

vanguard

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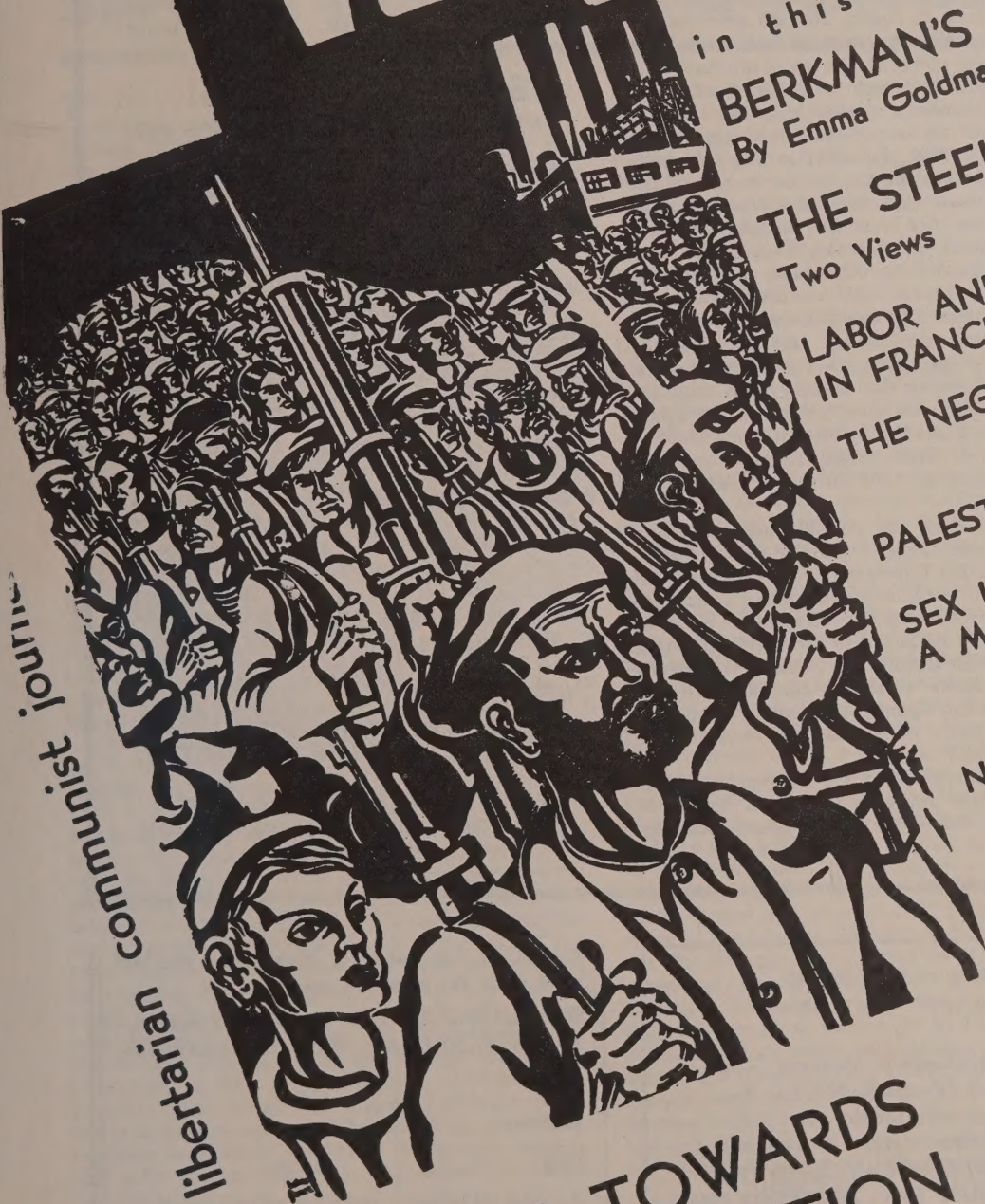
SEX UNDER STALIN
A Morality Play

**FASCISM GOES
NATIVE AMERICAN**

**SPAIN: TOWARDS
SOCIAL REVOLUTION**

10 cent.

a libertarian communist journal



The Spanish Revolution needs your help!

Although you are thousands of miles from the actual field of battle you can render a priceless service to your working class brothers who, with their blood, are sweeping back the legions of barbarism.

Our Comrades in Spain must have sympathetic publicity in America. The American workers must be told what is going on. In the event of the founding of a Libertarian Communist Society in Spain, foreign intervention is a certainty. We, the Vanguard, the only English speaking voice of the most militant elements of the Spanish working class, must reach the American masses with the truth about the most heroic proletarian struggle since October 1917. With the cold clear logic of facts we must sweep aside the horror stories of the prostitute press. The American workers must know that the men they will be asked to fight are not rapists and looters. They must learn that the Spanish revolutionists are workers too.... but workers with a vision.... workers who prefer death to the yoke of Fascism.

The Communist Party and the Socialist Party have a huge subsidized press in America capable of flooding the country with their reformist, doctrinaire observations of the Spanish struggle. Shall the Syndicalist and Anarchist workers of Spain want for even one capable championing voice on our immense continent?

There is only one possible answer. Build the Vanguard! Make it worthy of representing our Spanish Comrades. You who read our magazine are workers. It may mean a sacrifice on your part to help the Vanguard. What of it? You should be proud to sacrifice something for the Spanish Revolution. Is there any sacrifice you can make which will compare with the sacrifices of the Spanish men and women who are pitting their bone and flesh against the Fascist hordes?

Clearly, the work of the libertarian movement in Spain must be publicized by us in America. It should be just as clear, however, that we must build a powerful, active Liber-

tarian Communist movement here. We have dedicated ourselves to this task. To spread our ideas and methods we must make ourselves heard far and wide. Our voice, the Vanguard, must become the voice of every toiler who hopes and fights for a freer, better life.

Let us organize to carry on this work effectively.

If you can help, do so now. This is not something that can wait. Tomorrow never comes.

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SPAIN: Towards Social Revolution

The first country to reverse the tide of Fascist victories sweeping over Europe ever since the German catastrophe is one which was always relegated a subordinate place in the general scheme of socialistic struggles. Unlike Germany, France, or even Austria, Spain did not figure prominently in the expectations of the great majority of European socialists. Its revolutionary movement was one of the least known, its labor struggles were least understood and the general course of its political and social life seemed well to fit into the category of a backward country following the others in both — in the victories and reversals of the labor movement.

That Spain did not follow this lead, that instead of resigning themselves to Fascist aggression as the "exemplary" socialist movement of the advanced countries did, the Spanish workers and peasants turned fiercely against their enemies, is not due to the different caliber of the Spanish democratic government. Whatever may be said about its present attitude, its behavior prior to the outbreak of the revolt and even during its first days, as has already been revealed by the uncensored dispatches from Madrid, leaves no doubt that had the defense of democracy been left to its official protagonists, the tragedy of Germany and Austria would have been enacted once more upon the arena of the international struggles of the proletariat.

The Spanish government was not only criminally lax in letting the Fascist conspiracy ripen into its present size without making a serious effort to stifle it in its first stage of development. It followed the same course of vacillations and semi-betrayals in the critical hours of the first outbreak of the revolt. In Barcelona, while the Fascist bands were seizing one strategic post after the other, the authorities tried, by application of force, to prevent the arming of workers. It was only with the help of the revolutionary marines that the workers succeeded in obtaining the necessary arms for the organization of an effective resistance. In Madrid several days were lost in hopeless confusion, in petty strife of the various cliques, in the treacherous attempt to temporize, to stall off the arming of workers, to arrive at some sort of understanding with the counter-revolutionary generals by granting them far-reaching concessions and while uncensored news is still very scanty, the little that begins to trickle in reveals the same picture of hesitation, irresolu-

tion, lack of clear purpose or the will to struggle on the part of authorities in all other parts of Spain.

The revolution was saved from the first, almost ideally planned, attack of its powerful enemies not by the vigilance of the government and the parties backing it, but by the spontaneous upsurge of mass resistance. Like in Russia of 1917 the saving grace of the situation consisted in the fact that the state power disintegrated sufficiently to allow the revolutionary initiative of the masses to assert itself in time of a dangerous crisis. Barricades rose in Madrid, Barcelona and the industrial centers of the north much before the government made up its mind whether it should fight at all. The revolutionary sailors did not wait upon government orders to foil the counter-revolutionary plot of the navy officers. And the peasants rose with especial vigor in those localities where the government went the furthest in its absurd attempt to check the peasants in their struggle against the landlords.

This saving spontaneity of mass activity was no accident at all. It was due to the fact that ever since the fall of the monarchy in 1931 the Democratic and Socialist Parties found themselves at cross purposes with the basic drives of a great revolution in the making. Their attempt to check and restrain the deep revolutionary ferment, to force it into narrow political channels drove the forces of mass revolt upon themselves, developed within them a fierce sense of independence and a deep distrust of the liberal government. And revolutions are safe whenever governments are distrusted by the mass of people, whenever the latter develop a readiness to act upon their own initiative.

And it will save the revolution not only from the Fascist attack, but from the still greater danger of being curbed and stopped half way by the sacred union of the Liberal, Socialist and Communist Parties. The struggle now carried on in Spain is directed not only against the Fascists of Spain. More and more it is becoming evident that international capitalism is lining up behind the Spanish counter-revolution. And in order to challenge that force successfully it is necessary to mobilize the economic and human resources on such a scale that no nation keeping within the boundaries of the capitalist system can ever hope to carry through. The commanding heights of economic life must be wrested from

(Continued on page four)

What is this 'Communismo Libertario'?

Since the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy in 1931 when news from Spain became important enough to receive front page displays in the press there has been what amounts to a conspiracy of silence on the part of the liberal and radical press in this country concerning the nature and the role of the libertarian communist movement in Spain. Even now, when this movement, embodied in the F.A.I. and the C.N.T. is in the forefront of the struggle against Spanish Fascism and is showing the way to a new social order, the Socialist and Communist press have practically nothing to say about it. Though the bourgeois press is beginning to give more attention to the work of the anarcho-sindicalists in the present civil war, the information given is usually scanty and vague. We should like to point out that competent observers of Spanish life are fully aware of the importance and vitality of our movement in Spain. Beginning with the present issue of *Vanguard* we shall present several accounts and evaluations of our movement by a number of well-informed observers of the Spanish labor movement. We do not necessarily agree with the views expressed by these writers.

The following quotations are taken from an article in the July, 1936 issue of *Foreign Affairs Quarterly* by Lawrence A. Fernsworth entitled "Mass Movements in Spain". Mr. Fernsworth is the Spanish correspondent for the *London Times*:

"The outstanding peculiarity of the Syndicalists as a labor body lies in their 'Sindicatos Unicos', or unified syndicates. They represent the grouping of labor syndicates according to industries, as for example in metals or textiles where a dozen or more trades are frequently included in a single industry. This system has a revolutionary significance, for it is the goal of syndicalism completely to possess and control each particular industry all the way from planning and management through production and distribution....

"They (Syndicalists) have a double aim: the destruction of the state and capital, and as a corollary, the establishment of a federation of free communes. 'Communismo Libertario' they call the new social order which they envisage and in which the central idea is the liberation of the individual from the State. The name distinguishes their projected social order from the state ordained and state controlled communism of Russia. It would have two main categories of action: economic and social. *It is the communism most commonly in mind when reference to that doctrine is made in Spain....* (Emphasis ours — Ed.)

"As to the social aspect the report of the recent Congress (of the C.N.T.) states: 'The political structure of our revolution is based upon the individual, the commune, the federation'. The individuals of the towns, the villages, the localities are to be grouped into free communes, the communes into federations of districts or regions and finally the

federations into the Confederation of the Iberian Peninsula, a super organization taking the place of the abolished state. It is to be known as the CICAL, from 'Confederación Ibérica de Comunhas Autonomas Libertarias', ruled by the general 'Junta', or council, just as the federations and the communes have their respective 'Juntas'. Authority, so repugnant to Anarchist ideology, is considered abolished. Only the will of the people as expressed through the communes prevails. The various councils may be dissolved or their officers dismissed at any moment by the communes, since they have no fixed term of office as in the State. The people preserve the most absolute liberty of criticism. Although the economic council and the CICAL are quasi independent bodies, they have related functions and are to converge in a National Congress....

(Continued on page four)

Hail The Spanish Working Class!

TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF SPAIN! TO THE WORKING CLASS THE WORLD OVER!

A great battle, an epic battle is raging today in Spain, one which has thrust the laboring masses squarely against all their exploiters. Fascism in Spain is playing its trump card. The military putsch of General Franco, backed up by the Fascist, Robles, and the banker-adventurer, March, was initiated in the army of the recently elected "Popular Front" government. The government realized from the beginning that it could scarcely rely on its officers and generals. It, therefore, called directly upon the working masses. Only then did the real battle begin, the battle of the Social Revolution against Fascism. And the battle continues with our C.N.T. (the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in the front lines. The detachments of our fighters, after having crushed the Fascists in Barcelona, are moving on towards Saragossa to do the same there. In Madrid, Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, Gijon and among the heroic Asturians, the red-and-black flag of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) waves on the barricades, on armored motor cars, on the cannons, the machine guns and the rifles. The masses cannot fail to be victorious, no matter the vicissitudes of the moment, nor the losses we may suffer. The working class everywhere is passionately following the progress of the battle and already is beginning to hear the cry of victory over Spanish Fascism, the first breach in the solid front of world Fascism.

We of the International Workingmen's Association, of which the Spanish C.N.T. is the most powerful revolutionary pivot, hope that with the aid of our constituent sections in Europe, Asia and America, the workers and peasants of Spain, after their victory, will be able to carry to fruition their full emancipation and will not permit any miscarriage of the inevitable and triumphant Social Revolution.

Long live the C.N.T.

Long live the Social Revolution.

Long live Libertarian Communism.

—THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S
ASSOCIATION

STEEL AND THE C.I.O.

One of the problems of great concern to the libertarians at this time is the issue of craft-unionism domination over the organizations attempting to effect industrial organization. The bitter conflict between the two factions may finally resolve in a split of the American Federation of Labor.

The obstinate and incredibly stupid attitude of the dominant reactionaries of the A. F. of L. hierarchy, challenging the rights of the masses of workers to choose a new, modern form of organization in place of the old, is identically the same as that of the steel barons as embodied in their challenge by the Iron & Steel Institute, against the workers unionization for collective bargaining and the organization of unions of their own choosing.

The formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization took place in November 1935 with the purpose of fulfilling that function which the A. F. of L. Executive Council failed to fulfill. At the San Francisco Convention in 1934, a resolution was adopted instructing the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to issue charters and to organize the Rubber, Cement, Steel and Automobile industries on industrial lines.

At the executive session of the council in 1935, and at the Convention in Atlantic City, demands were made by John L. Lewis upon William Green, to act upon those instructions. It is obvious that the officials of the international unions, especially the building trades, the most reactionary ones in the A. F. of L., in order to prevent mass organization that would ultimately remove them from their fat jobs, would fight to block every move for industrial organization. And because these reactionaries predominate in the council, eight of the largest international unions agreed to form the C. I. O. At present there are twelve organizations allied with the C. I. O., representing 1,250,000 progressive workers, or one third of the A. F. of L. membership.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the leaders of the C. I. O. are far from being revolutionists. Neither can it be said that their interpretation of industrial unionism and the organizing of workers in one given industry alone, would give the same impetus to an organization as if several correlated industries, beginning with the raw material and ending in the finished product, were organized in one nationwide industrial organization. Also, we are divided in our opinions and tactics from those who advocate political exploitation of the workers instead of directing them entirely upon militant economic and industrial lines. It is only necessary to direct attention to their own political divisions. Some of the leaders ardently support the reelection of Roosevelt, while others of the C. I. O. are very critical of their collaborators and are campaigning for the Socialist ticket.* We cannot agree with or accept the political advocacies of either faction. But what about the important change from the old traditions

of craft-unionism, jurisdictional disputes, perpetual internal conflicts, discriminations and class divisions, something we cannot afford to ignore?

In the last analysis one must recognize the possibilities of uniting the mass of workers under the new methods of the C. I. O. as against the degeneracy of the A. F. of L. policies. As revolutionaries, we cannot overlook the elementary principles of organization. While the craft-unions defend the rights of their members, maintain certain standards of wages and working conditions, at the same time they discriminate against other members of their union by separating skilled from unskilled. Members of the same organization are divided into various conflicting categories. This condition hinders their progress towards emancipation. Under the industrial form of organization, even as the C. I. O. proposes in the Steel, Rubber, Cement and Automobile industries, there are bound to be certain advantages which the mass of workers never enjoyed under the old autocratic machinery of the A. F. of L.

A still more important factor is that the C. I. O. is the only organization that has actually laid out plans for organizing the unorganized. They have not merely theorized over this important problem, but they have in fact appropriated \$500,000 to help organize the steel workers, something the A. F. of L. had not done in all the fifty-five years of its existence. Does one need to emphasize the fact that the A. F. of L. refuses to organize the exploited workers? Have they ever made attempts to do so? And if they did, what caliber of men are there in the Federation that are competent to really represent labor's interests?

It would be ludicrous and even insulting to advise the workers of foreign countries who call themselves libertarians to carry on their work in organizations of workers. In fact, revolutionary activities in labor unions and syndicates are being stimulated by libertarians wherever they are.

In America, for many reasons, not at all justifiable, there are individuals and groups also of the same philosophy and beliefs as our comrades in Europe and elsewhere, that have consciously or otherwise developed an indifferent attitude regarding participation in constructive and practical activities. There are others, we must admit, who, besides their negative position in this field, would even go out of their way to discourage anyone who might have the vision for the practical application of his ideas and the desire to direct his activities in a field where it is most fruitful.

The situation would not be so bad, had there

*Ed. Note: By now the so-called Socialists among the C. I. O. leaders have joined the pro-Roosevelt block. Their socialist convictions were quite tenuous and could not well resist the blandishments of political prestige accruing from the support of the probable victor at the polls.

been a sufficient number of libertarians with the same desire for really practical work who would unite themselves toward that end. Unfortunately the others predominate. Consequently, the years drag by without the slightest progress made on our part. Hence, we travel in a vicious circle.

Never in all history was there a time when the solidification of the revolutionary forces was so necessary as the present. As libertarians, we regard and recognize other opinions and methods of procedure. But we must also possess the tolerance to give the devil his due, though we know he is wicked. Also, we must learn to appreciate a sense of justice. At the present moment there is a unionization drive which is condemned by the Iron & Steel Institute. The latter is prepared to spend millions to crush this drive; and the reactionary forces within the A. F. of L. threaten to suspend 1,250,000 workers from the Federation because of progressive and constructive action. It then behooves us to unite and offer every effort on our part to assist the C. I. O. in their struggle against the two evils.

Lamentable as it appears, we haven't even an organization to support them with. The Socialists and the Communists are not leaving one stone unturned to get into this movement in order that they may exploit and utilize this organization for their political purposes. We have nothing to exploit. But it becomes our moral and revolutionary duty to step in and enlighten the masses of workers to be on their guard against the death blow labor has experienced in other countries, due to maneuvers of the political charlatans. The fact that one third of the A. F. of L. is ripe for a change from the old traditions of reactionary policies to a modern and more progressive form of organization proves the need for our full collaboration with those who are in need of our help.

—LEON GREEN

(Ed. Note: Lack of space, resulting from last-minute changes in the make-up of our magazine, prevents us from putting in the other article on the struggle within the A. F. of L. expressing the point of view of the editors. The article will appear in full in the next issue. For the present we shall confine ourselves to a few comments.)

The movement for industrialization has certain potentialities from our revolutionary point of view. This should not imply, however, a blanket endorsement of its present-day leadership and the form in which the drive is carried on. The question propounded by comrade Green as to the caliber of men now leading the A. F. of L. fully applies to the leadership of this new so-called industrial union movement. The record of John L. Lewis is such that no revolutionary can ignore it. And while the record of others is less savory, it certainly does not warrant any expectations of too energetic a drive on their part or a militant strategy demanded in tackling such a stupendous job as organization of steel workers.

Altogether, our aim is not to hang on to the tail of any labor movement. Participation there must be, but one which is guided by a clear revolutionary perspective, clearly stated aims of anarcho-syndicalism. Such a perspective certainly precludes any hopes placed upon the miraculous conversion of the twenty thousand dollar-a-year bureaucrats to the cause of union democracy. Democracy, like charity, begins at home and what takes place at home — not only in the feudal domain of John L. Lewis, but even right here in

the bureaucratically controlled unions of the clothing industry — is of such a nature as to leave to a libertarian militant only one solution: to work for and within the new movement for industrialization, but only in such a way as to make it impossible for the Lewis, Howard and Hillman type ever to get any hold upon it.)

SPAIN: Towards Social Revolution

(Continued from page one)

the hands of the bankers, manufacturers, merchants who are thoroughly Fascist in their sympathies. The rationing out of the dwindling fund of economic goods must be undertaken immediately and that in full accordance with the basic ideas of justice and equality. The land must be immediately turned over to the peasants and a decisive blow dealt to the power of the church controlling not only the education of the people but also vast economic and financial resources.

The great significance of events in Spain lies in the fact that in spite of the opposition of the government, in spite of the sabotage of the Communist and Socialist Parties, with their attempt to keep the revolutionary forces confined within the channels of a purely political struggle, deep going incursions have already been made in the sacred realm of capitalist relationships. Led and inspired by the most fearless vanguard of the Spanish revolution — the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation (C. N. T.) and the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F. A. I.) — the Spanish masses are pressing irresistibly toward the great aim of the revolution — the establishment of Libertarian Communism.

Spain is showing the way. Vast social transformations are already beginning to take place. The blaze of the burning cities illumines before the world not the dismal picture of a country blasted into ruins by a most ferocious civil war, but the travailing of a new social order. And soon the tidings of its birth will echo through the world with tones of more far-reaching import than the great Russian upheaval of 1917.

—SENEX

'Communismo Libertario'

(Continued from page two)

"The answer of an Anarcho-Syndicalist leader who was asked by the writer what might be expected to follow the success of a unified revolution was as follows:

"The historic law of revolutions will prevail. A realist idea always follows a revolutionary movement. It is impossible to elaborate a theory of the future. It is possible and even probable that something neither Syndicalist nor Socialist will be born of the revolution. The important thing is that it shall be the working class which commands."

"No one who has observed the determined persistence of the revolutionary forces, their resurgence after repeated repressions, can doubt that the revolutionary tide is deep and strong".

POGROMS IN PALESTINE

The recent horrible events in Palestine must, it seems to me, arouse every socially minded person. It would be childish and even criminal to dismiss the whole affair by saying "It is just a struggle between two nationalities. The social revolution will doubtless solve many complicated problems including this chronic Jewish problem".

Even though it may not be possible for us to participate directly in every struggle, we must nevertheless take a positive stand on questions of such importance.

For the past three months a part of the Arab population of Palestine has been manifesting its rebellious discontent by burning Jewish homes, ruining cultivated fields, severing telephone and telegraph connections, murdering Jewish men, women and children, and attacking Jewish occupants of automobiles, buses and trains. Some regard this as a pogrom against the Jews; others say that it is a rebellion of the Arab colonial peoples; still others claim that the events are merely temporary outbursts of passion.

What do the Arabs, that is the wealthy landowners, the fanatical clergy, the nationalists and the incensed Arab intellectuals want? Their chief demands are (1) To end immigration to Palestine; (2) To prohibit the sale of land to Jews; (3) To create an independent national Arab state. The Arab nationalists hope to attain their demands by employing the tactics of incendiarism, murder, sabotage and the general strike.

The Jewish nationalists (Zionists) want to make Palestine the Jewish homeland in which the Jews will comprise the majority of the population. Their claim to the land is based on a series of ancient historical pretensions, fundamentally sentimental in nature.

Are the Zionists the only immigrants to Palestine? No. To be sure, the Jew-baiting which is systematically practised in Germany, Poland and Roumania uproots many impoverished workers from their economic hold on life. Jewish youth in the Fascist and semi-Fascist countries is deprived of the opportunity to learn any profession or trade and is therefore forced to emigrate. Thousands of young Jewish people dream of a land where they will be able to live with some measure of security. Palestine is to them the land where they can rehabilitate themselves, where they can hope to earn their bread by honest toil. While it is true that emigration is but a partial solution for the great masses of people, the fact remains that hundreds and thousands see in emigration their sole hope.

Who is responsible for the pogroms against the Jews in Palestine? Various elements. Hitler's agents are carrying on unremitting anti-Jewish propaganda in accordance with their anti-semitic policies and they also hope thereby to win the Arab nationalists to their side, as probable allies in case

of a world war. The agents of Mussolini are also cultivating a friendship with the Arab nationalists because they want their support in Fascist Italy's conflict with British imperialism in the Near East. The Arab land holders and clergy are playing a double game. They want to free themselves from the yoke of England and strengthen their hold on the oppressed and exploited Arab farmers and share croppers. The newly arisen Arab capitalists fear the influence of the Jewish socialist movement on the Arab proletariat. Arab intellectuals look forward to an independent bourgeois democratic republic in which they hope to become the new bureaucracy. Agents of English imperialism are also responsible, for their policy is one of "divide and rule". Last, but by no means least, the Zionists and Zionist-Socialist officials and theoreticians are responsible because their actions and propaganda have incited and insulted sections of the Arab population.

We are sympathetic to the cultural aspirations of those folk-groups who wish to guard and enrich their particular culture, language, customs and mores. We have the fullest respect for the healthy personality which is the very essence of human society. We have the same respect for every distinct group which possesses its own individual characteristics.

This may be called if you wish "Folkism". I would call it "Tolerant Cosmopolitanism". But we fight nationalism everywhere, be it Jewish, Arab, American or any other. Nationalism aims to exaggerate and glorify the historical events in the life of a people. Despite the camouflage of fine phraseology, nationalism in essence is imperialism and reaction. We do not believe in the exclusive right of any people to monopolize particular pieces of land and to deny other people access to such land. We are therefore determined opponents of quotas for immigrants, be it in Palestine, France, America or anywhere else.

Can we, moreover, share the naive approach of "revolutionaries" who regard every "uprising" as being necessarily a revolutionary act? For example, should the Caucasians rebel against Soviet Russia in order to help the English oil trust exploit the natural resources of Baku we would not sympathize with such an uprising. If Arab adventurers wish to exchange the English Mandate for the knout of Mussolini or Hitler, we cannot welcome or support such a "revolution".

When (the gentile) H. N. Brailsford writes in the *New Republic* of July 11, 1936, "Destiny compels the Jews to build their national home in Palestine, as Nehemiah built his temple, with trowel in one hand and sword in the other" this romantic approach to the problem cannot be taken seriously. But we must listen when the same left Socialist Brailsford gives us the astounding facts about the

Socialist and cooperative construction, the many creative activities of the Jews in Palestine, which before the arrival of these Jews was a barren wilderness.

The Jewish Socialist workers have the right to defend their lives against murderers and incendiaries, who serve knowingly or unknowingly foreign lust and ambitions for conquest. The socially minded Jewish masses must not allow themselves to be bulldozed. However, they must extend the hand of comradeship to their brothers, the poor *fellahs* and landless peasants. Jewish Socialists in Palestine must turn to the Arab artisan and land workers as well as to the proletarians. The Jewish Socialists together with the Jewish workers and exploited Arab workers of city and country will have to fight exploitation and the nationalistic poison of the Arab Effendis and the Zionist nationalists.

This is easier said than done. It is not easy to arrive at an understanding between two groups speaking different languages and sharing different cultural spheres. Although the attainment of socialism is not easy it is nevertheless the only certain road to the full emancipation of peoples and national groups.

E. NOVENAD

(Ed. Note: We agree with the author of this article in his severe criticism of the pseudo-revolutionary stand taken by some in reference to the situation in Palestine. To support the Arab Nationalists in the name of self-determination of colonial peoples or some idea of allegedly revolutionary expediency means to play into the hands of Hitler and Mussolini.

An article of this kind is, however, incomplete without stressing the Fascist implications of Zionism as a whole. The dismal situation existing in Palestine now is a direct result of the attempt to realize the Fascist idea. And we must admit the fact that the Jewish immigration is mainly motivated by those aims and purposes. Altogether it is brought about not by genuine overcrowding, but the reactionary political and economic structure of those countries which supply the bulk of Jewish immigration to Palestine. And that is why the general solution lies along the lines of a revolutionary struggle against those conditions. The place of the young Jewish people crowded out from life by the pressure of the artificial set-up of reactionary conditions is in the international revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and not in an escapist movement imbued with a reactionary romanticism, the realization of which has already led to one of the worst entanglements for the Jewish toiling masses.)

nine years ago the state of massachusetts...

NINE YEARS AGO THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS with the drunken fury of an outraged beast murdered Sacco and Vanzetti, a shoemaker and a fish peddler, two Anarchists. In the best clubs the best people opened their best bottles of champagne. Back Bay Boston bitches left their bridge tables to blow horns out of the window and ring cowbells (like New Years Eve) at the exact moment when the two wops met the hell of trained lightning with flesh and bone.

I remember the day, August 22nd, back just nine years, and how it was in New York.

Dock wallopers in rusty dungarees wiped their eyes and blew their noses in red snotrags and nobody thought it strange that men with callouses should cry.

Men rose from the side of their women: I'm going for a walk they said: I can't sleep.. I can't sleep.. and in the streets they met friends walking.. I can't sleep.. Christ they said.. but Christ was sleeping between a choir boy and a Bishop.

Nine years ago, on August 22nd, men took women by the hand and walked round round like caged animals waiting.. waiting for a switch to be thrown feeling their guts turn over at midnight.

Sacco and Vanzetti were last mileing it to the hot seat and a whole world (suddenly become comrade-world) walked by their side..

step by gruesome step.. and bawled. In Shanghai, Berlin, Moscow, Timbuctoo, men sat on curbstones or marched in great queues of HATE.

THAYER FULLER ELIOT.. what a bitter taste their names were on the tongues of millions.. ASSASSINS IN FROCKCOATS.. how men swore vows of vengeance between tears on that day.

But now it is nine years after. Nine years have seen the thwarting of the grave diggers. Ashes to ashes and dust to dust has no meaning for Sacco and Vanzetti. Who dares say they are dead? I saw them yesterday in Spain with muskets on their shoulders.. DEATH TO THE FASCISTI. Yesterday they were in every Bastille on the face of the Earth bringing solace to their comrades. I've seen them in a thousand workers clubs.. seen them in a million hearts thumbing their noses at the State of Massachusetts.. at all States.. laughing at the man with the skeleton's head who said from the seat of Justice I'LL GET THOSE FOREIGN BASTARDS.. laughing at the politicians who would use the names of Sacco and Vanzetti to lend weight to trickery.. Sacco and Vanzetti, fourth of July orations in the mealy mouths of vote snatchers..

SACCO AND VANZETTI A TORCH FOR FREEDOM.

D. L.

IN A SOVIET VILLAGE

a morality play
by David Lawrence

CAST OF CHARACTERS:

IVAN *the Chairman of the Village Soviet*

IVANOVA *quick change artist from the Moscow Art Theatre*

BORIS *the village idiot; because of his lunacy enjoys complete freedom of speech*

AN AUDIENCE *of peasants and workers who are not so crazy*

A SPRINKLING *of Chekists and Red Army Men*
A SINGER *from the Magnitogorsk Union of Stakhanovite Songsters*

A POET *from the Dnieprostroy Union of Super-Stakhanovite Penmen*

A CHORUS *of Komsomols*

The scene opens in the meeting hall of a village soviet. The hall is crowded with people gathered to 'celebrate' the newly instituted morality laws. The platform and walls are covered with placards reading: STALIN SAYS THE FAMILY IS THE BASIS OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY!! GOOD CONTRACEPTIVES ARE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL WEAPONS OF TROTSKYISM! BAD CONTRACEPTIVES ARE A REMNANT OF THE OLD ORDER! WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE HOME! PICK YOURSELF A WIFE — — ONE WIFE! THE FASCISTS WANT CHILDREN FOR THEIR ARMIES BUT WE JUST WANT CHILDREN! LONG LIVE COMRADE DIMITROFF THE HELMSMAN OF THE PROLETARIAT! LONG LIVE COMRADE MOLOTOV THE FIRST MATE OF THE PROLETARIAT! LONG LIVE COMRADE VOROSHILOV SECOND MATE OF THE PROLETARIAT! LONG LIVE COMRADE RADEK MIDWIFE OF THE PROLETARIAT! FOR SOCIALIST FECUNDITY!

The audience is seated when the curtain rises and on the platform we see Ivan the Chairman of the Village Soviet, Ivanova the actress, a singer, a poet and a chorus of Komsomol urchins with red kerchiefs. Ivan rises from his seat and walks to the rostrum.

IVAN: In the name of Comrade Stalin, our beloved leader and father of two children, we are gathered here today to celebrate the new laws under which henceforth we are to conduct our private lives. Long live the Third International. CHEKISTS AND RED ARMY MEN: Long live the Third International!!

(Six peasants make the sign of the cross)

BORIS: (he has a tendency to live in the past) Long live Comrade Riazanov!

IVAN: We have invited a number of artists from Moscow to lend a touch of culture to our affair this evening. The first artist who will appear on our program is Comrade Misha from the Magnitogorsk Union of Stakhanovite Songsters who will sing a little song appropriate for the occasion. Comrade Misha is not only

a composer, a singer, and a recipient of the Order of Lenin; he is also the father of eight children.

(He sits down and the singer approaches the rostrum)

THE SINGER: Comrades I have composed a little thing that is most fitting for the new concept...

BORIS: Long live conception!

THE SINGER: (continuing with a frown)the new concept we have today of the role of the family in the scheme of things. My song is a tribute to glorious motherhood. (he wipes a tear from his eye) One word of explanation is necessary. I have used the word MAMMY in several instances. In America, which is second only to Canada in the marvels of its infant production, this is the commonly used equivalent of our word mother or mama. (he clears his throat and begins.)

THE SINGER: M A M M Y....

KOMSOMOL CHORUS: M A M M Y....

THE SINGER: The Sun shines East.

KOMSOMOL CHORUS: The Sun shines West.

THE SINGER: But I just know where the Sun shines best.

THE KOMSOMOL CHORUS: M A M M Y M A M M Y

THE SINGER: My heart strings are twinging around....

THE KOMSOMOL CHORUS: My Leninist-Stalinist.... Stalinist-Leninist

THE SINGER AND CHORUS: M A M M Y ! With a Hey Nonny Nonny and a Hot Cha Cha.

CHEKISTS: Long live the Magnitogorsk Union of Stakhanovite Songsters!

RED ARMY MEN: Long live the Komsomol Chorus.

BORIS: Long live Shostakovitch! -

At this point a messenger boy dashes down the aisle waving two telegrams which he delivers to Ivan, who glances at them and then steps forward to read them to the audience.

IVAN: Comrades, I have just received two splendid telegrams which I think you should hear. The first is from the Dimitrova Brigade of the Stalinova Tractor Plant. It reads: "We, the women of the Dimitrova Brigade of the Stalinova Tractor Plant, pledge ourselves to produce within the next fiscal year 842 new members for the workers fatherland and Comrade Stalin our great teacher. To facilitate our activities we suggest that you billet the third battalion of the Soviet Artillery in a nearby town". (much applause from the Red Army men)

IVAN: The second telegram is from the Stalinova Brigade of the Dimitrova Tractor Plant. It reads: "We, the women of the Stalinova Brigade of the Dimitrova Tractor Plant, in the spirit of Socialist Competition, pledge ourselves to

produce during the next fiscal year 967 Soviet tots. We already have the third battalion of the Soviet Artillery. It would help if you could send Comrade Budenny and a couple of his cossacks.

(more applause and stamping from the Red Army men)

BORIS: (rising) Comrade chairman I, too, pledge myself to help in this work.

IVAN: Sit down comrade. From each according to his ability, to each according to his ability. (He evidently reads *Pravda*) And now, comrades, we have a real treat in store. The next artist on the program is a very unusual man indeed. It was his wife who last week won the praise of Comrade Stalin, a medal and a grant of money for producing triplets. Be assured that as her husband he had no small part in this feat of heroism. He is also a poet and a charter member of the Dnieprostroy Union of Super-Stakhanovite Penmen. (He goes back to his seat.)

The Poet steps forward and begins to read.

THE POET: Women's place is in the kitchen
It's time she stopped promiscuous bitchin'
The emancipated woman is a fright
Become a copulating Stakhanovite.
From Stalin great and Stalin glorious
Has come this message meritorious...
Come all you Soviet lads and lasses
When we say masses we mean MASSES
Doff your rubbers, lusty chaps
We need an army to fight the japs!

BORIS: Long live Papa Dionne.

CHEKISTS AND RED ARMY MEN: Long live the Dnieprostroy Union of Super-Stakhanovite Penmen!

BORIS: (muttering to himself) I can be a poet too:
Today a divorce
Costs more than a horse.
The origin of the family
Is forgotten quite cannily.

IVAN: Comrades, we have with us this evening Comrade Ivanova from the Moscow Art Theatre who will say a few words to you.

IVANOVA: Too few in my profession have appreciated the beauty of multiple motherhood. We will breed, between the acts if necessary, for Stalin and for country. We will produce whole little theatre groups of our own! I will be the first to pledge myself to legal motherhood.

(She turns her back to the audience for a moment and after much ado and lifting of petticoats she turns back to them flushed but triumphant. She holds now, twixt thumb and index finger a scarred little button of gold that has obviously survived the rigours of War Communism.)

IVANOVA: Comrades, a sacrifice for Soviet Motherhood, I burn my bridges behind me.
(she heaves her treasure out of the window)

IVAN: (steps forward) Comrades, I will not be outdone. I too, in the spirit of things, will also burn my bridges.

(He digs into his watch pocket and digs out

a little tin box marked 'Three Merry Widows' which he tosses after Ivanova's sacrificial offering.)

Ivan and Ivanova embrace amidst much applause.

IVAN: Comrades we have here tonight a number of other speakers who have come from far and wide to demonstrate the joy that the women of the Soviet Union feel in the new laws. We have representatives from the Soviet Aviatrix', Shepherdesses, Girl Machinists, Ballet Dancers, Retired Prostitutes, Office Workers, and Tractor Drivers. They will each say a few words. (Now is Ivanova's chance to prove her worth as a quick change artist. She takes all the roles, changing her costumes behind a little folding screen. She appears first with a shepherd's crook, then with a monkey wrench, then in a ballet costume, then with a feather in her hat, then lugging a typewriter, and last perched daintily on a tractor with her knees showing. As she would be obliged to make the same little speech each time, a phonograph record is utilized to save the wear and tear on her jaws as she has many more meetings to attend.)

THE PHONOGRAPH: The family is the basis of the Socialist Society. Sexual freedom is anarchy. Long live Stalinism. Lenin only had one wife... who are you to have more? Permanent marriage not permanent revolution. Who are we to interfere with the laws of Go...er, dialectical materialism.

IVAN: (steps forward again after Ivanova is done with her act.) Comrades, just a few words in closing. Our new laws are of your own making. You were all asked your opinion on this question.

BORIS: Sure, and we all said it was a lousy idea.

IVAN: Last week we received a letter from Comrade Krupskaya which said: "Friends of the second or third Five Year Plan (my memory is not so good any more) I am a little too old to participate vigorously in this new campaign, but I'll see what I can do".

BORIS: (muttering) A gesture. Odds against it.

IVAN: If Krupskaya is willing to try, so can you. Let us show Comrade Stalin that we are behind him. Forward to a new Five Year Plan in three years. Long live Comrade Stalin, beloved leader of the proletariat! Long Live Comrade Dimitroff, helmsman of the proletariat! Long live Comrade Kaganovitch, first mate of the proletariat! Long live Comrade Orjonikidze, coxswain of the proletariat! Long live...

BORIS: Long live the whole officer's mess!
(A slightly deaf peasant leans over to Boris and cups his hand to his ear.)

DEAF PEASANT: Mess did you say?

BORIS: Yes comrade, a mess.

As the curtains fall the Komsomol chorus, in a moment of forgetfulness, starts to sing the *Internationale*, then remembering begins a new song which is a combination of *Yankee Doodle*, *La Marseillaise* and *Rule Britannia*.

FINIS

It Can Happen Here

Nineteen-thirty-six was set by Sinclair Lewis as the year of the triumph of Fascism in America. It was an arbitrary date with the author of "It Can't Happen here". The book was not meant as an accurate political forecast, but as an artistic reconstruction of American realities in the light of the hypothetical case of the advent of Fascism.

Had the novelist, though, confined himself to the narrower task of portraying the emergence and not the triumph of Fascism in 1936, he would have come much nearer to voicing a genuine political prophecy. For Fascism as a tangible political factor has already become a reality in this country. The alliance struck between the various demagogic movements, like those of Townsend, Father Coughlin and Gerald Smith, with the growing support of oligarchic groups looming in the background as the cementing factor of this amalgamation, constitutes an important step in the direction of a powerful drive of American Fascism for power.

A Fascist movement becomes a tangible threat when the plutocratic groups in control of the economic life begin to swing their support to a demagogic institution. Democracy is quite acceptable to the plutocratic groups as long as it remains an elastic tool of class domination. But in the period of social stress, with the growing tendency on the part of the aroused masses to voice their rebellious demands through the medium of democratic institutions, a radical change takes place in the attitude of the economically dominant groups towards the latter. And needless to say, the examples of Italy and Germany played a tremendous role in crystallizing the hopes and aspirations of those groups around the pattern of political dictatorship.

But in the countries where the mass loyalty to democratic institutions is as deeply rooted as here in America, a frontal attack against democracy is out of order. No Liberty League, backed as it is by the tremendous economic resources at the disposal of its members, and even given the most favorable political situation, will ever be able to effect by itself the political change for which it is longing. French Fascism has thus far been losing battles mainly because it bears the stamp of the French Liberty League. It is too patent a product of the two hundred families who control the economic life of France. It lacks a mass base, the appeal of a demagogic movement speaking the language of the masses and represented by men who, because of their humble origin, are capable of touching some responsive chord in the workers and peasants. That is why the French plutocracy, bearing the example of Mussolini in mind, is beginning to turn to renegades of the same cut. The heavy financing of the newly founded Fascist party headed by the ex-Communist Doriot shows clearly that French capitalism is revamping its weapons of assault in accordance with the demands of modern counter-revolution. It is beginning to fight democracy with the help of demagogic mass movements which are not afraid to play upon the stirring mass revolt against the present economic system and that forms the chief distinction between modern reaction and the old classic type of counter-revolution.

It is this type of counter-revolution that is beginning to assert itself in this country. Even staid newspapers like the New York Times hinted at the possibility of some powerful financial factors working in the direction of cementing an alliance between the Coughlin and Townsend movements. In the course of the political campaign we shall learn much more about the groups and persons controlling the financial levers of the newly arisen demagogic party. Those inevitable disclosures will bring out the existence of a long range plan calculated upon the possibilities of 1940 rather than upon

tangible expectations in 1936.

The defeat of Landon will intensify the reaction of economically dominant groups against democracy. Unable to stem the tide of labor struggles and social reforms which doubtlessly will be greatly stimulated by the democratic victory, with the help of their old political weapon — the Republican Party — they will be driven along the same road which is at the present time followed by the French plutocracy. And that is an attempt will be made to build up a demagogic movement of the Coughlin and Townsend type into a sizable political factor, hoping that by 1940 it may reach such proportions as to be able to challenge, albeit in a camouflaged manner, the old rooted forms of political democracy.

Right now it is only a comparatively small section of the American plutocracy that is beginning to act upon this long range plan. But the dynamics of social struggle in America is with this group. What may seem now to be a mere political adventure will soon become a settled policy on the part of the economic rulers of America. The attack upon democratic institutions will be lodged not from the right, not in the name of the ideals of the horse and buggy age, but under the cover of extremely radical slogans and promises such as Townsend's pensions for the aged, Gerald Smith's "share the wealth" or some fantastic scheme of the Social Security variety. As Gerald Smith boasted, the lunatic fringe will soon be running things in this country. That is, a lunatic fringe cleverly manipulated by its controlling group consisting of economic rulers of this country who will get more and more behind that lunatic fringe in measure that they come to realize its greater dynamic power, the terrific power of destruction contained in a movement that succeeded in capturing, although in the distorted form of absurdly demagogic programs, the stirring force of a growing mass revolt against the present day system.

The consolidation of the Townsend and Coughlin movements engineered by the Hearst and Du Pont interests is only the first step in the direction of fully utilizing this power of mass revolt for Fascist purposes. And unless forestalled by a greater alertness on the part of the radical movement to the insistent demands of the rebellious masses for some bold course of action, those first tentative steps may lead to the full actualization of Sinclair Lewis's imaginative forecast toward the presidential year of 1940.

—SENEX

FLASH!!

The N. Y. Times of August 10, 1936 reports: Jesus Hernandez, Communist Deputy said today: "It is absolutely false that the present workers' movement has for its object the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship after the revolution has terminated. It cannot be said we have a social motive for our participation in the war. We Communists are the first to repudiate this supposition. We are motivated exclusively by a desire to defend the democratic republic established on April 14, 1931, and revived last February 16".

The Anarchist-Syndicalist newspaper CNT, on the other hand, says:

"We will obtain a revolutionary triumph from the present struggle or we shall come out of it without any organization left capable of ever fighting again. We cannot live among ruins. With capitalism overthrown, a revolutionary struggle of society will be necessary.

"Nearly all production in Spain has been halted or destroyed in the last twenty days. We may be suffering hunger before long if we ignore realities and dream of false capitalist remedies.

"Every inch of progress we make in this struggle must immediately be socialized by the workers. Production and distribution must be completely controlled by the workers".

international chronicle

LABOR AND GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

The government has been in power for about two months.

Until now everything ran smoothly, but now trouble has begun. The employers think it time to stop the advance of the working class. Delegates in the Senate confront the government with this demand: "You either stop the direct action of the workers or we refuse cooperation".

Opposition by the Radical Socialists — a party in the Peoples' Front — is growing. Their delegates in the Senate asked the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Salengro, "if he would allow further occupation of factories and estates, something which constitutes an attack on law and order". Salengro replied that "the government is determined to safeguard law and order, and if an attempt should be made tomorrow to occupy the warehouses, offices, factories and estates again, the government intends to stop it by whatever means it finds necessary."

"Le Populaire", organ of the Socialists, did not comment on this statement. But "L'Humanité", organ of the Communist Party, wrote on July 8th: "It became necessary to forestall a counter-revolutionary attack in the Senate". Maurice Thorez, French Communist leader, declared that "the communists believe that the working class should not be led into rash action. Not everything is possible. We are not against all property. We are not against the capitalists as such. We think that the small employer should receive a subsidy and credit, and be protected"

A reporter asked the C. P. how it stood on the question of the re-occupation of the factories. "We did not order the occupation and neither did we try to prevent it. The aim of the C. P. is to realize the program of the Peoples' Front. The Communist Party may therefore find it necessary, in order to realize this program, to ask the proletariat to respect the laws of the Republic".

No worker can now doubt that there is a vast difference between the direct action of the working class and that of the Socialists and Communists. Occupation of factories will be forbidden by the State. Unfortunately, however, even the unions followed the example of the parties. When such seizure does actually begin, the estates (few of which are occupied by peasants) will be taken first.

Premier Blum approved the decision. After a trade union conference, Salengro issued the following statement: "In case the workers take possession of a factory, the Government will ask the C.G.T. to prevent it. If the workers still refuse to be convinced, the government will resort to stronger measures". This declaration proves that even under the People's Front Government, possession of the means of production by the workers is forbidden.

The conservatives have won a victory. The government has acted as all former governments have. The workers received the same treatment as they did under the Sarraut regime, under which the strikes started. Former Premier Sarraut even stated in the Senate that his government took no strong measures because the employers wished no bloodshed which they feared would end in civil war. They merely asked the government to help them in arbitration. It is therefore untrue that the People's Front made it possible for the strikes to continue without bloodshed. Almost any bourgeois government would have done the same.

But the Peoples' Front government has passed laws against the workers. Salengro understands the situation. As

he pointed out in his Lille speech, he will have no difficulties with the employers. But the workers will have to be taught limitations. Any exaggerated attempt at power by the workers will only hurt them and will "betray the Peoples' Front government". It is clear that neither the Blum nor the Sarraut governments dared to use force against the workers during the occupation of the factories. They feared the consequences. The enthusiasm of the workers was too great after the election victory.

But now the story is different. Now that things have calmed down, the government is beginning to clamp down on militant action. If it succeeds, the Peoples' Front will be weakened considerably. This is something that neither the leaders nor the workers see as yet.

For Revolutionary Syndicalism and its organizations, the C.G.T.S.R. (the revolutionary syndicalist labor confederation of France) of the I.W.M.A., the strike and its consequences had a special meaning. With the C.G.T. and the C.G.T.U. (Communist) now combined, the C.G.T.S.R. is now the only independent union functioning on a class struggle basis. The strikes doubled the membership of the union and in many cases, its members were in the majority. They have succeeded in making collective agreements with employers. But the C.G.T. has interfered in this, because, they declare, the C.G.T.S.R. is not recognized by the State nor by the Bosses' Association.

They attempted to force the revolutionary workers into the C.G.T. on the threats of making them lose their jobs. The C.G.T. demands monopoly of organization, a serious menace to that democracy for which the Peoples' Front is ostensibly fighting. The Revolutionary syndicates have proposed mutual recognition in factories to the C.G.T., but as yet no reply has been forthcoming. Their answer will show whether they are concerned with democracy or with phrases.

—AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

ORAN AND CASABLANCA

Immediate representations must be made to the French government, and world-wide publicity given to the plight of sixty comrades who fled to French Morocco from persecutions in various parts of Europe and from the repressions in Spain after the revolution of October. There, at Oran and Casablanca, they established "Le Groupement Culturel" for educational and propaganda purposes. They struck firm roots among the workers and began to stir wide sections of the population. The French authorities fearing the results of so vigorous a movement planned to put an end to it. By means of a vicious bank-robbery frame-up they arrested the secretary of the group and soon raided its headquarters. They mercilessly hunted down the families and friends of the members of the group. Sixty were arrested and sentenced to prison. Horrible tortures and bestialities were committed upon these militant working-class fighters; they were isolated in cold, black dungeons where they contracted diseases and were beaten and maltreated daily. No medical care was given them. There they remained for several months, under the "care" of the French Moroccan officials, as vile a gang of murderers as can be found anywhere. The Popular Front government has not intervened in spite of requests from militant sections of the French and Spanish working-class. The same pussyfooting characteristic of the Spanish People's Front is evident. No action is undertaken without the direct initiative and mass

pressure of the workers. Stop the atrocities against our comrades at Oran and Casablanca! Write letters to French consulates and to the French government demanding their immediate release.

The Popular Front, in spite of promises, has not voted amnesty for political prisoners. Our comrades at Sante have shown the way. Seeing that the government would not release them they resorted to a hunger strike. Success followed this action. After the second day they were freed.

U. S. S. R. ZENZL MUEHSAN ARRESTED

While the Russian government offers, on paper, the right of asylum, arrests for political reasons continue. Behind the mask of the new constitution the government entrenches itself more firmly and lays the basis for the permanent formation of a State and a political system which moves further and further away from socialism.

One of the most astounding of the recent arrests in Russia is that of Zenzl Muhsam, widow of the world famed anarchist poet Erich Muhsam who was tortured to death two years ago in a Nazi concentration camp.

Zenzl Muhsam was invited to the Soviet Union by Helene Stassova, president of the International Committee for Workers Defense (MOPR) at Moscow. She went there both

to seek asylum from the Nazi dictatorship and to publish the works of her late husband. Although Erich was an ardent anarchist, Zenzl had never supported any one party. She declared herself purely and simply a revolutionary. The Communists, she said, defended the cause of the proletariat and for this reason she never ceased showing a great admiration for them. She never dreamed that some day they would hound and imprison her.

As we go to press we receive news by way of the Communist Party of Holland that confirms the information concerning her arrest. The old bogey - collusion with the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists" — by now worn weary thru repetition is again used as the excuse for this atrocity. The "Tribune", official organ of the C. P. of Holland, shamelessly comments, "It is a fact that behind Zenzl Muhsam enemies of the Soviet Union concealed themselves, who tried to turn her stay there to good account by bringing about communications with counter-revolutionary Trotskyist elements. After this having become an established fact the Soviet authorities did their duty and have arrested Zenzl Muhsam to prevent prejudice to the Soviet Union." Existing anti-Fascist committees would do well to take up the fight for the liberation of Zenzl Muhsam. Immediate protests must be sent to the Soviet government and Soviet consulates in all countries.

justice in america

FREE MOONEY AND BILLINGS

It is now twenty years that the battle to free Mooney and Billings has been fought. The valiant but unsuccessful efforts of the working class to free these two prisoners of capitalist trickery and hatred show that our economic masters refuse to allow the legal victory in a battle which has become symbolic of capitalist injustice. The relentless struggle for victory continues with even greater energy. American capitalism plays with labor, using "courts of justice" filled with their lackeys and juristic entanglements as its snare. There has been much talk, many pious resolutions have been made by our "labor leaders", but no decisive action. Our plutocrats have not been hit in their weakest spot, in their economic mid-section. A nation-wide general strike would be tremendously more effective in securing a release than a pursuance of the present means of legal encounters. The widespread sympathy of labor for Mooney and Billings would ensure the effectiveness of this method. Working class battles, of the present day, at least, are usually not fought outside the arena of direct action. The momentous strikes and struggles in France and Spain bear eloquent testimonial to this fact. Let labor use its one powerful weapon, direct action, to secure the release of Mooney and Billings.

MIKE LINDWAY, I. W. W. MILITANT

The case of Mike Lindway demands the immediate attention of labor. This militant worker, a member of the I. W. W., was framed on a preposterous "dynamite" charge as a result of one of the courageous metal strikes of the I. W. W. in Cleveland. By the time this is on the press the defense will have filed Mike's appeal with the United States Supreme Court at Washington. Throughout the involved course of this striking I. W. W.'s fight for freedom in the courts, the prosecution has spared no effort to combat his release. The crude attempt of the State of Ohio to sabotage the defense by forcing large, unnecessary legal printing expenses on it was spiked by the defense attorneys.

The particulars of the Lindway frameup are damnable. His home, in his absence, was searched without pretense of a warrant by a squad of police who brushed aside his protesting invalid wife, descended into the basement and, without witnesses, came back up pretending to have found dynamite. What advocate of any cause displeasing to the powers that be is safe from frame-up and imprisonment if this case is left uncontested to the last ditch?

The General Defense Committee feels no hesitation in appealing urgently to all friends of labor and freedom to contribute funds to help defray the heavy costs incurred in fighting for Lindway's freedom. Send all monies without delay to Fred W. Thomson, Secretary-Treasurer of the General Defense Committee, 2422 No. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill., or to A. Laikauf, Secretary G.D.C. Local 8, 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

DEPORTATIONS

The foreign-born, building up the wealth of the country, slaving to enrich the few, are driven back to the country of their origin when the economic wheels of capitalism are unable, thru no fault of these workers, to function. Indeed, the blame for miserable working conditions as well as depressions is placed at the door of the foreign-born. Fascists, of the Hearstian type, are followed a little further behind by Democrats, of the Madame Perkins type, who assisted so well in the deportation round-up during the San Francisco general strike in 1934. The menace of deportation, with its merciless wrecking of human lives and often with attendant death is hurled especially against militant workers, fighting for a decent living, and against anti-Fascists. The cry for deportation is the rallying cry for nationalism and Fascism. It is a ruse to intimidate one section of the workers and an attempt to split the entire working-class by setting off one section against another.

The case of Ferrero and Sallitto is one of grave importance. The government officials in an attempt to suppress the anarchist journal "Man" arrested these two anti-Fascists

who had rented space in their little restaurant to the editor of the journal. This outright attempt to suppress freedom of press must be fought with utmost energy.

Otto Richter, the anti-Nazi whose case received nationwide attention, has received the right of asylum from Belgium which he was denied here. Benno Martini, anti-Nazi, has been granted a stay of deportation until September 1st. Adam Mueller has been granted a stay until August 15th.

The warrant of deportation for Walter Saupe has been withdrawn with provision that he leave the United States by August 1st. Walter Baer, a civil engineer, faces deportation to Germany because he ran counter to powerful industrial interests who opposed his plan for a sewage disposal plant as part of a public works program for unemployment relief. Casimo Cafieri, anti-Fascist, was deported to Italy July 4th.

Negro Question in the U. S.

a review

The Negro Question in the United States

By James S. Allen, International Publishers, \$1.25.

Once more the Communist Party presents its thesis — or one of its theses — on the Negro question in this country. It has chosen an able spokesman, but it is a pity that a man so well acquainted with factual development of the problem should have slipped into some quite obvious errors.

The "bourgeois" or "sociological" reviewers will probably attribute Allen's inconsistencies to his desire to make his statistics and "facts" fit into the pattern of party theory — his failure to be "objective". The present review is more concerned, however, with learning whether this book has drawn correct historical inferences. If it has, we shall not quarrel with the author for using what he found in order to bolster up the Communist campaign for Negro support.

The book delimits what Allen describes as "an area of continuous Negro majority", commonly known as the Black Belt. He draws from the 1930 census the fact that in 189 counties in the South, Negroes constitute half or more than half the population. In 228 nearby or surrounding counties Negroes are said to form between 30 percent and 50 percent of the population of each county taken singly. All in all, this area has a Negro population of 50.3 per cent.

Now, what do the Communists and their spokesman plan to do with this area where racial hatred is most intense and where the "remnants of chattel slavery" still abound? The book is careful to state that neither segregation nor Jim-Crowism is meant by "self-determination", and that the term "Negro Republic" does not mean "Negro domination" or "dictatorship of Negroes". The Negro is merely to play "the leading and most important role in the new

Republic" that is to spring up in the Black Belt.

One cannot quite escape the conclusion that the Communists, in formulating this scheme, are either bending too far backwards in an effort to gain recruits to a fantastic idea, in which case the plan is meaningless, even in theory, or that they have worked themselves into a hopeless dilemma by insisting on one hand that racial factors are subordinate to economic issues, while on the other they hold out to Negroes the lure of power in an area where white resistance, under capitalism, will be of the most stubborn sort even where the Nordic population is thinnest, to say nothing of the fact that the Negro majority, in the aggregate is only three-tenths of one per cent.

With much of Allen's caustic criticism of the present Negro bourgeois leadership many young, thinking Negroes will agree, but they are bound to ask of a party that rejects segregation in principle, if there must be a Soviet Socialist Republic in the South, will not its establishment as a Negro "sphere of influence" aggravate instead of ameliorate the things with which it would be meant to cope? Would the white minorities have self-determination?

The last decade has seen more than one Communist change of Front on the Negro question. Each time a new theory is handed down by the Comintern, ample substantiating quotations from the gospels of Marx and Lenin are resurrected, and Allen, it can be seen readily, "knows all the answers". We do not deny to the Communists the right to learn or to alter their dogmas. But we have learned not to expect too much consistency from them.

—GEORGE CREIGHTON

Alexander Berkman's Last Days by Emma Goldman

St. Tropez July 12th, 1936

It is only two weeks since our beloved comrade Alexander Berkman passed away. Yet it seems an eternity to me. The blow his untimely death has struck me has left me completely shattered. I find it difficult to collect my thoughts. But I feel sure you will want to know all about Sasha's end. For have you not loved him all through the years?

Sasha left a note which we found after we returned from his last resting place. It reads: "I don't want to live a sick man. Dependent. Forgive me Emmie darling. And you too Emma. Love to All. Help Emmie". signed, Sasha.

I have two letters from comrade Berkman dated June 24th and 26th. He wrote while he did not feel strong enough to come to St Tropez the 27th, my sixty-seventh birthday,

his condition was not serious and not to worry. On the 27th in the afternoon Berkman called me up from Nice to give his well wishes for the day. He said he was feeling better. Comrade Michael Cohn, his family and a very devoted English friend were with me. And my thoughts were far away from any danger to my own old pal. At 2 A. M. Sunday, just two weeks ago I was awakened by a telephone call from Nice to come at once. I knew at once that our comrade was at the end. But not what kind of an end.

On arriving in Sasha's apartment we found Emmie, his companion for fourteen years, in a collapse hardly able to tell us what had happened. We finally learned that Sasha had suffered a violent relapse and while Emmie was trying desperately to get a doctor Sasha had shot himself in the chest. This Emmie learned only after Sasha had been rushed

to a hospital and she had been dragged off by the police as having killed Sasha. So great was the fortitude of our brave comrade that he did not let Emmie know he had ended his life. Actually she found him in bed covered up with blankets so she should not notice his wound. Getting a doctor in a small town in France is another indication of the backwardness of the country. It took Emmie several hours before the miserable man arrived. He came too late. But when he found the revolver he notified the police and the hospital, and Sasha was taken away in an ambulance.

We rushed to the hospital. We found Sasha fully conscious but in terrific pain so that he could not speak. He did, however, fully recognize us. Michael Cohn and I remained with him until the early afternoon. When we returned at four o'clock Sasha was in a coma. He no longer knew us. And I hope fervently he no longer felt his pain. I stayed with him until 8.30 P. M. planning to return at 11 and remain with him for the night. But we were notified that he died at 10 o'clock Sunday, June 28th.

Comrade Berkman had always maintained that if ever he should be stricken with suffering beyond endurance he will go out of life by his own hand. Perhaps he might not have done it on the fatal evening of the 28th had I or anyone else of our friends been near to help him. But Emmie was desperately trying to get a doctor. And there was no one near she could have left with Sasha. She most likely did not even realize the gravity of the moment.

It had always been our comrade's wish to be cremated. This was also my wish and Emmie's. But there is no crematorium in Nice. The next place was Marseilles. And the cost I was told 8000 francs. Sasha left the "munificent" sum of \$80 which the very government, that had hounded him from pillar to post, blocked as soon as Sasha's death became known. No one could get it. I myself have not been blessed with wordly goods, certainly not since I am living in exile. I could therefore, not carry out the cherished wish of my old pal and comrade. In point of fact

he would have been opposed to such a thing as spending 8000 francs for cremation. He would have said "the living need this money more than the dead". But it is so characteristic of our damnable system to fleece the living as well as the dead. No one will ever know the humiliation and suffering our comrade went through in France. Four times expelled. Then granted a pittance of three months. Then six months. And irony of ironies just two weeks before the end he was given an extension of a year. Just when he might have enjoyed some peace Alexander Berkman was too harassed by pain and too spent from his operations to live.

Death had robbed me of the chance to be with my lifelong friend until he breathed his last. But it could not prevent me from a few precious moments with him alone in the Dead House, moments of serene peace, and silence in contemplation of our friendship that had never wavered, our struggle and work for the ideal for which Sasha had suffered so much and to which he had dedicated his whole life. These moments will remain for me until I myself will breathe the last. And these moments in the House of the Dead will spur me on to continue the work Sasha and I had begun August 15th, 1889.

I know how you all feel about our wonderful Sasha. The many cables, wires and letters I have already received are proof of your devotion and your love. I know you will not deny our dead the respect for the method he employed to end his suffering.

Our sorrow is all-embracing, our loss beyond mere words. Let us gather strength to remain true to the flaming spirit of Alexander Berkman. Let us continue the struggle for a new and beautiful world. Let us work for the ultimate triumph of Anarchism — the ideal Sasha loved passionately and in which he believed with every fiber of his being. In this way alone can we honor the memory of one of the grandest and bravest comrades in our ranks — ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

IN MEMORIAM ALEXANDER BERKMAN

(Ed. Note: This brief but vivid account of the life and work of Alexander Berkman was written for the Vanguard by one of Berkman's intimate friends who prefers to remain anonymous.)

When Alexander Berkman's tragic end was announced, many of the older comrades, who knew him personally, felt that his death had left a space which would never be filled. This was the logical fate of a man who, when a mere youth of twenty-two, was ready to take the life of another whose brutal egotism brought misery and suffering to thousands of people. At sixty-six, he brought his life to an end when he felt he could serve life no longer.

When Berkman started to avenge the Homestead strikers forty-four years ago he knew a deed like that could only be paid for by his death and he was ready to sacrifice his young life without hesitation for his outraged sense of justice.

No matter how one evaluates his deed, none would doubt his sincerity if one only had the patience to delve into the complicated soul of humanity and guess its secrets. When a person, particularly a young man whose life still has everything to offer, is ready to risk his all without hope of return, he must not be evaluated by ordinary standards. This is a deed which can only be explained when its motives are appreciated. He who does not understand how one could give everything for a cause which bore for him the whole meaning of life, will never understand a person like Berkman. The average philistine who calculates his

life by profit and loss, and whose hardened soul cannot understand any action which is not motivated by the desire for profit, will never see in people like Berkman other than brutal men of force who menace the existence of society. They will never comprehend that it was not crudeness of sentiment that made Berkman commit his deed, but that it was his love for humanity, his respect for human life, that impelled him to take a life. This rare trait was characteristic of Berkman to his very end and was the key to his personality.

It is not one's political beliefs but the inner feelings which shape character. Berkman was everything but a man of force: he was a man of great kindness, a sincere friend and a splendid comrade, one who lived through the happiness and sorrows of his fellow humans. His clear thinking, colored by a somewhat naive sentimentality, made everybody love him. In this lies the elementary greatness of his personality, the root of his moral influence. He was no sectarian and could tolerate any sincerely presented opinion, but he always knew how best to express his own ideas when the occasion arose.

Berkman came to America as a very young man in a period in which the young workers' movement had one of its tragic moments. Like Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre, and so many others, he was drawn into the revolutionary movement as a result of the Haymarket tragedy in Chicago. It was the fiery agitative powers of Johann Most which attracted him to the printing shop of Most's "Free-

dom" where he learned typesetting. At that time he carried with him the thought of returning to Russia to fight in the underground movement, but the bloody happenings in Homestead brought a sudden end to his plans. Berkman was sentenced to twenty-two years, a tremendous sentence which had been applied only by a merciless stretching of the law.

The failure of the attentat saved a precious life which in the terrible years of imprisonment matured to greatness. Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" is one of those rare books which once read is never forgotten. In this book all the suffering and pain of a courageous spirit struggling against great odds is told in a background of drab prison life. Most of those upon whom fate has placed such trials break down under the pressure of personal sorrow. But a man who can survive the long years of hopeless imprisonment without swaying from his opinions, or being morally extinguished is a character of unconquerable integrity and inner strength. Berkman was such a man. In the gray, evil-foreboding days there was nothing to console him. He experienced things which the average man would hardly believe possible. Only very few realize how sadistically man can behave towards man.

For fourteen years he remained in that hell. Fourteen years! Very few can imagine what an accumulation of pain and sorrow are hidden beneath this dry number. On returning to life, he found everything changed. It was not easy to find a pathway in this new world. Notwithstanding, he found it, and again distinguished himself in the fight for freedom.

Together with Emma Goldman he published "Mother Earth". He worked principally in the ranks of organized labor and among the unemployed of the metropolis. Berkman had no illusions about the moral qualities of the worker. He knew that the majority of them shared the social prejudices of other classes. But he also recognized that the social position of the worker was the creative power in life, that it made him the most important factor in any social change and that this was the lever to be used to pry up the decaying social system.

Then came the period when he edited the "Blast" on the Pacific coast. In connection with this, it should be remembered that Berkman was the first to come to the aid of Moonsey and Billings. He traveled all over the country, spoke at innumerable meetings and moved heaven and earth to arouse the workers to protest. At this time none dreamed of using the case for party propaganda. In their dedication articles Berkman's name is not mentioned. Perhaps someone felt that this man who had suffered fourteen years imprisonment for his principles was too exalted to be turned to the uses of narrow political interests which stood to profit by the misfortune of others.

Then came the years of the World War when Berkman and his friends tried their best to stir up public opinion against the prevailing hysteria. But the untiring efforts of this small minority could not conquer the overwhelming tide of misdirected human passion, and it was not long before Emma Goldman, Berkman and so many others were sent to prison for their anti-conscription campaign. Followed two terrible years at Atlanta penitentiary. Berkman mentioned many times later that his two years in that prison were worse than those he had spent in the gaol at Pittsburgh. It was because our brave comrade could not tolerate the injustices done to others that he suffered so much during this incarceration. It was his temerity in championing the cause of oppressed Negro prisoners in a lynch state like Georgia that led to his disfavor with the prison authorities. But he took every slap of fate with stoic resignation.

Under the blows of the enraged masses Czarism broke its terrible hold on Russia. The heart of Berkman beat with hope when he with Emma Goldman and the rest of

his comrades were deported from America and started the trip to his native home on that renowned death ship. They all wanted to cooperate in the building of a new world, of socialism and freedom. But the experiences of our comrade in Russia were the greatest disappointment of his unselfish life. He saw the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' grow into the dictatorship of a party over the proletariat and all the Russian peoples. Long he fought against the suspicions which stirred within him. He sought to understand, to rationalize, to comprehend and explain these happenings which were in conflict with his free spirit. Finally the cold-blooded slaughter of the sailors of Kronstadt put an end to all his doubts. His place could not be on the side which ruthlessly and unpardonably killed the pioneers of the Russian Revolution, as did the French bourgeoisie the 35,000 men, women and children of the Paris Commune. His book "The Bolshevik Myth" renders his inner conflicts in an expressive and striking portrayal. It was a terrible shock to Berkman.

When Emma Goldman and Berkman came to Europe from Russia, they found themselves in a new world fundamentally different from that which they had known in America. The terrible ravages of the war were everywhere manifest and all of the countries were shaken with revolutionary convulsions. It is not easy to live in strange surroundings but here again Berkman did the best he could. After a short stay in Sweden, he went to Germany and contacted the young Anarcho-Syndicalist movement there. His works, "The Russian Tragedy", "The Kronstadt Rebellion", "The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party", and his "Prison Memoirs" were all translated into German. Together with Emma Goldman he participated in the Congress of Anarcho-Syndicalists in Erfurt and established close relations with his comrades. Most of his work at this time was for the imprisoned comrades in Russia. He organized the International Aid Fund and edited the "Bulletin" in behalf of the Anarcho-Syndicalists in the prisons of the Soviet Union.

Finally he went to France but the revolutionary situation in that country precluded his doing open work forcing him to resign his position as secretary of the Russian Aid Fund. He was deported from France and only the help of influential friends made possible his return. It was a tortured existence. Even the most beautiful surroundings of the French Riviera lost all their glamour for him, living as he was, like a prisoner at the mercy of the slothful bureaucracy which might at any moment chase him across the border. Yet, he wrote "ABC of Anarchist-Communism" and conducted a prodigious correspondence with his friends in Europe and America. Then came illness and the constant fight for material existence. A few months ago as he was recuperating from a painful and dangerous operation, he had a sudden relapse and felt that the best thing he could do was to make his adieu to the world. We must emphasize here his unwavering friendship with Emma Goldman who lost in him her best and oldest friend. What that means can only be understood by those who know that wounds exist that never can be healed.

A rare person has left us, a great and noble character, a real man. We bow quietly before his grave and swear to work for the ideal which he served faithfully for so many years.

Debate — VANGUARD vs REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE on "Which Program for the Working Class?" - Irving Plaza, N. Y. Friday, August 28th, 1936 at 8 P. M.

United Front Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Meeting Fri., Aug. 21st at 4 P. M. Union Square, N. Y.