its support not only in governmental circles, but which permeates deeply the broad masses of the population. The most terrible evil of our age is not the political reaction menacing society in the form of fascism; the greatest danger is the spiritual reaction due to which men become imbued with the principles of fascism. That is why the slightest concession made to fascist nationalism and to Russian State Capitalism means that true socialism is losing ground; that is why it becomes a betrayal of human liberty, a stab in the back to the revolution of the future.

While the I. W. M. A. remains true to this anti-authoritarian conception of socialism, its existence is more than justified, is of the most urgent necessity, whether the number of its adherents be small or large as compared with the other movements and tendencies. The spirit of an organization is of greater importance than members; what is of importance above all is that which signalizes the future, which arouses all the despised and humiliated to the realization that it is by their own efforts that they will be able to enter upon the road leading to free socialism.

The I. W. M. A. does not promise the poor of the earth any paradise, the doors of which will open without any struggle. Rights

do not fall down like over-ripe fruits; they are won after a long struggle, by tireless work, by aiming firmly at the ultimate goal of our aspirations. And just as the organization of a new society can be done by workers themselves only, no state being equal to this task, so can there be only one effective method of struggle against economic and political oppression: *direct action*.

These methods are not secondary in their nature, something to be determined by circumstances only. The latter may decide the external forms of these methods, but not its character in itself. The methods of a movement always flow from its aims and principles. The one that considers political power as the necessary premise for the realization of socialism cannot but be drawn into the every-day political life of the state. But he who understands that the ultimate aim of socialism cannot be the conquest, but the elimination of all authority from the life of society, he must follow other roads in his struggle for daily bread and for every shred of liberty, since he knows that all rights attained are wrested in the struggle and not given as state charity. What is important for the worker is not the seizure of the state, but the seizure of the land and factories, building up a society in which there will be no exploitation, no oppression of man by man. This is the ultimate goal, this is the road followed by the I. W. M. A., an organization which does not serve a party or the state. It is not the instrument of a new dictatorship which cannot but lead to the establishment of a new caste and placing new obstacles on the road of the workers' emancipation.

RUDOLPH ROCKER

The Spirit of Revolt in the American Labor Movement

THE HISTORY of the American labor movement is the story of the conflict between the revolutionary tendencies of the workers and the reformists and bureaucrats who at all times mislead the workers into the swamp of parliamentary action and futile opportunism.

The panic of 1873-77 found hundreds of thousands unemployed, desperate and starving. The capitalists slashed the wages of those who were still working. They thought that the workers would not resist for fear of being replaced by the unemployed. But the capitalists soon found out that the working class would not submit without a fight.

The workers on the B. & O. struck against the wage cuts. The armed thugs of the company shot several strikers at Martinsburg, W. Va. Immediately the workers and farmers gave battle. The state militia was called out. Two companies of the militia refused to fire upon their brothers and joined the workers. The strike spread to all the lines of the B. & O. At Baltimore it took three days for the troops to quiet the revolt of the people. Spontaneous strikes broke out on the Pennsylvania Central R. R. at Pittsburgh. The local militia sided with the strikers. The capitalists called in troops from Philadelphia. When the troops arrived in Pittsburgh, a pitched battle took place between workers and soldiers, in which twenty were killed and fifty were wounded.

Spurred on by such militants as Parsons and others, the workers paralyzed the transportation system of the Middle West. They demanded the eight-hour day. The "upper" classes in Chicago became frightened and started to leave town. The Governor appealed to the U. S. Army to quell the riots, and the capitalist papers railed against "the miserable Commune wretches," who dared to resist the constituted authorities.

On the West Coast it took twenty thousand troops to subdue the workers. The government, frightened by the events of the Paris Commune of 1871, established armories in all big cities, and issued a course of instruction to the Army "on the art of street fighting."

Groups of workers, who were driven underground, organized military training courses and prepared for revolution. These spontaneous outbreaks revealed a great reservoir of revolutionary vitality in the American working class. They aroused the admiration of such seasoned veterans as Bakunin, Kropotkin and Guillaume; only his illness prevented Bakunin from coming to America.

Kropotkin, speaking of the uprisings in the "Bulletin of the Jura Federation," said: "Its spontaneity, its simultaneousness, many different points, the aid given the workers by so many different trades, the resolute questions, they possessed a strong revolutionary spirit. And when Johann excite our admiration and awaken our hopes."

The tendency toward direct action, the inability of the Socialist Labor Party to express the true revolutionary sentiments of the rank and file, resulted in the formation of the left-wing faction of the S. L. P. The militant workers who had no faith in political action left the S. L. P. and organized revolutionary clubs. These clubs were composed of revolutionists who were driven from Europe by the reaction.

In 1881 they called a convention at Chicago, and organized the Revolutionary Socialist Party. While they were far from clear on many questions, they possessed a strong revolutionary spirit. And when Johann Most came from Europe in 1882, they welcomed him and accepted the program of the Anarchists.

The Anarchists were very active in Chicago. The Socialist paper *Arbeiter Zeitung* became Anarchist. Albert Parsons, under the influence of Most, became an Anarchist, and edited the *Alarm*. In 1883 the "Black International" was organized at Pittsburgh. The preamble of the International best shows its revolutionary temper:

"Destruction of the existing class rule, by energetic, relentless revolutionary action.

Establishment of a free society based upon a co-operative system of production.

Free exchange of equivalent products, by and between the productive organizations, without commerce and profit mongery.

Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis. Equal rights for all, without distinction of sex or race.

Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between autonomous independent communes and associations resting on a federalistic basis."

The Anarchists exerted a tremendous influence in the labor movement of that period. In Chicago they won the support of the powerful

Central Trades and Labor Council. They became the rallying point for the revolutionary workers who were disgusted with the reactionary leadership of the Knights of Labor, as well as those who were disillusioned with political action and bureaucracy. The Anarchists became the outstanding agitators for the 8-hour day. The program of the Black International expressed the hopes and aspirations of the mass of workers. It gave concrete expression to the revolutionary tendencies and summarized the experience and lessons that the workers had learned in their battles with the capitalists and opportunists.

The revolutionary spirit of the workers broke through the Knights of Labor despite the bureaucracy and its corrupt leaders (Powderly, Stephens, etc.). The workers employed the boycott and went on strike against Gould's Wabash R. R. The militant direct action of the workers compelled the most powerful capitalist in America to yield. This epoch making strike inspired vast masses of unskilled workers. They rushed to join the Knights of Labor, but the K. of L. refused to organize them. They failed to crystallize the revolutionary sentiment of the masses because they lacked a revolutionary approach, because the leadership of the organization prevented its growth.

In 1884 the Black International and other revolutionary bodies as well as a large section of the rank and file of the K. of L. set May 1st, 1886, as the date on which the working class should declare a general strike for the 8-hour day. When the day of action arrived the Anarchist paper *A eiter Zeitung* wrote as follows: "Bravely forward! The conflict has begun! Workers, let your watchword be: *No compromise! Cowards to the rear! Men to the front! The die is cast! The First of May is here!*" This was the spirit of the First of May, the spirit of the revolutionary working class bent on destroying capitalism and building a free society. The First of May has nothing in common with opportunism, betrayal or bureaucratic "labor leaders." The reformists and betrayers of the working class, those who believe in the harmony of capital and labor, those who cooperate with the government to destroy the labor movement, who, like Powderly, came out in favor of the murderers of the Chicago martyrs, and declared that "we hope the whole gang of outlaws (Anarchists) will be blotted from the earth"; those A. F. of L. rats a la Gompers, Mitchell, Lewis, et al, have nothing in common with the First of May. Together with the State, they have set aside another day, the first Monday in September as Labor Day, the symbol of the reactionary tendency in the labor movement. This was done in order to confuse the workers, and destroy the significance of May-Day. The difference between the *legal holiday*, Labor Day, and the day of action, May Day, is the story of the struggle of the working class against the capitalists and their supporters, of the direct revolutionary action of the working class as opposed to the parliamentarism and racketeering of the reformists and misleaders of all stripes. It represents the difference between dictatorships of all colors—red, black or white—as opposed to the principles of *liberty and solidarity*.

With the decline of the K. of L. and after the Haymarket tragedy, a period of reaction set in. The conservative elements organized the A. F. of L., an organization of skilled workers, not interested in the

cause of the vast masses of unskilled and foreign born workers. It had no socialist ideology. It was and remains a group of racketeers and swindlers, who work hand in hand with the bosses and scab on the revolutionary workers.

Despite the reactionary influence of the A. F. of L., the revolutionary tendencies in the American labor movement re-asserted themselves through such organizations as the Western Federation of Miners, the American Railway Union, the I. W. W., etc. The heroic battles of the Western Federation of Miners in Cour D'alene, the great strike of the American Railway Union (sabotaged by the A. F. of L.), the strikes of the I. W. W. in Lawrence and Colorado, the Homestead strikes of 1892, testify that only this spirit of revolt in the American labor movement can live up to the great historic task of freeing mankind from every form of slavery.

In applying the principles of Anarchism to the labor movement, we further encourage these great tendencies, which are so sorely needed in the great mass struggles which must come in the very near future.

S. WEINER

Towards Barbarism

UNLIKE the Italian Fascism—the prototype and ideal of all modern counter-revolutionary movements—the German counter-revolution came to power in a period of a revolutionary decline and falling off in the militancy of labor struggles. It wasn't the panic caused by the tremendous revolutionary wave that swung the porpertied classes into the betrayal of the liberal traditions of the European culture. It wasn't the chaos and disorder caused by the elemental forces of a great revolution in travail—the great but miscarried Italian revolution—that filled the hearts of the great and small Babbitts with the longing for peace and order to be bought at any price—even at the price of the liberal heritage of the former heroic generation. The familiar outlines of a classical counter-revolution—the great upswing of revolutionary struggles, missing the ultimate mark and the reaction produced—all that was absent in Germany of the last period. The revolutionary movement was on the down-grade and did now show enough aggressive power to perturb the social life to any serious extent. It was the decay and disintegration of the economic system that generated the powerful current of reaction, and it was the decay and the rotting away of the socialist element of Germany that enabled the backwash current of a disintegrating order to break through the powerful dams of labor organizations. A decaying social order, dynamized by the forces of its own decomposition, but incapable of harnessing these forces for the creative task of social reconstruction—this is what made possible the Hitler triumph and this is also what makes it so much more of a sinister phenomenon. Less of an incidental twist of the historic curve, it points much more ominously to certain fundamental tendencies dragging down our civilization to the abyss of barbarism.

For, stripped of the incidental wrappings of a concrete historical

process, the Nazi triumph is not just a purely local phenomenon. The specific character of the German history of the last period is but incidental to the development of the Hitler movement. It acted like a precipitant, it was instrumental in making Germany the weakest link in the chain of processes which are taking place in all the other countries. It explains why Germany was the first to give way, but it does not make Hitlerism a specifically German product. The same forces and tendencies which swept Hitler into power are in action in all the capitalist countries, only they move in a much less precipitate manner, finding greater obstacles to overcome. But the fundamental outlines of this process are everywhere the same: a decaying economy strangled by the ever-tightening noose of its own contradictions, closing all avenues for progressive changes in its framework. An economy in a state of progressive degradation, leaving but two ways out: the revolutionary change along the principles of a humane, international, socialist economy, and an imperialist adventure—an attempt to solve all contradictions by looting and exploiting other nations. The latter demands an intensification of national prejudices, the stifling of all democratic liberties, the stifling of all humanistic ideas and sentiments which have gradually been permeating our life. It is a barbaric way out and that is why it has to mobilize the barbarously-dark and subterranean forces which lurk beneath the veneer of a superficial bourgeois culture. It is a recoil to the past, to the bloody past of tribal wars, and that is why it has to bring to the surface of our life the slumbering ghosts of old tribal hatreds and grievances. Altogether it represents the terrific downward pull of displaced social mechanism, sinking beneath its own weight, sinking to the lower depths of a barbarous dark age.

This downward pull is facilitated by the very fact that the only constructive way of solving the contradictions of the modern system—the rebuilding of our economy along the lines of a humanistic, free socialism based upon the ideas of international solidarity—is barred by those very forces which for a long time have been considered the builders of the coming new society—the Socialist parties of Europe. For a long time the latter were considered the grave-diggers of the present capitalist system, waiting only for the opportune historical moment to deal it a decisive blow, but the events in Germany have demonstrated with striking clearness that these supposed grave diggers were nothing but the best support of our present system, and when the latter rotted away so that it couldn't support its liberal and democratic superstructure any longer, away with the latter went the prop and support of a definite form of capitalism—the Socialist parties. The great significance of the shameful behavior of the German Socialists lies in the clear lesson it taught the whole world. Social Democracy is a misnomer, it long ceased to be socialistic but in name. It adapted itself completely to the framework of the capitalist order and was not ready to put up any sort of a fight for the socialist ideal. Its unexampled cowardice in face of the Hitler reaction had only one possible explanation: it feared the socialistic implications of the struggle against the counter-revolution, it feared the possible consequences which would place them face to face with the task of building up socialism. "I hate the revolution more than the black

plague," said Ebert, the Socialist President of the German republic and one of the Socialist leaders—just on the very eve of the November Revolution. And the party by its behavior in the last few months has well proven that this preference is still in force.

But the German Social-Democratic Party is not an isolated and distorted branch of the Socialist International (insofar as this term can be applied to a mere conglomeration of intensely nationalistic parties). Due to incidental factors of German history it brought out clearly the same tendencies which are gradually molding all other Socialist parties into conservative forces, a mere drag in the struggle of the working class for a new society. Everywhere the Socialist parties have scuttled the struggle for the integral ideal of a Socialist society in favor of petty reforms. Flying in face of the tragic realities of the post-war period they have evolved an idyllic picture of the capitalist system spontaneously developing in the direction of Socialism. The parasitic tendencies of a monopolistic capitalism were sublimated into the great beneficial factors of stability and planned control. The increasing fascisation of the economic life through the interference of the State was hailed as the great opening wedge in the struggle for Socialism. The fatuous myth of a liberal bourgeoisie was upheld by them, the myth of an enlightened bourgeoisie ready to co-operate in the task of building up a new society. An ostrich policy was developed in regard to the imminent war catastrophe threatening to wipe out all that there is left of our culture. The same ostrich policy was pursued in regard to the crisis, in regard to the desperate and starving masses whom they forced into the arms of a demagogic counter-revolution by putting out their hopes for a resolute militant struggle. War and crises didn't figure in their petty schemes, woven out of fanciful wish thoughts—a fool's paradise built up by petty politicians among the crashings of a tottering world. Isn't the world growing better better from day to day, doesn't it progress more and more? Look at all the reforms piled up by the Socialist parties, the rich union treasuries, the millions of Socialist votes.

The downward plunge of the deranged social mechanism flattened out in its way the rich union treasuries and the parties of many millioned Socialist votes. It threw overboard all those tiny little figures who were pretending to direct the social engine along the lines of Socialism. It is a steep upward climb and a driver who day-dreams about smooth roads cannot be entrusted with that engine. What happened in Germany will take place elsewhere. The Socialist party will be swept off the historical road by the great struggles of our revolutionary epoch. It is already becoming an anachronism, a living anachronism whose fate has already been made clear by the handwriting on the wall.

But no less striking a lesson is given us by the failure of the Communist Party of Germany. No amount of official whitewashing will hide the striking fact of this failure. There must be something fundamentally wrong with it that not only did it fail to mobilize around its banners the great masses of the German workingmen during a decade of social struggle, but that it yielded all its positions without any resistance. This conclusion is warranted by its activities in all other countries where they tend in the same direction: the immobilization of the revolu-

tionary energy, its bottling up in the monstrously centralized apparatus and its ultimate squandering upon narrow sectarian issues. And that is why the great heroic struggles of the Spartacists in the first period of the revolution, have given in their 1933 finale but the sorry spectacle of a powerful party standing by helplessly while the reaction was dealing them one blow after the other. The stifling of the last shreds of democracy within its inner life, its complete lack of understanding of the dynamics of revolutionary mass struggles, its full subjection to the Moscow centre, reducing it to a diplomatic pawn in the game of the Soviet diplomacy, the absurd heresy-hunting coming not as a reflection of genuine inner struggles, but as the reverberations of the foreign issues in the Soviet intra-party struggles—all that led to its gradual isolation from the German masses, its impotence in face of the great historic task.

The reactionary drift of our economic order towards chaos and barbarism can be stayed and reversed only by a resolute uncompromising revolutionary struggle for a free socialism based upon the principles of internationalism and humanism. But before undertaking this struggle the various pseudo-Socialist movements barring its way must be swept aside. And let us hope that the tragic lesson of a triumphant, vicious reaction striding over the prostrate bodies of many millions of Socialist parties, silencing them into self-annihilation by a mere wave of its mailed glove, will teach all sincere revolutionists the necessity of this preliminary clearing process. The debris of a crumbled facade must be cleared away before starting to build anew.

SENEX.

The Anarchists in Catalonia

ED. NOTE.—This little chronicle is a fit comment to the prophecy of Leon Trotsky about the role of the Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, "Whatever course the revolution might take, it will signify the disappearance of Anarchism as a social force in Spanish life." (Vol. II, "The History of the Russian Revolution.")

The two years of revolutionary struggles in Spain and especially in its most militant section Catalonia, have already given an answer to the probable force which is going to have the last say in the revolution.

OUT of the three and a half millions of its total population, more than eight percent are members of the F. A. I. (Federacion Anarchista Iberica—the Iberian Anarchist Federation) and 28 percent of the C. N. T. (the National Confederation of Labor—the Anarcho-Syndicalist organization). So that we may say that both together these revolutionary forces, upon whom the coming revolution will count, constitute a considerable part of the population. [Not all of the F. A. I. members belong to the C. N. T. which is the case with many peasants.—ED. NOTE.] There are entire villages who are in the movement as a unit. Out of the 323 townships and villages, which make up the province of Barcelona, 170 are ready to seize the means of production and establish Free Communism. And it isn't that they are but small villages; some are thickly populated centers

like Paragruñel, Igualada, Tarrassa, etc. These can proclaim the social revolution without any special effort on their part.

Every one in Spain knows about the revolt which last year took place in Alto Llobregat, a revolt which did not simply result in political violence, but which left its deep imprint upon the life of the province. From Puebla de Llílet to Menessa, from the lofty peaks of the Pyrenees to La Seo, every one is deeply agitated by the impulse toward Free Communism given by the rebellion of last year. In the province of Gerona there are townships which have already made certain experiments in the spirit of Free Communism. And not only these agricultural units, but the whole region of Ter and Fresser—an industrial and manufacturing region—is in full readiness for the expected “call.” Everywhere there is an overflow of enthusiasm which is deeply stirring in its effect upon the population.

“Just see that the armed forces of the city don’t crush us and we shall all rise,” I was told by them.

The whole region of Priorato is on a war footing. There are many villages in which more than half of the population are members of the F. A. I. and who will get together at the first call of the revolution and form a vanguard army. On January 8th, last year, 600 men of the neighboring villages got together with the view of marching on Tarragona (the capital of a Catalonian province bearing the same name—ED. NOTE). In the city itself there was a group of shock troops ready to seize the headquarters of the government. This did not materialize because the call for action did not come.

In the Province of Lleruda there are whole townships which continuously demand the social revolution. At the last regional plenum of Catalonia more than forty delegates were in favor of an immediate social revolution.

We have fourteen publications of an Anarchist and Syndicalist character, including one daily (*Solidaridad Obrera* in Barcelona).

(From the *El Libertario*, an Anarchist Weekly Published in Madrid)

The Political and Economic Organization of Society

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM is based upon the economic organization of society, the economic interests being the only kind of a social link upon which the interests of all individuals converge. The social organization has no other goal but to *place in common possession* whatever constitutes social wealth, that is to say the means of production and the products themselves, and also to make the obligation to contribute to production a common duty from everyone in accordance with his ability.

Whatever is not of economic function remains outside of the economic organization, beyond its control. Which means that it is left to the private initiative and activity of the individuals.

The opposition between political organizations, having the state as their common basis, and a social order based upon an economic organ-

ization, cannot be more complete. We are giving here the following comparison in order to bring out clearly this opposition:

THE POLITICAL STATE

1. It considers the people as minors and altogether incapable of self-government.

2. All powers reside in the state. The economic life, education, the administration of justice, the interpretation of law, the encouragement of production of wealth and the organization of life in all its functions. .

3. The state is sovereign, centralizes all armed forces (army, police, prisons, courts). The people are defenceless, disarmed, which still does not prevent us from calling them the Sovereign of the democratic state.

4. Men group according to their political, religious or social ideas, that is where there is a minimum of coincidence points, since it is exactly upon those ideas that men differ the greatest.

5. The state which represents the minority pretends to have more knowledge and ability than the various social collectives.. "One knows more than all."

6. The State, in laying down a definite and fixed norm to be followed for all times (a constitution or code), forfeits the future and falsifies life which is always mutable and multifarious..

7. The State reserves everything to itself. The people have nothing to do but pay, obey, produce and conform with the supreme will of those who issue the command: Give me power and I will make you happy.

8. Society is divided into two castes: those who rule and those who obey.

THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

1. It considers every professional group as capable of taking charge of its private business, no tutelage being necessary, especially that of the state.

2. The initiative passes to professional organization. The control of education to teachers; sanitation—to medical workers; communication—to technicians and workers. The inner life of the factory is decided upon at the general meetings of technicians and workers. The control of production belongs to the Federation of Unions.

3. Force returns to its origin. It is not accumulated, every individual having his corresponding part thereof, leaving to the collective what every one concedes to it.

4. Men group into unions according to their necessities and occupations, into Free Communes by the exigencies of the locality and the community of interests. This is the field in which the points of coincidence between men are the greatest.

5. The convention concentrates the maximum of knowledge and ability only in relation to those professional matters which it represents. All the various committees taken together know more than one committee.

6. In the industrial organization the norm of future conduct is decided for each moment in accordance with the circumstances.

7. All intermediaries and redeemers are dispensed with; everyone is accustomed to manage his own business, thus ridding himself of a political routine inculcated by centuries of political education.

8. All citizens belong to the one level of producers.

9. Recognizes only fictions and written rights of liberty, sovereignty, justice, democracy, autonomy, in order to keep alive the political illusion.

10. Progress and social evolution all lead to the state. Fascism is the ultimate solution as well as state socialism. Camouflages its prerogatives, but is bound to lose them gradually in measure that class consciousness grows, in measure that the individual grows in stature.

11. In an organization with a political basis, the hierarchy grows from the bottom up: above the people there is the Council, above the Council there is the Municipality, above the latter the Parliament, and above the Parliament the Government.

'From "Libertarian Communism," a pamphlet by Isaak Puente—one of the outstanding workers of the modern Anarchist movement in Spain.)

9. It realizes the democratic principle, which is the government of people by the people. Realizes the principle of Federalism granting the maximum of autonomy and communal independence to every unit of production.

10. The evolution brings up the professional organization to the pinnacle of its power. From defense of the economic interests of the individual they evolve into organizations capable of accepting their social responsibilities.

11. In an industrial organization, the hierarchy grows downwards — toward the lowest rung. The decisions of the committee can be annulled by the conference, those of the conference by the convention, and those of the convention by the people themselves.

The Vanguard Group

ABOUT a year and a half ago, a small group of young Anarchist-Communists—members of the defunct Road to Freedom and the Friends of Freedom groups—realizing the necessity of responsibility, organization and clarity, agreed to constitute themselves into a new group named the "Vanguard." They realized, as the first step in building up a movement, it would be necessary to formulate a clear revolutionary program, based upon the principles of Anarchist-Communism. Although this policy has not been formulated yet, we have advanced considerably in this direction in a series of closed meetings specially devoted for the purpose of clarifying our position on that matter. We realize that such a program of action cannot come as the result of half a year's discussion by a small group, but that we did lay the necessary foundation for it. We also engaged in a series of activities of a general propaganda nature.

We organized a series of street corner meetings, the Sacco-Vanzetti meeting, took the initiative in organizing several lecture discussions on the Spanish situation, helped in the Kentucky Miners' Defense, debated other radical groups, conducted a study group, held lectures and established the "Rebel Youth," a group for still younger people. We appealed time and again, in the Anarchist press, to groups and individuals to help us organize youth groups in their localities. The response was slow and ineffective, showing that all the talk of building a "youth movement" was insincere verbosity. The "Vanguard" was born, not in the spirit of competition or isolation, but as an attempt to give expression to the specific

approach we formulated in the course of our activity, and that is why we found it necessary to establish national and international contacts of our own.

At present, the same spirit prevails, congenial and cooperative whenever possible. Always keeping our ideals before us, we are constantly attempting to deepen and expand our present activities, and plan our immediate work for the future.

There is no doubt that our plans for future expansion can easily be realized, if our comrades and sympathizers of various language groups would cooperate with us both morally and financially in the following program:

1. The task of building up a youth federation of autonomous groups is, no doubt, our most important undertaking. A task in which every group and individual could and should participate. And with this the organization of groups for adolescents, like the "Rebel Youth."

2. The Federation must have a revolutionary program of action. The "Vanguard" has already begun to work in this direction.

3. We must establish a closer contact with the great militant organization of the American working class—the I. W. W., working within it and alongside, for the furtherance of the ideas of Libertarian Communism, for the methods and tactics of Anarcho-Syndicalism as formulated by the International Working Men's Association.

4. It is essential to publish new literature. We would have done this if we had had the financial resources. But we hope to do this in the near future.

5. The establishment of an Anarchist school, where people interested in studying our philosophy and tactics could learn them in a consistent and systematic way.

6. Work has already begun upon the establishment of a press service, to keep the groups informed about each other's activities. And also that of Anarchists in other countries, especially Spain.

7. The development of cultural clubs permeated by the Anarchist idea should not be neglected.

Comrades have undoubtedly noticed the growing militancy of "Vanguard," its abundance of constructive material, and its clarity. Our next step is to increase the number of pages to twenty-four.

Comrades and sympathizers who wish to see a militant, organized, revolutionary Anarchist movement, who wish to see our paper expanded, should give their cooperation and support in helping to realize the outlined program. Subscribe to the VANGUARD and get the subscriptions of your friends. Order bundles and sell them in the colleges and schools, and among the workers. Subscriptions to VANGUARD is \$1.00 for twelve issues.

SECRETARY OF THE VANGUARD GROUP.

A COMMUNIST REVEALS HIS MENTALITY

Several weeks ago the Vanguard Group was invited by the Young Circle League, to participate in a youth symposium on the subject of "After Capitalism—What Next?" The Socialists and the Communists, who did not seem to have much faith in their own youth speakers,

sent down their heavy artillery, a man who ran for some office on the Socialist ticket, whose name I cannot recall, and Mr. Wicks of the *Daily Worker*. Mr. Wicks did not run against the grain. After hurling the choice Communist invectives against Emma Goldman for her criticism and exposition of the activities of the Communist Party in Russia, he declared "Anarchism is a philosophy which supports the Morgans and Rockefellers."

During the question period the writer took the opportunity to ask this great Mr. Wicks a few questions. "Does Mr. Wicks think that Bakunin, Kropotkin, Johann Most and the Haymarket martyrs were also supporters of the Morgans and Rockefellers? Can Mr. Wicks disprove anything that Emma Goldman has written, and if so, why doesn't he do it instead of hurling invectives?" And in his answers to these questions Mr. Wicks distinguished himself further. "Bakunin," he stated, "was a police spy, as Marx proved. Kropotkin was a 'good little monarchist' and proved such during the war. Johann Most did nothing else than hurl invectives at the capitalists. The Haymarket boys were revolutionary workers who were not really Anarchists. As to Emma Goldman, her writing doesn't have to be disproved, it is self-evident: Look at Russia today." The listeners vinced at such unscrupulous declarations. This, of course, is typically the Communist tactics, and is a cross-section of the Communist mind. And *they* call for a United Front.

I should like to ask Mr. Wicks, where does Marx prove Bakunin to have been a police spy? Do monarchists give up their wealth and position to live a life of poverty, and suffer long prison terms for revolutionary activities? And if a revolutionist does make a mistake, are we to discount his previous activities? If so, what is W. Z. Foster doing at the head of the Communist Party? He not only supported the allies, but sold liberty bonds on the streets. And why did Lenin and all revolutionary Russia welcome the return of a "monarchist" in 1917? These are but a few of the questions that would arise in the mind of an honest revolutionist.

S. L.

We are receiving a large stock of pamphlets on the I. W. M. A., explaining its purpose, aims and tactics. Groups and individuals may order these from us in any quantity. They are five cents each plus postage.

We have on hand several volumes of Kropotkin's "Ethics" selling at \$1.50 plus postage. Several of his pamphlets may also be procured from us.

An English Anarchist Propaganda Conference will be held in the Auditorium of the Modern School, Stelton, N. J., on Saturday and Sunday, July 1st and 2nd.

Help us build up a library of Anarchist and Socialist literature. You, no doubt, realize the necessity for such an important educational activity. Books could be donated or lent for a specified time. Send all books to Vanguard, 45 West 17th St., New York, N. Y.

