

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

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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.

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(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.

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(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."

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Moral Responsibility

"There was hardly a foot available on the pavements at night, where people were stretched on the ground.

"The main street of Almeria, which is as wide as one of the great thoroughfares of London, was packed with sleeping people.

"Amid this confusion and terrible overcrowding the insurgents bombed the city from the air on the night of February 12th.

"They came over the city at 7.30 p.m., when people were trying to snatch a little rest after their exhausting trudge from Malaga.

"There was a Government warship in the harbour and large numbers of troops in barracks.

"Caprons and Junkers machines disregarded these military objectives and flew low along the main street, dropping a score of high explosive bombs in the middle of this mass of humanity.

"We had exactly 30 seconds warning by siren, hardly time to put out the lights, which only added to the horror of the scene when the raid was over.

"The streets were a shambles, filled with bodies of women, children and men, horses and donkeys.

"The cries of the wounded and the hysterical dying filled the air, lighted by the lurid flames of burning buildings.

"It was the most frightful scene I have ever witnessed.

"I had my hospital next to a relief station, where children were being given rations of condensed milk.

"There was a long line of children when the raid came. The station was hit direct.

"When I rushed to the spot three dead children were lying there and a heap of them wounded. All these kiddies were between four and five years of age.

"Burning buildings collapsed, and huge chunks of masonry fell on those in the street, injuring them and those who were trying to help them.

"I insist that the attack was deliberate slaughter—intended to kill a defenceless population.

"I emphasise this as of the utmost importance to the world. People must realise that modern warfare is more horrible than is realised now.

"There is no distinction between a fighting soldier and a child carried in its mother's arms: To kill both is the aim.

"There were lost children looking for their parents and mothers frantically searching for their lost ones.

"There were mothers who had given birth to children in the exodus, who had resumed their night after only a few hours' rest by the roadside or in fields.

"All were plodding on with feet swollen twice the normal size and bleeding at every step.

These are the words of Dr. Bethune, of Montreal, who was with the Spanish-Canadian Blood Transfusion Institute.

Comment should be unnecessary.

Millions in England must have read this account of the tragedy of Malaga in the "Daily Herald."

Of those men and women thousands belong to the Trade Unions. Have they done anything about it? Have they shaken their leaders (as leaders they will have) from their lethargy? Have they demanded that something on a large scale be done for these innocent victims of the sadist Franco and his brother sadists, Llano, Mola and the Archbishops?

A few thousand children have been evacuated and cared for, but what is that when compared to the amount of work still to be done? The refugees under ten years of age from Malaga alone number 10,000.

Do not wait for the Government to offer asylum to the Spanish children; they see the children in this country underfed and do nothing to improve their condition. They are more concerned with the production of the machinery of destruction than of the machinery of construction. And it is because the Spanish people are engaged in battle with retrogressive elements, which are attempting to impede the construction of a new Spain, that we must support them. We must be prepared, those of us who have comfort, to sacrifice a certain amount of it; those less fortunate ones must bear with even greater stoicism this sacrifice... but all, youth especially, must feel in themselves the burning cause of the Spanish people. They must not spare efforts to rouse feeling everywhere for proletarian Spain.

The displays which the State periodically supplies, Sport, Jubilees, Coronations and the like, to distract attention from the tragic state of the great numbers of people in the world, must be ignored.

American Democracy Knives Demos In Spain

SHIPS CONFISCATED -- CREWS IMPRISONED

Inimical Attitude Of Latin-American Governments

"SACRED RIGHT OF ASYLUM" — FOR FASCISTS ONLY

(Continued from previous issue.)

Ever since the beginning of the Spanish civil war, last July, the South American diplomats in Spain have been wailing over the sacred right of asylum. But for most of them the sacred right of asylum has only one meaning: protection and safety for Fascists and Fascist sympathisers and plotters from the reprisals of the Spanish Government and vengeance from their own countrymen.

There is no sincerity whatever in their claims. The Madrid Government has been more lenient towards its enemies than its better interests commanded and has finally acceded to the safe departure from Spain of about 6,000 such "refugees." This is more than the Latin-American Governments are wont to do in their own countries for the protection of the "sacred right of asylum." Furthermore, while it has been a matter of wide publicity and diplomatic bickering that all these thousands of Fascists, pro-Fascists, plotters and conspirators have found safety, protection and immunity within foreign Embassies in Loyalist Spain, no one in the world has ever heard or even dared to hint that one single hounded and persecuted loyalist Spaniard of either sex might have found a safe refuge in Latin-America or other foreign Consulates in Seville, Cadiz, Badajoz, Saragossa or anywhere else in fascist controlled territory.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that a right which works one way only is not a right but a privilege—a privilege accorded to one's friends or accomplices and denied to one's opponents or enemies. And so it has been all along. In the name of a sacred right, the Latin-American diplomats acted as friends of and accomplices to the Fascist rebels, as enemies and opponents to the anti-fascist people of Spain.

Hostile Press Propaganda.

While their wailings gave needed help to the rebels and served to create diversions and embarrassments for the Spanish Government, they also served the purpose of making propaganda. Word had gone around the Earth that, to protect itself from the better element of the Spanish nation, the "Red" Government of Madrid armed a savage rabble thirsty for blood and desirous of committing cruel deeds. At home, in the United States as well as in South America, the vilest and most mercenary press played this note

We must become conscious; conscious that we belong to a mighty family which has no frontiers; which is joined by fraternal solidarity.

To-morrow in our Social Revolution, we shall look to the Proletariat of the World to help us in the struggle. To-day Spain needs our solidarity. Seven months have passed... Soon it will be too late to extend a helping hand to the Spanish workers, women and children.

If we cannot help with armed force, we can at least see that the Spanish people have arms. We can at least show the Spanish men that we shall care for the women and children they have left behind; that we shall not complacently look on whilst Franco uses Italian and German aeroplanes and guns to exterminate them.

What are you going to do? Are the British workers going to leave it to their smug and satisfied leaders, or are they going to show that they are, each one of them, responsible individuals working for Spain to the utmost of their ability through the vast machinery of the Unions, and forcing their leaders to act in the capacity of representatives of the workers and not as their dictators?

to unbelievable extremes of falsehood in order to create a strong current of opinion hostile to the cause of the Spanish people. By their false claims, outright calumny and hypocritical wailings, the worthy diplomats posed as defenders of humanity and civilization and contributed to the mystification of their countrymen.

Mr. Edwards, Ambassador of Chile, was particularly provocative in his attitude. Thus the Chilean press thought it dutiful to assume a particularly strong position in defence of the "right of asylum" for the Fascist plotters. The Santiago "Imparcial" went so far as openly to urge the staff of the Chilean Embassy in Madrid "to disobey the unjust orders and to continue to protect the refugees to the end" (N.Y. Times, Dec. 3rd). These complaints against the Madrid Government—which was fighting for the safety of its capital from Fascist mutineers and foreign invaders—were carried to Geneva, where most South American delegates to the League of Nations have consistently taken positions unfavourable to Spain. According to the Italian paper "Corriere della Sera" of September 25th, 1936, "certain South American States" threatened a mass exit from the Assembly Hall, should the Spanish delegate employ "too strong a language" in defence of his Government.

Policies Inimical to the Republic.

Of course, these diplomats were acting upon instructions from and according to the policies of their home Governments. And the latter are obviously inimical to the Republican Government of Spain. The Brazilian Congress went so far as to pass a resolution in favour of the traitors following Franco. The Governments of Peru, Argentine, Chile and Uruguay agreed, since last November, to forbid projection of films portraying the Spanish civil war and not to admit any Spaniard within their respective territories without previous inquiry showing that the candidate for admission did not belong to a leftist party. Moreover, the Argentine Government encourages departures from its ports of volunteers willing to fight in Franco's army. At the same time it does its utmost to prevent the departure of volunteers willing to join the loyalist side of the civil war.

On December 10th, the "Agencia Americana" took great pains to state that the Peruvian Government had no part in the rumoured transaction according to which shipments of war materials from German ports addressed to the Government of Peru had landed in Fascist Spain. The fact itself was denied. Given the attitude of the Peruvian Government towards Fascism, it is easy to account for such an omission and understand what it means.

What more? On November 18th, 1936, the Republican Tribunal of Bilbao found the Consul of Paraguay, together with the Austrian Consul, guilty of espionage in the service of the Fascist generals and sentenced him to be shot. How many American diplomats would the Spanish Government have shot, had it only dared to stand alone against the resentment of their more powerful Governments?

The Odyssey of the Spanish packetboat at "Cabo San Antonio" is a fair example of the South American Republic's attitude towards the Spanish people. It must be recalled that sometime in August or September the Spanish Government saw fit

to militarize its merchant marine for war purposes. While this decree was generally acknowledged and obeyed by the crews, the higher officers of some ships, out of allegiance to the rebels, chose to disobey it and, wherever they happened to lay anchor, solicited the protection of foreign courts in the name and in the alleged interest of the private owners of the ships.

Here again it is obvious that any Government is entitled to regulate the ships which fly its flag according to its best judgment in the interest of its own safety. And equally obvious is it that all but unfriendly and inimical Governments are bound to respect such decrees.

American democratic and republican Governments have not only ignored the Madrid decree subjecting the Spanish merchant marine to military rule. They have openly defied it by taking sides with the mutinous officers and by treating the loyalist crews as mutineers.

Ships Prevented From Entering Port.

Late in September, 1936, the "Cabo San Antonio," belonging to the Spanish Steamship Company, Ibarra, appeared, on a south-bound journey, before the port of Santos, Brazil. The local authorities refused it permission to enter the port and sent warships to hold it at large. Two other Spanish ships, "Cabo San Augustino" and "Cabo San Thome," belonging to the same firm, were prevented by the same means to enter the port of Rio de Janeiro about the same time.

Proceeding on its course, the "Cabo San Antonio" arrived in Montevideo, there to meet a similar reception. The Uruguayan authorities were willing to receive from the "Cabo San Antonio" such mail as was destined to their country but were firm in their refusal to let the ship enter the port. The wandering ship declined to comply with such request and proceeded towards Buenos Aires and the worst. There it was compelled to stop out in the Bay, about 20 miles from the city, under the guns of two "avisos."

Ship Confiscated—Crew Imprisoned.

What followed then is a long story, in which Argentine authority plays the part of the villain, Buenos Aires Labor Unions play the part of the hero trying to save ship, cargo and crew, the Spanish Ambassador the role of Pontius Pilatus, the "Cabo San Antonio" crew the role of martyrs. Suffice it to say, that on October 30th, the ship was invaded by the port police who arrested the entire crew of 93 men. The ship was confiscated and to this day the 93 loyal sailors of the "Cabo San Antonio" are prisoners of the Argentine Government under charge of mutiny and conspiracy. Conspiracy against whom?—it is to be wondered since they were acting under orders of and in obedience to their own Government.

Many are the Spanish ships which met with similar fate in American ports. The freighter "Navemar," formerly belonging to the "Compania Espanola de Navigacion Maritima," upon arrival in New York Harbour on November 25th, was impounded by its owners, subjected to police invasions and long court proceedings, and finally confiscated by judicial sentence on January 28th. The "Sil" and the "Mar Cantabrico" barely escaped similar fates by sailing after having been subjected to military inspections and other indignities. The Spanish ship "Arnemendi" was not allowed to enter Pernambuco Harbour, and on her arrival in Rio de Janeiro the maritime police placed a strong guard aboard "because the crew seized control on the voyage from Liverpool and pledged loyalty to the government" (N.Y. Times). Another Spanish ship, "Manuel Arnus," upon arrival in Havana, was seized by the military and interned into the Arsenal. The crew was arrested, and held in prison under pressure of pledging allegiance to the fascist Burgos Junta as their officers have done (Cultura Proletaria, Jan. 9th, 1937). Upon arrival in Buenos Aires the ship "Arzaiz" was boarded by police who arrested three members of its crew on request of a fascist colleague (La Protesta, Nov., 1936).

Why continue?

It may be pointed out that it is

(continued on page 4)

SPAIN AND FOREIGN DEMOCRACIES

No Attacks On Embassies Or Other Outrages

INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM MUST BE CRUSHED

During the Spanish revolution and the Civil War the strange phenomenon occurred that no outrages have been committed against foreigners. In fact, they have been treated with the greatest consideration. We saved the lives of English, French, Italians and Germans, and not only the lives of proletarian foreigners but those of capitalists too—and those of Fascists—even those of people who had conspired against us.

There were no attacks on embassies or consulates either, and plenty of time was allowed for the capitalist powers to evacuate their own nationals. Immediately after this generous action, safeguarded by the power of the Comité Antifascistas de Cataluna though these foreigners had been recognised as capitalists, bourgeois and exploiters of the workers, in some cases even as fascists who had taken part in the present conspiracy against injured Spain, the fascist powers of Italy and Germany and the democracies of France and England, too, began their campaign to crush revolutionary Spain.

There we see the concerted capitalist attack on the Spanish people—an attack on the right of the proletariat of Spain to constitute its own regime, the right for which it has fought with such heroism and self sacrifice.

On the one hand we see the direct and brutal assault of the openly fascist powers, Portugal Italy and Germany. On the other hand we see the even more cruel attack of the hypocritical democracies of France and England, which deprive us—contrary to all recognised international law and without any moral reason whatever, of the right to buy in the open market those necessities of life which would have enabled us to continue the struggle against fascism. Italy and Germany have struck us an almost deadly blow, there is no doubt of that; but these two fascist powers have only acted in character when taking direct violent action against us.

But the democracies of England of France, and the rest of the world, have treacherously violated the rights of all people to direct and arrange their affairs according to their own free will and conscience.

They have basely renounced their duty of resisting fascism and in so doing have struck us a much more serious and dangerous blow than that we had already received.

What does this teach us, comrades? It teaches us that the proletariat throughout the world has nothing but enemies under any capitalist regime. Not only that the fascist governments who direct the fate of Portugal, Italy Germany and Austria are enemies of the proletariat, but that all other capitalist governments are of the same mind.

There is absolutely no difference in essence between the actions of those nations who have put themselves at the service of counter-revolution. There is no real difference between the positive aggression of Italy and Germany and the stifling evasions and frustrating tactics of France, England and the other democracies of the world.

I want to make clear to you that the proletariat of the world, and today, we, the Spanish proletariat more particularly are obliged to consider these democracies as directly implicated with Spanish fascism, and in a more direct, though perhaps more distant way, with international capitalism. As long as capitalist powers exist in the world, the work of the Spanish people cannot be considered as ended.

The establishment of international socialism will never be realised until the Spanish proletariat together with the revolutionary nations will have absolutely crushed international capitalism.

BARCELONA.

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SPAIN and the WORLD

Vol. 1. Nos. 1-6.

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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)

Whatever will become of the gallant struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants, and their Advance Guard, the C.N.T.—F.A.I. (they will, they must be victorious), the constructive experiment begun on July 19 will stand out as the most extraordinary example of how a Revolution should be made.

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 childen
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.)

Friendly And Unfriendly

A REVIEW OF PRESS REVIEWS

GERMAN WORKERS PERSECUTED FOR AIDING SPAIN

In Munich and Einelbach 80 German workers, Catholics for the most part, have been imprisoned for the "crime" of organizing collections in aid of their Spanish comrades. Similar arrests have been made in Frankfurt and Coblenz.

In Karlsruhe trial of two men named Klempf and Nickler who were arrested in Kheil while crossing the river is taking place. They confessed to wishing to go to Madrid to join the International Brigade and the Tribunal stated that this showed them to be "enemies of the State" and that their crime was a particularly grave violation of important State interests.

HOW OVIEDO IS DEFENDED

The *Universe's* correspondent has visited the front and in an interview with one of the Nationalists he was told that

"every morning the volunteers split up into two parties. Three hundred held the lines while the others went to Mass."

Whether it was for inspiration or whether it was found necessary because they were becoming doubtful as to the advantages to be derived from suffering for the Church of Spain, we do not know. To those gifted with a sense of humour, however it is amusing to visualize 300 men marching off behind the lines to say their prayers, just as men would normally march towards the canteen to eat a well earned meal. I suppose it is spiritual food that gives these Nationalists the required strength.

The *Universe* refers to the "Catholic Defenders." We understood that they had been relieved by a column of Moors. The latter have undoubtedly become Catholics.

ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTY

H.N. Brailsford in the *Reynolds News* (28th February) writes of Spain that:

"It is in the towns still a country of artisans and small workshops. Modern power industry exists only in Barcelona and Bilbao."

"Thus it happens that, side by side with the Marxists of the Left Socialists and Communists, anarchism thrives, with Proudhon and Godwin as its elder prophets and Bakunin and Sorel to bring them more or less up to date."

"Most of us dismiss this creed with impatience, and assuredly it is not helpful in a world that has already been organised by trusts and cartels. None the less, Spanish anarchism can develop an amazing nobility of individual character—a courage, a readiness to serve and a respect for culture that rank it as a great inspiration."

"Happily, as the struggle goes on, the anarchists grow less doctrinaire. Because Marx and Bakunin quarrelled violently and rather ignobly, it does not follow that their pupils must cut each other's throats in Spain to-morrow."

"If a compromise can be worked out, the anarchist passion for liberty may bring into the Spanish Socialism of the future an element too often undervalued."

WHO IS FRANCO?

At the Annual dinner of the Catholic Association held at the Trocadero, the Marquis Merry del Val stated that General Franco is a practising Catholic and that the Nationalists "are fighting for peace, for order and for the honour and stability of their homes and liberties."

"Some newspapers," he said "would persuade the public that all those fighting in Spain are alike and that atrocities are committed by General Franco's army. That is untrue, for although sentences are of necessity carried out by General Franco's army they are carried out strictly in accordance with military law and procedure."

Fine, hollow words!
The Marquis, who is a former Spanish ambassador in London only just recently wrote a long letter to the *Sunday Times*, (February 21st) in

HYPOCRISY!



"We raise a United Cry against the Oppression of the Workers," title given to appeal published in "*Universe*" (19th December), and signed by four Archbishops and thirteen Bishops!

THE NON-INTERVENTION COMMITTEE

The reactionary London "*Observer*," February 21st, gives its reasons for the ban on volunteers coming into force so suddenly:

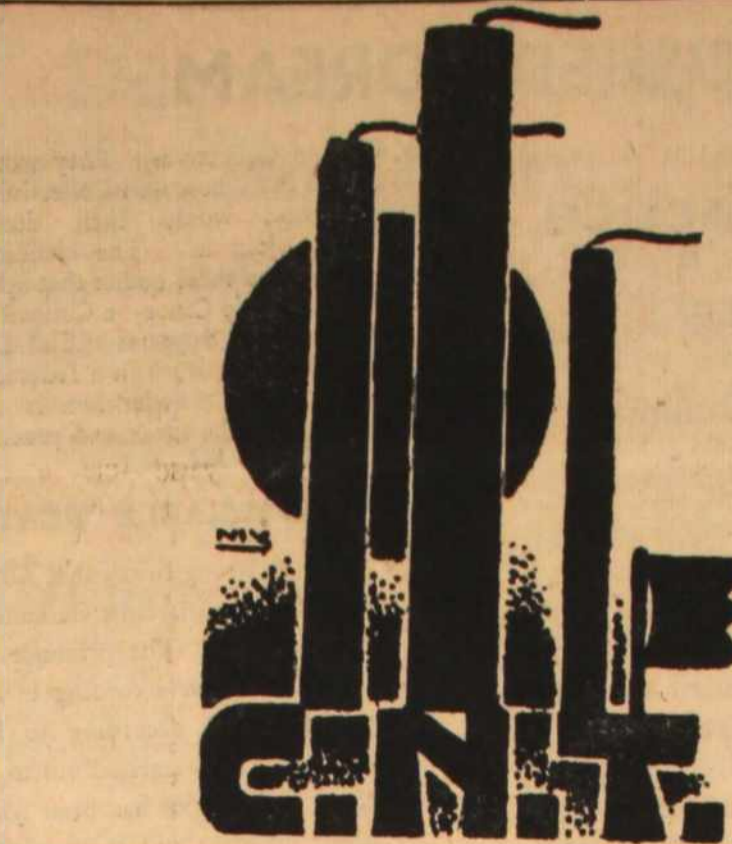
The reason for the sudden change into full, effective agreement is recognised on all hands to be the fact that the military issue in Spain is now virtually decided in General Franco's favour."

That was perhaps the intention of the Committee, but we are not convinced that Franco has the military situation in hand.

Fighting in the Madrid and Oviedo fronts surely confirms our faith in the workers determination to wipe out Franco and his hordes.

QUIEPO CALLING!

Ex-General Quiepo de Llano has been taken unawares by the formidable resistance of the Workers' militias in Madrid, consequently he wants you to know that he has postponed the date of Madrid's capture from 4th of March to the 15th. However, he does not state of which year.



(continued from column two)

SIGNIFICANT WORDS

The *Archbishop of Westminster*, speaking at a meeting, said that

"It is true that Catholics everywhere regard it as a duty to oppose militant socialism, but there is one form of communism which could never be condemned by the Church."

"That is the type of communism—or common-wealth—which was practised by the Apostles, and which is perpetuated in the system of our religious orders—the pooling and sharing of all goods in common, the property of all for the good of all."

"That is a state of things which would constitute a truly Christian State . . ."

(*Universe*, February 12th)

It is common knowledge that the condition of the Spanish workers has been one of serfdom. The land has been owned by a handful of parasites; industry by the Jesuits (Spain and the World No. 2) and the hierarchy, of the church, the convents and monasteries were veritable gold mines (see No. 2). The Anarchists are fighting for the rights of every individual. They want to "share all goods in common, the property of all for the good of all." Why then is the Official Church of Spain siding with Franco? And if Franco is, as says the Illustrious Marquis, fighting for the well being and liberty of all, why are his only supporters the few sons of the rich and the Archbishops (the official Church of Spain). Is the *Universe* prepared to answer?

BROADCAST

As it is not published in Wireless journals, readers may be interested to know that *Bilbao* broadcasts news in English every night at midnight on a wavelength of 238.5 metres.

Futhermore La Federacion Iberica de Juventudes Libertarias, informs us that the "transmitter, E.A. 4 F.I.J.L., working on a wave-length of 40.90 metres, transmits every day at 11 a.m., 3 p.m. and 10 p.m. important news from Madrid. Every Monday, Wednesday and Friday short addresses are given in foreign languages (Russian, German, English, French).

LIBERTARIAN.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY KNIVES DEMOS IN SPAIN

(continued from page 2, col. 4)

rather arbitrary to consider the governments of these countries as representatives of American democracy. True, Getulio Vargas, of Brazil, Augustin Justo of Argentine, Alessandri in Chile, Gabriel terra in Uruguay, Sanchez Cerro in Peru, Fulgencio Batista in Cuba—all of them have attained power by violent means which can hardly be called democratic and remain in power only through strong-arm methods.

This is only too true. These self chosen chieftains of Latin-America privileged oligarchies do not by any means represent their countries or a decent majority of their peoples. They represent only private interests and numerically very small cliques. Their power has no solid foundation in their people's support. As a matter of fact their peoples would only too gladly free themselves from their hated tyranny. And this is the reason why, fearing the repercussions of the Spanish people's war for liberty, independence and self determination, they make common cause with the fascist uprising in Spain.

They knife the Spanish people, to the extent of piling insults against their constitutional government because they have been stabbing democratic rule by and for their own people at home these many, many years. M.S.

(to be continued)

CARCAGENTE.

(continued from page 1)

the other. On the one hand, insecurity in the face of all difficulties of the moment in dealing with the harvest, and selling of produce; on the other hand the union of all to overcome mutually all difficulties and employ the best collective measures to achieve results.

No Trace of Pressure or Violence.

This determines the adherence, voluntary and forced—forced by circumstances and not by human pressure—of many small proprietors, who offer their fields spontaneously to the collectivity, thus following the best means of existence for themselves and their families. We read the petitions which had come in the very day of our arrival, giving the exact areas of the fields, the quality of the land and the working tools. In these petitions there is no trace of pressure or violence.

But this does not mean that the small proprietors, who stick to cultivating their own land, are left to do as they please. There exists in the local Organisation of Agricultural Labour a Commission continuously controlling the work in the fields, seeing to it that the land is cultivated properly, thus avoiding possible sabotage of production.

But this control is not exercised over the activity of the small proprietor only, but also in the Socialised fields, where the greatest necessity to work exists. We have investigated large fields, among them one that extends over such vast areas that it falls under the jurisdiction of seven different municipalities. All of them, without exception, were cultivated with infinite care. The orchards are weeded. To assure the trees all the nourishment the soil can give, the peasants are incessantly cleaning the earth. "Before," they told me, with pride, "all this belonged to the rich and was cultivated by paid workers; it was neglected and the owners had to buy masses of chemical fertilizer where they would have obtained the same success and better harvests by cleaning the soil. With pride they showed me the trees they had grafted to obtain a better selection of fruit. In many places I observed plants growing among the orange trees.

The Peasants' Foresight.

"What is this?" I asked. And then I discovered the admirable foresight of the Levantine peasants. They have planted in the orange groves potatoes in abundance. Thus they have responded to the actual needs of the moment. They knew that there would be need of food. They knew it by instinct, by intuition; and demonstrating more intelligence than all the agricultural ministries, they planted potatoes throughout the region of Levante, wherever the soil and space permitted. They have done even more. In the rice fields they have taken advantage of the four months that lie between the harvest and the next sowing. These admirable Valencian peasants have sown early wheat on these fields. Had the Minister of Agriculture taken the same measures throughout the Spanish regions not occupied by the Fascists, the bread problem would have been solved in a few months.

The organisation of the agricultural labour is conducted on the following lines: The peasants of all the syndicates and also those who do not belong to the syndicates—whose number is very small—meet in a full Assembly. By this Assembly the Technical and the Administrative Committees are elected, and are divided into their respective sections. Six comrades take charge of the technical direction of work. Five look after the administration of the large confiscated estates, the payment of wages and the sale of production. There also exists a Committee for Exportation.

GASTON LEVAL.

(Translated from "*Tierra y Libertad*," January 16th, 1937.)

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THE ORANGE AS REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON

The daily publication, "*Arbetaren*," an anarcho-syndicalist organ, which is printed in Stockholm, has sent a reporter to Spain. He has written a series of articles, among other subjects on the orchards and orange plantations in the south. Soon people began to talk about Valencia oranges throughout Sweden. Several shipments of these oranges have already been made to Sweden. The unemployed go from door to door offering these oranges for sale, saying: "Buy Valencia oranges, you are safeguarding your health and helping the Spanish people."

It is in this manner that the workers of this northern country are popularising the cause of all who are struggling for the liberty of Spain.

It is for us to follow their example!

AGRICULTURE

While the rich land in the hands of the fascists lies idle and uncultivated, work goes on in the loyal territory.

The Ministry of Agriculture has just published some interesting statistics of the winter sowing of cereals. In the provinces totally in the hands of the Government, the number of hectares sown with wheat rose from 1,303,449 last year to 1,736,956 this year. In the provinces not totally free from fascism, the number of hectares was 433,507. Taking both these figures a total increase of about 6 per cent. over last year's sowing is estimated. The area sown with barley shows an increase of 5.71 per cent. over last year.

The weather has fortunately been favourable and a good harvest is anticipated. The cultivated areas have now been augmented by the sowing of the "three monthly" wheat during this month.

SOCIALIST VANGUARD

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