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EMMA GOLDMAN is Author  
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MY DISILLUSIONMENT  
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**ANARCHISM:** Libertarianism as  
opposed to Authoritarianism.

The ideal of equal freedom for  
all in opposition to invasive rule  
by violence or force, whether ex-  
ercised by individuals, groups, or  
governments. (Continued below:)



*Detroit  
Times*

*May 19  
1939*

## Emma Goldman, 70, Holds Fast to Anarchy

"The most dangerous woman in the world," now 70 years old, today is in a small tourist home in Windsor, still hopeful that the world will reach the state of anarchy she has been seeking for the last 50 years.

Emma Goldman has despaired of communism. She despises fascism and has no faith in democracy. She is anti-everything except anarchism.

A world philosophy of a new social order, proposed for broadscale practical application, whereby equal freedom for all is unrestricted by invasive man-made laws.

A theory that rulership exercised by one set of men over others is the result of invasive compulsion, on the basis that Might makes Right, which is wrong, wasteful, harmful and needless.

# 'Red Emma' Goldman Stumps For Anarchy

## Social Revolutionary Predicts War And Regards Rebellion as Only Alternative

By DOUGLAS MACFARLANE

**E**VERYTHING'S red about Emma Goldman but her hair. She isn't a Communist. She isn't a Fascist. As a matter of record, she condemns both. But she is a philosophical Anarchist who became known as "Red Emma" on both sides of the Atlantic because of her constant preaching of a social revolution.

### SPEAKING TONIGHT

She's preaching in Windsor at the Dom Polski Hall tonight and will answer her topic question: "Who Betrayed Spain?" for those who would know.

Emma isn't a big woman—physically. It can be truthfully said that the first impression she conveys, on introduction is a trifle disappointing. Her hair is gray and straight. Her face is plain. Her eyes are covered with thick-lensed glasses.

Her face is lined. Her mouth holds some of the bitterness that marked her early life. She is 69 years old and beginning to show it.

But Emma Goldman is a human dynamo if there ever was one. She talks with the sureness and rapidity of a woman who for decades has made others listen. Her finger-tips grasp of international affairs seems unlimited. She has theories which, although they may be labelled far-fetched and seditious to the nth degree, are definitely thought-provoking.

### FORD CASE RECALLED

Henry Ford once sued a Chicago newspaper for \$1,000,000 because an editorial described him as an Anarchist. Mr. Ford's definition of an Anarchist from the witness stand was a "bomb thrower." He was given judgment for exactly six cents.

Emma makes no bones about being an Anarchist but she is equally definite about her opposition to this business of bomb-throwing and the like. She stoutly denies—and always has denied—that she is an advocate of violence. But she predicts with no more trepidation than a weather bureau hands out the "probs" that the world is going to see violence aplenty and it's going to see it pronto.

Sitting in the quiet of a tourist

home on Ouellette avenue, Miss Goldman—who has been married twice—stated simply but with a conviction that could not go unrecognized:

"War, world war, seems inevitable. There is only one alternative to world war and that is rebellion. But I believe that this world war will come

before the peoples of this world move with potent force against government.

### HAS WRITTEN ON "SPAIN"

"I am still writing. My most recent work is 'Spain.' I went to Spain in 1936 and travelled extensively in the country. I went back to England to lecture on behalf of the anti-Fascists in Spain. And then returned to Spain in 1937 and stayed there on into 1938.

"The Spanish struggle was one of the most marvellous and really great epics this world has ever seen," the king-pin Anarchist asserted. "The Spanish peasants were first to rise against Fascism as the people of Germany and Italy have not done.

"Hitler and Mussolini had it easy compared to Franco. Franco would never have been able to win the Spanish war like he did had it not been for the help of the democracies and Italy and Germany. I say the help of the democracies because Franco was definitely assisted by means of the Non-Intervention Pact.

"England and France held off and in so doing they showed both poor statesmanship and a selfish interest in their own country.

"Certainly Germany and Italy are waiting to collect their spoils in Spain. And when they do it will bring England and France to war. All this business of Chamberlain's appeasement has been a farce. The appeasement was merely because England was not prepared for war.

### REVOLUTION AS ALTERNATIVE

"But just so long as they are prepared, the English will not try to appease the impossible. And the only alternative to war seems to be revolution.

"I am opposed, and always have been, to imperialistic wars. I went to prison in 1917 because I was. I have not been convinced of the failure of the so-called peace that was brought about by the Great War. And I shall oppose war.

"War today is merely a scramble for power and loot, with the people

paying the price more so now than in 1914-18."

There you have the typical Emma Goldman continuity on the kaleidoscope of world affairs. She appears to be at home on any subject of universal interest that you may pull out of the hat. Her opinions may not tie in with the accepted Canadian feeling but there is a possession of knowledge that demands a degree of acceptance.

### TALKS ON ROYAL VISIT

Regarding the popular topic—the royal visit to Canada—the Russian Jewess coincides with opinion held in many circles:

"Obviously there is a definite reason for the King and Queen coming to Canada. It is not news to say that England is preparing for war. And England sees definite need of support from her dominions. The royal visit is undoubtedly a move aimed to cement the British Empire into greater unity.

"And behind the move is that one word which the world has come to fear but which the world is coming to expect—war."

Miss Goldman's theories, in general, have been known for many a year in many a country. She declaims the need for organized government, provided mass intelligence is sufficiently trained. She does not admit that government holds society together but rather asserts that the binding force is industrial and cultural effort.

### EXPLAINS HER THEORY

Hence, instead of being governed, people should learn to govern themselves—in the manner of a co-operative or syndicate, is her claim. But, in her own words, she makes it very plain:

"We don't believe in foisting anything on any country. Any change must take place from within. Otherwise, it is a grievous mistake. If social and economic conditions arise where millions are without work and suffer a drab and miserable life, they will arise from within.

"Why do I lecture? Why do I travel through Canada? Why do I travel through those countries that will admit me?

"Because people are so burdened with their worries and troubles that they have no time to think of action to remedy them. I, and others with me, merely awaken them. We do not force any violent change upon them. The change must come from the soil and needs of the country.

"That is what happened in Spain at the time of the revolution. That was merely a bursting of forces that had accumulated.

"My definition of revolution is nothing else but the bursting point of the accumulated evolutionary forces that have preceded it."

### OPINION OF FASCISM

In expressing the Goldman opinion of Fascism, this 69-year-old native of Russia provided much food for thought. The mere question: "What do you think of Fascism?" brought an unhesitating 10-minute prediction of the downfall of Fascists and their system.

"In Fascism, I see the last attempt to bolster the capitalistic system," she said. "International finance all manufacturers of arms, all large industrial interests have backed Fascism in Italy,

Germany and other countries where it is a force.

"Representatives of the capitalistic system believe that Fascism will bolster the debris of the system—foolishly, because it won't. In putting labor in a straitjacket and throttling culture, Fascism cannot hope to continue. Temporarily? Yes. But in no way permanently.

"The people do and will rise against it. There is unrest in Fascist countries now. Fascism leads to its own defeat. War or revolution? I think war first. But I also think that in some countries, war will end with revolution.

### OPPRESSED "RISE UP"

"I am afraid that revolution is the only alternative to war. When the people are oppressed and rise up, there is no way of stopping them. And the democracies, by reason of the existence of Fascism, are forced to become more reactionary.

"England, with its fear and panic of the Fascists and its new war measures, is placing such restrictions that mark a terrible decline in the political liberties that England has enjoyed. It is a vicious circle. One thing leads to another. The only solution that I offer is the social awakening of the masses, all people who create."

Touching on more personal subjects, Miss Goldman stated that she expected to conduct a coast-to-coast lecture tour of Canada during the next 10 months. Following her visit to Windsor, she will return to Toronto and mark time there until autumn when she will head for the Pacific Coast.

"I expect to continue lecturing as long as I am physically and mentally able," she observed. "If my voice fails me, then I will have to turn solely to writing. I have only written four books but I have turned out innumerable pamphlets, articles for both magazines and newspapers.

### "BRITAIN MY COUNTRY"

"Great Britain is my country. I am one of His Majesty's subjects," she went on, with a wry smile. "I have the distinction of being the first American citizen to be robbed of citizenship for deportation. That was in 1919. I was re-admitted to the United States for three months in

1934 by special amnesty of President Roosevelt."

Miss Goldman explains that she is a very poor sleeper and seldom does she give in to the "sand man" for more than four hours. She has acquired the habit of reading or writing until 4 and 5 a.m. and this, in itself, accounts for her brief rest periods.

"You know, I really need six hours sleep to be half-way human but I seldom get it," she advised. "Do I eat very much. I eat very, very extensively."

When it comes to reading, the Anarchist leader plays no heavy favorites but does show a slight preference for modern biographies. She is extremely fond of plays and has lectured extensively on the theatre and drama.

### AIDED BY FRIENDS

When she is on tour, she stays with friends and she has thousands of them throughout the world. Her largest expense is postage as her correspondence is a job in itself. Her passage to Canada from England was contributed by Canadian friends. When she was in the United States, her women friends "rigged" her out from head to toe.

Money is merely a means to an end to Emma.

Born in Kovno, Russia (now in Lithuania), June 27, 1869, Miss Goldman went to the United States when she was 15 years old. Her childhood, she has indicated in her memoirs, was bitter. She wrote that her father, Abraham, frequently beat her and she worked for small pay in a factory making gloves and shawls.

For a time the family lived in Rochester, N.Y., and there, in February, 1887, she married Jacob Kersner. She has written that she never quarrelled with him but that she was going through "a tremendous spiritual upheaval and he did not follow." The "upheaval" was her definite conversion to Anarchistic philosophy, largely because of her reaction to the hanging of the Chicago Haymarket bombers.

### RECORD IN NEW YORK

She went to New York City, joined a young radical group on the lower East Side and obtained a job in a factory. She quit when refused a raise in pay. In 1888, she helped lead a strike of factory girls.

For making speeches "urging revolution, violence and bloodshed" in connection with the Debs Railway strike in 1893, she was arrested in New York and served seven months on Blackwell's Island. Part of the time she was in the dungeons because of trouble with the head matron.

On September 6, 1901, Leon Czolgosz shot President McKinley at Buffalo, N.Y. In his confession, the assassin said he had been influenced by the writings of Emma Goldman and by some speeches he had heard her make in Cleveland. She was arrested in Chicago and questioned for two weeks.

She was released without prosecution but 18 years later, in December, 1919, after serving a short prison term for obstructing the World War draft, she was sent to her native Russia.

She soon fell out with Soviet leader denounced Bolshevism as tyrannical and has spent the years since wandering restlessly about Europe, always casting a longing eye toward America shores.

She is still wandering but has shifted the scene to Canada.

From the DETROIT TIMES  
May 19, 1939.

### EMMA GOLDMAN

"The cause of anarchy has been strengthened by the failure of the democracies," Miss Goldman said.

### SPAIN BETRAYED

"The collapse of the Communist government in Spain strengthens our cause. The forces of liberty were on the way to victory in Spain. They were defeated not because their ideas were not good, but because the Loyalist government was betrayed by the democracies."

Miss Goldman predicted the downfall of Franco in a very short time, saying:

"As long as there is a single revolutionary left in Spain there will be an uprising against the reactionary victors of the war. You can't keep the Spanish people down. They are not like the Germans, who put up no fight against Hitler. They are born champions of freedom."

### BARRED FROM U. S.

The woman whose presence in the United States was considered so menacing that she was deported in 1919, still is barred from this country. Across the river she spoke on "Who Betrayed Spain" at a rally in Dom Polski Hall.

"I still consider the United States my country," Miss Goldman said. "I spent more than half my life and all my formative years there. It is the most progressive country in the world."

"Anarchy will win, but not with kid gloves," Miss Goldman said. "We do not preach the theory of violence, but we do not believe in fighting violence by temperate measures."

Miss Goldman was brought to Canada by the Libertarian Group, an organization of anarchists.

"The Libertarians are not really an organization," she said. "It is impossible to tell how many members there are as there are no dues paid and no lists of members."

# Stalin Was Real Judas In Spain, Speaker Says

## Spaniards Defeated But Not Conquered, Asserts Miss Emma Goldman— Speaks Here

The people of Spain have been defeated but not conquered, although they were betrayed by the democracies and the Communist party, Emma Goldman, 70-year-old workers' crusader, told an audience in the Oddfellows' Temple last night.

After having spent several months in Spain during the revolution, the veteran lecturer brought to her listeners a first-hand picture of the Spanish scene. She arrived in Toronto a few days ago direct from Europe.

"The Spaniards are a proud people and are still fighting for their own freedom," she declared. "They're not Germans who bow before the sight of brass buttons."

It shouldn't be surprising, she said, that England and France betrayed the Spaniards as the two countries had large holdings in the natural resources of Spain which they were afraid would fall into Communist hands. On the other hand, the speaker pointed out, Stalin did not

wake up to the fact that he had had a chance to establish a Russian government in Madrid until three months after the war started. All the so-called aid which came from Russia, she said, was sent with one purpose—not to overthrow Franco, but to establish a Communist stronghold in Spain.

### RAP FOR CHAMBERLAIN

The French capitalists, Miss Goldman declared, had great fortunes invested in Spain and it would be ridiculous to have expected Leon Blum, the French premier, to have done anything else but betray Spain.

"It wasn't at all surprising that M. Blum was the first to sign the non-intervention pact at the behest of England," she declared.

She termed Chamberlain "the spokesman for the Bank of England." "Naturally they preferred Franco to the Loyalists," she said.

The Spanish people, she affirmed, were the first to take a stand against the terror and spread of Fascism, in July, 1936. No one, save the Spaniards, she declared, had the fortitude

to move against Hitler.

By accepting the policy of non-intervention the democracies of the world demonstrated that they would rather have Franco than the Spanish people.

"The democracies knew that Franco might be bought off and would recognize the holdings of England and France in Spain," the speaker pointed out. "Representatives of labor and trade unions in England supported the policy of non-intervention at the start but when they found out its vicious workings they asked questions of Mr. Chamberlain. But that's all they did—ask questions. The leaders of the labor groups knew how to hold their masses in check.

"Mr. Atlee and Mr. Greenwood knew how to put a damper on the ardor of the labor people so far as Spain was concerned," Miss Goldman declared. "From Stalin's point of view he knew that if he could establish a Communist stronghold in Spain he would be able to force France and England to his terms."

Fascist states and the democracies, but her most bitter language was saved for the Comintern and its leader.

"It was Russia who betrayed the Spanish people and the Spanish cause," she clipped.

"The Spanish people came to hate the Communists and Communism even more than they hated Fascism, for they knew Fascism for what it was.

"The Communist regime was the great deception, the great illusion."

### AUDIENCE APPLAUDS

The audience burst forth with applause.

"I have enough documentary evidence to prove the Judas Iscariot in the Spanish struggle, more than anyone else, was Stalin and the Soviet Government."

Warming to her work, Miss Goldman went on:

"Stalin is not afraid of the democracies, of the capitalist class, but he's afraid of his own satraps. He knows dead men don't speak—that's why they're all eliminated."

Confidently she declared: "The Spanish people are defeated but not conquered."

From the first the Communists sought to disrupt the people's revolution in Spain, hating with a bitter hatred Barcelona and the Catalonian district, said Miss Goldman.

### EXCUSE FOR DEMOCRACIES

While Miss Goldman held the democracies had sold out Spain, she found some excuse, in their "capitalist viewpoint." She had none at all for Communist Russia.

"What are we to say of the man Stalin who has destroyed the Russian revolution, who has killed off the best of the Bolsheviks, who has played a most treacherous and despicable part in the Spanish war?" she asked.

### APPLAUSE AND JEERS

Storms of applause and scattered jeers greeted "Red" Emma as she addressed an audience of 350 in Dom Polski Hall.

Fisticuffs threatened to mar the meeting when Bert Levy, Windsor veteran of the Spanish War, clashed with a member of the 12-man delegation sent by a Detroit I. W. W. union to assure order during the gray-haired Anarchist's address.

Disorder flared when Alan Clark, a young Detroitier with a bright red I. W. W. button in his lapel, spoke up during a question period following Miss Goldman's talk:

"How is it that the Communists come back from the Spanish war so healthy they can get up and talk, when the Anarcho-Syndicalists are all shot to h—l?"

Levy, who related he was released from hospital only last week after treatment for wounds suffered in the Spanish struggle, didn't like the remark and emphatically said so.

### "KEEP YOUR YAP SHUT"

"Keep your yap shut or you'll get your teeth knocked down your throat!" was his angry cry.

Trouble was in the air. The two men were only a few feet apart. Levy stood up in the audience. Clark was on the sidelines. Heated language came from Levy.

Keen resentment on behalf of members of the International Brigade was voiced by Levy. He pointed to the number of Spanish war victims who lost limbs or eyesight.

An outburst of booing from the audience followed.

But the tension eased when the short, stout woman on the platform who boasts half a century of militant Anarchism appealed for freedom of speech. The crowd quieted.

"I suggest this friend of yours, Miss Goldman, go to the hospitals in Toronto and see men without legs, or arms or eyes," Levy called.

The disturbance was over and the Windsor man sat down with a parting shot at the Detroitier—"keep quiet. . ."

### SYNDICALIST GUARD

At a meeting in Detroit, members of Metal Machine Union No. 440, Industrial Workers of the World, voted to send a 12-man delegation to prevent Communists from disturbing Miss Goldman's meeting, Branch Secretary Ralph Verlaine said.

"We were ready to go into action and throw them out if they got rough," Verlaine added. "We wobbles try to help the Anarchists."

Clark explained he meant no slight to the International Brigade in the remark which caused so much dispute. It was just a passing reference, the Detroitier said.

Whatever they thought of Anarchism the crowd filling Dom Polskie Hall was with Miss Goldman most of the way. She didn't pull her punches in a fiery address in which she answered her own question: "Who Betrayed Spain?"

And the audience came through nobly when "Red" Emma, once called the most dangerous woman in America, issued a stirring appeal for aid for Spanish war refugees.

### \$103.50 COLLECTED

No less than \$86 in bills and \$17.50 in silver poured to the aging woman who spoke with authority of international affairs. All the money will go towards its avowed purpose, she pledged the crowd.

With vitriolic tongue Miss Goldman lashed Josef Stalin and his Russia. With potent phrases she blasted the

Windsor (Ont.) Star  
May 20, 1939

# Terms Reds 'Traitors'

## Emma Goldman States Spain Double-Crossed by Russia

## Communists Irked

## Anarchist Is Protected by Squad of Syndicalists From Detroit

With a strong-arm squad of "wobbles" on hand to quell Communist-provoked disorder, Emma Goldman last night branded Stalin and his Soviet regime the arch-betrayers of the Spanish people.

revolutionary forces. "Now the struggle is over, the Spanish people are under the yoke of Franco but there is a comeback for the people of Spain—and none for the Communist party. The day is fast approaching when Italy and Germany will be demanding their share of the dividends of Spanish soil. The imperialists will have to watch out."

If the democracies of the world had risen to stop the Fascist invasion of Spain, she suggested, Mussolini and Hitler wouldn't be so brave in marching on helpless countries to-day.

"What should Canada do now in the face of events in Europe?" she was asked.

"There is no more principle involved in the coming war than there was in 1914," the speaker replied. "The English-speaking people should take a stand against it. As the old gentlemen make war they should be sent first to the front lines. I would oppose it even if it means going to prison."

# Terms Reds 'Traitors'

## Emma Goldman States Spain Double-Crossed by Russia

country, not for the world revolution, but for his power."

Miss Goldman noted:

"I think many of the Communists in the International Brigade were sincere idealists who fought heroically at the front. Many were wounded, some mortally, and so were the Anarchists. I do not think the bullets of Franco were any respecters of individuals or political creeds."

A final challenge to Red Russia was flung by "Red" Emma.

"As long as I will have a breath in my body, I will go forth from one end of the world to the other to expose the treachery of Stalin and the Soviet Government."

Miss Goldman is staying over in Windsor today, returning to Toronto Sunday. She will deliver a single lecture there, then cease speaking for the summer.

Miss Dorothy Rogers, Toronto, was in the chair for last night's meeting.

### RUSSIA SENT OLD GUNS

She revealed that Stalin had sent practically useless and out-moded tanks, machine guns and rifles to Spain for Spanish gold. In addition to arms he sent his Gestapo police "who confiscated passports from the boys of the international brigade and threw scores of them in prison."

"The moment Stalin put his iron hand into the Spanish situation he undermined the forces of the Loyalists and sacrificed the chances of the Spanish people in their war against Fascism."

She said that "not a single can of milk" ever reached Catalonia because of the undermining efforts of the Communists in that section of the country.

"The real Judas Iscariot is Stalin and he will have to answer for his destructive work in the anti-Fascist struggle," the speaker declared firmly. "In the last stages of the struggle Negrin became like putty in the hands of the Communists. It was with the aid of Negrin that Franco was successful in conquering the

"Hooley!" cried a male voice from the audience, but others murmured in protest at the interruption.

"The Cheka was established in Spain," the undaunted Anarchist went on. "It began a system of terror. Hundreds were arrested, tortured and destroyed."

Yet Miss Goldman is confident that the Spanish people will emerge triumphant in the end.

"The Spanish people are defeated but they are not conquered," she declared. "As long as one Spaniard has the revolutionary spirit, there is no peace, no security for Franco."

### "SPAIN WILL BE FREE"

For nearly an hour Miss Goldman spoke, and she closed with the ringing promise:

"Spain will be free!"

Veterans of the Spanish war differed with the speaker in her remarks on lack of Russian aid in furnishing arms other than weapons from the last war, purchased from munitions makers "for a song." Several told of using Russian rifles and seeing many machine guns and tanks of Russian make in Spain.

But Miss Goldman wasn't stopped. Yes, she agreed, but they were members of the International Brigade and as Communists, got the best equipment. Not so the Spanish people.

Miss Goldman lashed out again at Russia and Communism.

"The Communist must abide by the party line," she commented. "If he's in Russia and he doesn't, he's made one head shorter. If he's in Europe, he's expelled from the Communist Party."

### STALIN'S "ONE AIM"

She went on:

"There's only one aim for Stalin, and that's to strengthen his power in Russia and get ground in every

Toronto Star April 22/39

## EMMA GOLDMAN, ANARCHIST CRAZY ABOUT CATHEDRALS

Hitler and Mussolini Merely  
Puppets—Advises People  
Shake Shelves

### HELPING REFUGEES

Emma Goldman, heading into her 70th year, still talking anarchy in her deep, throaty voice, her home still in her suitcase, arrived in Toronto last night, this time to fight a battle for Spanish refugees.

Gray hair peeping from under her hat, a grim smile still arriving on her features exactly at the moment photographers' bulbs flashed, Emma seemed to have changed not a whit since last she was in Toronto fighting battles for birth control.

She doesn't look like an anarchist, "the mother of anarchy in America." When cameras are not around, her smile is gentle and friendly. She never did care much about clothes, but when she got off the train last night in her soft felt hat and neat ulster, umbrella in hand, spectacles perched above rosy cheeks, she looked like anyone's kindly grandmother.

Her mission to Toronto is to lecture, this time to arouse sympathy for Spanish refugees.

She has been in Spain on three trips in the last three years.

"I am here for two things," she said. "I want to put the English-speaking people straight on what is happening in Spain, to tell them the Spanish struggle is by no means finished, and also to arouse interest in the frightful conditions of the Spanish refugees."

Communists, "not the real Communists but the kind that Russia produces," were responsible, she declared, for the collapse of the Spanish government's struggle. That, she said, and starvation and the assistance lent by dictators to the rebel forces.

#### Blames Sabotage

"They (Communists) tried to establish their methods, but the Spanish people are not pliable, and they undermined everything the people did."



EMMA GOLDMAN

Real Communists, says Emma Goldman, are not "extremists."

"There are no Communists in Russia," she declared. "They are just opportunists. In Spain they claimed to belong to the anti-Fascist front, but they only wanted to impose their own dictatorship."

Russia is one of the many countries that won't admit Emma Goldman. She fled from there in 1919, when deported "home" by the United States, after a bitter quarrel with the Soviet leaders.

"Hitler and Mussolini. Who are they?" she asked and then answered. "Just puppets and if the people would only shake themselves, they would fall off and they would be free of both tyranny and war."

#### Imprisoned When 24

In 1918 she was imprisoned and then deported from the United States to Russia. She was used to prisons by then.

"The first time," she recalled last night, "was when I was 24. I went to prison then for supporting some strikers. Then the next time—it was just for two weeks, was for talking birth control. Then the next time was in 1919. . . ."

"But you've seen inside palaces too?"

"Hmmp," snorted the rugged, stocky little woman. "Lots of them. But I didn't find them especially interesting. I like cathedrals, though. I think some of the cathedrals in France and Spain are marvellous."

Though she visited United States in 1934, under amnesty granted by President Roosevelt to all who had demonstrated against participation by the United States in the great war, she doesn't believe she will be allowed to return again this year.

"Times have changed some since then," she said. "I don't think they will be as likely to welcome again Emma Goldman the anarchist."

#### In Toronto For Summer

She plans to stay in Toronto for the summer, and will celebrate in August her 50th anniversary as an anarchist. As an anarchist, she has never advocated violence, she claims. She urges people to learn to govern themselves. She has not been discouraged, she declared, for all the rise of fascism.

"To me it is just a passing phase in the social struggle. I am not discouraged because I measure the world in historic events."

She was born in Russia and was 14 years old when she first worked in factories there at \$1.50 a week. A year later she went to the United States and first won the attention of authorities when she led a factory workers' strike when she was 20.

Since then she has popped up here and there almost everywhere in the world. She has been married twice, last time just before she entered Canada in 1926 as a British subject, newly married to James Colton, a Scottish mine worker. He died, she said last night, just two and a half years ago.

"If you had it to begin all over, would you still choose so hard a life?" she was asked.

Emma Goldman smiled. She tucked a gray hair under her hat, adjusted her gold-rimmed spectacles.

"I would never take the easy way," she said. "I think if I have had any experience at all, if I have accumulated anything in my long struggle it is that I am temperamentally unfitted for what you call the easy way. No. I'm still going on."

# Anarchist Then—and Now

## Emma Goldman in Windsor, Keeps Faith

By RUSSELL BARNES

A short, stout woman in a brown silk dress, bobbed grey hair and thick glasses, sat in an upstairs bedroom of a tourists' home in Windsor, and as she rocked back and forth in her chair, in beautifully-chosen words, blasted communism, fascism, democracy and capitalism.

She was Emma Goldman, once known as "the most dangerous woman in America," who was deported in 1919 to Russia, along with 247 other alleged revolutionaries. She arrived last month in Canada on a British passport to lecture, and will speak at 8:30 o'clock tonight at Dom Polski, Langlois and Ottawa streets, Windsor, on "Who Betrayed Spain?"

Considering her 70 years, grandmotherly demeanor, and the circumstances of an upstairs tourist bedroom, by all story-book maxims this should have been an Emma Goldman broken in spirit, repentant of a misused life, eating her heart out to cross the river to the America represented by the lighted towers of Detroit, visible through the branches of the elm trees outside the window.

### THE SAME EMMA

But it wasn't. It was the old Emma Goldman, unrepentant, staunch in spirit, vitriolic of tongue, still convinced that the happiness and prosperity of mankind can come only through abolishing political parties and governments, and rooting society in community cultural and economic organizations. And still maintaining that she has always preached that her type of anarchic socialism must be achieved by peaceable means.

"We are in a period of reaction," declared Miss Goldman. "I don't know how long it will last. The world has been in such periods be-

fore, and has come out of them. My faith in anarchy is unshaken. I think that the behavior of modern imperialistic governments and their leaders will help convince the mass



EMMA GOLDMAN

of people that chances for happiness and prosperity do not lie with political parties and political governments. And like Lincoln, I do not believe that you can fool the people all the time.

"I believe now that another world war is inevitable, although I think

it could have been stopped last year without a shot, if the democracies had not surrendered Czecho-Slovakia and Spain.

### NOT MUCH CHOICE

"But in a war between modern democracies and the fascist powers, I do not believe that it makes much difference for the people involved who wins. The only difference is the difference between being shot and hanged.

"Modern democracy is only fascism in disguise. The liberties of the people are being constantly curtailed. The latest example is conscription in England. And, of course, the present preparation of another imperialistic war. The people always lose in such wars.

"Communism is finished. It has failed in Russia, and set back the attainment of true socialism. Stalin sold it out, and now is throwing the resources of Russia to support of bourgeois capitalism. If Stalin had stayed out of Spain, I think the Spanish people would have won. Franco's rebellion would have become demoralized and collapsed.

### SEES FRANCO'S FINISH

"The Spanish people paid dearly in gold and blood for Russian help. The Russians tried to establish their terrorist regime in Spain, and the people came to hate communists worse than they did fascists.

"But Franco will not last long. He is trying to use German terrorist methods on the Spanish people, and the Spanish people won't take it the way the Germans did. Franco is not only faced with deep-rooted opposition of the people, but also dissension in his own ranks."

"Are you going to try to enter the United States?" Miss Goldman was asked.

"No," she replied. "I have not applied and, judging by the Dies committee and other evidences of reaction in the United States, I doubt if they would let me in. But the United States is still my country, as much as an anarchist can have a country."

WPA expenditures in New York City in 1938 were \$186,938,166.

EMMA GOLDMAN on "POLITICAL EXILES" in THE NATION, Oct. 10, 1934

"All political movements are at each other's throats—more bitter, vindictive and downright savage against each other than against their common enemies. The most unpardonable offender in this respect is the so-called Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Not only is it keeping up a process of extermination of all political opponents in and outside its territory, but also is engaged in wholesale character assassination."

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TO COMRADES AND FRIENDS ON THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT:

As you see, I am now very near to you in the United States, yet still very far away. Fortunately, there are no spiritual boundaries to the all-embracing force of comradeship and solidarity. I, therefore, feel very close to all of you regardless of arbitrary frontier divisions. I feel certain that you also feel close to me.

August 15, '39, will be exactly a half century since I entered our ranks and took up the battle for Anarchism. Far from regretting this step, I can say honestly I am more convinced than in August, 1889, of the logic and justice of our ideal. True, we are passing through a period of the blackest reaction in every country. The Fascists, the so-called democracies, and even "the workers' fatherland" are competing with each other to further forge the chains of economic and political slavery and to destroy the individual altogether. By this very scramble for Power, the State in every country has proven its utter inability to meet the needs of the people and to maintain even a modicum of freedom and well-being.

Only one country and one people have attempted to translate Anarchist thought and ideas into action. They were Spain and the Spanish people. By their heroic struggle against Fascism, and in defense of the Spanish Revolution, and even more so, by their magnificent constructive work, they have silenced forever the contention that Anarchism is a wild idea, utterly impractical and never to be realized. If they have been defeated in the end, it was entirely due to the conspiracy of the Democracies and Soviet Russia to crush the Spanish Revolution at all costs. No less guilty was the International Proletariat. By its acquiescence to the half-hearted sympathy on the part of its leaders with Spain, the workers have betrayed their Spanish brothers and have thus helped Franco to defeat the glorious beginnings in Spain.

Yes! Franco has defeated the Spanish Revolution, but he has not conquered the Spanish workers and peasants of the National Confederation of Labour, the Anarchist Federation of Iberia and the Libertarian Youth. Forced to flee the tender mercies of Franco, subjected to the most barbarous treatment in the French concentration camps, our Spanish Comrades continue to be imbued with their ideal. Those that I was able to see before sailing for Canada entrusted me with a message to the comrades in Canada and the United States. It is:- "Tell all the comrades that though defeated, we are not conquered. As long as we will draw a living breath, no power will succeed in crushing us and in extinguishing our flaming spirit and our determination to come back to Spain, and take up once more the battle to realize the promise of July 19th, 1936."

Let me impress upon all, especially comrades of U.S. and Canada, the need of increasing your fervour and energy for our gallant Spanish Libertarians now suffering beyond belief in concentration camps and exile.

Issued on my 70th Birthday,  
June 27th, 1939,  
295 Vaughan Road,  
Toronto, Ont., Canada.

Fraternally,

*Emma Goldman*

**PUBLISHERS NOTE:** To this appeal of our UN-OFFICIAL—but well recognized—LIBERTARIAN AMBASSADOR To The World At Large, we add assurances that every single cent of support sent through Emma Goldman, or this Committee, to Spanish Libertarians, who escaped Franco's

"blood-spilling machine" will reach such Spanish persons. Most are exiles, facing death, if they return to Spain. They face near-starvation till they learn to make a living in foreign lands.

—LOS ANGELES LIBERTARIAN COMMITTEE.