

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 12.

MAY 19th, 1937.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

Unity is the goal towards which humanity is inevitably attracted. But it becomes harmful, destroys the intelligence, the dignity and prosperity of individuals and peoples, once it is achieved without liberty, but through violence, under the influence of the church, politically or even economically.

BAKUNIN.

BARCELONA, MAY 1937

During the last few days the matter which has been chiefly in our minds has been the "unprising" in Catalonia. The actual combatants and the motive still appear vague. We consulted the leading newspapers—having failed to make contact with Barcelona—and the reports differ so widely that it is as yet impossible to form even an impression of the situation at the beginning of the rising or of the present position.

The unreliability of the news is clearly shown by the *Daily Express* report (May 5th), which after stating that the Anarchists forced the Government to release prisoners and had occupied the telephone exchange, quotes from the *Mundo Obrero* "the anarchist newspaper" which published a "special edition exhorting the workers to disregard the orders of the Government and to refuse to give up their arms, which they would need to defend the Anarchist State. *Mundo Obrero* is not an Anarchist newspaper, but a Communist newspaper. As a result it is unlikely that the Communist Press, even in Spain, would "exhort the workers to disregard the orders of the Government," seeing that during the last nine months the Party has changed its tactics from those of "dictatorship of the Workers" to one of "Capitalist democracy" which naturally en-

tails a strict obedience to law and order, and the continued worship of the State.

But that there have been serious disturbances in Barcelona and elsewhere in Catalonia, there can be no doubt. That the Anarchists were actively concerned there can be even less doubt. But that the causes were that the Anarchists want to "dictate" in Catalonia, as some sections of the Press tried to suggest, or that the troops were called out because Anarchists in the Telephone Exchange at Barcelona were censoring official messages from Valencia and Madrid, as others suggest, are mere suppositions by cheap journalists who rely on gossip and rumours which freely circulate in Perpignan, or on news which is brought by people with fertile imaginations. Whilst the most conservative estimates, during the first few days seemed to be about 200 dead, the *Manchester Guardian* (May 8th) quotes from an "eye-witness" who estimates that the dead must number more than 2,000!

We might here even mention that some sections of the Capitalist Press reported last November that during Durruti's funeral grave disturbances, shooting and the like, took place in the procession through the streets of Barcelona. The only people to ignore this occurrence were the people of Barcelona!

We must therefore treat with reserve all reports appearing in the Capitalist Press, which only seeks such opportunities to exaggerate and distort the truth so as to bring fear and terror to the hearts of its bourgeois readers, of the dangers of the anti-Capitalist forces in Spain and the rest of the world. The *Daily Herald*, in particular, has been revelling in this sensational news as much as the *Evening Standard*, whose editor used the occasion to speak of the Anarchists in the following conventional terms: "the detestation of the Anarchists for all authority save that of their own revolvers. . . ." This kind of propaganda can only do harm, more so when it comes from a so-called "workers' paper."

As it is, the "Socialist" "Daily Herald," indulging these last few weeks in the pomp and ceremony of Coronation celebrations, and the rich Eastern visitors it draws to their shores, attempts to dull any revolutionary spirit the British workers might possess. Failing that, the speculation on the Barcelona incidents would have been much more intense and harmful.

To those who have read *SPAIN AND THE WORLD* regularly, the rising in Barcelona will not come as a great surprise. We have on numerous occasions pointed out the subtle and sometimes even obvious propaganda carried out in an effort to exclude our comrades in Spain. We have shown the definitely counter-revolutionary bearing of the Government in Spain, and its intolerance towards our comrades. We published the text of a manifesto issued by the Local Federation of Libertarian Youths of Barcelona (Sp. & Wld. No. 10) from which the following significant words are extracted: "The Revolutionary Working Class Alliance sought long before the fascist revolt and so eagerly desired by the workers in

general, has not been accomplished because governmental socialism is more interested in an alliance with the republican bourgeoisie."

This question of Unity to fight fascist menace has been a means of speculation on the part of the Communist Party and the other organisations forming the so-called "democrats" bloc, at the expense of our comrades.

Our comrades, in the name of Unity, have given way on more points than one. In their efforts to fight not only Spanish reaction but International Fascism some have joined the Government in spite of bitter criticism from certain quarters. For months they refrained, as did the Spanish Anarchist Press, from criticism of those parties which right from the beginning were, by their actions, working against the Social Revolution; that is, against the WILL OF THE MAJORITY, which was to defeat not only Fascism, but the economic system which had existed since the birth of the new Republic and which had brought about the Fascist revolt.

From July 19th, a new Society was being created in Catalonia. A Society created by the WILL of the people and not at the point of the revolver. The tributes paid to the organising capacity of the Anarchists towards the new Society, by men of all different political views, are innumerable. From the opinions expressed by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell to those of Professor Rosselli (*Spain & the World No. 2.*) and Prof. Oltmares of Geneva University (*Spain & the World No. 1*) and others who have witnessed the immense work of Social reconstruction carried out by our comrades, show that the suggestions that force has been used in the new Society are falsehoods.

Though the C.N.T.—F.A.I. were the strongest organisation in Catalonia, there was no attempt made by them to infringe on the liberty of other anti-Fascist organisations and parties. The Communist newspapers were not seized or allowed to be published sporadically as is the Anarchist Press in Madrid and Valencia.

(*Nosotros*, organ of the F.A.I. in Valencia, has had to suspend publication by order of the Government, for reasons which will be dealt with later.)

Meetings organised by the minority parties took place without disturbance and without attempts being made to prevent them from being held. This tolerance, and respect for the liberty of others, were more than visible. Professor Oltmares stated in public that "It is with the feeling of joy, coupled with sustained admiration, that a social-democrat comes to view the Catalan institutions. The anti-capitalist regime is being organised in Catalonia without having recourse to any dictatorship."

We cannot here deal with the intrigues, provocations and lies circulated about our comrades during these last six months. The Libertarian Youth Manifesto (*Spain & the World No. 10*) enumerates several. To the lies we might add the remarks made to us by a member of the Spanish Delegation which attended the recent Trade Unions

(continued overleaf)



Poster, issued by the C.N.T. organization of "Mujeres Libres" (Free-Women)

CAMILLO BERNERI

AN APPRECIATION

We had just completed the article on the "rising" in Barcelona, and during a moment's respite, our thoughts went to our brave Comrades in Catalonia, who from July 19th, have been waging a struggle, unheard of in its intensity through the history of the workers' fight against reaction, and who now, in the streets of Barcelona are fighting to the last man in an effort to counter attack the "democratic" Government forces which are making desperate attempts to exploit the Social Revolution and the sacrifice of the workers, to strengthen their bourgeois, militaristic reformist ambitions. All this, as in Russia, at the expense of the Anarchists. We were abruptly brought to face grim reality when a telegram reached us announcing the death of our comrade Camillo Berneri.

To us, who have had the pleasure of enjoying the intimacy of our dear Comrade's company and conversation, it is difficult to believe it possible that we shall no longer make contact with him; and even now, there is that lingering hope, which tells us that it all may be a mistake, or that he has been wounded only.

Our English comrades may not be familiar with Camillo Berneri's name, or with his work. In remembering him in the columns of *Spain and the World*, which has from the beginning received his help and advice, we remember a comrade who, through years of exile, deportations from five countries, imprisonment in Belgium and France, remained the true and sincere Anarchist; the Anarchist in his way of living; Anarchist in his understanding of the "masses," and Anarchist during these last nine momentous months in Spain.

It is an impossible task in the limited space at our disposal, to record here all his work for the Anarchist Movement. At the early age of eighteen, articles and reviews from his pen

were already to be read in our press. As a University student, and later as Professor in Philosophy in Italian University, he was opposed to all coercion of mind and body. After continued persecutions at the hands of the Fascists, he was finally obliged to emigrate to France, from whence he continued his fight against Fascism by direct action and propaganda.

Of the newspapers with which he collaborated, we can but mention a few: *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* of America, *Studi Sociali* of Montevideo, numerous Spanish and French publications, and since the end of last year he has been editing *Guerra di Classe* in Barcelona, a newspaper whose frankness in exposing the counter-revolutionary action of the Communists in Spain, and whose sincerity in pointing out the mistakes of our Comrades in Spain (for our Comrades are not infallible), have earned it the respect and appreciation not only of the Comrades abroad, but also that of the Spanish comrades.

Now, at the age of 40, when his life was most intense, when his lifelong ideal was being realized, death has claimed him at its victim. But our Comrade is not dead. His work, his abnegation, must live in our minds and must be a source of inspiration to us to continue in our struggle for what is just and noble. Camillo Berneri's sacrifice, Durruti's and Ascaso's sacrifices, the sacrifice of the hundreds of thousands of Workers fighting in Spain, must be the signal for the awakening of a new spirit amongst the workers of the world. It is that spirit alone which can bring a victory of the workers over International reaction and Capitalistic interest.

It is our earnest desire that Camillo Berneri's valuable works should be collected, by competent people, so that the movement may fully benefit from the experience, the depth of thought and insight which were those of our Comrade. For our part, we

shall during the coming months, dedicate space to translations of his works.

In remembering Camillo Berneri we remember and condole with his brave family, his aged mother, his companion and two daughters, who during these years of torment have borne their lot with courage, and have been a source of inspiration to our beloved Comrade in the darkest moments of his exile.

The Anarchist movement, with the death of Camillo Berneri loses one of its most devoted apostles. We cannot replace him, but we can learn from his experience and knowledge.

V.R.

The above appreciation of our Comrade was already in print when we received the following news over the C.N.T. Radio in Barcelona: "The night of the 5th or 6th May a group of police, in plain clothes, wearing a P.S.U.S. (Communist) armband, forced their way into the room where BERNERI, Comrade Barbieri and his companion were resting. A careful search was made, all Berneri's papers and documents confiscated and the two Comrades taken to the police headquarters, accused by the P.S.U.C. of being counter-revolutionaries! The comrades, who later learnt of their arrest, were faithfully promised by the authorities that our Comrades would have been released. But the very next morning, the Red Cross announced that the bodies of our two comrades had been found near the Generality.

It is to be noted that our two comrades had been killed by revolver shots fired from behind.

The funeral of Berneri and Barbieri took place on Tuesday the 11th May. To avoid trouble, the C.N.T. did not think it necessary to announce the day and hour of the funeral. Despite this, several thousand friends of Berneri were present at his last resting place.

A Canadian Socialist's Views

On Conditions In Catalonia

Catalonia is the great industrialised area of Spain and if the Catalan people had failed to have stamped out Fascism in the way that they did at the start of the rebellion the whole story might now be different. Not only has Catalonia collectivized her factories and her manufacturing but she has increased her production to meet the exigencies of the war. The factories are now running continuously with three eight hour shifts. Through her geographical position Catalonia is today the only land route left to the republic to communicate with France. While Fascist Spain is closely linked with Africa and the Central European dictatorships, Catalonia is the link between republican Spain and France and the western European democracies.

From this summary it must be apparent that Catalonia is the backbone of Republican Spain in the war against Fascism. Yet certain English newspapers and certain political groups have tried to give the impression that Catalonia's adherence to the Valencia Government and to the Spanish Republic were doubtful, that Catalonia was not putting forth the effort that she might in the fight against Fascism. Perhaps the reason for this is that her great syndicalist trade union, the C.N.T., is anarchist in principle and some people are congenitally incapable of ever realizing that there is a vast difference between what the word anarchist means in England (generally a demented person who throws bombs) and what it stands for in practice in Catalonia.

It was the anarchists who made short work of the Fascist rebellion in Catalonia. It is the Anarchists who are mainly in control of all the industry, of education, of transport and of the distribution of the food supplies to the people. These are no light tasks and require a high order of constructive ability. In Barcelona you ride in tram, motor bus, or taxi, services which have been collectivized and are being run by the anarchists. They have a hand in more activities in Catalonia than any other political group. When I left Barcelona they were holding an exhibition of works of art which members of their organizations had salvaged during the rebellion. In a new school which they were organizing some English visitors were astounded to find in the library a number of religious books which had been left by the monks who had previously run a school there. "Yes," they said, "we are going to keep those books in our library because they are good books." In the country they have undertaken the organization of many communities.

In the town of Puigcerda, high up in the Pyrenees on the border of France, they have successfully collectivized all the distribution of goods. There are only two privately owned stores and these have not been interfered with because they belong to foreigners. In a large building all the barbers are working together, all are receiving the same wages, while in another adjoining room all the ladies' hairdressers are working. The tailors are working together in another place. There are three co-operative grocery and meat stores, two cafes, one tobacco store, a fruit store and a number of shops where the artisans carry

on their trades.

On the outskirts of Puigcerda is the largest collectivized dairy products factory, producing cheese and condensed milk. A large number of Villas which surround Puigcerda in the mountains, and which were the summer homes of wealthy people who came there from the cities, have been turned into sanatoria and into homes and schools for refugee children. The people of Puigcerda have not been content just to organize a better living for themselves but they have taken one of the largest and best equipped hotels and turned it into a home for refugees. The peasant farmers throughout the adjoining countryside have prepared a scheme for the collectivizing of agriculture and this is being carried out. While I was there they were busy putting fertilizer on the land, repairing bridges, the roads and the irrigation canals.

On the Aragon front is the village of Gelsa, liberated from the Fascist occupation only a few months ago. Here a new kind of life has been organized. Not only are the people turning out war supplies on a generous scale but they have also put into operation a system of libertarian communism and they are making it work. Before they were one of the poorest of villages. They didn't know what it was to see a movie and they seldom had meat more than once or twice a week. In Gelsa, now, money has no value and no one works for an employer. Everything is collectivized. Everyone gives his labour and receives in return all that he desires. The artisans have nominated a delegate and it is his responsibility to see that everything is kept in repair. Coal and wood are distributed to each family in accordance with its needs. Meat is distributed equitably—20 kilos to each person. The same applies to potatoes and other vegetables. For extra things, which every family requires, the Committee distributes tickets, to every adult three tickets, children from six and a half to twelve receive one ticket and under that age half a ticket. The people of this village are now engaged on the construction of a communal laundry and after that they are planning to erect a filtration plant to purify their drinking water. As soon as the war is over they hope to build a better road to the next village, to build an abbatoire and new homes on modern plans. A sewage system will be constructed and all the streets paved.

All of these developments are taking place in the state of Catalonia where the Anarchists are mainly in control and where the workers are welded together in the great anarchist trade union of Spain, with a million and a half members, the C.N.T. Not only did the Anarchists of Catalonia successfully quell the Fascist rebellion at its very outset but they have developed, while in power, a high order of constructive ability.

H. METCALFE.

(The author, a Canadian Socialist, spent more than three months in Spain, and was able to judge for himself the conditions prevailing. The article which reached us too late for publication in the last issue, was written a few weeks before the "uprising" of May in Catalonia.—Eds.)

Attitude Of The London Press

TO THE C.N.T.-F.A.I.

To find falsifications in the Tory Press of the position and activities of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is by no means surprising. To them the anti-Fascist struggle is anathema enough. But the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia are worse than the red cloth to the bull. Tories and their mouth-piece, the Press, have been known to adjust themselves to republics, or so called democratic governments. But the possibility of a society that will have none of a deadly state machine is too far removed from the cramped and warped Tory mind. And as all fear is motivated by ignorance, the Tory papers and their scribes must needs be terrified by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. whose supreme effort is directed towards the creation of a non-governmental social life.

Unfortunately one finds the same inhibitions in the so called Left papers. They, too, fear the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and their dominant influence on the Catalan people. They try desperately to silence the achievement of the Spanish Revolution and its socialized work. From time to time the Left papers grudgingly say something about the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Mostly it is garbled and misleading. Believing this to be the case rather than intentional lying I have written to these newspapers to correct their statements. But as they studiously refused to publish my protests I have come to the conclusion that the Left Press is as dishonest as the Right and that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is as much, a thorn in their flesh as they are in the Franco confreses. This attitude on the part of the British Leftists is proof positive that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. represent the only champions of the Revolution in Spain and that they are the only organizations who have done with the farce of Capitalist Democracies. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. is in action on two fronts, the anti-Fascist war and the defence of the Revolution. That is why they are hated by all sides and loved by the masses whose ideal is COMMUNISMO LIBERTARIO, Libertarian Communism.

To give but two examples of the boycott against the C.N.T.-F.A.I., both in the Right as well as the Left Press, I submit two letters sent to the Tory Telegraph and the pseudo-Left New Statesman-Nation.

The Editor,
"The New Statesman and Nation,"
10, Great Turnstile, W.C.1.

Sir,
In the midst of the dreadful silence of the British Press in regard to the place and importance of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., it is heartening to come across a few exceptions. Few indeed, since it is only The New Statesman and Nation and the Manchester Guardian who are liberal enough to do justice to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I was therefore interested to read the article of Mr. Cyril Connolly in your issue of February 20th. I met him in Barcelona and without seeming boastful I wish to say that I gave him the first interview for the C.N.T.-F.A.I., which he used for his first article in your publication.

My comrades in Barcelona at that time had had so many unpleasant experiences with newspaper men they hesitated to believe that Mr. Connolly would make an exception. His first article proved that he was fair and sympathetic. As a result he has since received every courtesy and all the data from the C.N.T.-F.A.I., for his further work. On the whole, Mr. Connolly has been objective and just. But I was sorry to see in his last article that he considered it important enough to repeat malicious gossip and whisperings picked up from people on the streets. These dreadful human habits are unreliable enough in time of peace. In a situation like the present in Spain it seems a pity to give them credence.

A case in point is the opinion given Mr. Connolly by an "English Communist." Is it possible that Mr. Connolly does not know of the "love" every Communist feels for all Anarchists? Else it would be difficult to understand how he could repeat the charge made by his informant that it was an Anarchist who killed Buenaventura Durruti. Actually nothing but hatred can conceive of such an utterly mad accusation.

In point of truth, no other Anarchist in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. was so trusted, loved and admired as Durruti. It is therefore fantastic to assume that any of his comrades would have taken his life.

The reason given Mr. Connolly by the English Communist for his utterly absurd accusation was that the Anarchists were "jealous of his friendship with the Russians," and that "his views were very unpopular." Permit me to say that there is not a word of truth in this. Actually Durruti never entertained "friendship with the Russians." He was absolutely and irrevocably opposed to Dictatorship. Of course he stressed to the need of unity with the Spanish Communists as the only means of conquering Fascism; but he was only too well aware of the ideological differences between Communists and Anarchists, and the difference between their tactics, to ever become enamoured with the Soviet regime. A man of such convictions and of such abiding faith in the strength of the ideal of Liberty could not possibly entertain "friendship" for a régime which rests on the very opposite conception.

I am not a Marxian and not in accord with the P.O.U.M. But, in justice to this party whose men are fighting heroically at every front, I cannot but point out that it is scandalous on the part of the Communists to charge them with Fascism. That is just the trouble with the Communists. In their Jesuitical belief that "the end justifies the means" they will stoop to every method, no matter how reprehensible, in their dealings with their opponents. However, that is an old and painful story which those who flirt with Communism have yet to learn.

I congratulate Mr. Connolly on his understanding and appreciation of the role the Anarchists have played in the lives of the Spanish workers. It speaks for Mr. Connolly's ability to observe the actual facts in Catalonia. I only wish more people who go to Spain would show as much fairness. For no one with a sense of justice can possibly fail to see the extraordinary constructive work the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has begun, almost imme-

diately after the 19th July, 1936. To be able to continue such an experiment as the collectivisation of the industries and the land, in the face of danger and death, is proof positive that they are the only true revolutionists who still believe in Liberty intensely, to fight and die for it if need be. For the rest, the Anarchists will survive the charge of being "either visionaries, half-wits or gunmen."

Yours sincerely,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * * * *
The Editor,
"The Daily Telegraph,"
135, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

Sir,
In your issue of Friday, January 19th, I found an article by Your Own Correspondent in Perpignan, regarding riots of the Peasantry against the Government at Valencia. The writer states that he had learned "from reliable informants that had just come over from Barcelona that a serious rising against the Valencia Government had broken out among the farmers in the surrounding country." To write about the world-stirring events in Spain from the vantage point of a French border town is superficial enough. But to base one's knowledge on mere hearsay seems to me to be the height of injustice, even to those whose Cause one deprecates.

It happens that I have been in the very parts near Valencia your Correspondent refers to; that I have travelled the length and breadth of Catalonia, Aragon and the Levante. I have visited dozens of villages, and, being out of Spain but recently, I can emphatically state that there is no truth in the report of the information your Correspondent transmitted second-hand. Far from any "uprising" I found singular goodwill and sympathy on the part of those peasants who are working the land collectively; they are heart and soul with the Revolutionary forces now engaged in an heroic battle against Fascism.

No doubt there is a shortage of food, but that is entirely due to the so-called "Democratic" Governments, who by their stand of Neutrality have deliberately worked into the hands of Franco and his worthy supporters, Hitler and Mussolini. They have thereby sabotaged the rights of the Spanish people to defend their lives and their liberty. Had they not been interfered with, they would have been able to continue the normal supplies of foodstuffs.

But with tens of thousands of Fascist victims to care for now, it is not surprising that there should be some shortage. However, at no time was this sufficient to impel the farmers to rise in revolt against the Anti-Fascist forces, with whom they are so absolutely in accord. No impartial observer who has visited Anti-Fascist Spain will deny that whether the average farmer agrees with the various Ideologies represented in the United front or not, he loathes Fascism as much as the most Left Revolutionaries. It is this loathing of the Spanish people in every station of life for Franco and his hirelings that precludes any rising or revolt so long as a single Fascist will continue to disgrace the fair name of Spain.

May I inform you that it is this opposition and hatred of Fascism which explains the failure of France to crush the Libertarian struggle? Franco has all the arms he wants and now also a great many men, so generously supplied him by the two ultra-humanitarian rulers, Hitler and Mussolini.

The other side has, in addition to large numbers and considerable arms, also a sublime ideal and courage. These have been known to move mountains and they will help to remove Fascism from Spain. Whether you agree or disagree with the Anti-Fascist Cause, it would be well for your readers to obtain your information from a Correspondent stationed in Spain, rather than from one comfortably and safely watching the heroic Spanish social panorama from afar.

Sincerely,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

SPAIN and the WORLD

Anti-Fascist Fortnightly

TEMPORARY OFFICES:
207, GOSWELL ROAD,
LONDON, E.C.1,
ENGLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES ON APPLICATION.

PRICE 2d.; FOR U.S.A., 5 CENTS.

—Barcelona, 1937.

(continued from page 1)

Congress on Spain. When asked what part the Anarchists had played in the crushing of Fascism in Catalonia, he answered us "None at all," and added that not only were they a nuisance but were doing active fascist propaganda, involuntarily perhaps, by shooting all peasants who refused to fall in with their plans of Collectivisation! These same lies are being circulated everywhere by those who seek to minimise the great work of our Spanish Comrades, and are, unfortunately, too often believed.

The Anarchist Press, outside Catalonia, is being censored, and publication suspended because they expose certain "leaders" who are betraying the workers' cause. This annoys the professional politicians; it annoys them that the Anarchists should expose (with facts) the traitor Col. Ascencio who lost Malaga to the Italian hordes (Spain and the World No. 11), because he happened to be Caballero's Minister of War.

The professional politicians were equally annoyed that a campaign was started in Barcelona, and through the Anarchist Press, for the dismissal of Prieto, Minister for Air and the Navy, because of the inactivity of the loyal fleet. Whilst Franco was bombarding the coast, transporting troops from Morocco, seizing, sinking or plundering the Merchant ships of Spain, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway... loyal warships were lying at anchor at the Naval base of Carcagente. Now, however, because of the "Anarchist extremists rising," three large warships, including the largest, the Jaime I, have been sent to Barcelona with troops!

But the Basque coast which is being continually bombarded, and reinforcements brought by ships, is left unprotected save for two or three small armed trawlers. The Basque people were threatened with starvation by a "blockade," and it is not the Spanish Fleet which calls the bluff, but no other person than Potato Jones and other merchant seamen in unprotected merchant ships! A ridiculous situation indeed.

Where does all this lead us?

Our Spanish comrades have made compromises (too many in our opinion) in the name of true unity. They have strained every nerve to reach an understanding between the two large workers' organisations, C.N.T. and U.G.T. Of that there can be no doubt. Tierra y Libertad (organ of the F.A.I. in Barcelona) of the 17th April covers the front page with scenes from working life; in the centre are two hands, clasped in a handshake. They represent the C.N.T. and U.G.T. united in struggle.

Our comrades have been blind to the political manoeuvres, increased since Russian intervention, destined to crush them eventually. They have accepted too long... Some have answered during these last few momentous days in Barcelona.

They have answered not as uncontrollable, ignorant elements, but as conscious individuals who see the true Social Revolution being swallowed up by professional politicians and professional soldiers.

They know that politicians and soldiers spells reaction. Reaction spells FASCISM!

SP. & the WLD.



An Anarchist column leaving for the Front.

COLLECTIVE FARMING

"We Are Working For The Future"
Says A Farmer

BUILDING THE NEW SPAIN

This is an account of the work being carried out on the collective farm at Benicasim, given by one of the collective farmers to the correspondent of a Valencia newspaper. Benicasim lies on the coast, on the main road between Barcelona and Valencia. All those who work on the farm belong to the Federation Española de Trabajadores de la Tierra—the Spanish Federation of Workers of the Soil.

"We have about 1,000 acres," said the farmer. "Part of this, of course, was originally the property of peasants now co-operating on the farm. It should be understood that only those who wished, of their own accord, to join in the collective have done so. No compulsion has been put on anyone to join, and the property of those who have not done so has been respected absolutely—even although their views are not particularly Left. Only abandoned properties have been taken over by the collective. The largest property we acquired was of almost 500 acres. It was completely uncultivated and over run with weeds. Its former owner had used it only for shooting." It should be understood that in Spain where much of the land is poor, and many people have not enough food, it is a crime to leave fertile land uncultivated. "We are going to grow rice on two thirds of this property," the farmer continued. "It is difficult, for in Benicasim we have not enough labour—many of our men have gone to the front. We are going to spend 21,000 pesetas getting this land into shape. The weeds must be cleared away. And then it is close to the sea—the soil just now is too salt for rice-growing. The salt must be removed by running water. So we

must dig wells, pump up the water, and run it over the land."

"Will all the costs be paid by the proceeds of the first harvest?" he was asked. "Perhaps not. But soon it will be paid. We are working for the future. It is enough for us if we help to make the agricultural economy of Spain sound."

"The rest of the farm is mainly under cultivation already. Just now we have vines, oranges, beans—and there are also orchards and pine groves. We are going to plant more vines in place of the beans, because we have taken over the distillery that the Carmelite Friars used to have. They went away, and after the distillery had been closed for two months we took it over. We make all sorts of liqueurs—just now for Spain, but later, perhaps, for export as well."

"We are cutting some pine trees down just now, because we have to fulfil the contract made before with the timber merchants of Castellon. As for the rest of the pines, we are following the instructions given us by the Forestry Commission of the Province, which are to weed out the bad quality timber. The pines grow in the more arid region, and there we also graze 200 sheep. We also have 16 pigs, and a herd of 16 cattle, as well as 200 hens. We know we must increase our livestock, but it is very difficult. We pay out 7,000 pesetas a week in wages, because we workers must live till the harvest comes in. There are 463 men and women working on the farm. We have one tractor, two water-pumping engines, and 11 pairs of mules. Most equipment, like pipes for the water, we make ourselves. It is hard work—but we have to grow food for the men at the front. And we are building the new Spain."

THE FIRST OF MAY
IN LONDON

The First of May demonstration in London on Saturday, May 1st, was a magnificent showing. But I venture to suggest that very few of the massed workers had any idea of the origin of the First of May as Labour's Holiday. Its origin is supposed to date back to the Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889. Actually, the idea was conceived and carried out by the Chicago Anarchists murdered by the State of Illinois on the 11th of Nov., 1887. It was in connection with the eight hour workday movement that our martyred comrades proclaimed the First of May as Labour's day of rest. The re-action that followed their death postponed the celebration of the First of May until 1890. It was then that the Anarchists in New York and other cities held their first demonstration and public meeting in the historic Union Square. Together with other comrades I spoke from a Van, much to the chagrin of the Social Democrats who also had their platform. They prevailed upon the driver to hitch his horse to the Van and get us out of the Square. I continued to speak as I was driven along the streets until I had finished. I thought of this historic incident as I was addressing a large crowd that came to our van to hear our comrades talk.

This time the opposition to the presence of Anarchists in the demonstration came from the Communists, though they did not make their protest too loudly known. To have done that would have of necessity exposed their great "love" of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and their bitter dislike of the wonderful constructive work our brave Spanish comrades are making. Anyhow the Anarchists marched with the rest, proudly carrying the lusty banner of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the flag of our newly organised Anarchist Syndicalist Union and a number of slogans telling the workers what we stand for. These were gladly received and applauded by the tens of thousands all along the route of march. Especially did the masses welcome the large photographs of Durruti and Ascasio carried by our comrades.

It was the first time in many years that London learned of the presence

of Anarchists in its midst and the first time that huge numbers of people came to know about the C.N.T.-F.A.I., its banners, its aims and its gallant fight for them.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

EMMA GOLDMAN
APPEALS

To American Comrades
to support Spain and the
World.

7th May, 1937.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Since I cannot reach you with my voice I hope I can do so by my pen. I am writing you on behalf of SPAIN AND THE WORLD, the best paper we have in English entirely dedicated to the heroic struggle of our Spanish comrades. Their struggle is the more worthy of our support because the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has not only Fascism to fight. They are surrounded by other enemies no less dangerous than Franco. The Socialists of Caballero's kind and the Communists, while pretending a united front, have sabotaged the Spanish Revolution beyond belief. And outside of Spain they are carrying on a vicious campaign against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Among other miserable villifications they have spread the rumour that Catalonia and especially Barcelona have done and are doing nothing for the defence of Madrid. A more criminal libel has never been committed against any movement.

In this country there is a complete conspiracy of silence in the so-called Left Press, and the meanest attacks against the Anti-Fascist War and the Revolution in the Right publications. Actually the only medium we have is SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is the only voice for the gallant fight our comrades are making, and the only channel through which we can reach, if only a few thousand workers, with the truth about the Revolution in Spain, as well as the marvellous constructive work our comrades are continuing in the very face of danger and death. To lose SPAIN AND THE WORLD would be a great calamity. We must not permit that. It is for this reason that I appeal to you with all the intensity of my being to come to the rescue and support of SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

You can do the following: subscribe yourself, take two dozen copies of every issue and send them to your friends. Organise some affair for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Collect donations on subscription lists. Do get busy, dear comrades. Do help SPAIN AND THE WORLD without delay.

Salud,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

MUSSOLINI

Liberty is dead. Trains run on time.

Torture, assassination and murder ushered in the new regime. Trains run on time.

The people are intimidated, terrorised. Trains run on time.

The independent youth of Italy, who dared fight the tyrant, languish in jail. The highest exponents of Italian culture have been killed or have fled. Residence is prescribed; there are secret police; there are special agents of Fascists to spy on Fascists. Domestic passports are required; emigration is an offence; fair trial a mockery. The tyrant is in the saddle!

Trains run on time.

"Mussolini has organised Italy," say his defenders. I have already said that. "Trains run on time" is a symbol. Children of eight are trained for the army. How much further could organisation go?

They call the system progress; it's a retrogression. They call it new; it's as old as history. They call it Fascism; it's plain old-fashioned tyranny. New lamps for old, new words for old ideas, a totalitarian state for the divine right of kings!

The industrialist says, "my workers are happy." The general says, "my soldiers are happy." The warder says, "my convicts are happy." Mussolini says, "my people are happy." They, only they—the ruled—are never free to say whether they are happy or not.

Mussolini owes an unexpressed debt of gratitude to Hitler, the more recent agent of barbarism, who excites us by his more recent acts of terrorism. We forget the infamy of the predecessor in the crime of the successor. We forget the black shirt for the brown. Both regimes—Nazism and Fascism—have the same purpose.

All people must wear one shirt. Otherwise they are traitors, destined for concentration camps, island prisons, torture, exile or death.

There are those who call this an awakening, a new system, a new ideal. They draw their conclusion from signs of order, from chauvinistic challenges, from the outward trappings of tyranny itself. There is no voice of dissent; a kept press echoes its master's voice. The more perfect the oppression the more perfect the indications of success.

Who is this man, this colossus who, having destroyed every vestige of liberty in Italy, has made himself the state? He must be a superman of indomitable will, of uncanny insight, of brave spirit, of incorruptible integrity, and above all, of fixed, unalterable and consistent purpose!

The story of his life explodes this myth. Vacillating, changeable, even timid, he has been a puppet of fortune. His power is an accident of fate. Opportunism, hatred and brutality are his sole contributions. Pacifist who became an interventionist through a bribe from France; Socialist discredited and expelled by the party; extremist despised by his fellows, he finally and fortuitously became a Fascist because of his hatred of his former comrades. The industrialists and reactionaries found him useful as an instrument against the radicals and then, having made of him a symbol, found him necessary as an instrument of repression against all workers and dissenters. The heroic march on Rome was at the invitation of the King to whom Mussolini grandiloquently presented himself with apologies for his black shirt and a reference to "a battle which luckily was not sanguinary."

We in America are not unfamiliar with racketeers who prey on fear and for a price pretend to protect us from greater evils than themselves. The bourgeois fear of Communism was used by both Mussolini and Hitler. When a racket controls a state you have Fascism; when Al Capone gets to the top you have Mussolini.

Fascism is dangerous because of the subtle approach. Those who hold power in states, presumably democratic, use the selected individual to fasten the chains. The change is hailed as revolution.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS.

New York,

May, 1935.

(The above article is the unpublished Foreword to Armando Borghi's book "MUSSOLINI, RED AND BLACK," pushed by Wisharts, price 5/- . This book may be obtained through "Spain and the World," price 5/6 post paid.)

Anarchism from the Root

RENEWED EFFORT IN THE '80's

IV. Joseph Lane And William Morris

The International Working Men's Association which revived Socialism in many countries, produced no such results in England. There it was meant to be a dignified, decorative institution, giving lustre to a number of aspiring, advanced trade unionists and politicians, who washed their hands of socialism and were not interested in the high sounding revolutionary talk on the Continent. They left it to Marx to deal with that and Marx *con amore* applied himself to the task of browbeating and weeding out the revolutionary socialists, those who had done the real work of bringing together and hurrying up the dilatory and halfhearted elements whom legend calls the founders of the International.

Marx was proposed to sit on the Council when all that work had been done and so his connection with the new body originated. As we know by his own hand (a letter) and find confirmed by minutes and other documents, he undertook the mission of keeping away all that he called sectarian socialism from the organization. His work practically meant that he felt authorized by himself to combat every form of socialism which was not of his own coinage or subservient to his purposes—a nice attitude for the trusted member and one of the administrative functionaries of an organization which was to promote the brotherhood of the workers and to respect their social creeds. Marx had to be careful on the Continent and could not prevent the building up and unfolding of *Libertarian Socialism*, then called *Collectivist Anarchism* in several countries, from Belgium to Italy and to Spain, but all that was disregarded by the English members of the General Council who either were scarcely informed of it—I refer to the few old socialists, men of small initiative evidently,—who, as it were on principle, as labour leaders considered socialism a nuisance or at least no real issue for the present time.

Socialism's Deepest Depression

Thus three years mark the deepest depression of socialism in England and its utter separation from the then flourishing socialist life in many countries. The English workers were not even allowed to form sections and a Federation of their own, as Marx only had an eye for nominally affiliated trade unions and these would only affiliate themselves under the tacit understanding that they would not be compromised by any socialist agitation made by British sections. Only when the trade unions left, tired of the small countenance which the real representatives of the International, the general congresses, gave to their narrow selfishness and scared away by the Paris Commune,—only then some English socialist life began, but it was of really lacking capacity and tradition and soon lost in personal quarrels or restricted to primitive stages of propaganda. As a matter of fact, Continental libertarian developments remained unknown. An extract from a writing of Bakunin (1868) printed in a co-operative paper appears to have been the only casual item from which some of his ideas could be gathered, whilst he himself, apart from a courteous discussion with Cowell Stepney during the Bâle Congress, 1869, had no contact with English members. Everything, then, was before the public as Marx or his henchmen, from Eccarius to Maltman Barrie choose to present it. Thus it happened that when, since 1872, a number of English socialists separated themselves from Marx and took up relations with the Continental Anarchist sections, even joining the regenerated International (Congress of 1873, at Geneva), this belated solidarity was but nominal. They remained authoritarians and their last phases can be gathered from the history of *The International Labour Union* (London) of 1877-78.

Such facts confirm the regrettable fact that among workers and socialists *Internationalism*, however loudly professed, usually remains a fiction, exactly as between nations, and for similar reasons. In both cases such relations are confined to specialists or professionals—elected persons, officials, diplomatists who finish (or begin) by doing what they like, make a muddle of it and quarrel and the people pay. In science, technique and development and every other domain

managed with normal intelligence, it is a vital necessity to be properly informed on what happens internationally in the same sphere and so it is done, universally, in all ages. A new discovery, a new invention in the most remote country becomes a living reality to equivalent circles everywhere, at once, or they would from that moment lag behind and become disqualified. It is of no use to say that wireless talk, television, radio, the Press, etc., have now bridged over every distance: they have just been monopolized, one after the other, by State and Money interests and divide the nations more than ever. Whether we look at all the present misinformation on *Spain* or at the example discussed here of such gross lack of information and misinformation within the *International*, we must say that: the more it changes, the more it is the same thing, and we must claim at all times that labour diplomacy must be abolished.

The London Bootmaker, James Harrigan

That poor English International, nevertheless, produced just one little anarchist who through his long life spread one original idea of his, but was pooh-poohed universally; yet that very idea is put into practice nowadays in gigantic proportions. I refer to the small London bootmaker, James Harrigan, who seems to have been the only worker then who took a liking to Proudhon and Bakunin, just because he heard them so constantly maligning by the leaders. His mind had been nourished by revolutionary traditions going back to the milieu of Thistlewood. In short, he wished the workers to do something themselves and not be mere entries in the books of their union officials and election agents. He propagated incessantly the *stay-in* strike, not to *come out* on strike, but to *stay in* and *lock* the employers out. Anarchists and some direct actionists liked the idea, but did not insist much on it, whilst to socialists, trade unionists, Fabians, etc., Harrigan's persistence always caused silly merriment or supine disgust. In 1920 the metalworkers, first in Naples, then on a large scale in the North of Italy occupied the factories and inaugurated the *stay-in* strike. During 1936 and the present year there are large waves of such strikes all over France and the United States. In other countries striking miners now often refuse to leave the mine. If there had been proper intercommunication, this idea, proposed above fifty years ago, would not have lain barren most of that half century. It were but right to call this the *stay-in* strike and to discard the ugly term "sit-down strike."

In the seventies, French (*Commune*), Russian, German, Italian and other refugees in London, together with the few surviving early English socialists, acquainted young English workers with revolutionary conceptions of socialism. The best effect, however, was produced on those who read up the lost and forgotten literature of English socialism, democracy and free thought. Beyond Thomas Paine, Mill and Spencer, they read Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society* (1756; a reprint of 1858 is annotated by an anarchist), Godwin, Owen, Thompson, d'Holbach, etc. They rediscovered the dreams of "*Pantisocracy*" and Shelley's joyous anarchism, whilst American individualist literature, copious in those years, reached them, comprising also translations of Proudhon, the periodicals *Radical Review*, the Boston *Anarchist* and *Liberty* and—the most memorable pamphlet—Bakunin's *God and the State* (1883), Tucker's translation of those parts of the manuscript which had been published as *Dieu et l'Etat* in 1882. But aside of that, they read up the historical, constitutional and economic life of their country and saw through the old and constantly renewed acts and artifices of the governing and exploiting classes. This made them proof against the wiles of politicians never loath to cater for the votes of workers and capable of resisting the various other fallacious schemers who in those years, about 1880, tried to net the workers' support. They had no means of their own and were not numerous, but they rallied in small local groups or sections, met with foreign com-

(continued on page 4, column 1)

—Anarchism From The Root. (continued from page 3)

rades in an International Club (Rose Street) procured a private press, printed themselves numerous leaflets, carried on a brisk outdoor propaganda in public thoroughfares and were a thorn in the side of the political hucksters and tricksters who approached the workers only to humbug them.

Joseph Lane

Of these inconspicuous men who did the real work of founding once more *revolutionary libertarian socialism* in England I mention here only *Joseph Lane*, from Oxfordshire, a man of some experience in town and country, of careful reading and drastic common sense, devoted and disinterested beyond measure. His ideas are preserved in *An Antistatist Communist Manifesto* (London, 1887, 24 pp.), a statement which he drew up to explain his and his friends' position in the *Socialist League*. They declared themselves atheists, anti-statist and free communists or international revolutionary socialists. Lane advocated the most thoroughgoing social anarchism, co-operative communities of associated workers, something quite akin to the *comunismo libertario* in Free Spain. These conceptions like those of *Sam Mainwaring* and others had no other origin and affiliation than those described, their sound dispositions, readings, common sense and experience. These men took part in the *Democratic*, later called *Social Democratic Federation*, of which a more advanced section founded the *Socialist League* (December 27th, 1884). They stood up once more for complete socialism in Godwin's true sense—a socialism guaranteeing all the fruits of freedom as well as the fruits of solidarity.

These ideas accorded in no small degree at that time with those of *William Morris* (1834-96) and his friends, notably *Philip Webb* and *Charles Faulkner*, who closely cooperated with Lane in the League and, as earlier, the attempts of H. M. Hyndman to boss the S.D.F. had been fought by them, so now the attempts of the Marxists to get hold of the League were frustrated by them and came to nought in 1888. I am far from claiming *William Morris* for anarchism, but I claim that his ideals as described so often in the years up to 1890, when *News from Nowhere* was published, are as similar to the ideals of anarchists as one egg may be to another egg. What was missing in him, was that confidence in freedom under any circumstances which is characteristic of the true anarchist.

In those years many anarchists, especially in France, partly from dogmatic rigour, partly from a more personal standpoint or disposition, went to such lengths of affirming the arbitrary, haphazard character of anarchist activities, if it pleased somebody to act in such a way, that this *amorphism* (the term was used) hurt the practical commonsense of Morris and his acute feeling for proportion, consecutive order, completeness, etc., proper to all harmonious work, and Morris abhorred all work that was not well-made. He could not have had that experience which those who witnessed the anarchists at work in Spain on and after July 19th had to their great delight, when they saw that all exaggeration, one-sidedness, mental untidiness, arbitrariness fell from people like dross the moment they had before them either the serious struggle or the task of new and free work. Our confidence in freedom was justified, whilst Morris in 1890 turned his back far too quickly on casual shortcomings, not to his own, nor to anybody's good.

These remarks leave his work up to 1890 as dear to us as before and we recognise before all that he introduced into socialism the rightful claims of beauty, those of proportion, soundness and harmony above all, not those of fastidious aesthetical caprice. It is easy to indulge in incoherent dreams, it is more important to contribute to the production of an attractive milieu, a proper basis for further developments. Morris strove to impress such claims, *the right to beauty*, on the stunned victims of the present system, just as *Tolstoi* called upon them to rouse and foster the *ethical values* within themselves,—whilst the State, the capitalist and all authoritarian parties just wish them to remain as they are, resigned to obedience and to discipline. The teachings of Morris and Tolstoi left their mark on many in England and will again be among the starting points of socialist regeneration, if it is ever to come in England.

March 25th, 1937.

X.X.X.

CULTURAL LIFE IN CATALONIA

Scientific And Literary Study Uninterrupted

In spite of the War, cultural life in Catalonia has not suffered any interruption. The courses of study have opened normally in all the primary and secondary schools, as well as in the University and the centres of Technical Instruction. Moreover, laboratory work has not been interrupted.

Scientific Reports and Expeditions, Literary Conferences and Exhibitions of Art are frequent. Many Departments work with an extraordinary intensity—such as that of the Fine Arts in the salving of works of artistic or historic value, which the Fascist uprising had endangered. More than which, the Department of Learning is very active in creating new institutions inspired by the educational principles of the Modern School.

Among the scientific publications of the Department of Culture of the Generalidad we should refer to a Treatise by Edouard Fontseré and Maria Capinan on the Influence of Altitude on Changes in Living Beings. On the other hand, Louis Rodés, Director of the Ebra Observatory, has published in the Barcelona Press, the result of his observations on solar activity—and it should be noted that Louis Rodés, who used to belong to a Jesuit Order expelled under the Monarchy and dissolved in 1931 by the Alcala Zamora Government, is now able to continue his researches in conjunction with his usual colleagues; neither before nor since the Fascist insurrection has anyone troubled him. We should add that the Ebra Observatory has been subsidised by the Generalidad since the outbreak of the rebellion.

A general laboratory for scientific experiment and research has been

created and installed in the precincts of the Industrial University of Barcelona. It comprises a whole series of laboratories—and its studies are of the greatest public interest. The apparatus is the last word in perfection—and these ultra modern laboratories are able to measure up to all the experiments which the technical progress of an industry in full development can possibly demand. In order to put its services more easily within the reach of all kinds of industry, the General Laboratory for Scientific Experiment and Research of the Economic Department of Catalonia has been sub-divided into five principal sections: Mechanics, Electricity and Applied Physics, Building Materials, Chemistry, Textiles.

The Journal of Barcelona gives the following details on this important institution:—

"The laboratories occupy an area of 4,000 square metres.

"The value of the apparatus equals two million pesetas.

"The measuring instruments are the most precise in existence.

"The appliances are ideally suited for all the experiments."

"The Mechanics' section is responsible for the study of the properties of steel, iron, metals of all kinds and alloys. It examines the strength of cables, cordage, chains, rails, spindles, pipes, propellers, etc. It verifies that they are perfect. It possesses apparatus of a force of 3,000 to 500,000 kilograms for stretching, compressing and bending. It is furnished with torsion machines with a force of 150 to 5,000 kilos, and with apparatus for checking the resistance of springs and spindles up to 30,000 kilos; with Charpy pendulums of 75 kilogrammetres; with hydraulic and electric

brakes of 600 h.p. with manometrical balances of 500 atmospheres, with microscopes and microphotographic rooms, etc.

"The Electrical section is equally well endowed with ultra modern and powerful equipment. Its function is to experiment, check, and apply all the improvements connected with electrical equipment for producing and distributing current, dynamos, lamps, cables, insulators, motors, transformers, accumulators, etc.

"The Building Material section studies all natural and manufactured materials. It checks their quality for strength and durability. It works to keep on improving the method of manufacture, and the resistance of the products to weather conditions. Stone, Lime, Cements, Bricks, Tiles, Asphalts, Earthenware, are naturally the objects of its investigations. It also studies the equipment for the manufacture of these products, the improvement of the plant and the perfecting of the numerous kinds of furnaces required by this vast industry.

"The Chemistry section analyses mineral ores, fuels, oils, petrols, lubricators, chemical products of all kinds and pharmaceutical products, lime, cements, slag, varnish, the substances used in the preparation of cloth, stearine, waters with mineral content and drinking waters.

"The Textile section studies the quality of the raw material, cotton, silk, wool, hemp, etc. It establishes the legal weights; it watches the degree of humidity of these materials; it checks all the substances used in the preparation, the dyes, the sizing, the starching. It examines the permeability of different tissues—and imposes standards. It acts in the same way as regards the quality of the raw fibres and the yarn. In a word, it is concerned with all the operations that take place from the shearing of the wool to the completion of a suit."

To the official Institutions, one must add the great development of workers' cultural circles and schools for propagandists; the source for technical reviews of the different syndicates.

A FEW LINES Between Ourselves

Our comrades' struggle in Spain becomes each day more intense. Each day the lies and misrepresentations concerning our comrades' work in Spain increase. We have shown to what extent in another part of our publication.

The need for publications such as "SPAIN AND THE WORLD," is imperative. We can achieve little good in comparison to the venom disgorged by the filthy yellow press of the world, but that little good is worth the trouble it involves. We give all our time, when not earning our daily bread, to the publication of SPAIN AND THE WORLD. We put all our energies and conviction that our Spanish comrades are fighting for a just cause into all our articles. We have received encouragement from many comrades; other comrades write to us from time to time expressing opinions, commenting on our publication and helping us on in our work. We appreciate these letters. We want even more of this form of collaboration it is necessary for the success of a publication of this kind.

Our work cannot be continued, however, if we do not receive also financial support. As stated previously, we have refrained from asking our Spanish Comrades for support. Is not their struggle, their sacrifice, worthy of being recorded, without asking them to meet the expenses incurred in so doing? We know that our Comrades both here in England and in English-speaking countries think so.

We are therefore sending to all groups and individuals to whom the newspaper is regularly forwarded, subscription lists which we hope they will circulate amongst comrades in their groups and amongst sympathisers. Please return the lists and the money to us as soon as possible. The deficit is still in the neighbourhood of £90.

The next issue, the 13th, will contain a complete balance sheet of income and expenditure up to and including the 13th issue. It is our policy to conduct the financial side of our paper in a business-like way. It is our duty to show the comrades exactly how their hard-earned money has been disposed of. Meanwhile, Comrades, see that our publication may hold its head up, financially, during these momentous days in working-class history.

THE EDITORS.

SOLIDARITY FUND Second List

Brought forward £18 13s. 9d. Barnett: T. Bard, 7/-; London: W., 4d.; New London, Conn.: "I Liberi," Group, part proceeds of social held 20th March, £2 0s. 5d.; London: G.A.L., 2/-; London, W.: V.R., £1 5s.; London: P., £2; Illinois, Wilsonville: N. Chiarotti, "part proceeds social held for radical press," (10\$), £2 0s. 10d.; San Francisco: Comrades, 8/-; Youngstown, Ohio: (collected by A. de Toffel), A. Vasconi, 2\$, T. Schiavoni 1\$, A. de Toffel, 2\$, S. Antonini, 1\$, B. Chousa 0.50\$, José Maneiro, 0.50\$, A. Hermida, 0.50\$, F. Maligno, 0.50\$, F. Berezo, 0.50\$, Stalo (?) 1\$, sold copies 1\$, total 10.50\$ = £2 2s.; S. Africa, Johannesburg: S. L. Sapire, 15/6; Bristol: J. Richfield, 1/-; Scotland, Greenock: S. Marletta, Jr., 3/-; TOTAL: £29 18s. 10d.

SIGNIFICANT

The Sunday Times (May 9th) publishes the following, from its Gibraltar correspondent.

It is reported here that a force of 8,000 men sent by the Valencia Government to aid the Catalan Government was checked after fighting with Anarchists near Fortosa.

Some soldiers, it is stated, deserted to the Anarchists.



Freed from the fetters of the Church, educational centres are being created everywhere in Workers Spain

20 ORPHANS

Have Been Adopted On Your Behalf

With the encouraging response received to date from Comrades and friends in England and in America, we have decided to adopt another ten orphans, making the total number in our care to date twenty.

This entails further responsibilities on the part of our readers, and we feel confident that they will not avoid this added responsibility. With the ever-increasing number of orphans from the Basque country being added to the victims of Madrid, Irun, Malaga and other parts of the country dominated by the Fascist sadists, we must needs double our efforts.

Is it asking too much to expect £12 a week from over 4,000 readers? Have those comrades to whom we appealed for th sixpences and shillings a week ignored our appeal? Is it too great an effort to renounce one small luxury, or have to put six penny stamps in an envelope and post them to us?

Comrades, please remember that for every twenty sixpences we receive we can keep a child for one week.

Now, how many will respond this time? We want those sixpences as much as we want the pound notes. Send them now and do not put it off to a later date.

If 2,000 comrades sent us 6d. every week we should be able to adopt 80

children! Let 80 children then be our goal within the next few weeks!

* * * * *
ORPHANS' FUND
Second List (to May 8th, 1937)
Brought forward £35 9s. 11d.

Tunis: N.V., 18/8.

London: Irish Sympathiser, 7/6.

Detroit, Mich.: International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain (50\$) £10 4s. 1d.

London, E.C.1: A. Kaye, 2/-.

London, W.: W., 10d.

London, S.W.5: Sidonie Goosens, £1 2s. 6d.

Manchester: Winifred Hollings, 8/-.

U.S.A., Smithfield: L. Fagnano, 4/1.

U.S.A., San Francisco: Comrades (11\$), £2 4s. 0d.

London, W.1: C.R., 5/-.

London, W.1: l'Animale, 1/-.

TOTAL: £51 7s. 7d.

Correction: In the last issue the contribution of the Trustees of the Horton S.O.S. should have been £13 13s. 0d., and not £13 13s. 10d. as printed. The total, however, remains unaltered.

Published by Thos. H. Keel, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on May 19th, 1937, and printed by West Midlands Newspapers, Ltd., Faringdon, Berks.

Pamphlets On Anarchism

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" Wage System, 1d.

" Place of Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution, 2d.

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ROCKER, R.—The Truth About Spain, 3d.

Postage ¼d. each pamphlet.

**FREEDOM PRESS,
WHITEWAY COLONY,
STROUD, GLOS.**

VOLUNTARY COLLECTIVIZATION

H. N. Brailsford, who cannot be accused of having an Anarchist bias, writes in Reynolds's News (May 9th):

The peasants are everywhere being shepherded into Co-operative organizations. No coercive pressure is used, but if they join a producers' Co-operative society they can obtain many advantages from the Government—an advance on their crops, a credit for the purchase of chemical manure, and, of course, the disinterested marketing of their produce.

This is not the region of the great aristocratic estates, which are the rule in the south and south-west. There are some, however, and I saw two big farms that belonged to rebel grandees who had fled.

One dignified old manor house had been turned into a refuge for the women and children of Madrid, and this is the usual fate of such places; the other was a rest-home for airmen.

The two estates had been socialised