

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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The State must be abolished! In that revolution I will take part! Undermine the idea of the State; make willingness and spiritual kinship the only essentials in the case of a union—and you have the beginning of a liberty that is of some value. The changing of form of government is mere toying with degrees—a little more or a little less—folly the whole of it.

—HENRIK IBSEN.

Liberate All Anti-Fascists In Republican Spain Prisons!

First Step Toward Victory Over Franco

TRUE anti-fascists still fill the gaols of Republican Spain, during a period when every anti-fascist in Spain is needed either at the front or at work in industry and agriculture in the rearguard. Men with revolutionary pasts are being arrested without any charge being directed against them. Others disappear, never to be seen or heard of again. Emma Goldman who has recently returned from Spain gave details in "Spain and the World" (No. 25) of some well-known anti-fascists now lying in gaol.

Protests and deputations have been sent to Spain to demand the release of these comrades and despite the promises nothing has yet been done. One learns of a few releases, such as the release of women of the POUM, amongst them Katia Landau (see "Spain and the World," 25 and 27), Luisa Gorkin, Elsa Homberger, Ezza Koenig, who have since landed on French soil, but the great majority still remain within the demoralizing confines of the prison walls.

A glaring example of the unjust arrest of our comrades is that of Francisco Maroto. We hardly need say anything here of his revolutionary past. This has already been spoken of at length ("Spain and the World," No. 27). It is sufficient to mention the name of the "Maroto Column," which captured a whole province for the anti-fascist cause and established the Granada front in such positions that it has resisted all the treacherous attacks of the Fascists. This man is now in prison as a suspected fascist!

"Hombres Libres," organ of the CNT in Andalusia reports (28th January) that the death sentence which was passed on Maroto has been commuted to six years imprisonment. As far as can be ascertained Maroto was accused of wanting to foment discontent amongst the troops! A number of syndicates of the CNT and the UGT have manifested their solidarity with Maroto by demanding from the authorities his immediate release. The Popular front of Baza, the most important town in that region has directed the same request to the Minister of the Interior."

In other words, the popular feeling is for the immediate release of this revolutionary fighter. And yet a small group of individuals who collectively call themselves the "Government," consider this man a Fascist and therefore too dangerous to be set at liberty.

Maroto is but one of the innocent victims of the Stalin-Negrin Government. John McGovern who recently went to Spain as a member of the delegation sent by the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties in order to demand a public trial or the release of the revolutionary prisoners, describes his visit to the Minister of Justice. He talked with him of a possible amnesty of political prisoners. Senor Irujo explained — to quote McGovern's words — that "a short time previously an amnesty had

been considered by the Government and that every member of the Government, EXCEPT THE TWO COMMUNISTS, had favoured the release of every genuine anti-fascist prisoner." Furthermore there exists in Barcelona a Cheka secret prisoner, to which, (despite the fact that he had documents of authority) he was refused admission by the Communists in charge. As a result McGovern draws his conclusions as to the position of the Government in Spain in regard to the anti-fascist prisoners. "The ministers were willing but powerless. The Cheka was unwilling and it had the power." This is probably true to a certain extent. It is also quite conceivable that the Government is not altogether unwilling.

Juan Domenech, secretary of the Regional Committee of Barcelona, made the following report just recently on the question of imprisonments and political repression. He states that "The Central Government, as well as the Government of the Generality, remain deaf to the clamour of protests and indifferent to a gross injustice; they believe that their action should be reduced to a level which was shamefully and stupidly called, during the monarchial period "the re-establishment of the principle of authority." As if the exercising of the function of command should limit itself to the adoption of repressive measures. Thus the "Consejeria de Justicia" (Council of Justice), which is responsible for correctional measures, thought that the numerous difficulties arising as a result of unsequential and arbitrary imprisonments, could be solved by dismissing 14 or 16 officials because they belonged to the CNT, or by removing the Director and putting in his place a police commissary, or nominating as ad-

ministrator an individual who had been previously detained in prison as a Fascist subject, or by increasing the police, and terroristic measures of precaution within the prisons.

On the contrary, the difficulties have been increased for, besides the annoyances to which our comrades as anti-fascists have been subjected, they have been faced with the slowness of the judges and the inactivity of the tribunals, which function 1½ hours a day, and which prolong by months their detention, and with it the unhappiness of their families.

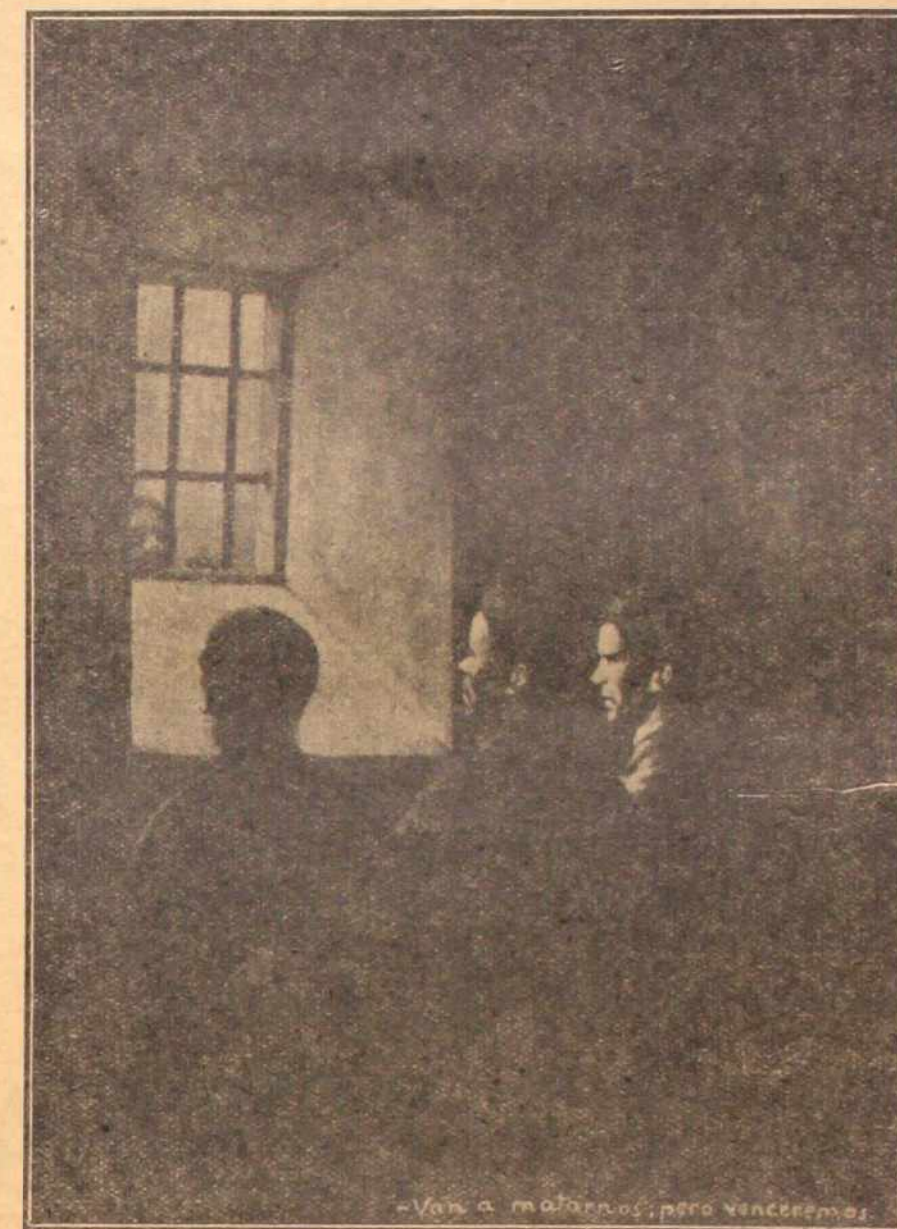
The only thing that the "Consejeria de Justicia" has done, in agreement with the Central Government, has been to transport 230 comrades from the Barcelona prison to the various judicial areas. This transference was effected on the 2nd December, early in the morning, and under the supervision of 500 robust and well armed assault guards. That is to say, by the most useful elements of co-operation for a rapid victory over Saragossa ..."

The Central Government has promised on many occasions to do something. The "New Leader" refers to the letter received by the I.L.P. in answer to their appeal for the liberation of anti-fascist prisoners. It is signed by Senor Negrin and reads as follows:

"Barcelona, Jan. 18, 1938.

Dear Friends,—I have received your kind letter of December 22, which I have read with the careful attention and sympathy which your letters always cause me to feel.

For the moment I can only answer with the affirmation that the Government of the Republic is in fact governed by intentions which coincide with your wishes



and that they will very promptly be realised.

You may rest assured that the Government over which I preside will have the occasion of receiving the applause of its English friends for the spirit of toleration and justice which governs its acts."

It was on January 18th that Senor Negrin wrote that the I.L.P.'s wishes for the release of prisoners would "very soon be realised." The same was promised when other delegations visited Spain. Yet, those 3,00 anti-fascists are still prevented from manifesting in favour of the Spanish people.

We will not make an appeal for an amnesty. All we demand is that

ordinary justice which still exists to a certain extent even in some capitalistic countries, should be granted to these 3,000 comrades. And we demand that Justice should be above Party interest—that Justice should not rest in the hands of the Cheka, which has been imported into Spain and has been put into operation with the same brutal efficiency as in Russia.

We think it time enough that those people who raised their voices in indignation at the outrages of Montjuich saying that it must never be repeated, should cease to be to-day in the very place of the persecutors, imprisoning and torturing within its grey walls, true lovers of liberty and workers' emancipation.

"SPAIN AND THE WORLD."

120,000 ITALIAN TROOPS IN SPAIN

Despite Mussolini's Withdrawal Assurance

AN extremely interesting account of the composition of the rebel army is given in the Norwegian paper "Arbeiderbladet," by the Dutch journalist F. G. Stori, who has been for several months in the part of Spain controlled by Franco.

THERE, EVERYTHING IS ITALIAN.

Stori says:—"During the four months in which I was in that part of Spain which is occupied by the rebels, both near the front and in the towns behind the lines, I had ample opportunity for observing with exactitude what forces were at the disposal of General Franco.

These amount to about five hundred thousand men, made up of Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Moors and a sprinkling of other foreigners.

DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE SPANIARDS.

One is immediately struck by the fact that the Italians do not mix with the Spaniards or with any of

the other troops. They wear Italian uniforms and the whole of their equipment, munitions, arms and medical supplies come from Italy.

Not only is their High Command independent of Spanish authority, but the soldiers themselves are in no sense subject to Spanish Control. Thus, one can see a railway inspector, dressed as a civilian, verify the documentation of a Spanish captain, and not even dare to ask for the papers of an Italian soldier. This obvious differentiation is the cause of considerable heartburning amongst the Spaniards.

When a town has been captured, the Italians take over everything and a visitor would think that he was witnessing an Italian large-scale manoeuvre. Rest camps behind the lines are under the Italians; and under the name of the camp one sees the inscription "Italian Command," followed by the number of the division and company. The munition deposits are always guarded by the Italians who don't trust the Spaniards.

THE AIRMEN WHO MURDER US, ARE ITALIAN.

It is the same story with regard to the air-arm. While the German airmen are distributed among the Spanish sections, the Italians are formed into purely Italian Squadrons, flying Italian planes. The aerodromes are also under Italian command.

SPANIARDS ONLY NUMBER ABOUT 30 PER CENT.

How many Italians are there in Spain. I should say about one hundred and twenty thousand, divided in four complete and independent divisions. There is, in addition, a division called "The Black Arrows" composed of Italian Fascist volunteers. The losses in this division are made up by Spaniards, to the extent of about 30 per cent.

THE GERMAN ROLE.

The position of the Germans is entirely different. Germany has only sent technicians, specialists and airmen to Spain. These are (continued on page 2)

S. I. A.

(International Anti-Fascist Solidarity)

An Exhibition of Drawings by Barcelona children, and needlework by Spanish women refugees is open daily Monday to Friday from noon till 8 p.m.

at
21 FRITH STREET,
Shaftesbury Avenue, W.1.

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CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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

Comrades please note!

* As we go to Press we learn from "Fragua Social," (Valencia daily of the CNT) that Maroto will be re-tried. May the protests of the Spanish people and those outside of Spain be considered.

"Neutrality" of the Swiss Government

The Swiss newspaper *Reveil*, organ of the Swiss Anarchist Movement, has published the following letter in its issue of January 15th, 1938:

Newspaper "Le Reveil,"
Rue des Savoises 6, Geneva.
Dear Sir,

We have the honour to inform you that by decree of August 14th, 1936, the Federal Council has ordered, that by no means can be supported or favoured the hostilities in Spain throughout Swiss territory; only collections with a beneficial character will be tolerated by the Federal Authorities. Notwithstanding, and to make quite sure that the collected funds are destined for relief purposes, and to treat all those using the postal service with equality, it has been decided to block the funds, which are reaching the interested by way of postal cheques, until an agreement has been established between the titulary to whom the postal cheques are addressed, the Federal Authorities and our Administration.

Considering the appeal you made in "Reveil Anarchiste", No. 986 of November 29th, 1937, in favour of the revolutionary libertarian fighters in Spain, and applying the preceding, we have to inform you that all the funds deposited on Postal Cheques No. 1.4662 will be blocked until further notice.

...Consequently, we ask you to please inform us, as detailed and as soon as possible, about the destiny of the funds in question, addressing your information to the Direction of the Post Office in Berne, in order to find a decision about said funds.

We want to add, that "l'Oeuvre" Swiss for the Workers' help, Hongerstrasse 80, Zuerich, has already got into contact with the authorities about its collection in favour of the Spanish Government party. Considering that your beneficial collection is destined to this party, the simplest thing would be if you deposited your own funds with the postal cheques of "l'Oeuvre," No. VIII.24359, which would meet the wishes of the donors as to the destiny of their donations.

Awaiting your informations, we greet you attentively,

The Post Office Director,
MAIRE.

"Reveil" comments on the monstrosity of this intervention.

"ARE WE NEUTRAL? No we are not, and we lament to find it absolutely impossible to realise any work in favour of our brothers in Spain if it is not done through the Red Cross. And as we are speaking about the Red Cross, why have they not organised a service to deliver parcels containing foodstuffs to the fighters on both sides?"

We also remember that by reason of the sanctions against Italy, an official collection of gold was made throughout Switzerland and under the protection of the Legation of the Swiss Consulates "for the necessities of war"; Swiss neutrality not only permitted this, but the Swiss patriots and nationalists took part in it.

Towards the Spanish Republic, duly recognised by the Swiss Government, and member of the League of Nations, the Federal Authorities have established a new conception of neutrality, that is in more than one respect a real hostility, even more so after the declaration of M. Motta, that Switzerland will not apply sanctions because of its neutrality. What a detestable comedy!"

This new act of hostility is quite outstanding among the usual illegalities committed by the States that call themselves "Non-Interventionists." The article published by the famous Swiss Militant Review has produced a deep impression on public opinion in Switzerland. But we are sure that the Spanish Republican Government will not be contented with that and will already have intervened, so that this partial treatment of those who want to give their solidarity and help to the Spanish people in their fight for liberty may cease.

Communist Party Opportunism

THE Communist Party is well known for the facility with which it changes tactics. At one period it carried on a bitter attack against the CNT-FAI. Now it is sending notes couched in friendly terms to the Anarchist organizations.

But two recent cuttings from the "Daily Worker" are of interest in this connection. Many will remember how the Communist Party voiced the opinion on every platform that Catalonia was not "doing her share" in the struggle against Fascism. The Communist Party went to the trouble of publishing the English version of a speech delivered by Comorera in which he said that "Catalonia has stood apart, it has been a disturbing element in the Republic, it has been a burden to the Republic." J. R. Campbell who wrote the forward to this pamphlet accepts all this and adds that all this will "give English readers for the first time a glimpse of the problems which the supporters of the Popular Front are facing in this country (Spain)." On December 8th the Party controlled "Daily Worker" comes out with the following remarks:

"Seventy-five thousand Catalan soldiers are fighting in the trenches on the Madrid front. Catalonia has nearly a million refugees who have fled from the rebels on her soil and she has sent to Madrid foodstuffs to the value of 215 million pesetas. These facts prove better than any speeches the close solidarity between Catalonia and the rest of Republican Spain."

Why this sudden change of tactics? In the first place the campaign of lies with regard to Catalonia's contribution to the struggle was carried on in order to show that the CNT-FAI was shirking its duty, and to show that the Communist Party alone was active. But recently independent observers, politicians and doctors have returned from Spain amazed at the great work which is being carried on in Catalonia on behalf of the Spanish people. And the C.P. cannot hide the true facts any longer and is obliged to come out

with some. The blind Party followers do not see a change in attitude. But for people who think, this sudden turn is significant.

There is however another interpretation. It coincides with a change in the attitude of the Spanish C.P. toward the CNT. Before, the Spanish Communist Party stated that industries were collectivized by means of violence and coercion. Now, instead the C.P. has declared itself in favour of them. Even its Press has temporarily ceased in its attacks on the Anarchists, though, so that this volte-face should not be too obvious, it draws a distinction between the "good" and "bad" anarchists. The "Humanité" (Organ of the French C.P.) goes to the trouble of publishing a photo of our comrade Cipriano Mera describing him as a "good general etc. ..." Naturally our Anarchist comrades will accept these generous remarks for what they are worth. The true aims of the C.P. are quite clearly defined in their official organ "Pravda" (17 December 1936): "As to Catalonia, the purging of the Trotsky and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements has commenced; this work will be conducted with the same energy as that with which it was done in the U.S.S.R."

But there is yet another point to be put before clear thinking people. J. R. Campbell, mouthpiece of the Communist Party, writes in the "Daily Worker" of December 7th, 1937 that "The Spanish Communists have never separated the civil war from the Revolution" and adds that "The war and the Revolution are indivisible."

Once again, to the blind Party slave this all sounds very fine, but let us deal with facts. Camillo Berneri in a significant article published in "Guerra ei Classe" pointed out the danger of dictatorship. There he remarked on the fact that only just previously the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain declared that in the present struggle in Spain they were defending democracy and private property. Campbell confirmed and justified this statement in his pamphlet "Spain's

Left Critics" when he wrote "Now this would be no crime when you remember that the alternative to capitalist democracy may conceivably be General Franco."

Can this attitude be considered as Revolutionary?

As a matter of interest it might be recalled that the assassination of Camillo Berneri was justified by the Communists on the grounds that he was a counter-revolutionary. He wrote in "Guerra di Classe" (April 1937).

"The dilemma 'war or revolution' has no longer any meaning. The only dilemma is: Either victory over Franco thanks to the revolutionary war, or defeat" ("Spain and the World" No. 14). Compare this with Campbell's latest remark (Dec. 1937): "The war and the Revolution are indivisible" and one must conclude that either Campbell is a counter-revolutionary, or else the justification for the assassination of Berneri was merely an excuse for them to free themselves of a dangerous adversary.

But Communist Party opportunism does not stop at the facts which we have mentioned above.

It is equally significant that the sickle and hammer and "Workers of all Lands Unite" below the title of the "Daily Worker" have also disappeared. This is part of the "Daily Worker's" new policy. And its readers who protested the last time this was done, are now perfectly subdued and do not voice any protest.

They have been educated to accept everything they are told by headquarters. This is the tragedy of the "Left" movements today: the inability to think independently.

The most dangerous aspect of Fascism is that it neutralizes the personality of the individual, until he automatically accepts everything without a moment of reflection. The same results must come with a "dictatorship of the proletariat."

V. R.

... "As Seen By Nosotros"

Organ of the F.A.I. in Valencia

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS NEW TACTICS

A DISTINCT move in our direction has been noticeable for some time past in the tactics of the Communist Party. Apart from sundry hints in the Press, its general goodwill and attitude of "live and let live" make the thing as plain as daylight.

So far so good. But we venture, with due caution, to investigate the scope and meaning of this new attitude of our Communist friends. Is it, by chance, indicative of a complete change in their judgment on the problems of the War and the Revolution? Or is it, on the other hand, that their conduct is governed by their own critical position in the political life of the country? Our own interpretation of their behaviour depends upon which of the above motives is accepted as guiding them.

Now it might be that the Communist Party was aware of its Policy inside the workers' movement, as a mistake. This awareness would presuppose

a complete change of front, accompanied by offensive tactics on the basis of plain revolutionary action. On such a basis, understanding would not be a difficult matter.

However, the fact that there is a certain definite centralising tendency inside the Popular Front, which, for the time being appears to be dividing the glory of the Communist Party, inclines us to think that their new tactics are not quite so revolutionary as one might otherwise imagine, and that the defensive character of their new position definitely detracts from the appearance of a swing to the left, which they would like it to have.... Is the Communist Party attempting to re-establish itself under the wing of our syndical and anarchist influence over the masses?

We prefer to withhold our opinion on the matter. Though we have come into close contact enough with the Communist Party to leave no doubt in our minds regarding their addiction to the lowest opportunism.

And if our natural reserve required

justification, it could be found in the fact that when we were urging the creation of a progressive anti-fascist front, because we believed that the Popular Front was ineffective as an anti-fascist organization, the Communist Party stuck hard to the Popular Front. And they did so, when it was obvious to the meanest political half-wit that the said P.F. excluded the workers organization of the CNT, and we declined to be mixed up in the labyrinth of disputations connected with the UGT.

The CNT and FAI, with their wide understanding and high ideal of responsibility towards the war situation, are ever ready to clear the way towards unity, if such unity is founded upon integrity of intention.

We trust that these remarks will induce the Communist Party to think well over their present and future courses and that these will always be on a revolutionary basis, mindful, as we all are, of the necessity for winning this war with as little delay as possible.

—(Nosotros, Valencia).

120,000 ITALIAN TROOPS IN SPAIN

(continued from page 1)

distributed over Franco's army and it can be asserted that no section of German troops has taken part in the military operations. They do, nevertheless, play a very important part in the campaign. They control the telephone and the radio, the personnel and material of which is almost entirely German. The same applies to the anti-tank artillery, while the instruction of the Spanish cadets, potential officers in the rebel army, is in their hands.

How many Germans are there in Spain?

Perhaps about twenty thousand in the whole of the rebel territory, including the espionage and counter-espionage services.

THE LEGION HAS ONLY 15,000 MEN.

Shock troops in the more important battles have been made up by the Foreign Legion and the Moors. The Legion has at most 15,000 men, divided in groups of 1,000. These groups, which have suffered heavily, have to be re-organised four times and even so it has not been

possible to recruit enough men to cover deficiencies.

AND THEY MAKE CONTACT WITH US.

The Legion has a proportion of 40 per cent. volunteers including foreigners. The remainder are Spaniards who have volunteered for service for the sake of the three pesetas a day, which they are paid. The result is that the Legion is hardly a first class body of men. The training, which is very tough, has reduced the men to a state of mind, which makes the High Command regard them as unreliable. Many of them, indeed, have gone so far as to fraternize with the Government troops.

THE PHALANGIST VOLUNTEERS ARE ONLY 10%

The Spanish troops in Franco's army are divided in three groups: Requetes, Falangists and the Popular Army. The first two were originally made up of volunteers. But they now have to make up their losses with youths who would normally have been recruited for the Regulars. The Falangists are composed of small officials and sundry townsmen. The Requetes are

recruited from the peasantry. These latter are about 80,000 strong. Those above 18 years old are put into the front line, the younger ones, who are under instruction, bringing up the rear. The Falangists number about 45,000, 10 per cent. of them only being volunteers. The regular army is composed of 150,000 men.

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(Owing to the delay in preparing the Index, we have not yet forwarded bound titles of "Spain and the World" to those readers who have ordered them. We hope to do so this week. —Editors.)

Correspondence

• International News

Dear Comrade,

Why not start a column for International news from revolutionary section all over the world seeing that the paper is called "Spain and the World."

I realize the difficulty you have in getting news from Spain, but I think that is absolutely essential that every attempt should be made to find out what is going on and to report it in full.

I have many comrades who are in the jails of Spain thanks to the repression and murderous tactics of the GPU and this I feel must be ruthlessly exposed.

L. SAPIRE.

Johannesburg.

(We agree with all our Comrade says. Judging by the official boycott of our paper here, by the Communist Party members, it would seem that our exposures are ruthless and to the point. We would welcome International correspondence from revolutionary sections, and hope that groups will get in touch with us as soon as possible — Editors.)

• Bakunin

Dear Comrade,

Permit me to express my thanks to you and Comrade Nettlau for calling E. H. Carr to account for his unsympathetic biography of Michael Bakunin. Of the misstatements and gross inaccuracies, only Max Nettlau, who has made a life study of Bakunin can competently point out. I speak only as one interested in the man and his social activities. I found the biographer indulging in small petty brutalities that are irrelevant... The one that saves Carr from making a sheer adventurer or worse, a charlatan out of Bakunin is none other than Bakunin himself. After every slander he unconsciously inserts extracts from a letter or an article by Bakunin, and the true spirit of the man becomes overwhelming. The book is a challenge to all English speaking Anarchists that a true biography of one of the greatest spirits be written, and the man to do the job is none other than Max Nettlau.

This is a call to arms, comrades. Let us raise a fund, and put Max Nettlau to work on the life, work and activity of Michael Bakunin.

BEN CAPES.

Kirkwood, Mo.

(Comrade Capes refers to the book "Michael Bakunin" by Prof. E. H. Carr, a review of which has been published in "Spain and the World," Nos. 27-30. These issues are still available to readers who are interested, price 2/6 each post free. Max Nettlau has already written a biography of Bakunin. It consists of some 1,281 pages of MS, and is in German. Before it could possibly be published, it is necessary to ascertain whether the demand would be sufficient to cover the expenses of translation and printing. Dr. Nettlau has prepared a French resumé of some 500 pages, which might be a more economic proposition, and within the limits of the purses of more comrades. However, we repeat, we cannot attempt such a venture until we can be certain of the response. We should be glad to hear from interested comrades and readers. — Editors.)

• Solidarity An Example

Dear Comrades of

"Spain and the World,"

Last month, a new group composed of Spanish youth interested in a libertarian Spain was formed under the title of "Club Juventud Libre" (Free Youth). It is our aim and purpose to do all that we can so that, Fascism being destroyed, a new free society will arise in Spain.

As our first initiative, we have collected \$65 for the orphans of the Durruti-Ascaso Colony. We heartily endorse the work that "Spain and the World" is doing by supporting the children of the above mentioned colony.

We hope that in the near future we may be able to further show our solidarity with the Spanish cause, both materially and by endeavouring to augment the subscribers to your paper "Spain and the World."

Salud!

AMELIA LOUZARA.

Detroit, Mich.

THE "putsch" of the generals on 19th July, 1936; the resistance of the workers, especially the Anarchists and the Syndicalists; struggle in all parts of the country, in streets and squares of cities and villages; the overthrow of the military court-party in most of the principal cities; after a week of a General Strike the renewal of work under new conditions. This is the introduction, on the one hand, to the war, for the Spanish Republic has had to lead the way ever since that time against international Fascism, and, on the other hand, to that profound change in the social and economic life of the country. The workers' organisations, especially the industries, placed themselves at the head of the management of the country, in which the administration was at stake.

Land was expropriated, as much as belonged to Fascists, factories were seized, from which the owners had fled or had done the same things as the Fascists. Transport was taken over by the workers' organisations. The industries controlled the economic enterprises. Inn-keeping, the hotel trade, cinemas, and theatres were conducted with industry. The previous owners were swept into the new current, many of their own free will, many seized by the new spirit of the time, others by compulsion. But no-one could step aside.

Most significant is the change in ownership of the land. Not only the expropriation of the great estates but also smallholdings and farmers' leases come under the workers' agricultural co-operative schemes, and are included in the collective plan.

.....Collectively controlled enterprises in town and country replaced private enterprises.

The Economic Council of the Spanish Workers

By AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

There is no other dominating organisation. Everything springs direct from the people. This factory, that shop, this busline, here the trams, there the coal mines, all is in the hands of the workers.

But as yet there is no close co-ordination of the new economic policy. At the beginning everything went on in the old way. Capitalism is not yet quite overcome, though, when the managers fled, the workers applied themselves to production immediately. They improved their own circumstances and they felt themselves captains of their own souls. They raised their standard of living and improved or re-constructed their working conditions.

All applied themselves to a single trade in the first place, or to several industries. In the hotel trade, in the hairdressing business, in the small shopkeeping trade, there was continual friction, for there was as yet no planned co-operation. The textile industry and the lime pits in Catalonia, the orange growing business in the Levant, and many collectivised industries are engaged in the export trade. The agricultural collectives in Aragon, Valencia, and Castile must co-operate with the industrial collectives of the cities. The exchange of the agricultural products for those of the industrial products must be organised.

Very numerous are the problems which, never previously, could have been solved either theoretically or a priori. The necessities of life appear in practice under a socially planned economic policy. If the Capitalist economics were unplanned and disorderly, then the socially planned one should be carefully thought out and also very practical. What was sporadic in the first days, but generally spontaneous in the first weeks after July 19th, must somehow or other be solidified into a united economic plan. Our modern economic life resembles a chain, every single enterprise being a link in it. The fact that peasants shun the city, the workers on raw material in factories, the workers who transport the raw material from the outlying country, all this shows the inter-dependence in modern industry. The better the industries work together, the less friction will there be in the forming of a sound economic policy. A socially planned economic policy cannot deprive itself of co-ordination and co-operation between consumer and producer.

The cooperation of the various components must be more complete than in the capitalist economic arrangement. The socialism of Karl Marx and Proudhon would make for international co-operation of all economic powers of the world and harmony between nations.

Everything is going well with most agricultural collectives. In industry also collectivisation has brought a general improvement of the standard of living. But several industries, handicapped by war conditions, are operating uneconomically. In some parts of the country the level of life is higher than in others. Many industries are working in isolation, in spite of general collectivisation. There is still much to co-ordinate. All economic powers of the workers and of the country must be pooled, like all little tributaries combine to make a great river. For this reason must a well-ordered system of canals be laid out.

This is the aim of the economic council called together by the National Confederation of workers (C.N.T.). The agriculturalist Federation of the socialist U.G.T., the Levant Regional Union of the U.G.T. sent their greetings to the council and hoped for a genuine result in the direction of unification of all anti-Fascists in Spain.

It concerns itself not with a party question, but rather with a question which interests all the workers in Spain. This council, represented by the greatest workers' anti-Fascist organisations, will be reflected in its own country and even in foreign countries. The local industrial organisations, the Com-

munist International, the Industrial Syndicate, and the Federation of Industry, wished their economic enterprises to be united. The C.N.T. should be the heart in which beat the pulses of their economic life.

Everyone feels that a new impulse should and must be given to those workers whose economic life depends on the country. The UGT will not impose the new economic policy. It has not done so so far, it will not do so in the future. The good sense and fraternal spirit of the U.G.T. and its affiliated bodies guarantee that to us.

Since the 19th of July, 1936 there have been no strikes, no conflicts between workers and managers. The old-time managers are, in fact, no longer in their original posts; where they are they do not take liberties with the workers. The industries together with the trades, which formerly had to struggle with the owners, fixed for themselves their wages. The workers desisted from raising the wages while the war against Fascism lasted. They know that their standard of life is always significantly higher than that of the workers in Franco's Spain.

Out of the double role of industry as advocate both of the interests of the workers and of production itself arises a new problem. Two apparently opposite points of view must be brought into alignment: the economic necessity of the worker and that of the State. Each worker must in his own person unite his self-interests with his duty to his class and his national duty as an anti-Fascist. The anti-Fascist struggle has united all.

That is the first impression, that is the problem of the economic council of the Spanish C.N.T., which met on the 15th of January in Valencia.

The Syndicates — Backbone of Economy

Certain very Republican papers who have talked big of revolution, have, almost daily, for some months past, openly or indirectly attacked the Syndicates as devoid of productive and organizational capacity. And they always come to the same conclusion:— The State alone knows how to do things, and how to do everything.

We are not altogether surprised at this attitude, a common one to those who will not listen to the stern warnings which History, in its generous efforts to save them from total disaster, has thundered in their ears. But what does surprise us and even makes us pity them, is their obstinacy in closing their eyes to the facts, in refusing to see the living reality of our great effort. Let us see.

Let us see. Is it possible to deny the power of the Syndicates as an expression of organised productivity in our country?

Is it possible to deny their efficiency, or driving power, their tremendous value as a shock-force in the war?

When in July, the criminal military gang plunged its treacherous knife into the side of the republic (a knife that was in reality directed not against the republic, but against the workers), who offered their blood for the urgent transfusion? The Workers, the Syndicalists. The Republic was saved, and fresh revolutionary blood began to circulate in its veins. The proletariat saw therein the glorious fulfilment of their longings and feverishly set to work to establish the organs of the new economy, and flung themselves, practically unprotected against the enemies who were out to strangle them.

And who doubts that the Syndicalists gave of their best? That they were the boldest and gravest and toughest in the struggle? Nobody. Again, from a constructive point of view. What was the role of the Syndicalists.

They took hold of the decrepit national economy, now threatened by the rapacity and idiocy of capitalism, and they put it in a position to bear the weight of the war. A vast number of factories, which had ceased to operate through the incapacity and greed of their owners, were started again. Shapeless heaps of rotten iron were

quickly turned into shining machines. The national productivity was established almost without technicians. The frightful disturbance arising from the lack of materials imported from abroad, was boldly faced by the humble workers, whose discerning ingenuity discovered the formula which enabled substitutes to be found for bronze, zinc, aluminium, potassium, electric material, etc. The abandoned countryside was fertilized by the sweat of the peasants, and the crops were doubled and even tripled.

The war industry, so vital in this year, after unbelievable efforts and terrible sacrifices, was rapidly lifted from the stage of primitiveness to one that must be seen to be believed.

And what of the failures of the Syndicalists?

They failed where they were not allowed to act by those who should and could have made the way easy for them. It is only natural that there should have been mistakes and failures. The road was never clear nor were conditions and circumstances favourable for unhampered efforts. A number of obstacles, the war not the least of them, made the work difficult, to say nothing of the ill-omened and quite open obstructive efforts of certain ill-disposed workers and revolutionary groups.

It is true that a Nationally planned harmonious co-ordination of production and distribution, indispensable for an intelligent and efficient economic system, is lack-

ing. But that is explicable. Every attention and activity was governed by the compelling circumstances of the war on the one hand, and the necessity for a great-scale production, on the other. No effort was too great to save a ruined economy from disaster. Yet it is the very producers themselves who have published abroad their wish to achieve a plan of national co-ordination. And it is the CNT Syndicalists who are now working on the plan.

The truth is that those who today would deny the Syndicalists their rights and assert that they are lacking in efficiency, had nothing to say against the bourgeois capitalists, whose incapacity, greed, short-sightedness and vices had (like those of the capitalists in all other countries, whatever the appearances may be) brought Spain to the lowest depths of economic catastrophe.

We must remind these people that Kerensky and his satellites would have come out better if they had rid themselves of ambition and adjusted their behaviour more clearly to the temperature of the social thermometer.

History, especially Spanish History, tell us plainly of the role of the State as controller of production; of the Syndicalists it does not tell us much more than that they are small and have enormous powers of convincing and converting. We are loyal and men of good-will and face realities from all sides.

(Solidaridad Obrera)

Revolutionary Economy

THE WOOD INDUSTRY OF CUENCA

THE Castille plateau is characterised principally by its lack of rich forest land. The province of Cuenca finds itself in the same condition, though the town itself possesses a few thickly wooded small valleys.

Cuenca offers the traveller a picturesque setting with its houses built into the stone slopes of the mountains, and its ancient cathedral dating back to the XVth century, gives the town the true appearance of old Spain.

The political tendency was republican, but the libertarian ideas predominated amongst the workers. The CNT and the FAI had constituted several groups whose members joined the militias at the moment of the Rebellion; the latter was defeated in Cuenca.

The mayoralty is made up of four members of the UGT and four of the CNT besides a representative from each of the other political parties.

The Economic Revolution

From the very beginning the comrades took possession of the factories, workshops and urban property. All was collectivized save landed property which had been municipalized.

Building, transport, paper, and all other trades were collectivized by the CNT. Restaurants likewise were collectivized by one or two important syndicates.

The electricity company was also taken over by the CNT and is under the direction of our comrades.

Commerce and shops being in the hands of small proprietors, continue business as before.

The most important work carried out was the formation of the Federation of Wood Industry. The sawyers, mechanics and others came to an agreement with the small owners of machines and brought about a single industry in which there exist neither exploiters nor exploited. The owners came into the collectivity, which took upon itself to return them the money that they had advanced. The annual production is 70,000 cubic metres, which

is distributed in the form of planks for the carpenter and sleepers for the railways. It is also used for the production of frames for fruit transport.

Development

The collectivity disposes of a capital of 700,000 pesetas, and has besides, a credit of 200,000 pesetas.

For their yearly needs they would require double this amount, but as their stock of wood is considerable the collectivists are sure that they will be able to meet all their obligations, and even be in quite a comfortable position.

The wages they receive are very much higher than before, which results in more comfort in their homes.

The collectivity disposes of 35 mechanical saws and other machinery. This was all paid for by the administrative council of the collectivity.

Retirement

To all those too old to do any work, the collectivity gives a sufficient sum of money to allow them to live comfortably without having to work.

Widows of comrades who have died at the front are also provided for by the Council; further, comrades who are sick continue to receive their usual wages.

In conclusion, all human demands have been faithfully interpreted by the federation and have been put into practice.

Conclusions

The collectivity has many projects on hand for the development of its industry, and is contemplating the purchase of much more efficient machinery. They are also considering the construction of new roads to facilitate the transport of their products.

In all the achievements of our comrades in Spain, whether in industry or in agriculture, we notice that the basis of attack is directed against "big capital" and for the respect of individual liberty, taking care not to put themselves in the place of dictators but ever guided by the Anarchist Ideal.

Man!

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

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REVISION

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February issue includes articles on Revolutionary youth, Anarchists and Government, etc.

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An English Life of Bakunin*

The Siberian chapter contains a meagre account of Bakunin's renewed activities. I do not call for completeness, but the author has a knack of giving the impression that what he records is not of much importance and what he does not tell is beneath contempt. That is not so. In the space of his chapters a great number of interesting facts could be properly told of which the uninitiated reader hears absolutely nothing.

This discovery of the Rev. F. P. Koe's diary is a pleasant incident indeed; we see Bakunin at close quarters from Yokohama to San Francisco and in New York (1861). Mr. Carr favoured me two years ago with extracts from this source and he probably discussed this subject in an article on Bakunin's escape in the *Slavonic Review* (January 1937).

But why should *The Cosmopolitan Review* be called "an obscure and short-lived radical weekly" (pp. 245-6)? It was a monthly, issued from January 1861 to February 1862, as volume 1, 568 pp. in 8vo. It may have been interrupted then and *The Working Man* of 1862 may be considered to have replaced it. A group of workers, adherents of Bronterre O'Brien, trade unionists, etc., and old A. C. Cuddon, the individualist anarchist, supported these publications and these men also welcomed the French workers who visited the Exhibition of 1862, when on August 5, in Freemason's Tavern the foundation of an international organisation, the International of 1864, was first suggested. These, then, were the most advanced workers' publications at that time—"obscure" no doubt in the capitalists' eyes like all early socialism. Bakunin sent a letter to *The Working Man* (April 1, 1862) when the Urquhartite organ had insulted him. Mr. Carr mentions "a eulogistic article entitled *Bakunin in London*" in the *Working Man*, but not Bakunin's direct protest (p. 247).

The "incident of the shirt" (p. 248) has been ignored up till now. It was a luckier hit to retrace Adolf Straka in London by a tradition kept alive in Prague (p.250); J. V. Fric was probably connected with the paper *Czech* at Geneva which reprinted Bakunin's Slav principles of 1848, and he wrote on his ideas in *Blánik*, an exiles' organ, which I have not been able to see. The Armenian poet "Nalbandyan" (pp. 254, 259 etc.) to the best of my belief is Nalbandian, or is the mis-

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

take on my side? Foreign Office documents on the Ward Jackson affair (1863) were published by Mr. Carr in his book *The Romantic Exiles*, 1933, Appendix E. He also found two Austrian governmental circulars concerning Bakunin in Prague (1863; pp. 286-7, 295-6).

I have finished the examination of Mr. Carr's book and I frankly admit that the first part, ending with Bakunin's departure for Italy (Autumn of 1863) is far better reasoned and elaborated than the second, 1864-1876, in which the author's contempt both for Bakunin's socialist and revolutionary ideas and activities and for such causes in general encroach on the facts, whilst in the first part the causes for which Bakunin stood are less obnoxious and irritating to him and he handles things with a lighter hand. The friends of Bakunin see the continuity of his social and liberal effort in which ever cause he felt attracted to throughout his life.

The book is marred by the disingenuous hostility to Bakunin's wife spread all over it. The wives of notable men seldom come up to the mark of their hero-worshipping admirers or their fanatical disciples or of persons whose true character they may have read with greater clarity than their over-confiding husbands.

Some fools will always reproach Bakunin for not having mated with a Jeanne d'Arc, a George Sand or a Louise Michel, just as they insulted the simple women with whom Goethe and Heine chose to live. These women were good enough for these men to the last, and that should be good enough for tactful observers. If evil tongues spread gossip, is it necessary to pick it up? "The gossip of Orsett House (the Herzen family) had given him (Herzen's son) a precious insight into Bakunin's shortcomings," excellent words of Mr. Carr (p. 293) — but they describe his own position. His knowledge of Russian made that and similar gossip accessible to him and he produced *The Romantic Exiles*, (1933), a book which I have not seen, but which appears to describe the Herzen-Herevegh-Ogarev and similar affairs. Then he hit upon Marx (I do not know the book) and now upon Bakunin, always the butt of hostile or disappointed observers and of very bitter enemies.

Patient research has exposed endless misinterpretations, the supreme efforts of Marx and Engels (1872, 1873), the cam-

paigned based on the "Confession" in the early twenties, etc. and so immense materials have been laid before students. An enemy, Steklov (1920-27) undertook to misinterpret this material again; "and the canons of Soviet orthodoxy compel the author to take sides with Marx against Bakunin on every issue between them" are Mr. Carr's own words (p. 491). Then others came to utilize these materials as in *The Devil at the Long Bridge* (*Il Diavolo al Pontelungo*) by Riccardo Bacchelli, London, 1929, described as "a historical novel," but admitted by the author, when I challenged him in *The Times Literary Supplement*, to be purely a product of imagination.

Another book *La Vie de Bakounine* by Helène Iswolsky, a White Russian lady (Paris, 1930), contained scandalous information taken from Steklov which the publishers later undertook to delete. I hold no brief for Bakunin, but when Mr. Carr communicated with me by letter and by a visit, I told him of this and appealed to him as a gentleman to respect the private life of Bakunin. This book is there to show whether this has been done.

Under such conditions my opinion on the book can only be this. It presents a Bakunin of the author's imagination, not the figure which original material and research sketch, at least in outline. The care bestowed on some parts cannot balance the small care and regrettable omissions in other parts. To the uninitiated reader and student, this book is virtually a trap, unless he has the means to verify many statements or to find out where grave omissions occur.

The book is far nearer a persuasive novel than a scholarly work of research. Only the author lacks the generosity and broad humane kindness which some at least associate with works of art. He is essentially cruel and petty, knocking thrice on every nail of Bakunin's coffin so to speak. A total absence of generosity and plenty of frank brutality are features which must strike even the casual readers of this book — and Bakunin, then, remains as little comprehensible in his real essence to the readers of this biography, as he remained to those who knew him only by *The Devil at the Long Bridge* — the only two English books on his life.

MAX NETTLAU.

December 22nd, 1937.

(This article concludes the series [Nos. 27-30]. New readers who wish to have the complete series can still obtain them from us, price 2½d. each post free.—Ed.)

Freedom of Press Threatened in S. Francisco

"Man!" Editor Jailed

The Labor Department that has been harassing readers of this journal during 1934, instituted the deportation proceedings against Ferrero and Sallitto in the same year, and last October jailed the editor of *Man!*, Marcus Graham, in order to execute a deportation warrant of more than eighteen years standing, succeeded in jailing him for the fifth consecutive time on January 14th, as a reputed self-styled "liberal" judge, Leon R. Yankwich, after declaring the warrant of 1919 as void, nevertheless proceeded to sentence Graham to 6 months in a federal penitentiary on a charge of criminal contempt, when Graham refused to testify against himself before immigration officials or in court—in order to aid in carrying out the very 18-year-old deportation warrant! The hypocrisy of the judge's "liberalism" revealed itself even more fully when he attempted to prevent that Graham should state his position before being sentenced. Finally, he consented to "allow" Graham to speak.

The protesting voices against the U. S. Government's attempt to destroy this journal by imprisoning its editor has so far met with considerable success. This despite the suppression of the Freedom of the Press issue which is involved, by the daily press, and even by the so-called liberal and radical publications.

The new jailing of Graham will

ultimately force even those purveyors of "public opinion" to make known this direct attempt to give a death-blow to the Freedom of the Press.

The attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union are going to appeal against the six months' sentence (Graham having been released on a new thousand dollar bond on the "criminal contempt of court" sentence after serving seven days imprisonment and again being forced to sleep on an asphalt floor and deprived of any non-meat food—in the Los Angeles County Jail).

The protesting conscience of America has forced the dismissal of proceedings against Domenick Sallitto. It has halted the deportation of Vincent Ferrero. It can, and undoubtedly will, bring about the dismissal of the deportation proceedings against Marcus Graham, and thereby assure the existence and continuation of this journal as well.

The protesting voice of every true liberty loving man and woman should therefore be raised and directed to the Secretary of Labor, Miss Francis Perkins, Washington, D.C., and copies of said protests should likewise be forwarded to the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, 129 West Second Street, Los Angeles, California. "Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty."

From *Man!*

Reaction in Morocco

From behind the flood of propaganda concerning the recent disturbances in French Morocco the truth gradually emerges. These disturbances branded as the work of Mussolini and under which guise wholesale arrests were perpetrated and military control of civil life inaugurated, finds its origin in the Popular Front Government which is preparing the French colonies war. Guided by Nogues, the French resident governor in Morocco, a series of brutal and provocative events have occurred, devoid of all sense even from a capitalist point of view. For his provocative actions, condoned by the government, can only serve to throw Moroccan sympathy towards Mussolini who

profits from the French treatment of its colonies. French Morocco bids fair to become a second Spanish Morocco whose Moors would be used to overthrow the democratic framework.

An officer trained in militarism, a past master in the art of provocation at which all colonial officers are adept, M. Nogues personifies the stupidity of the French colonial policy. He has earned the undying hatred of the natives through diversion of the water supply from the city of Meknes; by allowing the Catholic invasion of the Berber city of Khemisset, by permitting the army to invade the mosques, by the mass arrests, by internment

Books and Publication Received

"Spanish Testament" by Arthur Koestler (Gollancz 10/6).

"And in the Distance a Light" by M. Chaves Nogales (Heinemann 7/6).

"Spain, Between Death and Birth" by Peter Merin (The Bodley Head 12/6).

"Assignment in Utopia" by Eugene Lyons (Harrap 15/-).

"My House in Malaga" by Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell (Faber 8/6).

"Afterthoughts on the U.S.S.R." by André Gide (Secker & Warburg 2/6).

"Spanien und Wir Die Schweiz und Europa" by Hans Mühlestein (Zurich) No price indicated.

and banishment without trial, by shootings, by brutal proclamations, by the closing of the "university cities" such as at Fes, essentially a student city. A few quotations from the press of that country will give some indication of the unrest caused by these brutal tactics.

"Action Tunisienne," Arab journal of Tunis, on November 13th, asks:

"In the Mediterranean rivalry, which becomes more and more severe, do you think that the 80 airplanes at the Tunis airport will mean much if France is unable to count on the spontaneous support of the North African peoples?"

"Throughout Morocco repression rages and we know only that much of it which is given out. By the hundreds, the fellahs are sent to horrible prisons without permitting them to communicate with others. Tribes are raided as in the days of Charlemagne." (Gaston Delmas, secretary of the Socialist Federation of Morocco.) This statement appeared in the "Moroccan Socialist" and the number was seized by M. Nogues.

Comrade Driss Benzakour, Moroccan, member of the socialist section of Fes, figures among the hundreds arrested. Among other things he is charged with having served as interpreter to Maurice and Magdeleine Paz during their recent voyage to Morocco. Magdeleine Paz wrote in "Populaire," French Socialist daily of Nov. 14:

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To all those comrades and friends who have given so generously to the Orphans Fund, we ask them to continue and intensify their activity on behalf of the Spanish Orphans.

We hope to be able to announce shortly that we will form a new colony: "The 'Spain and the World' Colony" and to house from 40-50 children. We are certain that this news will meet with the complete approval of our readers and that it will be an incentive to them to continue giving generously.

"We cannot support the Administration in its pursuit of a policy not only inhuman, not only iniquitous but absurd, insane and provocative." But we respectfully remark to Magdeleine Paz that the "Administration" which arrests a Moroccan socialist, guilty of having served as interpreter to the Colonial Commission of the Socialist Party, is under the orders of a government whose vice-president is the chief of the said Socialist Party. (Vanguard)

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 - 258. London: J. Dobson 5/-.
 - 259. London: E. Man 2/-.
 - 260. Toronto: per A. Bortolotti, proceeds dance and concert December 31st — £10.
 - 261. London: Mrs. G. E. Foster £2.
 - 262. Seattle: Otto Welke 15/6.
 - 263. London: Two "T.C. Reds" 3/3.
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