

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Liberty, Morality, real human dignity consists in this, that man should do what is good, not because he is told to do it, but simply because he thinks that it really is the best that he can ever wish or desire

BAKUNIN.

(Œuvres Vol. 1.)

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 7

MARCH 5th, 1937.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

ALBALATE DEL CINCA

(HUESCA)



Farm labourers resting after a hard morning's work. An article, by Emma Goldman, describing life in this collectivised village, appears on page 3.

No Cause For Pessimism

WE SHALL CONQUER

Federalism And Collectivisation Taking Place

On July 19th we conquered Fascism at home. Since then we have defended ourselves successfully against the attacks of International Fascism. For a period of eight months now we have managed, by superhuman efforts, to hold our own in industry, in the military battle, in cultural life.

The capitalists fled, the organisers of private industry failed, the old order of society has collapsed. We remain steadfast. Everything broke down around us; we stand firm and go fearlessly forward.

We are marching along unwonted paths, but we are advancing forward, ever forward. We have no choice. Mistakes were made by all, for every beginning is difficult. We are no dogmatists, but our ideals live within our hearts. We see our aim before us and do not retreat before the hard exigencies of the day.

We cannot establish Libertarian Socialism in a day, nor can it be completely realised in one country alone. But we do not lose sight of it. Our methods, as far as possible, are conditioned by our aims; in our advance we do not deviate from the paths leading towards our aim.

Have we become reformists? Have we forgotten our aim? No! Two important factors of Anarchist ideology are taking shape before our eyes: Federalism and Collectivisation.

The political structure of that part of Spain which has freed itself from Fascism is already at this moment based on the principle of Federalism. This cannot be denied, nor will it be possible to go back on it. Even

the Marxists, inveterate centralists though they be, have acknowledged Federalism—not voluntarily, but submitting to the urge of necessity, by no means following their own inclinations.

The principle of Collectivisation prevailed against the attempts at State centralisation—a triumph of Bakuninism over Marxism.

So far we have been successful. True, our achievements are not very great as yet, but, nevertheless, we have accomplished something. The soil is hard, but we go ahead. There are still other difficulties to overcome: the economic condition of Spain just now is not too good, but it is by no means in a desperate state. It was much worse in Russia in the years 1918-1925. Yet Russia was able to recover, and all the more so will we be able to do so. Catalonia and Spain will quickly recover. We are convinced of this.

We have no ground for pessimism. Ours is a fertile country. The "Agrarian Reform" of unholy memory of the Bourgeois Republic has now been overhauled by the Revolutionary expropriation of the big landed estates. The large areas of Spanish soil hitherto allowed to lie fallow, untilled, will now be available for cultivation.

We have factories with modern equipment and capable of further development. Many of our sources for raw materials have not yet even been touched. We are rich in potash deposits, copper mines, etc. Our Textile and Glass industries are turning out goods which, when exported, will bring to our country exchange values. Our wines are in demand all over the world.

The Fascist countries have sabotaged us, and we are in the midst of a terrible war. But we possess the youthful strength of an awakened people. With the dynamic strength of our young workers in town and country we will master all difficulties.

In the midst of the war now raging, we are re-organising Production. In the midst of the war, we are creating a new Industry for defence and for attack. We will develop Catalonia's export trade. All this in the midst of the war, whilst our brethren at the various fronts in the North and South, in Aragona and especially in Madrid, are fighting with their bodies for the freedom of Spain and as the pioneers of anti-Fascism, and of the Social Revolution.

All this will materialise. Maybe not so quickly as our idealistic youth hopes and expects, but surely quicker than our murderous enemies anticipate.

* * * * *

We have no ground for pessimism, neither as anti-Fascists nor as Anarchists. We are marching forward, and we shall conquer. The force of our resistance and our attacks, both at the Front and at the rear, is arousing admiration.

To-day the whole world is convinced of our ultimate victory.

The Bourgeois Republic followed upon the 14th April, 1931; it has its historic mission behind it.

The Social Revolution followed upon the 19th July, 1936. The future is hers.

A. SOUCHY.

(Translated by D.Z.)

REASON—NOT COERCION

Unites The People Of Carcagente

SYNDICATES WORKING THE NEW SYSTEM

Carcagente is a town of 20,000 inhabitants, situated in the south of the province of Valencia. The climate of this region is particularly suitable for the cultivation of oranges. The whole town is surrounded by orange-groves, its principal source of income. Even more than in other parts, the orange trees, with their abundance of golden fruit, represent a magnificent picture.

In Carcagente, as in so many other Valencian towns and villages, the organising capacity and the spirit of sacrifice of a handful of militant labourers, who have worked incessantly in spite of all persecutions, has come to the fore.

The syndicalist organisation was deeply rooted, and this fact, together with the prestige of its militants, induced the majority of the population, once the Revolution was initiated, to enter our movement.

We have visited the Local Federation of the Syndicates. On entering, our attention was attracted by a showcase, once destined to protect an image of Christ, now harbouring the photo of Francisco Ferrer. An agreeable substitution.

We got information about the existent syndical contingents. There is The Syndicate of the Peasants:

With	2,700 members
Women workers in the orange-packing:	3,200 members
Construction workers:	340 members
Metal workers:	120 members
Carpenters (packing cases):	125 members
Wood-workers' Syndicate:	230 members
Railway workers:	150 members
Various:	450 members

Considering the number of inhabitants these figures represent a very high percentage and speak louder than all exaggerated eulogies of the importance of our forces.

On the land large landed estates predominated. The small proprietor could not meet all his needs and was obliged to work on the estates of the rich or do odd jobs of any kind. The Syndicalist organisation immediately took the necessary measures to dis-

solve the estates and saw to it that there should be no opportunity to create new privileges which might become a reactionary danger in future.

Convenience of the New System.

The small property has been treated differently. With a will worthy of praise, the Syndicalist organisation works its way towards Socialisation by turning small parts of individually cultivated land into vast territories which are worked collectively. But the realisation of this is not forced. First, only the small property of those who were willing to part with it, was Socialised. Later, the convenience of the new system became obvious to the obstinate ones also. Our comrades were so utterly convinced of the beneficial results on their tactics, that they don't hesitate to offer the small proprietors who want to continue as such, better land than that which they possessed, in order to make clear to them the decay of the old system compared with the work and secure existence under the system of common property.

One can already see the effective results of their methods; of the social solidarity on one side, and isolation on

Continued on page 4, column 5.

EDUCATION AND WAR

The official Gazette of the Republic has published a resumé of the state budget for the year. 496,500,000 pesetas have been allotted to Public Instruction and Fine Arts. This is much more than the grant to the War Ministry, which is for 407,000,000 pesetas, more than for Government which is for 298,000,000 pesetas, and Agriculture which is 111,000,000. The only grant which is higher is that for Public Works, which is 668,000,000. The large percentage to be spent on education and culture will cause a sensation, not only among the workers and fighters in Spain but abroad as well. Spain is at war, yet she can grant a large percentage of her budget towards education, the building of new schools, the training of teachers, etc. Other countries which are at peace are spending hundreds of millions of pounds on war preparation and very little on education. The attitude of the government toward education shows that it is not concerned only with war but with the future of Spain as well.

"We all know," said Ramon Ramirez, member of the Executive Committee of the Teachers' Federation, "that Spain, with its enormous percentage of illiterates was considered the most backward country in Europe. The Government is determined to put an end to the disgrace of Spain's ignorance. It is attacking the two problems together. It is emancipating the present masses and freeing the children. It is creating schools not only for children, but also for adults

(continued at foot of next column)

ESTAMPAS DE LA REVOLUCION ESPANOLA

19 Julio 1936

A collection, comprising 30 reproductions of paintings by Sim, attractively bound, vividly portraying the struggle being waged in Spain. Apart from the artistic value, this album is of interest in that the printing has been executed at a collectivized printing works. The results are one of the many examples given by the workers of their ability to produce really first class work without the "invaluable" help of Directors, Chairmen, Shareholders and such similar parasites.

Price: 5s. 6d. (post free).
(Profits from the sales will be devoted to the fund for refugees from Madrid, Valencia, Malaga.)

DURRUTI

C.N.T.-F.A.I. at Barcelona has published a pamphlet in memory of Durruti. It contains articles by Federica Montseny, A. Souchy, Garcia Oliver, Emma Goldman, etc., etc.

Price 7d. (post free).

Obtainable through "SPAIN and the WORLD," 207, Goswell Road, London, E.C.

(continued from column four)

who suffer from the tragic handicap of illiteracy. A campaign is going to be waged against illiteracy so that man shall no longer be but an ignorant tool at the service of a worthless minority."

A LONG CHERISHED DREAM

Ideals Carried Into Practice

A COLLECTIVISED VILLAGE

Albalate del Cinca—By Emma Goldman

The superior quality of the Spanish Anarchist movement to those of other countries consists in the constructive preparatory work which our comrades had carried on almost from the very inception of the C.N.T. Some years ago, they sent a questionnaire to all their affiliated Syndicates asking the workers how far they felt equipped to take over the Industries, and manage them themselves, on the first day of the Social Revolution; how far they knew the resources and the cost of maintenance of the Industries; and whether they felt able to take charge of the means of production and distribution. The Committee of the National Confederation of Labour was surprised to find how well the simplest workers and peasants understood the intricate machinery of the industrial system. In other words, the Spanish workers had years of experience and preparation for the supreme moment of a social revolution.

Aside of their economic preparation, they had been trained ideologically that it was not the creation of a formidable State machine but the capacity to produce for the needs of the whole community which guarantees the life and safety of the Revolution.

On July 19, 1936, the Spanish workers proved that they were prepared for the supreme moment. Since then they have also demonstrated in a masterly manner their pre-revolutionary schooling in the economic life of the country. While still fighting almost with bare hands—they at the same time proceeded to expropriate the factories and shops—the entire transport system as well as the land—and they set to work to build a new mode of life out of the decadent conditions left by their economic masters.

In coming to Spain, I little dreamt that our Spanish comrades had proceeded with the constructive task to such a degree. I visited numerous large industries and was amazed at the capacity of the supposedly untaught workers to attend to the task in such an intelligent and able manner. And I was even more impressed with the spirit and ability of the peasantry in the villages I had visited to collectivize the land and to bring into being what they called "Communismo Libertario."

Steeped In Anarchist Communism.

The village Albalate de Cinca is a case in point. It is in the Province of Huesca—one of the most besieged fronts by the Fascists. Its population consisted of 5,000—the majority of whom are C.N.T.—F.A.I. members. The leading spirits in the requisitioning of the land and the organisation of work in common, are a comrade of seventy and his grandson, who is twenty-five. They have been steeped in the ideas and ideals of Anarchist Communism during three generations. It was no effort to them to carry into practice their long-cherished dream of working the land in common for the benefit of all.

The large estate belonged to one of the aristocratic parasites of whom there were many in Spain. He lived abroad, spending the large income that had been derived from the sweat and toil of the starving peasants. In 1929 he graciously offered his large possessions to the peasants in return for an exorbitant rental. They took him at his word, but soon found that though they worked the land incessantly it did not yield enough to meet the demands of the man who owned the estate. They held out for a year and then refused to pay rent or taxes. As a result they were constantly persecuted by the henchmen of Primo de Rivera, then Dictator of Spain. With the advent of the Republic in '31, they were left in peace, but without any rights to the use of the land or without any material help to make it fertile, had they been permitted access to it. Then came the Revolution, July 19th, which spread like wildfire all through Spain, and was most effective in Catalonia.

Among the first to interpret the Revolution in a constructive sense were the peasants of Albalate de Cinca. They set to work with a will and a whim which the outside world least expected of "crude and undeveloped peasants."

Quality Of Work In Common. A Remarkable Feat.

When I arrived, in the beginning of October, barely three months after the heroic Catalan workers had driven Franco's gangs from their midst, these "crude and undeveloped" peasants had already succeeded in collectivizing part of the land, and were working in a true spirit of Libertarian Communism. Actually, they showed more intelligence and better psychological perception than the men who had imposed Dictatorship on the Russian workers and the peasants. They had realised the criminal blunder of driving their brothers into the Collectives by Czckists armed to their teeth. In their natural wisdom, our Albalate de Cinca comrades reasoned that it was their duty to demonstrate the superior quality of work in common. They told me "once we can prove to our brothers that collective labour saves time and energy, and brings greater results to each member of the Collective, the peasants now standing aloof will join us."



Stacking bundles of flax. The Comrades in this village have pooled the harvest and are managing themselves the exchange of commodities.

I had occasion to verify the truism of this statement when I talked to some of the peasants outside of the Collective. Fortunately, they did not know who I am, therefore, did not have to make up their story to please me. In their simple way they expressed exactly the thought that had been elaborated for me by the Committee of

be Albalate Collectives. They would "Wait and See" how well Collectivism worked, and would then decide whether to join it. The comrades have established three bodies that operate in Albalate de Cinca—a Council of Labour, of Food Supplies and of Defence. The three work in a federated way, of course. Federation is the very essence of the ideas and practice of the C.N.T.—F.A.I.

A REMARKABLE FEAT

It would be wrong to say that Albalate de Cinca is an Anarchist Commune in the full sense. The principle of Labour, "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" cannot yet be carried out to its full extent. The land has been lying too fallow too long and there is very little of modern machinery to work with. True, the first step of the Collective was to buy a threshing machine and the most essential farm tools. But all that is still very primitive and therefore the land does not yield enough to satisfy all the needs of each member. Nevertheless, Albalate has succeeded in coming as near the principles of Anarchist Communism as hardly anticipated in the midst of danger and death from the bloodthirsty enemy, and the defence of the Revolution. The means of livelihood are proportioned according to the size of each family. Whatever surplus, realised, is contributed to the anti-Fascist war and the Revolutionary struggle. It is indeed a remarkable feat to have achieved in the present situation.

What touched me deepest was the social awareness and the flaming spirit of the young generation in the Collective. Not a thought of themselves; all their hopes and aspirations were concentrated on the great reconstructive work before them, the schools they wanted to build, the hospitals, libraries and museums they planned. Every youngster without exception was by far better read and better versed in social ideology than many of the young people in the large cities outside of Spain.

ALBALATE DEL CINCA (HUESCA)

THE CHURCH: FASCISM'S ALLY

An Interpretation Of Christianity

BY CAPT. J. R. WHITE

I should like to discuss this subject from the standpoint of a Christian Anarchist, which, if I am to have a label at all—and I hate all labels—is the nearest label to fit me. From that standpoint I define my conception of Christianity as perfect Freedom, which coincides with my conception of Anarchy.

In my opinion there are two conceptions of spirituality: the one that only in the fullest attainment and expression of his freedom can man attain to the spiritual life, individual and social.

And the other that he must seek the high goal of his spirit not by self-expression and freedom, but by self-repression and obedience to external authority.

I believe the first conception to be that of Christ, and the Gospels read with any intelligence, and the second to be so foreign to the whole spirit of Christ that it is not only un-Christian, but positively anti-Christian. It follows that any Church which bases itself on the second, that of obedience to external authority and denial of the individual's right to experiment and judge for himself, above all in those realms of faith and morals where his own soul must find its own unique path, is not, in my opinion, a Christian Church, even though it arrogantly claims the monopoly of Christian inspiration.

Subordinating Individual Freedom.

From this standpoint I could have foretold the association of the Roman Catholic Church with Fascism, not only in Spain, but everywhere else, on philosophical grounds, because that Church and Fascism have the same fundamental philosophies of subordinating individual freedom to the totalitarian Church or State.

For the present, however, I must stick to the subject and cannot do so better than by examining a controversy between a Cardinal Archbishop of the Spanish Church, Cardinal Goma, and Senor Aguirre, leader of the Basque Catholic Nationalists, who support the people's cause in Spain. This controversy brings out clearly the conflict between the Pope and almost the entire Hierarchy and controlled Press of the Catholic Church and the small but honourable number of Catholic priests and laymen, who have dared to follow their conscience against the overwhelming weight of their Church's authority. It is a conflict not only of ideas, but of facts, and I hope to show that the Cardinal cannot defend his perversion of ideas without a direct and complete falsification of the facts.

Senor Aguirre writes to the Cardinal:

"The war has arisen between an egoistic Capitalism, which has abused its powers, and a deep feeling for social justice. It is not a war of religion."

Now you will see at once that in an argument whether the Spanish struggle is or is not a war of religion, some definition of what is meant by religion is necessary, and my preamble about two different and irreconcilable conceptions of religion, namely, of freedom and authority, were not out of place.

"I do not believe that there are a dozen men who have taken up arms to defend their property or to defend themselves from the persecution of those who hold or administer property."

"I admit social injustice is one of the remote causes of the struggle, but I categorically deny that this is a class war. A pretext is not a real cause, and the championship of the working classes has been only a pretext for this war."

The full insolence of the Cardinal's inversion of the facts lies in the last sentence, for it implies that on the sham pretext of labour demands for social justice, the Spanish people took up arms and started a war.

Now let us have the truth, which the Cardinal inverts, in the words of Father Lopo, one of the few priests who have been faithful to their people.

Roused To Demand Their Rights.

"When the people were roused to demand their rights, when they asked for the universally claimed transformation of the landowning system; when they asked for access to the great heartless machine of industry to humanise labour there—when we stopped our ears; we gave them a few crumbs in the name of charity and refused to envisage the solutions which reason and justice forced on every Christian conscience. And there appeared immediately in the midst of the conflict a word lacking all meaning and reason for those who were to use it as a terrible weapon of

attack. There appeared the word 'Order'; they talked of the established order and fortifying themselves against the workers, they called them with infinite scorn, 'enemies of order.' 'Let everything go on as it was' was the supreme aspiration of those who were comfortably placed in life, who were little if at all perturbed by the existence of the disinherited; yes, disinherited, a term and a conception which fill the mind with horror, so clearly do they speak of fratricidal and anti-Christian cruelty."

I am reminded of Francis Adam's lines:

*Sometimes the heart and brain
Would be still and forget
Man, woman and children
Dragged down to the pit.*

*But when I hear them declaiming
Of Liberty, Order and Law,
The husk-hearted gentleman
And the mud-souled bourgeois*

*A sombre, hateful desire
Creeps up slow in the breast
To wreck the great guilty temple,
And give us rest.*

"The great guilty temple," there is the position in a nutshell.

Guilty priests of that guilty temple who refused to envisage, who from atrophy of soul and mind were, I believe, incapable of envisaging, the solution which reason and justice forced on every Christian conscience.

Wolves In Sheeps' Clothing.

But when the disinherited claimed their human inheritance, they were not allowed to claim it legally and peacefully, as they sought to do. They were attacked by their disinherited. They had to fight to defend more than the property they had not yet secured: they had to defend their liberty and their lives from the Fascist wolves, led on by the viler wolves in sheeps' clothing: the guilty priests.

Not a dozen men, says the Cardinal, took up arms to defend themselves from the persecution of those who hold and administer property. We answer him, "Foul bloated blasphemer! The whole Spanish people took up arms to defend themselves against the treacherous, rebellious attack of those who held an administered property and cared little, if at all, for those they had disinherited."

"They took up arms," do I say? They took up sticks, they took up stones, they fought with their bare hands for they had no arms to take.

And in the sacred passion of the right for which they fought, and the burning determination not to be robbed once more by treacherous violence of the inheritance, of which they had been robbed for centuries, now almost within their grasp, they wrested the arms from the hands of their persecutors and created a great people's army.

And then what?

The bullies and thieves could not depend on their own conscript army to shoot down their brothers. They imported more and more infidel Moors to massacre their own countrymen in the name of the most high God. But the Moors were not enough. They had to pawn their country to foreign butchers, till whole army corps of Germans and Italians came to help the holy massacre.

I pray to the God of Justice, whom I believe can never be mocked in the end, that the peoples of the whole world will rise at last to take just vengeance on the spiritual criminals, who in frightful blasphemy pervert religion and encourage the slaughter of the poor and humble, whom it is their duty to defend.

(The ideas expressed in this article are Captain J. R. White's and do not necessarily represent the views of the newspaper.—Eds.)