

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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Whatever the intermediate stages, Spain seems destined to move towards the Left. At the same time, the setting up of a Communist State on the Russian model is extremely unlikely. The Spaniards are individualists; the bulk of the working class is organized in Anarchist or Syndicalist unions which favour decentralization and abhor the strong central state wanted by the Communists. For all the exertions of the Moscow Comintern, Communism has never gained a strong foothold in Spain.

—RICHARD FREUND  
(From "Zero Hour")

## Revolution And Economics

THE enactment on Collectivisation of October 30th, 1936—result of the unanimous collaboration of all Anti-Fascist sectors—took into account the specific demands of all concerned, and although it is not entirely free from defects, it must be regarded as one of the most significant achievements of the Catalan Proletariat.

Since the publication of the above Enactment and some Addendas to it, fourteen months have passed. During that time we had an opportunity of witnessing how the unity achieved by all Anti-Fascists spontaneously banding themselves together against the Military insurrection on July 19th 1936, was interrupted by some parties in their peculiar way. At that time, the Communist Party had hardly any following in Spain, but seeing the good faith and enthusiasm of the other Proletarian organisations, it infiltrated their ranks and awaited an opportune moment when it could gain influence among the masses—an influence absolutely lacking at the beginning. The methods employed by the C.P. are well known. It suddenly grew to become a mass Party. It was not too particular as regards its Revolutionary attitude or consistency, chiefly aiming at the creation of a Party to counter-balance the tremendous influence of the Proletarian mass organisations, principally the CNT. In this aim of the C.P. it found allies among the petty bourgeoisie, the Republicans, Liberals and such other elements. They were all still smarting under the blow dealt by the Proletariat to the Capitalist system of society in July 1936, and were overjoyed to find an unexpected ally in the C.P., the supposed defender of the Proletarian masses. Their common aim is: to suppress the Revolution. As steps towards reaching this aim were used: the exclusion of the small organisation—POUM—in December, 1936, after the May events; the removal of the CNT—FAI from the Government; the persecution of the POUM; the exclusion of Largo Caballero and his Radical wing of the Socialist Party. All these were "achievements" of the C.P. which was anxious to "clear out" from its path all and sundry organisations whom it regarded as "dangerous," as impediments in its progress towards assuming power. The "achievements," however, proved somewhat chimerical, as has now become apparent. The bourgeois elements only allied themselves with the Communists so as to employ them to help them crush the dangerous Revolution. They did not regard the Communists as dangerous. The old political parties manoeuvred things well and realised their aim. Now they are preparing to get rid of the Communists from the Government; their Press writes openly: "The war can only be won by a purely Republican Government; i.e., without the Communists." Now the latter have come to realise their mistake, and they now urge the CNT to again enter the now obsolete popular front and the Government.

But the position is quite clear. The betrayal of the Proletariat by the C.P. gave scope to the Counter-Revolution. Against it the tactics of the Communists remains ineffective. Only a real revolutionary line could produce a strong united front.

What disastrous effect the treacherous action of the Communists had on the course of affairs, especially in the economic sphere is shown by the following events. The reactionary parties now feel strong enough openly to oppose the conquests of the Proletariat. The "Esquerra Catalana" proposed a bill to the Economic Council purporting to introduce certain "small amendments" into the "Enactment of Collectivisation." On closer examination of these "small amendments" it transpires that they actually refer to all the essential points of the "Enactment." Thus it demands the prohibition of new collective enterprises (i.e. the transformation of private into collective plants); that collective enterprises with less than 50 workers be returned to their former owners, and that the proprietors of the other collectives be compensated (Now, in the midst of war, the Proletariat is called upon to make the greatest sacrifices!)

In a technical report published by another Liberal-Bourgeois party a demand is made that the house-property be restored to its former owners on the ground that the Municipal Administration did not function well; instead of a theoretically calculated income of 18 millions, only 6 millions were collected. The report omits to mention the fact that in the event of a surrender of the houses to their former owners, the Municipality would receive nothing, except some income from doubtful taxation.

The above two illustrations indicate more eloquently than any editorials the true state of affairs. However, the direct attacks of the reactionary parties upon the achievements of the Revolution have their advantage: the Proletariat now sees more clearly as to who

### QUEIPO DE LLANO THE CHRISTIAN GENERAL

Zaragoza.—General Queipo de Llano arrived here last week-end by aeroplane from Seville, and proceeded to the Basilica del Pilar, where he knelt and prayed before the Madonna del Pilar.

Leaving the Cathedral he was given a rousing reception by the thousands who had been worshipping.

In the evening the authorities congratulated him on his co-operation with the Seville diocese in the reconstruction of the many churches and the reorganisation of Catholic social work. ("Universe.")

December 28th, 1937.

represents its interests and who acts against them. It is just this kind of knowledge which the Negri Government in vain tries to withhold from the masses by means of censorship and other measures. One result of this can already be seen. The Communists, after months of agitation against the collectivisations and socialised economic Groups, suddenly, under pressure of public opinion, have ranged themselves on the side of these Revolutionary establishments. Even their representatives in the Government, as also their entire propaganda apparatus is now full of praise for the collectives, the totally socialised Lead Industry, and so forth. In fact, a complete volte-face has taken place in the C.P.: it has discovered that its interests are identical with those of the CNT. It now remains for us to wait and see how far and for how long the leaders of the C.P. will continue this new line of tactics, which after all is the only correct line if one is chiefly concerned about the real interests of the people and not merely the present political situation.

## The Betrayal of the Spanish Workers

London, 14th January, 1938.

THE meeting held at Conway Hall, London, this evening, under the auspices of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. London Bureau presented a complete analysis of the betrayal of the Spanish workers by the democracies—including Soviet Russia.

Emma Goldman, who was speaking for the first time since her recent visit to Spain, outlined in considerable detail the despicable role played by the fascist powers, Italy and Germany; she spoke of the preparations, two years previously, between Mussolini and Franco; of the strategic importance of Spain to Italy in her ambitions in the Mediterranean ("Mussolini openly declared that the Mediterranean is an Italian sea") and the importance of Spain's raw materials for Hitler's vast rearmament programme.

The attitude of open intervention on the part of the Fascist States was only to be expected. "But what is less apparent" she continued, "is the betrayal of the Spanish people by the ultra-democratic France and by England, who also claims democracy even if in Monarchical disguise." And yet once again British and French interests in Spain determined their stand towards the workers' struggle, for the Rio Tinto Company, Vickers-Armstrong, Leroux and de Wendel are but a few of the large

concerns vitally interested in Spain's mineral wealth.

Emma Goldman, however, did not stop there. "More heinous than this crime" she added "is the despicable part played by the man at the helm of the Socialist Republic. His treachery against the Spanish people and against the Revolution far outstrips the crime of all the other countries." (Amid the general applause that followed this remark were heard the protesting voices of a few Communists who, not content in shouting such epithets as "liar" and "Fascist," were obviously trying to break up the meeting. Emma Goldman was quite unmoved, for as she herself remarked later, she was quite accustomed to this kind of interruption ever since 1918. "They do not even wait for proofs," she continued, and, as if to add emphasis to her previous remarks, added that "no amount of talk will do away with the fact that Stalin has sabotaged the Spanish Revolution.")

### SOVIET PRESS AND SPAIN

"During the first 3½ months of the anti-Fascist struggle and the

## Franco Finances War With British Capital

The following is an extract from an article which appeared in the Conservative "Daily Telegraph" (London, 18th January, 1938) by "A Special Correspondent Lately in Spain."

It is learned from a reliable source that during the past year more than £1,250,000 has passed from the British-owned Rio Tinto Company in London—which owns valuable copper and pyrite producing mines in the south of Spain—to Gen. Franco's government in Burgos, in exchange for paper pesetas at a fixed rate of 42 pesetas to the pound.

This measure has been forced on the Rio Tinto Company by the Franco Government, which refuses to grant the company permits to ship their products abroad unless sterling payments are deposited, equivalent to the value of the products exported, in the return for pesetas.

It has proved to be one of the main methods by which Franco has been able to finance his war. London sterling has enabled him to secure foreign credits, to make 90-day cash payments on the petroleum purchased from the United States, and to buy large supplies of food-stuffs and army materials.

### ITALY AND GERMANY BENEFIT

The opportunity to trade by the "barter system" has proved as beneficial to Italy and Germany as to Franco. In spite of Italy's efforts to be self-supporting, she is largely dependent on foreign supplies for many essential minerals. Her shortage of iron became acute in the latter months of 1936 when naval orders and oil contracts made large demands on the iron and steel industry.

This has been eased somewhat by her imports of iron ore from Spain, which have risen from 33,000 tons in 1936 to nearly 180,000 last year, and by scrap from Spain which has increased

from 327,000 tons to over 500,000.

Italy is also dependent on imports for adequate supplies of ferrous metals. Her imports of manganese ore and ferro-manganese ore from Spain increased from 23,000 tons in 1936 to 75,000 in 1937, while pyrites—mostly from the Rio Tinto—jumped from zero to nearly 10,000 tons.

Germany is as badly in need of barter supplies from Spain as Italy. Due to the rigorous Nazi organisation in Franco territory, with thousands of Germans in administrative and bureaucratic jobs, in the long run it is possible she may reap the greatest advantages.

A short while after Southern Spain came under Franco's control, a German semi-official organisation known as Hisma was established with its counterpart Rowak in Germany.

This company was given the full monopoly of the exports of the Spanish Moroccan mines, with the iron and manganese ore resources of the Rif at its disposal.

### FIGURES OMITTED

In comparing the latest available German import figures, which are published only for the first half of 1937, with those of the first months of 1936, German imports from Spain show a decline of nearly 50 per cent.

This has caused certain observers to declare that German intervention has proved a costly failure, but there is more to these ports than meets the eye.

First, the 1937 list carefully omits figures of import from Spanish Morocco;

Secondly, the rich iron ore deposits in the north of Spain were not under Franco's control until the last half of 1937;

Thirdly, the German import that decreased the most was fruit, due to the fact that in 1937 the fruit districts were in the hands of the Valencia Government, who sold their crops almost exclusively to Russia.

On the trade which Franco controls, such as Rio Tinto pyrites, however, German imports increased from £417,000 to £580,000.

### RICH ECONOMIC REWARDS

It is not a peculiar coincidence that the nations both in the East and in the West now engaged in "beating Bolshevism" are fighting on territory rich with economic rewards.

Although Great Britain seems to take the view that in the event of a Franco victory the Spanish Nationalist Government will be forced to turn to England for a loan, thus enabling her to cut Germany and Italy out of the picture, this may easily be doubted.

During the past year Great Britain has been able to sell Spain only 40 per cent. of the goods which she sold her in 1935, the last year before the war. One of the most significant drops occurred in goods listed under motor-cars, locomotives, ships and aircraft.

If Franco can continue to force British companies to supply him with the necessary sterling for foreign credits, it is not unlikely that he will continue to develop his trade with Italy and Germany along "barter system lines."

(continued on page 4, column 3)

Correspondence

# Freedom of the Press Threatened in S. California

To the Editor:

A case involving freedom of the press has arisen here in Southern California. You will want to know about it and to publicize it, we believe.

For eighteen years an idealist has been the subject of persecution and hounding by the United States Department of Labor. He is Marcus Graham, philosophic anarchist. He was first arrested in 1919 and ordered deported to Canada. But he refused to give the details of his birth and nativity on the ground that the proceeding was illegal, so Canada refused to accept him.

Again in 1921 he was re-arrested, this time by New York's iniquitous "Bomb Squad," and turned over to the immigration authorities only after a brutal third degree. Then he was imprisoned by the Labor Department for a period of six months. Finally he was released although he stoutly refused to give the Department information which would aid in his deportation.

In 1930 the Labor Department re-arrested Graham on the trumped-up charge of having crossed the United States border to Mexico without a permit. But the only evidence produced against him was the fact that he was found in possession of a copy of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" — representing four hundred of the world's poets — that he had compiled and edited. A nation-wide protest by well known authors and educators forced the Labor Department to dismiss the proceedings.

Then follows official harassment of the monthly publication, "Man," of which Graham is editor. Subscribers were visited by immigration inspectors and threatened with prosecution unless they canceled their subscriptions to "Man."

In October, 1937, Graham was again re-arrested. The immigration inspectors searched and ransacked his home without a search warrant and seized his personal papers as well as correspondence and articles belonging to "Man."

Now the Labor Department is planning to send Graham to jail unless he discloses information which he has consistently refused to give the Department for over eighteen years. As

a preliminary to this imprisonment, the Department has secured an order from the U.S. District Court requiring Graham to submit this information. He has refused to do so. A charge of criminal contempt has already been filed with the federal court, and the contempt proceedings are scheduled for hearing on January 3rd.

Because the resumption of deportation proceedings against Graham — upon an order dated more than eighteen years ago — is but an indirect attempt to stifle the publication "Man," the threat to the freedom of the press becomes quite obvious. It is for this reason that the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has organized a Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. The A.C.L.U. has furnished counsel to Graham and is sponsoring a civil suit for damages against the immigration officers based on the unlawful search.

Liberals and believers in freedom should communicate immediately with James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D.C., urging a halt to this long campaign of persecution.

We are also asking every liberty-loving person to aid us financially in carrying on the work of legal defense.

Yours for Freedom,

CLINTON J. TAFT,  
Director, Southern California  
Branch, American Civil Liberties Union.

**Man!**

A Monthly Journal of the  
Anarchist Ideal and Movement  
**MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor**

Subscription Price: \$1 per year,  
6 months-50c. Sample Copies  
Free Upon Request

Administration and Editorial  
Address:  
MAN!, c/o The American Civil  
Liberties Union, 129 West Second  
St., Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

## FACTS CONCERNING PALESTINE

To the Editor of "Spain and the World."

Dear Comrade,  
Allow me to inform the readers of your worthy paper of a few facts concerning Palestine.

I did not do this till now, for I was under the impression that your paper was dedicated only to Spain, however the article, "Terrorism in Palestine," which appeared in No. 22 of your paper (October 27th), convinced me that you are also interested in "the World."

Just a few figures from August, 1936, to the end of that year. The Arabs in Palestine killed about 130 Jews and wounded about 400. The number of attacks on the Jewish colonies and on the Socialistic Commonwealths reached two thousand. Two hundred thousand fruit trees were uprooted, and one hundred and seventy thousand dunam (42,500 acres) of wheat fields were consumed by fire. We must also add that the destroyed property belonged mostly to the Socialistic colonies; and that the majority of those killed were workers. (The rich can remain in their houses more or less safe, while the worker must leave his home in order to earn his livelihood.) One thousand three hundred and seventy bombs were thrown; a number of them being thrown in busy streets and in the schools. This is the trial balance of 1936, and along this same road went 1937, the balance sheet of which has not yet been drawn up. Your article tells only of the destruction of the aerodromes and the peaceful seizure of arms from a detachment of the Palestine Police Force.\* It is hardly possible that you did not know all that I have mentioned above; and if you did know, why did you "shudder" only at the demolition of a few houses?

The homes of whom? Here we come to the main characteristic of the Arab terrorist movement in Palestine. Your correspondent dwells in England, reads "Le Temps" and shudders at learning of the destruction of the houses of

the poor peasants. But were he in Palestine and visited the Arab country places he would have been surprised to see how small was the number of houses in the Arab villages. The majority of the impoverished farmers live in dilapidated clay huts. The four or five buildings belong to the rich of the village: the feudal lords, the effendis. To them belongs also the entire land of the village. They exploit to the nth degree those dwellers in the clay huts.

For generations they lived by this type of exploitation. Then came the Jewish immigration. The effendis saw in this new fields of income.

The Jewish people, thirsting for soil, were willing to pay any price in order to be allowed to work the soil of which they had been deprived for thousands of years. The price of land increased, exorbitant prices were asked, but even under these terms, buyers were found, the result being that the effendis, the legal owners of the lands, became wealthier and wealthier. They built themselves new mansions in their villages, opened new enterprises in the cities, and even in the industries their hand was felt; but they still received a great income from their leased lands.

The Jewish immigration caused a boom in the existing wage scale. More and more Arab farmers turn-

(Continued at foot of next column)

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS**

All correspondence, manuscripts and moneys for "Spain and the World" and the Orphans Fund should be sent to our new address:

The Editors,  
**SPAIN and the WORLD,**  
21 FRITH STREET,  
LONDON, W.1,  
ENGLAND.

Comrades please note!

("Mujeres Libres")

PRIOR to that historic date—July 19th, 1936—there hardly existed any Feminist movement in Spain. There were one or two pseudo-intellectual organisations mainly composed of women of the bourgeoisie, the "idle rich," who made a pretence at dabbling in social problems. They would foregather at certain intervals, entertain each other with sweetmeats and pastries and indulge in pleasant conversation; occasionally the case of some woman in distress may have been brought to their notice and such person would be given some assistance. But that is as far as their activities went.

emancipating themselves from their oppressive surroundings.

With the advent of the Spanish Revolution, however, which opened out such rich possibilities and showed the paths to progress, the Spanish women were quick in taking advantage of the opportunities offered them. Having suddenly broken the fetters that had kept them enslaved for so long, the women of Spain have shown themselves not only to be the equals of the modern woman in other countries, but have even proved themselves in some respects—particularly in regard to real creative strength—her superior. The Revolution having freed the women

The aims of the "Mujeres Libres" are much more far-reaching than those of any other women's organisation. They are not content merely to fight for their own emancipation—they aim at the liberation of the whole of humanity.

Among the immediate objects the "Mujeres Libres" have set themselves to agitate for are: the foundation of schools, the organising of various series of lectures, the establishment of higher university courses. In short, they aim at directing all their efforts towards the emancipation of the women of Spain from the threefold bondage: ignorance, sexual slavery and the handicap of having no training as a productive member of the community.

The foregoing makes it evident that the Spanish women have a clear understanding of the aims of the Revolution, that they have already emerged from the vague stages of mere theorising, and are eager for constructive work. However, they are fully aware of the fact that they would never achieve their aims at constructive work, unless they emancipated themselves from their bonds of ignorance and created for themselves an independent basis of life. They know that it is only thus that they could become a conscious and responsible force.

The "Mujeres Libres" has decided as an Organisation to pursue the same aims as the CNT-FAI. A far-reaching decision this, showing as it does that the so recently emancipated women of Spain are convinced that it is only in the Libertarian Movement that they will find the best guarantee for the realisation of their ideals: *the Emancipation of Women through the Liberation of all Mankind.*

## NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN

("Mujeres Libres")

The great Women's Movements which swept over Europe, particularly England and France, had hardly reached Spain at all. There, true to the Southern conceptions of morality, the women were held in bondage by the dual chain of ignorance and self-indulgence. There was no possibility to arouse in the Spanish woman the least interest in social progress. Of course, the Church with its overpowering influence, had no small share in retarding women's development.

It is true, there were a few remarkable women in Spain, women of strong character and outstanding abilities, who succeeded in

from domestic slavery and the chains of bourgeois oppression, the position of the women of Spain underwent a radical transformation. With sure instinct, they realised the advantages of collective forms of organisation, now definitely crystallised into the "National Organisation of Free Women" (*Mujeres Libres.*)

At the inaugural meeting of the above Organisation, which took place in August last at Valencia, the women declared their chief aim to be: "the creation of a responsible women's movement which is to take its place in the fore-front of the Revolutionary ranks."

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE "PUBLIC AMUSEMENT SYNDICATE" IN SPAIN

THE "Sindicale Espectaculos Publicos" comprises among its members all kinds of workers connected with the Theatres, Cinemas, Variety Entertainments, Film Studios, actors, operators, musicians, cashiers, authors, scenario writers, charwomen and technicians for the lighting of the theatres.

Before the Revolution, 15,000 persons were employed in this industry throughout the whole of Spain. With the exception of the "Stars," salaries were extremely low. Moreover, there were more than double the number of unemployed or occasionally employed workers in this industry.

The "Espectaculos Publicos" was, after the Revolution on July 19th, 1936, widely collectivised. In Barcelona it was completely collectivised by the CNT. Now, in Republican Spain alone there are 45,000 persons employed in this industry. The majority are women—all are paid fixed salaries. The socialisation, even in the midst of a war, has solved the problem of a living for many thousands of artists. New Cinemas have been opened as well as new Theatres. Charges for admission are lower than before the Revolution. The workers enjoy the privilege of Social Insurance and annual holidays for all workers — a thing hitherto unheard of in this industry.

This is but a brief account of the work of the Public Amusements Syndicate ("Sindicale Espectaculos Publicos"), and without entering into fuller details of its achievements and possibilities of further development in the artistic sphere, with which we will deal on a future occasion.

ed to the cities where the economic situation was better. Thus they began to awaken and to demand the rights of workers and farmers. Fighting to establish better conditions, they received aid from the collective Jewish workers' organisation—the Histadruth. No wonder that fright filled the hearts of the feudal lords; owners of land, and the bourgeois class.

Let us take into consideration that even today, workers in Egypt are receiving three or four piasters per day's work (five piasters per shilling.) Such were the conditions in Palestine before Jewish immigration. Compare this with the minimum daily wage of the Arab worker in Palestine; you will see that he receives from 10 to 15 piasters per day, and gets as much as 18 to 20 piasters in places where he works with Jewish labourers or in Jewish enterprises; or in places which have been influenced by the Jewish industrial unions. Now it is possible to understand the panic of the Arab ruling classes and their hatred of the Jews and Jewish projects.

The same Moslem Council (whose Chairman, the Mufti, is also Chairman of the Arab High Commission) which pretends to protect the Arab masses in Palestine, published just

a month ago a proclamation to the Arab nation, stressing that the weekly day of rest is against the religious teachings of their belief, and so it is prohibited to all faithful followers to demand this day of rest. Is it known to the readers of your paper that now (with the exception of Arabs working with Jews or in Jewish enterprises) there is no day of rest for the Arab workers?

He who wishes to seek the true crimes of the British Government in Palestine must know how it caused the failure of the unity of Jewish and Arab workers and their united industrial strife. He should know how the police force during the famous Arab "strike" arrested Arab workers who distributed proclamations for peace with the Jews

## The Life Work Of Camillo Berneri

WE believe that the best way of honouring the memory of Camillo Berneri—murdered by the Stalinists in Barcelona, during the tragic May Days, is to collect in volume form, his works which have already appeared in print, besides those as yet unpublished.

The above is an extract from an appeal by the "Camillo Berneri Committee" in Paris. By publishing our Comrade's works they will not only be honouring his memory but will also be rendering a service to the Anarchist movement which can learn so much from his writings.

One volume is ready for the printer and others are in the course of preparation. ut before these can be published, funds are required to cover the printing expenses for at least the first volume. Comrades will surely want to see these valuable works preserved for future generations and they can help to make this possible by sending contributions, either through "Spain and the World" (to be forwarded to the Committee) or direct to Mme. Camidot, 1, rue des Vergers, Savigny-sur-Orge, (S.-et-O.), France.

For the same purpose we have a supply of photographs of Camillo Berneri, issued by the Committee, and which can be obtained price 3d. each. Comrades are urged to send for their supplies now.

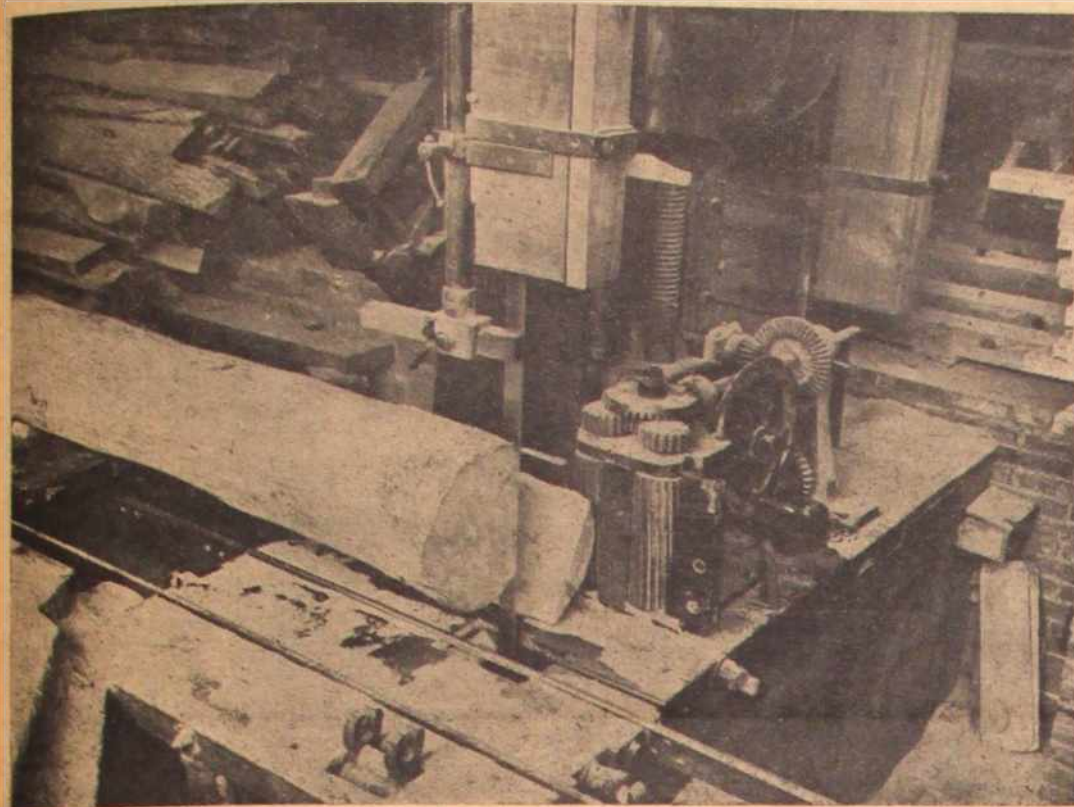
and against the "strike," which was led by the blackest exploiters.

\* ——— As for the "peaceful" seizure of arms from the police near Damaria, your correspondent waxes indignant only on account of the destruction of three of the houses in the village. I wish to state that by these very same arms a few days later a Jewish worker was killed while returning from work in the neighbourhood of the village. By the hands of these people, Jewish workers are killed almost daily, for the only crime of not being born Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Arabs, but that they are the sons of a nation deprived of a homeland, are the victims of all scoundrels and reactionaries!

(To be continued)

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# REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY

## Socialization of the Wood Industry

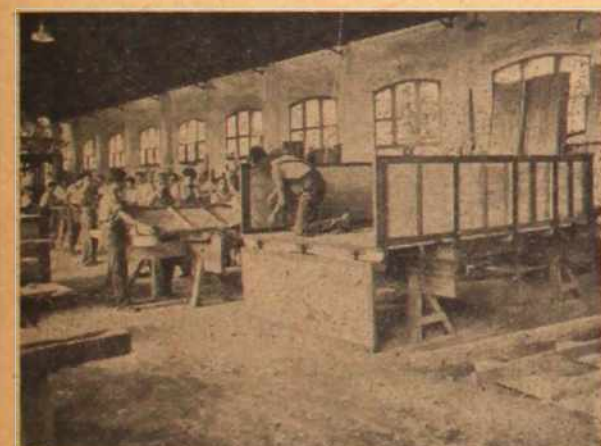
C. N. T.

SIXTEEN months have passed since the military insurrection and our work today shows what initiative has accomplished and what too, it may still further accomplish.

We have overcome the obstacles that were put in the way of our attempts; we have struggled against the endless inconveniences that arise in a country unprepared but suddenly thrust into war, and we have socialized the industry.

We the workers have created to-day an important industry, efficient and modern in its operation, controlled not by bourgeois enterprise but by proletarian zeal. We started from the bottom, catering both for civil and military needs and have demonstrated the possibility of carrying on the war and the economic revolution at the same time.

Before the war such enormous disparities of salary existed that it caused internal strife among the workers. To-day the salaries have been almost equalized and the different categories proportionately balanced. For instance all workmen, be they carpenters, coopers, varnishers or carvers earn an equal salary. The salaries are still regulated so that some variation



Construction of Lorries for the Front

is allowed for specialists — but all workers in any given branch are paid equally. Thus:

	pesetas
General workers receive ...	115
Youth and day workers ...	105
Clerks .....	125-135
Workers in dangerous branches .....	125
Administrative-Executive ...	135-150
Designers .....	150

So one can see that the salaries are almost equal, and what disparity exists is due to the greater responsibility resting on the technical personnel, and in some case to allow for necessary further instruction required in the interests of the industry.

Our technicians frequently have to buy books and prints to increase their knowledge besides we must learn from history. We remember the difficulties arising from lack of technicians in the early days of the Soviet Republic.

We have solved the problem of unemployment that no government was ever able to solve. We have abolished the degrading spectacle of workers begging for work from door to door.

Capitalist employers selecting their workers from a vast army of unemployed, choose the conformers or the submissive type, those treacherous to their own class. An improved morale among the workers was one of the immediate consequences of socialization. When the exploiting caste disappeared, dignity and self-confidence were re-established amongst the proletariat.

It has cost blood and years of struggle, but finally on the horizon appears the sunrise of Liberty. We are human at last, and so human that we have production in our hands. No one is able to quote

a single case of humiliation or one affront against the former employers and managers who now work in our workshops.

We have organized sanitary workshops, libraries, sports camps, swimming baths, and co-operative dining rooms. All this we have accomplished ourselves without any official support.

### How We Treated Our Former Employers

From the first moment of taking over the industry we put them to work according to their capacity. The majority of them now possess the certificate of responsible technicians and we are glad to say that we are happy to count these ex-employers as comrades and to see them transformed into free workers.

Before the war when production was in the hands of the fascists many kinds of wood were imported from N. America, Norway, Sweden, Finland, etc., and the



View of one of the Collectivized Workshops natural resources of Catalonia were neglected, though she abounds in forests of alders, beeches, elms, poplars, oak, chestnut and many more. This naturally caused very high prices and increased unemployment at home.

Socialization of the Wood Industry had become necessary. With the employment of our native forests in our own hands, a great deal of unemployment will be reduced. We normally consume 3,572 tons of wood monthly and by employing our native woods to replace the imported we have closed the door to much exploitation and big problems which we had to meet was the construction of metal plated boards. These were always made of imported woods, but we are happy to repeat that we have overcome the difficulty of

manufacturing this speciality, and that from native woods we are producing a splendid quality.

In addition to wood we previously imported much caseine. To-day we manufacture liquid glue ourselves and have found it more advantageous than the caseine.

### Figures On Technical Administrative Capacity

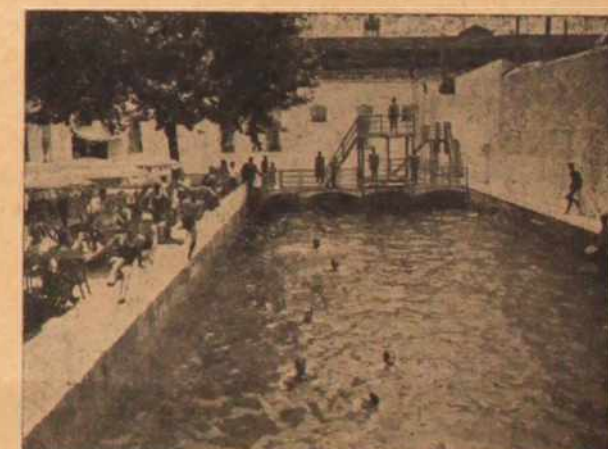
Our Socialized Industry employs 12,000 workers. Our wages bill for the fiftieth week of operation amounted to 478,991 pesetas. Raw materials 751,130 pesetas. Cash in hand 347,304 pesetas. Bank cash 192,200 pesetas. In short, we operate without reserve funds. But unemployment has ceased and the week's wages are paid even if we are without raw materials.

### Methods Of Production

The deadening of mechanical system of production has come to an end. It died with the commercial motif. To-day we adapt the raw material to the needs of the moment. Our designers are uncramped in their initiative, allowing free play to the creative urge. New styles arise. Simplicity and natural elegance are united with economy and hygiene when proletarian furniture is manufactured. It is essentially functional. It is modern and reasonably priced.

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(Translated from the original report)



The swimming pool adjoining the workshops, constructed by the wood-workers themselves.

## REVIEW OF

# An English Life of Bakunin

(Continued from previous issue)

In a large book like this, we expect an author to have some grip on all the diverse milieus, and at least to avoid striking dissonances. The "minor contemporaries" have become familiar to historians such as they were, all in their own way, and it looks strange to see them presented such as they never were. Thus here we meet old Lessner, a journeyman tailor, as "a tailor" to whom Bakunin went "to replenish his wardrobe" (p. 305). Or Albert Richard who was known as doing

bers and the special activities of many of these in 1869-70, can be seen by the resounds of their meetings, which I extracted from the minute books. On pp. 359-60, the number of 104 members in the summer of 1869 is properly mentioned.

Perron's account, pp. 348-9, takes a better aspect in his own words, as recorded in a late letter to Guillaume, than in the hostile resumé in the book. If of the Paris section of the public Alliance "nothing is recorded . . . save the bare fact of its existence" (p. 349), all concerning Bedouche, Ozerov and others, must be unknown to the author. If Tucci survived "perhaps" from the Neapolitan period (p. 352), all that has been recorded of Tucci's early connection with Bakunin is similarly unknown to him. Nobody ever would dream of saying that James Guillaume, in 1869, "had seen little of the world and few men not of his race and kind" (p. 354), as precisely Guillaume, son of a high official and politician had exceptional opportunities from early youth to see many interesting people in Neuchâtel, Zurich and at the two Swiss congresses of the International. But, it is true, Mr. Carr speaks of "his native town of Le Locle" (p. 355), a unique statement since Guillaume happens to have been born in—London (1844), on or close to Northampton Square, Clerkenwell.

A German social democrat, Wertheim reported in Geneva that he had heard Liebknecht in Leipzig proferring defamatory insults against Bakunin (1869); must this be told in words like these: "a German Jew named Wertheim appeared in Geneva with the report, etc." (p. 366) and when there is a question of one of the earliest German socialists, Hess, must

he be called "a certain Moses Hess" (p. 368)? When Bakunin resents being insulted and hinted at being a Russian agent, must this be: "heated imagination, morbidly sensitive on this point" (p. 366) and "now that he had reached the confines of old age" assuming "the proportions of a persecution mania" (p. 368)? When honourable people in such a situation call a jury D'Honneur (court of honour), is this really such a queer action that it must be described sneeringly as resorting "to a device much in vogue among nineteenth century revolutionaries" (and words following) (p. 367)? And when Bakunin in good humour, lit his cigarette with the written verdict, must this be told in slighting terms like these: "This melodramatically magnanimous gesture has deprived posterity of the chance of knowing what ten more or less impartial judges really thought of this strangely evanescent quarrel" (p. 367), in which Liebknecht had climbed down and seemed now to Bakunin to offer such guaranties of good faith, that several months later the letters addressed to Liebknecht on the revolutionary movement in Russia, by Bakunin, were written for Liebknecht's paper, the Volkstaat (dated April 8, 1870)?

These few remarks out of many on the year 1864-69 (pp. 300-376), make me feel that this is not a competent scholarly book on Bakunin, but just a rehash of what hostile authors from Marx to Steklov, have said on Bakunin, and this is mostly retold in a sneering, venomous style, in that typically journalistic jargon of superiority, adopted to describe socialists as alien demagogues, spouting democrats, and long-haired youths. The socialists in William Morris's time, were thus pictured and the Daily Mail no doubt cultivates this time honoured tradition. Bakunin, moreover, borrowed money — "casual borrowings, and obscure financial expedients" (p. 372), — "his trousers have lost their last buttons" (Herzen; p. 334);—so all that must be harped upon on every occasion—for what purpose? Is it usual to sneer constantly at people the thought and doings of whom need volumes to fully describe them? Even

(Continued on next page)

By MAX NETTLAU

everything but working (his old father was a worker) is described as "a working man from Lyons named Albert Richard (p. 344)—and Perron, the type of the Geneva local worker and citizen becomes "the Frenchman, Charles Perron" (p. 347). Any one familiar with the subject simply could not have made such mistakes, nor have written Pulsky (Palszky), Caporosso (Caporusso), Arnoud (Arnould). "Despite all Bakunin's exertions, the Geneva group of the Alliance never consisted of anything but himself [Bakunin], and a few of his intimates" (p. 348). Why make this disparaging statement, when in my Biography of 1898, the names of 79, 22 and 5, a total of 106 are given, of whom about 20 were Italians and Spaniards, living abroad? This leaves about 86 local mem-

## New Books

## WORKERS FRONT

Fenner Brockway

"Workers Front" by Fenner Brockway. (Published by Secker & Warburg 3/6).

"What you are speaking so loud I cannot hear what you say" is a description that has been applied, for the most part, in a disparaging sense. We would, however, apply it differently to Fenner Brockway. His sincerity, the genuineness of his surging enthusiasm for the Social Revolution, his whole-hearted impatience with political physicians who would blind the vision of Social Revolution with the eyewash of Social Democracy — that's the real Brockway, and therein lies the real value of his book. That "speaks so loud, we cannot hear what he says" when he talks about a Workers' Federated Front of Labour Party, Communist Party, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and I.L.P.!

Brockway himself realises, of course, that the Labour Party, in the event of war, would lend its support, not to defend a Workers' State, but to defend so-called Social Democracy. That is hardly the kind of Federal ally a Socialist Revolutionary should seek! Brockway himself has ably shown — in his book — how the Communist Party in France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland has substituted Social Patriotism and Social Democracy for the class-struggle. Here again, that is hardly the kind of Federal ally a Revolutionary Socialist should seek! As regards the Trade Unions, the policy of their leadership since 1926 has certainly been one of collaboration with Capitalism rather than one of class-conscious struggle. That is not the kind of Federal ally a Revolutionary Socialist should seek! And the Co-operative movement is even less revolutionary than any of these preceding groups.

We agree with Brockway that the crying need of our time is for a Workers' Front — but it must be a WORKERS' Front. Brockway confuses a Workers' Front with a Political Front. And therein lies our fundamental criticism of his otherwise excellent book.

Anarcho-Syndicalists know what a real Workers' Front should be. It will not consist of Labour Deputies rubbing shoulders and brushing elbows with Liberal and Conserva-

tive Capitalists in Parliamentary lobbies! A genuine Workers' Front will consist of Labour itself in every workshop, factory and farm throughout the length and breadth of the country — all federated in syndicates, educated and equipped to take over the whole management of industry and to co-ordinate the complex processes of production, and geared, too, to secure equitable distribution. That's the only kind of Workers' Front that Revolutionary Socialists should seek.

Brockway knows what the workers — without political leadership — accomplished in Barcelona in July a year ago; they repulsed the Fascists and collectivised industry! He knows equally well the reverses that the workers have since suffered with every advance in political control! He would maintain, of course, that this was due to the wrong kind of political control. We agree that it is the wrong kind of political control — but, we go further, and maintain that any kind of political control, even the so-called Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is inevitably bound to result in Centralisation, and Centralisation necessarily implies a curbing of individual freedom and initiative, and a tendency towards the domination of man over man. And so the vicious circle completes itself. In other words, one of the principal capitalist evils which Revolutionary Socialists set out to remove now re-appears as a progeny not of Capitalism but of Centralisation.

The thesis is simple and clear-cut. Political control, even in the hands of a benevolent and enlightened hierarchy of Socialist Revolutionaries, would beget the same kind of evils as Capitalist control. So let us, therefore, direct our energies not along any political front but along a genuine Workers' Front — with the objective of workers' control. Let our Socialist Revolutionaries, who have the genuine interest of the workers at heart, have a little more faith in the workers themselves, and a little less faith in the fallacious efficacy of politics.

In spite of this criticism, however, we cordially recommend Brockway's book as a clear exposition of political tendencies and motives at the present time.

J.H.

## Betrayal of the Spanish Workers

(Continued from page 1)  
foreign policy. And not less important, to lay its hands on the gold which the central Government for Russian arms." (This was followed in Valencia offered to pay in return valued by further demonstrations on the part of the Communists. The interrupters were temporarily silenced, however, when Emma Goldman pointed out that when the French Communist Party charged the Blum Government with the betrayal of the anti-fascist cause Blum had only to tell them that Soviet Russia was the first to sign the non-intervention pact!)

## ARMS FROM RUSSIA

"The young and ardent, but hopelessly blind communists in the world could not be expected to know all the crooked back-stage acrobatic stunts of world diplomacy." These youths had been brought up to hail every act of Stalin as worthy of emulation. They hailed the arrival of Russian arms in Spain as the greatest demonstration of Communist solidarity. These arms, the speaker continued, had been sent only when Stalin had been assured of the approval of France and England, who respected neutrality no more than Hitler and Mussolini and allowed just as many arms to be sent to Spain as suited their purpose. The Communist Press knew all this, just as they knew that every cartridge sent to Spain had been paid for in gold. Yet, "Stalin's International propaganda machine worked day and night to make known that their master had saved the Spanish anti-fascists. The world was yet to learn that in addition to the arms, though never quite profuse, Stalin sent his Communist 'blessing: his G.P.U. and Cheka methods to extort confessions."

The speaker cited a few of the tragic consequences of Russian gangster methods in Spain: the destruction of the Aragon collectives by the Lister Brigade; the assassination of Rein, Landau, Nin, Berneri, Barbieri, and so many other true revolutionists. Before Stalin's intervention there was complete unity on the Spanish anti-fascist front. There existed freedom of speech, press and assembly for all anti-fascist forces. Collectivization was begun immediately after 19th July. The workers of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were indefatigable in their efforts to prove to the world that Revolution need not always mean destruction, while at the front the workers' militias were demonstrating what courage and valour could do. The Communists

had destroyed in part this constructive work; they had been responsible for the sabotage of the Aragon front, because it was held by men of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M. Emma Goldman concluded her brilliant lecture on "The Betrayal of the Spanish people" with the words: "I charge the Soviet Government with having outstripped the Biblical Judas and all the democratic Judases in its betrayal of the Spanish people and the Spanish Revolution."

## COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATORS FRUSTRATED

The general reaction to Emma Goldman's lecture was one of complete approval. The professional Communist Party demonstrators defeated their own ends. They were unable to break up the meeting and prevent the speakers from exposing Stalin's betrayal of the Spanish workers. They were not forcibly removed from the hall and so were unable to accuse the Anarchists of not allowing opposition at their meetings. In fact, after Emma Goldman's lecture they were allowed to ask questions. It was by their puerile remarks, by their intolerance towards the speakers that the Communist Party representatives allied themselves with the Fascist gangsters of Italy and Germany, who in their rise to power adopted the same methods. Their disturbance served only to make the vast majority of the people present imagine what freedom of speech would be like under a Communist regime (the Russian model) if this is what happens before they get power!

## J. McNAIR, ETHEL MANNIN

Other speakers were John McNair of the Independent Labour Party, who on behalf of the I.L.P. saluted the comrades of the CNT as being splendid revolutionary fighters, and of whose valour he had witnessed on the Madrid front, and Ethel Mannin, who stated that though she was billed to speak as a representative of the I.L.P. she was in fact speaking for herself. She was 100% for the CNT, and that if it were possible to achieve the Social Revolution without passing through a Marxian dictatorial period, she would certainly not oppose that.

Ethel Mannin concluded by introducing to the meeting the new organization which had been formed in this country: the S.I.A. (International Anti-fascist Solidarity), and her appeal for funds resulted in £75 being collected.

V.R.

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## An English Life Of Bakunin

(Continued from page 3)

when a poor English gentlewoman or, may be, a lady of more humble descent, "the elderly Miss Reeve," an "English spinster," an old governess died of cholera in the arms of Bakunin's wife, and Bakunin writes touching words of memory, Mr. Carr feels impelled to say: "Bakunin in middle life was still capable of such impulsive, childish devotions even for people too poor to give him material assistance and too timid to share his political aspirations." Bakunin had just written of Miss Emily Reeve: "... Rarely have I met so agreeable, so intelligent, so sympathetic an human being." This then, is childish, and why should he say so as she could not give money to him or side with him in politics? This may be sufficient to form an opinion of the spirit of petty enmity which pervades the book.

Up till now then, I have only seen that, what others, like Guillaume have worked so hard to establish in exact form, is retold by Mr. Carr—directly or by his constant use of Steklov's biography ("frequently deficient in sympathy and understanding," as he himself says, p. 491)—in a most incomplete, slipshod way. He contributes sometimes sweeping negative statements or critical doubt, but these are not always based upon better knowledge as some instances discussed above have shown.

I intend to discuss in a similar way the other parts of the book and to point out where new materials have been used. The chapters from Florence to the Basle Congress are barren of new results and are disappointing.

## II.

THE most intricate relations between Bakunin and Nechaev in 1869-70 are treated by Mr. Carr in a perfunctory way on the basis of such scant material that his results are past discussion. If a biographer of Bakunin is so uninformed that he writes on p. 385: "He (Bakunin) prefaced a harmless obituary of Herzen written for a Marseilles paper with a reference to ..." etc., he is neither a serious investigator, nor properly informed on the milieu which he discusses. He did not pen these words offhand, since in the next line he quotes verbatim from that article ("a distant journey in countries where newspapers penetrate with difficulty"). That article, a most interesting survey of Herzen's life, dated February 6, 1870, was published in the Parisian daily paper *La Marseillaise*, the

most advanced paper of that time, edited by Henri Rochefort, which became notorious at that time by the murder of Victor Noir, shot dead by Prince Pierre Bonaparte.

Now the malignant remark, about Bakunin's alleged attempt to mislead people about his whereabouts first occurs in the ill-famed pamphlet *L'Alliance*, penned by Engels and Lafargue in 1873 where, of course, *La Marseillaise*, is mentioned. Probably some Russian ignoramus made a jumble of this and Mr. Carr translates or transcribes this as "a Marseilles paper." The *Marseillaise* is in the British Museum and Bakunin's article was reprinted in the review, *La Vie Ouvrière* (Paris), No. 64, May 12, 1912. How can one discuss with a blunderer who puts "a Marseilles paper" and then, assuming critical allures describes an article which he cannot have seen as "a harmless obituary."

When he discusses the document signed Matrëna (Matriona), pp. 377-8 ("whether the declaration signed 'Matrëna' existed or not" etc.), he puts on a very critical air, but simply takes no notice of the fact that this affair was convincingly explained by Joukovski (see p. 489 of my Biography). Bakunin expressed to Nechaev as his personal opinion that the Russian "committee" would be justified to adopt certain extreme measures, and when Nechaev, who liked to obtain compromising documents, suggested that he should give this opinion in writing for transmission to the "committee," Bakunin trustfully but unwisely complied with his demand. Matriona was a woman connected with Mazeppa. That is all and we have the word of Joukovski and of Ross for this "story, true or false," as Mr. Carr critically describes it, besides second hand evidence from Ralli (1896-1908).

Not every reader will enjoy seeing Bakunin constantly charged with pilfering and dubious money-getting transactions. Thus on p. 382, £400 pass into the hands of Bakunin, "and thence, presumably somewhat diminished, into those of Nechaev." Presumably then Mr. Carr expects us to believe that Bakunin could not hand over a sum to another person without abstracting a portion of it! I do not like the mentality of Nechaev, but should feel safer with him than any "biographed" victim may feel with Mr. Carr.

In the chapter inscribed "Fiasco at Lyons" Mr. Carr attaches faith to a mythical journey, invented by the Russian spy "Postuikov" (p. 408): "Bakunin came up from Locarno to meet him in Berne on the way through (back to Russia)." In reality, Bakunin's diary for January 1871 records no such journey, but notes on the 26th: "An offensive letter from Possnikoff. A letter (sent) to Possnikoff and Ogareff," which probably means that the undiscovered spy had behaved inso-

lently and that Bakunin had enough of him by his time.

His daily entries in an almanac are wrongly described as "rough daybooks of his incomings and outgoings, interspersed with occasional scraps of other information 'begun' in this very month of January 1871" (pp. 408-9). Just the opposite is the case. The entries record mainly letters received and written, work on manuscripts, visitors, notes on the movement, impressions, etc., and financial details are just noted when he was hard-pressed by debts, had some money coming in, paid instalments to creditors, etc. There is no reason whatever to presume that these diaries began in January 1871: similar notes made in Berlin, 1848, have been published. But only the notes for the greater part of 1871, the whole of 1872 and several months of 1874 appear to have escaped from destruction or loss.

During the winter of 1870-71 Bakunin composed the bulk of his great work of which *God and the State* forms but a limited portion. Mr. Carr takes no notice of his intellectual activities, however, and the reader is kept in ignorance on all such subjects — an incredible lack of interest in the work of a man to whom a big volume is devoted. The chapter on the *Alliance* is meditated with some circumspection, but never on the basis of any full knowledge of the existing materials. Why should even the name of that body, *Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste* be produced as *Social-Democratic Alliance*, when the founders expressly adopted the term *socialist* and not *social* to describe their aims? "Social-Democratic" reproduces the German *sozialdemokratisch* which is based on the French *démocratique et social*, used by men who did not wish to be considered as etiolist, but as social reformers.

Who would describe "the Reclus brothers" as "bourgeois radicals rather than revolutionaries" (p. 415) in spite of their friendly relations with liberal minded people of all descriptions during the French Empire? Bakunin was not delegated to the Bâle Congress by the Alliance of Naples (p. 417), but by the metal-workers, one of the craft sections of the local International.

It is news to me that "Mazzini, on one occasion, actually visited Bakunin at Locarno" (pp. 416-7). No authority is given for this statement which to others too must be a startling novelty. What, then, am I to do? I have put my hand on quite a number of unquestionable mistakes in just a portion of the book. Am I to believe or to question this statement? I prefer the latter, though the immense literature on Mazzini, unknown to me, may contain a proof of this strange fact.

(to be continued)