

Volume 9, Issue 5, Number 69, December 1986

Emancipation

ANARCHIST ASSOCIATION OF THE AMERICAS

SPAIN'S REVOLUTION A LOOK BACK AT 50

Emancipation honors, this year, the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution. In an article which we hope will be helpful to you in considering how to deal with some of today's problems, Sam Dolgoff maintains that Spanish workers in the 1930s demonstrated the enduring potential for anarchist syndicalist collectivization and organization. And while it is commonly recognized that the workers' revolution was eventually betrayed by its Soviet-backed allies, Dolgoff points out the equally fatal passivity of the liberal republican coalition government, whose suspicion of the revolutionary workers' movement superseded even its opposition to the fascist coup.

(1) THE ANTI-FASCIST COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Our survey of the constructive achievements of the Spanish Revolution must first briefly discuss how an anti-fascist, but also anti-revolutionary, coalition limited the expansion of the most radical revolution in modern history.

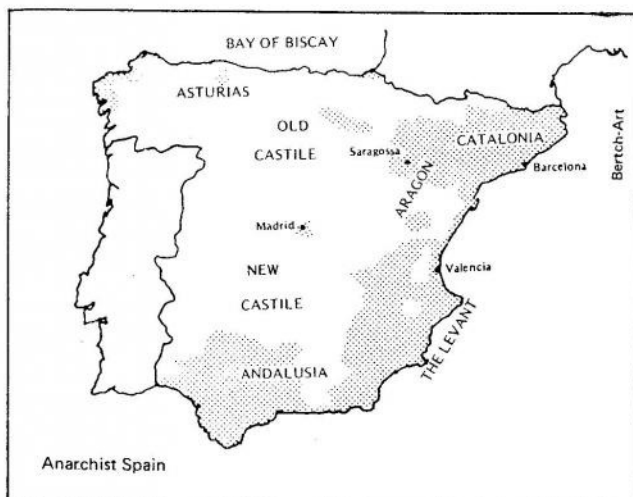
When the Spanish fascists began their military rebellion against the Republic July 19, 1936, the bewildered impotent governments which succeeded each other almost daily tried to appease the fascists, instead of fighting them, and lost popular support. Power rested in the spontaneous people's organizations and committees -- those "People in Arms" (arms, which the government at first refused to distribute). The spontaneous reaction of the masses wiped out the fascists in over half of Spain. To the anarcho-syndicalist CNT (National Confederation of Labor) and FAI (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) belongs the distinction of combining the anti-fascist war with a Libertarian Social Revolution.

But the political parties; the Socialist Party-controlled UGT (General Union of Workers) with a million members; the bourgeois republicans; Basque and Catalan nationalists; landlords; industrial and commercial capitalists; middle class journalists; educators and other professionals; local, provincial, municipal, and national members of Spain's vast bureau-

cratic apparatus -- all of these fought to reinforce the power of the state. All of them were determined to undermine and finally to crush the Revolution. They far outnumbered the revolutionists and dominated almost all of Republican Spain. Though considerable, the anarchist influence was nevertheless confined primarily to Barcelona, other parts of Catalonia, and a few other areas. Even there, counter-revolutionary elements, although weaker, joined the campaign to sabotage and undermine the revolution.

The anarcho-syndicalists could not ignore the magnitude of the obstacles blocking the development of the Social Revolution. They could not sweep away the anti-fascist enemies who were fighting together with them against fascism (and who controlled access to weapons and ammunition). Nor could they possibly establish an anarchist dictatorship (which would have violated our principles) over most of Republican Spain. The anti-fascist counter-revolutionists would certainly not allow themselves to be exterminated. The anarcho-syndicalists could not provoke a civil war in the anti-fascist camp which would ensure the victory of fascism, especially when hopes of the final victory over the fascists ran high.

The coalition against the Social Revolution was not improvised on the spur of the moment. It had been long in the making. The coalition could not, in view of the situation and the power of the CNT-FAI, risk a premature frontal attack. They



therefore resorted to sabotage, harassment, and other underhanded tactics. The "Generalidad" (Catalonian government) even during the crucial period before the fascist attack, repeatedly refused to supply any arms to the workers, even while lavishly supplying its own police force. Just two days before the fascists stormed Barcelona, the government censor prohibited the publication of *Solidaridad Obrera* (organ of the Catalonian CNT-FAI) containing a manifesto detailing last-minute arrangements for the defense of Barcelona and encouraging workers' resistance. (The Manifesto was illegally printed and distributed all over the city and suburbs.)

Largo Caballero, architect of the Revolution, and who participated in the events he depicts, sums up the situation: "Alongside the revolutionary organization of the anarcho-syndicalists, the reinforced structure of national, civilian, administrative, economic, police and (although weakened) military apparatus of the state remained intact. The state gradually supplanted the revolutionary groups, first by limiting their actions, then by constraining them to work within the legal system, and later brutally eliminating them." (Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, page 111)

(2) SPANISH REVOLUTION MORE PROFOUND THAN RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In spite of monumental obstacles, the Libertarian Social Revolution was, as much as possible, put into effect by the herculean efforts of our heroic comrades. Even the Spanish dissident Marxist-Leninist Andreas Nin conceded that the Spanish anarchist revolution was "a revolution even more profound than the Russian Revolution itself...." (Broue and Temine, Revolution and Civil War in Spain, pg 170, French edition.)

And Leon Trotsky -- architect, together with his fellow tyrant, Lenin, of the Russian counter-revolution -- admitted that: "economically, politically and culturally the Spanish workers at the beginning of the Revolution were not inferior, but superior to the Russian Proletariat at the beginning of 1917...." (ibid., page 131) The purged Bolshevik "Left Opposi-



tionist" Victor Serge (a former anarchist who had not rejected all that he had learned) criticized the criminal policies of the Bolshevik administrators in dealing with the economic crisis. In seeking a better solution to the economic problems, Serge (unintentionally) illustrated the relevance of Anarchist organizational principles: initiative of groups of producers and consumers and other associations to take over the management of different branches of the economy. The economy should not be planned from above by the State dictatorship, but managed, coordinated and harmonized by congresses, initiatives and assemblies from below. (Memoirs of a Revolutionist, pages 147-149.)

Unfortunately, these creative forms of social life (unions, soviets, cooperatives and other grass-roots organizations) -- exhausted by years of war and privation -- were not able to withstand the ruthless onslaughts of the well-organized Communist Party.

(3) *THE SCOPE OF THE REVOLUTION -- DIRECT DEMOCRACY*

Over one million workers socialized 75% of industry in Catalonia, the stronghold of

the anarcho-syndicalist labor movement. At least one million workers in 1,500 libertarian agricultural collectives expropriated and cultivated at least 60% of the land in Republican Spain. Contrary to the fallacious Marxist contention that anarchism is an impractical utopia realizable, if at all, only in primitive isolated communities, the Spanish Revolution proved that anarchist organizational principles can be successfully applied on a vast scale in industrial and agrarian associations.

Contrary to Lenin's cynical dictum that "freedom is a bourgeois virtue," and that only a "proletarian dictatorship" commanded by a totalitarian communist State can make the social revolution, the fullest direct people's democracy was practiced "in all the syndicates throughout Spain; in all trades and all industries; in assemblies which in Barcelona, from the very beginnings of our movement, brought together hundreds or thousands of workers; in all the collectivized villages, which comprised at least 60% of 'republican' Spain's agriculture." (Gaston Leval, Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, eyewitness report, page 206.) ►

(4) URBAN INDUSTRIAL SOCIALIZATION

The CNT countered the fascist coup with a revolutionary general strike, but once the street fighting was over the anarchists did not forget one of the most important observations expounded by Kropotkin in his classic work, The Conquest of Bread. A hungry people is always at the mercy of a demagogue. The first task of revolutionaries is to organize the distribution of food and the restoration of essential public services. This was accomplished by the supply committees in the working class neighborhoods and by the public service workers.

It was no small achievement to feed and restore the economic life of Barcelona, a city of one million five hundred thousand -- the most populous in Spain. The supply committees (actually called committees of control and management) were organized by the food industry unions. These unions together with the restaurant workers opened communal dining halls in each neighborhood. Over 120,000 people were fed daily, free of charge, in open restaurants upon presentation of their union cards.

In August 1936, only a month after the fascist assault was repulsed, the large wholesale food establishments were socialized. Thirty unions organized themselves into the food workers industrial union (bakers, butchers, dairy workers, etc.). All the unions administered their own workplaces through general membership assemblies, doing away with the bosses. They embraced all Catalonia, and 500 workers coordinated operations. Socialization was originally expedited by 18 industrial unions (later reduced to 15 by the Valencia Economic Congress of 1938).

Socialization in Barcelona included construction, the metal industry, bakeries, slaughter houses, public utilities (water, gas and electricity), transportation, health services, workshops, theaters and cinemas, beauty parlors and barber shops, hotels and boarding places. A defense industry was constructed largely from scratch. Where wages could not be abolished, the wages of lower-paid workers were increased and high salaries in the

upper brackets reduced.

The takeover of industry was surprisingly quick and proved beyond the slightest doubt that -- contrary to the Marxist-Leninist belief that only bureaucrats, highly placed executives, and personnel appointed by the party can direct economic life -- modern industry can be efficiently and democratically conducted by cooperating workers, technicians and engineers. A few examples:

More than half the telephone lines were destroyed by grenades during the fighting. Without waiting for orders for anyone, the workers restored normal service in three days, and new lines were installed in union halls and militia centers. Once the emergency work was completed, a general membership meeting of telephone workers decided to collectivize the telephone system.

Municipal transportation: During the fighting with the fascists, the streets were torn up and obstructed by barricades.

Continued on page 6



os ha
nacido
una vida
que os
capacitará
para un
trabajo
digno y una
existencia
humana.

"Every person is born with the capacity for dignified work and a humane existence."

Lessons ... Richards

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, by Vernon Richards.
Freedom Press-London. 256 pages.

With the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and the Spanish peoples' anarchist revolution, a number of new works have appeared which propose to describe and explain this extraordinary era of revolutionary activity and international politics and deceit. Several of these books from large-scale, big time publishers are just warmed-over, generalized historical works which offer readers no real understanding of the events and forces that created the revolution and civil war.

The publishers might as well have saved the ink and paper because a number of excellent volumes on the Spanish revolution have been available for years from small presses. One of the best is Vernon Richards' Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, first published in English in 1953 and still available from Freedom Press.

In Spain in the early 1930s, power and the operation of force were in the hands of an aggressive capitalism, the Church (which maintained its own bands of well-paid thugs and assassins), and the military officers' caste. Even with liberal republicans and socialists in office, centralized power remained in the same hands, and the repression against workers and peasants throughout Spain was savage and constant. The Spanish anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists held a form of secondary power or anti-power: allied with the millions of workers, artisans, landless peasants, and smallholders, they possessed as much power as they allowed themselves through the might of their organization and class solidarity. The anarchist objective (as Richards writes) was "to bring together the exploited masses in the struggle for day-to-day improvements of working and economic conditions and for revolutionary destruction of capitalism and the state" by achieving a social system based on the free commune federated at local, regional, and national levels, and allowing for individual and group autonomy.

When Franco's fascists attacked Spain in 1936, it was not the army of republican Spain that stood against the coup. It was the anarchist and syndicalist unions and general working classes who rose, halted the fascists, and then made the libertarian revolution in towns and countryside. Soon after this it was the liberal government that took back the workers' arms, began collaboration with the communist party, exchanged the nation's gold for Soviet management, and lost the three-year war to Franco.

The lessons of the war are clear, according to Richards (though he is quick to point out that "the lessons of the



Continued on page 10



Spanish Revolution . . .

Continued from page 4

Working around the clock, service was restored in only five days after fighting ceased. Instead of 600, 700 newly painted trollies in the red and black colors of the CNT/FAI were placed in service. Better service was provided for more riders (an increase of 50 million trips in one year, with reduction of fares). This was achieved because the union trades coordinated their work into one industrial union of transport workers.

The Catalanian Railroads were socialized and operated by the CNT Federation of Railway Workers. Normal service was restored in a short time and the new administration arranged bus and truck service to remote areas previously deprived of adequate service.

Water, Gas, and Electricity: The Federated Public Utility Industrial Union of Catalonia (of the CNT) socialized water, gas, and electric facilities. Foreign observers were amazed to see how quickly and smoothly the changeover from private to collective management was achieved.

Collectivization of Optical Workshops: The revolution collectivized small, badly equipped, inefficient enterprises. Owners who accepted collectivization were admitted to membership on equal terms with their former employees. Sexual discrimination was abolished, and equal wages for men and women instituted. The family wage was paid even for unemployed dependents not in the optical industry. A new, modern workshop was constructed and an up-to-date trade school was established. (The workers presented Buenaventura Durruti with a special set of field glasses.)



Socialization of Health Services: The health workers union of the CNT, founded in September 1936 (just two months after the defeat of the fascist attack in Barcelona), united all health workers from doctors to porters into the one big union of health workers. Six new hospitals were opened in Barcelona and eight sanitariums were installed in converted luxurious homes situated amidst mountains and pine forests. One of them, for the treatment of tuberculosis, was considered among the finest anywhere in the world. In Catalonia, 36 health centers in 27 towns provided health services so thoroughly that every hamlet, every peasant, every woman, every child anywhere received free, adequate medical care and drugs. Racketeering doctors who took advantage of the incompetence and corruption of the authorities were discharged and replaced by dedicated, socially-conscious doctors at

wages not much higher than the average worker's.

Contrary to Marxist doctrine, the experience of the Spanish Revolution clearly demonstrated the superiority of libertarian organizational procedures over authoritarian methods. The Marxists did not even begin to grasp the elementary principles of social reconstruction. These self-styled "builders of socialism" had not the foggiest notion of how to organize even a village collective, much less to restore the free economic life of the great Russian nation.

(5) THE AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES

The key Marxist theory of "economic determinism" -- that socialism can be realized only by the proletariat in highly indus-

trialized countries, never by "backward peasants" -- is false. Revolutionary upheavals in this century came not to industrialized countries, but to primarily rural, underdeveloped countries such as China and Russia. During the Spanish Social Revolution, libertarian communism was almost entirely realized in the smaller rural areas. Marx had no confidence in the creative revolutionary capacities of agricultural workers. "Rural idiocy" was one of his favorite phrases. The experience of the authoritarian Bolshevik Revolution demonstrates that a revolution which provokes the resistance of the peasants -- that cannot (or will not) establish solidarity between urban and rural workers -- must inevitably degenerate into a counter-revolutionary dictatorship.



The first bus built in the workshops of the collectivized General Autobus Company.

Collectivization was not, as in the Soviet Union or Cuba, imposed from above, but achieved from below by the initiative of the peasants themselves. Nor did the libertarian collectives, like Stalin, adopt disastrous measures to force the poor peasant proprietors to join state farms. On the contrary, the collectives respected the rights of individual peasants who worked the land themselves and did not employ wage labor, relying on persuasion and example to convince them to join the collectives. By and large, this

policy was remarkably effective -- so effective that even when government troops under control of the Spanish Communist Party forcibly dismantled several of the collectives, peasants reorganized them as soon as the troops had left.

A unique characteristic of the Spanish Revolution was the achievement of close relations between rural and urban workers. Years of agitation and joint struggles was very effective in coping with one of the most crucial problems of every revolution: good relations between the industrial proletariat and agricultural workers. The intermeshing of local, regional and national federations of peasant collectives with the federations of socialized industries was the culmination of a long process which traces back to the latter half of the 19th century.

In 1892, 21,000 out of 57,000 members of the anarcho-syndicalist federation were agrarian workers. Incipient peasant insurrections for the establishment of "Communismo Libertario" continued up to the outbreak of the Civil War and Revolution. An eyewitness account illustrating the sentiments of the peasants is recalled by Augustine Souchy. When the Muniesa collective was established, on the table lay a copy of Kropotkin's Conquest of Bread. One of the members read aloud extracts from the book: "Here at last is the new Gospel! Here is written in black and white how to institute well-being for all!" (With the Peasants of Aragon)

The collectives eliminated most of the parasitic elements from rural life, and would have done so altogether if they were not protected by corrupt officials and the political parties. Many peasants who did not join the collectives (the collectivists called them "individualists") benefited indirectly from the lower prices, as well as from free services rendered by the collectives (schools, laundries, beauty parlors, cinemas, etc.).

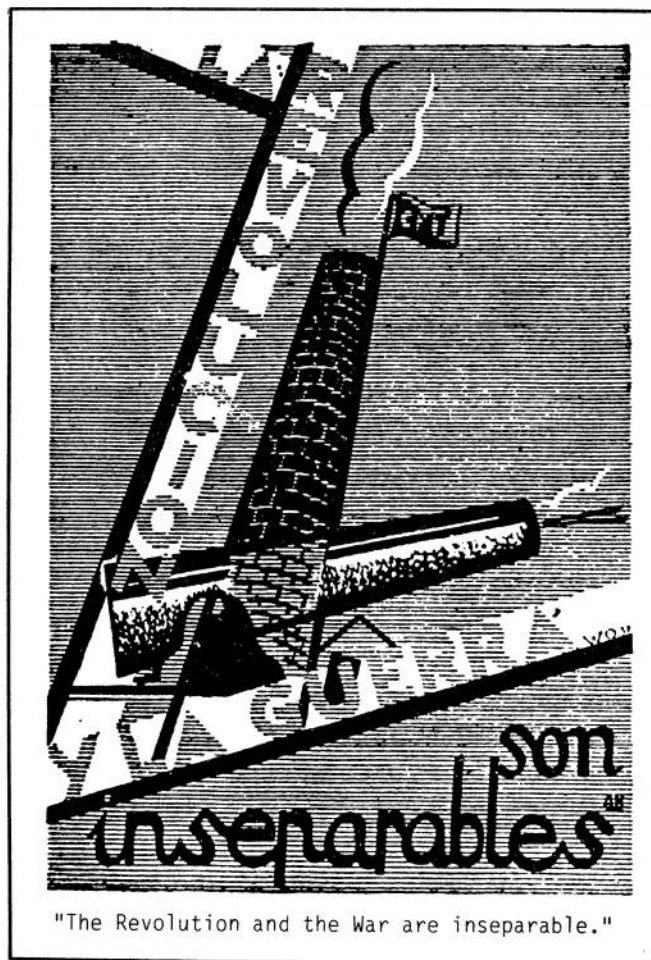
The Calanda collective operated a barber shop giving free haircuts and shaves. To prevent hoarding and assure equitable and just sharing of goods and services, the

official national money was replaced by vouchers bearing no interest and not negotiable outside the collective. Food was distributed in quantity and rationed when in short supply. Medical care and medicines were free. There was no rent. Housing, building repairs, water, gas, electricity were supplied gratis. The village generated its own power from a waterfall. There was no scarcity of clothing. By arrangement with a Barcelona textile plant, olive oil was exchanged for cloth. Garments were distributed in rotation to forty persons daily.

In Graus (Aragon) each family was allotted a piece of land for its own use, be it to raise chickens, rabbits, or whatever. Seed and fertilizer were provided to grow vegetables. There was no longer need to employ hired labor, nor (as before the Revolution) for young girls to seek employment as servants in Catalonia or in France. The collective made truly remarkable progress, raising the standard of living by fifty to one hundred percent in a few months. When a collectivist wished to marry he was given a week's holiday with full pay. The collective's cooperative provided a house completely equipped and furnished. All the services of the collective were available to the collectivist. His rights were respected, and his obligations voluntarily assumed. All decisions affecting him and his fellow workers were democratically made in full and open assemblies of all the collectivists.

(6) COORDINATION OF COLLECTIVES

To coordinate their operations the collectives organized themselves into district federations. The Binefar (Aragon) district federation coordinated the transactions of 32 collectives. Each collective informed the district office of surplus food and supplies, which was exchanged for products in short supply with other collectives in Aragon and Catalonia. In case of need the peasants could call on industrial workers to work in the fields. For example, clothing workers helped with the harvest.



Each of the 54 district federations affiliated to the Peasant Federation of Levant (capital, Valencia) including a panel of specialists -- technicians, bookkeepers, a veterinarian, an architect, an agronomist, a specialist on commercial relations, etc., almost all of them members of the CNT. (A similar system was also adopted by the Aragon Federation of Peasants.) The 54 district federations coordinated their operations through five regional federations to constitute the Peasant Federation of Levant. This setup assured efficient distribution and coordination of services on both a district and regional basis. (The destruction of the collectives by the anti-revolutionary groupings and fascist victory prevented nationwide coordination.) "In the region of Valencia, the center of the great orange industry, the CNT set up an organization for purchasing, packing, and exporting the

orange crop with a network of 270 committees in different towns and villages, eliminating from this important trade several thousand middlemen..." (Burnett Bolloten, The Grand Camouflage, 1961, page 49) The collectives cultivated 75% of all the rice grown in Spain.

The engineers introduced the very latest irrigation construction on a large scale, particularly in the Murcia and Villajoysa regions. In Villajoysa the construction of a huge dam brought water to more than a million parched almond trees. Throughout the region, architects designed construction. Improvements made in accordance with general plans embracing the whole region included a center for the study of plant diseases and tree culture, schools of agriculture, new housing and new roads. All projects were worked through the cooperative efforts of the workers, technicians, and collectives at general assemblies and technical councils.

(7) CONCLUSIONS

There are important things that those concerned with developing a worldwide movement for workers' self-management -- the indispensable condition for the free society -- can learn from the rich experience of the Spanish Revolution. The embattled workers successfully translated the revolutionary principles of self-management or free socialism into concrete achievements.

The workers engaged in providing goods and services -- *all* workers, including technicians, engineers, scientists, experts in all fields, all -- efficiently conducted the socialized industries and agricultural collectives. The free associations created by the revolution were not miniature states. Power was not imposed from the "top down" nor surrendered to the bosses from the "bottom up", but remained within the associations themselves.

The contemporary significance of the Spanish Revolution lies not so much in the specific measures improvised a half century ago under extremely difficult circumstances by the socialized industries and

agricultural collectives, but in the application to modern life of the fundamental principles which must determine the direction of struggles leading to the realization of a free society.

Sam Dolgoff

*(This article first appeared in the November 1986 issue of **Libertarian Labor Review**, an anarcho-syndicalist journal published twice yearly. Sample copies are \$2 from P.O. Box 2824, Station A, Champaign, IL, 61820.)*

Lessons . . .

Continued from page 5

Spanish experience have no bearing on the validity of anarchism"): factions and leaders within the C.N.T. came to believe in compromise in the face of the emergency of civil war and thus undercut and disarmed the only element that could have defeated the fascists -- the Spanish people themselves, just as the people had broken the back of Napoleon's invasion of 1810. The rank and file also come in for equal criticism, because they forgot their own abilities and looked to "leaders" for decisions and action. Anarchists have no role to play in a parliamentary system but will find their victories only in direct action, the free commune, and the council of sisters and brothers.

Richards here offers a step-by-step progression of this tragic story. The book does great honor to anarchists who never lost sight of their objective and principles; it is an essential book for all direct actionists. (Very good descriptive bibliography. Can be ordered from Freedom Books, 84-B Whitechapel High St., London E-1, U.K.)

Brian Cody



Dolgoff memoirs

Fragments: a memoir, by Sam Dolgoff.
Refract Publications. 200 pages.

"What is an anarchist?" The eagerly awaited, wonderfully realized memoirs of Sam Dolgoff provide interesting answers to an old question.

Brought from Russia by his parents in 1907, Sam found poverty and wealth in a lower east side New York slum: physical poverty but the great wealth of a culture in which people practiced mutual aid as if they had been reading their Kropotkin. Sam points out that "social scientists, state 'welfarists' and state socialists, busily engaged in mapping out newer and greater areas for state control, should take note of the vast network of cooperative fraternities and associations" that at the turn of the century, had been created. At age 83, he is still busy exploring means by which we might replace the state welfare system with a people-controlled cooperative one built (at least partly) on existing associations.

As a "low-paid, exploited wage slave" of a "rebellious temperament", young Sam Dolgoff was "most receptive to the socialist message" and he joined the Young Peoples Socialist League. But the "pronouncements of the high priests of the socialist church" and "lust for power between sectarian political connivers" had soon repelled him. Socialist support for US involvement in the First World War was the last straw. (Norman Thomas put it so well: socialists of the various nation-states had begun "killing each other just as if they were Christians.") After they had put Sam on trial and expelled him for "insubordination", one of his judges told him that he was really an anarchist, not a socialist. "So," says Sam, "I asked him, 'What is their address?' "

What luck! In Fragments we now have the record of over 50 years of living anarchism as well as personal recollections of many of the great anarchists of the Americas and Europe -- and of their ideas and their ideals. Sam and his "companera/wife", Esther, have been and are still in the midst of the fray. Un-



daunted by "inevitable mistakes, disappointments, and heartbreaks", they are sustained "by the conviction that the perennial struggle for freedom and social justice will continue." In a very fine appendix, Sam suggests that we give up a pipe dream that we have carried too long: the revolution that will magically usher in a perfect society. In a world of imperfect people, our effort should be this: to extend as widely and as quickly as possible all possible areas of freedom. And to remind one and all that "harmony between means and ends is the guiding principle of anarchism."

If your favorite radical bookstore does not yet carry Fragments, we suggest that you harass them until they do. Then, if you are in a hurry, go ahead and order a copy (at \$12 plus \$1 for mailing) either from Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1740 Greenleaf Ave., Suite 7, Chicago, IL 60626; or from Refract Publications, BCM Refract, London WC1N 3XX, England.

Worthy books on Spain

Readers seeking accurate reports and well-informed judgments on the Spanish war can begin with the work of a front-line reporter, Burnett Bolloten, whose The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the Struggle for Power During the Civil War is available from the University of North Carolina Press.

Two of the best books by historian-participants are Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, by Jose Peirats (self-published and hard to get, but check a major anarchist outlet like Libertarian Book Club or Wooden Shoe), and Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, by Gaston Leval (recently published by Freedom Press, London).

A very readable book is Durruti: The People Armed, by Abel Paz (Free Life - Black Rose Books). It gives valuable details from inside the militant anarchist faction.

For general background and understanding read The Anarchist Collectives, edited by Sam Dolgoff (Free Life Books); and The Anarchists of Casas Viejas, by Jerome R. Mintz (Univ. of Chicago Press). Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution, edited by David Porter (Commonground Press, New Paltz, N.Y.), is very good. And another fine on-the-scene study is With the Peasants of Aragon: Libertarian Communism in the Liberated Areas, by Augustin Souchy Bauer (Cienfuegos-Soil of Liberty Press).

A general history highly prejudiced against anarchists is the popular Spanish Civil War, by Hugh Thomas (Harper's) from 1961. There is no real reason for anyone to read Thomas, except perhaps to observe the Establishment perspective in full gallop.

CNT --- the Struggle Continues

On the eve of this 50th anniversary of the Anarchist Revolution, Spain's current Socialist government made an attempt to bury forever the social revolutionary aspects of the '36 fight against the Fascist coup. While never denying the anarcho-syndicalist nature of the syndicates participating in the fifth national congress of the CNT-FAI held in Madrid in December 1979, the government opted to try to disallow the legality of this congress. It chose instead to recognize the subsequent Congress of Reunification, an event that degenerated into a conflict requiring the police to intervene in favor of a secessionist group which attempted to take over the CNT. In court, the government declared the acrimonious Congress of Reunification to be the only LEGAL congress held by the CNT since Franco's death, and that the social-democratic splinter group, as the only LEGAL CNT in Spain, was entitled to receive reimbursement of the millions of pesetas stolen from CNT-FAI under Franco's fascist regime.

