

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 17

AUGUST 11th, 1937.

PRICE 2d.—U.S.A. 5 CENTS.

—We do not understand by the term Revolution merely the insurrectional period, which, though indispensable if not followed by the liberation of all the latent forces in the masses would be sterile and serve to substitute one state of coercion by another.

E. MALATESTA.

Revolutionary Economy

Two Collectivized Villages In Catalonia

POBLA

Pobla is a Catalan village of 800 inhabitants, in which, since July 19th there is no more dancing and playing. From that day the new history of the village was begun. The bourgeoisie disappeared. On September 20th, collectivization was undertaken, based on the following principles: mutual aid in work, mutual assistance, economic and cultural emancipation. Out of 170 families, 158 participate in the agricultural collectivization. The 12 refractory families work their own land but without employing outside paid labour and have to contribute to the expenses for public works, public assistance, the civil war and education. In Pobla, wages no longer exist, and the militia who offer their services for road control guard or who go on patrols do not demand their pay. Public works have been intensified. The roads are under repair, and a reservoir has been built—the work of two engineers specializing in reinforced concrete sent there by the C.N.T. in Barcelona, aided by local labour. Before the village was collectivized, these workers received a daily wage of seven pesetas, but this has been abolished and substituted by payment in kind. The active capital which was seized from the well-to-do inhabitants (20 to 22 thousand pesetas) has been distributed amongst the poorest of the village and the monetary system has been reduced to a minimum. The village exchanges agricultural products for manufactured goods. Each villager has a supply of flour, oil and wine to last him the whole year, and at the cooperative he can obtain other commodities he may need. Wages are nominal and proportionate. In a week, a single worker has the right to make purchases at the cooperative to the value of seven pesetas; two workers belonging to the same family can buy to the value of 12 pesetas. And so on: three, 15; four, 20; five, 25; six or more, 30 pesetas.

To make quite clear what is meant by the nominal partition of the products the following example may be quoted: Pobla produces 350,000 kilos of olives which, sold at 2,20 pesetas a kilo make a total income of 770,000 pesetas. Each

collectivity will have, in oil alone, the right to about a thousand pesetas. In other words each will have the right to obtain foodstuffs, manufactured goods, etc., to the value of about 1,000 pesetas, without taking into account any other privileges they might have.

Social assistance is manifested in a very simple way: a house, which used to belong to the curate and to a fascist, has been transformed into a home for old people, who number 12, of both sexes. Amongst the inmates is a nun, who retired to her own village, and she too is the subject of care and attention.

The great wish of the inhabitants of Pobla, now that they have a reservoir whose capacity is one million two hundred thousand litres of water, is to possess a motor lorry, two lorries . . .

For Pobla wants to move faster. Still living in the past, Pobla, is the adumbration of the future.

SADURNI DE NOYA

Sadurni de Noya is a large village and one of the richest wine centres in Catalonia. The most important firm was Codorniu; established in 1551 and become famous in 1872 through its sparkling wines and in particular for its Champagne which was exported to the whole of Latin America, U.S.A. and Cuba, England and Switzerland. The sale in these last few years, exceeded an average of 1,300,000 bottles per annum. (The grapes used every year in the preparation of Codorniu sparkling wines totalled one million six hundred thousand kilos). The reactionary proprietors of this firm, found refuge in Italy when the revolution broke out, and the staff of 194 technicians and workers, have continued with their work under a collectivized regime, supported by the C.N.T. and since the end of July 1936 the local Supplies Council has taken charge of the export trade, which has found the largest market in the U.S.S.R. Many plans are on hand, with a view to perfecting both the gathering of the 300 hectares of vines and the factory, the following changes being already applied: a forty hour week, and

until the family wage is in operation, a single wage scale.

Important Works have also been socialized under the auspices of the C.N.T. and since the works have been taken over for the war industry, the practises, in the afternoons on Saturday and Sunday, a voluntary labour shift. In this factory the unification of salaries and other reforms, are under discussion. A dress-making establishment has been collectivized under the auspices of the C.N.T. as have also carpenter shops, etc. A few small land owners have come to an agreement to pool their lands, and make a single collective property. The municipality has subsidised and still subsidises public education, which is directed by an anarchist teacher who presides over the local Council for Culture. A typical conquest in this branch, is the transformation of a confessional school managed by nuns, into a Modern School dedicated to the memory of Francisco Ferrer. To throw light on the intellectual and moral revival of these people, one can mention the making up, gratis, with material supplied by the C.N.T. Syndicate (which boasts 1,200 members), of an important quantity of jerseys for the militias, besides the assistance offered to fifty refugees from Madrid.

The Libertarian Youth are very active and girls show, amongst other things, their approval of modern times by changing their names. Thus instead of Maria, Dolores, Trinidad, etc., they make people call them by names such as: Aurora, Armonia, Vida, etc. The chief pastime of the young people, is still dancing, held in a hall which at one time was frequented by the local bourgeoisie and which now belongs to the C.N.T. Sixty members of this organisation are at the front, whilst those who remain control almost entirely, the political, economic and social life of this large village, from which the prosperous and middle class bourgeoisie have completely disappeared, whilst the petty bourgeoisie are, under the influence of the surroundings and economic pressure, amalgamating with the working class and the peasants.

(C. BERNERI.)

“NON-INTERVENTION” FARCE CONTINUES

DIPLOMATIC juggling which reached a stage of complexity during the Italo-Abyssinian War beyond which it seemed impossible to increase either in cunning or in hypocrisy, has gone a step further since the Spanish Civil War broke out last July.

With the experience of China, a member of the League, attacked by Japan; with the experience of Italy, member of the League attacking Abyssinia also a League member, without any action being taken by the countries who pledged themselves to assist in the event of a League country being attacked, it seemed futile to expect that any action would be taken to prevent interference in the Spanish Civil War. But it is the diplomat's profession — to justify his handsome salary — to call together all representatives of nations to discuss the Spanish question. The “democracies” shout that Spain's integrity will be maintained, whilst ship loads of Italian soldiers, arms and artillery pour into Cadiz — “Britannia rules the waves” beats in the breast of every English patriot, whilst Franco's Fleet (augmented by armed trawlers and submarines lent him for the occasion by non-interventionist Italy) proclaims a blockade of the Northern Spanish coast. Whereupon the Admiralty of the most powerful navy warns all her merchant ships that she will not offer them protection. And still the diplomats talked of Spanish integrity and Hitler in the meantime mounts a few more guns at Ceuta and Mussolini fortifies the Balearic Islands.

Twelve months of the non-intervention farce have passed by, and the fate of Spain has passed through the hands of committees and sub-committees with the usual result that money has been spent, nothing achieved (save indirect help for Franco) and the farce continues. —

Despite all this, there are still some people in this country, who are more interested in the fate of the Spanish people than the demerits of the British Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition! There are still some who believe that the “democracies” — England and France will save Spain from Fascism. But this is all a false illusion. Neither Socialist Blum nor reactionary Chamberlain will condescend to send arms to Spain for the revolutionaries. There is only one con-

dition in which they might, and that is that the Negrin government — already sufficiently bourgeois in our opinion — should strive to establish a bourgeois Government, by the extermination of the fiery revolutionary elements in Spain. That will be a virtual victory for Franco, who would then possibly withdraw only to be appointed later — as is always the case, even with so called Popular Front Governments — to a responsible position at the head of the armed forces.

...This would also please Mussolini and Hitler, and there can be no doubt that France is only too glad to be friendly with these gentlemen. In the last two months alone she has obliged Mussolini on at least two occasions. The first, when the brothers Rosselli were foully murdered, the police “failed” to trace the murderers, and no public statement has since been made. The second, when Mussolini's lover, whose case was heard in camera rather than in public, at the express wish of the Duce who feared she might make certain important disclosures. All these favours, however trivial they may seem, all help to flatter Mussolini and give him a false sense of his importance.

How much longer will the farce be continued? The answer is easy to find. Just so long as people believe that the “democracies” are honest and the fascist powers irresponsible. Both the democracies and dictatorships are corrupt and dishonest. The only difference, by which to distinguish them is that the dictatorships announce to the world that they are going to do something and may or may not do it, whilst the “democracies” say nothing and do much harm, always in league with the criminal fascist powers. They realise that a workers victory in Spain can have a violent repercussion amongst workers in the rest of the world, and they therefore do their utmost to prevent a workers victory.

A workers victory in Spain is only possible when the workers in the rest of the world realise that the Spanish workers' cause is an International cause, and its success must needs depend on the reaction of the International proletariat.

Appeals to diplomats, collections and ambulances will not save the Spanish workers. Direct action in our own countries alone can help them to reach their final goal: The defeat of Fascism and the Social Revolution.

“Mussolinian” Bluff

Mussolini succeeds in his bluff. Perhaps after fourteen years of his regime the young people know not better whilst the aged who are too familiar with Mussolinian tactics just smile to themselves (that is still permitted in Italy). The letter addressed to him by the renowned fisherman and Premier, Neville Chamberlain has been used as evidence by Mussolini's Press to shew the Italian people that Britain wants to be friends with the great Mussolini. The Italian people jump to the bait. Little do they realise that the letter was in answer to a letter sent by Mussolini to Neville.

Of the English Sunday press only the *Sunday Referee* (August 1) mentions this fact. The report

states that “It was revealed last night that the British Prime Minister's letter of friendship to Mussolini was the answer to a personal message from Mussolini. The Duce's message was delivered by Signor Grandi, Italian Ambassador in London, during his hour and a half talk last week with Mr. Chamberlain.”

The *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Herald* and other dailies mentioned this fact however in their Monday editions.

I wonder whether the Italian people will even be officially informed of that fact?

It is much more satisfying to feel that the British Empire is making friendly overtures to Mussolini!

INDEPENDENT INDIA

Editor: M. N. Roy.
Weekly journal containing articles dealing with Indian and International affairs.

per One Anna copy.

Editorial Offices:
Empire Automobile Building,
Opp. Charni Road Station,
Girgaon, Bombay,
INDIA.

SPAIN - ANARCHISM

Anarcho-Syndicalist Union
Aims and objects of the

Price 2d.

Issued by A.S.U.,
4, Goldhawk Mews, W.12.

The Basque Refugees In England

WE have refrained until now from making reference to the 4,000 Basque children who have found shelter in this country. This silence was motivated by the fact that we know there were hundreds and thousands of people in this country who were making sacrifices, giving up their spare time to make clothes, and prepare things necessary for the comfort of these children—and we felt it would seem unjust on our part to pass any remarks which might be unfavourable on the whole to the general management of the Camp and the distribution of the children in other camps. However, with the repatriation of 24 children, described by one of the Committee as being of the "reformatory kind," we must not remain silent any longer.

Firstly, we believe that the only people who have really desired to welcome with open arms, and without any ulterior motive, the little innocent victims of Franco are the thousands of laymen who have worked behind the scenes, and who have sheltered and fed the numerous children who have periodically scaled the walls which have kept them in the clutches of capitalist institutions such as the Salvation Army and Catholic bodies.

Secondly, despite the assurances that the children's political and religious opinions would be respected, we find that besides correspondence being censored, all Confederal and Anarchist newspapers have been tabooed. Only Fascist newspapers (which include "Heraldo di Aragon," "Ayer," "La Voz de Vizcaya") reach the children. One child writes:

"If you send Spanish papers again, send them well hidden in English papers, because the last ones you said you sent did not reach me."

Furthermore those children who have nothing in common with the Church or who are CNT-FAI children, are naturally not as well treated as the others. But there are other methods of "respecting" the children's political ideas. CNT-FAI children are sent to rich people's houses, are waited upon by servants: in other words treated like little bourgeois! From Essex comes a touching letter from a little fourteen-year-old comrade, who writes also on behalf of his sister. It is addressed to a comrade who worked at the Camp at Southampton, but was obliged to leave because he propagated anarchist ideas amongst CNT-FAI children! This letter is important because it clearly shows the harm that the wrong allocation of dwelling can do to these children. It also shows that these children have a natural sense of justice, of solidarity which is so apparently lacking in many adults. The boy, Emilio, writes:

"Dear Friend, I am writing to tell you that I am living with some English teachers, and that I am very well—Juan, I ask you to come here, the sooner the better for an urgent matter. Juan, do a favour for your dear little friend Emilio, who likes you and who does not forget nor will ever forget you until the day of his death. Juan, I am in a kind of mansion, and when they bring our meals I cannot help thinking a great deal of all our friends and my family.—Besides, you must know that the son of a worker must not live in that manner because firstly: in Spain the war has been brought about through the capitalists wanting to keep us as their slaves, or rather, to serve them, and here the same thing is happening that we wish to keep as slaves the servants. And this cannot be, especially as we are sons of fighters who are defending the cause in the name of a new Society and a new way of living amongst the workers—Juan, come for my sake as well as my sister's—Every time I think of all of you, I cry in despair, and ask that I might go with you and my friends—... Do not think that we are badly cared for, on the contrary it is because they treat us in the

same way as capitalists, and a good comrade of the C.N.T. as I am, and furthermore, the son of a worker, it must not be so. Salud! Viva la C.N.T.! Your friend Emilio."

In another letter that same child writes:

"Juan, I do not know very much about politics because I am still a small boy, but it is necessary that we should begin to understand fully the Spanish situation for we are the men of tomorrow who must continue the struggle in Spain."

The noble spirit that is portrayed in the above letters is a spirit which has prevailed amongst the workers in Spain through all the years of suffering under the numerous reactionary regimes. The Spanish refugee children who have been brought over to this country do not all think in the same manner. Many of them have possibly lost their fathers, or their mothers have been buried under the debris of houses in Bilbao destroyed by Franco's hordes, fighting in the name of the Church and the State. Is it natural that these children should resent being shepherded into Catholic institutions, or live as our little comrade said "as capitalists"?

Some of these children are being maintained by the readers of the "Universe," that newspaper which has been extolling Franco's campaign: which has declared that the children should be returned to Bilbao; which has continually made scurrilous attacks on the "Reds," treating them as bandits, criminals, rappers of nuns and murderers of priests. And now with typical hypocrisy begs for money to keep these children in Catholic institutions—These children who, but for a corrupt Church—would not be finding themselves homeless, far from those they love.

The evacuation of the Basque children should—and must be—an act of solidarity and not of charity. The way these children have been treated up to now indicates charity of the lowest kind—for it is concerned only with their physical and not their psychological condition.

Twenty four boys have been repatriated because of apparent criminal instincts (that is our definition of Mr. W. Roberts', M.P., phrase "boys of a reformatory kind") and as a result action is going to be taken in various camps to bring about discipline and order. Then most of the children in those camps are "irresponsible" or "uncontrollable"? Or is it that the Basque children care more for Liberty—that Liberty for which their fathers are sacrificing their lives every day—than for a full stomach and daily Mass?

This article, we repeat, is not directed against those who give the real material help to the Basque children, but can serve as a warning to them to interest themselves more in the management of these colonies and the mental training the children receive. Their education should not be in the hands of the Catholic Church. It should be in the hands of those men and women who have the cause of Free Spain at heart and who can thereby understand and be understood by the children.

SUPPORT...

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

and be sure of receiving your copy regularly by sending your subscription now.

13 issues 2/6, U.S.A. 60c.

26 issues 4/6, U.S.A. \$1

post free.

COLLECTIVIZATION AND SOCIALIZATION

By GASTON LEVAL

THE great majority of workers, including many militants ask themselves what is the difference between the words collectivisation and socialisation and above all the difference in conception that these two words express. We shall attempt to make it clear. We shall begin with Socialisation. It is the aim of Socialism.

Socialism places the social element above the individual. It pays attention to the general problems of humanity and resolves them in agreement with the interests of this humanity, independently of class differences. Thus defined, we only portray socialism in its general principle, though the methods adopted for its achievement vary according to the established schools of thought.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISM AND AUTHORITARIAN SOCIALISM

In actual fact, the interpretation of Socialism starts from the conception one has on life, on Society and on the part played by the different factors which have intervened in the history of the Workers. From there can exist a libertarian or an authoritarian conception of Socialism. With equal sincerity the defenders of one and the other can believe that authority is needed in the efficient administration and functioning of Society, giving the economic problem a maximum importance whilst the upholders of Libertarian Socialism give as much importance to Liberty as they do to the Economic Problem.

Even in the economic, and not only in the political schools of Socialism, are various tendencies. From the very beginning of Social History, the examples which we have of socialism are purely communistic. The tribes, the primitives of the Siberian Tundra, the Barbaric Tribes, more civilized than their name leads one to believe, carried out the communal enjoyment of goods and foodstuffs as well as sexual customs which were and still are in certain parts of the world, purely communistic.

COLLECTIVISM AND COMMUNISM

Socialist collectivism appears more as a philosophic and intellectual school. Give to each according to the amount he produces, to each family according to the work done by the chief, was envisaged both by authoritarian and libertarian Socialists.

Proudhon, who called himself a Socialist and an Anarchist defended his principle which he called Mutualism. But other precursors, his contemporaries like Saint Simon defended the same principle. Later on, within the first International, Bakunin and his friends called themselves collectivists, defending the concepts of Saint Simon and Proudhon: to each according to his work.

Communism had been previously defended by the authoritarian school of Babeuf, authoritarian and Statist, beheaded in 1794.

Louis Blanc, also upheld these ideas, and was bitterly attacked by Proudhon.

COLLECTIVISATION SINCE JULY 19th.

What we have previously said is that the two tendencies in Socialism were respectively defended by the Libertarians and the Authoritarians. But the former reacted from 1876 onwards, within the framework of the First International itself and slowly the communist tendency imposed itself because of its greater idealism and economic logic. Consequently, one cannot separate collectivism from Socialism. But the problem which we face today is, up to a certain point, quite distinct. Those who speak of collectivisation do not do so by virtue of the collectivist principle nor because they are acquainted with it. Neither could one pit collectivism against socialism, since we have seen that the former is an interpretation of Socialism to which it contributed

in building up, in the history of social thought. The term "Collectivisation" which has been adopted since the 19th July, 1936, and some time earlier in Spain arises in fact from a lack of understanding of the Social ideals and of the inadequate use of these terms, brought about by this ignorance. For one should not talk of collectivisation if one were not a collectivist and libertarian-communist (comunista-libertario). By the use of those terms the same has happened as happened to those comrades who were unprepared, but who thought themselves well equipped to put forward theories, and who could not reconcile the terms *libertarian* and *anarchist*. For them, libertarian-communism and anarchist-communism were two distinct terms. If they had taken the trouble to read our theoreticians before expressing an opinion; if they had known something of the history of our ideas, they would have seen that the distinction or the difference which they have established, really existed only in their imaginations.

PRE-SOCIALIST PERIOD

If, there exists no real difference between collectivism and socialism; if one can go towards a socialisation of a collectivist character, there exists in spite of this a difference between that which one calls, collectivisation and socialism. Not a real difference, since collectivisation would imply the triumph of the collectivism of Bakunin, Saint Simon or Marx, but in the reality of present accomplishments in Spain. There is not collectivisation, but an intermediate stage between Capitalism and Socialism. We are not in a collectivist period. We are rather in a pre-socialist period. If we understood it in this light, conceptions would be clearer and action better orientated. Collectivisation in the minds of the Spanish comrades who in these moments in the history of Spain are using this term, is that transition step which cannot be defined by terms or principles from theory, since all imply the total achievement and not the partial achievement.

We are able to affirm that we are realising socialisation in step with collectivisation, since from that which is being constructed can arise a regime without owners and Capitalists but in which wages, domestic or otherwise, would be supported by the syndicates. Not having exploitation of the workers by the privileged caste, this would be collectivism or socialism. On the other hand the same could be achieved by a socialism of the libertarian-communist type. Neither solution has nevertheless been accomplished. They are on the way to being made so. I insist that for the moment one cannot speak of collectivisation, socialisation and communism, without a knowledge of the concepts and the terms.

WHEN SOCIALISM WILL BE REACHED

Socialism, collectivist or communist, will exist when the Capitalist, the owners of the factory, workshop and the mine, proprietors and shareholders, all those who have individual possessions, goods which by their very nature belong to society, will have disappeared. When, individually or collectively, each man lives by the fruits of his labour, or gives to society, in exchange for the goods he receives for himself and his dependents, the possible and necessary effort. Meanwhile we shall follow being in an experimental period, with progressive achievements, and within these achievements our principles will be applied with greater or less intensity, to a greater or less extent according to the place, circumstances and our capacity. If one wants to call this state of affairs, collectivisation (though the term be incorrect) we could say that the difference between such a conception of collectivisation and socialism is the permanence of the

employer, of the owner of the workshop or of the exploitation of the state still in a Capitalist form. Naturally, for us the state is always the exploiter, and there exists no difference for the workers in giving twenty, thirty or forty per cent. of their work to capitalism or to the state bureaucracy. From this we affirm that true socialism is incompatible with the State, included in its simple economic working.

THE REMAINS OF THE OLD REGIME

We suffer nevertheless the existence of the State, and insofar as it weighs on us, with its old structures; insofar as groups of parasites in society still support themselves we can determine whether we have advanced towards or digressed from integral socialism. This step can be called collectivisation. But it indicates the inadequate nature of this definition. In many agricultural communities, one speaks of collectivisation when in reality such collectivisation, conceived as an intermediary stage, has been surpassed since exploitation of man by man has been eliminated.

SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS

In many communities in Aragon or in the Levante, the exploiting proprietor does not exist. The principles of socialism have been achieved, whether it be collectivist communistic or both at the same time. Notwithstanding, one speaks of collectives and the members who constitute it are called collectivists. There is a contradiction between the criterion of intermediary stage and that of the ultimate conclusion since, in reality in such cases we have reached this very same conclusion and we return to that which we said before: it is a mistaken interpretation through ignorance of the meaning of the word collectivisation.

TRUE SOCIALISM

For us, in accordance with the doctrinal position we took some decades ago, true integral socialism is Comunismo-Libertario. We cannot, nevertheless deny from the theoretical point of view, the right to call themselves Socialists, those who claim for themselves the ideas of Saint Simon and those which the Marxists defined from the First International until 1914. We must give to ideas and words which define them, their true tenor. We must, however, note that collectivism and consequently collectivisation cannot be opposed to Socialism. It is of practical interest, for our present work, to indicate that the intermediary stage through which we are passing will lead us to the Socialism which we conceive, by means of the total elimination of the parasitic factors of economy; by means of the administration of factories, mines, the means of transport; by means of the cultivation of the fields by workers and associations of workers. Once this is obtained, socialisation will exist. Examples of partial socialisation in certain communes as well as in certain factories and industries. When workers direct work of their own accord, they have socialised. But these partial achievements can at present be carried in spite of the semi-realisation, which is what is to-day called collectivisation. It must fatally happen thus, because not all branches of economy, not all workers are in a position to move with the same rhythm. This does not detract from the fact that partial socialisation is a fact. All rests on the condition that no corruption should creep in which creeps

(Cont. at foot of col. 1, page 3)

Your subscription expired

..... We shall be glad to receive renewal at your earliest convenience.

PUIGCERDA

By
R. LOUZON

ONE of the places in Catalonia where, it is generally admitted, collectivisation has been most developed, is the little town of Puigcerda, situated in the Pyrenees quite close to the French Frontier.

A Town Essentially Petite-Bourgeoise

The experience of Puigcerda is one of the greatest possible interest — for nothing seemed to destine this town to march in the forefront of collectivisation. On the contrary, Puigcerda was essentially a petite-bourgeoise town of tradesmen and parasites.

It is a fair sized market town, perched on a mountain pap that dominates the plain of Cerdagne which spreads itself out in the heart of the Pyrenees at an altitude of 1,200 metres, between two high mountain ranges. The other side of these mountains descends into Spain on the one hand and France on the other.

France and Spain have divided about half this Plain between them. The extremely fertile soil yields magnificent harvests of cereals and potatoes as well as pasture crops at the lowest points. Moreover, it is a heavily populated area, where one village links up with the next.

The role of Puigcerda is first of all that of capital of this country. It is the commercial and administrative centre of this whole agricultural region; it is here where people come to sell their products, to make their purchases, to consult their lawyer and to chat with the women folk.

But over and above this, in recent years this activity has been doubled by another; for Puigcerda has become a tourist town. It served as a summer residence for a number of Spanish bourgeoisie who were fleeing from the heat of the big towns or the central plains.

In the third place, but this is less important, Puigcerda which is situated just at the outlet of the Puymorens Pass, through which passes direct the Toulouse Barcelona line which was started in 1928 or 1929 (if I remember rightly) has possessed since then an International railway station which makes it a rather important junction for Franco-Spanish traffic.

All that has been responsible for creating a town of a little more than 4,000 inhabitants, closely packed together more

or less in the old part with its narrow streets, and its numerous hotels and stores.

Near the market town itself, many modern villas for the rich summer residents have been built on the slopes or on the plateau around the attractive lake. Finally down below, at big distances apart in the plain are some factories, one for condensed milk and three for textiles.

Such is the centre where collectivisation took place!

The Collectivisation of the Small Trade.

The pseudo Marxists would have doubtless surmised that since Puigcerda was without any very big industry, the only thing to do would be to leave it outwith complete socialisation. The boldest would perhaps have simply proposed to socialise the preparation of condensed milk and the textile factories but they would all have certainly considered it as sacrilege to try to collectivise the small businesses which, however, are the very essence of the economic life and consequently the very basis of the capitalist and bourgeoisie exploitation.

But at Puigcerda there were not pseudo Marxists but comrades of the CNT. They took the bull by the horns. They began with the most difficult — the collectivisation of the small trade.

The Co-operative.

This collectivisation operated chiefly by means of the creation of a co-operative. A general co-operative which covered everything. Grocers, fashers, pork butchers, bakers, textile fabrics, tailors, hairdressing shops, dentists, chemists, cafes, hotels, etc.

This co-operative is established on a plan that has no counterpart in France. If, by its economic function, it appears analogous to our retail co-operatives, whose principal function is to sell to consumers, it differs totally from these in its construction; for the consumers have no say whatever either in regard to its operation or in the distribution of benefits.

As a matter of strict fact, its structure is not yet hard and fast. For the moment, the co-operative is managed by a committee composed exclusively of representatives of CNT syndicates who have

founded it, but that is only a provisional arrangement; what one has in mind for the future is a mixed administration, composed on the one hand of workers' representatives of the co-op, and on the other hand by representatives of the municipality. Such a co-operative would then be, as regards its judicial function, both a co-operative of production and of public service.

In any case, it is in the heart of this co-operative that already we find collectivised the majority of the small merchants of Puigcerda.

The majority—but not all! Entry to the co-operative is not indeed obligatory—for, in certain branches, there still exist, alongside the co-operative stores, private concerns—but these, however, exist only on one condition and it is an essential condition: they must not employ hired labour.

That is so, for example, with certain butchers, haberdashers and hotels. On the contrary, cafes, hairdressers, tailors, dentists and chemists are all in the co-op. At Puigcerda you can be shaved or have a tooth extracted only at the co-operative.

All these merchants have passed over to the co-op with their arms and baggage—that is to say, with their goods and equipment—and that has provided the first funds of the co-op.

The co-op has its administrative seat and principal centre in a large building situated in the central square of the town. On the ground floor there is the grocery department and the sale of bread, wine, etc. On the first floor, two magnificent hairdressing saloons, one for men and the other for women, as well as a haberdashery department. On the second floor, the tailors' workshop. Higher up are the dentists rooms.

Outside of this central building, the co-operative has many annexes. A butcher's shop, a greengrocer's, a fine novelty shop, a chemist, hotels, cafes, a bakehouse for pastries and all the ovens of the former bakeries. Altogether a co-op of 190 workers.

The Municipal Services

In spite of the very general character of this co-op, there exist nevertheless a

certain number of trades which have not been able to come into its framework: and these have been municipalised. They have become public services, depending directly upon the Municipal Council. This latter is formed of three CNT delegates, three delegates of the UGT (the Stalino-Reformist Syndicalist organisation) and three delegates of the Catalanian Left (the Catalanian bourgeoisie party).

Transport, Public Roads, and Building have been municipalised in this way.

In the operation of these municipalised services, the interested syndicates have a voice. Unfortunately my rather hurried departure prevented me from determining exactly just what were the respective powers of the Municipal Council and the Syndicates. But it is probable that these are not yet fully determined.

The Radio Transmitting Station is also a municipal service. It was installed since the Revolution, thanks to the kindly co-operation of an electrician belonging to the Catalanian Left. Its transmissions are under the control of the two syndicalist representatives, one from the CNT and the other from the UGT.

Housing has also been municipalised. Since the revolution, rents have no longer been paid, but a register is now in course of preparation which will divide up all the dwellings in two categories, according to their quality, and a rent price per square metre will be determined for each of the two categories, and this will be collected by the Municipality.

Two important farms which were abandoned by their proprietors have likewise become the property of the community.

The municipalisation of these two farms is moreover the only collectivisation which has taken place in the countryside. The general agricultural regime of the Cerdagne is small private property—the owner working himself, alone or with a small number of workpeople. So far this regime has not been interfered with even in those rare instances where wage workers have been employed. In other words, the petty proprietor in the country and the agricultural workers have remained unchanged at Puigcerda—which is very different from the conditions in the town where the property owners have been utterly suppressed and the town workers profoundly affected.

TO BE CONTINUED.

(The next instalment will deal with the collectivisation of industry at Puigcerda.)

Collectivization and Socialization

(Continued from previous page)

ates privileges, and categories which would create once more the exploitation of men by other men, or that external pressure should compel a retreat of those who have already reached an enhanced position in semi-socialism. And to believe collectivisation has been achieved where these differences, where these mutual speculations between industries still exist is a great mistake, since collectivism implies a high ethical standard, a greater social solidarity, because socialism's thinkers aspired to establish ties of solidarity amongst men which become impossible when personal rivalries of capitalism exist between factory and factory, between industry and industry or between town and field.

PERIOD THROUGH WHICH WE PASS

There do not exist, in face of the facts and in the exact content of ideas, theoretical terms with which to define the general period through which we are passing. It is necessary to take into consideration the fact that this is a transitional period, because in this way we shall succeed in rapidly overcoming conditions in order to establish socialism, eliminating all the defects and errors which the circumstances and our scanty preparation have made us commit.

The clear distinction we can make is the one which has always been indicated in the history of socialist ideas: collectivism and communism. We understand collectivism and collectivisation as the

establishment of a system in which there are no masters, and in which each worker will receive the product of his work by means of a salary fixed either by the workers syndicates or by the State. We understand by Communism a regime, equally free of masters, in which according to the accepted formula, each will produce according to his capacity and will consume according to his means (medias); in which, in other words, each useful member of Society will contribute work possible according to his capabilities in exchange for the means of existence which the common accumulation of goods will allow to be given to him and his dependants.

COLLECTIVISATION AND SOCIALISATION

There appears an obvious difference in these terms. On the other hand there does not exist any actual difference between collectivisation and Socialisation, since, as we have explained collectivism and communism are two distinct conceptions of socialism, but are theoretically, Socialism. The difference between collectivisation and Socialisation which is made during this period, originates from a misinterpretation of collectivism, and I cannot but repeat that we find ourselves in a period which must be termed semi-socialist and not collectivist. We are progressing from this important socialism towards a more perfect one. Such is the reality of this historic moment for the Spanish people.

PROGRESSIVE EVOLUTION AND CLASS SOCIALISM

(Continued from previous issue)

sheer brutality, ousting the socialists who seemed to imagine that the universe evolves according to the rules of parliamentary procedure.

In reality, *the State*, the Governmentalism of all ages, privileged persons and hired officials, the masters of every armed force, ought to have been diminished, sapped, deserted, or "ignored," as Herbert Spencer said, instead, of which, the political socialists propped it up, strengthened, polished, readorned it and made it all powerful. *The Church*, this prime factor in stultifying the intellectual development of mankind, composed of ever so many organisations with enormous property interests and extraordinary facilities for propaganda, ought to have been shorn of its prerogatives dating back to its ascendancy in ages of primitive ignorance, and real education of the intellect promoted in a thousand ways. Socialists in their scramble for votes, left the Church alone and permitted it to recover lost ground, to pose as a promoter of social justice and to haul in the backward masses, to break them in for the fascist parties. In reality, *Property, Monopoly* ought to have been weakened, fought bitterly, shaken in their foundations by the refusal of the co-operation of labour, and syndicalists did attempt something

in that direction. But the real political socialist, with an eye on the State and his own expected coming State dictatorship, never cares so much to tackle the real labour struggle, as in Spain now he hates collectivisation and calls for nationalisation, that is State-ownership. He takes the same ambiguous position on the *Land* question, never making up his mind to tell the peasants whether they are to be expropriated by the State or whether they may expect to till their land under better social conditions: this made the peasants, one and all, enemies of socialism, helpmates of clericalism and fascism, except in those parts of Spain where the anarchist workers long since assured the peasants of autonomy and freedom: here they are solidly with the town-workers, as nowhere else in the world!

Socialists, then, have greatly sinned against the spirit of progress and show as yet no will to make amends, though their own insufficiency is a palpable fact. Theoretically, they were victims of several illusions like *self-magnification, totalism, the short cut, the line of the least resistance*, etc. One is never alone in the world, neither man nor class; one may never impose unique systems, nor hasten evolution, nor outwit ser-

(Continued on next page)

Progressive Evolution and Class Socialism

(Continued from Page 3)

ious obstacles by sophistication. Historically, when humanity began to reach manhood in the eighteenth century and the widest educational effort was needed to raise its low ethical and intellectual standard, interest, greed, seeking obstructed the way on every side and caused ruinous divisions.

Thus friendly, solidary co-operation, of the progressive elements was soon replaced by the dominating, totalitarian will of every fraction working for its proper aims. The spirit of conquest was roused by Napoleon, capitalist greed by the factory system, the workers lost interest in everything but their own class, the folly of philosophers created totalitarian conceptions, new religions, like that of Hegel, and socialist thinkers proclaimed equally, one and all, the universality of their social systems and tactics. The peasants, for whom none of the advanced people cared, became the safe domain of the clergy and reaction and as agrarian monopolists the recruiting ground for soldiers, priests and fascists, the class employed to keep in check the workers' class. No doubt some early socialists continued *Godwin's* great work and appealed for the intelligent and devoted co-operation of all like *Saint Simon* and laid every stress on education and voluntary well-assorted association like *Fouquier* and *Robert Owen*. But here impatience, shortsightedness, vanity, soon made havoc: on the model of quick political changes, replacing one cabinet by another or obtaining a monetary effect by a successful riot, it was thought possible to bring about the great social change rapidly as by a magic wand or as decorations are shifted in a transformation scene of a pantomime. That was *Blanqui's* scheme, and as, of course, he saw that the effect of sudden surprise could only be prolonged by continuous force, he, the lifelong republican, unreservedly extolled *dictatorship*, and socialism which the utopian authors of former centuries usually presented as the creation of a wise monarch, a *Numa Pompilius* or such, lapsed back again to that reliance upon dictators — after having produced monumental works as those of *Godwin* and the other thinkers just mentioned. Then it lapsed a step further and *Louis Blanc* chose to confide to the *State* the organisation of labour, to that very organism which at all times is the organ of just those monopolists whom socialism professes to combat.

Then, of course, the workers were told that they need but change the *State* by voting for a "democratic and social" opposition and from this "social democracy" originated, proclaiming that from now evolution would bow before the voting paper and that the regeneration of mankind, the salvation of all, the *Social Revolution* lies in the ballot box and will unflinchingly pop up like a jack-in-the-box when 51% of the electorate cast socialist votes. The capitalists wished nothing better than to see socialism lost in this blind alley. They stamped out parliamentarism altogether, as in the fascist countries, or they domesticated the socialist politicians and *Briand*, *MacDonald* and so many others made brilliant careers. The *State* was not conquered by socialists, but socialists, whenever and wherever they had a chance, were assimilated by the *State* and liked nothing better than to be officials of some sort.

Carl Marx was no wiser than all the others, only very shifty, as he felt the urge to proclaim himself always right and would admit this of no one else. So he condoned parliamentary tactics, but despised them. He allied himself with the *Blanquists*, but hated them. He laid down rules for evolution and people waited with confidence for capitalism to concentrate and then to topple over; at the same time he did everything to bend the *International* and every group with which he was connected, to his own will. Those who call themselves his fol-

lowers, can imitate his deficiencies, but cannot reproduce his qualities. So he has become a mere name in the service of the interests of unscrupulous or very unwise people.

Throughout the nineteenth century and up to this day continues the efforts of liberal minded, complete socialists, those who feel that *socialism is the social form of progress* and must keep in touch with every form of progress and with mankind, avoiding class isolation. These are the anarchists, the ethical educators, the friends of freedom in thought and conduct, the men and women who practice voluntary association, co-operation, mutual toleration, helpfulness, the free life. It is these, really, who have brightened life in the darkest days, who have righted much wrong, who saved all of us from despair. It is these who, with some regrettable exceptions, no doubt, stood against labourism and bolshevism, as they stand now against fascism and racism. Anarchism is not so poor as many people think, as it is always rejuvenated from this *living and feeling* part of humanity. They abhor the totalism both of the communist and of the fascist. They object to cramming to being fed artificially, by coercion, by whatever doctrine or gospel. Socialism will be a reality when it is tasteful to living men; up till now it is attractive to the gullible only. It has much to forget, much to learn, before it may begin to explain and to teach once more. That century of deviations, the baneful inheritance of *Blanqui*, *Louis Blanc*, *Marx* and *Mazzini* must be overcome first: its seed are *Stalin*, *Mussolini* and so many other scourges of man.

In *Spain* we see both, how eager, willing and capable men are to lay the foundations of a free and happy life, and what horrible obstacles incapacitated socialists and fanatical communists are to such developments. It must be stated bluntly that to-day, with the fascist danger before us or upon us, political socialism, communism and all these would-be totalisms block the way of social progress. People will suffer anything rather than be bossed by these born failures who could produce only the most cruel dictatorships, as they have no attractions of their own. People do prefer the shabbiest bourgeoisie, as it keeps the fascist and the bolshevist from their doors. There is an immense field here for renewed liberal minded and libertarian, ethical and humane activities, the sanitation of public opinion, a recuperation of health which will have to precede every other action. The effects of machinism and fanaticism, of brutalization and hopelessness must be swept away — or all is lost and we drift away into real slavery which, to-day, is already the fate of several large European nations. The authoritarian socialist and the fascist are *Tweedledum* and *Tweedledee*: only *Freedom* produces men. Once more, look to *Spain* where men choose to stand up, fight and die for *Freedom* and and scorn to submit to *Slavery*. Think this out for yourselves, reason, feel and help—it is your own cause. Or have you delegated your feeling also to representative Statesmen with icy hearts? Then, better, make an end of it and turn slaves right away?

June 2nd, 1937.

X.X.X.

SEND YOUR
SUBSCRIPTION
NOW

13 issues 2/6. U.S.A. 60c.
26 issues 4/6. U.S.A. \$1.

Published by Thos. H. Keell, Whiteway Colony, nr. Stroud, Gloucester, on August 11th, 1937, and printed by THE NARON PRESS (T.U.), 129-131, Bedford Street, London, E.1.

APPRECIATION!

ELSEWHERE we have reproduced letters from Basque child refugees who are being cared for in this country. They seem unhappy. Perhaps even more unhappy than they would be if those responsible for their well-being considered it an act of solidarity than mere charity.

For "our" children in the *Durruti-Ascaso* Colony there has never been a question of charity. We have always asked you to show your solidarity with the brave Spanish people, by caring for the children they have left behind.

The "Comité pour l'Espagne Libre" has seen to it that nothing should be lacking for these children, not only in the way of food, toys and recreation, but also from the mental point of view.

More eloquent than all our words are the letters we have before us from these children, one of which we reproduce below:

Luis Martinez Conde, aged 14 writes:

"The Colony, which is in *Llansa* is very healthy because it is situated in the mountains and near the sea. The Chateau is one of the best and is surrounded by a garden, which makes the colony even more adorable."

"Madam, for that is the name by which we refer to *Paula Felstein*, and *Pierre Odeon*, are now our parents, our second parents in the way they treat us, and the liberty they give us; then the staff who are also kind and of whom we are very fond is made up of comrades *Vela*, *Pascual*, *Maria*, *Emilia* and *Dionisia*."

"The patients are treated with special care. Madam spends many nights without sleep in order to take care of them and *Odeon*, during the night, whilst we are asleep, accompanied by the French comrade *Cotan*, come up and cover those who are uncovered and should we have anything which is too tight they loosen it so that we may breathe well and sleep more comfortably."

"In the morning we get up at about seven o'clock and have a large cup of coffee and milk and biscuits or bread which is very good. We then go to school accompanied by *Maria* and comrade *Vela's* daughter. Class is taken by a master, a comrade whom we all like very much and who is very good, and at eleven o'clock we leave to go to lunch, to eat good things like meat, mashed potatoes, tomato salad, etc. . . ."

"Afterwards we play for a while and return once more to the college and later go to the beach to play; we have chocolate and biscuits, we play for a little longer and then return to the Colony. We have supper between seven and half-past and then to bed."

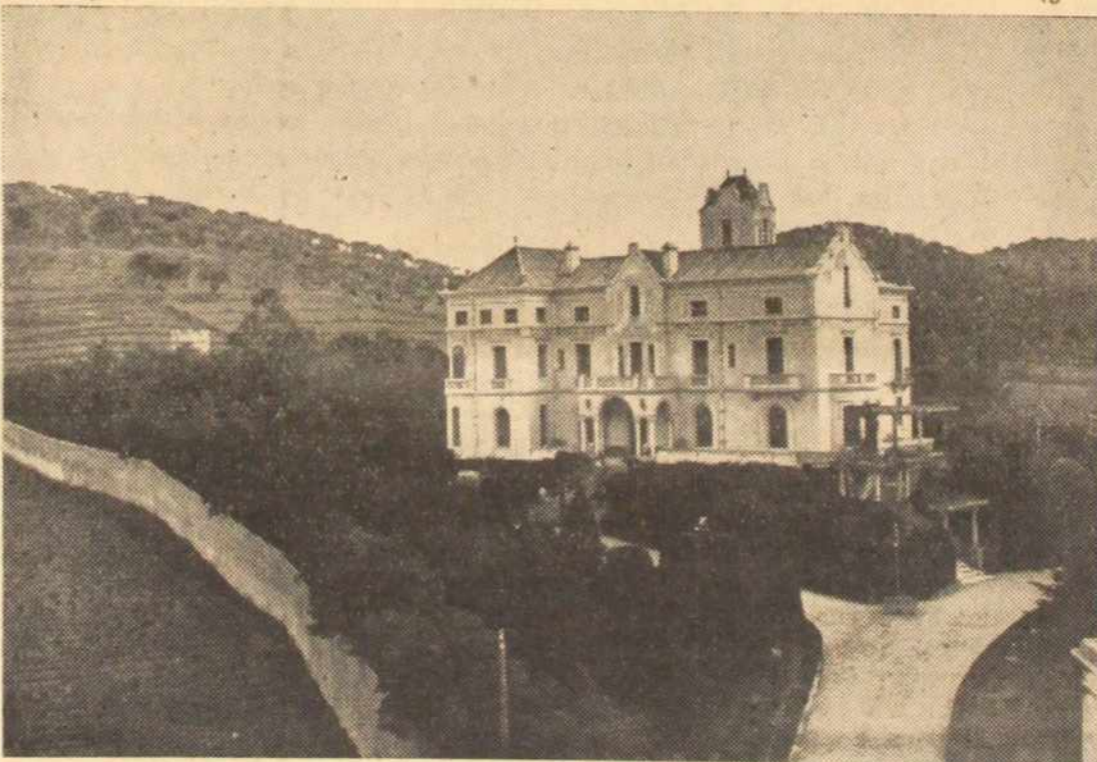
"Many Sundays we go to the cinema or lunch on the mountain slopes. Now in summer we go to the beach to bathe and sun-bathe."

As you see, freedom, good food, fresh air and good comrades. Long live Libertarian Spain!"

This is only one of the letters. Lack of space prevents us from reproducing the others in this issue.

Do you think it worth while continuing this work of human solidarity? If so you cannot hesitate to send your regular contribution, however modest, to our Fund, which thanks mainly to our Comrades in America has now reached the grand total of over £200.

Send all contributions to SPAIN and the WORLD, Whiteway Colony, Stroud, Gloucester.



The Chateau in which the children of the Durruti-Ascaso Colony have found shelter and maternal care.

ORPHANS' FUND

VIIth List (13th July - 2nd Aug.)
Previously acknowledged £131/17/5

- No. 98. Australia, Victoria: G. Panizzon per U. Carrocaro 7/9.
99. Stroud: L. G. Wolfe £1.
100. Stroud: T.H.K. 13/6.
101. Stroud: Anon 2/6.
102. Stroud: J. Parsons 2/-.
103. Bristol: J. Richfield 2/-.
104. London: D. Zhook 5/-.
105. Greenock: J. Marletta Jr. 1/6.
106. U.S.A., Gary, Indiana: Anti-Fascist Committee pro-Spanish Peoples Front (per E. Iglesias) £43/0/0.
107. Plymouth: Miss L. Avery 10/- (T. Edmunds 2/-, F. Warns 2/-, F. Earl 2/-, Goodbody's George St. Branch 2/6, L. Avery 1/-, K. Traiz? 6d.)
108. U.S.A., Pittson, Pa.: Part proceeds picnic (\$25.20) £5/0/10.
109. U.S.A., Buffalo: H. Williams

- 4/-.
110. Australia, Cairns: P. Capra 11/-.
111. London: A.R. 10/-.
112. London: Collected by V.R. friends 16/-.
113. Bristol: J. Richfield, 1/6.
114. Stroud: A. Gemmel 1/-.
115. Palestine: "Workers from Palestine" 15/-.
116. London: C.R. 15/-.
117. London: G. A. Leach 2/-.
118. Detroit, Mich.: International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain (per E. Vivas) £10/0/0.
119. Bronx, N.Y.: "Maria e 57" £2.
120. New Haven, Conn.: per Portoluri £2.
121. London: Manuel (collecting box) 10/4.
122. Toronto, Canada: Libertarian Committee pro Political victims, "proceeds of picnic" (per A. Bortolotti) £8/8/0.
123. Plymouth: J. Veal 10/-.
Total: £210/6/4.

SOLIDARITY FUND

VIIIth List.

San Francisco: Comrades (\$16.50); £3/6/0; Canada, Ontario: List (per D. Giesecke) A. Bortolotti \$1, F.M. \$1, D.G. 10c. - 8/5; Bristol: C. Lewis 2/6; London: Libertarian 5/-; Sheffield: F. W. Chandler 10/-; Chicago, Ill.: Free Society Group per B. Yelensky £3/0/0; Australia: G. Panizzon 7/9; London: Anon 10/-; Canada: M. Prince 4/-; Palestine: "Friends of Spain and the World" 10/-; London: Chapp 4/-; Brooklyn, N.Y.: List No. 137* per Lola Gregoratti (\$9) £1/16/0; White Plain, N.Y.: List No. 97 (per S. de Cicco) - V. Solbes 25c., A. Sanchez 25c., J. Ray 50c., Germinal 25c., - 8/5; Steubenville, Ohio: List No. 8. (per Nick Corrado \$1, R. Boves \$1, B. Fernandez 50c., A. de Nardo 50c., F. Garcia 50c., C. Testono \$1. - £12/0/0; Detroit, Mich.: I. Refrattari, part proceeds picnic £7/6/6; Allentown, Pa.: M. Lucetti 8/-; Neath: S. Mainwaring 1/-; London: P. 5/-; Canada: M. Prince 4/-; Southend: M. Kavanagh £1/0/0; Sheffield: F. W. Chandler 10/-; Providence, R.I.: List 118 (per S. Cimini) - J. Spagnuolo \$1, J. B. Sevril \$1, L. Codagnane 50c., P. di Sabato \$1, C. Pontonio \$1, N. Falaschi \$1, S. Annesi \$1, G. Norantonio \$1, S. Cimini \$1, A. Cimini \$1, P. Cimini \$1, F. Cimini \$1, A. Mercurio 50c., - £2/12/0; Renton, Pa.: List No. 222 (per T. Pradetto) - V. Palmieri 50c., G. Pradetto \$1, M. Dezolt \$1, T. Pradetto \$3.50 - £1/8/0; New Eagle, Pa.: per F. Venturini £1; Newark, N.J.: L. Rovere 4/-; Buffalo, N.Y.: List No. 149 (per Santomieri) H. Williams \$1, C. D'onofrio \$1, S. Scibetta \$1, F. Benvenuti \$1, - 16/-; Detroit, Mich.: Int. Libertarian Comm. against Fascism in Spain (per E. Vivas) £1/15/9; London: Tab. 12/-; London: S.G. (per Farrer) 10/-; Phila., Pa.: Gruppo di C. Operaia (per Polillo), "part proceeds picnic" £2 - Total 33/16/4.

Previously acknowledged: £50/10/0
* Individual donations not entered here owing to the names being illegible.

OUR BALANCE SHEET

INCOME:

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Leeds, P. Barclay 2/6; London, S. Davies 2/6; London, S. C. Smith 2/6; Australia, P. Giaccosa 4/6; Catford, W. G. Priest 2/6; Japan, E.K.N. 3/-; Bristol, J. Richfield 2/6; Australia, J. Fleming 5/-; U.S.A., H. Samuils 4/-; U.S.A., M. Taylor 4/-; London, P. Bernstein 2/6; London, D. Zuck 5/-; Australia, P. Capra 4/6; U.S.A., J. Danny 4/-; U.S.A., G. Teltch 4/-; U.S.A., A. Henracy 4/-; U.S.A., B. Glassberg 4/-; Nottingham, H. Mace 2/6; Palestine, J.T., 2/6; U.S.A., J. Salerno 4/-; U.S.A., Ida Rosenbaum 4/-; U.S.A., S. Ballantine 4/-; U.S.A., J. Scarceriaux 8/-; Edinburgh, J. Thompson 4/6.

Total: £4/10/6

SALES:

London, J.H. 2/1; London, W. Farrer, 7/10; London, E. Man 6/-; London, A.R. £2/8/0; London, W. Farrer 5/8; London, P. Monks 12/6; London, W. 7/-; London, E. Man 8/8; Bristol, C. Lewis 2/6; Canada, D. Giesecke 13/-; San Francisco, A. comrade 4/6; Chicago, B. Yelensky, £2/8/0; Stroud, T. H. Keell £2/3/3; Canada, D. Giesecke £1/2/2; London, E. Man £1/8/6; W. Farrer, £2/11/0; Southend, M. Kavanagh 10/-; Plymouth, T. Edmunds 10/-; Detroit, Mich., J. Solmi 4/-; London, P. Monks 12/6; Neath, S. Mainwaring 7/6; London, A.R. 11/9; Detroit, Mich., per E. Vivas 16/3; London, W. West 2/-; London, E.G. 16/-; Sundries 2/6; London, R. Barr £1/0/0.

Total: £21/3/1

SOLIDARITY FUND, VIIIth List

£33/16/4

EXPENDITURE:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-------------------|-----|----|----|
| Deficit c/forward | 120 | 14 | 4 |
| Printing No. 15 | 12 | 10 | 0 |
| Cutting Blocks | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Wrappers | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| Postages No. 15 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| Printing No. 16 | 15 | 10 | 0 |
| Blocks | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Wrappers | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Postages No. 16 | 2 | 16 | 9 |
| Income | 157 | 1 | 4 |
| | 59 | 9 | 11 |

Deficit £97 11 5

SPAIN and the WORLD

Fortnightly dedicated to the anti-Fascist struggle and the Social Revolution in Spain.

Price 2d.; For U.S.A., 5 cents.

Until further notice all correspondence, moneys for the newspaper and Orphans' Fund should be sent to "SPAIN and the WORLD," WHITEWAY COLONY, STROUD, GLOUCESTER.