

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Those who go to war against a people in order to stop their progress toward liberty and to destroy the rights of man, must be condemned by all and be considered not just as enemies, but as assassins and brigands.

M. ROBESPIERRE.
(1793)

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Mussolini and the Spanish Adventure

What Will His Future Policy Be

The following report is by the Rome Correspondent of "The Sunday Times":

WILL Signor Mussolini continue his support of the Spanish insurgents or will he cut his losses? This question is becoming increasingly important as the stubborn battle at Teruel reveals the quality of the new Republican Army and its command.

Until recently an outright Franco victory was the only possibility contemplated here. Il Duce made no secret of his expectations or of his determination to assist by every means in his power. The recapture of Teruel by the insurgents was vociferously announced by the Press in eight-column front-page stories, which stressed the important part played by Italian planes, artillery, and legionnaires. When victory became defeat, when Colonel Rey and his men surrendered, the reaction was sharp. The Spanish war was relegated to the inner pages and the failure of the relieving force was explained away.

It has since come out of its obscurity, but shrewd observers detect a difference. There is something in the air, hard to seize, impossible to pin down, an indefinable feeling that the Spanish adventure is not as agreeable as it used to be in high quarters. There may be doubts whether the advantages anticipated from a Franco triumph have not been over-estimated. There may even be a feeling that Italy cannot support indefinitely a drain on its resources which continually grows heavier.

INDUSTRIAL STRAIN.

The present foreign policy, based on the Rome-Berlin axis and the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo triangle, shows no signs of lightening commitments. On the contrary they are growing. From the industrial north comes evidence of dissatisfaction. In the past Italy had a modest but profitable share in the Chinese trade. The cellulose industry, for example, had built up

FRANCO CALLS UP BOYS

BOYS born in the first quarter of 1919 and not normally due for army service till 1940, were yesterday called to the rebel colours by Franco.

At the same time he announced the setting up of a "civil government" in the insurgent area with himself as President and General Martinez Anido, the "Butcher of Barcelona," as Minister of Public Order.

There will, of course, be no parliament.

an export trade of about 150,000,000 lire annually. What is left of this now? Not much. Japanese orders have been received for munitions. But raw materials are lacking and Italian industry is already in arrears with the artillery and munitions needed for its own army.

Meantime, the steady rise in the cost of living is pinching the workers hard. Signor Lantini, the Minister of Corporations, has admitted the rise; he and others have declared that "it must stop." But it does not. General wage increases can hardly be postponed much longer. These, in turn, will affect the prices of commodities in a slow cycle of inflation.

Further, the Treasury has been disappointed at the results of the 10 per cent. capital levy. It is reported that anticipations of two milliards for this fiscal year must be scaled, perhaps to one and a quarter milliards. This suggests that the structure of corporate business cannot carry further exceptional burdens. On the other hand, the resilience of tax revenue gives hope, if new adventures are avoided and the State's resources are devoted to productive ends and the development of the new Empire.

GOLD FROM EAST AFRICA

Recent figures of gold production in Italian East Africa lend point to this. For the first ten months of last year 416 kilograms of gold were produced, worth about £90,000. Only three districts have yet begun to be developed, and two

FRANCO BRINGS FASCIST CIVILISATION TO BARCELONA

Since the year began, Barcelona has suffered the following air raid toll:—

	Killed	Wounded
Jan. 1	49	50
Jan. 11	30	45
Jan. 15	7	15
Jan. 19	400	1,200
Jan. 25	84	300
Jan. 30	350	1,000
	720	2,610

The figures take no account of raids in which the bombers were driven off by anti-aircraft fire before they could do much damage.

of these are outside Ethiopia proper, in the old colony of Eritrea. The Government exercises strict control of these undertakings, compelling the mines to work ore rather below the economic level.

Intensive prospecting is going

on; surface indications are favourable and suggest that with careful mining a continuous flow of gold may be assured for many years. But big resources are needed for development in this as in many other fields. If the resources are squandered on adventures elsewhere development will be retarded.

All these factors must be considered in the inner councils of Fascism, and one gets the impression that a time of crucial decision is at hand.

Teruel Resists Fascist Attacks

Duty of the World Proletariat

THE popular army resisted the violent counter-attack of the Franco troops. All attempts to reconquer Teruel failed, the last rebels in the inner town surrendered. In this counter-offensive Franco has lost his best troops, the long prepared offensive was made impossible; amongst his friends abroad he lost prestige.

The consequence might have resulted in his fascist supporters withdrawing now from the Spanish adventure. In this case it would have been only a question of a relatively short time, till the definite victory of the popular army.

But a number of signs indicate, that this will scarcely be the case. New Italian colonial troops in Malaga, fuel-deposits in the Balearics, the increased activity of the pirates along our coast, all point to the fact that Mussolini is preparing a combined offensive on land and sea, probably against Almeria. The same is indicated by the removal of Queipo de Llanos headquarters to Malaga. The fascists want to force a success by still more increased intervention, to wipe out the crushing impression of the victory of Teruel.

As we know more or less, what stands before us, we can forestall it. The popular army has proved its efficiency and the courage of its fighters. What is lacking is almost exclusively of a material nature. The international proletariat have to profit by the favourable moment, and by increased activity for Spain, by direct action, force their governments to change towards us. To-day it is evident: justice, discipline and heroism are not lacking, only material and food.

Our comrades abroad must not for one moment be impeded in their action by the momentary counter-revolutionary current in Spain. The Spanish revolution is not dead; on the contrary it lives latently, as basic motive of the struggle against fascism. Everyone, who visits Spain can testify this. The CNT is there as guarantor for the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. The militants of the CNT, who witness day by day the reactionary trend are hopeful. They know, what they are doing, when they continue the struggle against fascism with undiminished sacrifice. This should suffice. All abroad, who really are concerned about the victory of the proletarian movement, have the duty, to do more than ever to help the Spanish people in their struggle. Our duty is to watch over the interests of the revolutionary proletariat. That of the comrades is to have confidence in our movement, to use all their forces for the help of the Spanish people.

(Boletin de Informacion).

BRITISH MERCHANT SHIP SUNK BY REBELS

Dockers must Intensify their Boycott

AS we go to Press we learn that the British Merchant vessel, "Endymon," has been sunk by Spanish rebel submarines. Eleven of her complement of 15, including the Captain, his wife and a Control Officer, were drowned. The ship was carrying a cargo of coal to Cartagena, the report states.

In view of the fact that Franco does not possess any submarines, it is obvious that Mussolini is once more responsible for this outrage.

This is not the first such incident. The "Woodford" was sunk last September by a torpedo and the "Jean Weems" on October 30th by rebel bombers. Only eleven days ago seven members of the crew of the steamer "Thorpness" were killed during a rebel air raid on Tarragona.

Mr. Eden's statement at Geneva after the signing of the Nyon pact, that: "Recent submarine sinkings have constituted a kind of gang-

ster terrorism of the sea," and that "We believe we have put a stop to submarine piracy in the Mediterranean" are just more fine words to quieten public opinion.

What is however more surprising is that Trade Union leaders do not officially approve of the action of British dockers in refusing to load vessels transporting raw materials to Fascist powers engaged in the destruction of their brothers on land and in the Merchant Service.

The dockers' action at Middlesborough and at the King George V. Dock, in refusing to load ships sailing for Japan, must be followed everywhere. No more ships carrying raw materials must leave this country for Fascist countries!

THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THE DOCKERS OF THIS COUNTRY MUST ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF THEIR UNION LEADERS.

A DOCTOR IN ARAGON

THE background of our work: an Aragon village, dirty, neglected, with the inheritance of illiteracy from the centuries of domination by priest and landlord. The revolution came. The landlord fled with the fascists. The ground remained without owner. And then in all the hundreds of Aragon villages and towns, the peasants gathered spontaneously and without law or governmental interference — agreed on the collectivisation of the ground. Only a few remained outside, cultivating their land individually. A Committee was formed of the UGT and CNT representatives, the work distributed. Every producer was entitled to his equal share of bread, meat, wine, oil; when there was abundance, everybody got according to his needs. Money was abolished. The village doctor and pharmacist joined the collectivity, they were not forced, but they realized the progressive work going on. The Committee charged itself with cultural functions: in the syndicate the peasants gathered by night, reading newspapers, listening to the wireless, to lectures, playing chess.

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The Offices of the CNT-FAI London Bureau and the S.I.A. are now open at:
21 FRITH STREET,
LONDON, W.1.

U. S. A.

DEPORTATION FIGHT WON

SALLITTO RELEASED

A four year fight against the deportation of Domenick Sallitto was terminated today when attorneys in the case were notified by the Department of Labour that deportation warrant, proceedings and bond have been cancelled.

Sallitto, who has been a legal resident of the United States for 16 years and is the father of a five year old American-born child, was arrested by Department of Labour agents on April 11th, 1934, in Oakland, California, charged with being a member of an "organization believing in the overthrow of the government by force and violence" and ordered deported to Italy. A writ of habeas corpus filed in his behalf was dismissed by Judge Caffey of the N. Y. Southern District Court in March, 1936. An appeal was filed, but in October of the same year, the Circuit Court of Appeals sustained the decision of the lower court. At this time the case went back under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labour. On November 5th, 1937, the case was re-opened by order of the Department and, with the subsequent decision following that re-opening, the warrant of deportation has been cancelled.

The nature of the charge being purely political, and the fact that Sallitto would have been subject to either long imprisonment or possible death if deported to Italy—because of his outstanding anti-Fascist sentiments, aroused a nationwide protest. The Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference, which has carried on the fight against Sallitto's deportation, states that an estimate of 40,000 individual protests and the collective protests of over 800 Trade Unions and liberal organizations aggregating a membership of approximately more than 500,000, have been sent to the Department of Labour. Last September, a collective protest signed by one hundred prominent writers, artists and professors, was delivered personally to Miss Perkins by a delegation headed by Mrs. Louis F. Post, aged widow of the Assistant Secretary of Labour in the post-war period.

Vincent Ferrero, who was arrested on similar charges, is now at liberty under a \$1000 bail, pending the outcome of a private Bill in his behalf, introduced in Congress by Representative Celler of Brooklyn.

The Diplomatic Correspondent of the "Sunday Times" (30/1/38) writes:

DETAILS of the serious economic difficulties with which the Italians are faced in Abyssinia have reached me from a reliable and competent source.

They show that Abyssinia to-day is an impoverished country, draining money and resources from Italy, but offering no market for her goods and manufactures. Trade is virtually at a standstill. The native population no longer produces enough food for its own requirements, and money made by individuals through Italian war expenditure is being smuggled out of the country.

In July it was decided in Rome to limit the value of Abyssinian imports from Italy and abroad to 100 million paper lire per month (approximately £1,000,000). At the same time a rigid system of import licences was introduced, and for the three months August, September, and October the monthly average of imports was well below this figure.

EMPTY CARAVANS

It was calculated that this reduction of imports would coincide with a resumption of local trading at the end of the wet season. These hopes were severely disappointed.

The usual caravans from the country did not arrive in the capital. Those that did make the journey often came in empty, to buy not to sell food. There was the curious phenomenon of Abyssinians buying Indian rice and Italian spaghetti.

There are various explanations for this lack of trade. It is said that the native were afraid to visit Addis Ababa for fear of further reprisals, as the Italians have been nervous since the bomb outrage on Marshal Graziani.

The truth, however, is probably that the Abyssinians had little to sell, and that what surplus there was, allowing for produce forcibly requisitioned by the military authorities, they were not willing to part with in exchange for paper lire quoted at a discount.

RAIL TRAFFIC HALVED

It is reported that on the Djibouti railway traffic was more than halved during September. Trade in fact was paralysed.

Imports of oil were cut down to a minimum. Goods traffic was diverted from lorry transport to the railway, to save oil—even though this was at the expense of Italian enterprise.

The shortage of foreign currency is such that the Italians are said to be in debt to the Djibouti railway authorities to the tune of several million francs.

Palestine

FACTS CONCERNING PALESTINE

(CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS ISSUE)

And what was this strike? How was it started? By the aid of paid terrorists, who terrorised the Arab masses, within full view of the Government and without its intervention. This terrorism did not even hesitate to kill impoverished Arab farmers who brought their products to the cities to be sold.

But there were persons and institutions who did not feel the hand of the terrorists. These were the Arab banks (they were open during the entire strike) which did not forget to demand the prompt payment of loans. These were also the same wealthy class that subscribed to the riots and the rioters, but did not withdraw their demands of rentals from those Arab farmers, who in order to pay them, had to bring their products to the cities, and because of this strike-breaking were assassinated by the protectors of the "General Strike."

And how did the strike end? Plain and simple! The harvesting of citrus fruit drew near, (the citrus groves, after feudal taxes, were the largest means of income to the bourgeois class), and their owners could not very well give up their profits. On their demands the strike was stopped.

And the Jews? They also are not stainless, for they, as all large

movements (and the Jewish colonization movement is a mass movement) were not free from mistakes. However, in their internal relationship, and also in their relationships with the Arabs, their sins pale in the light of the sins of the Arabs against the Jews and of the Arab ruling class against their own people.

It is understood that also amongst the Jews the hands of property are not clean. There is a known number of wealthy persons and of reactionary classes that endorse small groups of chauvenistic nationalists, who are identified with European Fascism, and if you heard lately about the acts of vengeance on Arabs by Jews, know that these acts were perpetrated by the above-mentioned groups, (here is not the place to narrate all the incidents of their "working from within," such as the breaking of strikes, and the assassination of the workers' leader, Chaim Arlossorof in 1933.) It is interesting to note that from the Arabs not one word of protest was heard against these groups, nor even against their supporters, the Jewish propertied class. On the contrary, the Arab nationalists are not opposed to the immigration of wealthy Jews; their anger and wrath is turned chiefly against the workers' immigration, against those people who demand their right to cultivate the desolate and the uninhabitable wastes, and the right to work for Jewish employers, for whom the workers' immigration created, as for themselves, a special atmosphere of independence and self-respect, which draws to this forsaken corner of Asia, thousands of Jews whose lives had been turned into a hell in the "civilised" countries of Germany, Poland, Roumania, etc. They, the workers, are the first victims of criminal incitement and they also stand guard on three fronts: against the colonial administration, the Arab terrorists, and the Jewish Fascists, who are now beginning to raise their heads.

For a long time the Government watched from the sidelines all that took place, in her exploitation of race and class hatred for her own aims. *Divide et Impera!* until their entered into the struggle a third power, German and Italian Fascism. Then England herself took over the reins, though the *Divide* succeeded 100 per cent., the *Impera* was in danger.

But, as we sow, so shall we reap. It is now impossible to change that which was prepared during the course of many years. The Palestinian administration did not wish to, and could not, keep control of the situation. Only now is it attempting to do by force, what previously could have been done by non-support alone. It is no wonder that in attempting to protect her own interests she sometimes finds the means to root out the evil at its source. I am referring again to the destruction of the houses of the rich. The Government knows full well what is the prime mover in this unbridled hatred—property—and she is fighting this hatred by destroying the property of those who would sacrifice the lives of human beings for the protection of their property. The fear of the immediate and actual destruction of their property is greater than the fear of some future social change, and the above-mentioned method, therefore, may succeed. But it is almost certain that this method will not benefit now, as the rich Arab villagers are not the principal instigators to date. The principal instigators stood at the head of cities and Government agencies, such as the Moslem Council, and even received Government wages. Only now, after the murder of several Englishmen, did the Government take active measures against these instigators. Several were arrested and exiled; others, the most dangerous, were allowed to escape to Syria and there organize mercenary terrorist groups, which, with the aid of German arms and Italian money, continued their acts of terrorism in Palestine, to which most of the Palestinian Arab refuse to lend a hand.

What does Alfred Roke state, according to your article? We know that Italy regards the Arab question only as a card in a bigger game! That is how he and his friends regard the matter, but this knowledge does not prevent them from receiving German arms and Italian money, because for their nationalism, Italy and the Jewish question in Palestine is but a card in a bigger game called — "The Fight for the Preservation of the Exploiting Class." What luck it is for Alfred Roke (who is a Christian Arab) that there are Jews in Palestine, for otherwise he and his co-religionists would take the place of the Jews and fall prey to the hatred (Continued on page 3, column 5)

Abyssinia

Italy's "Empire"

Trade Almost At A Standstill

Meanwhile, distrust in the future of Abyssinia has become so widespread that money is being drained out of the country, even by officials whose duty it is to enforce the currency regulations. Lire are sold in Djibouti at a discount in exchange for sterling and francs. The drain is estimated at one million lire or about £10,000, a day.

CURRENCY ORDER

In a desperate attempt to accumulate foreign currency, an order was issued in Rome that all Abyssinian exports were to be sold abroad and not in Italy. But this order has remained a dead letter. Abyssinian hides or skins are no longer traded.

The whole situation is further aggravated by the inexperience of the Italian officials in colonial administration, handicapped as they are by the necessity of working under detailed regulations from Rome drawn up without knowledge of local conditions.

There is no sign that the Italian occupation of the country is in any way threatened, although there are inevitably isolated losses and some desertions from the Eritrean and Somali forces.

Italy has much more to fear from the strain imposed on her resources, with the possibility that the whole Abyssinian adventure may one day become highly unpopular with the country.

The "Berliner Tageblatt" has pointed out the difficulties experienced over the exchange rate between Abyssinian currency and the lira. This rate was originally five lire to the thaler. Later the "black market" forced the rate up to 13½ lire to the thaler, and it has now been reduced to twelve.

LARGE FORCES ABROAD

The number of Italian soldiers and civil servants, road workers, and native troops in Abyssinia is estimated at 250,000. When it is remembered that Italy has 80,000 troops in Libya—some 10,000 more troops have recently gone there and extra battalions have been drafted to Abyssinia—and 40,000 troops in Spain,* it becomes a matter for speculation whether there is still an army in Italy capable of sustaining Mussolini's policy in Cen-

*This was Mussolini's official figure. According to the London Times it is nearer 100,000. Ed.)

tral Europe. And this dispersion of forces is undertaken by a nation without command of the seas.

The forces in Libya have now been raised to the status of an army command.

The announcement in Rome today that Marshall Graziani, the retiring Viceroy, has left Abyssinia has not come as a surprise in London. It had been known for some days that he was no longer in Addis Ababa, and his hurried and unceremonious departure is explained by rumours of friction between his entourage and that of the new Viceroy, the Duke of Aosta.

France

The Position of Fascism In France Today

READING the French newspapers it would be reasonable to believe that the country is torn by a great struggle between opposing forces. Fascism and anti-fascism, and, in fact, most working-class demonstrations are occupied with this question. There is hardly a meeting where the subject of the Fascist menace is not discussed. The recent affair of the Cagoulards has frightened people into thinking that there are organisations fully armed and equipped, and ready to attack the whole country.

The facts do not support this fear, and if we will examine them one by one, it will become evident that what is called Fascism has no real existence in France, no more, in fact, than there is a real revolutionary movement. The principal reason for these excitements is to be found in the favourable economic situation. France is characterised by a rich and repressive imperialism, and though it has been undergoing certain economic difficulties, these have been greatly exaggerated. Her political system of parliamentary democracy allows the dominant class to defend privileges easily and one can foresee that unless some new severe economic troubles, or some difficulties due to foreign events arise, that this class will continue to pursue its ordinary policy without any sudden transformations. Undoubtedly the Croix de Feu, laterly

transformed into the "Parti Social Francais," has existed for some years and is quite powerful. It is also true that there has recently been created the "French Popular Party," but there is nothing in the programme of either of these parties which distinguishes them from the traditional programme of reaction, neither in their composition nor in their activities.

The military exercises of Colonel de la Rocque were more designed to maintain the enthusiasm of his adherents than to prepare a real "putsch." His important role is to act as a bogey man, to terrorise the Radicals in the Chamber of Deputies, and so assist the parliamentary game of Tardieu and Laval. Doriot might have, because of his revolutionary beginnings, become the right type for a revolutionary dictator, but to-day one only has to look at his associates to be convinced that their dynamic power is nil. His party is formed of old politicians and electoral gangsters, such as the "Action Francaise" group, which is composed of political riff-raff and of royalists who have themselves no confidence in the possible return of a king, and of various organisations for the defence of this or that bourgeois privilege, such as the C.S.A.R., none of them of any great strength or importance.

All these people and organisations are well known to the French

Police, which makes it easily possible for the latter to unearth a "plot" from time to time! It was thus that the "Cagoulards" were "discovered" so propitiously just at the moment of the agitation of the civil servants against Bonnet's financial projects. It was helpful in wiping out the impression so recently made on the minds of the French people by several events which had the unmistakable stamp of the G.P.U.

There will be no real danger of Fascism unless a movement arises which will take an anti-Capitalist mask, with some basis, at least, in the proletariat. No such movement has as yet made its appearance, and the French working class is very little attached to the Aristocrats, officers, and industrial magnates who at the moment compose the Fascist organisations. This does not preclude the possibility of a change when an agitator of the working class should appear, who could speak as a revolutionary, and, profiting by social unrest, could impose himself on the middle-classes as a possible saviour, and at the same time appear to the workers as a daring and providential leader.

Another possible method of penetration by Fascist ideology must be looked for in the evolution of the working-class organisations themselves. This form of penetration (Continued on page 3)

The Collectivization Of Transport In Barcelona

ON the 24th of July, five days after the outbreak of the military insurrection, the tramway-men of Barcelona decided at a meeting of their trade-union to run the whole enterprise themselves. The directors and the technical personnel had left, were hiding or were abroad. The workers had to depend on themselves. The situation in the other branches of transport was similar.

Two days after this decision, all the damage caused by street-fighting was repaired and the traffic functioned normally. But only externally. The internal transformation was tremendous. A directing committee, composed of seven comrades, had been chosen by the workers. They handled their task differently from their predecessors. The big salaries disappeared. Instead, pensions for workers over sixty were introduced. The collectivised enterprises paid all old debts. In a general meeting the workers decided on the 48 hour week, instead of the legally prescribed 40 hours, as long as the war went on. 657 unemployed tramway-men were employed again. Through these two measures the traffic was substantially increased.

During the last half year of capitalist exploitation the incomes had been reduced by half a million pesetas. The measures of the working-class committees increased the traffic, reduced the tariff on some lines, arranged for new branch lines and had as a consequence during the first half year, increased the income by 421,387 pesetas.

The workshops of the tramway-collective was completely modernised by modern machinery to a total value of 700,000 pesetas. Therefore all repairs can be done now by themselves. This resulted in a saving of time and money, for the number of trams in use could be increased. During the first five months of collectivisation 236,590km. increase had been run and about 10 million persons more had been carried. In the following paragraph a short survey of the results of these five months, compared with the preceding year, may be seen.

	1935	1936
Expenditure		
Current and subcentrals	1,203 thousand	1,221 thousand
Salaries ...	4,850 "	7,216 "
Various (lawyer, travels, etc.)	2,247 "	1,110 "
Purchase of material ...	494 "	783 "
Taxes, levies ...	580 "	550 "
	9,374 "	10,880 "
Income		
From Tickets	12,724 "	13,145 "
Other income	162 "	71 "
Total income	12,886 "	13,216 "
Total expenditure	9,374 "	10,880 "
Difference ...	3,512 "	2,336 "

You see much higher expenses for material, general expenditures much reduced, improved service.

* * *

Representatives of tramways, general buses, the two undergrounds and two fu-

nicular railways form together the control-committee of urban transport. The administration of every enterprise is independent. They have, according to their importance, one to four delegates in the control committee. Amongst the collectivised enterprises reigns solidarity. The surplus of the one is used to strengthen another that has to struggle with bigger difficulties. Under no circumstances is the surplus simply divided, like capitalist dividends, but is used always for purposes that serve to counteract fascism, or to improve production.

The buses have difficulties with the upkeep of rolling-stock. Certain parts can not be produced in Spain and valuta for the import from abroad is not available. Therefore some buses have been withdrawn, the personnel being transferred to the trams.

The underground has completely modernized its workshops. Now all repairs can be done there, and even new construction. Thus new cars and trains were put into circulation, the traffic was intensified by 150%. Quite an extraordinary result of collectivisation, especially if one takes into consideration the difficulties of obtaining material in the midst of war.

The general meeting of the workers takes place at regular intervals. The directing committees have to give account of their activity and the state of the enterprise. Thereafter the new committee is elected. Within one year and a half the committee of the tramway workers has changed twice—a sign of the democratic management of the committees and the responsibility of the workers.

The prices for all materials rose enormously, especially in the last months. For some the increase amounts to more than 600%. The general increase in the cost of living made necessary an increase in wages. The urban transport enterprises paid, as long as they were in private hands, 700,000 pesetas as levies. At present the collectivised enterprises pay three millions annually. All these are heavy burdens, the collectivisation has to bear. But the prices for tickets, already the lowest in Europe, have not been raised. One can travel right through the whole town for 0.15 pesetas. The means of transport functions regularly, they are kept very clean.

The politicians have tried repeatedly to take the urban transport from the workers and get it into their own hands. A whole crowd of professional hooligans wait to get employment there, to live on the backs of the workers. In vain. The transport workers know how to defend their work. On this fact all the attempts at statism and municipalisation break.

And the fact is, that under no other regime, neither private nor state-capitalist, could the enterprise work as under the regime of collectivisation.

The collectivised transport of Barcelona is a splendid example of the technical and organisational capacities of the proletariat. Without highly paid directors and without shareholders, the technical personnel and the workers together took over a big enterprise and conducted it better than before under the capitalist regime. Collectivisation by the CNT means socialisation from below. Collectivisation is real workers' socialism, no state's capitalism. The proletariat of all countries can learn from this.

The Position Of Fascism In France To-day

(Continued from page 2)

would be slower, more insidious, much harder to detect, and for that very reason at least as dangerous as any violent and public attack.

In the working-class it appears that resistance to an eventual movement is diminishing. This may largely be attributed to the fact that the proletariat is no longer carrying on its own work, and has no independent policy. The policy of class collaboration is deeply rooted in the so called working-class parties. The parliamentary support of the Popular Front by the Communist Party has lent considerable strength to that idea, and from that flows a continued uneasiness among the working-classes and the small shopkeepers, who feel dissatisfied, for different reasons, with the present policy of the Left.

The idea of democracy allowing every class to participate on an equal footing in the administration of the French nation has always been favorable to Social-Democrats and to all sorts of Reformists. According to them the State, soaring above partisan interests, should be directed by delegates democratically elected by the different categories of the population. In other words, for a section of the middle class, radicals mostly, and the official representatives of the working class, class antagonisms will be settled by the collaboration of elected members of parliament, aware of the necessity of making an important place for the proletariat in the administration of society.

Passing to the economic sphere, the conceptions of a general interest, national interest, outweighed in the new legislature the issues raised by the strikes of June 1936, and expresses itself by obligatory arbitration, collective contracts and the projects of industrial agreement and an enquiry into production.

The strike movement of June 1936, displayed working-class strength as a force too great to crush simply by repression and allowed one to envisage the possibility of the substitution by workers' syndicates for the machinery

of bosses' management, displaying in fact a revolutionary possibility. Democratic reaction, the expression of a rich and relatively prosperous bourgeoisie was to include representatives of the workers and of their organisations in the State machine. This manoeuvre, accomplished under the cover of the Popular Front politics resulted in the paralysing of working-class action and in the taking away of its subversive character. Morally, that created a grave danger for the working-class, by introducing the idea of the general interest of the State above class interests, of Society governed by the whole nation—which is a farce that has been continually denounced by all revolutionary groups,—Marxist or Libertarian — and is certainly a Fascist concept.

Let new economic difficulties arise and Fascism will only have to take up this conception of the State, giving it naturally an appearance of anti-Capitalist revolution, and they will be able to create complete confusion in the hearts of the working-class movement.

The policy of the working-class parties—and unfortunately that of the unions too—displays an extraordinary weakness on the question of unemployment. These apart from some great projects of public works, which finally, after parliamentary debates and discussions on the budget, ended in very insignificant results — no previous action has been taken to closely unite the active proletariat to the unemployed.

All the agitations—platonically—be it understood—the Committees of unemployed—undertaken by some communist delegates have been abandoned brusquely at critical moments under pretext of financial difficulties and ministerial crisis. The extreme Right organisations benefited by the support of the great industrialists who exploit this bankruptcy of the Left by recruiting many of the unemployed by the real bait of work in the factories.

This results in a weakening of the fighting capacity of the unemployed workers—and in the creation of "yellow" sections in the

trade unions in several great businesses.

An analogous situation exists for the North African labourers in the Paris and Marseilles districts, neglected by the organisations of the Popular Front and flattered by the agents of the parties of the Right.

Amongst the ideas propagated by the fascist movements, of reaction against racial inferiority—imposed by Imperialism has united people whose interests are truly fundamentally different. This awakening of Nationalism leads the whole people to action where they lose sight of their class interests. Furthermore, the Fascists make use of the exaggerated Nationalism of the reactionaries. In this domain the Communist Party has entered the arena and has endeavoured to beat all records for patriotism—even going so far as to extol itself as the only truly patriotic party and to represent the leaders of the reactionary parties as agents of foreign fascism—that is of the rival imperialisms: Germany and Italy!

Thus the ideal of the sacred Union—is presented by the parties of the left—but is nevertheless a reactionary "fascist" concept in itself and we doubt strongly that it is good socialist policy or revolutionary solution to borrow from the programme of our class adversaries to capture their supporters.

The concepts of Left and Right have become greatly confused under these conditions, and a very serious clarification must be undertaken by militant revolutionaries in order to find out where they stand in all this mix up of programmes.

Definitely, it does demonstrate that the only form the struggle against Fascism must consist of, is a tenacious and continual struggle against Capitalism itself.

Sooner or later, according to the development of economic and international affairs — France as all countries, will have to choose between a neo-capitalist domination — no matter whether it comes progressively or violently—and a society of classless workers. If from now on the working class permit themselves to be deceived by a policy of democratic bourgeoisie they will carry on a struggle against fascism with a backward

capitalist programme, or else, following a policy of "least harm" will accept pre-fascist methods. It is only by safeguarding one's autonomy, by strengthening the class organisation, by utilising all the possibilities that the democratic regime allows them, without attaching themselves to it, that the proletariat will be able to launch itself into the revolutionary adventure under its own initiative, follow its own programme, for its own ends and thus avoid the renewal of the Spanish and German experiments in the anti-fascist struggle.

Many years experience have taught us that bourgeois democracy is not a basis of struggle against Fascism and that the means and organisations of the workers and revolutionaries alone can triumph over fascism, natural inheritor of the liberal bourgeoisie when the latter is too corrupt, backward and incapable.

RIDEL.

The discovery of the perpetrators of the attentat of rue de Presbourg—in my opinion—confirms more than ever the lack of a Fascist movement in France, contrarily to that which the newspapers of the Left declare. It shows that the C.S.A.R. is made up of a few individuals richly subsidised and well-equipped.

As a popular movement it is negative. As a real danger for the present regime: zero. R. Paris 20/1/38.

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Facts Concerning Palestine

(continued from page 2)

of the Moslems, as did the Armenians and the Arab Christians in Syria and Lebanon in 1918 and in 1936, after the Palestinian riots, and those minority tribes in Alexandretta. For, as is known to all, property does not purify, it has always been stained with the blood of its opponents. And how many of them have fallen since Capitalism used Nationalism as a means to divert into a different channel the wrath of those who are forever exploited and swindled!

And we, the Libertarians, which side must we take in this struggle? The side of Arab and Italian Fascism against British Imperialism, or shall we be against the three of them together?

In order to complete this picture of tragic Palestine and to fit it in with the purpose of your paper, I present a few passages from the Arab Press regarding the Civil War in Spain. The following is a passage written six months ago:—

"The Jewish workers sent £2,000 to the aid of the Reds in Spain. That is more evidence that the Jews wish to rule Palestine and to deprive the Arabs of their country." Can someone explain the logic in these words? And again, during the terrible days of November 1936, when the Fascist press announced prematurely to the world that Madrid had fallen, the Arab papers wrote: "The Arabs at the gates of Madrid." Thus the poor Moroccans that were sent to kill and be killed by the Spanish Fascists were turned into fighters for the Pan-Islamism of the Palestine Arab.

Now that ignorance and the reactionary civilisation of all lands and of all generations are knocking at the gates of Madrid, and at the gates of humanity, do we think, we upholders of the real humanitarian culture, the Libertarian culture, that we have done enough to instil this culture into our own countries? Did we at least try to instil it into the countries of the far and near East?

I. ALMONI.

Palestine, December, 1937.

(We appreciate the sincerity of this article, though it does not in our opinion detract from our article in No. 22. We would welcome comments on I. Almoni's article.)

An English Life of Bakunin*

(Continued from previous issue)

III.

Bakunin's life in Russia (1814-1840; pp. 3-90) can now be described with the help of an abundance of accessible materials, the family correspondence, the *Stankevich, Belinsky* and other letters, vast materials which Kornilov in *The Bakunin Family* (*Russkaia Mysl*, begun in May, 1909) first explored with extraordinary care—a book, *Michael Bakunin's Youth*, of xiv, 718 large pages. A State Edition (Moscow) reproduced in Russian what was accessible to its editor, Steklov, of Bakunin's writings and letters up to 1861 (4 volumes, 1934-6; other volumes are in preparation). This edition is unknown to me and as Mr. Carr, of course, uses it, his chapters contain a quantity of new details, but not nearly so much as I expected they might. Kornilov had an excellent grip on the right materials and left little to be done, in my opinion.

This section is composed by the author in a more delicate mood than the latter parts of the book analysed in my previous articles. He fails to recognise the social elements in Bakunin's early dreams and cravings; Kornilov's book contains copious proofs of these, especially when he discusses the Fichte period of 1836. Instead, Mr. Carr feels attracted by sexual speculations, for which the existing materials, letters on period of 1836. Instead, Mr. Carr feels attracted by sexual speculations, for which the existing materials, letters on abstract subjects and sentimental self analyses or dissection of the feelings of others, exchanged between modestly educated young girls and young men, necessarily offer but scanty materials. He states naively of Bakunin . . . "and he is not known to have had sexual relations with any woman. No explicit statement on the subject, medical or other, has been preserved." I just believe that most people are not in the habit of accumulating evidence, certificates, and expert opinions on what they consider their private life. But the modern psychologist or sex-monger sees things which may or may not have happened a century ago and, whilst we know of Bakunin's hearty falling in love with a young cousin in 1833, the 20th century biographer knows better and proclaims this (p. 24): "But it seems probable that his incapacity dated from adolescence, and was the psychological product of that hatred of a dominating mother of which he afterwards spoke in such passionate terms." His tumultuous passions, denied a sexual outlet, boiled over in every personal and political relationship of his left and created that intense, bizarre, destructive personality which fascinated even when it repelled, and which left its mark on half nineteenth-century Europe." This is high sounding idle talk for me. Some men in our midst cannot imagine a free and a social man, they see but arbitrariness and selfishness and are on the lookout for substitutes, inhibitions and other artificial constructions when they see in unselfish man, a rebel, an anarchist. Next Bakunin is made to find "in the jealous frenzy of his passion for Tatiana (one of his sisters) compensation for his immunity from normal sexual love" (p. 36). The fact that, as the eldest brother, he wished to protect his four sisters against the unwelcome at-

tentions of not a few people, made him sometimes unpopular and the victim of gossip.

The chapters on Bakunin's life in Germany and Switzerland (1840-44) have a documentary basis in *Kornilov's* second volume (*The Wanderjahre of Michael Bakunin*, 589 large pages) and in letters and facts collected in my *Biography*. The present work adds but little to this information and the reader gets no proper insight into the two, main happenings of these four years. Bakunin's ideological evolution and his desertion by his family. Some details show Mr. Carr's small familiarity with the milieu of that time. Thus he mentions: "a baron of German extraction from the Baltic provinces, who . . . has modestly withheld his name" (p. 96), when a glance at my *Biography*, p. 41 would have shown him that this was Baron *Uexküll-Fickel* (in a *Reval* review of 1884). He indulges in presenting Dr. *Müller-Strübing* as *Herzen* chose to satirize him (. . . "and above all supremely ridiculous," p. 96), which is unfair to this upright and helpful man, a well known classical scholar. He affirms that *Engels* and *Bakunin* did not meet in the winter of 1841-42, in Berlin (p. 101, note 1); it is believed now that they did meet, on evidence however which I have not seen myself. I am not aware that *Matilda Reichel* was particularly religious; see p. 115. I have never heard that *Pescantini* was "an Italian singer" (p. 117); I rather thought he was a man of means, at times a political writer. I took some care to follow up his career in the literature of the *Risorgimento*, etc., but never saw him described as a singer. So I should like to see this point properly examined. In any case the old professor *Vogt*, at *Berne*, the father of Carl *Vogt*, was not "the well known liberal professor of natural science" (p. 121), but a professor of protestant theology, and the article on communism, by Bakunin, in *Fröbel's* paper (Zürich, 1843) is not "conjecturally attributed to him" (p. 121-167), but has been identified by the testimony of the young Swiss to whom it was dictated, etc.; see pp. 55-61 and note 218 of my *Biography*; the young teacher of 1843, was in 1893 a professor of the University of Zürich. *Weitling* harmonized much less than Mr. Carr makes out (p. 123); Bakunin was impressed only when he saw some more liberal, less dictatorial types of communists.

In the chapter on Paris (1844-47) we learn that Bakunin had become a Freemason three years before 1848, as Mr. Carr gathered from a document in the State archives of Dresden. There are some very incorrect spellings (*Bernstein*, *Considér* and *Merrucan*); a book by *Proudhon* (the 1841 edition has xx and 360 pages) is very unnecessarily called "a pamphlet" (p. 130), etc. There was never a particle of anarchist spirit in *Weitling* who in later years praised dictatorship and it is utterly unlikely that Bakunin's proposed publication on the ideas of *Feuerbach* was conceived "perhaps under the influence of *Marx*" (p. 129). These studies are connected with his evolution since 1842 and were probably merged into an effort of continuously enlarged proportions, interrupted by his militancy again at various dates up to 1873.

The *Brussels* meeting of the February 14th, 1848 (p. 145), was held in favour of Polish and Russian revolutionary fraternisation. The "Democratic Federation" (ib.) was called the "Democratic Association." Does the word "theorist" quite cover Bakunin's meaning in the Russian letter to *Annen-*

kov on *Marx* "ruining the workers by making theorists of them?" He meant theorists, raisonneurs, talkative persons who hardly abstract words and argue and swear by dogmas, and he got that impression when he heard them discuss in the German Workers' Society at Brussels. The word used describes the typical Marxist in a nutshell.

We hear of "an entry in Bakunin's diary (Berlin, 1848) (which) shows that they (he and Marx) met, perhaps more than once, and that the conversation was amicable." I cannot refer to the Russian books quoted, but this portion of a diary seems to be of the same character as some daily notes of September which are reproduced in *Polonsky's Materialy*, vol. I. Only Mr. Carr who saw the original in *Dresden*, reads *Marx* where the copyist who worked for the Russians read *Carrière* (p. 164, note). *Carrière* may mean the later professor at Heidelberg whose learned activities had begun in the forties; I cannot say offhand, of course, whether he was in Berlin in September, 1848? Mr. Carr might have spared two lines to make clear in what evidence his "perhaps more than once" is based, on the text of documents or a guess of his own, and instead the readers might have been spared his insulting words when he relegates Bakunin's account of a bantering remark of Marx and his own rejoinder—referring to their unique conversation in August, 1848—with utter contempt as belonging "to that world of melodramatic fiction in which Bakunin spent so many of his later days!"

The Russian agents were on his track from the very beginning, April, not only in September, and *Müller-Strübing* burned his papers, left at the house of *Hervegh's* father-in-law, as early as April. According to Mr. Carr's book, p. 164, he burned the "address-book" in September. Did he act so twice or is not this description a muddle composed of early and later facts?

The chapter *The Creed of a Revolutionary* is probably the best balanced part of Mr. Carr's work. Also the Dresden insurrection, the trials and prison life in Saxony and Austria are well told and we get a few glimpses of the heap of still but little explored documents in the archives of Dresden and Prague which, for several reasons, I have never been able to examine nor shall ever be. In general, they show on one hand the wide ramifications of his relations and on the other his utter refusal to give any serious explanation to the enquiring officials. The "Confession" of 1851 is a subject on which no two men can be expected to agree completely; so Mr. Carr is welcome to his appreciation of this document. In his rather meagre description of Bakunin's life in Russian prisons (1851-57) I begin to see his inclination to consider the prisoner diminished, nay, ruined by these eight years of strict confinement between *Chemnitz* and *Tomska*, 1849-1857, more than he really was, intellectually and emotionally, I mean apart from whatever ruinous damage his health had suffered. The friends of Bakunin who are aware of his achievements in the years from 1857 onward, nineteen years, and who have thoroughly examined his aspirations and activities from 1833 to 1849, feel the great continuity of his efforts, whilst an author who took no personal interest in the 1833-49 period, simply considers him hopelessly diminished by these prison years, and then falling step by step in the 1857-61, 1862-63, 1864-74, 1875-76 periods: upon this plan Mr. Carr's book is constructed as I have examined already for the years 1864-76

MAX NETTLAU.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

(The previous articles in this series appeared in Nos. 27 and 28, and are obtainable from "Spain and the World" price 2d. each.)

*A review by Max Nettlau of *Michael Bakunin* by Prof. E. H. Carr (Macmillan 25/-)

A Doctor In Aragon

(Continued from page 1)

Large food supplies were sent to Barcelona, to Madrid, to the Aragon front. The hospital supplies, too, came from the collectivity and when later on it went under direct military control, the collectivity always gave freely, whatever was needed: bread, fruits and vegetables.

Our hospital was the work of the village collectivity, planned as a model hospital for Aragon, for the time to come, a first line hospital with X-ray, laboratory, microscope, tiled bathroom, douches, terrace for sunbathing, model operating rooms, model wards, out-patient departments, v.d. clinic. One worked from day to night, without counting working hours nor days, voluntarily, out of free discipline.

Never shall I forget the unselfish, understanding help, the collectivity gave us during the last months, when we had to start an anti-typhoid campaign to localise the epidemic: they offered their carts, and mules and arms, removed the dirt from the roads, levelled them with gravel, cleaned the yards, disinfected them, and helped to bring the whole population to our dispensary for vaccination.

And then came the air-raids, the dash to the shelters, repeatedly during the day, the village was bombarded, the hospital destroyed. We started again, and again we were bombarded.

The civil population (and there was still one of 1,200, including 300 school children) became afraid to come to the hospital, or to send their children there: "it was too dangerous." All the hospitals on the Aragon front were bombarded: *Granen*, *Sangarren*, *Vicien*, *Igries*, *Apies*, *Monzon*, *Barbastro*; often they were the only "strategical" aim of German and Italian trimotors. We could no longer hospitalize our patients and had to evac-

uate them immediately, further to the rear, where we hoped they would be more secure. It was hard on our medical conscience to send them away,—the headcases, the abdominal cases, the lungshots, when they ought to have remained at rest for at least a week. It was worse when we had to evacuate patients suddenly for complete lack of food.

Our helpers, our nurses, were young girls, chiefly from the village, who voluntarily offered their help—unschooled, untrained at the beginning, some were illiterate, but after one year's work they became efficient and reliable, studying in their free hours to take their nursing degree in Barcelona. Indefatigable workers during the days of attack, applying the first dressings, putting the splints on, helping in the blood-transfusion service.

The sanitary service, too, had undergone a big change during the 1½ years of fighting. At the beginning there was a very incomplete medical service; only a few doctors went as volunteers to the front, militiamen volunteered for first aid, often a stretcher-carrier had to perform a doctor's duty in the trenches. Now, since the mobilisation of the medical profession every battalion has its responsible medical officer, working with the "practicando," in the first aid posts during the attack. Mobile surgical hospital-trains operate on the front, mobile surgical units, where the wounded are brought, a special blood-transfusion service works twenty-four hours a day, the donors are recruited from the village population, frozen blood being widely used; carried by special ambulances regularly to the surgical hospitals.

We lived there a community in absolute comradeship, everybody doing the work as needed, everybody drawing the standard 10 pesetas.

Those who had families sent the money to Barcelona, we others just gave them away wherever help was needed. We ate off the same aluminium plates, ate the same food, lived in the same rooms, shared all hopes and depressions.

The militias were our friends, our comrades, and when they changed the front some weeks ago, we knew we need not worry, with the men of the FAI in the trenches!

All of us, who had come as anti-fascists to help in the struggle, and who had the great advantage of sharing the life of our anarchist associates developed a real sense of comradeship and fraternity.

LARRUT.

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