

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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I can really be free when those around me, both men and women, are also free. The liberty of others, far from limiting or negating my own, is, on the contrary, its necessary condition and guarantee.

—BAKUNIN

OPEN LETTER TO FEDERICA MONTSENY

By Camillo Berneri

(This letter is taken from the *Guerra di Classe* of April 14th, 1937 (organ of the Italian Syndicalist Union, affiliated with the AIT) published at Barcelona. It bears the signature of Camillo Berneri the well known militant anarchist, who, for several months, acted as the political delegate with the Errico Malatesta Battalion—and was addressed to Federica Montseny, member of the Peninsular Committee of the FAI and Minister of Hygiene and Public Assistance in the Valencia Government. The text is reproduced almost in its entirety. The introduction only is missing—and that served solely to eliminate any personal animosity from the discussion by affirming the friendship and esteem of the signatory for his correspondent. —Eds.)

REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN AND THE POLICY OF COLLABORATION

I HAVE not been able to accept calmly the identity—which you affirm—as between the Anarchism of Bakunin and the Federalist Republicanism of Pi y Margall.

I do not forgive you for having written "that Lenin was not the true builder of Russia, but rather Stalin,

with his practical realism, etc." And I wholeheartedly approved of Voline's reply in "Terre Libre" to your thoroughly inexact statements on the Russian Anarchist Movement.

But these are not the subjects I wish to take up with you now. On these and other things, I hope, some day, to talk personally with you. If I write to you publicly, it is in relation to subjects infinitely more serious—and in order to remind you of your enormous responsibilities which perhaps, on account of your modesty, you do not fully realise.

In your speech of January 3rd you said:—"The Anarchists have entered the Government to prevent the Revolution from being sidetracked and to ensure its pursuance after the War—and also so that they might resist any possible attempt at dictatorship, from whatever source it might come."

And now, comrade, in April, after three months' experience of collaboration, we find ourselves in a situation where grave facts present themselves whilst others, even worse, already begin to take form.

In such areas as the Basque Country, the Levant and Castille, where our movement is not established in basic forms, that is to say, in vast syndicate frameworks, and in the strong solidarity of the masses, the Counter Revolution oppresses and threatens to crash everything. The Government is at Valencia and it is from there that the Storm Guards set out for the purpose of disarming the revolutionary centres formed for defence. One calls to mind the Casas Viejas in thinking about Vilanesa.† It is the Civil Guards and the Storm Guards who keep their arms. It is they, too, who, in the rear, have to control "the uncontrollables," in other words, to disarm the revolutionary centres that are provided with a few rifles and revolvers. And this comes about while the "secret front" is not quashed. This takes place during a civil war in which all kinds of eventualities are possible, and in regions where the battle front is close at hand, extremely irregular in its line, and not mathematically certain. It takes place whilst a political distribution of arms makes itself abundantly clear—a political distribution which aims at sending arms only in accordance with strict necessity (strict necessity we hope will be enough) to the Aragon Front, the armed escort of Agrarian Collectivisation and the buttress of the Aragon Council, and to Catalonia the Iberian Ukraine.

You are in a Government which has offered France and England advantages in Morocco, whilst from July 1936, it should have been obligatory on us to proclaim officially the political autonomy of Morocco. I imagine that you—as an Anarchist—must regard this affair as ignoble and stupid; but I believe the hour has come to make it known that you and the other Anarchist ministers are not in agreement as to the nature and purport of such proposals.

On October 24th, 1936, I wrote in "Guerra di Classe":—"The Fasc-

(Continued on Page 4)



Libertarian Youth will continue the struggle for the Workers' Revolution!

The "Rising" In Catalonia

LITTLE by little—the truth is becoming evident about the events which have recently taken place in Cerdagne, Barcelona, and various other places in Catalonia. And the truth is something far different from what the newspapers would have had you believe—whether they be of the right or the left. By now we have been able to decide on the responsibilities—the method and the aims. The responsibilities? They rest entirely on those who wish to "liquidate" the Social Revolution, and to revive the democratic and bourgeois republic!

The plan? It consisted of the removal of the central of the frontier and certain very important public services—from the hands of our comrades of the CNT—which they had handled since the beginning of the revolution.

The aim? It was quite simply to finish both the war and the revolution by ridding themselves of those who would have been irrevocably opposed to such an incredible compromise—a compromise imagined possible by Anglo-French diplomacy—and which has many supporters in Spanish political circles.

The situation thus brought into the full light of day—let us take the full sequence of events as they occurred. It was in Cerdagne that things came to a head. La Sed D'Urgel and Puigcerda centres which had been largely dominated by the influence of the CNT had never voluntarily accepted the political and administrative control of the Generalitat of Catalunya—there—in spite of all steps taken by the authorities in Barcelona our comrades, ceded as little as possible—and by their own efforts they have attempted to conquer the little bands of Fascists which have let themselves up near the frontier which, was under the control of our people. Thus many expeditions were made to clear out the Fascists west of Bellver—situated between Puigcerda and Seo D'Urgel about 18 kilometres from Puigcerda.

The Generalitat sent investigators to the district—although the situation had not changed except to the detriment of the comrades of Puigcerda and La Seo.

A test—that which was bound to happen—did happen—emboldened by the tacit complicity by which they profited—the Fascists of Bellver—re-doubled the irritations which necessitated further intervention by our comrades.

It was during the last efforts of this sort Antonio Martin was assassinated when he arrived to discuss with the peasants of Bellver. By whom was Martin assassinated? To what party did the assassin belong?

The criminal is a man named Juan Jorda. He belongs to "L'Estat Catala," which forms the right wing of the Catalan Republican Party, of which the leader is none other than Companys himself.

Who are the adherents of "L'Estat Catala"? All the speculators, all the profiteers—all the sub rosa Fascists who form Franco's famous Fifth Column. There are also, among them, the diplomats, the ambassadors and the consuls who have never ceased to gamble on Franco's success.

Then who ordered the attack on the Central Telephone building of Barcelona? Rodriguez Salas, assistant commissary for Public Order—right hand man of Artemia Aiguade, Minister for Public Safety.

To what party do these two responsible gentlemen belong? To L'Estat Catala!

And there, at that precise point we must fix the prime responsibility. The whole world must know that it was not our comrades of the FAI who unleashed the struggle in Barcelona. It was the Commissioner for Public Order—Salas who invaded the telephone building—without any reason—and on the authority of an order issued by Aiguade. Our comrades were so taken by surprise that police forces commanded by Salas were able to reach the sixth floor of the telephone building without meeting any resistance.

But following the chain of responsibility—is it possible that the Government of the Generalitat was not aware of this attack?—that the President, who found it necessary to call attention to the desertions from the Aragon front—and to the disembarkation of French sailors—could have been ignorant

of it? Nobody will be able to believe that!

It would be, however, ridiculous to throw the whole responsibility for these occurrences on the L'Estat Catala—and even on the Catalonian Republican Party.

To us—it appears absolutely uncontested that all the political parties—who, without exception, have declared themselves for the "democratic" republic—were accomplices in this affair. The moment appeared a favourable one to dispose of the CNT and FAI, to eliminate them by attempting a "coup" of vast proportions!

So the manoeuvre was attempted at Puigcerda, to take over control of the frontier, was continued at Barcelona by the attack on the Central telephone building, and would have been continued by occupation of the local headquarters of the CNT and all the enterprises directed by the latter. We are thus faced by a feat conceived and directed by the political parties which believed that the hour had arrived to wring the neck of the Revolution.

It is possible that certain elements of the Valencia Government have not been at least aware of this plan.

The manner in which the Government immediately put into action the articles of the Constitution which the Security Publique in Catalonia conferred on it; the conversations that took place between the Government of Barcelona and that of Valencia, and the use of armed force, are sufficient evidence that Valencia did know. And besides, was it not this Government which had refused for ten months adequate armament for the columns of the CNT-FAI?

The attitude of the Embassy in Paris—criminal though it was—was so much more culpable in that the Minister for Foreign Affairs—Del Vayo—was present in Paris. This demonstrates equally that the plan was of international inspiration and that the governments of Paris, London and Moscow wished it success.

We are convinced—on other grounds too—that it was in Paris that the plan was decided on—and perhaps, even, conceived. When the

Communist minister of the Generalitat, Comorera, recently came to Paris it was less to give information than to receive instructions—and, one might even say, orders! This man was, in fact, at the root of the first difficulties in which the CNT-FAI found themselves last December—in Barcelona, and it was he who provided the many manifest actions against the scarcity of food which he himself had caused. Whilst acting thus in the name of his party, and with its end in mind, Comorera had only one aim—to incite the masses of Barcelona against the CNT and the FAI, on whom he tried to fasten the responsibility for the shortage of milk, bread and potatoes, for which he was himself to blame.

The manoeuvre having been unsuccessful—thanks to the vigilance of our comrades—he had to find some other means to implicate our comrades—experience had taught him that all similar attempts would meet the same fate.

And, in fact, this last time everything was tried—a frontal attack, an appeal to desert, an appeal to international intervention, the sending of armed forces to Barcelona and a formidable campaign of lying news at home and, above all, abroad.

Nothing was accomplished and the position of the CNT remains unmoved and immovable. But it is proven that workers at war in the Spanish Peninsula have nothing to hope from political parties—nothing to hope from this union with these parties and the middle classes. All these parties and people will be found, when the position is clarified, to be against the proletariat, though willing to use their forces in their own interests.

There is only one thing that can save the situation—allowing the war to be won at the same time as the revolution is accomplished—revolutionary union of action between and enforced by the CNT and the UGT.

They can only combat the iniquities and combinations of the politicians, no matter how tricky they be.

If this unity of action—which springs logically from the unity of revolutionary organisations—will only develop and hold together, the politicians, the Spanish bourgeoisie, the false democracies and even international fascism, could go into mourning for their hopes.

(Tr. from *Combat Syndicaliste*)

SPAIN and the WORLD

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OUR POSITION

WE reproduce in this issue, impressions and opinions, but at this juncture prefer to abstain from adding comment or criticism to any extent. This attitude of ours cannot be considered cowardly, or as meaning that we cannot form opinions for ourselves. Our attitude towards a question such as that which concerns the "uprising" in Barcelona is a difficult one. In the name of fairness—to our Spanish comrades—we are therefore reluctant to take up a definite position until the Comrades have an opportunity of explaining their position and attitude in face of the occurrences in Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia. They will have this opportunity next month, when "Spain and the World" will be represented at a Congress in Paris, at which representatives of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will speak. Then, and then only will we express a definite opinion. Now, we will content ourselves with publishing accounts by comrades who were present or who gathered information in Barcelona, and we leave to our readers the task of drawing some sort of conclusion.

But there are questions which we can ask even at this juncture. We are still much concerned about the responsibility for the murder of our Comrade Prof. Camillo Berneri. We cannot understand, for instance, the reason for the campaign of silence by the C.N.T. Press concerning details of his death, and the apparent reluctance to give publicity to the responsibility of the P.S.U.C. One reads in the "Solidaridad Obrera" of the 11th May that at Berneri's rooms on May 4th, "two men wearing the red armlet of the.....presented themselves." Why does the "Sol" dislike stating to which party these two men belonged? Why in the remainder of the article, is the same omission made when describing Berneri's assailants?

Even over the Radio, only the American comrade made mention of the mysterious circumstances of Berneri's death, whilst no mention was made of the funeral, though Domingo Ascaso's funeral which took place on the same day was referred to at length? As stated in our last issue, the C.N.T. thought it advisable not to publish the day and hour of Prof. Berneri's funeral so as to avoid "incidents." Why should our Comrades death be enshrouded in mystery and receive so little attention from the Anarchist Press in Barcelona? We demand an explanation from the Comrades responsible for the campaign of silence.

Further, the "politeness" which one notices in "Solidaridad Obrera" for instance, towards the Communists, or to scurrilous attacks in the Communist Press. We are tired of reading in the "Sol" that phrase "we have imposed on ourselves the painful duty of being discreet" whilst further on are obliged to admit that despite their politeness very few communist papers "have followed our lead." In the issue of May 13th one reads that "In Catalonia we know very well who are the responsible elements for the disturbances. We know the aim for such filthy acts...." Why then, in the name of Truth, do our comrades refrain from exposing the "responsible elements"?

Why do our Comrades continue making concessions to bring about a Unity which is entirely one-

sided? Few will deny that the Anarchists desired unity amongst the Spanish Workers. An observer in Spain, of whose political sympathies we are ignorant, wrote in the "New Statesman" (May 15th) these very significant words:

"The Anarchists waited too long. If they had struck nine months ago, or even three months ago, they would have been able to capture power. After the Fascist rebellion was defeated in Catalonia last July — credit for which belongs primarily to the Anarchists, then the strongest and best armed workers' organisation in all of Spain — they might have entrenched themselves impregnable in positions of power in the Government, in the army and in the police force."

Even to-day, after the eventful days in Barcelona, the C.N.T. Press is still stressing the necessity for the alliance of the U.G.T. and C.N.T. Whether in so doing they are making further concessions we do not know. The lesson they should have learnt during these last nine months, in which they have undoubtedly lost ground (relatively speaking, in that the increase of strength of the U.G.T. in Catalonia has not been achieved at the expense of the C.N.T. but by the policy of the U.G.T. in encouraging small property holders, which led to the petit-bourgeois joining their ranks), must surely put them on their guard against making further concessions. One reads in the English Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (May 12th) of the really sincere efforts to bring about true unity in the rearward:

"The last crisis of the Generalitat, which lasted for three weeks, was solved thanks to the sacrifices made by the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. The concessions made by our organisations were the maximum that the economic situation of the proletariat permitted. But the C.N.T. considered anti-fascist unity more important even than its sacrifices."

"We cannot say the same of the other anti-fascist sectors. Some men, in responsible positions, have been doing everything possible to provoke the working class. We have proof that they were preparing an armed attack against us from the beginning of April, in order to eliminate our organisations, the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., from their posts."

"We were able to reach an agreement with them even after the Mayor of Puigcerdà, Antonio Martín, a comrade of ours, was assassinated."

"But a new provocation occurred on the 3rd of May. Rodríguez Salas, General Commissioner of Public Order in Catalonia, exceeded the limits of his authority and carried out an attack against the Telephone Exchange of Barcelona. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon he personally ordered three truckloads of Civil Guards to occupy the Exchange, located at the Plaza Cataluña."

Undoubtedly, the C.N.T.-F.A.I.'s strength has also been weakened since Russia intervened by supplying arms. Besides being remunerated in gold, Moscow seems to have effectively gagged the Federica Montsenys and García Oliver. The last article that our Comrade, Camillo Berneri wrote (an "Open Letter to Federica Montsenys") and reproduced elsewhere in this issue, brilliantly outlines the Anarchists position three months after entering the Government. The clear exposition of the situation does not call for comment.

The Anarchists are no longer in the Government; they lose nothing. They may even gain by not being represented in the Valencia Cabinet...

This policy of compromise and concessions has cost the Anarchists many valuable lives. One reads in the Spanish Information Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (8th May) the following words:

"The death of Camillo Berneri has saved all of us, for from now onwards, we know the course to follow. The spirit which arises from this revolution can never be destroyed, and we shall for ever remember that it has been purified by the blood of our martyrs." These fine words should be the basis of action in the future.

There is only one way of honouring the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Workers: IN THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

Anarchist Ideals From The Root

V. Kropotkin Since 1866, Later Developments, Conclusion

THE issue of the Russo-Turkish war, however mitigated by the Berlin Conference (1878), meant an advance of Russia and a defeat of the Tory policy, and this made the liberals under Gladstone win the next election. This encouraged many latent forces of discontent to come forward, but as the liberals knew no other policy than *laissez faire* (to do nothing) or *coercion* (the usual governmental remedy), they gave no satisfaction and the dissident currents came forward very openly in the early eighties. Above all, Ireland and the land question was now openly proclaimed in Scotland and England also, by men from Michael Davitt to Henry George and Alfred Russell Wallace. The British Poor came to the front: *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*; *How the Poor Live*; *The Horrible Sweating System*; *A Dock Labourer's Bitter Cry*; are titles of a few striking publications. The housing of the Poor; workhouse and slums; *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* (Stead, 1885), means of improvement of every description, settlements, allotments: all these came before what was then called the new social conscience, besides proposals of administrative reform, such as led to the formation of the County Councils, the Home Rule movements, etc. Some dogmatists then jumped to State Socialism, whilst liberal minded people worked for what is called municipal socialism, and an aspirant social bureaucracy cautiously began to turn all these currents into the organisation of Official Omnipotence. I refer to the Fabians in their real essence, as fifty years' observation now permits us to see them.

It was well for progress, of course, that all these latent tendencies should manifest themselves openly, but we can understand from these facts what formidable anti-libertarian forces were called into action since then, and how all has ended in very long spells of conservative rule, alternating with spells of alleged Labour and State socialist rule, liberalism being ground to dust between these two millstones, behind which lurk regimes of Fascism, under whatever the names may be. But this was not quite visible in the hopeful eighties, not even up to the middle of the nineties.

American individualist anarchism, as propagated by Tucker's *Liberty* since August 1881, got no hold on English workers who had nothing of their own for equitable exchange and could only sell their labour power in the capitalist market. Although several papers were founded since *The Anarchist* began publication in 1885, their radius of action was gradually narrowed to those interested in "free money," "mutual banking," the descendants of the old currency reformers and the precursor of Douglasism.

Revolutionary events like the acute struggles of the Russian nihilists and the Irish terrorists, persecutions like that of the German weekly *Freiheit*, founded in London by Most, at an international revolutionary Congress meeting privately in London, July 1881, in which Joseph Lane and other Englishmen participated and the most active members of which were Malatesta and Kropotkin,—all that did not reach many beyond the revolutionary socialists and some radical sympathizers. Henry George first had some hold on public opinion and then the case of Kropotkin, his trial in Lyons early in 1883 (five years prison), as he was largely known in the liberal and scientific milieus by his writings and lectures on the persecutions in Russia, by his scientific work and by the sacrifice of a great career to the Russian cause and his own anarchist ideas so openly professed in the *Révolte*, at the Lyons trial, etc. The Declaration of the Lyons anarchists before the Court was widely spread as a revolutionary leaflet. As Kropotkin, a prisoner, could not discuss anarchism in an English review, his friend *Elisée Reclus* explained this conception in *An Anarchist on Anarchy* in *The Contemporary Review*, May 1884, whilst Mrs. C. M. Wilson, an English friend of Sepniak and Kropotkin, explained anarchist communism in *Justice*

(1884), other socialist papers and in *Fabian Tract*, No. 4 (1886, pp. 10-12, drawn up on behalf of the London Anarchists). H. M. Hyndman, a personal friend of Kropotkin, helped to make him widely known by translating his *Appeal to the Young* (The Modern Press, 1885). So when Kropotkin, after an amnesty, came to London in March 1886, he met with a nucleus of friends and sympathizers and was welcomed by socialists, workers and the liberal milieu wherever he went, mostly for lectures, in London and the provinces—a position of general esteem which he enjoyed to the hour of his departure for Russia in the early summer of 1917.

Kropotkin is generally considered to have been very persistent and unchanging in his ideas. This applies in a certain degree to impression and to conclusions at which he arrived after much personal effort, but it does not imply that he may be summed up by examining just a few of his best known books or pamphlets. His intellectual basis was the study and the methods of natural science which had reached such a high level in the sixties, and his humane ethics made him respect the autonomy, the natural essence of things. So in his socialist work when he knew the special wants of Russia, when he fitted with the Jurassien internationalists in Switzerland and was one of them, when he dived into the documentary study of the French revolution and made himself familiar with the life of the workers as soon as he set foot in France or when, in 1878, he had occasion to examine the intimate life of the Spanish International in Barcelona and in Madrid. It is known now by the private Anarchist group which derived from Bakunin's *International Brotherhood*, which was based on the principle that the tactics which the comrades of each country should apply locally, were to be respected by those of the other countries. In this spirit he worked when he settled in England, where he had already been living at various times during the years from 1876 to 1882.

In London, in March or April 1886, Kropotkin and his wife and several friends and sympathizers, men and women, formed the *Freedom Group*, a private circle, which helped to produce the monthly paper *Freedom* (October 1886—December 1927), to organize open propaganda by lectures etc., since 1886, to establish contact with public groups doing similar work in London, the provinces and Scotland, etc. The paper was edited by Mrs. C. M. Wilson, later, for many years, by Alfred Marsh, and finally by Thomas Keell. The few survivors of the group and those who have access to early correspondence, know the independent character, as I should call it, of the relations between Kropotkin, the editors and the members of the group. Mutual regard, delicacy and the respect of differing opinions were characteristic of this fine group. It was torn in two in the autumn of 1914 when so many old associations were broken or interrupted, as was that of Kropotkin with Malatesta. But Kropotkin went his own way to his last hour in February 1921 and *Freedom* had an honourable career to the end of 1927, being continued by the *Freedom Bulletin*, issued at irregular intervals but not extinct. Even in the present paper *Spain and the World*, two members of the old *Freedom Group* take a small part and much interest. An open, public group which about 1928 adopted the name "*London Freedom Group*" and issued the paper *Freedom* some time later, had the support of several old members of the *Freedom Group*, but cannot be considered as its successor, nor, of course, be confounded with it.

The relative isolation of the *Freedom Group*, a voluntary attitude is open to criticism, but stands as a historical fact. It seems a great pity that libertarian elements like Joseph Lane, William Morris and their comrades of the *Socialist League* and Kropotkin and his friends did not see their way to co-operate in 1886. The reasons are not under discussion here. Every shade of anarchist opinion lived its own life in the stormy years up to 1894, and in the spring of 1895 the best remaining elements of what had been the League joined all the same the *Freedom Group* which was quite content to be strengthened thus and which got some new support in those years also from dissident members of the S.D.F. Libertarians of some value, capable of unselfish co-operation and steady work, were always welcome in the *Freedom Group*.

Kropotkin worked for *Freedom* from 1886 to 1914 in the intimate and careful way described here, testing and modelling all his conceptions as his own early English experience and the advice of comrades induced him to think best. He was as anxious to help to form an English Anarchism for England as he tried to delineate a French Anarchism for France and a Russian Anarchism for Russia. His French writings in the *Révolte* have their counterpart, but by no means their imitation in what he wrote for *Freedom*. He was the more prompted to apply much care to this localisation of the anarchist ideas, as he had the splendid chance to lay them before the educated public in many long articles published in *The Nineteenth Century*, from February 1887, like *The Scientific Basis of Anarchy*, *The Coming Anarchy*, *The Breakdown of our Industrial System*, *The Coming Reign of Plenty*, *The Industrial Village of the Future*, *Brain Work and Manual Work*, *The Small Industries of Britain*, *The Great French Revolution and its Lessons*, the long *Material Aid* series from Sep-

tember 1890, the discontinued articles on Ethics (1904-5), followed by the polemical articles since 1910, *The Theory of Evolution and Mutual Aid*, etc.

All these studies had the purpose of pointing out the possibilities of progress which existing social developments and tendencies contained, further to eliminate dangerous pressure from hostile factors by suggesting remedies and to combat the authoritarian element which had found admission in the interpretation of Science and was of old entrenched in what are called Ethics. Progress was the result of free development and must remain so. Centralism and Statism make nations dependent on the obediences and goodwill of many, which can only be obtained by coercion: security lies only in autonomy, local effort, and self-reliance. Science had been misinterpreted by making it consecrate the "right" of the strongest, as being, apparently, the "fittest," whilst ever so much in the life of men and of society depends upon solidarity, mutual aid. Ethics were based on the worship of authority, the religious fiction and the despot's dire reality, whilst every reason prompts us to base them on justice, equality, reciprocity and, in ascending evolution, on generosity. These were Kropotkin's main teachings in his English writings, apart from much practical advice which brought him in contact with all genuine efforts at amelioration, whilst he combated to the last the growing encroachments of the State and of those who play in the hands of a new slavery by interfering with the personal rights of man. Taken as a whole, a synthesis which age and conditions did not permit Kropotkin to achieve, his English work of the 1886-1914 period would represent a striking parallel to that of Godwin's *Political Justice*, as it equally takes account all the existing good beginnings, points out the roads towards real improvement and warns of the reactionary obstacles. Both show the way from authoritarian bondage to freedom by the means of solidarity and autonomy and intelligent ethical effort. Those who believe in the ascending line: from liberal to libertarian, find confirmation both in these writings of Godwin and of Kropotkin.

These few chapters deal with English Anarchism. Kropotkin suggested other proceedings for other countries on the basis of the conditions there, as he saw them. I may refer here to the *Vindex* articles of 1898 on Italy and to *Insurrecciones y Revolución*, written in 1910 for *Tierra y Libertad* in Barcelona. He was eager to see popular initiative in England and tried more than most others to find means to rouse it. But no one can say that he had not placed before the English public in *Freedom* and in *The Nineteenth Century* ample materials to promote the most serious effort toward social emancipation on the sound and attractive basis of freedom and solidarity. He did not succeed as once more, in the years leading up to 1914, most of the workers sided with authority, elected their men into parliament etc., but that was no fault of his, nor of the anarchist idea.

That idea worked quietly in those years in several men of some mark. Edward Carpenter elaborated a non governmental socialism, striving also, in the final texts of *Towards Democracy* to make the new society spring from all the good seed which the old soil contains already. Oscar Wilde produced the anarchist essay *The Soul of Man under Socialism* (*The Fortnightly Review*, February 1891). Auberon Herbert fought many years for what he called *The Party of Individual Liberty*. Lethrop Withington eloquently stood up for anarchism of the New England school, whilst Voltairine de Cleyre in her lecture tour in the nineties and in her American publications always noticed in England unsectarian anarchism in a beautiful form. *Elisée Reclus* sometimes lectured in England and Scotland. Tolstoy's ideas met with wide attention and were popularised by many good men of whom J. Morrison Davidson may be mentioned here. That English anarchism spreading from *Freedom*, *London Liberty*, the *Commonwealth*, the *Torch*, conducted by members of the Rossetti family the *Glasgow Anarchist* of the talented George Barrett, who died early, and other papers, appealed directly to the workers by *The Voice of Labour* (several series) and one of its most concise and efficient speakers, John Turner, became a well remembered figure of the trade union world, the organiser of the shop assistants. These anarchists brought the tortures in Spain, in Montjuich, 1896-97, before the English speaking world and helped to liberate the surviving victims who were welcomed—those who had been exiled from Spain—on Trafalgar Square by all social feeling London. In *Freedom* the pretensions of Marx and Engels were exposed by the Georgian exile *Tcherkesov* who, with *Tarrida del Marmol* of Catalonia in 1902, and on other occasions induced also Tom Mann to reconsider his position and to take that independent attitude in socialism in which he adhered for many years until the Moscow spell fell upon him. From the *Garden City* to every form of *Direct Action* and *Voluntary Association*, free thought and ethics, every specialised advanced activity had the support of anarchists. Alfred Marsh, the editor of *Freedom*, related by alliance to G. T. Holyoake, was rooted in free-thought and co-operation and felt attracted by all the currents which came forth in the years up to the war in *The New Age*; these currents, on their side, had origins in the Tolstoy and Morris-Krop-

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THE SOVIET POLITICAL MACHINE

Its Designs On Spain

15 YEARS have passed since comrade A. Chapiro, my old pal Alexander Berkman, now gone from me, and myself came out of Soviet Russia to give to the thinking world the disclosures of the political grinding machine we found there. It was only after a long conflict that we decided to do so. For well we knew the price we would have to pay for speaking openly about the terrible political persecutions that were a daily affair in the so called Socialist Republic. The price we paid for our determination was high enough, but was nothing compared to the avalanche of abuse and vilification hurled against me, when my first ten articles about Soviet Russia appeared in the public press. Since I foresaw as much, I was not very shocked over the fact that my own comrades misunderstood what I had to say and the motive which induced me to appear in the *New York World*. Much less did I care for the poison that oozed out against me from the Communists in Russia, America and other countries.

Even while yet in Russia we protested against the grinding mill as we saw it in its sinister force. For myself I can say, and I can say the same for my comrade Alexander Berkman, we lost no opportunity to go from Bolshevik leader to leader, to plead for the unfortunate victims of the Cheka. Invariably we were told "wait till all our fronts are liquidated and you will see that the widest political freedom will be established in Soviet Russia." This assurance was repeated time on end so convincingly that we began to wonder whether we had understood the effect of Revolution on the rights of the individual and the mass. We decided to wait. But weeks and months passed and there was no letup in the relentless extermination of all people who dared disagree even in the least with the methods of the Communist State. It was only after the massacre of Kronstadt, that we, our comrades Alexander Berkman and Alexander Chapiro felt that we had no right to wait any longer, that it became imperative for us as old revolutionists to cry the truth from the very housetops. Nevertheless we waited until the fronts were liquidated, though it was bitterly

ANARCHIST IDEALS FROM THE ROOT (Cont. from previous column) potkin libertarian sphere. What might have been the true essence of *Guild Socialism* e.g. had been said all along in *Freedom* by Marsh and in fact as far back as 1826 in the *Address to the industrial classes of Britain and Ireland; particularly to our neighbours, the distressed Spitalfields Weavers*, by William Thompson—and might be said once more to the people of the distressed districts of England and Wales, if the libertarians were prepared to speak up.

This garland of English Anarchism of the 1879—1914 period might be lengthened, if there were space, but ought to have shown that Anarchism was an intellectual and moral factor in these years. Let me remember only one fact more, the moral victory over the intolerance of Marxist social democracy on the occasion of the International Socialist Congress held in London, 1896, when Anarchists, Syndicalists and Upright Socialists combined and held that memorable mass meeting in Holborn Town Hall, July 28. The Marxists might then concoct stringent regulations to exclude anarchists and other unbelievers from international congresses—scathing contempt for them was felt in London in those weeks when they were seen at work at close range.

There is—unfortunately—little more to say. *Freedom*, as remarked above, held out until 1927 and its friends are still alive; they kept their heads up during the War, they withstood the allurements of Moscow communism and still raise their voice for *Free Spain* and against every form of Fascism. There are young friends with them, as this very paper shows. They know something of Anarchism in Spain and all over the world and are not disheartened nor dismayed by the fact that only a few papers may be published now and meetings held in one or the other country, and that the enemies brag, bray and brawl and commit nameless cruelties on helpless victims when they have a safe chance to do this. The world will recover from all that, and *free*, attractive forms of socialism, expressed by terms like *anarchism* or *communismo libertario* will have their fair trial. It is the common interest of all, all, to prepare themselves mentally and morally for this happy time and idle indifference only makes them unfit for the coming struggle and coming victory. What *Spain* has achieved since July, to stand up boldly for freedom, surely *England* ought to feel proud to do also and before all, let her help *Spain*! Let her undo the trickery of those who prevent that the cause of *Free Spain* be supported!

March 26th, 1937.

hard to keep silent when 400 politicals were forcibly removed from the Boutarka prison in Moscow, and sent to remote places. When Fanny Baron, our comrade, and Tcherny were murdered. At last the holy day arrived, the fronts were liquidated. But the political grinding mill ground on, thousands being crushed by its wheels.

It was then that we came to the conclusion that the Soviet promise reiterated to us again and again, were like all promises coming from the Kremlin—an empty shell. We therefore came to the conclusion that we owed it to our suffering comrades in Soviet prisons, to all the revolutionary political victims as well as to the workers and peasants of Russia, to go abroad and place our findings before the world. From that time on and until 1930, comrade Berkman worked incessantly for the political prisoners and in raising funds to keep them alive in their dreadful living tomb. After that, comrade Rocker, Fleschin, Mollie Steimer, Dobinski, Yelensky and many other faithful comrades kept up the work which our beloved Alexander was forced to discontinue. I can say that until this day the devoted efforts to bring our hapless comrades in Soviet Russia some cheer and a few comforts have never ceased, which merely goes to prove what devotion, love and solidarity can do.

In justice to the heads of the Soviet Government be it said that there was still a semblance of fair play while Lenin was alive. True, it was he who issued the slogan that Anarcho-syndicalists and Anarchists are the petit bourgeoisie, and that they should be exterminated. Nevertheless, it is true that his political victims were sentenced for a definite period and were left with the hope that they would be set free when their sentence expired. Since the advent of Stalin, that bit of hope, hope so essential to people in prison, and so necessary for the continuance of their morale has been abolished.

Stalin, true to the meaning of his name, could not bear to think, that people, given 5 or 10 years, should be left with the expectation that they would one day see freedom again. Under his iron rule, people, whose sentence expired are re-sentenced and shipped to another concentration camp. Thus we have today numerous comrades who have been shoved from exile to exile since 1920. And there is no end in sight. But why should we be surprised at the relentless grinding mill Stalin has inaugurated for such opponents as Anarchists and Social Revolutionists? Stalin has proven that he is as cruel with his own former comrades as with the rest who dare doubt his wisdom. The latest purge, quite equal to the purge of Hitler, should prove to all who are still capable of thinking, that Stalin is determined to exterminate everybody who has looked into his cards. We need not hope therefore that our Anarchist comrades or any of the Left wing Revolutionaries will be spared.

I am writing this from Barcelona,

the seat of the Spanish Revolution. If ever I believed, even for a moment in the explanation of Soviet leaders that political freedom is impossible during a revolutionary period, my stay in Spain has completely cured me of it. Spain, too, is in the clutches of a blood stained civil war, she is surrounded by enemies within and without. No, not merely by fascist enemies. But by all sorts of social exponents, who are more bitterly opposed to Anarcho-syndicalism and Anarchism under the name of CNT and FAI, than they are to fascism. Yet in spite of the danger lurking in every corner of every city, to the Spanish Revolution, in spite of the imperative necessity to concentrate all the forces on winning the anti-fascist war, it is yet amazing to find more political freedom than ever was dreamt of by Lenin and his comrades.

If anything, the CNT-FAI, the most powerful party in Catalonia, is going to the opposite extreme, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Trotskyists, in fact everybody daily marches through the streets, heavily armed and their banners flying. They have taken possession of the most elaborate houses of the former bourgeoisie. They merrily publish their papers and hold huge meetings. Yet the CNT-FAI has never once even suggested that their allies are taking too much advantage of the tolerance of the Anarchists in Catalonia. In other words our comrades are demonstrating that they would rather prepare to give their associates the same right to liberty as they take for themselves than to establish a dictatorship and a political grinding machine that would crush all their opponents.

Yes, 15 years have passed. According to the glad tidings from Russia one hears over the Radio, in the Communist press and on every occasion: "Life is joyful and splendid" in the Socialist Republic. Did not Stalin issue this slogan and has it not been re-echoed over and over again. "Life is joyful and splendid." Not for the tens of thousands of political victims in prison and concentration camps. Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, Intellectuals, masses of the workers and tens of thousands of the peasantry know nothing of the new joy and splendour proclaimed by the *Torquemada* on the Communist throne. Their lives, if they are still alive, continue hopeless, drab, a daily purgatory without end.

The more reason for us, comrades, and for all those who are sincere Libertarians, to continue the work for the political prisoners in the Soviet Union. I do not appeal to the Libertarians who shout themselves hoarse against fascism or against the political abuses in their own countries and yet remain silent in the face of the continued persecution and extermination of true Revolutionaries in Russia. Their senses have become blunted. They therefore do not hear the voice that rises to the very heavens from the hearts and the stifled throats of the victims of the political grinding machine. They do not realise that

their silence is a sign of consent, and that they are therefore responsible for Stalin's act. They are a hopeless lot. But the Libertarians, who oppose every dictatorship and fascism, no matter under what flag, they must continue to rouse human interest and sympathy in the tragic fate of the political prisoners in Russia.

The events in Spain this month eloquently sustain the above written in Barcelona eight months ago. It does more. It demonstrates that the Soviet political grinding machine does not only do its deadly work in Russia, but in all other countries as well.

The events in Barcelona the last two weeks have demonstrated how foolish were some of our comrades of the CNT/FAI to believe that Stalin had begun to send arms to Spain out of revolutionary solidarity, or that there ever can be a unity between fire and water. Apart from the fact that Stalin waited 3½ months, the most critical period of the Spanish revolution and the anti-Fascist war, before he began sending arms should have proven to our comrades and to all thinking people that the man was waiting for the decision of his allies—France—and that he cared little for the sacrifices daily made in Spain in the anti-Fascist struggle. It also should have proven to them that Stalin sent arms in return for good gold and that he imposed conditions on the CNT/FAI which have unfortunately fettered both organisations to a very large extent. One of the conditions was that no anti-Soviet criticism or propaganda should be continued in the anarchist press. The other that Soviet emissaries should have full control of the procedure of the defence of Madrid. Of course they never would have succeeded had it not been for the fact that Durutti was foully murdered. I did not believe the rumours while I was in Barcelona that he was put out of the way by a Communist. But from the events of the last two weeks I am beginning to think that there was more truth than fiction in this rumour. Durutti was too astute a strategist and absolutely consistent with his ideas and he would never have submitted to any political deal with the Communists. The Communists were not slow in taking advantage of these conditions. They not only increased in numbers, sometimes 2,000 a week, who arrived in Spain, but a great deal of the arms sent for the defence of Madrid went to the headquarters of the Communists for the arming of their comrades. The next step dictated by Stalin was to change the slogan of the defence of the revolution to the defence of democracy, the kind of democracy which the old reactionary police officials and the reactionary middle class wanted to bring back in order to destroy the constructive work of the CNT/FAI and to crush the revolution. There is no doubt that this "great dream" of Stalin was shared by the other powers who are all in favour of some kind of a deal with Franco in order to establish "peace." Otherwise it is difficult to explain how it happened that British and French warships should be rushed to Spanish waters almost at the identical moment when this well prepared plot in Spain was brought to a head, namely the attack on the telephone building—the most strategic point of Barcelona—by armed force. Incidentally, at the same moment the same attack took place in Taragona and Lerida, 250 kilometres from Barcelona. Naturally our comrades defended their position. They could not be expected to do anything else. They realised that they had already given way far beyond what they should have done. In other words the anarchists were not the originators of the attack. To have done otherwise than defend the position would emasculate the revolution.

The originators of the plot did more than an open attack. They raided the rooms of a very distinguished Italian anarchist who shared them with a comrade; they confiscated all their documents and material, they put them under arrest and supposedly were to take them to police headquarters. The next day both were found dead, shot in the back, exactly as the many victims of Mussolini and Hitler were found. One of these comrades, Camillo Berneri, was one of the most distinguished anarchists in Italian ranks. Before Mussolini he was Professor of Philosophy in the Florence University. He had been victimised by Mussolini while he was still in the country and then pursued

him to France where the life of Berneri was made impossible. From the very first moment of the Spanish revolution, July 19th, Berneri rushed to Spain and put himself and his abilities at the disposition of the CNT/FAI. He organised the first Italian column. He fought at many fronts and he was the spirit of all the Italians in the rear. I had occasion to meet and know Berneri and I found him one of the kindest and sweetest personalities, besides being one of the most brilliant. The Communists, together with the Fascist forces, have murdered Berneri because, like Durutti, he was in their way. He was too outspoken, too consistent and his vision was clear. He saw what was coming and he warned the leading comrades against it.

It is certain, however, that Stalin and his new bed fellows have made their calculations without taking into account that the Spanish workers with their background of an incessant struggle for a century for Libertarian Communism and a Federalist basis of a new economic and cultural society can not be subdued to dictatorship and Fascism as has been done in other countries. Times without end the Spanish Feudal lord, the Church, the Monarchy have tried to crush the glowing spirit of freedom of the Spanish masses. Their success was ever short lived. For the Spanish workers love liberty more than their lives and no power on earth will ever eradicate that love.

True, reaction is again on top in Spain, our comrades foully murdered in the dead of night, the CNT/FAI betrayed once more, as in the past. But no one who has been in Spain, who has come close to the Spanish masses in country and towns will believe for a single moment that the old masters in new disguise will be able to impose their will on the workers for long.

The 19th of July has proven that. It has demonstrated to the whole world that the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalists and the Anarchists are made of a stronger fibre than the workers in all Fascist countries. They were the first to offer resistance to the Spanish Fascists. The first to drive them out of Catalonia. The first to send their grand fighter Durutti to the Aragon front. Moreover, it was the CNT/FAI that had shown the possibility of constructive work in the midst of the gallant anti-Fascist fight and the defence of the Revolution. No people capable of such courage and determination can be subdued for long.

No! A thousand times NO! The CNT/FAI will and can not be crushed. They are invincible. They will conquer in the end over all their enemies. For the CNT/FAI whatever their mistakes, and whatever price they are paying for their child-like faith in their so called allies they are the only people in the world today who believe passionately enough in the Revolution and in Libertarian Communism to sacrifice all for the victory of both.

London, May 22/37.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

NOTICE :

THE last issue of "Spain and the World" was produced under great difficulties, and we must therefore ask comrades to excuse the numerous mistakes that appeared in the text.

Reference was made to the Spanish naval base of "Carcagente" (No. 12 page 1). — It should have been "Cartagena".

The quotation of Bakunin should have read as follows:—

"Unity is the goal towards which humanity is inevitably drawn. But if achieved without liberty — or through violence — or under ecclesiastical, political, or even economic influence, it is harmful and destroys the intelligence, dignity and prosperity of individuals and peoples."

For reasons known only to the printers the issue was dated Wednesday, May 19th instead of Friday, May 14th. We mention this as it more easily explains the lack of information on the uprising in Barcelona.

The (perhaps) surprising lack of suitable epithets when making reference to some sections of the *Yellow Press* or to certain individuals who represent Interest and exploitation can only be attributed to the fear which for ever lurks in the hearts of our printers, that some grandee or newspaper magnate might consider our remarks (however true they may be) as offensive and a slur on their (doubtful) character.



The workers of the New Society will no longer be kept in ignorance, as they were under the rule of the Church.

Open Letter To Federica Montseny

(continued from page 1)

ist Army's base of operations is in Morocco. We should intensify the propaganda in favour of Moroccan autonomy on every sector of Pan-Islamic influence. Madrid should make unequivocal declarations announcing the abandonment of Morocco and the protection of Moroccan autonomy. France views with concern the possibility of repercussions and insurrections in North Africa and Syria; England sees the agitation for Egyptian autonomy being re-enforced as well as that of the Arabs in Palestine. It is necessary to make the most of such fears, by adopting a policy which threatens to unloose revolt in the Islamic world.

"For such a policy, money is needed — and speed — to send agitators and organisers to all centres of Arab emigration, to all the frontier zones of French Morocco. On the Aragon Front, the Centre Front, the Asturias and Andalusia, a few Moors are enough to act as propagandists (by radio, tracts, etc.)."

It goes without saying that one cannot guarantee English and French interests in Morocco and at the same time agitate for insurrection. Valencia continues Madrid's policy. But this policy must change. And to change it, a clear and strong statement of its own intentions must be made — because at Valencia, some influences are at work to make peace with Franco.

Jean Zyromski, wrote in the "Populaire" of March 3rd: — "Moves can be seen that are aiming at concluding a peace which would, in reality, signify not only the end of the Spanish Revolution, but also the total loss of the social victories already achieved."

"Neither Caballero nor Franco! Such is the formula that might sum up a certain point of view and I am not sure that this is not the wish of certain political, diplomatic and even Governmental circles in England and France."

These influences, these moves, explain different obscure points; for example, the inactivity of the loyalist fleet. The concentration of the forces coming from Morocco, the piracy of the Canaries and the Balearics, the taking of Malaga, are the consequences of this inactivity. If Prieto is incapable and inactive, why tolerate him? If Prieto is bound by a policy which paralyses the fleet, why not denounce this policy?

You, Anarchist Ministers, you make eloquent speeches and you write brilliant articles — but it is not with these speeches and these articles that the war will be won and the Revolution upheld. The former will be won, and the latter upheld, by passing from the defensive to the offensive. Positional strategy cannot remain for ever. The problem cannot be solved by shouting words of command: General Mobilisation, Arms for the Fronts, Unified Command, the People's Army, etc. The problem can be solved by accomplishing immediately just what can be accomplished.

The "Dépêche de Toulouse" of Jan. 17th, wrote: — "The great concern of the Home Office is to re-establish the authority of the State over that of the Groups and the 'Uncontrollables,' wherever they come from."

It is self evident that during the months when an attempt is being made to annihilate the "uncontrollables" the problem of eliminating the Fifth Column†† cannot be solved. The suppression of the "Secret Front" is primarily conditioned by an activity of investigation and repression which can only be accomplished by experienced revolutionaries. An internal policy of collaboration between the classes and of consideration towards the middle classes, leads inevitably to tolerance towards the eleventh hour Republican Front.

ments that are politically doubtful. The Fifth Column is made up not only of Fascist elements but also of all the malcontents who hope for a moderate Republic. Now it is these latter elements who are benefitting from the tolerance of those who are after the "uncontrollables."

The elimination of the "Secret Front" was conditioned by a wide and radical activity on the part of the Defence Committees appointed by the CNT and the UGT.

We are witnessing the penetration of doubtful elements into the control centres of the People's Army—doubtful elements that do not offer any

guarantees of a political and syndicalist organisation. The political committees and delegates of the Militia used to exercise a salutary control which today is weakened by the predominance of strictly military systems of advancement and promotion. The authority of these committees and delegates must be strengthened.

We are witnessing the new fact—which can have dangerous consequences—that whole battalions are commanded by officers who no longer enjoy the esteem and affection of the militia. This is a grave fact because the value of most of the Spanish militia is directly proportional to the confidence they have in their commanders. It is therefore necessary to re-establish — by those from below—positive fitness for command, and the right of dismissal.

I could continue.

A grave error has been committed in accepting authoritarian forms—not because they were such from the formal point of view—but because they concealed enormous errors and political objectives which had nothing to do with the necessities of the War.

I have had occasion to speak with Italian, French and Belgium officers of high rank and I have come to the conclusion that they certainly have a much more modern and rational conception of the real needs of discipline than certain Neo-Generals who claim to be realists.

I believe the hour has come to establish the Confederal Army—just as the Socialist Party has constituted its own troop, the Fifth Regiment of the Militia. I believe the hour has come to solve the problem of "The One Command" by realising effectively "Unity of Command" — which may permit of passing to the offensive on the Aragon Front. I believe the hour has come to finish with the thousands of Civil Guards and Storm Guards, who do not go to the Front because they serve to control the "uncontrollables." I believe the hour has come to create a serious war industry. And I believe the hour has come to finish with certain flagrant oddities—such as the respect for Sunday rest and of certain "workers' rights" which militate against the safeguarding of the Revolution.

It is necessary, above all else, to keep up the spirit of the fighters. Louis Berton, interpreting the sentiments expressed by different Italian comrades fighting on the Huesca Front, wrote not so long ago: — "The Spanish War, thus despoiled of any new faith, of any idea of social transformation, of any revolutionary grandeur, of any universal meaning, is no more than a popular war of national independence, that must be fought to avoid the extermination which world plutocracy proposes. It remains a terrible question of life or death, but it is no longer a war, affirming a new régime and a new humanity. We agree that all is not yet lost—but, in reality, all is threatened and attacked; our people have the language of renunciation—just as Italian Socialism had when Fascism advanced. Beware of Provocation! Be calm and quiet! Order and Discipline! All these things which practically reduce themselves to Laissez Faire! And just as in Italy, Fascism ended by triumphing, so in Spain, Anti-Socialism in Republican dress is bound to win, unless some events occur which we cannot foresee. It is useless to add that we are making a simple statement—without condemning our own people; we could not say how the conduct of our own people could be different and effective, as long as the Italian-German pressure is increasing at the Front, and that of the Bolshevik Bourgeois is growing in the rear."

I have not Louis Berton's modesty. I wish to state that the Spanish Anarchists could follow a political line different from that which prevails. In profiting from what I know of the experiences of several big and recent revolutions, and from what I read in the libertarian Spanish Press itself, I claim to be able to advise upon certain lines of conduct.

I believe you must set yourself the problem of knowing whether you are defending the Revolution better, whether you are making a bigger contribution to the struggle against Fascism, by taking part in the Government—or whether you would be infinitely more useful in carrying the flame of your magnificent words among the

fighters themselves as well as behind the lines.

The hour has also come to make clear the unitarian meaning of our participation in the Government. It is necessary to speak to the masses, to ask them to judge whether Marcel Cachin is right when he states in "Humanity" of March 23rd: —

"The responsible Anarchists are increasing their efforts towards unity, and their appeals are more and more understood."

Or is it the *Pravda* and the *Izvestia* who are right when they slander the Spanish Anarchists in treating them as wilful destroyers of Unity.

It is necessary to call upon the masses to judge the moral and political complicity of the silence of the Spanish Anarchist Press as to the dictatorial offences of Stalin, the persecutions against the Russian Anarchists, the monstrous trial against the Lenin and Trotsky Opposition — a silence more than compensated by the calumnies of the "Izvestia" against "Solidaridad Obrera."

It is necessary to call upon the masses to judge whether certain moves to sabotage the revictualling are not contained in the Plan, announced on December 17th by the "Pravda": —

"As to Catalonia, the purging of the Trotsky and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements has commenced; this work will be conducted with the same energy as that with which it was done in U.S.S.R."

The hour has come to enquire whether the Anarchists are in the Government for the purpose of being the vultures of a fire about to be extinguished, or whether they are there henceforth to serve as a Phrygian Cap for some of the politicians who are flirting with the enemy or with the forces anxious to restore "The Republic of all Classes."

The problem is set by the evidence of a crisis that goes beyond the men who are its representative personalities.

The dilemma "War or Revolution" has no longer any meaning. The only dilemma is this: either Victory over Franco, thanks to the Revolutionary War, or Defeat.

The problem for you and the other comrades is to choose between the Versailles of Thiers and the Paris of the Commune, before Thiers and Bismarck made the Holy Union! It is for you to reply — for you are the light under the bushel.

(Signed) CAMILLO BERNERI.

† Vilanosa is a little Spanish village where several militants of the C.N.T. were massacred after their local syndicate was ravaged only a few weeks ago. (Trans.)

†† The Fifth Column: — Name given in the Spanish Press to the sum total of the Fascist organisations that exist behind the Republican Front.

"The C.N.T.-F.A.I. was not Responsible" —

Official Statement

THE following extract from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bulletin (May 12) definitely denies the accusations made against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. for responsibility in the recent events in Barcelona: —

"The Secretary of the National Committee, Mariano Vazquez, in his speech on May 4th, broadcast through the station of the Generalitat, said:

"We must stop what is now happening immediately. We must stop immediately so that our comrades at the front may see that we fully understand the present situation, so that they can face the enemy secure in the knowledge that they do not have to watch the rear because we cannot reach an agreement. Let us keep the present situation in mind! We must not suffer for another moment that feeling of collapse in the rear, which can only give comfort to fascism. Stop the shooting, comrades! But let no one try to conquer new positions when the firing has stopped."

When an attempt was made to find a solution and re-establish order in Barcelona, the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. were the first to offer their collaboration; they were the first to put forward the demand to stop the shooting and try to pacify Barcelona. When

the Central Government took over public order, the C.N.T. was among the first to put at the disposal of the representative of Public Order, all the forces under its control. When the Central Government decided to send an armed force to Barcelona in order to control the political forces which would not obey the public authorities, the C.N.T. was once more the one to order all the districts to facilitate the passage of these forces, that they might reach Barcelona and establish order.

In view of all this, how can anyone accuse the C.N.T. of shedding the blood of the workers in the streets of Barcelona?

From the very beginning the C.N.T. regarded the conflict as the work of provocateurs who were deliberately trying to enrage the masses of the C.N.T. and thus cause a serious and permanent split between the two major labour organisations. These provocateurs, fearing the coming victory of the Social Revolution with the final establishment of unity between the workers of the C.N.T. and those of the U.G.T., made this desperate effort to separate the C.N.T. from the rest of the anti-fascist front, regardless of the danger of such a course to the anti-fascist front as a whole.

MEETING OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNION CONWAY HALL, LONDON, on JUNE 4th at 8 p.m.

The Meeting which was to be held at CONWAY HALL on MAY 28th, has been postponed until

JUNE 4,
when

EMMA GOLDMAN and FENNER BROCKWAY
WILL TALK ON THE CONDITIONS IN SPAIN

and

SONIA CLEMENTS
WILL SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE
ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNION.

ADMISSION FREE.

20 SMALL ORPHANS 20 Small Mouths To Feed!

FEW can have remained indifferent to the various reports which have appeared in the Press on the arrival of the 4,000 Basque children at their camp in Stoneham. These innocent children, terrorised by the war-planes and artillery of Franco, fleeing from their homes destroyed by incendiary bombs or shell fire, have now found a haven in this country, away from the thunder of the war and the savage reprisals of Franco and his hordes.

Neither can we remain indifferent to the magnificent work of the Catalan people who are caring for 323,000 refugees. Neither should the needs of these children be neglected. We, on your behalf, comrade readers, have adopted 20 of the 200 orphans who have found a haven and maternal care in the "Duratti-Ascano Colony" at Llensa. Before us we have photos, sent from the colony, in which groups of happy children are enjoying the open air in the spacious grounds surrounding the Chateau. The real maternal affection they receive from our women comrades there, the ample nourishment and clothing, the toys and sweets that are regularly sent to them from the central committee in Paris, makes it possible for these young ones to forget that only a few months ago they were fleeing bare-footed along the roads from Malaga to Almeira, bombed and machine-gunned from the air. They are slowly forgetting that nightmare that was Madrid, the air-raids, the incendiary bombs, the destruction of houses. The destruction of San Sebastian, and Irun are things of the past, even forgotten in that atmosphere of happiness and comfort that is provided for them at Llensa.

We want to continue providing these necessities for the orphans of the Spanish War. We feel it a duty, a homage to their brave parents who have sacrificed their all for the liberty of all workers. We can only achieve this with your active and continued help.

In the same way as so many men and women in this country feel happy that they have contributed their share towards the saving of the Basque children, so must you, the readers and comrades of "Spain and the World," feel happy that you have helped to save 20 innocent kiddies from complete destitution. We must not stop at 20. With real enthusiasm and a certain personal sacrifice you should make it possible for us to adopt twice as many children.

Do not hesitate, but send your donations now for this work of human solidarity and succour.

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