

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Nor happiness, nor majesty, nor fame.
Nor peace, nor strength, nor skill in arms or arts,
Shepherd those herds whom tyranny makes tame
—P. B. SHELLEY
(Political Greatness)

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The C.N.T. Speaks

G. Oliver and F. Montseny In Paris

WE have translated, almost in their entirety the speeches delivered by our Comrades Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny at a big meeting, held in Paris at the Velodrome d'Hiver, at which 12,000 people were present.

By so doing we do not in any way mean that we subscribe wholeheartedly to our comrades' actions. We shall express our personal opinions at length in the next issue. But we do not agree with those French comrades, who openly declared that they would not attend the meeting, as they could no longer consider Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny as Comrades. Until last week it had been impossible to have an open declaration by them as to their actions and the reasons for certain statements which seemed to jar with the general views of Anarchists. The occasion presented itself in Paris, when the very two Comrades who had been declared "traitors" by the Federation Anarchiste Française, were to explain their attitudes. Even if their explanation were unsatisfactory, it was the duty of those Comrades who have so outspokenly condemned them, to listen and judge in an impartial manner.

We have on several occasions criticized our Spanish comrades. We are therefore giving them ample space in our columns to explain their attitude and justify their somewhat violent deviations from Anarchist principles. It is our duty to place before our readers their "case," and we trust that the Comrades of "Terre Libre" will do likewise in an equally impartial manner. — The Editors.

Garcia Oliver, who was the first speaker said that he considered it necessary, if one was to understand the present situation of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in Spain, to trace the history of the CNT right up to the fascist uprising. Until 1911, when the CNT was formed, Spain was without a political or syndical movement. The U.G.T. was merely an ensemble of small workers' societies of a strictly corporative nature. Spain was a backward country, whilst the monarchy though constitutional governed with the support of the military and clergy. The clique of Generals who surrounded the king, were the real rulers of Spain. Unfortunately, the advent of the Republic could be considered the first step towards a fascist dictatorship ten times more violent than Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. The politicians of the dictatorship were to be found also under the Republic; they stopped all revolutionary elan of the masses. These men are now in the fascist ranks.

It was then that the CNT began a revolutionary action which aimed at the cleaning up of the administrative framework; but no one would understand. The leaders of the Republic, rather than eliminate the reactionaries, attacked the CNT—thus the Right managed to take control. The Left was surprised but took no action. The CNT alone took up the struggle. It resulted in the rising in the Asturias ten months later. Reaction as a result became even fiercer, and it was then that the proletariat became aware of the necessity for revolutionary action. The leaders of the Popular Front were under the impression that a victory at the elections would resolve the situation. The CNT however did not share in their optimism. They advised the workers, whether they voted or not, to be prepared for revolutionary action as they foresaw what would happen later on. These prognostications proved only too true. On 17th July the Fascists rose in arms. The Government were not ignorant of the Fascist preparations, and could have intervened and put an end to their ambitions; but it just left all the animators of the Fascist revolt, in their original positions. This was understandable because the Government feared the revolutionary impetus of the masses as much as fascist attacks.

Because of the cowardice and hesitation of the bourgeois government, the Fascists were able to take advantage of the situation, meeting no serious opposition.

On the 17th, 18th and 19th July, the vigilant masses demanded in vain arms from the "civil governors of arms." As a set-off the majority were openly helping the fascists, which thus explained the reason why many provinces fell into their power. The same happened in Catalonia. But the CNT organised the struggle, and after three days during which they lost 500 dead and more than 1,000 wounded, fascism was conquered in Catalonia. As a result rapid victories were gained in Taragona, Lerida and Gerona.

"The CNT—said Comrade Oliver—immediately sent war material to Valencia in order to hasten the defeat of the fascists who were still resisting; at the same time they organized columns which were to try and free Aragon. Militiamen were sent to Andalusia, and help was given to the Socialists in Madrid and the Asturias. Until that time, the CNT had not participated in the Government of the Generality nor in any central Government. But the nations passively looked on at the events in Spain. We were alone in the struggle despite the fact that the Spanish people by virtue of its political formations was allied to similar forces in the world, both of the State and Politically. We were obliged to create and organize our war industry; convert our metallurgical and chemical factories into armaments factories, but, despite all our efforts, the manufacture of arms was slow and insufficient. The reserves of the first few days were quickly exhausted; the moment arrived when we had not a single bullet, not a grain of powder and the International bourgeoisie refused to supply us with these requirements. It was a tragic moment; we had to create the impression that the masters were not the revolutionary committees but rather the legal government; failing that, we should not have received anything at all. The result would have been a triumph for Fascism, the crushing of the workers, the assassination of tens of thousands of militants. The position was such that, even having established Libertarian Communism (Continued on page 2).



Arms! Arms, and not telegrams of sympathy for the Spanish people fighting International Fascism!

Prof. Carlo Rosselli's Opinion On Catalan Anarchists

I AM not an anarchist; but I deem it my duty in the face of justice to state quite frankly my opinion on the true nature of Catalan anarchism, too often represented as a purely critical, destructive, ever criminal force. Catalan anarchism is, apart from everything else, a strong current in the western workers' movement. The Libertarian-Communists of Catalonia are the "voluntaries" to whom social life in its entirety is not the result of a mechanised development of productive forces, but the result of creative willingness, and the struggle of the masses. Their starting point is the individual. According to them the revolution must have the services of the individual as the starting point, as the instrument and as the aim. No bureaucratic laws, but free association of free men.

A kind of "libertarian humanism," such is the essence of Catalan anarchism which is a movement steeped in culture. Culture is its passion. Its greatest martyr was a teacher, a pedagogue: Francisco Ferrer. The "allegalist anarchists"; Durruti, Ascaso, Jover, Oliver founded in Paris a library at the time when they were being hunted in Catalonia like thieves.

I remained 75 days at the front with anarchists, and I admire them.

The Catalan anarchists are the heroic vanguard of the Western Revolution. With them has been born a new world, and it is a great joy to be able to serve it.

You, doctrinal Revolutionaries of Madrid, men of the IInd and IIIrd Internationals, reformists, and you who are mixed up in it! When it concerns anarchism, think of the 19th and 20th of July in Barcelona: do not forget that one of the ablest fascist generals, namely Godet, had scientifically prepared for some time, the shattering attack on Catalonia. The strategic points were occupied beforehand by 40,000 men. Theoretically, Barcelona had fallen

The fate of Spain is in the hands of Catalonia. Authoritarian Socialism and Communism look on with anguish at this phenomenon which goes beyond their written formulae.

Callousness Or Indifference ?

THE advent of Dictatorship and Fascism has resulted in appalling indifference to the most harrowing crimes. Time was when political abuses in any country were met with immediate response from all liberals and revolutionaries. Especially was this the case with the victims of Czarism: more than one heroic fighter in Russia was saved from death or banishment by the concerted action and protest undertaken everywhere outside of Russia. All this wonderful spirit of solidarity and fellowship has gone by the board since dictatorship and fascism have infested all ranks. No matter how heinous the crime committed in their names, hardly a voice is being raised in indignation against them. Indeed they are accepted as a matter of course and quite in keeping with dictatorship as a redeemer of the human race.

The astounding accord between Fascism and Dictatorship has again been demonstrated in two flagrant recent crimes. I mean the murder of Professor Camillo Berneri and his comrade Barbieri, anarchists, by Communist police in Barcelona, and the equally foul murder of Prof. Carlo Rosselli and his brother by Fascist thugs. They all use the identical methods in destroying their political dissenters. They not only take their lives, they also defame their characters. Thus Stalin perpetuates the infamous story that Russia has become a cesspool of self-confessed "spies, traitors, Trotskyists" and crooks of every sort. Mussolini on the other hand proclaims the conversion of anti-Fascists to his creed. He paints them as miserable weaklings and renegades who have come to see the error of their ways. They are just dying to embrace Fascism and do the bidding of its Master if he will only forget-and-forgive. It is for this reason that the murder of Professor Rosselli and his brother must needs be laid at the door of the Anarchists. Unfortunately there are plenty of blind zealots who take the libel of old Russian revolutionists and anti-Fascists as gospel truth.

To charge Professor Carlo Rosselli with having gone back on the anti-Fascist cause is adding insult to injury. Far from having made peace with Mussolini his loathing had increased when Mussolini's alliance with Franco and his support of the latter became a fact. I had occasion to talk to Carlo Rosselli while I was in Barcelona and I know that no-one of the anti-Fascists forces could be more dedicated to their cause or more determined to fight Fascism to the bitter end than Carlo Rosselli has. Shortly before I left Spain for Eng-

land Professor C. Rosselli told me of a plan he had perfected for the co-ordination of the militia without deadly military drill and command. At the time I was the guest of our comrade D. A. de Santillan who was at the head of the militia in Barcelona. I arranged for Carlo Rosselli to see our comrade one evening that he may have a chance to present his plan to him. The following day Carlo Rosselli came to tell me that comrade Santillan was intensely interested in his scheme and had promised help and co-operation. Shortly after Professor Rosselli was wounded and had to leave the front. That no doubt has interfered with his determination to carry out his interesting plan.

I am mentioning this merely as a proof of the close unity and co-operation between the comrades of the CNT-FAI and Professor Carlo Rosselli. But if there should be anyone so dense as to believe the fantastic charge that Anarchists have taken the life of their close friend and comrade in arms against Fascism, Professor Rosselli's own tribute to the Anarchists of Catalonia should convince the most credulous; *Spain and the World* has already reprinted in its early issues the article by Carlo Rosselli in the paper *Giustizia E Liberta*.*

I can only add that Carlo Rosselli enjoyed the full confidence of the CNT-FAI and the admiration and affection of all the Spanish Anarchists at the front as well as in the rear. It is therefore a cowardly evasion of responsibility on the part of Mussolini to charge the Anarchists with the murder committed by his hirelings.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

(* For the benefit of new readers we reprint extracts from this article elsewhere in this issue—Eds.).

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BRITAIN AND SPAIN

THE incident of the "Deutschland" and Germany's reprisal on Almeria have been followed by a rather clumsy attempt on the part of Germany to induce Britain and France to demonstrate a more clearly defined anti-Spanish Government attitude. Germany obviously was trying to implicate these two powers in whatever aggressive actions she might have been contemplating.

There would seem to be little doubt that the "incident" of the "Leipzig" was but a typical trick of the agent provocateur!

For the moment the trick has not worked—but it has demonstrated more clearly than ever the intention of the Fascist Governments. It has also demonstrated the pitiable weakness of Socialist France; and further evidenced Great Britain's policy of pursuing a vacillating attitude publicly — although Mr. Chamberlain has given a sidelight on her inner intentions by his moral blessing in praise of Germany's self-restraint! In the same breath he admitted that the whole Leipzig episode could well be considered a mistake on the part of the officers concerned. So what Chamberlain considered praiseworthy, was virtually Germany's restraint from retaliation—possibly after the manner of Almeria — for something which, in the last analysis, was nothing at all!

This gives evidence of a hardening of the policy of the British Government. They are shedding one by one the pretences of decency in International affairs. Baldwin at least refrained from publicly approving of the actions of the Fascist countries in Spain, but Chamberlain openly commends Germany at the same time as Eden receives a rude rebuff from the Fascist powers for even suggesting an investigation into the bombing of Guernica! And so we pursue our policy of lick-spittle deference to Germany.

In accord with this policy the whole of the Kept-Press burst into a rapture of rejoicing at the projected visit of Von Neurath who, however, was not allowed to make his mission of goodwill because Hitler, the spoiled child, was disappointed with the meagre result of the Leipzig trick.

Great Britain, however, true to her policy of not letting her left hand know what her right hand is doing, maintains the simulacrum of a liberal regime while at the same time supporting Fascism under cover of a policy of non-intervention.

If any further evidence of this course of duplicity were necessary, it is applied in abundance by the effectiveness of the British blockade of Bilbao. Overtly a policy of neutrality is pursued but in actuality Britain's warning to shipping not to touch the Basque coast,—a warning followed later by definite instructions to British merchantmen not to proceed there—resulted in the starving and the consequent fall of Bilbao. To quote from the NEW STATESMAN of June 26—
"While Hitler and Mussolini struck

WHERE I STAND

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

THE tragic events in Barcelona of last May and all that has followed in its wake impel me to make clear my own position, especially is this necessary since the publication of the manifesto of our French comrades.

It is sad but true, that the glorious achievements of the CNT-FAI between July 19th and the first days in May have received a terrible jolt. I fear very much that the CNT-FAI will not recover from it so soon. From the moment the leaders of the CNT-FAI entered into ministries and submitted to the conditions imposed upon them by Soviet Russia in return for some arms, I foresaw the inevitable price our comrades will have to pay. Actually all the foreign comrades present in Barcelona agreed that the concessions made by the CNT-FAI were the first wrong step taken in the rise of the Revolution. We foresaw, and we did not hesitate to call the attention of our Spanish comrades to it, that they were about to roll down a precipice.

If I nevertheless continued to defend the course taken by some of our comrades I did so because I felt that the gravity of the anti-fascist situation seemed to make the actions of the CNT-FAI inevitable. The other alternative that presented itself was Dictatorship, which the Spanish comrades justly considered the greatest menace. Nevertheless it is unfortunately true that the Anarchist participation in the Government and the concessions made to Russia have resulted in almost irreparable harm to the Revolution.

I can therefore understand perfectly the indignation of our French comrades and those in other countries against the CNT-FAI leaders. They have shown anything but clarity and judgment in dealing with their allies. My one objection to the manifesto issued by the comrades of the F.A.F. in France is the charge of treachery and political corruption against the leading comrades in the CNT-FAI. Anarchists are but human, all "too human," and therefore as likely to betray their cause as other men and women, nor do I think that their revolutionary past would always save Anarchists from being inconsistent. It has not done so in the case of the erstwhile Bolshevik revolutionists. There is a difference however. Lenin and his party aspired to the Dictatorship while the CNT-FAI have from the beginning of their inception repudiated Dictatorship and have held high the banner of Libertarian Communism.

Whatever compromises the leaders of the CNT-FAI have made and are still making, no one—not even their bitterest enemies—can say that they did so for personal aggrandisement or because they wanted power.

For myself I find it impossible to believe that anyone of them have turned traitors or have become corrupt politicians within the limited period of six months. I repeat that human nature is vulnerable yet I cannot conceive of revolutionists of such courage, heroism and consecration as demonstrated all through the years in the Span-

her down, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden pinioned her arms behind her back."

While we expect nothing more of a National Government, to whom Fascism, no matter how brutal and murderous, is preferable to any form of proletarian rule, we surely cannot believe that the Labour Party of Great Britain has been blind to what has been going on! Now they have belatedly demanded the right of the Spanish Government to receive arms but they should have realised this long ago and together with the Front Populaire they should have taken a definite stand. No consideration of expediency, no fears of an international conflagration could possibly justify their cowardliness. If they had truly represented the solidarity of the working class, they would have called a General Strike. Such a demonstration of International Proletarian solidarity is the only weapon which would put a stop to Fascist aggression and Nationalist ambitions.

Had they demonstrated their International solidarity, the threat of war would have faded into nothingness and the terror-ridden workers in Germany and Italy would have been inspired to throw off their Fascist oppressors.

ish Anarchist struggle by our outstanding comrades would so easily have become a prey to the lure of government position.

I hold no brief for the foolish belief that in entering ministries, Anarchists could hope to effect the course of the Spanish revolution. Or that by accepting the paralyzing conditions of Stalin our comrades would hasten the triumph of the anti-fascist cause. Much less do I defend the weak stand taken by the leaders of the CNT-FAI in the tragic battle of May 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th. I certainly consider it an extraordinary reversal of the proud revolutionary stand always defended by the CNT-FAI to turn the other cheek, to call a retreat and to hold back the pent-up feelings of the rank and file by passive resistance. All this does not imply that we should be silent or not criticise. On the contrary we should definitely state our disagreement and we should frankly and honestly call these comrades to account. However, I feel that Anarchists should be more careful than any other social groups to shout anathema against those who have served their cause all their lives or to crucify them at the first display of inconsistency.

Is there anyone of us who can truthfully say that he has always remained faithful to his ideas? For example our beloved comrade Peter Kropotkin. By his stand on the War he was guilty of a breach of principle. His defence of the allies, his statement that if he were younger he would muster a gun, were diametrically opposed to Anarchism and to everything our great teacher has taught us about War as capitalist conquest and loot. We who were opposed to the world slaughter criticised our comrade and condemned his stand but it never occurred to anyone of us to charge Peter Kropotkin with treachery or corruption. What about ourselves: we were against the world war and some of us went to prison for our opposition to it. Yet, we immediately rallied to the support of the Anti-fascist war. We did so because we consider Fascism the greatest menace in the world, the poisonous contagion which disintegrates all political and social life. The Fascist countries as well as the Russian Dictatorship certainly prove this. One can still breathe in democratic countries, little democracy though they may have. One can still raise one's voice against every political abuse and social iniquity. One still has a certain amount of security to one's life and limb. All this is obliterated by Fascism. May it not be, therefore, that the comrades now held up for scorn and all kinds of cruel charges, acted as they did because they felt and feel that everything must be concentrated on winning the anti-Fascist struggle. For it must be obvious to all thinking people that the revolution and all else will be lost if Fascism would win. We outside of Spain, we who do not face starvation and danger, should at least try to understand, if not to excuse, the motivations of the concessions and compromises made by the leaders of the CNT-FAI.

I wish to state emphatically I stand to-day where I have stood all through my Anarchist life. I believe as fervently as I always have that affiliations with governments and political parties are inimical to Anarchism and harmful. I cannot however remain blind to the fact that life is more impelling than theories, that moments in the

Garcia Oliver in Paris
Cont. from Page 1

nism, we should have been defeated if only by the closing of the frontiers. Guipuscoa, a Basque province, was lost only because we had no cartridges.

But the enemy was receiving enormous quantities of war material; heavy artillery, rifles, machine guns and aeroplanes were being supplied to them by Germany and Italy. The enemy possessed a formidable military technique in their attacks.

If we were to be able to resist this avalanche, we must needs adapt ourselves to the inexorable circumstances of the moment, that is to say, accept governmental collaboration and take rapid steps toward the restoration of daily life in our country.

In these circumstances, we were called upon to take part in the Government of the Generality of Catalonia as well as in the Central Government. Seeing that the CNT represented a majority strength on the anti-Fascist front, our action had a good effect in the country. Without the collaboration of the CNT it would have been impossible to create a revolutionary armed force, and indispensable for the triumph of anti-fascism. The armed masses can win the Revolution, but will lose the war and the revolution if the enemy has superior material and possesses a wider knowledge of war technique.

We were completely lacking in all this. We had no armed corps, nor a war transport system, nor an ambulance corps.

Our forces, without preliminary training, could not put up a resistance against the enemy aviation and tanks. Thus we saw our militiamen, whose courage never waned, obliged to retreat kilometre by kilometre as far as the gates of Madrid.

By our collaboration in the Government we were able to avoid a complete rout, by the creation of popular forces highly organized and ready for an offensive.

Thus were we able to bring the economic life of the country back as far as was possible in a country at war and in a state of Revolution.

All at once, the political parties manifested against syndical participation in the Spanish government because they were aware that, not only were we effectively collaborating in the struggle against Fascism, but above all we were working to consolidate the economic and social conquests of the proletariat.

We were obliged to leave the Ministry. Once more the CNT was in a dilemma: either to precipitate ourselves in a totalitarian movement or make a supreme effort to establish a democracy of a most advanced nature.

In Catalonia our comrades were faced with the same situation, when as an answer to the political elements of May last, they hurled themselves into a struggle of resistance, they had to decide for or

revolutionary struggle may arise when it requires superhuman will and the wisest judgment are required to choose the right course. And as I myself am not all-wise or can boast of super-human will, I cannot honestly say what I would have done had I been in the position of the Spanish comrades at the head of the CNT-FAI. For this very reason I am not prepared to accept the charges of treachery or political corruption against them, much as I disagree with their methods.

In conclusion I wish to say I am with every fibre of my being with the struggle of the CNT-FAI and the Spanish people. Having been closely thrown together with our comrades in every city and hamlet of the parts of Spain I have visited, and having learned to know and love them, my faith in them remains abiding. I know that they will not tolerate for long anyone who will try to stem the tide of their revolutionary feeling and determination. Their ingrained love of libertarian communism will never for long accept any individual or institution that stand in their way. That is enough for me to give myself utterly to the Anti-Fascist and the revolutionary struggle of our Spanish comrades.

against a totalitarian movement. It is obvious that, had we so desired, that defence movement could have been transformed into a purely libertarian movement. This was all very well, but would have given rise to two problems of great seriousness:

Firstly, The propagation of the movement in the whole of anti-Fascist Spain and Secondly the struggle in the trenches between the different anti-fascist sections.

The fascists would have without doubt taken advantage of these circumstances to break all lines of resistance.

In the case of a triumph of Libertarian Communism, it would have been crushed some time later by the intervention of Capitalistic and democratic powers.

The CNT, expression of the majority of the popular masses of Spain was transformed into a Governmental instrument, renouncing deliberately and provisionally its fundamental ideas in order not to betray the historic responsibility which was incumbent on it and because it was impossible for them to have recourse to dictatorship.

The future of Spain presents itself therefore under a more favorable light if the forces stronger than our wills will not stop us half way.

The CNT and the UGT represent positively the sum total of the workers' forces and will be the base on which a new workers' democracy will be built.

The CNT and the UGT are equidistant from all the political parties, which attempt their elimination.

The two syndical centres demand then their place in the administration of the country, outside all dictatorship, to struggle in the first place against Fascism and later for the establishment of a workers democracy where all shall have the right to express their opinions and will be able to demand their place in the economic and political life of the country.

We believe that in this way we are interpreting Anarchism in its purest sense.

As Anarchists we have always preferred to fight in the heart of a democratic bourgeoisie rather than under a dictatorial or totalitarian Government.

Consequently, that which matters, is to bring about an evolution in the conception of democracy and convert it into a living force—which it has never been.

We do not doubt that a day will be reached when our whole ideal may be realized, but when? When our ideas will have fully penetrated the popular masses and will impose themselves of their own accord.

FEDERICA MONTSENY

"In this vast audience, present this evening to hear the voice of the CNT, there are men, who profess to be anarchists and who have the sad courage to insult us for what we have done in Spain, whilst Italian and German aeroplanes massacre the civil population; whilst thousands of kiddies women and old people fall before fascist machine-guns and whilst Spain is threatened with complete annihilation.

Without doubt, we have made mistakes; who, in such tragic circumstances, would not have done?

Comrades, it is not time to theorize; for all free minds of the world, there is only one enemy at this moment: fascism. It has triumphed in Germany, Italy and to a certain extent in Austria; it threatens to spread in the whole of Europe. To-day it has chosen as its experimental field our unhappy Spain, which is fighting fiercely, alone, absolutely alone, before the monstrous coalition of International-Fascism."

Federica Montseny then spoke of the situation at the beginning of the conflict, of the lack of arms and technicians and continued by saying that "if we succeed in defeating fascism in Spain, we shall have dealt a mortal blow to the dictatorships of Mussolini and Hitler and the menace of war is lessened.

"And it is with this in mind, Comrades, that we have driven from (Continued foot page 3, col. 1).

CARLO ROSSELLI

The True Anti-Fascist

NOTHING is more painful than to place words around the new-made tomb of a friend. It would be better and sufficient to write: "Carlo Rosselli has been murdered by Fascist ruffians. Honour and avenge him."

But readers want to know more about the personality of a man who fought Mussolini for fifteen years and then fell a victim to his own inflexible ideal of Justice and Liberty.

Carlo Rosselli was 37. Born in Florence, the son of a rich and very cultured family, he could have enjoyed a life of study and personal accomplishment even under the oppressive Fascist rule. But on the contrary, since 1922 he chose, with the "Non mollare," the dangers of activity against Fascism. Afterwards, with the same aim, he published in Milan the *Quarto Stato*. In 1926 he organised the dramatic escape of Filippo Turati from Milan to Calvi (Corsica). He was arrested when returning to the Italian shores; suffered imprisonment and deportation to Lipari. At the Savona's trial he made—before the Fascist judges—the strongest of accusations against Mussolinism, in the name of human Freedom.

With the co-operation of his admirable wife and of several affectionate friends he succeeded in escaping from the Island of Lipari in 1929.

When in Paris he founded "Giustizia e Libertà," a movement directed to create and maintain currents of anti-Fascist opposition and action in Italy and abroad. A review, a newspaper, several books and many pamphlets were issued by this organization and spread through Mussolini's kingdom and among the Italians all over the World.

The activity of "Giustizia e Libertà," of which Carlo Rosselli was the principal animator, became even greater when, after the propaganda flight over Milan (1930), this anti-Fascist association became known from the Alps to Sicily, and many branches of it were spontaneously formed in the most important centres. Mussolini's prisons are now unfortunately full of "G. e L." adherents.

Continued from previous column within our very being our aspirations as one hundred per cent. anarchists, as Garcia Oliver has so well stated, in order to aim only at the destruction of fascism in our own country and that, I repeat, in the midst of general indifference and despite the cowardice of European democracy, even though the Spanish proletariat was joined to the proletariat of the world by the ties of the workers' Internationals." It was true, continued our comrade, that they had received pity, and public statements were made sympathising with them. Medicaments and chocolate for the children, but that was not enough. They did not forget all that, but they would have preferred a more efficacious support such as arms and aeroplanes to crush the Fascist murderer!

"Much has been spoken of the Unity projects between the CNT and UGT. It is true that the two great organisations which comprise the greater part of the workers, Anarchist the former and Marxist the latter, seek to bring about the ideal of the 1st International: the union of all workers against their exploiters.

And it is this unity which we advocate.

We do not lose ourselves in the theoretical. It is too easy, in fact, to shirk the responsibilities of the moment in seeking the justification of inaction through our books; it is too easy to entrench ourselves behind the affirmation of such and such a theoretician in order to say "no, we cannot act in this way." It is much more painful, but more courageous to look life in the face and to react according to the reality of the moment.

Spain is living through a formi-

Carlo Rosselli, by his newspaper, in public meetings and through clandestine propaganda in Italy, strongly opposed the Abyssinian adventure of Mussolini, considering it not only bad in itself but a poor affair for the Italian people.

When the Fascist assault against the Spanish Republic was hurled by the felon generals with the complicity of Rome and Berlin, Rosselli and his friends of the "G. e L." rushed to Spain in defence of an attacked people. Anarchists, republicans, socialists and democrats formed with Rosselli the first column that confronted the enemy on the lines of Huesca and reddened with their blood the desert of Monte Pelato.

Carlo, who had been put in command of a brigade, was wounded; six months later a sickness—due to the terrible strain of the campaign—obliged him to re-enter in France.

At Bagnoles, where he was trying to restore his health, he was attacked, together with his brother Nello, by Fascist poniards and killed.

Fascism has well chosen its mark. Carlo Rosselli was the best among the fighting anti-Fascists. He had the enthusiasm of youth, an active and acute intelligence, an indefatigable will, and the capacity for convincing and leading men. He had the rare virtue of optimism; his hope and confidence were inexhaustible. There was only a Fascist way to conquer Carlo Rosselli; and that was to kill him. Rome understood—and struck.

He leaves an enormous gap in the ranks of the Italian anti-Fascists. His life was so generous and ardent. He is an imperished example of energy and self-sacrifice, a ferment of faith and action that will live on until right triumphs over might—and human ideals over bestial violence.

Carlo Rosselli was a man to whom every free conscience must raise a thought of fraternal sorrow and solemn promise: "I swear to continue, to the limit of my capacity, thy noble effort, in the name of thy supreme ideal: Justice and Liberty."

A. T.

dable revolutionary experiment at the moment. We, Anarchists, anti-militarists during our whole lives, have been obliged to put ourselves at the head of an armed people, create anti-fascists militias; militarize in other words. Our own Durruti himself, was the first to recognize that if we were not to organize the war in military fashion, we should not manage to offer resistance to the superiority of the enemy, and would suffer defeat...

Amongst the greatest difficulties with which we have been faced, the greatest is the deaf of certain political elements hostile towards our work of social reconstruction. In spite of everything, we have done all that has been humanly possible... Another problem of extreme gravity is the rearguard. From the very first days we considered that the old forces which remained loyal, and which fought side by side with the people on July 19th; we gave all the popular forces proportional representation in order to avoid any new attempt at a fascist conspiracy.

As regards foreign policy, our position is as clear as during the first days. Our ambition is to show to the international proletariat, by practical achievements the means it might adopt to succeed in directing the economy of a country, without having recourse to political parties which believe themselves to be for ever predestined to lead the peoples of the world."

Our Comrade concluded with an earnest appeal for International solidarity with the people of Spain, who, as in Bilbao, were being massacred by the Italian and German planes. "The world"—she said—"face to face with this tragic spectacle can only utter words of vague pity, such as "poor Bilbao"; in the same way some time ago they said "poor Abyssinia"!

"The Artist Must Elect To Fight for Freedom Or for Slavery"

—PAUL ROBESON

PAUL ROBESON had made a record to be broadcast from Moscow, but when he heard that it might not be transmitted clearly he flew over to London and delivered personally what he had previously written. We reproduce the text of his message:

I feel tonight I am doing so. Every artist, every scientist, every writer must decide now where he stands. He has no alternative. There is no standing above the conflict on Olympian heights. There are no impartial observers. Through the destruction in certain countries of the greatest of man's heritage, through the propagation of false ideas of racial superiority, the artist, the scientist and the writer are challenged.

The struggle invades the formerly cloistered halls of our Universities and other seats of learning. The battle front is everywhere. There is no sheltered rear. The challenge must be taken up—time does not wait.

What matters a man's vocation or profession. These reactionary forces are no respecters of person. They make no distinction between commoners and non-commoners. The beautiful village of Guernica with its bloodstained streets is proof of that. The artist must take

sides. He must elect to fight for freedom or for slavery.

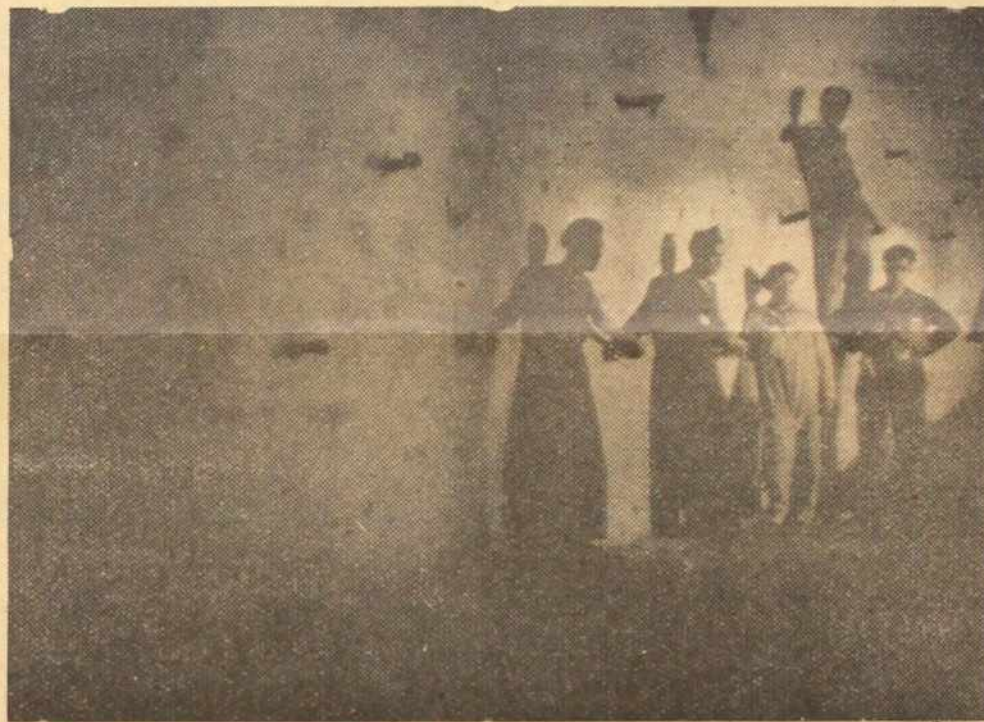
I have made my choice. I have no alternative.

The history of this era is characterised by the degradation of my people. Despoiled of their lands, they are in every country save one denied equal protection of the law and deprived of their rightful place in the respect of their fellows.

Not through blind faith or coercion but conscious of my course I take my place with you. I stand with you in unalterable support of the Government of Spain—duly and regularly chosen by its lawful sons and daughters.

Again I say the true artist cannot hold himself aloof. The legacy of culture is in danger—and this belongs not only to the present generation but belongs to our posterity and must be defended to the death.

May your meeting rally every artist, every scientist, every writer in this country who loves liberty and democracy. May it rally every black man to the side of republican Spain. May its inspiring message reach every man, woman and child who stands for freedom and justice — because the liberation of Spain from the oppression of Fascist reactionaries is not a private matter of the Spaniards but the common cause of all.



An underground chamber in a Spanish convent where the "guilty" were made to repent.

ARE YOU DOING YOUR SHARE? OTHERS ARE

SOME short time ago, when Durango was being bombed and burnt beyond recognition, even M.P.'s found time to draw the attention of the Foreign Secretary to this outrage. Whilst he was explaining the legal position and deploring the occurrence, (should the International Committee which ought to investigate the matter find the M.P.'s assertions to be correct), some 30 bombers were diving and looping, just out of sheer pleasure (for British bombers are harmless!) in the vicinity of Hendon. A child, quite young in years; not imbued with false patriotism, and therefore, intelligent, stopped playing his games to watch the aeroplanes of peace fly over. By the process of association of thoughts—he had already decided that the aeroplanes were not really harmless—his mind turned to those Basque children, of whose sufferings he had learnt much through reading the newspaper and through hearing of the machine-gunning of women and children, and the bombing (that is, wilful destruction) of the houses in which these poor people lived. "Supposing those bombs had fallen here, or on our house?" and he shuddered. "And supposing the bombs had killed mother and left me all by myself" and he shuddered again because he knew that he would lose his best friend. And he thought—for he was intelligent—of what he could do to help those little boys and girls who had lost their mothers and fathers. "Why—he thought—I must save up my pennies so that with them I can help to keep these children in a pleasant home, and be sure that they are properly cared for." He hurried off to his sister, also intelligent because she thinks, and the matter was settled. All odd pennies and halfpennies must go in the money-box. That meant fewer sweets, but wasn't the sacrifice worth it? They thought so.

Those two children are not just fictitious characters. They are living human beings (Franco has not been able to get at them yet). In our columns we acknowledge receipt of all contributions for the Orphans Fund. This week there is a donation of 10/- from "Dick and Barbara." And they, are, Comrade Reader (who has not sent his small contribution) the two intelligent children. They must be if they can consciously make small sacrifices for fellow beings, at their early age.

Have you made a small sacrifice so that our twenty children may be properly cared for?

Aims and Objects of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union

(Continued from previous issue).

THE FAITH on which Anarcho-Syndicalism is based is that this defence will only be possible if after expropriating the capitalists, the workers themselves know not only how to operate the wheels of production, but also how to co-ordinate their efforts in such a way that the whole elaborate interconnection of processes can be worked out, and the finished products distributed equitably. If the workers themselves cannot do that, then some reactionary minority will at once step in and dominate—with the result that we would virtually be back to the status quo of pre-revolution.

The A.S.U. then believes that the basis of the new society must be economic in character and that in order to carry on the daily fight against Capitalism as well as to ensure its overthrow, it is essential for the workers to be organised in industrial syndicates as opposed to trade unions.

The unit is the industrial syndicate. Each industry in any given area would have its syndicate to which would belong all the workers in that industry. The syndicate would have sub-organisms, consisting of workshop committees and factory councils in all the workshops and in all the factories directly concerned with one or other of the different processes through which the raw material passes, until it issues forth as the finished product of that industry. And so with each local industry there would be a syndicate with its sub-organisms of workshop committees and factory councils.

The different local industrial syndicates would then be federated regionally, forming a regional federation of syndicates. In other words, each industry would have its regional federation.

This is the horizontal plan of federation. It means that each industry advances from its local syndicate, through regional federation of other syndicates in the same industry, until finally each industry has its national federation. Obviously there will be as many national federations as there are industries.

Out of these national federations a National Economic Council would be formed.

All this horizontal federating would be primarily concerned in acquiring the technique of production—having in mind the ideal of ultimately taking over the means of production themselves—thus achieving the Revolution without dependence on any political party or methods.

That is the first plan of federation—the horizontal—but in step with this there is another plan, vertical in character, which again starts with the individual syndicates, but this time all the syndicates of the different industries in any local area combine to form a local union of syndicates. In other words, the Local Union groups together the workers of different industries in a given area. Naturally its function is more social than technical. In the future, it will constitute the basis of the social and administrative organism of the new society—namely the Commune.

Each Local Union will be federated in its Regional Union and in turn the Regional Unions will be federated in the General Confederation of Labour.

That in rough outline is the dual character of the Anarcho-Syndicalist plan. It is based on the worker as the economic unit and on the individual as the social unit—and the aim is to try and harmonise the needs and rights of both.

Throughout this whole process of federalism the workers and only the workers have control. They themselves in their syndicates and local unions elect their own representatives. These in turn elect their regional representatives, and so on. Throughout there is no control other than that of the workers themselves. This is federalism as distinct from centralisation. And Anarcho-Syndicalists believe that it is only by pursuing some such line as this that we will be able—

(Concluded on page 4, col. 3)

FRIENDLY and UNFRIENDLY

A REVIEW OF PRESS VIEWS

DISTORTION OF FACTS

WERE it not for the fact that news succeeds in reaching even Italy in some way or other, and goes from mouth to mouth, the Italian people would be labouring under the illusion that the double murder of the Rosselli brothers was the work of anti-fascist extremists. The *Gazzetta del Popolo* of June 12th puts forward the suggestion that the responsible elements were the Anarchists, who perpetrated this crime in order to avenge the death of Prof. Camillo Berneri. In the same article Berneri was charged with being one of the leaders of the revolt in Barcelona. Facts show that Berneri's death was only possible because he was cut off from the Regional Committee of the CNT-FAI in his apartment in Plaza Angel, and from the general activity there.

LEFT CENSORSHIP

THIS is the title given to the editorial article of the June *Controversy*. The difficulties experienced by Left publications in finding printers (one of our bitter experiences) beside the actual censorship of Left publications. As an example, the *Daily Worker* refused to take an advertisement of a Spanish Aid concert, which included Paul Robeson (Victoria Palace concert), and the announcement of a meeting arranged by *Controversy* was refused because it contained the names of Marceau Pivert and Jay Lovestone.

Censorship of truly Revolutionary publications in Spain goes on, each day becoming more ruthless. The "C.N.T." of Madrid was suspended for a week because of its comments on the colourful speech made by Jesus Hernandez (Communist). On other occasions both *Castille Libre* and *Nosotros* have suffered the same fate. Those newspapers which are published contain column after column just blank. A gesture, for which I have the greatest admiration is that of F. Ruiz, editor of *Vida*, the anarchist newspaper of Gandia. He announces that "*Vida ceases publication for the time being. The reason for this action is the fact that we do not wish to submit to a censorship. Since the Editorial staff of this newspaper—and an assembly of the local peasants has given its assent—does not wish to see its weekly publication mutilated and the contents distorted, as is the fate of all publications of the same denomination which submit to censorship, hereby declares that publication will be temporarily stopped.*" This statement is more than a gesture. It is an expression of disgust, that a Government which apparently opposes Fascist tyranny, and therefore all liberty of expression, should attempt to prevent our Comrades from openly expressing their views. I can understand a certain censorship of War news which might be helpful to the Rebels, but cannot admit the muzzling of Left opinions in such a ruthless manner.

OUR BRITISH SPORTSMEN

THAT tradition of sportsmanship which has for so long been associated with the typical Englishman, and which has brought that phrase "It isn't cricket, Sir" into the English vocabulary seems to have as a result stunted the mental capacities of a good proportion of the English population. All matters, however tragic have to be first reduced to sporting terms, and then judged. The Spanish War, is almost compared to a football match between teams led by Franco and say, Caballero. Thus a man, obviously haunted by the "it-isn't-cricket fever" writes to the *News Review* (June 24th) protesting because in announcing to those unhappy little Basque children, separated in many cases for ever from those they love, that Bilbao had fallen it was said that "We very much regret to announce that enemy troops are now in Bilbao. It is perhaps a small consolation to know that your relatives and friends will now be safe in Santander, and for those who remain in Bilbao there is at least not now such danger from bombs."

This British "sportsman" considers that the British Government has taken sides for the "Reds" despite their "neutral" policy. However the British sportsman in trying to be neutral refers to the workers as "Reds" and Franco's armies as "fighting for the cause of Christianity and Justice"! Obviously he must consider that the correct way of announcing to these children that Franco's hordes had entered Bilbao should have read something like: "We are happy to announce that that great Patriot Franco, saviour of Spain, has now entered Bilbao accompanied by his Crusaders. All is order in Bilbao. Trains run to time (thanks to Mussolini's magnetic influence, transmitted by his Christian troops fighting on this front), and once all the workers will have been wiped out, complete order and happiness will reign over Bilbao. Long live Franco..."

Fortunately the Editor of *News Review* in his comment refers to the "humanitarian announcement." Perhaps the "Sportsman" who wrote the protest to the *News Review* will some day or other realize that he is just a "cad" devoid of the "public-school spirit and all that"!

THE TRUE REVOLUTIONARIES

THE "Manchester Guardian," which has been publishing a series of articles on Spain, dedicates one to Catalonia (June 26th). Unfortunately the writer seems more concerned with the rather amusing fact that bull-fighting is run by the Unions, than with the real situation there. However he does seem to have been struck by the truly bourgeois policy of the Communists when he writes:

"The Anarchists, who command the majority of organised labour in Catalonia, are the only party who put the revolution first, who say it is useless to win the war if in so doing the revolution is lost. They, alone of all the Spanish political movements, remain true revolutionaries, with the exception of the rather weak "P.O.U.M.," who have "Trotskyite" leanings (the constant reports that the "P.O.U.M." are in touch with the rebels are a Russian invention and without any truth).

The Anarchist sees the failure of Spanish republican democracy when assaulted by the combined forces of military, clerical, and agrarian reaction. He sees how the Russian Revolution ended in a system hardly distinguishable from the centralised despotism established by the German and Italian counter-revolutions. He has preserved an intense individualism and a strong local patriotism in a world of mass-minds and of totalitarian States. It is therefore natural that he should be wary before going any way other than his own."

LIBERTARIAN.

Aims of the A.S.U. (Cont. from page 3, col. 5)

after the revolution—to avoid the usurpation of power and the re-establishment of some form of statism. To destroy is easy—but that is only the negative part of the revolution. To construct—that is more difficult. It is the positive part of the revolutionary work; and Anarcho-Syndicalism is concerned to develop the constructive capacity of the proletariat not only its destructive capacity. But even for destruction it is absolutely necessary to know what is wanted and that, too, is the function of Anarcho-Syndicalism.

The A.S.U. is really a propaganda body working at this time to spread the Anarcho-Syndicalist ideology throughout the length and breadth of the country in the hope that industrial syndicates will in due course be established and that they will in turn be synthesised and federated horizontally and vertically along Anarcho-Syndicalist lines. Once these syndicates are formed their immediate purpose would be concerned with improving the conditions of the workers under existing capitalist conditions, but in addition to that and even more important, these syndicates would keep always in mind the main object of their being—namely, to prepare for the complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a new society.

S.V.C.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

We draw our readers' attention to the fact that our offices are no longer at 207 Goswell Rd., E.C., and that no further correspondence should be sent to us at that address.

Until we find new offices in London, all communications should be addressed to:—

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67. London: E.M. 2/-.
68. Greenock. J. Marletta Jr. 1/6.
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74. Detroit, Mich.: International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain £10/0/0.
75. Detroit, Mich.: Gruppo Cultura Libertaria £1.
76. London: V.R. 5/-.
77. London: Libertarian 5/-.
78. London: G.R.T. 10/-.
79. London: A. D. B. (Collecting Box) 7/8.
80. London: Dick & Barbara 10/-.
81. Bristol: J. Richfield 2/-.
82. Plymouth: Mrs. L. Avery (made up by 60 contribns.) £1/14/2.
83. London: W. 1/-.
Total: £84/6/4.

A CORRECTION

Dear Comrades,
"Spain and the World,"
The statement of monies received by the CNT-FAI London Bureau in your last issue of June 11th needs some correction: first of all the collection were on behalf of the Evacuated and Homeless women and children in Spain. Secondly the money was contributed in response to my appeals at the various meetings I address in London and in the provinces. Also in response to the appeal made by Dr. Stella Churchill at our benefit concert on April 25th at the Victoria Palace. The rest came in contributions, some to Dr. Stella Churchill and the balance to me. Thirdly, the contributions from Palestine were not from comrades but personal friends of mine who though in sympathy with us are not Anarchists. The £20 credited to "anonymous donations" are from the same friends—in other words the full amount from our Palestinian sympathisers was £39. It is very important that anything connected with my work for the CNT-FAI and the unfortunate victims of Fascism should be correctly stated.
* Will you be good enough to re-print all the figures and my explanation in your next issue.

Fraternally,
Emma Goldman.

1937		
Jan: Conway Hall Meeting	57	0 0
Jewish Students Meeting	7	0 0
Feb.: Plymouth Meeting	4	2 9
Glasgow Meeting	27	0 0
Paisley Meeting	3	0 0
Friends House	79	0 0
less I.L.P. share	15	16 4
	63	4 0
Bristol Meeting	100	0 0
March: Neath Meeting	4	0 0
Southend Meeting	2	12 6
Glasgow second meeting (Capt. White)	7	0 0
Mile End Baths Meeting	10	0 0
April: Bristol 2nd Meeting	12	4 0
Plymouth second Meeting	1	10 0
Norwich Meeting	8	8 0
Victoria Palace Concert	201	3 9
Contributions:		
Palestine comrades	19	0 0
N.A.O.P. Plymouth per T. Edmunds	10	0 0
Three anonymous donations of £2	6	0 0
Two anonymous donations	20	0 0
H. Lipman	5	0 0
Mrs. Jaeger	2	6 0
Total	£554	2 6

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Carried forward	216 8 1
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Postage (Supplement)	2 10 5
Postage No. 14	2 16 10
Sundries	4 3
Total	£245 6 7

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