

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Patriotism is an artificial and unreasonable sentiment. It is the cause of the worst evils that torment mankind.

—TOLSTOI.

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Barcelona After The Rising

(By Our Correspondent In Barcelona)

WHEN I arrived in Barcelona, order was already re-established. The town had recovered its usual gaiety. Nevertheless the barricades still stood in the central district, the mattresses left in windows bore witness to the fierce struggles that had recently taken place. Everywhere in the streets were the uniforms of troops newly arrived in Barcelona.

Black flags are still as numerous; they look a little faded, having waved in the breeze since July, but beside them is seen a large number of Red, yellow and purple flags of the generalitat new ones, they had just been brought out for the first victory. Fewer militia men with fancy caps with bobbles and F.A.I. in big letters. So I no longer find that unbounded confidence among our comrades that inspired them when I was in Barcelona in October. At that time the military situation was bad, munitions, arms, were scarce, but there was certainty of victory and the Revolution would triumph. Now there is still hope of beating Franco, but many think the Revolution has miscarried.

The days which have just passed have been full of such horrors that our comrades are still stunned and disheartened by them. Stunned at seeing workers like those of the U.G.T. furiously opposing those of the C.N.T.. At seeing two youths killed, one for wearing Durruti's picture on his hat and the other for trying to defend his friend. Discouraged at being treated as counter revolutionaries when they had renounced so many principles, and had remained silent in face of so much provocation, to preserve unity.

NO ATTACKS ON EITHER SIDE

I got the comrades who took part in the fighting to tell me facts, each told me what had happened on the barricades in his own area, for communication had been impossible. The adversaries were entrenched in their positions and there were no attacks on either side. The course of events is known. Monday, May 3rd, at 2.30 p.m. some assault guards under orders from Valencia, tried to occupy the Central Telephone Building, they succeeded in taking the 2nd storey, but by that time our comrades had organised their defences and were successfully resisting. To disperse the crowd which had collected in front of the Telefonica, the assault guards threw several bombs. Some members of the Libertarian youth went back to their locals and gave the alarm. Elsewhere the P.S.U.C. and some of the guards began to disarm and shoot our comrades. It was then the F.A.I. gave orders to go down to the street, the C.N.T. did not give this order to the syndicate. The struggle continued terrible until Thursday. During Wednesday night the C.N.T. had already given orders to return to work, and thus promised a fairly calm day. The transport services were again working by the communists, and police of the Estat Catala surrounded the passengers and continued to fire occasional shots, so that at midday the fighting was again general. The following day, having obtained guarantees from Galarza that the troops coming from Valencia would not enter Barcelona before 9 o'clock, the C.N.T. again gave orders to return to work. The Anarchists' comrades carried out the order given, although if they had fought on for a few hours more everything would have been in their hands. But why did the C.N.T. so insist on ceasing fire? Doubtless it was afraid of playing into the communists' hands by continuing the struggle. They indeed would have starved Barcelona out,

compromised the war and asked for intervention from France and England, rather than allow the anarchists to completely dominate Catalonia.

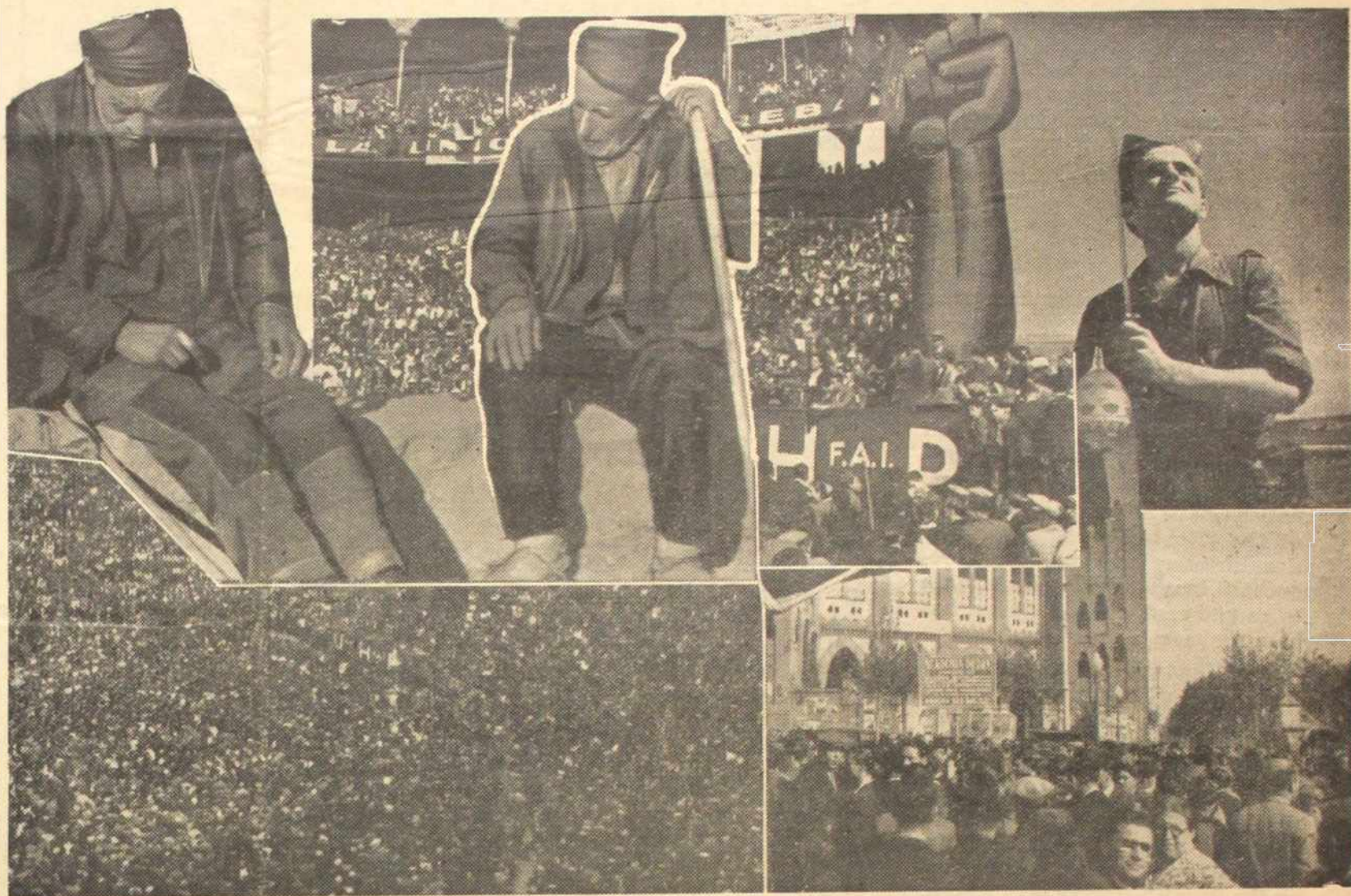
The attitude of the western democracies to Libertarian Catalonia is easy to guess from articles in the Left Press—English as well as French. Everywhere a violent campaign was launched against the anarchists. "L'Oeuvre" spoke of a revision of treaties and of non-intervention. Let us now try to apportion the responsibility! The provocation came from the Valencian government. It was they who sent the Police Force to seize the Central Telephone Building and the government of the Generalitat gave it support. The U.G.T. which fought our comrades at the Telephone building, built barricades behind which, they tore up the membership cards of the C.N.T. and even shot the bearers of these cards. Their complicity in the assassination of Berneri and Barbieri is clear.

It was they who threatened to shoot them down from the house opposite which belonged to them, if they dared come out. It was U.G.T. troopers who came to arrest them and the next day to reassure Barbieri's wife, telling her that Barbieri and Berneri had been liberated when they were found a few hours later at the clinic hospital. The complicity of the U.G.T. distresses us deeply, but does not surprise us, for we know that it always repulsed the advances of the C.N.T. Besides it was under the influence, especially in Barcelona, of the communists, and it now harbours in its bosom a large number of small bourgeois who have formed themselves into a syndicate for greater safety.

THE ANARCHISTS' MISTAKES

How is it that the anarchists who held everything after July 19th, have been almost pushed into the background? Doubtless it is partly their own fault, they should have taken a more vigorous stand and not let themselves be intimidated by the fact that they had some Ministers in the Government.

These Ministers should have insisted in the dissolution of the assault guards and the cleaning up of the rear guards of the 5th column which during recent events, has ranged itself beside the communists against the Anarchists. They should have insisted on the dismissal of such ministers as Prieto and such police chiefs as Galarza. The communists saw their popularity increase from the day Russia sent arms, but instead



The Spanish People, All will fight Fascism!

"The Social Revolution will not be made by the Capitalist State Machine"

—FENNER BROCKWAY

(At the Conway Hall Meeting)

THE Chairman has mentioned tonight that the Anarchists and the I.L.P. did not agree in all respects. We are Marxists and the Anarchists are not. But we agree at least in this respect—that the Social Revolution will not be made by the Capitalist State machine, the workers must form their own organizations which must be the instrument of government when the Social Revolution takes place, and when during the course of the development in Barcelona power was transferred from the Economic Council of the Workers and the Military Council of the workers to the Capitalist State machine, at that moment the beginning of the counter-revolution took place in Catalonia.

The next important development in the affairs in Barcelona arose when after three months, Soviet Russia decided to provide arms for Spain. I have heard from a member of the Catalanian Government at that moment the conditions which Soviet Russia, through the Spanish Communist Party, laid down. They were, first, that the Workers' Party of Marxist Unity should be excluded from

of enthusiastic articles the Anarchist press should have made the people understand that if Russia sent arms, she was being well paid for them, and besides it was to be able at the right time to put her hand on internal politics in Spain. In short, it must not be forgotten that if we see the F.A.I. and C.N.T. weakened to-day, it is because they have had the greatest number of casualties during the long months of war. Armies were not sent to the Aragon front but our comrades went under fire in spite of that, without arms and paid dearly for their sacrifices.

It is owing to their good faith, their respect for life and the liberty of others, that the Anarchists find themselves in their present position in Spain. They will Triumph nevertheless!

the Government. Secondly, that the transference of military control should pass from the workers' militia and the workers' organizations to the State War Office; and thirdly, that the fight against Fascism should be separated from the Revolution; that its object should be not the social revolution but the defence of the Democratic Republic.

I heard someone whisper "shame," but I think it is important that it should be clearly understood that these demands of the Russian Government are a logical sequence of the present foreign policy of the Russian Government.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AGAINST RUSSIAN POLICY

Socialists in other countries must wake up to this fact—that Soviet Russia will not assist a social revolution in any single country of the world which will impede an alliance by Soviet Russia with other governments of the world democratic capitalist governments against Fascist Germany, and that the whole interpretation of Russian policy in Spain or elsewhere turns round that policy. A social revolution in Spain would deter Britain from becoming an ally of Russia. Therefore, there must be no Social revolution in Spain—and therefore the only development which we are prepared to support in Spain is the development of the retention of a Democratic Republic.

When Russia made those demands upon the Catalanian Government they were at first resisted by the CNT/FAI. Finally it was agreed that the POUM should be excluded. The Communist Party was also excluded but through the U.G.T. the Commu-

nist members of the government remained.

The CNT/FAI successfully resisted at that moment the demand for the ending of the workers' militia and the demands for the separation of the war from the Revolution.

But when that stage had been reached, immediately the Communist Party began to prepare the psychology which would enable it to go further. It made a series of attacks upon the POUM of a character which it is almost impossible to define. They were the Fifth Column of General Franco!—despite the fact that on July 19th, side by side with the comrades of the CNT/FAI they had fought and fallen in the streets; despite the fact that their leader had deliberately gone into Fascist territory to raise a rebellion, had been caught and shot; despite the fact that thousands of them were at the front and hundreds of them had been killed.

A report that on the field of battle they had deliberately and treacherously retired in order that a Fascist victory might take place; that they had been engaged in a conspiracy to assassinate Largo Caballero, then the idol of the Communist Party but since fallen into disgrace. Not one single fact, not one item of evidence was ever produced to substantiate these charges. But the necessary psychology had been prepared, then step by step action began to withdraw the rights which the workers had won. Workers' Councils suppressed; workers' committees in the factories and in the workshops obstructed; State officials put in charge. The workers' militia to be suppressed. The workers' police to be suppressed and finally the demand that the workers should give up their arms. . . ."

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ALMERIA

OF all the insufferable pieces of international "diplomacy," the way in which the so-called neutral nations have allowed the incidents of the "Deutschland" attack on Spanish aeroplanes and the subsequent German butchery at Almeria to go uninvestigated—that last has been the most outrageous.

The "Deutschland" was in Spanish waters without any legitimate reason. This has been clearly proved, for under the "non-intervention" Committee's agreements, only the French Navy might patrol these particular waters. What has not been proved, is whether the "Deutschland" opened fire or not on the Spanish Government planes, though, even if the aeroplanes did attack first, they had every right to do so.

We know that, under cover of participation in the "non-intervention" committee's schemes for control around Spain, Germany and Italy have been pursuing their own courses unhindered. While Mr. Eden continues to "deplore"—the two ruthless Pirates of Europe, honour presumably satisfied, are condescending to re-enter the Committee for Non-Intervention in Spain, reserving the right, however, to repeat their crimes at any time they consider they have received provocation.

If this outrage and the subsequent acceptance of it by the European Powers do not finally expose the whole tragic farce of Non-Intervention, in its hypocritical duplicity, then it is impossible to do so.

It is surely becoming increasingly clear that Capitalist Europe—supported covertly by the U.S.S.R.—will tolerate any attack, (however gross, however much in contravention of all international law and any dictates of humanity and decency) which will serve to defeat the workers' revolution. The workers of England and France should tremble at these portents. They should realise that Capitalism and Fascism are not two—but one force—and as soon as Labour becomes sufficiently powerful in those countries, Fascism will turn its attention to them.

The Gangster Of Rome

AS we go to Press we learn of the tragic death of Professor Carlo Roselli and his brother.

Their death which coincides with the 13th anniversary of Matteotti's death, is once more the work of gangsters under Mussolini's orders.

We recall Mussolini's words in the Popolo d'Italia (May 1923) a month before Matteotti was murdered in a most brutal manner by the Fascist gangster Dumini: "As for Matteotti, vulgar charlatan, notorious scamp and ruffian of the worst sort, he will do well to look out for himself: for if one day he finds himself with a fractured skull, but fractured in a good cause, he will not have the right to complain,

after all the ignominies he has written and signed."

Mussolini dislikes the truth. Roselli wrote the truth about him, he disclosed his most intimate secrets (secrets which exposed him as a poseur and jealous Dictator!), and although Mussolini did not openly sign Roselli's death warrant as he did with Matteotti, the numerous anonymous letters (obviously sent with the intention of intimidating a man who would not be intimidated) were the warnings that Mussolini's gangsters were at work.

The O.V.R.A., with its espionage and gangster organisations in the whole world, has rendered Mussolini one of the greatest services since its inception. It has silenced one of the most outspoken Italian anti-fascists. It has added to the long list of Mussolini's victims ...

Matteotti; the hundreds of anti-fascists killed by fascist hordes in Italy; the tens of thousands of "living-dead" in the penal islands; the flower of youth sacrificed in Abyssinia for the sake of a monster's reputation, vanity and ambition; the thousands of youths obliged to fight and die in Spain in the ranks of Spanish Fascism, represented by Franco and a corrupt Church ... All these victims must be accounted for sooner or later.

Who is responsible?

In a memorable speech in the Chamber of Deputies, in which his perverted and cruel mind came to the fore, Mussolini gave the answer "If Fascism is an association of evil-doers, I, myself am the chief of these ill-doers, and I boast of it." There, he openly branded himself as a murderer.

Not as a murderer who, in a moment of uncontrollable passion, kills, but as an arch-Al Capone; the king of Gangsters, who from his armed fortress, surrounded by a miniature army for the protection of his miserable skin, directs the vassals who, for filthy lucre, do his bidding. The king of Gangsters, who from his throne controls by force, the minds and very actions of a whole people. The Gangster who is susceptible to criticism, but unlike the gunman, has not the courage to face his enemy. That is Mussolini, the self-confessed gangster and arch-villain.

The vassals who perpetrated the murder may be found and tried, but the instigator, the responsible element is to be found in Rome. His name?

Benito Mussolini.

PACKED ANARCHIST MEETING IN PARIS

From our Paris Correspondent

THE Anarchist movement in France has been rapidly growing in strength since the commencement of the Spanish Civil War. The Union Anarchiste has rapidly increased its membership.

On Friday, May 28th, more than 5,000 workers packed the Mutualité Hall to hear Fidel Miro of the CNT Youth Movement, who has been recently released from the Generalidad prisons, Bernard Pon, of the FAI, Marchest, and others. The meeting was enthusiastic but there was none of the professional claque applause which characterises the Poular Front meetings.

The Anarchist movement has been increasing since the Spanish civil war and the Union Anarchiste can count on 5,000 active members in Paris alone. The *Libertaire* sells over 30,000 copies a week.

The Anarchist youth have formed a united front with the Trotskyists in the 19th Arrondissement and the Anarchist students are carrying out a vigorous campaign against the two years' military service and the war preparations of the Popular Front.

The hall was packed to overflowing long before the speakers arrived. Fidel Miro, of the Youth movement, stated that his organisation now numbered 170,000. These members represented the new generation of authentic revolutionaries who possess all the attributes necessary for social reconstitution.

The events of May 4th, constituted the latest attempt to liquidate the Anarchist movement, but in spite of everything the Anarchists continue to be the only guarantee of revolutionary evolution in Spain.

CORRESPONDENCE:

EMMA GOLDMAN and the "DAILY WORKER"

The Editors,
SPAIN AND THE WORLD.
Dear Comrades,

In case you have not seen the very kindly tribute paid me in the *Daily Worker* of May 26th I am enclosing the cutting. In view of the ultra fairness of that paper and its insistence upon truth and justice, you will probably be surprised that the tribute was so gentle. I must therefore consider myself in luck. Do you not think so?

When I entered our ranks many years ago I promised myself never to reply to personal attacks. I believed with the great philosopher, Alexander Humboldt, who though violently attacked and maligned all his life, never replied in kind. He held that when one meets filth with filth one is sure to soil one's own garments. My own experience has borne out this truism. I should therefore not take the trouble to answer the attack in the *Daily Worker*, except that I do not want to be guilty of a conscious misrepresentation of any organisation or individual. I am quoted as having said at the Norwich meeting that "not one penny, not one bandage, no relief of any-kind has been sent to Catalonia." Unfortunately it should have read "had been sent to Catalonia." Anyone who knows the King's English would understand the difference. That is to say, when I said that Catalonia had received no help I spoke of the time of my presence there, and my visits to the Aragon and Huesca fronts. While there, I was assured by our late comrades, Durutti and Ascasio, as well as by the physicians of the Hospitals, that not one bandage or medical supply of any sort had been contributed to their needs. On my return to Barcelona I made it my business to enquire from our comrades of the Comité Regionale, and those at the head of the Sanidad (Health Dept.) and in both places the information I received at the fronts was verified. Moreover, I learned that from all the money collected in the United States by labour bodies and in England, not one penny had been contributed to the CNT/FAI or the Sanidad in Catalonia.

I am glad to learn that £30,000 has since been contributed to Catalonia's needs and I am surprised at the same time.

I had occasion to be thrown together with members of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee who were on the Spanish Exhibition Committee. I saw their antagonism and their determination that nothing of their efforts

A Slanderous Campaign Answered

DRAGON'S teeth breed war, according to the Latin Tacitus classics—and certainly dictators beget a loathsome generation of traitors, lickspittles, and turncoats.

Whether we go back to the ancients—or refer to the controversy between Stalinists or Trotskyists—or the inner life of any enslaved country, we find the same story—the story of oppressions and treacheries!

Whatever is said by the supporters of either side, whether for Stalin or for Trotsky, has not the weight of a feather and the good people who foolishly try to estimate the balance of justice and right conduct of either party, are wasting time and dabbling with dark affairs—which they can never understand.

Two facts do emerge—that when Trotsky was in power he did not hesitate before wholesale slaughter—as in Kronstadt in 1921—and that when Stalin holds the reins, he too kills with as little mercy.

This situation of terror produces a pathological psychology favouring this hypocrisy—and our attention has been drawn to one such example, which seeks to impose in the Stalinist *International Press Correspondence*, in the issues of Feb. 13th, p. 197, March 13th p. 312, and March 20th p. 330, which stated that a number of compromising documents have been unearthed against Bakunin—namely Bakunin's petition to the Tsar and that they had exposed the treacherous character of Bakunin and justified Marx's unremitting attacks upon him.

It is really unnecessary to-day to reassert that nothing to the discredit of Bakunin has ever been found in the Tsarist Archives—and this has been abundantly proved by the efforts that the Bolsheviks themselves have made to make capital out of the revolutionary glory of Bakunin's life and writings.

They published a "governmental edition" of his works by which they helped to interest and placate those people friendly to his ideals, and they even tried—without success—to transport his bones to Moscow, clearly as those of a hero of the Russian Revolution. It is true that several fair and valuable works on Bakunin were pub-

lished in Russia by the late Kamilov and by Palonski, and that the governmental edition of his works brought to light many early unpublished letters and papers but this edition appears to be difficult to obtain, abroad, at least. In short, the Russian government appear to have decided, for a time, to regard and exploit Bakunin as an asset, while at the same time, of course, ruthlessly hunting down any living adherents of his ideas.

This *International Press Correspondence*, published in 1921 under the late Zinoviev, is produced in a number of languages centralising local reports and disseminating whatever suits the purpose of Moscow. Therefore, such slander is widely circulated and is naturally assimilated by the rank and file.

MARX IS ALWAYS RIGHT!
This time they appear to have decided that the boundless capacity for slander which we had thought one of the great weaknesses of Marx must be a virtue—Marx is always right! His slanderous statements must be right—though unproven. Hence, this point accepted, whatever Stalin says against Trotsky must be right, though by the same process of thought all those not quite fools might argue that whatever Trotsky says about Stalin must be right too!

All those who were acquainted with Marx were aware that he was the worst possible judge of men—one who despised his inferiors and at the same time was jealous of his equals—and in common with all people of that temperament he had the unfortunate habit of listening to gossip from interested persons. This regrettable weakness has been abundantly proved—and in no case better than that of Bakunin. Even the greatest admirers of Marx, like Franz Mehring, saw through this weakness, and tried to make amends for it. Now the *International Press Correspondence* reinstates Marx in his full glory as a past master in slander, the man who was "absolutely right when he described Bakunin as a scoundrel. The poor fellow who wrote this nonsense must have trembled in his shoes lest he could not satisfy the Stalinists who held the knot over him—or perhaps he was a joker on the sly!"

X. X. X.

should go to Catalonia, much less to the CNT/FAI. It took several sessions and no end of argument to convince these ladies of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee that Cata-

lonia is also on the Spanish map and that the CNT/FAI are the most dominant organisations in Catalonia. No, they would have nothing to do with any political party, they claimed. This was absurd on the face of it because the leading spirits in the Spanish Medical Aid Committee are Communists, either direct members of the party or carried away by the glory that is Stalin. They are therefore ultra political and fanatical to the extreme in their zeal to monopolise everything. They simply cannot bear that anyone outside of themselves should have the credit for what is being done in Spain. Especially when it concerns the anarchists and syndicalists.

On more than one occasion I wanted to withdraw from the Spanish Exhibition Committee, in fact I admit I should never have joined it, for I came out of Spain with material as rich as gathered there by other bodies. It was only due to Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose that I remained in an atmosphere with the poison of hatred and antagonism. After weeks of wrangling the delegates of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee kindly consented to my proposition that if any profit should accrue from the Exhibition it should be divided in three parts and sent to the Sanidad of Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao. Unfortunately the expenses of the Exhibition proved so excessive that not only was there no profit left but I believe the Exhibition is still collecting funds to make up the deficit.

Having had this experience with members of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee, I am perfectly justified in doubting their concern in Catalonia and the amount they are supposed to have spent for the needs of that part of Spain. However, I am quite willing to believe this to be true, but also I know from my experience in the United States and in this country that Communist channels are limited to party needs; certainly no group outside of this Holy of Holies has ever benefited by their generosity.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Clearly a sign that the workers are tiring of Moscow dictators.

THE TRAGIC END OF AN ANARCHIST FIGHTER

IT is not at all true to say that Berneri was merely a scientist and theoretician. He was much more: he was a fighter. And more still: he was a man. A man on whose word one could depend, whose actions could face the light of day—a man filled with ardour for the ideal of Justice, and Freedom and Human Dignity. All this was merged for him in the one word: ANARCHISM.

Berneri was one of those rare human beings who have no thought of little, petty things, and who are therefore among those chosen to accomplish great things. Was there any theoretical question to be cleared up, who was better adapted to do so than Berneri? Were there any problems to be solved relating to the war and the Revolution?—there was no one among the Italians better able to do this than Berneri. And not only among the Italians. When any points of difference arose among the comrades—they brought Berneri to adjust them. His was a clear, persuasive logic, coupled with the kindest of hearts; he had that winning smile which proved irresistible to both friend and foe. All this was bound to make him the authority—the authority of reason and of the mind.

The fact that Berneri was Professor of Philosophy, and that he had to abandon his professorial Chair when Fascism conquered Italy—that fate he shared with many others. What made him outstanding, however, was his profound idealism; his whole being was spiritualised—there was nothing material in this noble spirit. He was like that beggar who threw his last farthing into the gutter. Each time when I met him after not having seen him for a long time, I could not help thinking how his appearance reminded me of his great fellow-countryman, Dante. He was suffused with the wonderful magic of the classical idealist—that ideal type so well known to us all and which is reminiscent to each of us of the romantic days of our youth.

Yet this gentle knight of the spirit was forced, for many years, to do heavy manual labour, for which his constitution scarcely fitted him. But his wife and children had to be provided for, and so with the aid of a few Italian comrades, he eventually succeeded in establishing a small green-grocery and provision shop in Paris. Every other morning he had to rise at three o'clock in order to go to the "Halles" (the Paris Covent Garden Market) to buy vegetables, and what he failed to sell, was used for the family consumption. After he had finished his hard manual labour, he was too tired and exhausted to be able to pursue his studies and books. This state of affairs continued for years. Finally, however, the power of the spirit overcame the bodily hardships. The fact that despite all these hardships he was able, after all, to resume his literary work testifies to his extraordinary will-power. The spirit conquered the flesh. It was about this time that his work entitled "Le Peche Original" (The Original Sin) appeared—a psychological and historical essay.

We used to meet now and then in Paris about that time. We were both in the same position: he had been exiled from his own country by Italian Fascism, while I had fled from German National Socialism. I had known him though, from former years; a few years previously he had come to Berlin. At that time, we were still living under the Social Democratic regime, and for this reason Berneri had hoped to find in Germany some protection and security. But he found neither the one nor the other. He was obliged to go back to France, where after a lengthy period of incarceration, he was at last released, though under continual Police surveillance. So even as an exile in France, Mussolini's vengeance pursued him. The French Government, at the behest of the Duce, had to keep an eye on him. When on one extremely cold winter's day, Berneri saw the policeman posted outside his door evidently suffering from the frost, he invited him into the house and offered him hot coffee so that he could get a bit warmer. And this was the man whom the Press

which is coquetting with Fascism represented as one of the most dangerous conspirators, of whom good citizens should beware! It is true his works were dangerous to all the dark spirits of reaction; his activities were dangerous to the despots, but his work was for the people, to further the aims of Freedom and Humanity.

Berneri was no dogmatist—he did not definitely side with one particular school of thought. That he stood up in defense of Anarchism testifies to the freedom of his mind; to him there was no such thing as one particular system which is alone capable of solving all problems. For this reason, too, he rejected Marxism. Marxism binds the spirit—confines it to definite forms; Marxist dogmas are limited and exclusive—it is a cast iron theory. Anarchism, on the other hand, as Berneri conceived it was the fruit of a living tree, which tree

heartedly. He saw everything with clear vision and judged prophetically the course of development of the events through which we are passing. He saw, and did not hesitate to point out, the danger that was threatening the struggle for freedom from the dictator parties. Dictatorship remains dictatorship, whatever its name and colour may be. "Barcelona, the heart of Spanish Anarchism," he wrote, "finds itself not only between Madrid and Rome, but also between Burgos and Moscow. When Fascism is overcome, then it will become necessary for the FAI-CNT to continue their fight for a social program. In this case, the Socialist-Communist block is likely to put up resistance to such a program. The Executive Committee of the Communist Party in Spain recently declared that in the present fight the Party is defending Democracy and Private Property. It smells of Noske!



CAMILLO BERNERI

has many branches. Even Syndicalism was too narrow for Berneri's spiritual conception. He accepted the workers' struggle with all the means available by direct action. Thus he was able to co-operate with the Union Sindicala Italiana, without however becoming exclusively absorbed in it. Berneri's being was much more all-embracing. As in Malatesta, and Luigi Fabri, so also in Berneri there lived the old tradition of the Italian fighter for freedom. His aim was not, however, merely National emancipation—that was the direct way leading to Fascism. The social emancipation of the Proletariat was his aim, to which he devoted his magnificent spiritual gifts. And this social emancipation is not bound up with one particular nation—the proletarians of all lands are striving towards the same goal.

That is why Berneri was an Internationalist. When the people of Spain were carrying on a victorious fight against Fascism, Berneri felt that there was no choice for him: "Without any thought of remuneration, sure of his powers to be of help, he followed the dictates of his heart; not heeding the thorns and the pitfalls that lay ahead, prepared to bear whatever fate befell him, he knew no other goal nor happiness on earth but to follow his wildest fancies." These words, written by the German poetess, Hedwig Lachman, and spoken over the grave of the murdered German Anarchist, Gustav Landauer, we can likewise utter in relation to Berneri.

Berneri, the Italian Anarchist, came to Spain, to place his great mental talents at the disposal of and in the service of the fight for the liberation of the Spanish proletariat. He gave himself whole-

Berneri wrote this a few months ago in the Italian journal: "GUERRA DI CLASSE." These words proved prophetic. We are at the parting of the ways. In May, Barcelona. In the middle of May, Valencia. Fratricidal war—Government crisis. Two different ways but the identical goal: the destruction of the Revolutionary achievements of the Proletariat, elimination of the Revolutionary guard, of the CNT and the FAI. Berneri foresaw the future, like a breath from a distant world, the truth came from his lips, which were soon to be closed for ever. He fell a victim to his devotion to truth, his prophetic gift. It is not difficult to trace the inner connection between Berneri's activities and his death. He died as he had lived, for his ideal. His life was dedicated to the movement for freedom. He did not, however, die in open battle, not like our heroes of July 19th, not like our fighters at the Front. He fell in the fratricidal battle, by the hand of the foul murderer. As Gustav Landauer on May 2nd, 1919, at Munich died at the hand of Noske-ites, so did Berneri on May 7th, 1937, die by the hands of the pace-makers of reaction—a reaction that is being prepared within the womb of Anti-Fascism.

A terrible fate. A fate that has befallen a great many, and will happen to many more ere the nations' peoples have conquered all the enemies of Freedom, ere Justice and Peace have come upon earth.

Berneri is dead. A grievous loss for the Libertarian Movement, more especially for Italian Anarchism. But his ideal is alive, and new champions will rally to its banner.

AUGUSTIN SOUCHY.
(Translated by D.Z.)

Aims and Objects of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union

JUST a few days ago a man fell dead in the streets of Aberdeen. He was very insufficiently known by social thinkers and yet his basic principle has produced the greatest clarification of social thought that has taken place in our time. He has never been associated with any political school of thought nor with any particular sociological creed. I refer to the psychologist Adler. For it was Adler who elucidated—from all the psychological thought that preceded him—the basic principle of the inferiority complex. He revealed that the search and the desire for power spring inevitably from the feeling of inferiority in the individual due largely to social oppression. And Adler has pointed out that the individual will never rid himself of this thirst for power until he is acting as a social individual expressing himself fully both individually and co-operatively as a social human being.

Now there is one school of thought which enables the individual to fulfil his needs in this respect by recognising the fact that society must be based on the freely developed individual working in free association with his fellows. That is Anarchist Communism.

DEFINITION OF ANARCHISM

Anarchism is defined by Kropotkin as "A theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government—harmony in such a society being achieved not by submission to law or by obedience to any authority but by free agreements concluded between the various groups territorially and professionally, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption—as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilised being."

Thus we at once find the way of escape from modern serfdom—for free association will take the place of forced contract and justice based on free and equal opportunity will displace "legal" injustice based on unfair privilege.

To achieve freedom the worker must feel that he is a voluntary co-operator—not a forced slave; and this principle of voluntary co-operation is the basis of Anarchism. No longer will the worker remain a controlled cog in the Capitalist machine but by direct contact with the whole problem of production and distribution, he will be enabled

to use to the full his co-operative capabilities and his creative craftsmanship and skill.

A charge laid at the door of Anarchists for generations has been that they are romantic idealists, with no practical notion of how to translate their concept of society into practical achievement. But this charge is ill-founded, because Anarcho-Syndicalism has developed a complete technique whereby the workers (who are the true producers of all real wealth) can so organise themselves, that they will be able to undertake the whole task of production and distribution in a free society.

The difference between the concept of Anarcho-Syndicalism and Trade Unionism, as at present organised, is that Trade Unionism accepts Capitalism as a dominating factor and is content for the most part merely to fight a defensive war for improved conditions. The Anarcho-Syndicalist, on the other hand, starts with the recognition of the inherent injustice of the wage system and the fundamental immorality of capitalist society. He accepts and pushes to its logical conclusion, the fact of the class war, and he recognises that the State is, and must be, an instrument of class domination. The State, in fact, is the executive committee of the capitalist class.

The Anarcho-Syndicalist, therefore, realises that economic organisation and economic action is the only course compatible with the Anarchist ideal, and he outlines a manner of organisation which can be put into practical operation right now.

The immediate purpose of this organisation would be first of all to work for improved conditions here and now, and secondly to gather together information and facts that will be necessary for the workers to possess if the social revolution is to lead to evolution and not merely to substitution of another type of State machine for that which exists at present. Anarcho-Syndicalism, believes that we should start organising ourselves here and now, not only for the revolution, but for the Defence of the revolution, once it is an accomplished fact.

S. V. C.

(To be continued)

The Militarization of Youth

IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Since last year we have noted that immediately after the ten year transition period which ought to lead to independence, the Philippine Government has decided to establish compulsory military service to which the Mahomedan Moros as well as the workers in general are strongly opposed—declaring that they have no desire to furnish "a cheap army to help imperialistic America in their war against Japan."

At this moment "The International War Resisters" announces that the Government has the intention of using a system of education which will organise the militarisation of all young people—whether boys or girls. According to the I.R.G., only 60 per cent. of the children attend school, and regulations are being prepared for continuing general instruction with a system of obligatory instruction which involves military service.

It means also that the efforts for overcoming illiteracy among adults by two year courses, will be turned to the service of militarism by giving the courses themselves a military character.

As we have said elsewhere, the militarisation of the Philippines is in American hands, and it is the U.S.A. who are responsible for the regulations we have just published.

In the U.S.A., as in the Philippines, opposition does not cease to grow up against the military measures of the new Government of the Philippines.

AUSTRIA.

Although education of a pre-military character exists under some form or another for the youth of nearly every country in the world—it is most pronounced in totalitarian or semi-totalitarian states.

To-day the newspapers announced that Austria has decided to extend—the pre-military education of youth in the schools—in future lessons, will be given in the handling of a rifle—in the use of gas masks and field telegraphs. Pupils and teachers will have to undertake specialised firing practice.

IN FRANCE.

After the laws concerning two years compulsory service, the fortification works in the Eastern provinces—and the rôle of new military credits—a law has just been proposed by the radical minister Dezarvauds—for militarising the youth of the country.

Physical training—possibly pre-military—would be rendered compulsory on those from 6 to 18 years of age—just as military education will be compulsory on those from 16 to 18 years of age—thus, military service would be extended in fact from 2 to 4 years. In France where sport is almost non-existent, the youth will be attracted by this opportunity for physical development.

They will not realise that they are being regimented after the manner of Fascist Countries.

INTER NOS

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(Issues Nos. 1-13)

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84 Wrappers			4	17	2	6
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147 Wrappers			7	15	6	7
				£216	8	1

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SUPPLEMENT

Have you bought a copy of the "Spain and the World" 4-page Supplement?

It contains one article entitled "Anarchists Maligned Once More" and deals with the Barcelona "Rising" and the events leading up to it. It is an historical document. No one should miss reading it.

Price 1d. or 1½d. post free from "Spain and the World."

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 addressed to us at that address.

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

"SPAIN and the WORLD"
Whiteway Colony,
STROUD,
GLOUCESTER.

THE EDITORS.

You Have A Responsibility Towards 20 Small Orphans!

A FEW weeks ago, on your behalf, we sent a cheque to the Comité pour l'Espagne Libre, as our contribution towards the maintenance of our 20 Spanish Orphans. In the "Libertaire" of the 22nd May, we read the following:

"We all appreciate the fine gesture of our comrades in London, who not content with fighting the good fight for our brothers in Spain, these many months in their brave paper "Spain and the World," have undertaken the charge of 20 of our little orphans of Llénsa—for whose support they have sent us a first donation of 5,000 francs!"

But the credit for this effort must go to a small number of comrades and friends who have been sending us regular contributions. Our appeal to all comrades seems to have been practically ignored. We have received few promises of sixpenny and shilling contributions.

It seems hardly necessary to remind comrades of the situation in Catalonia. Refugees arrive every day and must be cared for. We have undertaken to be responsible for the welfare of 20 of these refugees—all orphans—in the last three weeks we have not received sufficient to keep these children for one week. It is an insult to the memory of our Comrades who have died for their ideal that we who are living in relative comfort cannot make even a small sacrifice, just 6d. or 1/- each week, and take upon ourselves the responsibility of looking after the children whom they have left behind.

We have been unable to hide our disappointment at the poor response during these last few weeks. It is our hope that the comrades will see to it that these 20 children who looked to us for a home, food, and real fraternal care, should not find themselves once more destitute because the readers of "Spain and the World" could not shoulder such a small responsibility.

We will add no further comment. It is for the comrades and friends of "Spain and the World" to act now without delay.

Send your contributions now to "SPAIN and the WORLD," Whiteway Colony, Stroud, Gloucester.

THE financial side of our publication, which, as happens with so many publications of its kind, succeeds in either strangling them or obliges its Editors to fill columns with appeals for Funds and support, has apparently affected our publication, "Spain and the World," as well.

This was not to come as a surprise to us. There were no groups in this country prepared to financially support our publication. Other groups were anxious to bring out other publications at the same time, thereby making their work and ours doubly difficult. We foresaw all this, though we were actually not in a position to do anything about it. We were, however, hoping that "Spain and the World" would, by its regular and continued appearance and quite definite views, attract the attention of the comrades dotted about in this country, and as a result bring them in closer contact with one another. We also thought that the newspaper would have their active co-operation in the matter of circulation and financial support.

We have received few subscriptions—so essential for the "life" of a newspaper; only a few comrades have volunteered to sell the newspaper at meetings, and there seems to be little activity in introducing new readers.

From the correspondence we receive from all parts of the British Isles approving of our work, we cannot assume that this indifference is due to a counter-revolutionary attitude in our columns! What then, is the cause? Is it that amongst us are disruptive elements, those elements always to be found in any organisation or group, which, through their own petty ambition and false envy of others; through their petty suspicious and futile imaginations, succeed in deviating our work from one of propaganda for an ideal, to a discussion of personalities and private lives which in reality concerns but a limited number of people?

With this background, we have been carrying on our work, watching our deficit increase with the publication of each new issue. It has been no light task to double our circulation during the first six months, more so as the activity in this country, outside the Editorial offices, has been limited to a very small group of comrades in London, Stroud, Glasgow, Bristol and Plymouth. These comrades are in a very definite minority. If we are to double our circulation within the next six months and render "Spain and the World" financially sound, we must have the active support of ALL those amongst us who, convinced of an ideal, are prepared to do some active work for its propagation.

We might, at this juncture do well to make quite clear our objects in publishing "Spain and the World." Until July 19th, it seemed quite impossible to launch a fortnightly publication of respectable proportions and expect to continue its publication for more than one or two issues. After July 19th, there seemed to be some sort of awakening in our depleted ranks. Furthermore much sympathy was shown by the more responsible sections of the community, who saw in Anarchism, not the traditional "chaotic, irresponsible society," but instead the only truly honest and sincere society; the only society in which peace and equality are possible—by nature of the fact that personal interest and competition, the basis of corruption and capitalistic wars—are non-existent. The moment seemed ripe, therefore, to launch "Spain and the World."

The present situation, and the general lack of information on the work of our Spanish comrades, obliged us to deal almost entirely with Spain, though our intention, as the title of the newspaper indicates, was to deal with World conditions as well.

We did not ask our comrades for Capital. We thought that it was better to first show them what we could "turn out," and being sure of meeting with their general approval, we hoped to receive, with typical spontaneity, their active co-operation. This, as previously stated, has come from a limited num-

ber. As we cannot believe that the superhuman struggle of our Spanish comrades has just met with temporary enthusiasm on the part of the majority of our English comrades, may we suggest to them the ways by which they can help to counteract the filthy campaign which is being waged in all sections of the Press, whether Right or Left, against the comrades of the CNT-FAI.

We suggest firstly that all comrades should pay a subscription (2/6 or 4/6) to "Spain and the World," and where possible a double subscription, so that they may post to a friend a copy of each issue regularly. Other comrades may be able to sell or distribute several copies amongst fellow workers. They should ask us to put them on our mailing list stating the number of copies of each issue they require. At the same time these comrades could try and collect subscriptions for the newspaper. Upon request, we shall send them "Subscription Forms" and "Solidarity Fund Lists."

One might also imitate the good work of a comrade in San Francisco, who delivers copies to two news-stands and collects the money for the sales. These newsagents now sell 40 copies of each issue between them.

We are confident that our words are not in vain and are materially showing this confidence by printing a 4-page Supplement to this issue. This entails a further expense and an increase in our deficit. All will agree with us, we are sure, that such an important document as the one appearing in the Supplement should be printed without delay. We have printed several thousand copies of the Supplement, and to induce those comrades who complain that 2d. is too much for a newspaper, we have put the selling price at 1d. a copy. We ask them to justify the confidence in their active support and co-operation in the wide circulation both of "Spain and the World" and the Supplement.

The sooner that personal irritations and personal vanity are put to one side, the sooner those of the comrades who look on "Spain and the World" as the property of an individual, change their ideas and consider it THEIR paper as much as Australia, America and all countries where there are men and women who share our ideas, the sooner it will be possible in this country to do really active work and begin the building up of a serious "movement."

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

THE DILEMMA "WAR OR REVOLUTION" HAS NO LONGER ANY MEANING. THE ONLY DILEMMA IS: EITHER VICTORY OVER FRANCO, THANKS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, OR DEFEAT.

—CAMILLO BERNERI.

Supplement to VOL. 1, No. 14.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11th, 1937.

PRICE 1d.—U.S.A. 3 CENTS.

ANARCHISTS MALIGNED ONCE MORE

THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY.

FROM May 3rd to May 8th, Barcelona lived in a state of civil war. But this time the fight was not against an open fascist enemy; it was a struggle between the different tendencies composing the anti-fascist front. It was a struggle between those who represent the anti-fascist front in the outside world. The entire affair had a tragic significance. While in Aragon, Viscaya and other parts of Spain, the struggle is being waged against the fascist generals, in Barcelona it was a fight amongst brothers.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to expose the origins of the entire affair and to present a picture of the events. We shall be absolutely honest, neither omitting nor coloring the facts. The facts will speak for themselves.

INTRODUCTION.

On July 19th, 1936, the Spanish generals rose against the people. The workers of Barcelona, under the leadership of the Anarchists, succeeded in smashing the fascist rising within two and a half days. The Anarchists did not want to conquer power for themselves, nor did the unions seek to establish a dictatorship. As in all other parts of Spain, an anti-fascist united front was formed. It ranged all the way from the various republican tendencies of the bourgeoisie to the most extreme tendencies of the proletariat:—the Anarchists. Naturally there was not complete harmony among the various tendencies composing the anti-fascist block, either with respect to aims or choice of means. Some wanted merely to smash the power of the generals and the clergy, but, otherwise, maintain a bourgeois capitalist society; others sought a fundamental change in all phases of social life. High finance was on the side of the fascist generals. With the defeat of the generals, they lost their positions of power. The workers organizations assumed the functions of organizing public life. The economic transformations took the form of socialization. All big enterprises were either collectivized or socialized. The former owners of these big enterprises can offer no more resistance. However, the petty bourgeoisie, even though it did not have the strength to resist the new developments during the first months of proletarian victory, did not accept completely the new order.

In the course of this development, divergent trends began to appear. The masses of the workers were for the most part organized in the anarcho-syndicalist organization, the C.N.T.; the petty bourgeoisie, during the months that followed the 19th of July, affiliated itself with the U.G.T. Not only workers, but traders, owners of small shops, market salesmen, etc., joined the U.G.T. The developments in Spain took a course totally different from that of other countries. Forms of organization arose, especially in Catalonia, which had been seen nowhere else. In all other European countries, especially in the democratic ones, the political parties form the currents of public life, but in Catalonia the trade unions have this function. This is due to the syndicalist character of the Spanish labor movement. In the spirit of these traditions, the petty bourgeoisie also organized themselves into trade unions.

There is a fundamental difference in the workers' organization, the C.N.T., and that of the petty bourgeoisie, the U.G.T.—in whose ranks workers have also been organized—both as to politics and as to their final goal. The U.G.T. accepted collectivization only under compulsion; they wanted nationalization, that is, the power of control to lie in the hands of the state and the political parties represented in it rather than in the hands of the workers' organizations. Friction arose, leading to collisions. Among the workers themselves, in the factories and in the management of enterprises, complete understanding and harmony reigned. Only in political questions did opinions differ.

When the C.N.T. entered the government on September 28th, 1936, after the dissolution of the Anti-fascist Militia Committee which had been functioning for two and a half months, it took over, officially, the Department of Food Supplies. A central department for food supplies was created under the direction of the syndicalist, Domenech. He established an internal trade monopoly for the control of prices. The provisioning of food for the cities was to be taken over entirely by the unions of the transport workers and of the various branches of the food industry, who were to substitute—in accordance with a special plan—for the big enterprises and the small traders who had controlled the food industry until then. The small traders became—as members of their unions—equal to the workers of town and country. Or, rather, they were supposed to become such. Continuous conflicts arose between the members of the C.N.T. and those of the U.G.T., over ways and means of conducting the work. The conflicts created a scarcity of certain food articles. Things became more expensive; sharp political discussions arose as to their cause, and as to the value of the methods.

Three months later, December 16th, 1936, a new Catalan government had to be organized. This crisis was of a purely political character. The POUM, Workers' Party of Marxist Union, was being viciously attacked by the leaders of the U.G.T., official communists for the most part. They declared the POUM, because of its Trotskyist tendency, a counter-revolutionary party. Soviet Russia herself, through her official representatives, took part in this campaign. The crisis was created in the Generality in order to remove the POUM, whose leader, Andres Nin, was Minister of Justice, from the government. The C.N.T. was opposed to this political manoeuvre but, being in the minority in the coalition government, the POUM was expelled from the government.

The dictatorial aims of the Communists manifested themselves clearly in the new order. The Communists had always been an unimportant minority in Catalonia, as well as in the rest of Spain. By a series of clever manoeuvres their influence increased in Catalonia. They united with the Socialist Party and formed the United Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSUC), which joined the 3rd International. Although they called themselves socialists, they had the support of the communist organizations, and succeeded in winning the new party over to their line. To the Communists of the PSUC the POUM signified a rival party that had to be eliminated from the scene. The Soviet Union strongly supported these manoeuvres. Some shipments of food arrived from the U.S.S.R. They also sent some armaments. The propaganda machine started using this support for their political purposes. The POUM began to lose influence.

The influence of the PSUC grew in proportion as that of the POUM declined. The differences between the two parties were extended into the U.G.T. The members of the POUM belonged to the UGT and even held a number of important positions there. The PSUC wanted to expel them from their posts. A bitter conflict began between the two Marxist brothers for control of the trade unions, a conflict such as is known only too well in many other countries. The political atmosphere among the anti-fascists in Catalonia became ever more unbearable.

The CNT acted loyally toward the anti-fascist cause when the new government was formed. It wanted to stop the fighting among the political parties. It made the proposal, and succeeded in having it accepted, that the Trade Unions, and not the political parties, should be represented in the new government. These trade unions were the CNT and the UGT. The Catalan Left, as a special expression of the Catalan Nation, and as partisans of the presidency, was also allowed to participate.

To get the Ministry of Defense, until then in the hands of the Catalan Left, the CNT gave up the Department of Food Supplies to the UGT. Immediately after taking over the Department, Comorera, the new Minister, erased, with one stroke of his pen, the entire work of his predecessor: the inner trade monopoly, the fixed prices for articles of food, was wiped out. Comorera's aim was to break the power of the unions. He therefore wanted to turn over the function of supplying food to private companies. Thus small proprietors, petty traders, and tenants were able to make greater profits through higher prices. The scarcity of bread became chronic. Things became more expensive and the masses more discontented. Economically, as well as politically, the fuel had been assembled, and demagoguery helped set it ablaze.

On October 22nd, 1936, a pact was ratified, by the CNT—FAI on one side, and the UGT—PSUC on the other. They agreed to a program of minimum demands. Both organizations, especially the CNT, made concessions in the struggle against the rebel generals. The workers rejoiced over this pact, and a great mass meeting in the vast bullring of Barcelona, where all of the city's workers were assembled, sealed it by acclamation.

But there were those who still put their partisan interests above the interests of the proletariat as a whole. A campaign was begun against the CNT and the FAI of the same character as that employed against the POUM. The Anarchists and Syndicalists were held responsible for everything that did not function too smoothly. Even though the CNT—FAI gave up the idea of collectivization in those sections where the small tenants were in a majority, and absolutely rejected the proposal for compulsory collectivization, they continued to campaign against the CNT—FAI among the small tenants and peasants. They appealed to the property instinct, made the idea of collectivization appear hostile to the lovers of property, and went so far as to denounce the advocates of collectivization as enemies of the people.

Such a malicious campaign had its effect. In January, 1937, an insurrection, arranged by the politicians, broke out against the CNT—FAI in the town of Fatarella. The insurrection, as such, was unimportant; but it was symptomatic. Six months had passed since the victory over the fascists, six months of revolutionary development which led, and had to lead, toward socialization. But certain parties wanted to reverse the trend of this development. They wanted a national war, not a Social Revolution. The slogan, "the war and the revolution," for which the CNT—FAI stands, was opposed by the slogan of all the other political parties: "First, we must win the war. Everything else, a new political order, establishment of social justice, etc., must be left untouched till the end of the war."

The conflicts became more intense. They wanted to manoeuvre the CNT—FAI out of their political positions. Blood flowed in Fatarella. Although both organizations issued a joint declaration regarding the events and their origin, the PSUC press continued its campaign of slander against responsible members of the CNT—FAI, ministers in the Generality, in connection with the outbreak. Certain elements of the Catalan Left and the Catalan Nationalists (Estat Catalan) also joined in this insidious campaign.

Grave discontent reigned among the workers. The revolutionary workers of Catalonia felt humiliated by the gradual curtailment of their revolutionary conquests after the 19th of July. The representatives of the CNT—FAI vigorously opposed the application of police measures to meet the discontent of the masses. The bourgeois elements, therefore, tried to remove the advocates of the syndicalists and the anarchists from their positions. The workers' Patrols of Control, composed of those fighting elements who had smashed fascism in Catalonia on July 19th,

have been functioning as anti-fascist guards, and were legalized as such. The majority of the members of these Patrols are members of the CNT, and when the UGT demanded equal representation with the CNT, to which they were obviously not entitled since they were not equal in membership in the region, bitter conflict sprang up again. The UGT members left the Patrols and devoted their attention to winning over the police to their side. Instead of building bridges of unity, they were broadening the gulfs that kept the proletariat separated.

The communists and the elements of the Catalan Left, the Esquerra, started an intense propaganda among the existing police bodies: Assault Guards, Civil Guards, and Catalan City Guards, a propaganda directed against the syndicalists and the anarchists. The latter had been demanding, from the very beginning, that the old police units be dissolved and replaced by a single body for Public Security. The other parties and organizations opposed it. Friction arose between the police and the workers' Patrols. In some places fighting broke out; there were wounded, and even dead. The following is an example of the preparations being made by certain elements for a fratricidal war against the anarchists:

On Friday, March 5th, 1937, a few individuals presented an order, signed by Vallejo, director of the arms factories, to the arsenal in Barcelona, to give them ten armoured cars. The director of the arsenal found the document in order and delivered the cars. At the last moment doubts arose as to the authenticity of the order, and the director telephoned to Vallejo for verification. The document proved to be forged, but, in the meantime, the armoured cars had been driven away. They were followed and observed to go into the Voroschilov Barracks, belonging to the PSUC, that is, the communists.

Premier Tarradellas intervened. At first the barracks' officers denied all knowledge of the deed. Only when threatened with a forced investigation of the barracks did they admit that the armoured cars were there.

The purpose for thus stealing and hiding the armoured cars became more than clear to the people of Barcelona during the tragic May days.

Premier Tarradellas issued a decree prohibiting the members of the various police bodies from joining any political parties or unions, which aroused great indignation among the workers. Special plenums of the CNT were held and the representatives of the CNT in the government were instructed to demand the annulment of the decree. At the same time the workers' organizations of the CNT demanded the reform of the Department of Food Supplies and, therefore, the resignation of Comorera. A new crisis of the Generality was precipitated on March 27th.

The solution of this crisis proved to be very difficult. The demands of the PSUC, hiding behind the UGT, became ever more arrogant. When, after a week of negotiations, a new program for the government of the Generality had been agreed upon, the UGT broke it at the very last moment. Unity, so painfully achieved, was again spoiled. Companys, president of the Catalan Generality, created a provisional government, with a peaceful coup d'etat. The syndicalists and anarchists would have been perfectly justified if they had rejected this arbitrary solution. They had proved their good will and patience; they could face public opinion; justice and sympathy were definitely with them. Yet, not to break the anti-fascist front, they swallowed this bitter pill too. On April 16th, the crisis was finally solved, the CNT proving very complying. They renounced their former demands, modified the desires of the proletariat by pointing out the necessities of the war against fascism, and urged them to concentrate their forces for the period after the defeat of the fascists.

Comorera no longer headed the Department of Food Supplies, but the office itself remained in the hands of the UGT. The ministers of the CNT had also been changed. The syndicalists and the anarchists had done all they could to maintain the anti-fascist united front. They hoped that a new phase of development would begin now, a period of calm and relaxation behind the lines. False delusion!

On April 25th, Roldan Cortada, prominent member of the PSUC was killed near Molins de Llobregat. With this lamentable act as a pretext, the PSUC tried, through their authority over the Public Forces, to take measures of repression against the sympathizers and members of the CNT and the FAI. And although they did not accuse us directly of having committed the attentat, they nevertheless tried, through their actions, to place the moral responsibility for the criminal attentat upon our organizations. Indignation spread over the entire province of Barcelona, both for the deed, and for the harsh measures of the police. The Director of Public Security, Rodriguez Salas, was responsible for these measures. His political career had been a varied one, until now, he finally landed with the UGT. His action against the CNT were considered as provocations. He had been conducting a struggle against the CNT for several months.

A few days later the Anarchist mayor of Puigcerda, Antonia Martin, and three of his comrades were shot. The members of the FAI became very indignant over the murder of their comrade, Martin, whom they all loved and respected as one of their best. Political tempers rose. The First of May was approaching. The negotiations between the CNT and the UGT for joint demonstrations failed, owing to the manoeuvres of the communists, who controlled the UGT. Bitterness turned gradually into hate. Political passions dominated the scene.

On May 3rd, Rodriguez Salas launched a new attack against the CNT. Following a pre-conceived plan and carrying out the orders of the Minister of the Interior, issued behind the backs of the other Councillors, he broke into the Telephone Building with a force of 200 police. This was the last straw. The avalanche finally broke loose. The patience of the workers at last was at an end. They took action against this provocation.

THE EVENTS OF MAY 3rd.

The Telephone Building of Barcelona is located in the centre of the city, on Plaza Catalonia. Like all public enterprises, not only in Catalonia but throughout all Spain, the telephone building had been taken over by the workers' organizations and controlled by them according to the Decree of Collectivization of October 24th, 1936, a delegate of the Catalan Generality was at the head of the control committee of the workers. This arrangement was in accord with the laws of the country. It is likely that the UGT was not satisfied with this state of affairs because it had fewer members in the control committee than the CNT. But they also had fewer members among the workers and employees of the telephone building. Rodriguez Salas, not wishing to wait until his partisans might win a majority of the workers and employees over to this organization, decided to gain absolute control of the Telephone Exchange by force.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of May 3rd, three motor lorries of police drove up to the telephone building under his personal command. They entered the building, wanting to occupy it. The manner of their approach was, of necessity, regarded as an insulting provocation of the workers. They were asked to put up their hands and turn over their weapons. (Since last July, all responsible leaders of organizations, political parties, public institutions, etc., carry small arms. In addition, all public buildings have arms as a protection against fascism, some only rifles, and others, more important, also have machine guns.)

The workers defended themselves. A machine gun covered the police from an upper storey. They could not go beyond the first floor. While all this was taking place inside the building, word of the assault spread in the square, and soon after, throughout the city. It was as though a match had been set to gunpowder. The workers of Barcelona, belonging to the CNT in an overwhelming majority, feared that this might be only the beginning of still further actions against their rights. People came from all parts of the city to see what had happened; the police tried to keep them back; the collision had taken place.

Workers and police ran about excitedly in every section of the city. The union headquarters were full of people. Everybody wanted arms. Everybody wanted to be ready to defend other buildings from similar assaults. Perhaps, at some other time, this assault upon the telephone building might not have had such consequences. But the accumulation of political conflicts during the past few months had made the atmosphere tense. It was impossible to stem the indignation of the masses.

A few hours later, the entire city of Barcelona was in arms. The workers occupied a number of houses near Plaza Catalonia, but

retired soon after. The police were concentrated near the police prefecture. The Catalan Minister of Interior, Artemio Aiguade, was with the police, and behind the whole section. With him were the masses of the armed Catalan Nationalists (Etat Catala), and the militants of the PSUC. Armed troops were also concentrated in the outer districts of Barcelona. It became clear to all that they were trying to make a putsch against the CNT and the FAI.

From the dungeons of dictatorship until today, the CNT and the FAI have always had their defence committees. These committees began to function at once, their members taking up arms.

To prevent this incident from leading to even greater collisions, the president of the police, Comrade Eroles, the general secretary of the Patrols, Comrade Asens, and Comrade Diaz, were sent as representatives of the defence committees to the Telephone Building to persuade the intruders to withdraw. The workers refused to work under the threat of the police and it was obvious that calm would not be restored until the police were removed. The effort of our three comrades came to nothing.

In the face of the increasing tension among the people of Barcelona, the Regional Committee could keep silent no longer. Its secretary, Comrade Valerio Mas, together with some other comrades, went to Premier Tarradellas and to the Minister of the Interior, Aiguade, and asked them to remove the troops in order to pacify the population. Tarradellas as well as Aiguade assured them that they knew nothing about the incident of the Telephone Building. But it was to be proven later that Aiguade had himself given the order for the occupation of the Telephone Building.

The Regional Committee of the CNT announced by radio that they would do everything possible to compel the police to withdraw from the building. The workers were asked to maintain their calm and dignity. In the course of the negotiations, the government promised to order the retreat of the police. The armed workers also retreated. For the time being everything seemed to be normal again. But soon the news began to spread that Salas' police were disarming the workers, and once again the masses became anxious.

The workers were on guard. They did not trust the apparent peace and remained in watchful positions. In the meantime blood had already been shed. The shooting had begun and two people were wounded.

Among the people the nervous tension continued. The workers demanded guarantees. They did not want any repetitions of such incidents. They demanded, through their organization, the dismissal of the Secretary of Public Security, Salas, and of the Minister of the Interior, Aiguade. If these demands were not fulfilled, they would declare a general strike. Their resignations were not announced.

On the following day, general strike broke out. Had the other parties agreed to the dismissal of these two men, calm would have been restored and the terrible tragedy avoided. Negotiations were carried on till 6 o'clock in the morning—fruitlessly. Toward morning the workers began building barricades in the outer districts of the city. There was no fighting during this first night, but the general tension increased. In some parts of the city shots were being fired. In the district of Sarria some hundred workers armed themselves, built a barricade, and disarmed the civil guards, who consented to such a course. There was no bloodshed there. The workers were masters of the situation.

In the district of Sans, where Durruti lived for many years, the workers, especially the Libertarian Youth, assembled in their cultural centers (Ateneos) and built barricades. . . . No fighting. . . . In the district of Hostafranchs the workers built barricades during the night of May 3rd—4th. The civil guards were disarmed without resistance by the workers. The big bullring, situated in this district, was also occupied by militiamen on permission from Barcelona. In the Lerida streets, 300 civil guards left their arms to the workers.

No fighting took place in the outer districts of the city, partly because the police were on the side of the workers, and partly because the workers were in such absolute majority that resistance seemed futile.

TUESDAY, MAY 4th.

During the early hours of the morning the shooting started in the centre of the city. The Palace of Justice was occupied by the police. Fighting centres sprang up everywhere. A few headquarters of the CNT were seized by the police. By eleven o'clock in the morning the delegates of the CNT unions were holding a special meeting, where they agreed to do everything possible to re-establish calm. A special committee was elected to negotiate with the government for a solution to the conflict. The CNT issued an appeal to the police, declaring:

"It is necessary to come to a quick solution of this conflict. The incidents now taking place in the street are the result of a long and painful development to sacrifice the organization of the CNT and its leaders after using their blood and their strength to defeat the treacherous fascists. Don't let them be-

tray you! You know very well, and you have the proof of it, that the CNT-FAI is not against you, either as individuals or as a unity. You are, like ourselves, soldiers of the anti-fascist front. Offer your arms to the people and place yourselves on their side as you did on the 19th of July. Neither the CNT nor the FAI want to establish a dictatorship. Nor will they ever tolerate dictatorship so long as a single one of their members is alive. We do not fight against fascism out of love for war; we are fighting to secure public freedom and to prevent the massacre and the exploitation of the people by those, who, without calling themselves fascists, nevertheless want to establish a regime of absolutism, in complete violation of the feelings and the traditions of our people."

One hour later the Regional Committees of the CNT and the FAI spoke to the people of Barcelona:

"The CNT and the FAI addresses you now to tell you that they do not want to shed the blood of fellow workers in the streets of Barcelona. But we cannot endure the provocations of those, who, misusing their public offices, want to destroy the rights of the workers of the CNT and the UGT, as was the case yesterday when they tried to occupy the Telephone Building by force of arms."

Soon after a new manifesto of the CNT was broadcast to the workers of Barcelona:

"Men and women of the people! Workers! We speak frankly to the public, which, as always in the past, is proof of our honesty. We are not responsible for what is now taking place. We are not attacking. We are only defending ourselves. We did not start this; we did not provoke it. We are merely answering the abuse, the calumny, and the force that has been directed against the CNT and the FAI, the most implacable antifascists of all.

"We have never concealed our aims; we have given ample proof of our value. Why do they want to eliminate us? Does it not seem suspicious to you that they are attacking the CNT and the FAI, while at Madrid, at Andalusia, at Viscaya, and at Aragon our forces have given, and are still giving at the present time, proof of the utmost courage and strength? Workers of the CNT and the UGT! Remember the road we have travelled together. How many have fallen, covered with blood, in the open streets and on the barricades! Put down your weapons! Embrace as brothers! We shall be victorious if we are united. If we fight amongst ourselves, we must go down to defeat. Consider! We extend our hand without weapons. You do the same and everything will be forgotten.

"Unity among ourselves! Death to fascism!"

One hour later, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the CNT and the FAI broadcast a message to the people of Barcelona again:

"The CNT and the FAI, who helped decisively in the defeat of fascism in Barcelona and Catalonia alongside the other antifascist organizations, appeals to you to-day, to all of you, to put down your arms. Think of our great goal, common to all the workers, in the rear and at the front.

"The government of the Generality must be cleaned out. These demoralizing acts will have to cease regardless of who is performing them, including the ministers.

"Workers of the CNT! Workers of the UGT! Don't be deceived by these manoeuvres. Above all else, Unity! Put down your arms. Only one slogan: We must work to beat fascism! Down with fascism!"

Despite all these appeals and demonstrations of good-will to the police and the population of Barcelona, the hostilities, once started, were not to be held back. Indignation and bitterness increased on all sides. Four ministers of the CNT, who were in their respective offices when the hostilities broke out, could not reach the seat of the Generality—and no longer wanted to. The ministers of the other parties, especially the Premier, Tarradellas, and President Companys, declared that they could not carry on negotiations so long as the streets were not cleared of the armed forces. Yet it was obvious to all that the continued presence of the armed forces in the streets was not due to the anarchists and syndicalists, but to the undisciplined police under the command of provocateur agents of the PSUC and the Etat Catala. The responsible organs of the CNT and the FAI had given ample proof of their desire to end the conflict by their manifestos to the people. The prolongation of the negotiations were, of necessity, fatal. The bitterness and the hatred grew by the hour. An explosion, a violent outbreak of bloody fratricidal war might break out at any moment. The Catalan city police, and the members of the PSUC working with them, opened the hostilities in the centre of the city.

At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, an exceptionally cruel and bloody incident occurred on Via Durruti, not far from Casa CNT-FAI, headquarters of the Regional Committees of these two organizations. Two cars were coming up the street from the direction of the docks to get to the Regional Committee. Some 300 metres away from the Casa, a barricade of Catalan city guards and members of the

PSUC, with red bands tied around their arms, was located. As the cars approached this barricade, they were ordered to stop and surrender their weapons. As they were descending from their cars to carry out the order, they were shot down by volleys of rifle fire.

This incident, witnessed by many from the windows of the Casa CNT-FAI, aroused fierce indignation. The defenders of the Casa wanted to avenge the cowardly murder immediately. But in a conference held, they decided to allow even this provocation to go unanswered, so as to avoid still greater harm.

As it became apparent that the police not only did not intend to stop the hostilities, but were actually preparing to attack the headquarters of the Regional Committee itself, the Defence Committee decided to order two armoured cars from the arms factories for the defence of the Casa and its inmates. They arrived during the evening, and for the duration of hostilities, were held ready for defence.

In the meantime, a sort of united front had been established between the Catalan Left (Esquerra), the Catalan Nationalists (Etat Catala), and the PSUC and UGT. They all defended the Minister of the Interior, Aiguade, and the Chief of Police, Rodriguez Salas, the two most directly responsible for the outbreak. This united front among the Ministers was carried into the street. Police, National Guards, Catalan city police, and members of the PSUC (affiliated to the 3rd International) and the UGT manned the barricades together against the workers of the CNT and the FAI, with whom the Party of Marxist Unity were also allied. This united front of all the left bourgeois parties with the communists against the syndicalist CNT and the anarchist FAI was ample proof that they were trying to create a situation in which they could remove the syndicalists and the anarchists from the government and discredit them among the workers. Although all the leaders of these parties may not have participated in the preparation of the conflict, it was, nevertheless undeniable that all of them did want to take advantage of it to remove, or at least weaken, the influence of that part of the Catalan proletariat that considers the struggle against fascism a simultaneous struggle against capitalism and for socialism. What had been carried some months ago against the smaller party of the POUM with comparatively little effort, was to be continued now against the mass organisations of the Catalan proletariat by the use of force. That the police under Rodriguez Salas had rebelled against the government was never stated in the official reports of the government. The population had to be told that the workers of the CNT and the FAI had initiated the conflict.

Not only the Regional Committee of the CNT and FAI, and the assemblies of their delegates, not only the representatives of the various districts of the city, who were at the head of their barricades, favored a peaceful solution of the conflict, the National Committee of CNT and its representatives in the Valencia also demanded it. Shortly after 5 o'clock in the afternoon a delegation arrived from Valencia, composed of the secretary of the National Committee of the CNT, Mariano Vasquez, and the Minister of Justice, Garcia Oliver, a well known Anarchist. Members of the Executive Committee of the UGT also came from Valencia. Federica Montseny, Minister of Public Health, also came to Barcelona. At a joint conference, it was decided, in accordance with a proposal from the CNT, to issue an appeal to the people to stop the hostilities and lay down their arms. This plan was discussed for two hours, the PSUC delegates displaying the greatest opposition. Sancajo, representing the Executive Committee of the UGT, Mariano Vasquez, as secretary of the CNT, Garcia Oliver, the Anarchist Minister, and President Companys, all spoke over the radio calling upon the people of Barcelona to stop the fighting.

The secretary of the National Committee, Mariano Vasquez, speaking thus through the station of the Generality, said:

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

"We shall continue our discussions here until we have found a solution. The demands of self-preservation drive us to the unity of all the antifascist organizations of Catalonia. We are all assembled here, especially the Executive Committee of the UGT and the National Committee of the CNT who have come here from Valencia, to end this terrible conflict in Barcelona. We have come together to seek a joint agreement because this fighting can only serve the purposes of our enemy:—fascism!"

The negotiations in the Palace of the Generality continued during the entire night. Although the members of the syndicalist trade unions and of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia obeyed the appeal to stop hostilities, the rebel police, and even worse, the members of the other hostile parties, continued their criminal activities. During that very night the CNT Union of Hide and Leather workers were attacked in their headquarters. During the entire night intense rifle fire could be heard in the center of the city.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5th.

The night-long negotiations resulted in the resignation of the entire government. A provisional government was formed of one representative from each party that was represented in the former government. But calm was not restored. Upon the return of the representatives of the CNT-FAI from the Generality, the various committees of the CNT-FAI held a meeting. The two responsible officials, whose dismissal the workers demanded, resigned with the rest of the Council of the Generality, and steps were taken to assure their continued absence from such responsible posts. When reports came in from Coll Blanch that further collisions were feared, the Committee of the CNT and the FAI took steps to call upon the workers to desist from their efforts to occupy the barracks. Again the workers did everything possible to avoid conflict.

At 9.30 in the morning the assault guards offered a new provocation. They attacked the headquarters of the Medical Union at Santa Ana Square in the center of the city. At the same time they attacked, with greater fury, the headquarters of the Local Federation of the Libertarian Youth. The youth defended themselves heroically. Six young Anarchists were killed in the defense of their House. Both places telephoned the Regional Committee for help. The shooting of rifles, explosions of hand-grenades, the rat-tat-tat of machine guns could be clearly heard throughout the center of the city. The streets in the fighting zone empty, no one daring to walk in them.

When, in the afternoon, the hostilities still continued, the Defense Committee decided to call for three more armored cars to defend the threatened Union Headquarters, which came within a few hours to the Casa CNT-FAI. They were put into action only to aid and support endangered unions and comrades. Soon after their arrival the tanks had a chance to go into action. Opposite the Regional Committee, three unarmed workers were being shot at in the street. The shooting came from the barricades of the PSUC mentioned before. The unarmed workers were seeking refuge in a doorway. They seemed lost. One of the armored cars went to the rescue of the endangered comrades upon the initiative of a woman comrade.

Wild rumours were spreading through the city. Uncontrolled elements—they said—want to continue the Revolution. This was the third day of struggle and there seemed to be no hope for the re-establishment of peace. The Generality radio station spoke of the uncontrolled elements of the CNT and the FAI. The Regional Committee asked the Generality over the telephone who was controlling the police. For, although we were assured again and again that the police would not shoot any more, machine gun and rifle fire could be heard constantly from those sections of the city where the police had their strongholds. At five in the afternoon the Regional Committee of the CNT proposed the following:

Hostilities to cease.

Every party to keep its positions.

The police and the civilians fighting on their side to be specifically asked to stop fighting.

The responsible committees to be informed at once if the pact is broken anywhere.

Solitary shots not to be answered.

The defenders of the Union Quarters to remain passive and await further information.

During the fighting between the Catalan city guard and the assault guards against the Libertarian Youth, an assault guard was taken prisoner, but set free soon after to have his slight wound treated professionally.

The proposals for armistice were accepted by the government, but the armed forces supposedly acting in defense of said government, paid no attention to it. During the afternoon they tried to encircle the quarters of the Regional Committee, the Casa CNT-FAI. The rebels built new barricades, closer to the Regional Committee. The shooting never stopped.

Rumors of the events in Barcelona reached the front. The well known Anarchist, Jover, rushed from Huesca to Barcelona. The militia at the front were concerned over the fate of Barcelona; they did not want it to fall into the hands of these counter-revolutionaries in disguise. It had become obvious that the Catalan city guards and the assault guards, both manoeuvred by agent provocateurs, and part of the petty bourgeoisie seemed to be on the side of the antifascist coalition government. Actually they were pursuing different

aims. All these elements were by now uncontrollable by the government. They had become a horde of counter-revolutionists set loose against the proletariat, and, specifically, against its organizations, the CNT and the FAI. In the face of the growing danger for the workers, for their union headquarters, their cultural centers and, above all, for the lives of all the militants, it was decided to organize a stronger defense. A regional defense committee was created. Their deliberations in the Regional Committee were punctuated by the continuous machine gun fire. Thus, the defense of the Casa CNT-FAI was organized. Reports came in from all parts of Barcelona and from the provinces of Catalonia that the overwhelming majority of the population were with the CNT, and that most towns and villages were in the hands of our organizations. It would have been easy to attack the center of the city had the responsible committees so decided. They only had to appeal to the defense committees of the outlying districts. But the Regional Committee of the CNT was opposed to it. Every proposal of attack was unanimously rejected, including by the FAI.

A newly founded group, called "Friends of Durruti," functioning on the fringes of the CNT-FAI, published a proclamation declaring that "A Revolutionary Junta has been constituted in Barcelona. All those responsible for the putsch, manoeuvring under the protection of the government, shall be executed. The POUM shall be a member of the Revolutionary Junta because they stood by the workers."

The Regional Committee decided not to concur with this proclamation. The Libertarian Youth likewise rejected it. On the next day, Thursday, May 6th, their official statement was printed in the entire press of Barcelona.

THE MURDER OF BERNERI AND BARBIERI

There was not so much fighting during the following night. But an incident occurred in the evening that demonstrated clearly the intentions of the provocateurs. A short way down the street, Via Durruti, opposite the Regional Committee, at 2, Plaza del Angel, lived the well-known anarchist theoretician, Professor Camillo Berneri. A number of other Italian exiles, who had come to Spain to form an antifascist column, also lived there. Berneri was a sort of political delegate among his countrymen. He also edited the Italian paper "Guerra Di Classe." In this paper he printed articles pointing out the danger of dictatorship. One article, entitled "Burgos y Moscow," attracted the attention of the Russian government. Berneri wrote: "Once fascism is beaten, it will be necessary for the CNT and the FAI to continue the struggle for their social program. The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain declared only the other day that, in the present struggle in Spain, they are defending democracy and private property. It smells of Noske. Were not Madrid in flames, one might even expect a new Cronstadt. But Madrid is approaching victory. Revolutionary Catalonia receives neither arms nor financial help. Did the USSR send arms, munitions, and military cadres in order to control the antifascist fight and check the development of the Social Revolution? The alternative, Madrid or Franco, has papalized Spanish Anarchism. Today Barcelona is located between Burgos, Rome, Madrid, and Moscow. It is besieged. The horizon is hazy. We are on the high seas in a great storm. Shall we be able to perform wonders? Crushed between the Prussians and Versailles, the Commune of Paris initiated a fire that lit up the world. Between Burgos and Madrid lies Barcelona. Let the Godets of Moscow remember this." (Godet was the fascist general who led the uprising in Barcelona on the 19th of July. He was duly tried by the people of Barcelona, and shot).

This article caused Russia to intervene in the CNT-FAI. Since then, Berneri was anathema to the partisans of the Communist Party Dictatorship.

While still a young man, Berneri was already the editor of the Socialist paper, "Gioventu Socialista." He left the Socialist Party because of differences with them over the War of Tripoli, and joined the Anarchists. In 1914 he took an active part in the uprising of Ancona, known as the "RED WEEK." In 1921 Berneri received his degree as Professor of Philosophy. Together with Enrico Malatesta, Berneri took an active part in the Anarchist Movement in Italy. At the time of the fascist March on Rome, Berneri was a professor of the University of Camerino, and, like many other antifascists he lost his job, was persecuted and taken prisoner. He emigrated to France, was expelled from there, went to Belgium, to Germany, and finally back to France, where he had a conditional permit to remain. He was known all over the world as an antifascist fighter. After the death of Malatesta, Berneri was the spiritual head of the Italian Anarchists. Accepted as such by everyone, he was respected and loved by his friends, and persecuted by his enemies.

When the hostilities started, Berneri was in his house with his friend, Barbieri, also a well-known Anarchist. With them were the wife of Barbieri and Tosca Pantini, widow of an Italian militiaman, fallen on the Aragon front. The house of the Italians was encircled by Catalan city guards and members

of the PSUC, wearing red arm bands with their party insignia on them. On the morning of Tuesday, May 4th, the Catalan and Communist guards came to the house and told the Italian Anarchists to be careful because there was a lot of shooting in the neighbourhood. There was another visit in the afternoon for the purpose of registering the house and confiscating the arms, which belonged to Italian militiamen on leave in Barcelona. The next day, Wednesday, May 5th, at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, Berneri and Barbieri were taken away by 12 guards, half of the city police and the other half members of the PSUC as evidenced by their red arm bands. The leader of the group, showing his badge, with the number 1109, asked for their names. Two of the group remained in the house and registered the flat again. Berneri had been working on a book about the policy of Mussolini in the Mediterranean, with special reference to the Balearic Islands. It was a book against Italian Fascism.

Barbieri's wife wanted to go with the two comrades when they were taken away, but they refused to allow her ...

Both men were shot during the following night, by machine guns, as the autopsy proved. It was cold-blooded murder, since both men were unarmed. The murder was committed near the Palace of the Generality. Soon after the bodies of the two Anarchists were delivered at the morgue of the Hospital Clinico. The lists show that the Red Cross had found both bodies near the Generality.

The evidence is irrefutable. Berneri and Barbieri were shot because they were Anarchists by police and members of the PSUC, i.e., faithful Moscow Communists. Mrs. Barbieri states: When they were arrested, Barbieri asked why they were being molested, since they were Anarchists and, therefore, antifascists. "Precisely because you are Anarchists, you are counter-revolutionists," the leader of the group answered.

The Anarchists were persecuted; the Anarchists were murdered; the Anarchists were outlawed. Still they limited themselves only to defense, and never attacked. Yet when the lie was circulated that the Anarchists were doing the attacking, the world press seized upon it eagerly and spread it to the four corners of the earth.

On the following day the papers published the number of victims: 500 dead and over 1,500 wounded. A terrible indictment against those who provoked such a fratricidal war.

THURSDAY, MAY 6th.

During the night of May 5-6th, the two trade unions, the UGT and the CNT agreed to call upon the workers to return to work again. They published the following manifesto:

"The tragic events taking place in our city during the last 48 hours has made it impossible for the workers to go to work. The antifascist organizations and parties in session at the Palace of the Generality have solved the conflict that has created this abnormal situation, so harmful to the cause of the proletariat. The local federations of the CNT and the UGT have agreed to ask all their members to resume their work as usual. It is necessary to return to normal life. To continue the present inactivity in the factories at this time is to weaken our forces and strengthen that of our common enemy.

"In accordance with this, all workers of the CNT and the UGT are ordered to return to work without exception. All members of both trade unions should avoid everything that might lead to possible friction and disturbances at their places of work. These events have taught us that from now on we shall have to establish relations of cordiality and comradeship, the lack of which we all regretted deeply during the last few days.

"The local federations of the UGT and the CNT ask their members to refrain from all manifestations of hostile attitude. Mutual understanding and solidarity are the requirements of the hour. The union cards of both organizations must be respected by everyone, and it is the duty of the control committees to respect all workers without distinction.

"To work, comrades of the CNT and UGT!"

Local Federation of the CNT, Barcelona.

Local Federation of the UGT, Barcelona.

This appeal was broadcast over the radio and appeared the next morning in every paper in Barcelona. But to no avail. Work was not resumed any place. The police continued in their hostile attitude and fortified their positions further during the night with the obvious intention of extending the struggle. Provocations by the political parties continued in the hope of shaking the faith of the workers in the conduct of the committees of the CNT and the FAI. The fighting was resumed. Bitterness and discontent filled the workers. The Valencia government intervened more energetically into the affairs of Barcelona. Two Spanish warships were ordered to the port of Barcelona.

The streets presented a calmer picture on Thursday morning. The center of the old

city was still like a fortress. Some horse carts were already making their appearance on the wider streets, and an occasional pedestrian could be seen. The tramlines, destroyed during the fighting, were being repaired. The Valencia government, rumors said, was gathering troops from different sections of the front to Catalonia.

The Regional Committee and the syndicates all over the city suffered new anxieties when the police and the civilian fighters of PSUC proceeded to take advantage of the armistice to build new fortifications. Thus, the police openly carried sand bags and machine guns up to the spires of a cathedral not two hundred metres from the Casa CNT-FAI. This hardly looked like peace. Those who seek peace don't proceed to occupy new offensive positions.

Again news to cause distraction. 1,500 troops are on their way from Valencia. Another 2,500 will follow. Against whom are they mobilizing? Against the workers? In the streets of Barcelona everybody was being searched. Those who had membership books from the CNT were regarded as enemies. The book was taken away and torn up. Often, mere possession of such a book was cause for arrest. Dozens of such arrests were being made.

The negotiations between the antagonistic parties were delayed half a day by the death of the secretary of the UGT of Catalonia, Antonio Sese. He was mortally wounded by a bullet while on his way to the Generality in his own car. The shot came from the direction of the Paseo de Gracia, where his own party comrades had a barricade. The comrades who accompanied Sese signed a document stating the facts of the case, which is now in the hands of the Theatre Union in front of whose headquarters the accident occurred. Sese was neither murdered nor executed. Yet his death was used to intensify the insidious campaign against the CNT.

The situation inside the Telephone Building had become rather strange. The workers in the upper storeys and the assault guards arranged an armistice. They allowed the workers to receive food—the first since Monday. The discussions among the workers who belonged both to the CNT and the UGT, still continued. To end these discussions and to show their willingness to restore peace, the members of the CNT agreed to leave the building at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The assault guards were supposed to leave also. However, instead of leaving that part of the building which they had occupied earlier in the week, the assault guards proceeded to occupy the entire building, and brought in members of the UGT to take over the posts of the CNT workers. The members of the CNT saw that they had been betrayed and immediately informed the Regional Committee. The Regional Committee intervened with the government. They demanded that the police be withdrawn from the building. To remain meant a broken promise and would render their agreements valueless for the future. Those who broke their agreement would have to take the consequences. Half an hour later the Generality replied: the fait accompli cannot be recalled.

This broken agreement aroused great indignation among the workers of the CNT. Had the workers in the outlying districts been informed immediately of this development, they would surely have insisted upon taking firmer measures and turned to the attack. But when the matter was discussed later, the more moderate point of view won out.

It was obvious that the occupation of the Telephone Building would be used to facilitate new attacks. And within the hour, at about 4 p.m., a new attack was launched against the main railroad station, Estacion de Francia. The assault guards attacked from one side; the PSUC from the Karl Marx Barracks on the other. The workers could no longer depend on the telephone. The atmosphere in the center of the city became tense. Bombs exploded. Rifle and machine gun fire broke the silence of the metropolis.

At ten minutes past four, the Under Secretary of the State Juanel Molina, member of the FAI, communicated that General Pozas had presented himself at the Capitania to take over his office as Chief of the Fourth Brigade of the Spanish Army. The post of the Catalan Minister of Defense had ceased to exist. Under Secretary of State Juanel Molina, even though he was a member of the FAI, did everything to keep the troops from entering the struggle. Had the FAI really gone into action, the entire military force would have been on their side and victory would have been certain. But the FAI did not want a fratricidal war within the ranks of the antifascists.

Not only at the station, but also in the neighbourhood of Plaza de Catalonia, the police started attacking the workers. In both cases the attacks were successfully repulsed. Again the workers refused to counter-attack. Still, they were satisfied to defend their positions, their lives and their rights.

The Regional Committee was informed that the armed forces of the Catalan Nationalists

and the PSUC had taken possession of the village of San Juan. The armed workers of the CNT and the FAI entered the village, disarmed the enemy and liberated their comrades. In the open village square they had to answer for their actions. They were warned not to take up arms against the people. Then the Anarchists set their enemies free again.

We must mention these incidents to counteract the calumnies spread against the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists of Catalonia, whom they characterize as murderers and criminals.

At six o'clock they telephoned that 1,500 assault guards had reached Tortosa on their way to Barcelona. They occupied the headquarters of the CNT unions, the cultural centers of the FAI and of the Anarchist Youth, arresting all those found on the inside. These troops had come from the central part of Spain. According to the evening paper, "Noticiero Universal," of Saturday, May 8th, these troops had come from the trenches of the Jarama front, where they had been fighting for four months alongside the International Brigade. The Anarchists could also have called in their columns from the Aragon front, as well as armed forces from other parts of Catalonia, and there is no doubt that they could have been victorious within 24 hours. But they did not want to break up the antifascist front. They never did more than defend themselves against the attacks directed against them.

At 6.45 the united committees of the CNT and the FAI sent a new delegation to the government to find out what they intended doing. A few minutes later, news came from London by cable that the British Government had sent a torpedo boat and the cruiser, Despatch, to Catalan waters near Barcelona. A delegation of CNT workers arrived to find out what the responsible committees were going to do. The committees decided to address the population of Barcelona by manifesto that they wished to maintain the antifascist front. At the same time addressed the general public all over the world by manifesto on Thursday, May 6th, reading as follows:

"While the tragic events were taking place here in Barcelona, provoked as they were by some irresponsible elements in the antifascist organizations, the world at large received very little information concerning the whole situation.

"The same cowardly elements that wished to provoke bloodshed in Barcelona, issued false reports to the outside world with the same evil intentions, grossly misrepresenting everything.

"The foreign countries have been told that the National Confederation of Labor and the Iberian Anarchist Federation were the cause of the disturbances of the last few days. You were told that the Anarchists were guilty of starting this struggle among fellow workers which caused blood to flow in the streets of Barcelona. You were told that the Anarchists attacked the police, the Generality, and other municipal and state institutions.

"Nothing is more false than this version of the developments and those who spread such lies intentionally can be nothing but fascists in disguise.

"Now that we have returned to normal, and those responsible for the outbreak have been dismissed from public office, when all the workers have returned to their jobs, and Barcelona is once more calm, the CNT and the FAI want to give an exact explanation of what happened.

"We are authorized to state that neither the National Confederation of Labor, nor the Iberian Anarchist Federation, or any of its dependent organizations, broke, or had any intention of breaking the antifascist front. The CNT and the FAI continue to collaborate loyally as in the past, with all political and trade union sectors of the antifascist front. The best proof of this is that the CNT continues to collaborate with the central Government, the Government of the Generality and all the municipalities.

"When the conflict started in Barcelona, the Regional and National organizations of the CNT offered every means to the government to help solve the conflict as quickly as possible. On the second day of the struggle, the secretary of the National Committee of the CNT, and the Minister of Justice, also a member of the CNT, came to Barcelona and did everything humanly possible to end this fratricidal struggle. In addition to these attempts to deal with responsible members of the other political sectors, these comrades spoke to the population of Barcelona, and called upon them to be calm and work for an agreement, and appealed for unity of action against the common enemy, fascism.

"Not only the National Committee, but also the Regional Committee, did everything possible to find a solution to this conflict. The press of the CNT of Catalonia appealed for calm and called upon the population to return to work. The news issued by radio to the unions and to the defense committees were nothing but appeals for calm.

"A further proof that the CNT did not want to break, and did not break, the antifascist front, is that when the new government of the Generality was formed, on the 5th of May, the representatives of the CNT of Catalonia, offered it every facility, and the secretary of the CNT formed part of the Government.

"We are also authorized to state that neither the National Confederation of Labor nor the Iberian Anarchist Federation attacked any police headquarters, or any other institutions of the State, or the Generality. At no time, and at no place, did the first shot ever come from any responsible members of the CNT.

"The members of the CNT who controlled the Defense Council of the Generality, gave orders to all their forces not to intervene on either side in the conflict. And they also saw to it that their orders were carried out.

"The Defense Committee of the CNT also gave orders to every district of Barcelona that no one should come from there to the center to answer the provocations. These orders, too, were carried out because no one actually did come to the center to answer the provocations.

"The Regional Committees of the CNT and the FAI gave precise orders that no one should move from his section, that no one should disturb the public order.

"The CNT and the FAI not only merely maintained positions of defense, they did everything possible to try to re-establish public order and unmask the provocateurs. Many were the traps laid for the CNT up to the very end, but the CNT remained firm in its position and did not allow itself to be provoked. It did not fall in the net, which had many ramifications in the regional, national, and international spheres. And in maintaining its positions, it did everything possible to have the provocateurs, Rodriguez Salas and Aiguade, removed from their responsible positions. Once this was accomplished, and calm re-established, the CNT and the UGT, together with the other antifascist forces, formed a commission to clarify the events in Barcelona and re-establish a normal atmosphere.

"When the causes of the disturbances were discovered, the people returned to work. Everybody, with his utmost courage and energy, is now dedicating all his strength to the fight against fascism, because it is the only enemy of all the workers of Catalonia.

"The workers of Catalonia have returned to work under the following slogans:

"No more provocateurs in the rear! Unity between the CNT and the UGT! Death to fascism!"

Meanwhile sporadic collisions and exchanges of shots continued in various sections of the city. About ten o'clock at night the CNT and the FAI made new proposals to cease hostilities. This proposal ran as follows: All parties and groups to obligate themselves to remove their armed guards and Patrols from the barricades. All prisoners from both sides are to be released immediately. No reprisals shall be taken. An answer was required within two hours.

At midnight the government had not sent in its answer. During this time disturbing news came through from Tarragona and Reus, where members of the PSUC and the Estat Catala, taking advantage of the presence of some assault guards passing through on their way to Barcelona, used their temporary advantage to disarm and kill the workers. Telephone calls caused great anxiety. Steps were taken to counter-act the news and any possible falsifications that might be coming through the telephone exchange. Important news could no longer be communicated by telephone. The radio station of the CNT was used to inform the members of the organization.

The CNT tried to get a promise from the government in Valencia and Barcelona that the assault guards would not enter the city immediately, but should be detained outside the city limits until the situation had cleared up. The entrance of the troops while the people were still so tense, would undoubtedly mean a renewal of hostilities and further loss of lives. The CNT and the FAI wanted to avoid this. They were somewhat sceptical regarding the assurances that the coming troops would be loyal to the workers.

AN EXCITING NIGHT

The night of May 6-7th was decisive for the immediate future. The CNT and the FAI had not yet exerted the full pressure of their strength. They still continued in a position of waiting. Should they summon all of Catalonia to take up the fight against the nationalists and the provocateur elements among the police and some of their chiefs. They could have rallied a tremendous force but they did not want to continue this fratricidal conflict. Again and again the Anarchists offered to negotiate, eager to end the conflict. But the atmosphere was tense and the situation continued to be difficult. Fighting was going on in Tortosa and in Tarragona. At twenty past one, new telephone calls to the representatives of the government. No satisfactory answer to their proposals. The assault guards were continuing their march on Barcelona. In the center of the city, the Catalan National-

ists and the rebellious police kept coming closer and closer to the headquarters of the Regional Committee. In the street of San Pedro, in the immediate vicinity of the building, a new barricade was erected by the police. They were trying to encircle the Regional Committee of the CNT and the FAI.

At two in the morning the government had still failed to answer the proposals, awaited with so much impatience and anxiety ... Twenty minutes past two. No answer ... Half past two. No answer ... A quarter to three ... Three o'clock. Still no answer. They were discussing the resumption of work in the outlying districts where the fighting had stopped. The traffic could not start unless the barricades were pulled down. The delegates of the transport workers union were awaiting the answer of the government in order to give the order to start work again ... A quarter to four and still no answer ... At five minutes to four in the morning, the Provincial Committee communicates that they are ready to hold up the troops from Valencia ... Four o'clock. No answer.

At last, at a quarter past five, the government answered. They agree to the armistice. All parties shall leave the barricades. Patrols and guards retire to their headquarters, unions and fortified positions. Both parties to release their prisoners. The Patrols to resume their functions.

Everybody relaxed. But—could one trust the sincerity of this answer? Would the workers in the telephone exchange continue to function as before? Would everything come out all right again?

Neither victors nor vanquished. That is the will of the Syndicalists and Anarchists. The antifascist front shall not be destroyed. War against fascism. Unity of all workers. That is the firm wish of the workers on the barricades. And the resolutions of the committees were based on this wish. The Regional Committee issued the following over the radio:

"To all the workers of the CNT: Having reached an understanding with both the political and the trade union representatives, we wish to notify you that you will receive instructions from your responsible committees regarding the establishment of complete peace and calm. For the present we urge you to keep that calm and presence of mind that the situation requires. Do not answer the provocations of those who seek to perpetuate the existing state of disorder."

While the results were still being discussed, new fears arose as the shooting broke out again to disturb the enveloping silence of the night. Two cars were driving down Via Durruti. As they passed the police prefecture, they were shot at. They were able to pass the headquarters of the Regional Committee undisturbed, but a short distance away, the shooting broke out in full violence once more. Rifles, machine guns, hand grenades came into play. A bad sign. A strange contrast to the assurances of a peaceful solution of the conflict. Only half an hour till 6 o'clock. Will we be able to pacify the suspicions and the tempers of the comrades? At six o'clock, shots could still be heard.

We switched off the lights. A beautiful morning. Barcelona slept in silence.

FRIDAY, MAY 7th.

A few hours later, Barcelona had undergone an almost complete change. True to their agreement, the workers had left the barricades. In many places the barricades had already been torn down. They had withdrawn from the buildings. But they were keeping their arms.

In the center of the city, however, the air was still tense. The barricades of the assault guards, of the Catalan Nationalists, and of the PSUC remained intact. And guarded. Taking advantage of the good will of the workers, groups of assault guards were walking about disarming workers wherever they could get hold of them. New friction arose between the assault guards and the Libertarian Youth in the Plaza del Pino and the Puertafer. And once more it was thanks to the initiative of the Anarchist Youth, who went unarmed to the headquarters of the assault guards to negotiate, that finally, after hours of discussion, the assault guards decided to show a more peaceful attitude and the barricades could come down.

The center of the city was like a fortress. High buildings had been used as fortifications by the various groups. Out of walls of sandbags, mattresses and cushions, rifles and machine guns poked their barrels. The assault guards had opened the churches and used them as fortifications.

But the populace could breathe more freely. For three days they had been forced to remain in their houses. Now everybody was walking about in the streets. The masses of people pushed their way through the barricades. Children played at revolution, rolling up a rock in a piece of paper and throwing it at the counter-revolutionists from behind the barricades. Everybody was discussing the situation at the bars and cafes.

Around midday another incident occurred. In the street of Boqueria, a car of the Libertarian Youth was stopped by an assault guard, the youth disarmed and arrested. This was an obvious breaking of the agreement that there should be no more arrests and no more reprisals. In the street of San Pedro, CNT people were also threatened by the assault guards. Towards evening further incidents occurred. Near the Arco de Triunfo and in the Puerta del Angel shots were fired, not by the workers of the CNT but by the rebellious police. The car of Federica Montseny, Minister of Public Health, was also shot at, one of the passengers being wounded.

At twenty past eight the assault guards from Valencia reached Barcelona. They drove down the Via Durruti in motor trucks, and welcomed at the Police Prefecture. What will their attitude be toward the workers? And what attitude will the workers take? As they passed the headquarters of the Regional Committee, a shot was fired from one car, while from another came the cry, "Viva la FAI." Obviously their feelings and attitude toward the workers, toward the Syndicalists and Anarchists of Catalonia were as mixed as their composition.

The workers had put down their arms, and they did not think of taking them up again. The conflict was over. The workers were true to their agreement. But the other side did not prove as honourable in upholding their end. However, everything remained quiet. No matter how much they tried to provoke the workers of the CNT and the FAI, the latter kept their presence of mind and their dignity. The workers of the CNT and the FAI had not started this conflict, nor did they want any part in prolonging it. They had not been conquered, even though the Catalan police assumed a provokingly boastful attitude after the Valencia troops arrived. Again and again they tried to put the workers in the position of the defeated party.

These facts speak for themselves. The question as to who were the uncontrolled and the undisciplined, and who used this war between brothers to their own ends is not difficult to answer. These five days of fighting proved the extraordinary discipline and the admirable unity of the CNT and the FAI. In no other organization is the confidence of the masses in their leaders, and that of the leaders in the masses so great as among the Anarchists. In no other organization is the feeling of responsibility and self-discipline so strong as among the men of the FAI. The unfolding of these tragic events proves to the world that the FAI represents an organization of men fighting for an ideal and ready to sacrifice themselves for it. One could look in vain for a similar organization and movement throughout the world. The last page of the history of the Spanish Revolution has not been written yet. The Anarchists are far from beaten. The CNT and the FAI are more united today than ever before. Not for one moment were there any conflicts between them during the course of the tragic events. The controversies between the CNT and the FAI reported in the press of Spain and abroad did not exist. The enemies of Anarcho-Syndicalism have been trying to separate the FAI from the CNT, but they have never succeeded.

The eagles of the FAI continue their flight, their wings still unclipped. They are flying high, and they shall reach the goal they have

AUGUSTIN SOUCHY.

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