

# SPAIN AND THE WORLD

It is Spain's great tragedy that she has hitherto been so little understood: the story of the sufferings of a people that is bleeding from a thousand wounds and still will not give up the fight, because it knows that it carries in its breast the precious growth of Freedom and human dignity on which the future of all of us depends.

—RUDOLF ROCKER  
("The Tragedy of Spain")

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The 25th Division formed by the 15th, the 116th and 117th brigades, on orders received from the High Command, left for the Teruel front with the object of occupying the positions designated by Army Headquarters. The command of the 25th Division is in charge of the old CNT member, comrade Vivancos, who, from the beginning of the war, has been doing invaluable work.

The 116th Brigade, whose military Commander is Boda and political Commissar Francisco Merono, also an old member of the CNT, left for the town of Corbalan. The 118th Brigade, under Castan and political Commissar Carot, took up positions in Cedrilla, and the 117th Brigade, under Bretos, also a comrade of ours, placed itself in Estriche. The High Command of the Division billeted in the town of Corbalan. Early in the morning of the 15th, the 116th and 117th Brigades took up positions for attack and awaited orders from the High Command of the Division, then at a place called Muleton.

That day the 116th Brigade did magnificent work, taking all the positions which it had been ordered to occupy. These positions taken on the 15th, served as starting point for the final conquest of Teruel. The battle was extremely hard fought and during all day the fight went on with the use mainly of hand grenades. The 116th Brigade literally had to dislodge the Fascists from their trenches at the point of the bayonet. That same day, the other Brigades belonging to the 25th Division, in company with other forces, attacked and took the town of Conclud, thus completely surrounding and isolating Teruel. On the 16th, a very heavy snow storm interrupted the operations, but our forces held in spite of the bitter weather, all the positions so far occupied. During the first days of the attack, the 116th Division took a considerable number of positions and gave shelter to many civilian refugees. On the 17th, the 117th Brigade attacked the cemetery with the aid of 20 tanks, and notwithstanding that the tanks did not act with the precision required, the attack was carried out with great bravery, and all objectives were taken. On the 18th, the 116th Brigade after a violent attack against the forces defending the cemetery, succeeded in occupying some of their defences, which were found to be veritable fortresses constructed of concrete and stone. The 118th Brigade which up to the 18th had been kept in reserve,

## THE STRUGGLE FOR TERUEL

### And The Part Played By The C.N.T.-F.A.I.

(REPORT FROM THE TERUEL FRONT)

relieved the 117th Brigade and continued the action against Teruel from the cemetery side. On the 19th, the Air Force carried out several flights and the 118th Brigade attempted on several occasions to take the defences protecting the entry into Teruel, but without success. Seeing that the tanks did not render the services required, the officers of the Brigade made a magnificent gesture: without waiting for the tanks to finish their work, they flung them-

selves at the enemy positions and although we suffered a considerable number of losses, the battle was won. On the 20th, our batteries, commanded by Escalona, with uncanny precision poured shell after shell right in the middle of the enemy fortifications and from where attacks were being directed in order to break the ring made by the 11th Division. There were moments when it was feared that the fascists would break our lines and reach

the rebels, surrounded in Teruel. The hero of this engagement was Commander Escalona, who at the head of 3 battalions, in the space of three hours, sent 1,500 shells into the ranks of the enemy with such devastating effects, that the casualties inflicted were well over 3,000.

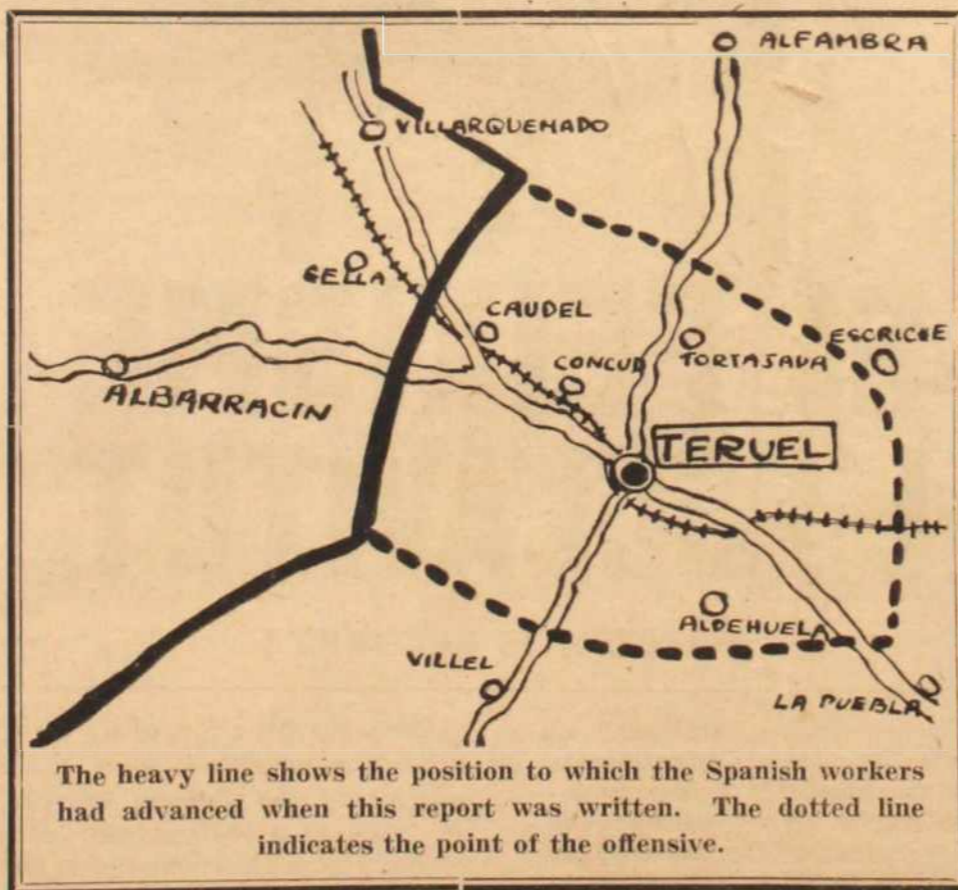
On the night of the 19th, a chauffeur in the service of the rebels, crossed over to our lines and it was found that he was the brother of one of the chiefs of the 25th Division. As soon as he had seen his brother he gave him important details regarding the rebel forces defending Teruel, which numbered approximately 10,000 men. On the following day, the biggest battle took place on the road from Teruel to Cortes, in the course of which, the 117th and

118th Brigades fought gallantly, causing enormous losses to the enemy. The 116th Mixed Brigade played the greatest part in the capture of Teruel, being the force nearest the town when it surrendered. During the afternoon of the 21st, and while the men of the 116th Brigade were fighting from house to house, it received information that the town had surrendered to the 20th Army Corp, thus ending ten days of the most intense fighting in bitter cold and snow.

We can safely say that the Commanders, Officers and men, of the 25th Division, were those who contributed most towards victory, having taken part in the attacks on Teruel from the first day, from the North and North East. The area of the ground taken, covers nearly 500 square kilometres. We suffered between dead and wounded, some 2,000 casualties, and it is calculated that between dead and wounded and prisoners, the enemy lost 10,000 men.

This report was made in Teruel itself at 8 o'clock at night on the 21st day of December.

The chiefs who have most distinguished themselves in these operations are: Commander Garcia Vivancos; Commissar Antonio Ejarque; Commissar of the 116th Division, Ecoño; those of Division 117, Barrios and Bretos and Carot and Carot of the 11th. All militants of the CNT-FAI.



The heavy line shows the position to which the Spanish workers had advanced when this report was written. The dotted line indicates the point of the offensive.

## Mr. Attlee and the Spanish Anarchists

The few times the "Daily Herald" official organ of the Labour Party, has mentioned the CNT-FAI has it been in somewhat disparaging terms. It is surprising therefore to read what Major Attlee, leader of the Labour opposition had to say when he was interviewed by "Castilla Libre" of Valencia.

To the question "Is the work of the CNT known in England" he answered: "The CNT is known in my country. There is some confusion as to the actuation of this popular force. But from a close range one realizes that the CNT has a great influence; it works for the popular cause in its role of a force of the proletariat."

Who creates the confusion? Letters have been directed to the Radical Press of this country in

order to elucidate them as to the work being carried on by the CNT-FAI. But nothing is ever printed. Furthermore there exists a deplorable ignorance amongst the editors and reporters as to the different organizations in Spain. One newspaper which boasts that it has the largest daily circulation in Gt. Britain referred to "Frente Rojo" the Communist Party controlled newspaper as being the "organ of the Anarchists!"

Major Attlee realizes that the CNT is a great force and that its work in the struggle against Fascism is little known in this country. Since his return from Spain, however, he has done nothing to make known any facts concerning this organization.

Actually, we are not at all surprised by his silence!

R.

## A Capitalist Newspaper 'Sees The Light'

A CUTTING from the TORONTO STAR, sent me by our Canadian comrades, proves that some Capitalist newspapers are beginning to "see the light" as regards the Anarchists in Spain.

Under date of December 8th, the Editor in referring to the Bulletin of the CNT-FAI, shows unusual fairness. He also pays high tribute to our heroic comrade Cipriano Mera. Among other things, the Editor has discovered about the Anarchists, is that they "feel that governments interfere too much with the lives of the people" ... that these Anarchists "include many sincere idealists" ... and that they think "the common foe is Franco's fascism, and until that menace has been removed, they say all future friends of liberty should stand together."

The Editor quotes the Bulletin of the CNT-AIT-FAI, as saying: "they still refer to the disastrous

policies followed by those in power, but they agree that to provoke internal conflict at the present time, whatever their motives, actually amounts to betrayal and serves the interests of international fascism. But the libertarian movement is free from all such stain."

The comment of the Editor of the TORONTO STAR is that though it is difficult to judge all this from a distance, it is yet certain that "the Spanish masses are forgetting their differences and are uniting to oppose the forces that held them in bondage for centuries."

In other words, the man at the helm of the TORONTO STAR, is beginning to see the light. He does not seem to realise, however, that the CNT and the FAI are fighting Fascism, not because they intend to exchange it for "democracy." For well they know that

(continued on page 2, col. 1)

## Political Persecution In Republican Spain KATIA LANDAU ARRESTED

Barcelona, 17th December, 1937.

FROM the CNT-FAI Bureau we learn that Katia Landau, wife of Kurt Landau who was assassinated by the Communists, has been arrested once more. "On the 30th November she was set free from the hospital in which she had been detained. She was liberated after having gone on a hunger strike and after having been visited by the Deputy Irujo who signed the order for her release. Since being released she revisited the women's prison to see a friend and most likely to collect her belongings. In the prison yard she was detained by the Investigation agents. It appears that she is being kept in solitary confinement."

CNT—Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour)

FAI—Federacion Anarquista de Iberia (Anarchist Federation of Iberia).

## Editorial

## TERUEL

The report from the Teruel front, which we publish on another page, is an important document, in that it shows the major part played by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the struggle against Franco's hordes. It is an answer to the critics. But we shall discuss this aspect later on.



We have always shown a great optimism in the courage of the Spanish workers, and the almost complete capture of Teruel confirms our optimism. But we must not forget one thing. Mussolini lives by "prestige." The Abyssinian campaign was for "prestige" not only before his own countrymen but also in the eyes of the world. Likewise the Spanish campaign, in which whole mechanized divisions and infantry are being commanded by Italian Generals, has also resolved itself into a question of prestige. The defeat of the Italians at Guadalajara was followed by an "Italian victory" at Santander, and in Italy, as was to be expected, the former was denied whilst the Santander victory received front page publicity. Now Mussolini cannot suffer defeat in Spain and he will not unless his participation in the Spanish struggle be finally brought to a standstill by economic bankruptcy in Italy or direct action by the Italian people themselves. Then victories of the workers will be viewed in a different light, in that they can be considered victories which will be consolidated and bring new victories until the day when Fascism will be finally driven out of Spain. At the moment, in spite of the brilliant action of the Spanish workers on the Teruel front, we cannot be certain of anything definite. As we write these words some sections of the press quote reports coming from Spain which seem to indicate that enormous reinforcements have been brought up by the Rebels; that "nearly 200 Franco warplanes were counted in the sky at one moment," and "thirty tanks were used in one sector" (*Daily Herald*). Further, Barcelona admits that certain strategic points in the Teruel sector have had to be abandoned, though denying the fact that the Rebels have succeeded in entering Teruel at any point (*News Chronicle*).

During the past eighteen months our hopes have been too often shattered for us to view the present battle with complete confidence as to the final outcome. Oviedo was all but in the hands of the Asturian miners; it was finally lost. In Toledo the Rebels held out only in the Alcazar. They held out long enough to be finally relieved, and Toledo was lost for the Spanish workers.

May it be that the Spanish workers' superhuman sacrifices at Teruel are not once more in vain.



## THE BATTLE FOR TERUEL—ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Earlier on we stated that the article on Page 1 is an important

A Capitalist Newspaper 'Sees the Light' (continued from page 1)

it is Capitalism under whatever disguise, which means the economic and political dependence of the masses. The Spanish Anarchists are, therefore, the only true Anti-Fascists because they are not deceived by the sickening nonsense of their allies about "Democracy" and "Liberal Government."

The CNT-FAI have made many concessions for the time being. Whether one agrees with them or not, one cannot deny them their Revolutionary fibre and their consecration to the task of safeguarding their constructive revolutionary achievements. That, more than anything else, is the driving force. The Spanish Revolution now in progress, regardless of all attempts to crush it, will help to realise the vision of a fresh society, for which the CNT and the FAI are fighting and dying.

document because it roughly outlines the part played by the CNT-FAI. If we stress the part played by these organisations it is not because we wish to pour military glory on the heads of our Spanish comrades. It is because only too often has it been said that they have not played an active role in the struggle against Franco. Even after the Teruel victory *La Vanguardia*, a Spanish daily, now converted into a Government mouthpiece, dedicates its Editorial to representing Prieto, Negrin, and General Rojo as "forgers of the victory" with the obvious intention of consolidating the political position of the Government. But the Teruel victory is a definite answer to the calumnies of Comorera and the other Communist Party representatives who received orders to "expose" the inactivity on the Aragon Front simply because it was being defended by the "uncontrollables" of the CNT-FAI. All that these "uncontrollables" asked for were Arms, Aeroplanes and Artillery with which to fight Fascism. They have arrived at last. The results have been victories at Belchite and Teruel. Is it possible to say that these men who only three months ago were "uncontrollables" have become in that short space of time "disciplined soldiers of the Spanish Army"? Have these "uncontrollables" used their arms to fight in the rear-guard? And since the answer to these two questions is in the negative, the delay in bringing about an offensive on this front is the responsibility of the Stalin-Negrin Government who consequently must be held responsible for the fall of Northern Spain which came, in part, through the enforced inactivity on the Aragon Front. For it is obvious that the Fascist reinforcements which have now been brought up from the Northern front would have been forced to carry out this movement months ago had there been activity on the Aragon front, and the pressure in Bilbao, Gijon and Santander would have been considerably relieved.



Whether Teruel will be held by the anti-fascists depends on whether Mussolini considers his "prestige" at stake or not. If he does, then more bombers and men will pour into Spain to intensify the onslaught.

The future of Teruel also depends on the quantity of arms at the disposal of the Spanish workers. At the moment, as for the last eighteen months, they are limited, and wholly insufficient to successfully cope with the ample supplies at Franco's disposal.



The Choral Union in London recently sang a Hymn of the Spanish democracy in which is summed up what should be the attitude of International Labour:

"The Spanish people's army with matchless courage dares

To stand against the death machines of Fascist millionaires.

When right and wrong do battle, neutrality's a crime.

Support our Spanish comrades and let us help in time."

The Labour Party and Front Populaire would do well to remember these lines in their campaigns for Spain.

The Editor also pays high tribute to the courage and valour of some of the Anarchists:

"Some militant Anarchists are gaining distinction at the battle front. One of these—Cipriano Mera—was a Madrid brickmaker in July of last year. When the Army revolted he forcibly resisted and soon demonstrated unusual courage and organising ability. He became a Battalion Commander, then Brigade Leader and later a Commander of a Division. As head of a Division, he is credited with destroying two Italian Divisions at Brihuega. Subsequently he took a prominent part in the battle of Brunete in which the Government launched its first major offensive. As a reward for his achievements on that occasion, he was given the command of an Army Corps. Thus one of the leading Generals of the Spanish people against the professional Spanish and Italian soldiers who command the Rebel Armies

## Peasant Collectivity of Balsareny

## Miners and Textile Workers Work For Revolution

BALSARENY is a big village of 3,000 inhabitants situated on the road from Manresa to Berga at the extremity of this region celebrated throughout the world for its mines of potash. The population of Balsareny is chiefly of workers, —miners, and textile workers; a short distance from the village is a potash mine, a Dutch enterprise, under German protection, the works of which are not yet completed.

Fifteen peasant families of the village formed themselves into a collectivity adhering to the CNT. They contributed to it their lands to be worked in common, and have undertaken to bring under cultivation the property of a Fascist, Augusto Mas, called the Puig d'Arcas. It is a domain of about 60 hectares, situated on a plateau above the village, and reserved by its former owner as a hunting ground. The peasants, mindful of

bring into cultivation the whole plateau at once, but the portions cleared were sown as they went along, thanks to one of the peasants of the collectivity who supplied the seed free; this summer already we were able to see the fields reaped and the stacks of corn harvested. But these efforts of the peasants were carried out under difficulties for lack of economic means. Their comrades in the other industries and principally the miners, seeing all these difficulties combined in the agreement to give them the maximum moral and material support; the textile workers were left to their free will, whilst the miners decided to contribute each of them, 10 pesetas a week out of a wage of 60 to 70 pesetas, and to help by their personal labours in the development of the collectivity.

They decided to increase the yield of the estate by irrigating the

banks of the river, near the little house which shelters the motor where hitherto bamboo raised their green stems to the sky in the midst of the marshes, and which the effort of solidarity of the miners has converted into veritable kitchen gardens; once brought into a state of cultivation, these gardens were returned to the keeping of the peasants and the soil reclaimed from the fury of the tumultuous waters descending from the mountain have already produced 150 sacks of potatoes. These figures speak little by themselves, but must be compared with the time spent in clearing and with the dimensions of the gardens.

A little lower, at Mayolar, stretched another marshy ground full of stones carried down by the torrent; this ground measures about 200 by 4 metres; the stones have been removed, a protecting wall has been built and the labour of the workers has transformed it into another vegetable garden.

What an admirable example of solidarity which, asking absolutely nothing from outside, increases the resources of the country by the effort and privations of the workers! At this moment, when the resistance of republican Spain is also, on account of the blockade, of over population, and of the criminal inertia of the workers of the democratic countries, a problem of food, the workers and peasants grouped in the collectivities help to resolve it, by their spirit of sacrifice and by the fact that they are collectivised, for isolated they would have been unable to realise anything of this sort. What would they not have done if they had found official, moral and financial support!

The collectivised peasants of Balsareny, speak of their projects, concerned with their responsibility. They are now preparing the ground for a harvest at least five times bigger than that of this year, for in Spain, agricultural returns are in great part a problem of irrigation; their eyes sparkling with joy they see the coming of the stream of water which will permit of planting vegetables, maize, potatoes, of which the village stands in need, and raising poultry.

The support which has been lent them, they are sure of finding again in their difficult moments for it is in the spirit of the workers of Balsareny to stand by the collectivities until the day when the social work dreamed of and reopened during the years of repression and anguish, shall be achieved, that is to say till the day when the exploitation of man and the source of all evils will have disappeared.

R. TAMBERET.  
(La Nouvelle Espagne  
Anti-fasciste).



FASCISM IS SLAVERY!

the responsibility incumbent on them in the moments of revolution being traversed by Spain, to increase to the utmost possible, the food resources of the country, set themselves to work last winter to transform into cultivable ground the thickets and woods of the property. Their effort was already appreciable; they were not able to

was an humble brickmaker only a year-and-a-half ago."

I fully appreciate these kind words, but I must add that most of the heroes of the Spanish Revolution and the Anti-Fascist struggle were simple workingmen only a year-and-a-half ago. Ascaso, Durruti, M. Garcia Vivancos, who took Belchite and hundreds of others have shown the same gallantry as Mera.

At this writing, I received news that the 25th Division under Garcia Vivancos' command, was the most daring in helping to take Teruel.

Not one of the men mentioned care for honours or rewards; they are inspired by their vision of a new social order based on freedom and well-being for all. To help the Spanish people to realise that vision is greatest reward for the Anarchists in Spain.

E.G.

plateau. By this effort of solidarity it has been possible to begin, at the summit of the plateau, the construction of a big reservoir of a capacity of a thousand and a half million litres, which will serve to water it; the work is already far advanced. It was also necessary to carry out work which was necessary to allow of the distribution of the water; a well, seven metres deep has been sunk beside the river Hobregat and the little building to house the pumps and the motor has already been constructed. The channel in which is to be placed the water-conduit of some hundred metres in height which connects the well with the reservoir, has also been constructed, and the miners' money has not only served to subsidise these works, but also to buy a 65 horse power motor and the pipes for the conduit. It must be noted that these works have helped to relieve the crisis of unemployment from which the building trades were suffering; the complete project of work involves an expenditure of 100,000 pesetas of which 40,000 had already been paid by September 1st. If we had to take into account all the hands which have taken part, the net cost would be much higher; many workmen, their day's task over and on Sundays, have collaborated in this social work. They have even cleared the

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# Sequel To The Loss of Northern Spain

THE Communist Minister in the Basque Government having its seat in Barcelona was expelled from the Communist Party on the ground that he supported the "reactionary policy of the Catholic Basque Government and thus had a share in the guilt for the loss of Bilbao and of the whole of Northern Spain." This decision of the Communist Party might have been praiseworthy were it not for the fact that six months had elapsed since, or that one did not know that it would be practically impossible for the Basque Minister to act without the consent of his Party since they lay so much stress on obedience to Party discipline. By this belated expulsion the Communist Party only condemns its own policy. The accusation of having a share in the guilt for the loss of the whole of Northern Spain is so grave that the mere expulsion of the individual responsible for it must surely be regarded as a very mild punishment. The CNT now demands a proper investigation into this matter by a proper court of justice. Then it is possible that it will be revealed that the real culprit was the Communist Party itself in whose name the Basque Minister carried on his "reactionary politics," as it is literally stated in the declaration of the Party. In this respect we would agree with the Communist Party, with the exception however, that we should not require seven months to pass before we recognised the guilt and should have fought against the reactionary Basque Government at the time when Bilbao and Northern Spain could still have been saved.

The Negrin Government, however, still appears to be of a different opinion. For, while the Council of Asturias and Leon was most shamefully calumniated by Prieto and later dissolved by Negrin because its "administrative function was at an end," the Basque Government which was in the same position for a much longer period is allowed to go on vegeta-

ting. One even goes so far as to conclude with that Government an Agreement regarding Fishing which was far from favourable to the Republican Government, only apparently to put a few more delectable morsels before the now breadless Basque politicians—perhaps as a reward for their having entrusted the fortification of Bilbao to a member of the Fascist Army who at the decisive moment went over to Franco's camp together with the plans.

It is significant that in the Negrin Government there is still a representative of the Catholic Basques, who at most can really only represent the interests of the Pope, while the two great mass organisations of the CNT and the UGT, have been simply overlooked in this Popular Front Government. On the other hand, the Basque Minister, Irujo, has shown great activity: he is indeed the most reactionary element in this Government; each day he issues a new decree: first it is the opening of the Churches; then the re-introduction of the Judge's toga in the People's Courts, and thereby brings about the destruction of the revolutionary achievements in the sphere of Spanish Jurisprudence.

## HAVE YOU SENT A CONTRIBUTION TO OUR ORPHANS' FUND?

### To Make Known THE TRUTH

"At Port Talbot last Sunday, December 19th, about 40 copies of "Spain and the World" were disposed of. The number here at Neath, who are taking them from me regularly is about fourteen. If something similar was the case throughout the country we would have a tidy circulation. S. Mainwaring."

Neath.

THE glad tidings from Moscow under date of November 27th about the pact between the Soviet Trade Unions and the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International) shows once more the staying power of a myth.

The Soviet Trade Unions have long ago ceased to exist as a living body, as have indeed all other organisations that have played their part in the Russian Revolution. As long ago as 1920, they had been degraded into a mere cog in the wheel of the Soviet machinery. Nor was it Stalin who had shorn the

of the Trade Unions. It must be admitted he had no easy task. Rozanov, Tomsy and a few others fought to maintain the rights of the workers within their Trade Unions. They tried, again and again, to infuse new life into them, and to wrest from Stalin the right to direct themselves the affairs of the Labour organisations. But the iron master proved stronger than them. Rozanov, at the age of 80, was exiled, and all his interpretations of Marx were destroyed. Tomsy, as is generally known, was quite recently driven to suicide—no doubt preferring it to execution.

indeed. The question only is "What war? and which kind of against war also to include Stalin's Imperialist designs? And is his Dictatorship (which only differs from Hitler's and Mussolini's by its colour) to be included in the struggle against Fascism? Far from it. In point of fact, Stalin is willing to make a pact with the very people whom he dragged through the mire not so long ago. What is a pact with "social patriots," "counter-revolutionists" and other such fancy "denominations"

# The Staying Power of A Myth

Numerous other champions of the principle of Independence for the Soviet Trade Unions suffered the

by

Emma Goldman

same fate. Since then all life has been squeezed out of the trade unions, till they became a mere corpse, a shadow of their former selves, only to be revived and trailed out for show on those occasions when Trade Unionists from other countries come on a visit to the Soviet Republic.

As far as the Socialist Republic itself is concerned, however, the Trade Unions have to all intents and purposes ceased to exist.

Is it possible that Messrs. Jouhaux, Citrine and the rest are unaware of this state of affairs in regard to the Russian Trade Unions. Or can it be that they have become a party to this outrageous deception as to the condition of the Trade Unions in Soviet Russia? Whatever it is, Messrs. Jouhaux, Citrine and the others have, it would appear, fallen into Stalin's trap. He will tie them to the "corpse" and will not let them go until the whole of the Trade Union ranks is infested with its putrid odour.

The "pact" is supposed to aim at the workers' unity against War and Fascism. Very commendable

compared with Stalin's brazen reversal of all revolutionary values worth? On top of the betrayal of the Russian Revolution, the savage extermination going on continuously of the old Bolshevik guard now follows the sacrifice of the Spanish Revolution and the Anti-Fascist struggle, and last but by no means least, the sacrifice of his own carefully built up Chinese Communist Army. The calumny and lies about a few trade union leaders is mere child's play—Stalin knows what he is about: in making the Citrines, Jouhaux, the Schevenels and Unions in Soviet Russia still have living fibre, he hopes eventually to get these leaders to act as recruiting agents not merely against Capitalist wars but also of the "holy" war in defence of his Empire and bloodstained Dominion which can well compare with Hitler's and Mussolini's.

A myth has tremendous staying power. For twenty years the Russian myth has benumbed the minds and blunted the sensibilities of the intelligentsia and many of the workers. The corpse that has now been propped up to appear as a living body is an additional proof that the myth goes on. All the more reason to cry out against the deception and to show it up as the delusion and snare which is Soviet Russia. Only when the workers in every country will realise this, will real unity be achieved—real unity in the struggle against every shade of Fascism and for the only war worth fighting for—the Defence of the Social Revolution.

## Pages From History

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# An English Life of Bakunin

## A REVIEW OF PROFESSOR CARR'S BOOK

By MAX NETTLAU

I.

THE following article, the first of a series of three, is more than a book review. It is a carefully documented answer to Prof. E. H. Carr's book "Michael Bakunin" (Macmillan & Co., London, 1937, 501 pp.) and contributed by Max Nettlau, who is generally acknowledged as one of the greatest living authorities on Bakunin.

There may be some readers who consider that at the present time the pages of "Spain and the World" should all be devoted to problems of the day. We would be inclined to agree were we certain that this detailed criticism of Prof. Carr's interpretation of Bakunin would reach the English reading public by some other channel. We cannot envisage however, Macmillan publishing this text in pamphlet form, nor may we hope that any Capitalist newspaper will consider printing it as a review. Their reviews on such subjects are generally written by men who are not acquainted with the material, and their criticisms therefore, do not seek the truth of each statement but concentrate on the literary style and form. The review which appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" is a perfect example of this kind of criticism.

In printing this series of articles we wish to serve two purposes. The first, to give a detailed analysis of the book. The second to point to the distortions, inaccuracies and misstatements which pervade books written by men who have little or no sympathy with the subject they treat. Another book has been published in this country on the "Anarchists in Russia," and being written by a communist, on the general tone and angle from which the subject has been viewed can be readily imagined. Here again Bakunin is treated unsympathetically (as is natural) and those who read these books, and who are ignorant of actual facts and documents must necessarily form false opinions. Max Nettlau has written a Life of Bakunin, utilising all the innumerable documents and papers at his disposal. This monumental work, manuscript copies of which are to be found in many National Libraries of the world, lies at the disposal of a future publisher. Until then we must content ourselves with his criticisms of other men's works on Bakunin. In themselves, these criticisms are small masterpieces of detail and careful study.—Editors.

The previous publications on Bakunin's life in England were mainly an account by Alexander Herzen in the *Kolokol* translated in *The Cosmopolitan Review* (London), February 1, 1862, pp. 566-67; also in *The Working Man*, March, 1862 and in *Tochatti's Liberty*, June, 1896; and *Michael Bakunin* by Henry Seymour in *The Anarchist* (London), January 1, 1886 (based on *Liberty*, Boston, November 26, 1881), reprinted as an 8-page pamphlet in 1888. The committee of *The Working*

*Man*, with Ambrose Caston Cuddon, an individualist anarchist, welcomed Bakunin on January 10, 1862. The latter was slightly acquainted with Bradlaugh and others in 1862, with Cowell Stepney, the treasurer of the International in 1869, also with some Americans like the senator Charles Sumner when he passed a few weeks in the Eastern States in 1861. A co-operative paper printed an extract from his letter to the *Démocratie* of Paris (1868). B. R. Tucker (Boston) translated his *God and the State* (1883) and H. Seymour circulated this text with an English cover (Tunbridge Wells, 1883). The present writer first explained the origin of this memorable fragment in an appendix to Thomas Cantwell's reprint of Tucker's translation (*The Commonwealth* edition of 1894); he also restored the original text from the manuscript in the *Freedom* edition of 1910 of Tucker's translation. This text, I presume, was reprinted by *Mother Earth* (New York) some years later. Other reprints reproduce the Boston text. As a curiosity I mention that a publishing office calling itself the "Bakunin Press" thought proper to issue a so-called "slightly abridged" edition of this work (Glasgow, 1920). Tucker's translation of *The Political Theology* of Mazzini appeared in *Liberty* (Boston) in the eighties, whilst unpublished extracts from the sequel of *God and the State* were published by myself in *Tochatti's Liberty* in 1894-95. This is about all which has been accessible to English readers on Bakunin's life and ideas, apart from occasional articles by Kropotkin (1914) etc., and several discussions by myself on the subject of the so-called "Confession" of 1851, printed when *Freedom* was edited by Thomas Keell.

This is very little compared with the long and large activities of Bakunin, his many writings, the widespread evidence and historical researches available. This truly international subject requires familiarity with publications in Russian, German, French, Polish, Czech, Swedish, Italian, Spanish and, for certain particulars, several other languages like Rumanian and Bulgarian. Hence *Michael Bakunin* by E. H. Carr, 501 pages, is a real novelty to English readers, a book on a scale providing a frame to incorporate the essence of immense materials. Yet, as I will try to show, it is extremely disappointing.

Mr. Carr has a most fluent knowledge of Russian and none of the other languages, nor publications, are

altogether inaccessible to him. His 488 full pages of text might have contained a wonderful scholarly *résumé* of the early Russian materials unearthed by Kornilov, Polonsky and others, of the 1848-49 materials as lately studied by Nikolayewski, etc., of the socialist and internationalist materials copiously presented and examined since 1894 and of certain discoveries of his own, such as the Koe diary which actually reproduces some of Bakunin's saying whilst crossing from Japan to San Francisco in 1861 (p. 234). But does the book come up to these minimal exigencies?

There lacking a preface, I turned to his account on *manuscript* and *published* sources. It begins with a gross misstatement which could easily have been avoided, as Mr. Carr was in communication with me, had replies to all his questions and had also come to see me personally.

"The largest collection of Bakunin manuscripts is the one made by Dr. Nettlau of Vienna, which has recently passed into the possession of the International Institute for Social History of Amsterdam." Is it too much to expect that this statement be corrected, if further copies of the book are printed? The Amsterdam Institute has nothing to do with these manuscripts which were not "collected" by me, but are held in trust by me. "It (that collection) has not yet been classified," he continues, whilst every page of these manuscripts, every fragment and scrap is described in the proper place in my *Biography of Bakunin* (1898-1900), a description based on study and arrangement which certainly amounts to classification.

Of the "manuscripts of a personal character left by Bakunin at his death," Mr. Carr states that: "None of them have been published, and it is not known whether they have been preserved." Here he is mistaken, as precisely these papers have been shown to me in abundance and I used them all and reproduced not a few in the manuscript supplement of the *Biography* (1903-5), which I placed at the disposal of James Guillaume who took any quantity of material, extracts, etc., from them and inserted them in his four volumes *L'Internationale* (1905-10) which is, of course, a principal source of Mr. Carr's book. He describes these facts in these utterly misleading words (p. 491): "These volumes also contain quotations from unpublished Bakunin manuscripts in Dr. Nettlau's collection." No, they do not. These "quotations from materials" passed into the possession of his (Bakunin's) wife, and of which Mr. Carr said: "and it is not known whether they have been preserved" cannot, obviously, have been taken from manuscripts "in Dr. Nettlau's collection," as Mr. Carr states on p. 491, whilst, on p. 489, he ignores whether such papers have been preserved!

He further states (p. 491) that Guillaume for his book (1905-10) used "manuscripts in his own possession, which he subsequently destroyed." He did not dream of destroying "subsequently" any manuscript of Bakunin, but wished to have them placed in a public library in France, and I have (continued on next page)

