

Spanish Revolution

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

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REPORTS FROM SPAIN

(Continued from page 1)

The organization of the economy is in the hands of the C.N.T.

The Revolutionary Defense Committee has formed a committee for economic organization which is in contact with the food and transportation unions and with local cooperatives. Goods are delivered by the committee.

Life at Valls

Inform. Bur. of F.A.I. & C.N.T., Barcelona

BARCELONA, SPAIN, July 30, 1936.

—Great enthusiasm prevails here. The fact that there was very little fighting here facilitated the reorganization of work, and the few reforms it undertook, were accepted with indifference. The influence of the C.N.T. is shown by the desire of the people for radical change.

Many arrests and requisitions took place. There was a great shortage of arms, especially in view of the large number of military volunteers. The military committee was composed as follows:

- 2 delegates for the Esquerra.
- 2 delegates for the P.O.U.M. (Workers Party of Marxist Unity).
- 2 delegates for the Socialist Union of Catalonia.
- 1 delegate for the U.G.T.
- 5 delegates for the anarchists.

A people's kitchen, directed by the C.N.T., was installed. The local federation of the C.N.T. now has its headquarters in the Franciscan Convent which was requisitioned by the anti-Fascist Committee.

Priests Force Peasants to Defend the Churches

Inform. Bur. of F.A.I. & C.N.T., Barcelona

As soon as the priests of Vic and the surrounding territory learned what was taking place in Barcelona, they called on the peasants to help them. Many refused, but they were forced to come to the churches to defend them. When the anti-Fascist militia was apprised of this, they proceeded to capture the churches. In one church they found the priests disguised as peasants. They were able to distinguish between priests and

To the Workers and Peasants of Spain!

To the Working Class the World Over!

A great battle, an epic battle, is raging today in Spain, one which has thrust the laboring masses squarely against all their exploiters. Fascism in Spain is playing its trump card. The military putsch of General Franco, backed up by the Fascist, Robles, and the banker-adventurer, March, was initiated in the army of the recently elected "Popular Front" government. The government realized from the beginning that it could scarcely rely on its officers and generals. It, therefore, called directly upon the working masses. Only then did the real battle begin, the battle of the Social Revolution against Fascism. And the battle continues with our C.N.T. (the Spanish Anarcho-Sindicalist Confederation of Labor) in the front lines. The detachments of our fighters, after having crushed the Fascists in Barcelona, are moving on towards Saragossa to do the same there. In Madrid, Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, Gijon and among the heroic Asturians, the red-and-black flag of the C.N.T. and the F. A. I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) waves on the barricades, on armored motor cars, on the cannons, the machine guns and the rifles. The masses cannot fail to be victorious, no matter the vicissitudes of the moment, nor the losses we may suffer. The working class everywhere is passionately following the progress of the battle and already is beginning to hear the cry of victory over Spanish Fascism, the first breach in the solid front of world Fascism.

We of the International Workingman's Association, of which the Spanish C.N.T. is the most powerful revolutionary pivot, hope that with the aid of our constituent sections in Europe, Asia and America, the workers and peasants of Spain, after their victory, will be able to carry to fruition their full emancipation and will not permit any miscarriage of the inevitable and triumphant Social Revolution.

Long live the C.N.T.!

Long live the Social Revolution!

Long live Libertarian Communism!

—THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

What the Spanish Revolutionists Want

The following letter was sent to the Anarchist Union of France by Pierre Albert, one of the French comrades who went to Spain to help fight the Fascists:

Puigcerda, July 27, 1936.

We arrived at Puigcerda yesterday morning and found even greater enthusiasm than we had hoped for.

The people are armed, which is a good sign. They shall not permit anyone to take from them their instruments of emancipation. Of that we can be sure.

The organization is perfect; the syndicalists and members of the F.A.I. make no attempt to dominate the other parties in the Workers Alliance. Despite their indisputable influence they have done what, in my opinion, is right. But what is important is that all the decisions taken by the Revolutionary Committee bear the imprint of Anarcho-sindicalism.

Last night the Revolutionary Committee decreed the following:

1. The destruction of all records of claims to private property.
2. A struggle for proper social hygiene.
3. The abolition of hovels as dwelling places, and the confiscation of all real estate. All claimants will have to register immediately with the Revolutionary Committee.

4. The 36-hour week for all categories of workers.

5. A merciless battle for the complete annihilation of Fascism.

All Fascists attempting to obstruct revolutionary action will be properly dealt with.

I must be very brief because we must leave this morning for Saragossa or perhaps Barcelona in order to join those forces marching against the Fascist insurgents in the center of Spain.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades,

Pierre Albert.

Economic Life in Villanueva and Geltrú Controlled by Anti-Fascists

Inform. Bur. of F.A.I. & C.N.T., Barcelona

All buildings here were kept intact except those deemed useless by the people. The Catholic Seat has been converted into a popular restaurant, the Traditionalist center into a food cooperative and military headquarters, and the circle of the Regionalist League into headquarters of the C.N.T.

The church and the C.E.D.A. local have been requisitioned by the Libertarian Youth.

The P.O.U.M. has requisitioned the Religious College. In Villanueva and Geltrú that organization had no strength before the revolution. The Monks College has been requisitioned by the U.G.T.

The anti-Fascist Committee edits a bulletin. It controls the telegraphs and telephones.

FRANCISCO ASCASO

Hero of the Revolution

Francisco Ascaso was born in the town of Almudevas in the province of Huesca in the year 1901. At a very early age he became acquainted with the Anarchist movement. During the course of a tumultuous strike in Saragossa, he was arrested and condemned to death. Due to his extreme youth he was pardoned.

In 1923 the reactionary movement in Spain took on added impetus. The soul of this movement in Saragossa was Cardinal Soldevila, who was killed in a political attentat. Ascaso, suspected of having participated in this murder, was arrested; torture awaited him, but he fled the country before the trail.

Primo de Rivera was declared dictator of Spain. A bloody persecution ensued. There was dire need of money to aid the victims and their families. Ascaso was determined to get money, cost what it may. The Spanish government started a relentless search for him and put a price on his head. He again had to flee for his life and this time went to the Argentine. Here he preached his revolutionary doctrine and soon became involved with the Argentine government. For the second time he was condemned to death. He escaped to Europe but this "dangerous" Anarchist was denied sanctuary by all the countries of Europe. Ordered out of France, not even permitted to land in Germany, the whole world talked of the revolutionary activities of this young anarchist. With his friends, Buenaventura Durutti and Jover, he started a splendid revolutionary paper. In Belgium he found a temporary asylum.

The Spanish April revolution enabled him to return to Spain. He threw himself wholeheartedly into the revolution. Durutti and Ascaso took an active part in some of the fiercest battles of this revolution. Ascaso was both orator and fighter. On the platform one was impressed by his logic, on the battlefield his generalship. With rifle and revolver he stormed the Fascist headquarters and the military camps of Fascist followers. Day and night he fought tirelessly. The strength and morale of the fighting proletariat of Barcelona staggered the enemy under the heroic leadership of Ascaso and Durutti.

On the morning of July 19, with incomparable heroism, they repulsed a terrific attack. In the district of Santa Monica and nearby streets the members of the C.N.T. fought with unbelievable fury. In the neighborhood of Columbus' statue, on the outskirts of the district, and adjoining the waterfront, the Fascists set up a machine gun and directed their fire upon our men, who under the leadership of Francisco Ascaso threatened to capture their position. The Fascists raised the white flag of surrender. When our comrades, with Ascaso in the van, approached to take them, the Fascists trained their machine guns on them. Riddled by innumerable bullets, Ascaso died fighting.

The death of the comrades who fell in this battle against the Spanish Fascists filled our hearts with sadness, but the loss of Ascaso is irreparable.

We shall avenge him, yes we will avenge him.

Victory In Valencia

VALENCIA, SPAIN (FP)—(By airplane to Paris)—For a week the tension in Valencia was so great that nobody slept or went home. The workers camped in the streets.

The civic authorities had refused to open the arsenals and arm the people's militia, as Madrid had ordered. At the end of the town, across the river, three regiments of soldiers were confined to barracks. They gave no sign of sympathy. But their officers were known to be adherents of the Fascist rebellion. Any moment it was feared that the troops might march in, occupy the town, and set up a white terror. The workers covered the city with barricades in anticipation of a fierce struggle. They were going to receive the military with cobblestones and kitchen knives and with their bare hands if need be.

The colonel commanding the regiment of engineers called his men in the square of the barracks. "We will occupy Valencia this morning," he said. "Tomorrow we march on Madrid."

He had not the words out of his mouth before he fell forward . . . dead. A sergeant named Jose Fabra had killed him. A moment later all the officers of the regiment were dead. Then the engineers marched out into town and joined the people. Arms were distributed.

The civilian governor, a new one, had given the rebellious troops three hours to surrender or be blown up. Inside the city Fascist elements began to fire from the roofs of the houses. Storm parties, chiefly composed of women, began a systematic cleanup campaign of the Fascist nests. Human bodies came tumbling into the streets. Cordons of armed workers barred off the fashionable quarters of the city.

Two mornings later shops opened hesitatingly. I wanted to go out and watch the battle for the citadel held by the rebels. Its guns fired point-blank into the city, setting many houses on fire. From the roofs Fascists threw down lumps of stone and slabs of lead and fired pistols. You had to rush and dash from porch to porch to make any headway. Then a militiaman came running into town shouting: "The rebels are surrendering. The white flag is up!"

I ran with thousands towards the citadel. In a corner of the drill ground lay the bodies of Fascist officers, executed by the lancers before their surrender. A peasant had got hold of a trombone and was playing the Internationale, while everybody uncovered. Just at that moment the artilleryists arrived from their neighboring barracks, where they too had killed their officers. People embraced each other. A glorious, wild dance was started. The parade ground rocked with the stamp of the heavily-shod feet of the cavalry. Men, women, children danced in huge rings-around-the-rosie, in pairs, singly, shouting, dancing, singing. One man held a big globe in his hand, taken from the officers' library, and he was hugging the whole world.

In the evening there were fireworks. The syndicates published a manifesto, saying: "Valencia is free of Fascism. Tomorrow work resumes after 11 days of general strike. After this the people of Valencia will have to organize their own lives in freedom."

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES

The Defense Committee of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. appeals to all workers and anti-fascists. Especially do they appeal to all conscientious writers and reporters.

"It is not we who are the foes of order, but the militarists and fascists. The heroic work of the F.A.I. and C.N.T. in combination with other workers crushed the fascist uprising in Catalonia. But Fascism has still not been vanquished. Thousands of our comrades have surrounded Saragossa. We are putting up a terrific struggle to save our comrades here and in the rest of Spain. Our fight must be successful. Freedom must win over slavery.

"The hunger-driven workers of Spain are not looters and rapists. Even the bourgeois reporters, in all but the most unscrupulous of Capitalist papers have expressed admiration for the orderliness and respect for foreigners that the workers of Catalonia are showing. The unscrupulous are spreading their lies about the Spanish Revolutionists. Particularly are they venting their spleen against the revolutionary workers of Barcelona.

"We appeal to you, friends of freedom. Do not believe the manufactured stories about murders, robberies and disorders in Catalonia. Remember that our fight is your fight. If we fall, Fascism will triumph in many other countries. Our victory will be the victory of the international fight for freedom against international Fascism. Our victory will be the victory of human progress. Workers and anti-fascists of the world—help us! We are the vanguard of the international workers' movement in our fight against the enemies of everything that is human. Do not allow lies to be spread about the heroic fighters for Spanish and world freedom. We need your sympathy and help. We are sure that at this moment of battle you will not forsake us.

NATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR.
IBERIAN ANARCHIST FEDERATION."

Friends of the Spanish Revolution are urged to take this appeal to heart. Our Spanish comrades need not only your sympathy but financial aid as well. Funds can be addressed directly to us. Receipts will be sent to you immediately and the monies will be shipped abroad at once. Now, if ever, you must make every effort. Is there any sacrifice you can make which will be comparable to the sacrifices our Spanish comrades are making in their life and death struggle with the forces of barbarism!

HELP NOW!

HELP NOW!

The Role of the C.N.T. And The F.A.I. In Spain

(Continued from page 3)

C.N.T. Both organizations work close together. The F.A.I. is an organization which aims to uphold the anarchist traditions in the Spanish labor movement. It consists of a great number of young active comrades who are always ready to place themselves in the forefront of the social struggle. Every member of the F.A.I. is a member of the C.N.T. and belongs to its most active fighters. Both publish a great deal of literature and run large publishing houses. Apart from the daily papers—"Solidaridad Obrera" in Barcelona and "C.N.T." in Madrid—those two organizations publish about 35 weeklies and five monthlies. This alone shows the strength of the movement and the extent of its influence upon workers and peasants. Added to which there are a number of autonomous unions who stand outside of the C.N.T., but who are greatly influenced by the former, even sending delegates to its conventions.

The proletariat of the world which follows now with so tense an interest the

gigantic struggle of the Spanish revolutionists against Fascism must come to realize that the Spanish events cannot be judged from a purely party point of view. The movement of every country possesses its own definite character, rooted in its traditions and the historical development. The labor movement is not a church, recognizing only one doctrine of grace. All the talk about a "united front" or "people's front" is not worth a straw if we don't learn to respect the opinions of others and not to judge them from the narrow point of view of one's party doctrine.

The terrific struggles now going on in Spain are a sign of the times. Now the question is of repulsing an enemy who threatens the very basis of culture and threatens to hurl humanity back into barbarism.

Germany, Italy and Austria are bloody warnings and let us see to it that the lessons of the heroic example of Spain should not be lost.

Cable to "Nation" Confirms Our Reports

In a cable to THE NATION from Barcelona, dated August 10, Maxwell S. Stewart, associate editor of THE NATION, gives a first-hand account of the events there which fully confirms our reports. The following is an extract from Mr. Stewart's report:

"Cars and trucks filled with armed men and plastered over with the insignia of the powerful trade unions—the *Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores* and the *Unión General de Trabajadores*—drive noisily through the streets at high speed, their red flags flying proudly. Barricades manned by armed workers may still be found. Nearly all luxurious hotels have been taken over by the trade unions and at least one is housing families of the volunteers attacking Saragossa.

"That the workers are the actual masters of Catalonia today can scarcely be disputed. Although the civil government remains in the hands of the moderate left Republicans, the actual power is exercised by the Anti-Fascist Military Committee, composed of representatives of the leading political parties and trade unions. The Anarcho-Syndicalists of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (*Federación Anarquista Ibérica*) control five of the fifteen members of the committee. The socialist trade union and Marxist parties have five, leaving only five in the hands of the moderate left groups. Even this fails to present a fair picture of the distribution of power. The C.N.T., with tens of thousands of armed workers, gained tremendously in prestige and strength as a result of the suppression of the military uprising of July 19, when workers went barehanded into the streets and literally snatched weapons from the hands of fascists. It can confiscate cars and hotels, and commandeer supplies from private business houses without challenge from the bourgeois parties. For the moment at least, none would dare try to disarm its members."

Great Britain Recognizes C.N.T.

The English consulate at Barcelona has sent a list of all its citizens residing in Spain so that the necessary measures might be taken for their security or eventual return. To whom has the English consulate sent these lists? To the official authority which is, in Barcelona, the Catalanian government? On the contrary, the lists were officially sent . . . to a Committee of the C.N.T.

It is the C.N.T. which plays the predominant role in Catalonia and is the one tremendous force to be reckoned with there. This is so in spite of the attempts of "radical" newspapers to ignore the existence of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. On the other hand, the capitalist newspapers find it necessary to report the activities of the anarchists. But they, of course, do so in a vicious, shameless manner calling the armed workers of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. who are heroically fighting against Fascism, "gunmen" (At times "revolutionaries" join in the same attack, e.g. Ilya Ehrenburg's recent article in 'New Masses' entitled 'Enemies of Spain'.)

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for support of Spanish Workers.

Affiliates of the U.L.O.: Cultura Proletaria; Freedom Group; Libertarian Workers Group; General Recruiting Union, I.W.W.; Il Martello; Spanish Anarchist Federation; Marine Transport Workers, I.W.W.; Russian Toilers; Spanish Youth Group; Vanguard Group.

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Purpose and Aim of the U.L.O.

To tell the readers of "Spanish Revolution" the purpose and aims of the "United Libertarian Organizations" and our publication, the "Spanish Revolution" we can do little better than point to the stirring appeal of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. printed on the first page of this bulletin. The outstanding work of the libertarian elements in Spain who are in the forefront of the fight against the Fascist reaction and in the task of charting a new course of social reconstruction based upon the principles of workers control must be recognized and supported by all individuals who strive for a freer and better life. All over the world anarchists, Syndicalists, libertarian workers of various shades of opinion have united in numerous ways to help in the struggle of the Spanish toilers, a struggle which they know is theirs also. In the same spirit, the organizations now affiliated with the U.L.O. have united in a common effort to mobilize the financial and moral support of workers in the United States and to disseminate as widely as possible the truth about what is happening in Spain. We must counteract the lies and slanders in the yellow press, against the heroic workers and peasants in Spain, and also the one-sided reports in the Marxist press. We must help our Spanish brothers get the necessary money and arms to defeat the black reaction and build a new, a better life.

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have called on us to spread the truth about Spain, to give them moral and financial aid. Our answer to this call has just begun. All those individuals and organizations who think and feel as we do about this struggle should join, us and united we can answer the call of our brave comrades in Spain with a mighty wave of comradely solidarity that will annihilate forever the bloody Fascist monster.

Significance of the Spanish Events

The late Lincoln Stephens, one of the keenest observers of current political trends, characterized the present struggle in Spain as the most significant event of our time. This is by no means an exaggerated statement. Not since October, 1917, has there been an event of such far-reaching revolutionary effect as the heroic struggle against Fascism now being waged by the Spanish workers and peasants.

It would be of the greatest importance even if it were confined to the defeat of Fascist aggression. For the first time since the victory of Fascism in Italy, did the revolutionary and progressive forces of a European country find sufficient courage to take up the armed challenge of Fascism. This in itself represents a moral victory of the kind which may prove decisive in bolstering up the shattered morale of the international proletariat.

For the most dismal thing about the Fascist sweep of the last decade was not the temporary defeat of the labor movement itself. Counter-revolutions were quite frequent in the course of the nineteenth century, but none of them demoralized the working class and the progressive elements of Europe to the extent the victory of Fascism did. That was due mainly to the fact that Fascism did not meet with any resistance on the part of the workers. The strength of Fascism was but the reflection of the weakness of the working class, reaching its lowest point in the tragic events of 1932 in Germany.

And compared to that low point of confusion, inner division, helplessness displayed by the workers of Germany in 1932, the present struggle carried on in Spain represents a new turning point in the great social struggle of today. Fascism is not irresistible.

It can be checked and foiled by a united stand of workers and peasants. Vast potential sources of heroism are lying dormant within the working class—such is the message of the Spanish events, and judging by the tremendous outbursts of enthusiasm with which the Spanish events were met by the international proletariat, the workers of the world are already taking this message to heart.

But the importance of the present struggle is not confined to the heartening effect it has upon the struggle against Fascism in other countries. What is going on now in Spain is not just a

struggle for the defence of the democratic Republic. Spain is already entering into a period of vast revolutionary changes. The Fascist rebellion released great revolutionary forces which are gradually taking over the control of the economic and social life of the country.

They are doing it not only because they were consciously aiming at such revolutionary changes for a number of years, but in order to save the country from the chaos and disorder brought about by the sabotage of the capitalist class. The banks, railroads, big monopolies, the mines, landed estates all are controlled by people who are ardently Fascist in their sympathies. To leave all that in their hands during the present struggle is to knife the anti-Fascist forces now battling heroically at the front. The government may oppose it, the Socialist and Communist parties may frown upon it, but the drive for socialization made inevitable by the pressure of events will either sweep them into its course or sweep out as thoroughly as the Mensheviks were swept out in 1917.

Already we see the first steps made in the direction of a great social revolution. Catalonia is rapidly advancing in this direction and what is taking place today in Catalonia will be repeated in the other parts of the country in measure that the Fascist hordes will be swept out of existence.

A new October is now in the making and its effect will be even greater than the one of 1917 because its conscious driving force is vastly superior to the one dominating the Russian revolution in its understanding of the nature of the coming social reconstruction. The Spanish revolution will not be distorted in its course, will not degenerate into the kind of a social Fascist state which emerged in Russia as a result of the dictatorship of the Communist party. The strength of the Anarchist movement, the power shown by it in the organization of popular forces for the defense of the revolution and for the task of social reconstruction—all that serves as a sufficient guarantee that the Spanish revolution will be kept on the even keel of democracy and liberty. The Anarchists may be but one among other revolutionary forces, but it is already strong enough to prevent any party from monopolizing the course of revolutionary struggle in its hands. A revolution not only for the people, but by the people, the co-operation of all revolutionary elements, the ultimate control of every phase of social reconstruction by the workers organizations themselves—these are the clearly enunciated aims of the Anarchist movement in Spain.

A social revolution following these lines represents a new departure in the life of humanity. The strangle-hold which a degenerated Communist party has obtained upon the revolutionary proletariat because of the prestige of the October revolution will be broken forever. No more will it be necessary to choose between a decaying Capitalism and a barbarous Socialism. A third revolutionary way, the realization of revolutionary Socialism on the road of fuller democracy and liberty is already blazed forth in the great revolutionary struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants, and therein lies the epoch-making significance of this greatest event of our time.

Revolutionary Anti-Fascists Maintain Order

(Continued from page 1)

immediate task of the councils is to purge the ranks of the police of the reactionary elements.

This development is a logical result of the common struggle of the workers and police against the Fascists. During those days many police units were dissolved and many of its members fought the Fascists not with their organization, but within the ranks of the workers organizations. After the struggle those units were re-organized, but the common struggle brought about a new spirit of solidarity. Many of them joined the workers' militia which left for the front. But even those that remained are imbued with a new spirit finding expression now in the building of the councils.

Slogan "Make The Rich Pay" Fully Applied

With the Anarchist Militia Under the Direction of Durutti

(Ed. Note—Most of our readers know something about the Anarchist militia at the Zaragoza front from the few excellent descriptions given by Walter Duranty (N. Y. Times, Sept. 1st). The heroic spirit displayed, the excellent organization based upon the highest development of individual initiative, the spontaneous support of the population—all of it is aptly described by this correspondent, whose long sojourn in the land of dictatorial Socialism did not predispose him too favorably to the cause of Anarchist militia.)

In this and other issues of the bulletin we will print as much material as we can find on the organization of this militia, its equalitarian spirit, its relations with the local anti-Fascist committees and its role in the revolutionary reconstruction of the country.)

The militia is received very favorably by the population of the villages near the front. As soon as the Militia arrives the local anti-Fascist committee places itself at the disposal of the Militia, for the purpose of obtaining provisions for it.

At the windows red-black flags appear (red-black is the emblem color of the Anarchist movement in Spain). Immediately measures for strengthening the defense are taken. The church rarely escapes the fury of the population. Articles of the religious cult are taken away and the church is put to fire.

Known Fascists who have not escaped are mercilessly hunted down. Bonfires are made of all property titles, debt and mortgage documents found in the City Hall.

The harvest crops are turned over to the local anti-Fascist committee, sometimes the more timid peasants who are still uncertain about the outcome of the battle and fear the possible return of the Fascists prefer not to commit themselves in this respect.

Whatever is necessary for the troops is chiefly taken from the big shots of the village, who are mostly in hiding. They are heavily taxed for this purpose. The Capitalists are taxed in proportion to their means. The Anarchist Militia takes very seriously the slogan "Soak the Rich."

Fascists captured by the anti-Fascist militia are placed before the general assembly of the village for trial.

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NO DICTATORSHIP FOR NEW SPAIN

HITLER AGENTS EXPOSED FASCIST VERMIN FLEE ON FUHRER'S BOATS

(Information Service of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.)

While the "democratic" governments continue their cowardly betrayal of the cause of democracy by their policy of neutrality, the aid given by international Fascism to the murderous bloc of Spanish militarists, financiers and priests becomes more clearly evident to the workers of the world.

Very revealing are records discovered at the office of the Gestapo (called Administration Building) in Barcelona, in the Casa Parda and at the German Workers Front (now in the hands of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.) which bare beyond a doubt, the nefarious plot organized from the consulate under Nazi orders.

A certain Joseph Wirtz, a rabid Hitlerite, was provided with a safe conduct pass ostensibly to facilitate his task of giving shelter to German subjects arrived at Barcelona from other towns and to see to their safe embarkation on steamers destined for their country. The pass reads:

Consul General of Germany
in Spain

August 16, 1936

SAFE CONDUCT

This will certify that at the present time Joseph Wirtz is working under orders from and under the protection of this General Consulate to discharge certain urgent duties, especially such as have a bearing on the sheltering of German refugees from other cities and their subsequent embarkation on ships destined for the transportation of the same.

This certificate is valid until the twentieth of this month of the year 1936.

Consul General of Germany
Seal of the Consulate.

A typical embarkation is that of August 18. One hundred and thirty eight persons sailed on the German steamer "Hew." Of this number only nine were Germans. The others who sailed under the protection of Wirtz and the German government were Spanish Fascists who either had actively carried arms under the insurgent generals or

helped them financially. Among the long list of names which the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has in its possession are those of such notorious personalities as the Bishop of Vich and his secretary, the Maristany, the Churrucas, the Fuster Fabra, etc. We herewith reprint the first twenty names on the list to illustrate the nationality of those given safe conduct by the German government:

Juan Millet, Carlos Spagnolo de Luciano, Ricardo de Churrucá y Dotres, Enrique, Maria Luisa, José, Concepción, Javier y Luis Galopart, Wilhelm Geismar, Antonio Trius Marta, Mariano Fuster Fabra, Juan Perea Iló (Obispo de Vich), José Morel Alamón (su Secretario), José Casals, Francisco Faura Arritz, Pilar Sabater Buichons, José Falic Bofill, Carlos Sellas Bofill, Rómulo Bertrán y familia, Antonio Perandones y familia, Teléforo Ascarza Remán, Ester Borbolla, Marina Hernández.

NEW DEFENSE INDUSTRIES CREATED

(From C.N.T., Madrid Anarcho-Syndicalist daily paper.)

Until the outbreak of the Fascist rebellion, Barcelona hardly had any war industry. The needs of the Civil War brought to life a new war industry, organized by the workers of Barcelona within the last month.

The phenomenal use of war industries is a most striking manifestation of the creative energies of the Catalonian workers. The same is demonstrated in the other branches of the national economy. The initiative and creative action usually come from the C.N.T. (the Anarcho-Syndicalist unions), although the Socialist unions (the U.G.T.) are also represented in the workers' committees for the reorganization of industry.

The means of transportation have been confiscated by now.
(Continued on page 3)

C.N.T.-F.A.I. Official Statement on Caballero Government

A new government has been formed in Madrid; Social Democrats with five and the official Communist Party with two seats form the majority. The other five seats of the cabinet are occupied by bourgeois republicans belonging to various factions.

This combination is only a transitional and utterly inadequate solution of the problem and does not give a true picture of the Spanish people's revolutionary movement. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. feel that a coalition government of this type hinders the social revolution just as much as a dictatorial government of purely "proletarian" parties. It will not succeed in gathering all the anti-Fascist forces in Spain; nor will it be able to conduct the civil war victoriously and bring it to a successful close.

The C.N.T. and F.A.I. represent the nucleus of the revolutionary workers in Spain; they are the fighting power of the Spanish proletariat. Without them the present anti-Fascist movement in Spain would not exist. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. are resolved to take an active part in shaping Spain's destiny. They will refuse to become a tool of the political parties.

Catalonia today shows the way to the revolutionary workers. The newly acquired power of the workers must find its expression in ANTI-FASCIST WORKERS' COUNCILS, ON A BROAD ANTI-FASCIST BASIS. THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNIONS OF THE C.N.T. AND U.G.T. is the only basis for an economic regeneration of the country. Only in this way can the C.N.T. and F.A.I. cooperate with all anti-Fascist groups. Under no circumstances will they agree to entrust the anti-Fascist revolutionary struggle of the Spanish people to the state bureaucracy and to have it "centralized"—not even if the leading representatives of the political parties should be changed. Revolutionary, autonomous Catalonia will see to it that new ways are tried all over the country and that the decaying forms of bourgeois politics and ministerial bureaucracy shall disappear.

SYNDICALIST LEADER IN INTERVIEW DAMNS DICTATORSHIP

The calibre of the men who are emerging from the Spanish struggle as heroes of the people is admirably illustrated in an interview by Pierre Van Paassen, staff correspondent of the *Toronto Star*, with Durutti, one of the outstanding Anarchists in Catalonia.

Van Paassen in a dispatch sent by air to Paris has the following to say:

"Durutti, a syndicalist metal worker, is the man who led the victorious bayonet charge of the People's Militia on the stronghold of the Fascist rebels at San Rafael yesterday. Durutti was the first in the Hotel Colon in Barcelona, when that building which spewed death for thirty-six hours from two hundred windows, fell before the onslaught of the well-nigh bare handed libertarians. When a column is ready to drop with exhaustion, Durutti goes to talk new courage into the men. When things go bad up Saragossa way, Durutti climbs aboard an aeroplane and drops down into the field of Aragon to put himself at the head of the Catalonian partisans. Wherever you go it's Durutti and Durutti again whom you hear spoken of as a wonder man."

STRIKES IN SEVILLE

The Fascists find it very difficult to hold power even in those places which they have captured because the vast majority of the people is unalterably opposed to the bloody dictatorship of these reactionaries. This is well demonstrated in the resistance which General Franco met when he took Seville. The trade unions immediately called a general strike of the tramway workers. Street car service was stopped at once. Eight trade union leaders were arrested and shot. The strike continued. Eight more syndicalists were shot. The strike still continued. Another eight militants were shot. The order to end the strike was never given.

In the entire neighborhood of Seville the resistance of the people inspired by the libertarian elements continues unabated.

Van Paassen found it easy enough to contact this 'wonder man.' A simple worker, he has only scorn for the type of leader who surrounds himself with flunkies.

Van Paassen describes him as a tall, swarthy fellow with a clean-shaven face, the son of poor peasants which is shown by his use of the peasant dialect. Durutti, although a metal worker who works at his trade, has trained himself in languages and is a skillful political analyst as well as a military strategist.

When Van Paassen came upon him he was resting on his cot in the hallway of the palace of the Medina Celi dukes, above which floats the black and red flag of the Iberian Anarchist Federation. A rifle stood ready at his bedside.

In answer to Van Paassen's questions regarding the chances of victory for the workers militia, Durutti replied: "No, we have not got them on the run yet. They have Saragossa and Pampelona. That is where the arsenals and the munition factories are. We must take Saragossa... the masses are in arms. The army doesn't count any longer. All the workers in Spain know that if Fascism triumphs, it will be famine and slavery. But the Fascists also know what is in store for them when they are beaten. That is why the struggle is implacable and relentless. For us it is a question of crush—
(Continued on page 3)

FASCISTS FOILED

In the town of Caspe, our comrades from the C.N.T. and F.A.I. defeated the Fascists at the beginning of the revolt in spite of the vicious methods employed by "rebels." The latter made use of a particularly cruel strategy: they dragged women and children through the streets and tried to place them in the line of fire so as to protect themselves. Our comrades would not, of course, shoot their own wives and children. However, they surrounded the Fascists, closed in and finally succeeded in capturing them.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

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TIME FOR WORKERS TO ACT!

Pierre Van Paassen in a dispatch to the Federated Press, Sept. 14, 1936, writes the following:

Irun fell, opening the gates to San Sebastian. It is Mussolini's bombing planes and Hitler's Junkers whose precision in dropping aerial torpedoes brought Irun to a fall—this is the unanimous verdict of foreign observers. Without the help of Rome and Berlin, General Franco and his fellow bigtime gangsters would present no problem to the republic. Without the steady stream of tanks, planes, armored cars and artillery coming in from Portugal, the Fascist rebellion would have been crushed weeks ago. YET THE BLOCKADE AGAINST THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES!

They fought to the last cartridge, the men of Irun. When they had no more ammunition, they hurled packets of dynamite. When dynamite was gone, they rushed forward barehanded and tackled each their man, while the 60 times stronger enemy butchered them with bayonets. A girl held two armored cars at bay for half an hour by hurling glycerine bombs. Then the Moroccans stormed the barricade of which she was the last living defender and tore her to pieces. The men of Ft. Martial held 300 foreign legionnaires at a distance for half a day by rolling rocks down the hill on which the old fort is perched. When the fort was taken, the conquerors found 11 corpses.

In Saragossa, occupied by 12 rebel regiments and besieged by the Catalan militia, the general strike continues, despite the sentence of death by slow torture inflicted on known leaders.

And still the workers hold their own. And still they advance. They have the cream of the Fascist army locked up in Saragossa. They are encircling Cordoba. They are performing prodigies of valor at Talavera de la Reina.

The decisive hour is drawing near. Franco has one more chance: with the aid of tanks, bombing planes and 20,000 cylinders of poison gas he will try to overwhelm the militia stationed in the valley of the Sierra de Gredos. He is promising his Moors 1,000 pesetas per man and three days free looting, killing and violation in working class districts of the capital if they reach Madrid before October 1st. Barajas and Irun fell because their defenders had not sufficient arms. Imperialist and bourgeois governments have refused to send arms for love or money. It seems to me that the workers of the world should speak a word."

The workers must do more than "speak a word." They must ACT!!

Just as it was the organized workers of Spain who, without waiting for government help, saved Spain from being completely conquered by the Fascists, so must the workers of the world come to the aid of the toilers of Spain. Our Spanish Comrades call upon workers everywhere to take an independent course of action, to start their own campaigns to raise money for the Spanish working class organizations. What shall our answer be? Our brothers and comrades in Spain must be helped at once!

Send all funds to I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

DURANTY IN WONDERLAND

The important and significant role played by the anarchists in Catalonia is portrayed by the *New York Times'* well known correspondent, Walter Duranty, in his article of September 17. He writes, in part:

In Catalonia the government, or Generalidad, is little more than a rubber-stamp to countersign the orders of the all-powerful workers' militia. I had proof of this the moment I crossed the French border to Port Bou.

I had a personal letter from the Spanish Ambassador to Paris, recommending me to all. It worked like magic with the customs and government officials in the Port Bou station. But they added gently, "If you want to go on to Barcelona, you need the stamp of the Militia Committee. Their office is down on the waterfront."

I went down to the waterfront and found a group of young-anarchists. The anarchists rule Catalonia, but they are not what some with rifles and revolvers and the red and black emblems of the word means to Americans, crazy bandits throwing bombs.

In Catalonia the anarchists are the most important political party, although slightly exceeded in number by the Catalan Nationalist party, and, whatever may or may not be their anarchic ideas of individual freedom, they are beginning to develop a fairly efficient system of governmental control.

So these young anarchists looked over my papers and shrugged their shoulders at the signature of the Spanish Ambassador to Paris. The fact that I came from Moscow turned the scales, although they were careful to remark that they did not approve the Bolshevik bureaucracy.

"That's not freedom," they said. "That's not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship over the proletariat, and we do not approve it."

I heard the same thing later in Barcelona, but, nevertheless, my Moscow connections were a guarantee.

The train ran smoothly to Barcelona, although its guards, armed to the teeth and wearing the red and black insignia of anarchism, were careful to tell me that the road was now run by the workers.

"We have thrown out all the bosses and station masters," they said, "Our trains are now run by the workers. We have no use for bosses."

In spite of the lies and malicious slander consciously fostered by the bourgeois and reactionary press representing the anarchists as burners and looters, in spite of the misrepresentations by liberal and Marxist writers painting the anarchists as vague dreamers, if not conscious terrorists, the truth about the tremendous constructive work of the anarchists in the social and economic system slowly begins to leak out. And as we learn more about the constructive abilities of the workers freely organized and controlling, through their own councils and committees, industrial production and distribution, a lesson which Catalonia teaches us, we see that the anarchists are right in pointing out the futility of political action which can only result in a dictatorship of the black or red kind. Indeed they are more than ever right when they say, "We want the railroads organized by the railroad-workers, the factories by the industrial workers, agricultural life by the peasants, and this for the well-being of all, so that each gives according to his ability and receives according to his needs."

While Mr. Duranty's factual reports are often of value, his explanations and interpretations, however, must be taken with more than a grain of salt. For example, the following remarks in the *New York Times* of September 19:

Theoretically the Spanish anarchists follow the doctrines of Bakunin and Kropotkin, a somewhat Utopian system of complete individual liberty that needs no laws or government because each individual knows how to conduct himself as a social unit. Actually, the anarchists have found that there is a vast difference between theory and practice and that, under the stress of war, individualism must yield to discipline, and freedom to obedience.

The Spanish Anarchists not only follow the basic doctrines of Bakunin and Kropotkin but, unlike Mr. Duranty, they understand these doctrines. Both Bakunin and Kropotkin were most deeply concerned with the organizational aspects of social reconstruction. If Mr. Duranty recalls, Michael Bakunin was instrumental in establishing the first organization dedicated to the task of organizing the international working class. Peter Kropotkin's life and works are organizational ammunition for the Spanish workers.

The unique contribution of Bakunin and Kropotkin to social science was the development of methods whereby individual liberty could be integrated with social and economic organization. We suggest that Mr. Duranty sweep the Kremlin cobwebs from his mind before attempting to appraise the epochal work of the Spanish Libertarians.

UNITY AND REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY

Every day the newspapers, in their reports on Spain, carry some item telling of the close cooperation among the various revolutionary factions within the Spanish working class. With very few exceptions, the Spanish proletariat has shown a high degree of unity, unequalled in the history of the revolutionary struggles of our time. Anarchists, Socialists, Communists of various denominations, not only fight together against the common enemy, but, what is more important, work together on the enormous task of rebuilding Spanish economic life along the lines of a new social order.

It was party monopoly that shipwrecked the Russian revolution, distorted its original course of a great upheaval along the lines of a new type of revolutionary democracy. And it was also the failure of workers' democracy to assert itself with sufficient vigor in the work of rebuilding Russian life along revolutionary lines that brought about the great slump in democratic values, the fullest expression of which is Fascism as it came to prevail in Germany and Italy.

That means that the Spanish revolution has thus far succeeded in avoiding the greatest danger lurking at every revolutionary turn of the historical corner. And that is, the danger of party dictatorship; the monopoly of one group, the unchecked rule of one ideology and the people representing it.

racy is emerging out of the chaos of Spanish life, and if nothing happens to disturb its further course, it will become the model of all the great revolutionary upheavals to come.

It will be an industrial democracy, based upon the economic organizations of the working class and not upon any political parties or ideological groupings. Along with that will go a considerable degree of freedom for various minorities within the mass organizations of the workers. And where such freedom is obtained for various groups, the rights of the individual, without which no progressive development of the new revolutionary order is possible, stand the greatest chance of being fully protected.

Until now it was thought by the majority of Socialists that such an order cannot be obtained in times of revolutionary storm and stress. It was the Anarchists that always upheld proletarian democracy as the indispensable condition of any successful revolution. The course of events in Spain fully confirms the point of view of the Anarchists.

The Spanish revolution succeeds only in measure that the principles of revolutionary democracy are fully applied: the province which thus far has shown the greatest resistance to Fascism and has gone the furthest in the direction of the revolutionary changes is the one in which the cooperation of various revolutionary movements is more fully developed. It is also the province in which the mass organization of the working class—the industrial union—is rapidly becoming the basic cell of the new social organism.

As in all other revolutionary matters, it is the Anarcho-Syndicalists who have taken the lead. The Anarcho-Syndicalists are striving conscientiously toward a revolutionary democracy based upon the industrial unions of the country. In Catalonia, where they constitute the majority of the people, they stand jealously on guard of the rights of the Socialist minority. In the north and central Spain where the Anarcho-Syndicalists are in the minority, they forced upon the Socialists a degree and kind of revolutionary cooperation which is rapidly becoming the basic principle of the new revolutionary order.

Whatever it is, proletarian democracy is becoming the basic revolutionary factor of the Spanish revolution. Its triumph signifies the triumph of the common man over all the world; the revival of the great hopes of democracy, the faith in common man which once constituted the finest features of our civilization.

It signifies the triumph of the finest hopes of our civilization and that is what the great mass of workers who live by such hopes must come to realize to an ever greater extent.

The Artists in Spain

Official Statement of The Draftsmen, Painters and Sculptors of the C.N.T.

To all Catalan Artists:

A number of us artists have joined in this syndicate at a time when a great decision is to be made in our country for the history of mankind. We want a union of all draftsmen, painters and sculptors of Catalonia, in order that the expressions of the human spirit may suffer no interruption at this time. The revolutionary artist has until now been a hopeless pariah or at best ever a miserable slave. In the future, however, he will win the right no longer to live in society as a parasite but as a worker, side by side with other workers. Art cannot be a collectivized production of standardized things. It must always find expression through the personality of the artist. However, after the privileges of intellect and knowledge have been removed, no artist may think he is any more than the plainest worker. Art had never been intended for the select few. It was only the bourgeois social order that has stipu-

lated this as well as all other injustices and privileges. The main task of all syndicates of artists and intellectuals today is to develop a propaganda which will make culture the concern of all men and thus bring it about that the book and the work of art shall be felt to be as needful for living as one's bed, table and chair. Within the trade union organization, artists, craftsmen, painters, sculptors, etc., while fully preserving their distinct individualities, should develop close cooperation, just as the great Gothic artists of the Middle Ages had done. Those artists who work in factories or shops must form in those places separate labor groups. In order to bring our plans to realization, we have created a number of committees which will see to it that the work of the artists is incorporated into the new society in a fitting and equitable manner. We are fighting for a juster, more humane life!

Sectional Administration
of the Syndicate of Free
Professions of the C.N.T.
at Barcelona.

Durutti Explains Aims (Continued from page 1)

ing Fascism once and for all. Yes, and in spite of the government."

Van Passen could not understand why Durutti should add his grim "in spite of the government."

He asked "Why do you say in spite of the government? Is not the government fighting the Fascist rebellion."

Durutti does not allow the heat of the present battle to blur the lessons that he has learned during his many years as a fighter for workers freedom. He answered: "No government in the world fights Fascism to the death. When the bourgeoisie sees power slipping from its grasp, it has recourse to Fascism to maintain itself. The Liberal government of Spain could have rendered the Fascist elements powerless long ago. Instead it temporized and compromised and dallied. Even now at this moment, there are men in this government who want to go easy with the rebels. You never can tell, you know," he laughed, "the present government might yet need these rebellious forces to crush the workers' movement."

These were the first statements that Van Passen had heard regarding what was likely to happen after the Fascists had been put down. The Socialist and Communist leaders that he had seen, spoke only of a return to the Republic.

"So you are looking for difficulties even after the present rebellion should be conquered?" Van Passen asked.

"A little resistance, yes."

"On whose part?"

"The bourgeoisie, of course. The bourgeois class will not like

it when we install the revolution," said Durutti.

This was news to Van Passen who was unacquainted with the Anarchist theory and practice.

Durutti continued: "We syndicalists are fighting for the revolution. We know what we want. To us it means nothing that there is a Soviet Union somewhere in the world, for the sake of whose peace and tranquility the workers of Germany and China were sacrificed to Fascist barbarism by Stalin. We want the revolution here in Spain, right now, not maybe after the next European war. We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry today with our revolution than the whole Red Army of Russia. We are setting an example to the German and Italian working class how to deal with Fascism."

Durutti is important to Van Passen because he represents the minds and dreams of over two million of the most courageous of Spain's fighting men. He says, "I sought to learn his mind because it is essential to know what is going on in the minds of the Spanish workers who are doing the fighting. Durutti showed that the situation might take a direction for which few are prepared. That Moscow had no influence to speak of on the Spanish proletariat, is a well known fact! Van Passen asked what help Durutti expected from sources outside Spain. Apparently, Durutti has no illusions about the bourgeois nations coming to his aid.

"I do not expect any help for a libertarian revolution from any government in the world. Maybe the conflicting interests in the various imperialisms might have some influence on our struggle. That is quite well possible.

Defense Industries

(Continued from page 1)

They function in a highly efficient manner, a fact acknowledged by many foreign correspondents. Some of the metallurgical plants were confiscated while others, although still in private hands, have been placed under workers' control. This dual system of factories totally socialized and factories placed only under workers' control now prevailing in almost every industry, finds its completion in the Supreme Economic Council.

The taking over of the functions of economic organization by the unions constitutes now the most striking feature of Catalonian life. Equally remarkable is the loyal cooperation of technicians. This is due to the fact that the Anarchists in Catalonia always fully understood the great importance of such cooperation. In their preparatory work they laid great stress upon the building up of a close collaboration between the intellectual and manual workers on the basis of full equality. That is why it is quite common to see technicians represented on the factory committees.

It is the harmonious work and the creative spirit of the Catalonian workers that make possible the rapid reorganization of the light and heavy industries for war purposes. The comrades of the C.N.T. delegated to the War Committee (the Department of Popular Militia) succeeded in coordinating within a short time the duties of the workers organizations and that of the technicians, thus making possible the phenomenally rapid building up of war industries in Barcelona for the purpose of revolutionary defense.

Franco is doing his best to drag Europe into the conflict. He will not hesitate to pitch Germany against us. But we expect no help, not even from our own government on the last analysis."

"You will be sitting on top of a pile of ruins if you are victorious," Van Passen countered. "We have always lived in ruins and holes in the wall," Durutti answered. "We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a time. For, you must not forget, we can also build. It is we who built those palaces and cities, here in Spain and in America and everywhere. We, the workers. We can build others to take their place. And better ones. We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth. There is not the slightest doubt about that. The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world, here, in our hearts. That world is growing this minute."

ANARCHISTS AGAINST TERROR AND DICTATORSHIP

Pierre Van Paassen whom we quote at length in the present issue of "Spanish Revolution," is not an anarchist. So far as we can remember he wrote an article in May, 1936 for the *Toronto Star* which was definitely antagonistic to the Spanish anarchists. An important correspondent for a number of bourgeois newspapers on this continent, Van Paassen, in Spain for about two months now, studied the situation, saw things as they really were, and as an honest man reports simply and clearly just what he sees and hears.

In a dispatch to the *Toronto Daily Star* of Sept. 17, 1936, he reports an interview with Jaime Meravitless "one of the most intellectual heads in the libertarian movement." Mr. Van Paassen says as follows:

The ruthless execution of Zinovieff and Kameneff in Russia by the Stalin machine produced grave dissensions among the representatives of the workers on the executive committee, the anarchists charging that the Muscovite Socialists were killing the United Front movement, but these quarrels have been patched up—temporarily only—in the face of the common enemy, Fascism.

The secret of the gods is namely: what will happen here in Catalonia if and when the military rebellion is crushed? I asked this question of several Syndicalist leaders. The answer was invariably: "We Anarchists will do our duty!"

Pressed to say outright whether they would align themselves against a dictatorship of the proletariat, they would reply: "Most certainly if you mean by dictatorship of the proletariat the monstrous ignominy which is practised by the Stalin bureaucracy in Russia where Anarchists are treated with a ferocity that might serve as a model to Nazis and Fascists. A united front with the Communists, sure, if the United Front is also made a reality in Russia and the tens of thousands of syndicalists, Tolstoyans, conscientious objectors, who are now slandered as counter-revolutionaries in the U.S.S.R., are released from the inhuman Bolshevik concentration camps and the deadly Sokolniki islands."

"Even so," he added frankly, "we hope that a struggle between proletarian brothers may be avoided. At least we must not have an armed clash."

"But the Communists must understand that we will not tolerate the institution of an authoritarian regime after the victory over Fascism. 'If they insist,' Miravitless paused for a moment and he looked me in the

eyes, "if they insist, well, they will find us in their way. They know it. We want a community of free human beings, who will walk with their heads erect and who shall have an opportunity to develop culturally. We will tolerate no red terror or red militarism in favor of the Russian state. We don't care a — about the imperialist interests of Spain, France, Russia or Italy. We remain internationalists. We stand with the working-class of every country against their own oppressors."

I have written this statement down because many must be wondering abroad what exactly is the internal situation in the State of Catalonia, obscured as things are by conflicting rumors and stories of the most ridiculous character about chaos and "anarchy" and I know not what. Everything is perfectly orderly in this great city. The underground railway runs on time as regularly as the famous trains in Mussolini's country.

And something else begins to run pretty well besides. "I have to admit that I never suspected such magnificent idealism, such perfect discipline, such an heroic spirit of self-sacrifice as I see displayed by the libertarians, who have spontaneously taken over the enormous task of liberating Catalonia from Fascism," declared his excellency Luis Companys, captain-general of Catalonia, and Liberal chief.

"They not only fought like lions and downed the military insurrection in our own province in two days, but they have opened 112 new schools in these days of war and commotion. Private libraries, costly collections of art are being gathered together, classified, indexed and distributed to various new public libraries and museums in the city and in the rural regions. Thirty-two monasteries have been changed into clinics and hospitals in the last 40 days."

TO THE WORKERS OF THE U.S.S.R.

Comrades, workers of the U.S.S.R.! We have just seen demonstrated that the tactics, the struggle that we carried on throughout the world is the only method whereby the final victory can be accomplished—that tactic is the direct action method.

All those who have persisted in questioning this method, have wasted their time, for in the hour of the test, only the direct action of the organized workers has prevented Spain from sinking into the satanic tyranny and chaos of Fascism.

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. send you their fraternal greetings! —C.N.T.-F.A.I.

PLAN OF ECONOMIC COUNCIL

The work of the Catalonian Economic Council is as follows:

1. To regulate production in accordance with the needs of the consumers, cutting down on those branches of economy which are not important now and stimulating the organization of new industries necessary in view of the fall of the peseta (Spanish currency).
2. The monopolization of foreign trade.
3. The collectivization of big landed estates, to be cultivated by the syndicates of peasants and land workers.
4. Partial devaluation of urban property by reduction of rent.
5. Socialization of big industries, public utilities and transport

6. The seizure and operation of enterprises abandoned by their owners.

7. The development of cooperation in the field of distribution and in particular the taking over of the big distribution enterprises by the cooperatives.

8. Workers control of all banking firms until a comprehensive plan of nationalization of banks is fully worked out.

9. The control by workers' unions of those industries which are still left in private hands.

10. To work energetically towards the reabsorption of the unemployed by industry and agriculture.

11. The abolition of diverse taxes and the introduction of a unified tax.

GOV'T EMPLOYEES IN C.N.T.

Carried away by the general feeling of sympathy for the Catalan C.N.T., great masses of the population are turning to this organization. Only now, after Catalonia has been saved from Fascism through the courageous action of the C.N.T., do they begin to understand its aims. But the C.N.T. is not out to get members—on the contrary. The workers of present-day Catalonia are aiming to get 100% organized. Organizations which formerly could not gain any foothold in Catalonia or whose membership was insignificant, are now trying to increase in volume. That is comparatively easy now. Not so the C.N.T., the great organization of Catalonia with revolutionary tradition.

The possible affiliation of the union of Catalan State employees with the C.N.T. has been mentioned frequently in recent times, one of the biggest state employees' unions in the country, having joined the U.G.T.

The syndicate for public service of the C.N.T. has formed a section for state employees. The following is from an appeal of theirs to all state employees.

"The former impartial organizations of state employees have ceased to play an important role. We are faced with a peculiar problem. Here is a group who ought to be organized just like the rest of the workers. The bureaucrat, as such, is a social category that is condemned to disappear. If the state employees have an enemy, it is not the community or the state of Catalonia, but their own bureaucratic mentality. The atmosphere belonging to it has to be abolished. Every single state employee has to understand that, today, he is

just a worker among workers, nothing else. The section for state employees of our syndicate tries to explain this to all state employees."

People's University

The large group of buildings of the former seminary for priests in Barcelona, also popularly known as the "priest factory," was discovered to be on fire on July 21st. However, a Catalan artist, together with inhabitants of the building, put the flames out and thereby saved from destruction invaluable works of art and science. In cooperation with a group of the Libertarian Youth of the CNT-FAI, he rescued from the seminary numerous Roman and Gothic works of art.

The collections of objects of natural science and the libraries remained in the house. This large group of buildings has now been definitely turned over to the new People's University. A new committee has been organized which is making preparations for the construction of a school for higher learning. It consists of various organizations. The Youth and People's Groups of the CNT-FAI have ten representatives on this committee. The Socialist Youth sends two delegates to it, and various independent workers' cultural groups another ten. This committee will work in close contact with the Catalan Land University, from whose teaching staff all reactionary elements have been removed and which is now under the supervision of a Commission of Intellectuals of the CNT and UGT. A number of distinguished scholars have pledged their cooperation to the People's University.

Appeal to Peasants

Address of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. to the Peasants

The C.N.T. and F.A.I. have always defended the solid unity of spirit and action between the workers of the land and the factory.

The reactionary elements have had for the base of their class domination, the division between the peasants and the worker . . .

We, anarchists, fight for the closest unity among all the workers . . .

Those who tried to perpetuate, without success, the division between you and us have fallen in the battle, riddled with bullets by the sons of the people.

Our line of action is mutual support, solidarity among the sons of the people

Now let us work together, united in full accord.

Workers of the field, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. sends you fraternal greetings and calls upon you to continue the battle undertaken against fascism and those who own the earth.

Peasants Reorganize

Exchange of Products

After the defeat of the Fascists in this region, the peasants began to organize their economic life on a new basis without waiting for orders from above. Their first task, after purging the region of Fascists, priests and reactionaries, was to take inventory of all goods and livestock in the community. Then they kept for their own use whatever they needed and brought the surplus to town where it was turned over to the economic Exchange Committee. The latter delivered to the peasants fish and other provisions which they needed.

This system of exchange and distribution of products which the comrades organized in many places is now becoming more and more widespread. It springs partly from a scarcity of money and partly from the long standing libertarian traditions of the Spanish peasants.

SCHOOL FOR MILITIA

In Barcelona a "Military People's School" has been created in order to educate military leaders for the anti-Fascist militia. Any active member of the militia between the ages of 21 and 45 may be admitted. They must be proposed by the anti-Fascist organizations that form the committees of the entire movement. Two different courses have been prepared: a 45-day course for leaders and a 65-day course for commandants of the militia.

WORKERS SUPERVISE TELEPHONE SYSTEM

The telephone companies are still owned and managed by their former owners, but this is very much limited by the control exercised by the workers' committees of both unions (the Anarcho-Syndicalist C.N.T. and the Socialist U.G.T.). This control extends over the entire field of management, such as: maintenance, expansion and communications. Banking operations are also included in this control. (The company cannot withdraw any money without being authorized by the workers' committee).

The C.N.T. (the Anarcho-Syndicalist union) dominates the situation by virtue of its greater activity and the initiative manifested in its decisions. The workers' committee is elected by the general assembly of workers of the telephone companies, belonging to both organizations. The functions of the company are reduced to that of keeping account of income and expenses. This is a typical case of a controlled enterprise, that is, one which is still owned by private people, but which is indirectly controlled by workers.

The control over the companies started at first in Barcelona and from there spread to other parts of Catalonia. In every one of the central stations of Barcelona there is a general delegate designated by the organization for the exercise of control. Every sub-station has its sub-delegate. The sub-delegates meet every day in the central station and together with the delegate exchange impressions of the work of the day, of the difficulties met with. The delegate in turn submits a report of it to the Central Committee which passes upon the future course of action.

Every central station has the following sections: maintenance, construction, commercial, traffic and transport.

Under the rigorous control ex-

ercised by the workers' committees, supernumary employees placed by the company for purposes of its own, were discharged. In some cases company managers shared the same fate.

The first task with which the workers were faced was that of repairing the lines damaged by the revolt (the percentage of damage reached in some cases, 75 and 80%). This enormous job of repairing the damage, which under ordinary conditions of company control would last months, was completed in four days.

Apart from that, work was started upon the installation of new lines in hospitals, government places, headquarters of the militia, union halls, and especially those of the C.N.T.

At the general meeting of all the employees it was decided not to shorten the work day while the civil war lasts. It was also decided to work more intensively, it being generally understood that such work is indispensable for the victory over Fascist forces. But a resolution was passed to the effect that a seven hour work day should be introduced as soon as general conditions permit.

Bureaucratic control and red tape was dispensed with. Formerly the installation of a new telephone was done in no less than 15 days, so complicated was the system of bureaucratic control. Now with all those controls swept away it takes only a few hours from the filing of an application for a new telephone to its full installation.

Daily Broadcasts from Barcelona

Any one interested in authentic, up-to-the-minute information on the events in Spain can listen to the broadcasts of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. from their own radio station in Barcelona. The broadcasts are made in many foreign languages, including English.

The hours of the broadcasts are as follows (New York time):

Monday—

12 noon to 1 p.m.—in German and Esperanto
4 p.m. to 5 p.m.—in Swedish and Italian

Tuesday—

12 noon to 1 p.m.—in Italian and Polish
4 p.m. to 5 p.m.—in French and Russian

Wednesday—

12 noon to 1 p.m.—in German and Swedish
4 p.m. to 5 p.m.—in English and Esperanto

Thursday—

12 noon to 1 p.m.—in Russian and Lithuanian
4 p.m. to 5 p.m.—in French and German

Friday—

12 noon to 1 p.m.—in English and Swedish
4 p.m. to 5 p.m.—in Polish and German

Saturday—

12 noon to 1 p.m.—in Esperanto and Italian
4 p.m. to 5 p.m.—in French and English

The broadcast is first made in Spanish and then in the language of the foreign speaker. The broadcast is on a wave length of 41.50 meters, three times repeated.

IMMEDIATE AID NEEDED!!

"Workers, all who have any human feelings, you must help the Spanish anti-Fascists. Our hospitals are full of wounded fighters. There are thousands of widows and thousands of mothers who have lost their sons and husbands in the battle against reaction. Large numbers of the supporters and militants of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are in the front ranks. They are giving their life blood for freedom. In the name of these heroic fighters, in the name of thousands of widows and orphans we call upon you for help and solidarity. We need money—we need weapons to defend our lives, our freedom, and your freedom. The leftist political parties are getting help from abroad. It is evident that C.N.T. and F.A.I. which represent a vast section of the toiling masses in Spain should get even more help in order to be in a position to cope with the present exigencies.

—Comite Internacional Pro
Revolution Espanola (C.N.T.-F.A.I.)

This appeal needs no comment. Send all funds to U.L.O.,
I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, 45 West 17th Street, N. Y. C.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Workers' Councils to Clear Spain of Fascism

ONLY REVOLUTIONARY DEFENSE COUNCILS CAN ASSURE VICTORY

Any undertaking can succeed only if it maintains its hold on reality and does that which the hour calls for. All gains must be made secure against reverses. At the same time care must be taken that future advances may not turn into obstacles.

The conflict which started on July 19th is more than an ordinary dispute between a ruling clique and another seeking to replace it. The swift and determined intervention of the people carried the struggle far beyond its original scope, and what started as a "putsch" against a government or a regime, has now become a social-revolutionary movement with all its implications. July 19th signified, contrary to the intentions of the provocateurs, the end of a regime which made possible the preparation for and the outbreak of the civil war that is costing the Spanish proletariat so much blood. This regime must not come back.

Of the entire legal apparatus in force before July 19th, there remain only a few decorative official figures who rule no one save certain trade unions which, whether through tradition or through calculation, still cling to

them. We recognize all those who did their duty against Fascism. However, had Fascism encountered no opposition but that of the so-called legal powers, it would have won out without difficulty in Catalonia and in Spain. To-day the situation is still exactly this. If the "legal" powers of the pre-July 19th government had had to face Fascism alone, the Fascists would have been in Madrid and Barcelona in less than a week. It was the workers who fought the reaction from the very first
(Continued on page 4)

C.N.T. Takes Part In New Council

The newspapers have already reported the important change in the Catalan governing body (Generalidad). Three of our comrades of the C.N.T. accepted positions in the council of the Generalidad.

It is known that outside of political power the C.N.T. controls effectively the economic and social life of Catalonia.

We must also keep in view the fact that in Catalonia it is the union syndicates—and everyone knows that the C.N.T. has a preponderant influence in the unions—that also controls the political life of the region. Under those conditions and in view of the gravity of the situation from the view of the anti-Fascist defense and the economic reconstruction of the country, it was normal that the C.N.T. should assume, at least in part, the responsibility for the political direction of public affairs. Its absence from the councils of the Generalidad placed it in an unfavorable position in regard to the political parties.

The social structure of Catalonia demanded that the most important union organization should act in the political domain on an equal footing with the political parties.

(from "Le Libertaire"
French Anarchist paper.)

Militia Heroism Inspiring

by PIERRE VAN PAASEN

MADRID—(FP)—Franco is at the gates of Madrid. So was Yudenitch at the gates of old Petrograd in 1918. The Fascist rebels are fighting desperately for a quick decision before their money runs out. But the nearer Franco comes, the higher rises the combative ardor of the masses. There is not the slightest sign of weariness or wavering among the men and women of the militia.

And in Oviedo, the Asturian miners, with a gallantry that elevates one's respect for the potentialities of the human race, are blasting their way, street by street, into the heart of that important city.

The capture of 5,000 gas masks from the Fascists on the front southwest of Madrid shows that Franco will in a last extremity, even as Mussolini in Ethiopia, use poison gas to gain his ends. Fascists have no scruples when it comes to humaneness or a respect for the prescriptions of international law.

But no more than the Caproni bombers can blast a breach in the human wall of the workers' militia, no more can Franco's yperite gas bring him victory. The Spanish proletariat, fighting on one of the last citadels of freedom in Europe (France is next) will have the last word, if not today, then tomorrow. History is on their side. The struggle will be hard, long and cruel, but the final victory is certain.

PEASANTS CALL FOR LAND COLLECTIVIZATION

On the 25th of September a convention of peasants and land workers belonging to the C.N.T. took place in Barcelona. The following provinces were represented: Catalonia, Aragon (that part which was cleared of the Fascists), Tarragon and the Pyrennees districts.

The resolutions adopted at this convention were as follows:

1. The land is to be collectivized. But since it is desirable to have the small peasant on the side of the revolution, they must be given the right to settle upon and cultivate as much land as they can work with their own labor. This right is granted inso-

EMMA GOLDMAN IN SPAIN APPEALS FOR WORLD AID

Enlarged text of radio talk in Barcelona, Sept. 23, 1936:

Men and women in English speaking countries, I greet you in the name of the CNT (The National Confederation of Labor) and FAI, The Iberian Anarchist Federation.

The part already played by these spokesmen of the Spanish people in revolt since the battle with Fascism in the streets of Barcelona and the part they are destined to play is embracing the entire social and economic life of the Spanish people. Their objective is not only the extermination of Fascism, but also the transformation of the old social order.

The workers' battalions of Spain, who are holding the 50 times better equipped Fascist enemy at bay with their bare hands and by the ramparts of their own bodies, are displaying a heroism that would cause the world to gasp if the capitalist press had the slightest sense of fairness.

The liberal-democratic Giral government was incapable and insufficient to mobilize and direct the new energies that were required to beat back the assault of feudalism, obscurantism and monopolistic capitalism represented by its militant advance guard: the Fascist militarist clique headed by Gen. Franco.
(Continued on page 4)

Far from having destroyed and demolished everything, as they have been charged in some English and American papers, the CNT-FAI have proceeded almost immediately after having cleared Barcelona from the black scourge to socialize a number of industries and cultural institutions. And they have also socialized the railroads, the entire network of transportation including airplanes, ships, street cars, omnibuses and taxis; construction works and management. They have set to work to run them for the benefit of all.

During the week since my arrival in Barcelona, I had ample opportunity to verify the changed conditions and I was amazed to find everything in perfect order. Nothing destroyed or demolished, not a nail moved in factories, work-shops or the former luxurious houses now occupied by the numerous departments of
(Continued on page 3)

Militiamen Demand Russia Free Anarchists

The delegates of the anti-Fascists took the initiative in sending a telegram to the Russian government demanding that the Anarchists arrested by Stalin's government should be permitted to leave for Spain in order to take part in the anti-Fascist struggle allegedly given the moral support of Stalin's government.

The text of the telegram follows:

Zik, Staline, Moscow, USSR

The delegates of the anti-Fascist militia of the Arragonian front demand that the Russian government allow the departure for Spain of the valiant fighters Francezco Ghezzi, Ottello Gaggi and Herman Sandomirski. We hope for their immediate departure.

Representatives of the column at Caspe, Joaquin Ascasa.

Representative of Durruti column.

Representative of the C.N.T. press at Valencia, Alfonso de Miguel.

C.N.T. Demands Morroccan Freedom

A tremendous excitement prevails among the Moroccans, amounting almost to a direct rebellion against the Fascists. This revolutionary spirit, "Solidaridad Obrera," syndicalist daily, points out, must be cultivated.

"We consider the workers of Riff capable of providing for themselves in their life and their social organization. The fight against Fascism has today an absolutely international character. It is in this sense that it is necessary for us to stir the natives of Riff with a revolutionary spirit . . . We would be counter-revolutionary if we reserved liberty for the workers of our peninsula and allowed Morocco to remain in the hands of the enslavers. Absolute liberty for the colonies!

Spanish Morocco will be independent the day on which arms will be found in the hands of the Moroccan workers."

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REVOLUTION BY EXAMPLE NOT DECREE

One of the most remarkable features of the Spanish revolution is the high moral tone, the great moral fervor shown by the great mass of workers and peasants.

It manifests itself not only in the heroic struggle of the poorly equipped, untrained militiamen against the superior forces of a modern army, but in the high sense of revolutionary duty displayed by the workers in the factories, the smoothness with which the process of social transformation is taking its course in those places where the revolution is not hampered and thwarted by the dilatory tactics of the government.

The transition to a new and higher system is not accompanied by a process of social decay as was the case in Russia in 1917. The amount of destruction is insignificant compared with that caused by the outbreak of elemental forces in the October revolution. There is more conscious planning, spontaneous solidarity and permeation with the ultimate aims of a libertarian revolution on the part of the Spanish workers and peasants. Its contagious power reaches even certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie which by its origin, stands the nearest to the workers and which, contrary to the opinion of the Marxists, can be swept into the general process of reconstruction by a strong wave of mass enthusiasm and moral fervor.

All that is in evidence in revolutionary Spain to a much greater extent than in Russia of 1917, not only because of the different/historical setting, the disintegrating factors of a terrible World War, with the resulting degradation of the mass morale on one hand and the chauvinistic hysteria sweeping the intellectuals of the country on the other—all that is lacking in Spain. The danger of Fascist reaction has cemented the union of intellectuals and the mass of workers and peasants, thus preparing the ground for a more ready acceptance of the new social order. And on the other hand the masses of the people did not go through the morale-shattering process of wholesale betrayals on the part of their leading parties and the physical annihilation of the flower of their manhood in a senseless carnage.

There is, however, another factor which is even more instrumental in producing the high moral quality of the Spanish revolution, and that is the great role played by the Anarchists, that is, by revolutionists who do not depend upon force and coercion to bring about their ideals. Wherever the Anarchists are strong as is the case in Catalonia, we see authority reduced to its minimum and social transformation initiated by example and appeal. Revolutionary changes spread like waves from great revolutionary centers, but not through the medium of decrees, bureaucratic apparatus and military order. It is the great contagious example of revolutionary action displayed on a high plane of individual moral discipline and comradesly responsibility that has such an irresistible appeal to an ever greater mass of people.

This is the road of revolutionary reconstruction pointed out long ago by Bukunin and Kropotkin and now followed by the Spanish Anarchists. Its success therefore signifies the greatest victory of the progressive forces of humanity and the beginning of an even greater era than the one opened up by the October revolution of 1917.

RUSSIA — A BELATED PROTEST

For more than two months a ceaseless flow of German and Italian ammunition kept pouring in through Portugal, through the rebel-held ports of Galicia and Andalucia. Modern artillery, tanks, armored trains, heavy bombers of the latest construction—all of which take years of preparation even in technically advanced countries—all that suddenly appeared in the rebel army in quantities that only big militarist countries could supply within such a short time.

Italy and Germany have been openly flaunting the neutrality agreement not only by pouring in armaments, but by sending armed contingents and their naval units, thus openly taking sides with the rebels. Was the Soviet government unaware of this open breach of the solemn pact of non-interference? Why did it keep silent during all these months? Why that meekness of tone, the sudden pacifism, the suspicious concern over the preservation of peace, worthy of Downing Street, but not of a government still claiming to speak the language of proletarian solidarity.

Peace is one and indivisible—solemnly proclaimed the Soviet diplomacy. But the interference of Germany and Italy on behalf of the rebel army creates the greatest threat to peace. Italy

seizing islands opposite Marseilles, Germany getting a foothold on the Spanish mainland, the tremendous impetus given to the French Fascist movement by the victory of the rebel army—all that makes any talk about the preservation of peace sound like a deliberate mockery. We can very well understand why the ruling classes of France and Great Britain indulge in that mockery. They ignore the immediate threat to their own national interests because of their fear of the Spanish revolution. They are paralyzed into inactivity by the panic stirred up within them by the Spanish events. The shades of October loomed upon the horizon. But why should the Soviet government fall in line with the cowardly policy of letting the international reaction entrench itself in this most vulnerable sector of the democratic front?

Or was it that the Soviet government was too busy knifing the Spanish revolution by staging the infamous trial which has already entered history as one of the greatest mockeries of justice and fair play? While the Spanish workers fought heroically for the ideas of proletarian democracy, for the cooperation of all revolutionary elements, the Soviet government chose the moment to deliver the greatest blow to the united proletarian front. And how indeed could the Soviet government pay any heed to the concerted efforts of the international reaction to strangle the Spanish revolution if it was so busy manufacturing plots and conspiracies of the most elaborate kind?

And now the Soviet government protests. Madrid is almost surrounded by a wall of steel; the rebel army, equipped and manned by Germany and Italy, has grown into a formidable force. The Spanish revolution is approaching its critical hour. It is the time to act and not to exchange notes of protest. Hitler did not wait for any diplomatic answers: he sent his fleet to the Spanish waters. He was not afraid to challenge the coalition of democratic powers. He knew that the existence of his regime is inextricably bound up with the victory of Fascism in Spain. He did not believe in Fascism for one country only.

Hitler and Mussolini acted, but the Soviet government protests, while the pacifists from Downing Street keep on assuring us that the peace of the world is safe. Safe for the international reaction; safe for the coming victories of Fascism and also safe for the triumph of socialism in one country.

SPAIN A PAWN IN NEW WORLD WAR

What are the reasons for the interest which the different circles in Europe show in the present events in Spain? It is easy to understand the interest of the great masses of workers. The internationalism of the worker is not dead. For those whose interests are so closely connected with the great world struggle for the realization of a new society, of a society free from oppression and exploitation, for those there exist no frontiers. In France the workers are keenly searching the press for news of the Spanish revolution. The oppressed masses in Germany and Italy are anxious to obtain news of the real situation in Spain.

Workers all over the world sympathize with the anti-Fascist Spain. A great number of foreigners have come to Spain to enlist in the ranks of the militia. The workers of other countries are lending their moral and financial support to the Spanish proletariat. The workers of the world know that the victory of the Iberian proletariat is their own victory.

But the interest the capitalistic nations show in Spain, has other roots, other aims. . . The events in Spain, even though they interest us most passionately, should not make us forget, that we are on the eve of a new international conflict, which has become unavoidable through the development of imperialism throughout the whole world. The greedy

is the gravest danger of the moment.

Two blocks have crystalized out of this conflict of interests, two systems, ready to fight each other for a new distribution of the world, a new distribution of colonial wealth. For this war of imperialism is already prepared, war material, military organization, technical perfection in armaments and knowledge of the enemy positions.

Today we are in the phase of the last preparations. Everybody looks for alliances, everybody tries to surpass the progress of his future enemies.

Spain has been for some time, and not without reason, the object of international attention. Should the future conflict break out in the Mediterranean, the Iberian peninsula would be of great strategic importance as a base for air forces and for the navy. For the control of North Africa, the entrance of Spain into one or the other of those coalitions would be of immense advantage. It is for this reason that imperialistic France, under the pretext of humanitarian interests and pretending defense of the Spanish proletariat, shows sympathy to the Madrid government. It is for the same reason that Italy and Germany support the Fascists in Burgos.

There is no doubt as to the defeat of the generals and no chance of Spain's falling under the control of Italy or Germany. But the danger lies in the possibility that Spain might be put at

powers, grouped around France and Russia. The Spanish advocates of this alliance, the Communist Party, Caballero and its affiliations, have already expressed themselves to this effect. France looks at Spain only as a battlefield of the Fascist and democratic capitalistic powers. The question today is: will the Spanish workers direct their heroic struggle in their own interest or in the interest of foreign imperialist powers.

A demagogic propaganda is intended to win the fighting Spanish proletariat for imperialistic interests. In all honesty we must admit that the war-psychosis has been thoroughly prepared in order that the antimilitaristic propaganda in France should meet with great difficulties, as is demonstrated by the nationalistic tendency of the French Communists. The Spanish Marxists seem ready to follow the same example. This situation creates an immense responsibility for the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. An independent proletarian revolutionary position has to oppose the one or the other imperialistic thesis. The front of the proletarian revolution must oppose all capitalistic combinations who combat either with economic forces or with effective modern armaments. There are several factors which will make easier the realization of our international aim: the absolute anti-war attitude of the Spanish worker and the fact that hatred against other nations does not exist in Spain.

The National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (FAI) are the organizations which represent today, proletarian internationalism and fight all imperialistic interests without distinction. Above all, nations in latent conflict between each other, above all the nations involved in treacherous intrigues, prepared by so-called leaders sold out to imperialistic interests, the CNT and FAI represent today the revolutionary proletariat, conscious and confident of its own strength; and will fight for its own cause and for the true internationalism of the worker.

Workers of the world! Workers of Europe! Don't trust those internationalists who are paid by imperialistic groups and have long given up the idea of proletarian social revolution. Look at Spain; look at Spanish Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism. They march forward on the road of social revolutionary internationalism, which must become the road of all the workers of Europe. To avoid a terrible slaughter of European workers, proletariat of all the countries, unite. The enemy is in your own land. Fight as the Spanish workers fight, under the slogan of *direct action* against militarism and Fascism, against every exploitation and oppression in all

DON'T DISCUSS FASCISM—

DESTROY IT SAYS

DURRUTI IN BROADCAST

"Fascism should not be discussed but destroyed," said Comrade Buenaventura Durruti in a speech addressed to the whole of Spain and broadcast from one of the transmitting stations installed in the Aragon front.

Workers of all Spain! From a distance of 28 kilometers from Zaragoza I send my greetings to the workingmen of Catalonia and of all Spain. We are very near our goal. If we do not attack now, it is because we are waiting to see the results of the efforts of other columns also commanded by comrades. When everything is in readiness, in accordance with our general plan, we will attack Zaragoza.

You should not conclude from the above, however, that we limit ourselves to waiting. Last night we crossed to the other side of the Ebro river and we captured the entire first squadron of the 9th Castillejos regiment of cavalry.

At 7 o'clock in the evening our artillery began an intense bombardment of a house in which the general headquarters of the Fuentes de Ebro sector was located. Simultaneously, our infantry militia forded the river and captured several machine guns. Then, our men continued the attack and forcing their way forward with hand grenades, they reached the house just at the moment when the officers were trying to flee. They succeeded in killing all of them. There were, among these officers, one captain, two lieutenants, and several sergeants.

The soldiers came to us shouting: "Brothers, please do not kill us!" and with smiling faces surrendered to our militiamen, to those who are struggling to create a free Spain, a generous Spain, a productive Spain.

These soldiers told us that the Fascists claim that we are murderers. But no one is able or will ever be able to say specifically which are our crimes. No town has been shelled by us. On the other hand, when we shell a military objective, they retaliate by shelling towns which they know are inhabited by women, children and old men.

They also claim that all soldiers captured have to join our columns or else are immediately shot. But no one can say that the deserters are not well received. When they join our column they become one of ours, another militia man, just like myself.

Fascists of Zaragoza! The soldiers which you say we are shooting are now eating with us and sleeping in our beds. Why do you force the soldiers to fight by pointing your pistols at them? Why do you disarm them? Why do you tell them that we burn the feet of the deserters who come

to us? You are fighting with lies; but you are wrong if you think that victory will be yours!

In Spain there are two responsible organizations which no one will be able to crush: The C.N.T. in Barcelona and the U.G.T. in Madrid, Bilbao, etc. They will fight for liberty and justice.

We are going to crush Fascism! We have promised it and we will keep our promise, as we have always done. The C.N.T. of today is superior to the C.N.T. which you used to know. We now represent the men in the factories and the men in the streets.

We are fighting to have a Spain that will not be the private property of a few dictatorial generals representing capitalism.

The workingmen have awakened and will crush Fascism with their arms. Then, the C.N.T., the U.G.T. and the Popular Front, if possible, will get together and will come to an understanding.

C.N.T.-F.A.I. LEADS FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM FOR FREEDOM SAYS GOLDMAN

(Continued from page 15)

the CNT-FAI. I made it my business to talk to some of the workers and to express to them my astonishment that they had been able to prevent wholesale damage to the property now in their possession. In a direct and simple manner I was told that the workers felt they had produced the wealth and that they felt it would have been nothing short of stupidity to destroy anything that can now be made accessible to the use of all who labor. This marks a new departure in revolutionary consciousness of the value and sanctity of human effort and sets a convincing example for the quality, intelligence and practical judgment of the CNT-FAI.

True a number of churches were burned. But those who know the sinister influence of the Church on the Spanish masses, the superstitions fostered, the toll exacted and the alignment of the Church with the monarchist and military as well as the capitalist interests will not blame the masses for having vented their wrath on these structures. In addition it is a fact as I have been able to ascertain, that in a number of cases the workers set fire to the churches only after they had been attacked by priests. These men though sworn to live up to the admonition "THOU SHALT NOT KILL," yet sent volley after volley from the high church windows into the masses below. It is also significant that very few churches of historic or artistic importance have been touched.

However, it is the spirit of the people, their great courage and their high aims that should be considered and not a few de-

We are not fighting to win medals and stripes. We are not trying to win a seat in a Congress or in a Ministry. When we have won, we will return to the factories and to the shops from which we came. And in the factories, in the fields and in the mines will be the real army which will protect Spain.

Like the peasants, we are now beginning to sow. And like the peasants we are suffering terrific storms which may destroy our crops. But in spite of these storms—the continuous shelling and bombing by guns and by Italian and German planes—we claim that our crops are safe and we will not fail to harvest them.

The crops will belong to all of us, not to a Durruti, a Garcia Oliver, a Largo Caballero, a Companys or an Azaña. The crops will be harvested by everybody and everyone will have his share.

Workingmen of Spain, be brave! If there was ever a moment when it was necessary to risk our lives, this is it. Workingmen, be optimistic! We are led by an ideal!

Forward against Fascism!

Fascism should not be discussed. It should be destroyed! Salute, comrades!

molished stone buildings. This sublime spirit is giving birth to a new conception of the dignity and value of every man, woman and child in the new Spain which the CNT-FAI is working for.

It is profoundly moving to find a whole people as one man in their determination to persevere in the battle to the last man and last drop of blood until Fascism has been driven from the land. In making such a heroic stand the CNT-FAI is motivated not only by their great love of liberty and economic achievements for themselves. They are also moved by the certainty that a victory over Fascism in Spain would mean a victory over this enslaving force in all other countries. Just as the defeat against Fascism would plunge the whole world into darkness and savagery already in existence in a number of European countries.

While the ultimate aim of the CNT-FAI is a new social order on federalist, and not centralist lines, and while they have already begun to build the new edifice they do not forget for a moment the imperative need of concentrating on the elimination of the immediate menace within Spain. And they will not rest until that menace has been crushed utterly.

Men and women, are you aware of the fact that the supporters of Fascism are supplying Franco with tremendous amounts of modern weapons of warfare while the defenders of liberty have to battle almost with bare hands?

True, the Spanish people are invincible, and overwhelming in their fortitude, courage and will to consecration while the enemies are waging war with hirelings. But the most inspired men

C.N.T. DEMANDS UNITED DEFENSE COUNCILS—WORKERS' CONTROL

At the plenum of the regional committees of the C.N.T., taking place in connection with the changes in the government, the following resolutions were adopted after a thorough discussion of the situation.

1. To establish in Madrid a National Council of Defense made up of all elements who participate in the struggle against Fascism. The representation is to be based upon the following proportion: five delegates from the C.N.T. (Syndicalists), five from the U.G.T. (Socialist) and four Republicans. The president of the Council is to be Largo Caballero.

2. The political and economic administration is to be based upon local, provincial, and regional federalism. The offices of Civil governors of provinces as well as of the municipal government are to be abolished, their places to be taken by Councils of Defense built upon the same proportional representation as the National Council.

3. To transform the offices of the various ministries (state

secretaries) into departments of the council corresponding to the needs of the moment: foreign relations, maintenance of public order, war (including aviation and navy), communication and propaganda, education, large scale agriculture, industry, transport, public works, sanitation.

The creation of a popular militia to maintain public order. Also a war militia compulsory for all. The control of such militia is to be vested in the hands of the Council of Workers and Militiamen made up of joint committees of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. The creation of a single military directing centre in the form of a War Commissariat designated by the National Council of Defense and giving representation to the three sectors of the anti-Fascist front (Anarcho-Syndicalists, Socialists and Republicans).

5. To establish a Popular Proletarian and provisional juridic body designated by the National Council of Defense, the trade union organizations and political anti-Fascist organizations.

6. The socialization of the banks, the abolition of usury and speculation and the ultimate elimination of the national provincial and local debts.

7. The socialization of the wealth of the Church, as well as of the large landed estates, of the big industries, large commercial enterprises, the entire transport as well as of any enterprise, the owner of which gave any assistance to the Fascists; workers control of the private industrial and commercial establishments; the syndicates (industrial unions) to make use of the socialized means of production and exchange; the right of free experimentation for every community inasmuch as it does not conflict with the normal course of economic life; the introduction of a plan in the working of the big industries and more important land economies.

The struggle for peace upon the basis of the international action of the proletariat, the reorganization of diplomacy and the calling together of an international conference of all the anti-Fascist elements with the view of laying down the basis for a workable international solidarity.

All funds collected for our bulletin, "Spanish Revolution" should be turned in at once. If sufficient money is forthcoming we will be able to print the paper more regularly and perhaps soon make a weekly of it.

Send contributions and sales collections to

UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

I. Radinowsky, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street
New York City

—EMMA GOLDMAN

Free Expression of Workers In Councils Will Assure Victory

(Continued from page 1)

day, and it is the workers who are now bitterly contesting every inch of ground yielded by the "legal" representatives of the Spanish people to the Fascists. July 19th shattered the legal apparatus in Spain, which was in part treacherous and in part incompetent. The people had to win its fundamental rights and build up a new life according to its will. And therefore all the means for carrying on the fight should rest solely in the hands of the people, in the hands of typically revolutionary organizations composed of all sectors of the anti-Fascist movement.

All these sectors are in agreement on the point that the direct result of victory over Fascism can only be a complete economic and social change. But opinions differ as to what the basis of the new social and economic structure should be. Each faction has its own ideas and wants to bring them to realization. This is natural but it is also dangerous when such divergence of wishes passes the limits of good sense and of immediate need.

Care must be taken that the struggle goes on without giving anyone in the country the chance for building up party positions that will some day endanger the utilization of a victory won by joint action. Just as the protagonists of all factions fight at the front, so it is also necessary to create in the rearward organizations which are a true expression of reality and which will enable the people, on the day after the victory, to decide its new life, thinking and feeling in absolute freedom.

Socialization of Land

(Continued from page 1)

of land workers to attempt to realize in full the order of libertarian Socialism under the following circumstances:

a. The total collectivization is to be carried out in those regions in which there is no danger of running into any opposition with the small land owners.

b. Where such a danger does exist, the only land to be collectivized is that which belonged to the big land owners and any other land owner that took the side of Fascism.

c. The land workers must win over to the idea of collectivization, the poor peasants and the tenant farmers. Every district must have large model farms where all modern technical implements are to be tried out. In the first place there must be introduced electrification, irrigation and the chemical improvement of the soil. Such model farms are to be organized for the benefit of the peasants.

6. A certain latitude must be given every region in the appli-

In Catalonia the existing differences between the various factions are as great as, or greater than, in the rest of Spain. Here, however, the obstacle has been overcome through the creation of true revolutionary organizations in which all revolutionary factions can function jointly without any sacrifice of their intellectual integrity. The anti-Fascist committees for the militia, the maintenance of revolutionary order, for the organization of the upkeep and development of domestic economy, demonstrate the possibility of constructive co-operation of an entire people which is fighting a common enemy, without the appearance of any class or party privileges that might become the starting point of internal conflicts.

Catalonia's example should give the other regions of Spain food for thought. Right now no single faction can claim exclusive representation of the Spanish people. The people can be represented only by organizations born out of the revolution which is now in progress and which has abolished all pre-July 19th norms.

The CNT and the FAI demand the creation of *Regional Revolutionary Councils* which are united into a *Central Defense Council* for the entire country. As opposed to this central defense council, the regional councils should have the necessary autonomy to be able to settle the immediate pressing problems of the revolution. These revolutionary and therefore transitory organizations would have the task of defending the cause of all the fighting sectors and maintaining a uniform advance at the front and in the rear. This demand had already been raised by the CNT and the FAI before the creation of the Caballero government and we have no reason for altering it. On the contrary, it becomes clearer daily that the Spanish revolution cannot be represented by organizations alien to it; it must create its own expression. The CNT and the FAI, whose decisive importance is now recognized by all, have given sufficient proof of their understanding and tolerance, and exert sufficient moral authority to demand the same from all other factions.

Let us organize our victory without organizational rivalries and without mistrust, and the people will be able to choose freely, its way for itself. The *Revolutionary Defense Councils* must replace the old bankrupt institutions. They will show the revolution the next road.

SALESMEN WANTED

for "Spanish Revolution" and other Libertarian literature. Liberal commission. Call at 111 E. 45 W. 17th St. N.Y.C.

Masses Fight Heroically

(Continued from page 1)

If an era of well-being, social peace, freedom and bread for masses of workers and peasants comes at the end of the present upheaval, it will be because the workers took up arms in spite of the Giral government, and, it can be said now, against the wishes of several members of the liberal government.

When it was seen that the coalition government made no headway with organizing the defenses, Azana turned to Largo Caballero and Indalecio Prieto to take in hand the conduct of the war, because they, as Socialists, represented more closely the elements of the population who were willing to fight Fascism to the death, that is to say, the working class organizations.

Much precious time was lost. The enemy had battered his way through Extramadura and had advanced to the very gates of Madrid. Yet at this moment when the world is hearing nothing but the roar of battle in the Tagus Valley, industry is beginning to function again, after weeks of idleness and half-heartedness.

The workers themselves are taking the initiative. Revolutionary committees are being set up everywhere. People's tribunals have found those guilty of fomenting the rebellion, its financiers and auxiliaries, and have begun to mete out punishment within a week after being set up, whereas the Giral government hesitated for weeks to proceed against the plotters and their agents.

Now the landed estates which the successive liberal governments hesitated to confiscate are at last passing into the hands of the peasants. These are preliminary conditions to victory against the hirelings of Hitler and Mussolini, who are swarming over the land, burning, looting and massacring as they go. It was impossible to arouse the workers for a return to the status quo. Now they know what they are fighting for.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE ANARCHISTS IN SPAIN?

WHAT CAN THE AMERICAN WORKER DO TO HELP SPAIN?

Attend Mass Meeting at
IRVING PLAZA
(Irving Pl. & 15th St., N. Y.)
on
Sunday Afternoon, Oct. 25th
1 o'clock

MIDDLE CLASS SUPPORTS REVOLUTIONARY MASSES

The Catalan food workers of the C.N.T. issued the following declaration to the small businessmen:

"We respond to the serious appeal issued by the anti-Fascist committee to the Catalan middle class. The anti-Fascist committee pointed out that we all now share a great historical responsibility. That is why we appeal to you to enter our union. It is necessary that you transcend the narrow mentality of your class. You are also workers and you should not stand outside the workers' ranks. You issued from the ranks of workers, you grew up among us and that is why together with all of us you must help to build up the new economy that is coming into existence now and which is going to be firmly consolidated when Fascism has been fully vanquished.

"Small merchants! for years you worked hard from 12 to 14 hours a day. The bitter struggle for life deprived you of any leisure, of any opportunity to devote some of your time to social problems. And so you have

just as much reason as we to join the great social movement which aims to bring about a more just and dignified social order for all.

"Let us all strain our efforts to make life worth while for everyone. Our union appeals to you to do something on your own behalf, for your own freedom which will come as a part of the general freedom. The comrades of the Oil and Soap Merchants Association, employers and employees, have already taken the decision. They clearly saw the needs of our time and they decided to collectivize their business. Now they all work collectively. There are no more bosses and workers—all share their income according to their needs. Follow their example! They show the right way to overcome the distrust which you have felt towards the workers of the C.N.T., for you witnessed with your own eyes the heroism of the C.N.T. and the Anarchist F.A.I. who fought and are now fighting against Fascism for the interests of the entire people, for the future of Spain."

DONATIONS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN

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TOTAL Donations for Spain..\$2,171.21

To date we have sent \$2,000 to the C.N.T. through the I.W.M.A.

The Spanish workers need your continued aid. We cannot rest until these heroic fighters lay down their arms in victory. Only working class solidarity can achieve victory. Send funds to

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 5

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 6, 1936

Price 3 cents

Revolutionary Councils Taking Control of Spain

Socialist Professor of Geneva on Anarchist Work in Spain

... The agreement arrived at by the various political tendencies in Catalonia enabled the anarchists to create a social organization on a syndicalist basis, which inspires admiration in point of its order, intelligence and revolutionary spirit.

Throughout Catalonia one may travel unarmed, both during the day and during the night, without running the slightest danger. At present there is complete tranquillity both in Barcelona and in the towns and villages of the interior. In the midst of a civil war, the anar-

chists have shown themselves to be political organizers of the highest type; they inspire in everyone the necessary respect for discipline and they know how to make eloquent appeals to the devotion of all for the common welfare.

It is with the feeling of joy, coupled with a sustained admiration, that a social-democrat comes to view the new Catalan institutions. The anti-capitalist regime is being organized in Catalonia without taking recourse to any dictatorship. Over

(Continued on page four)

MADRID BEGINS TO CARRY OUT ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST PROGRAM

As we go to press, we learn from the capitalist press that "the powerful syndicalist organization known as the C.N.T. which hitherto has declined to be represented in the government because of the Confederation's original non-political character has finally accepted representation in the cabinet." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 4.) We are also informed by another daily paper (N. Y. Evening Post, Nov. 3), that the reorganization was viewed as a victory for Premier Largo Caballero who has consistently desired Anarcho-Syn-

dicalist participation in government activities.

This news is garbled as usual. They give a distorted view of what has taken place in Madrid. What happened there is not just the joining of an ordinary cabinet by an opposition party. The newspapers hint of "a major reorganization" of the cabinet. In reality it is a radical change of the political system in accordance with the revolutionary plan laid down by the C.N.T. a month ago.

The underlying ideas of this change are well expressed in a manifesto issued by the last Plenum of the C.N.T. (regional).

"The organs of revolutionary defense cannot be those of traditional democracy. New organs have to be formed, that is those that were created by the revolution on a regional and local scale must be expanded to national size. (Ed. Note—Those organs are Councils of Defense based mainly on labor and peasant unions.) They must plant themselves squarely upon the new social and political realities which came to triumph after the events of July 19. (Ed. Note—That is, the revolution must be social in its character.) The institutions of bourgeois democracy, its local, provincial and national apparatuses do not correspond any more to the present situation. Nor can they give expression to the revo-

lutionary spirit now animating our social life."

(From the "CNT," the official organ of the Anarcho-syndicalist confederation of Labor.

Those ideas were embodied in the plan submitted by the C.N.T., the details of which were reported in our last issue of the "Spanish Revolution" (Oct. 19). And it has already been carried out in Catalonia. It means the widest application of the federative principle. The Councils of Defense are *coordinating* agencies, but not governments of the old type. It also means a resolute break with the timorous policy in regard to capitalist relationships. It means the ushering in of a deep political and social revolution, which has already been in operation in Catalonia and which is now going to spread to the rest of Spain.

Largo Caballero opposed it. The communists were dead set against it, but the demands of the revolution proved stronger than doctrinaire considerations. It is not the anarcho-syndicalists that reconsidered their attitude, but the parties that until now were hanging onto the tail end of bourgeois institutions, having finally been forced into a revolutionary united front envisaged and mapped out by the anarcho-syndicalists of Spain.

WHY C.N.T. ENTERED GENERALIDAD OF CATALONIA

Since July 19th of this year, sudden political and social changes have taken place in Cataluña. The revolutionary workers became the moving force in the battle against Fascism. The battle was swift and thorough. The slogan C.N.T.-F.A.I. rallying all the class-con-

scious masses to the banner and ideals of this vital fighting organization.

The entire social and political forces are now backing the anti-Fascist struggle. The anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. with its largest contingent of workers is actively participating in the anti-Fascist

defense, as well as in the constructive transformation of the economic and social life of the masses. The Committee of the voluntary militia, the Food-supply Committee and the Economic Council constitute the directing force of the anti-Fascist campaign. The C.N.T. is represented in all the Committees. The former bourgeois governing body, while existing alongside these committees, was yet a powerless organism. It renounced all active resistance against the revolutionary workers, contenting itself with the function of legalising the resolutions of the

(Continued on page four)

REVOLUTION SPREADING TO CULTURAL FIELD

The great work of revolutionary reconstruction is extending to the cultural field. The reorganization of the educational system along the lines of revolutionary ideas and practice is proceeding rapidly. A very important landmark in this process of cultural rebuilding is the plenary sessions of the representatives of the C.N.T., F.A.I., the various cultural groups and clubs of Catalonia. Close to 400,000 workers were represented at those sessions. Some idea of the work achieved and, incidentally, of the high cultural level of the anarchist workers of Catalonia, can be gathered from an article appearing in one of our magazines in Barcelona ("Las Noticias"). The author is Dr. F. Ibanez, an active worker in the ranks of the C.N.T.

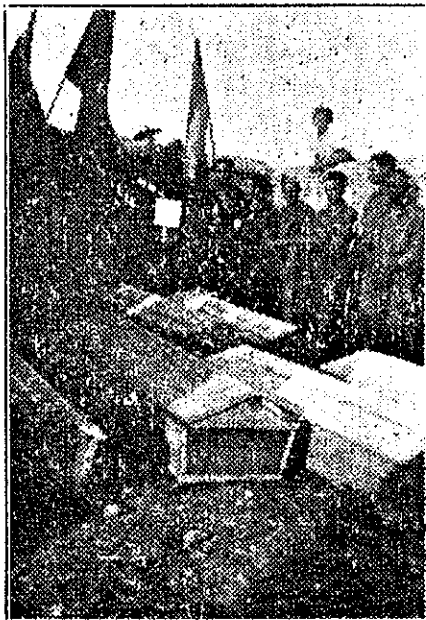
The article follows in part:

"... For two days and nights the representatives of hundreds of thousands of workers from the fields and factories of Catalonia were grappling with cultural problems in order to chart a new course for their solutions. The Revolution did away with much that was odious in the old regime, but it left intact some of

its roots planted in the subsoil of the old putrid epoch. It was enough, though, that the proletariat had its first respite in the struggle that those hateful roots should be pulled out and as this Plenum of Culture has demonstrated, that new sprouts should already begin to shoot forward.

"The mass of workers pronounced itself in favor of the New Unified School. In those long drawn out sessions the mass of workers showed a high tension of thought, having charted the future course of education and plotted new orientations that will prove decisive in the mental life of the future generations.

"The school will cease to be a breeding ground of learned pedants, but will become the workshop where the new man will be forged. General culture will take its place alongside of the special technical education. The latter will be the task of the cultural sections of the syndicates, while the Atheneum (the cultural clubs of the C.N.T.), the universities and cultural centres will disseminate a new humanitarian culture, rich and profuse in its possibilities..."



Militia of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. at the Arragon Front



Funeral of an Italian comrade killed while in action against the Fascists in Arragon.

WARM CLOTHES FOR SPANISH FIGHTERS

One of the most distressing difficulties facing the Spanish workers is the lack of warm clothes for the fighters on the battle front. Our Spanish comrades of New York recently sent to Spain 2,000 sheepskins. The labor is freely contributed by comrades and that is why a sheepskin costs only \$2.00 (a longer one, \$2.50).

Comrades and friends! Help us in this work of providing warm clothes for our heroic Spanish fighters. Send money for sheepskins to I. Radinowsky, U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for support of Spanish Workers.

WEST 17th STREET - NEW YORK, N. Y. - CHelsea 3-9567

Vol. 1, No. 5 November 6th, 1936

THE NEW PEOPLE'S FRONT—FOR, NOT AGAINST REVOLUTION

We hear it said now very often that the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain are going back on their revolutionary principles. They have become a part of the Peoples Front instead of combatting it. They are collaborating with the representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie, like the Left Republicans of Catalonia, instead of eliminating them.

Those arguments are advanced not only by little sects and half-styled revolutionary purists. The socialists and communists fall back upon such arguments in order to justify their participation in the block of bourgeois parties. For if an organization of indomitable revolutionary spirit is driven toward some sort of collaboration with people like Companys, why shouldn't socialists and communists establish a united front with representatives of the bourgeoisie like Azaña in Spain and Herriot in France?

Is it the same, though? Is the People's Front advocated by the socialists and communists of the same nature as the coalition of movements now making up the anti-Fascist front in the most revolutionary provinces of Spain?

Does Leon Blum socialize railways and factories, expropriate land owners? Does he base his power on the trade unions of the country, on the factory committees, on the unions of poor peasants? Have such organizations become an integral part of a new social and political system? Of course not. He takes orders from the big industrialists and money kings. Troops are being used to evict strikers from the factories at the direct orders of the Blum government. This is done in order to appease the French radical socialists, a party of the same social composition as the Left republicans of Catalonia.

The radical socialists dominate the French People's Front and are in turn dominated by the economic rulers of the country. But who dominates the Left republicans of Catalonia? At whose bidding does Companys issue decrees sanctioning the seizure of factories and big land estates, the total reorganization of social life undertaken by the revolutionary unions of the country?

There are coalitions and coalitions, there are two kinds of "United Front," two ways of collaborating with the petty bourgeoisie. One is to let the revolutionary working class be dominated by the latter; and that means in the long run to be dominated by the industrial and financial oligarchy. This is the kind of a People's Front advocated and practiced by the socialists and communists in France and up till recently in Madrid.

The other is the one followed now by the C.N.T. of Catalonia. Collaboration with the petty-bourgeoisie there is; and it could be sheer madness to antagonize those elements in a situation where every force fighting against Fascism counts so much. But the direction of affairs is taken out of the hands of that vacillating element. It is gradually drawn into the process of social reconstruction instead of being aroused against it.

This is made possible not only because the anarcho-syndicalists are pursuing the tactics of revolutionary realism. A change of heart is inevitable with large masses of the petty-bourgeoisie and the technicians in regard to revolutionary reconstruction. The realities of the struggle against Fascism are teaching them one outstanding lesson, and that is: in order to fight against fascist barbarism, to fight for the preservation of the elementary basis of our culture, it is necessary to direct one's blows against the capitalist system as a whole.

This lesson is being driven into the minds of the Spanish doctors, lawyers, technicians, salaried people and petty traders by the sight of the unspeakable hordes now being unloosed upon Spain and supported by the erstwhile economic rulers of the country. They are learning those lessons and that is why the revolutionary workers find it easier to establish a new united front with them. A united front not for the defence of capitalism, but for a resolute attack on its bases. Not the timorous, treacherous People's Front which the socialists and communists of France and Spain have been building up, but one which is inspired with the vision of a new social order to be gradually erected on the ruins of the capi-

COMRADELY DISCIPLINE

AT THE FRONT

(From an interview with Durutti reprinted by the SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA, Oct. 8)

Our brigade does not only conduct war: it is also making the revolution at the same time. The revolutionary measures adopted in Barcelona are immediately put to practice right near the battle front. Every village conquered by us begins to undergo a deep revolutionary change. A defeat on our part would mean not just an ordinary retreat of the army. We would have to take along with us the entire population of those communities through which we pass. From the firing line down to Barcelona we have nothing but combatants.

Everyone works for the war and revolution. Therein lies our power.

As to discipline I believe that this is only a question of respecting ones' obligations. I am against the discipline of barracks, but I am also against an ill-understood kind of liberty behind which cowards hide. At war the elected delegates have to be obeyed: otherwise no military operation of any kind will be possible. In our brigade we have the same tricks employed as during the great war: dying mothers, sick children, various ailments. We have a medical commission to examine all kinds of complaints and those that give

AN APPEAL TO LIBERTARIANS

The example of the libertarian organizations of New York is now being followed by those of other cities. From Philadelphia and Chicago comes news of definite organizations being set up by the libertarian forces in order to push vigorously the task of helping out the work of our comrades in Spain.

This, however, is not enough. New York, Philadelphia and Chicago are not the only cities where the tremendous significance of Spanish events is being realized. There are thousands of anarchists, syndicalists, industrial unionists all over the country. They all surely understand the full importance of what is going on in Spain. They are surely aware of the urgent need of acquainting the great masses of workers, farmers, intellectuals of the country with the wonderful achievements of the revolutionary movement of Spain.

And yet no concerted effort has been made by them to place this work on a wide basis of a comprehensive organization. Our voice is still feeble, much too feeble, as compared with the urgent needs of this moment for a powerful broadcasting agency.

This situation must be changed. There should be no single place in the country where, given some group of people sympathetic with the Spanish revolution, a vigorous organization for the purposes of disseminating information about it should be missing. We all, regardless of the smaller differences dividing us, should broadcast throughout the whole country the greatest outstanding fact of modern life, and that is: **a great libertarian revolution is in the making; a revolution breaking with all precedents and charting a new course for humanity.**

The capitalist press distorts and defames it. The socialists and communists deliberately ignore it. They opposed it, they are sabotaging it even now, and that is why they cannot admit without the full loss of face the plain fact that the revolution has left them far behind. It is only we, libertarians of all shades, all non-political socialists, adversaries of any form of dictatorship, it is only we that will do the work of informing the public opinion of this country of the problems, achievements and aspirations of the Spanish revolution.

We have to do it not only in order to fulfil our ordinary duty in regard to the Spanish revolution. Our work right here, in this country, depends in a direct measure upon the success of our activity in behalf of Spain. The greatest blow to any dictatorial idea is to show the workers of this country that a free socialism is becoming a fact in one of the important European countries. The most effective struggle against the demoralization brought in by politicians into the labor and farmer movements is by way of telling the great masses of American people of the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish masses along the lines of direct action.

And last, but not least: no one of us should ever forget that in Spain **there are seven eager men to one rifle.** We must not relax for a moment in our efforts to collect money and to stir up the public opinion against the infamous blockade which the would-be democratic governments of France and Britain have established against the Spanish people.

We can do that only by uniting our efforts. Build up United Libertarian Organizations, embracing all those who sympathise with the libertarian course of the Spanish revolution. Build up a powerful weekly capable of supplying with regular news all those who are eager to know of the real character of Spanish events. Send speakers throughout the country for the same purpose of wide dissemination of news and information on Spain.

There are no national revolutions. The Spanish revolution is rapidly assuming an international scope. Its battle front is extending to all parts of the world. And we here, at one of its most important sectors, have to take our rightful place.

in those excuses in order to shirk their duties are getting their due. However, those cases are rare. The comrades of our brigade are worthy of the cause for which they are fighting.

Spanish Peasants Realize Libertarian Communism

In Spain it isn't only two or three villages that have carried out the ideas of libertarian communism, but thousands of them. Many of them do it unconsciously. Many of them do not call themselves anarchists, but without being aware of it, they march toward libertarian communism.

We visited villages in Castille, and, as it was natural on our part, we advised the peasants to organize their life upon libertarian foundations. But after having explained to them the nature of this libertarian society, we were surprised to hear from them the following: "but we have already done that."

As proof of this we reproduce a letter received from one of those villages:

"... we have already come near to realize libertarian communism in full. Money has been completely abolished. That is why we cannot renew the subscription. If money begins to circulate again, we shall pay you with the latter. If not, we shall regulate it on the basis of some exchange."

Such villages are very numerous. In Andalusia, Castille, Aragon, Murcia, Asturia and Catalonia — everywhere libertarian communism is being implanted. Sometimes it is done in its rudimentary aspect, it being a spontaneous manifestation and not a consciously planned system.

This fact is of tremendous importance. Economic Councils, the regional committees of the C.N.T. must pay close attention to this process. It is necessary to make a statistical account of it: of the number of people of each locality, of its agricultural production and other side lines. The exchange of products now spontaneously entered into by the collectivized villages should be coordinated on a wider scale.

It is necessary to direct those splendid beginnings of the Spanish villages into a broad plan. This is demanded by the actual moment.

"JUVENTUD LIBRE."
(A magazine published by the anarchist youth of Spain.)

The Spanish workers need your continued aid. We cannot rest until these heroic fighters lay down their arms in victory. Only working class solidarity can achieve victory. Send funds to I. Radinowsky, c/o U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

All funds collected for our bulletin "Spanish Revolution"

MADRID - BARCELONA

The following article from the "CNT", Oct. 14, gives us some idea of how far Madrid, until now controlled by the Socialists, trails behind the revolutionary work of other provinces, and especially that of Catalonia. As in all other revolutions, the existence of a centralized government proves to be a great obstacle to its forward march.

* * *

We cannot resist the temptation to compare the measures adopted by the Madrid government with those emanating from the Catalanian Council. Barcelona and Madrid follow two different routes.

The Minister of Agriculture

(Madrid) issued the following decree on the expropriation of land.

"Subject to expropriation in favor of the State are those land estates which belong to owners who took part in some capacity, direct or indirect, in the insurrectional movement against the Republic."

At the same time the Council of Catalonia decrees in its manifesto "the collectivization of all big estates, respecting at the same time the rights of small peasant proprietors."

Madrid confines itself to the expropriation of those estates, the owners of which took part in the Fascist movement. It places

them at the disposal of the State and not the syndicates of peasants. The Madrid government does not face the basic problem of the Spanish revolution. It is only applying sanctions in regard to some of the feudal lords.

The Council of Catalonia seeks the emancipation of the peasants and places at their disposal the estates of the big land owners: of those who helped the Fascists and those who did not. It lays the basis of a society of free producers. It safeguards the rights of the small proprietors, but at the same time it organizes the collective exploitation of the big estates by the syndicates. Let this task be realized and the revolution will never be destroyed.

Convention Marks Revolutionary Advance in Southern Spain

The original zone of Fascist aggression was the southern province of Andalucia. But thus far it succeeded only in cutting a swath along the western part of the province. With the exception of several well fortified cities like Granada and Cordoba, the rest of the country is in the hands of the workers and peasants.

The latter are rapidly organizing not only for military defense but for the revolutionary reconstruction of the entire social life. The libertarian revolution is marching ahead not only in Catalonia and Valencia provinces, but also in the south where the influence of the C.N.T. was always great. We reprint here from the "C.N.T." (the official organ of the Confederation), a report of the convention of the syndicates of peasants and workers belonging to the C.N.T. of the Granada province.

"At the beginning of this

month a general convention of the C.N.T. syndicates of the Granada province took place. Numerous towns and villages were represented. There were also numerous delegates of the U.G.T. received at this convention with great show of comradely feeling.

"Important resolutions were adopted on the political and economical reorganization. It was decided to recommend to every locality the setting up of a committee composed of the representatives of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. Such a committee is to be the only one responsible for the main direction of affairs.

"Those committees are the only ones to control the process of expropriation and instituting workers control.

"Small peasant land-holdings are to be left intact. In addition they are to be given all possible assistance so as to draw them into the collectives on a voluntary basis.

"The exchange of products between various communities is to be placed under the control of the unified trade union committee. All the confiscated lands should not be parcelled out into small holdings, but should be turned over to collectives.

"All the grain and instruments of production are to be taken over by the community.

"Every family is left a sufficient supply of grain or other products for its own consumption and for the next sowing. The rest goes to the general supply house in order to exchange it through the collective organs for other products such as coffee, sugar, clothing.

All livestock is to be taken over by the community and then redistributed according to the needs of every family.

Articles that are scarce are to be rationed out, preference to be given to the sick, children and old people."

Those are only the most outstanding resolutions of this convention which, being mainly represented by agricultural workers and peasants, shows that the social revolution has already penetrated to the farthest corner of the country. The peasants are beginning to act on their own initiative without waiting for the Madrid government and that is what serves as the greatest guarantee of its success.

TOWARDS FREE COMMUNES IN CATALONIA

The reorganization of the supreme executive body of Catalonia from a government into that of an administrative Council of various economic and political organizations was followed by a similar reorganization of municipalities.

As the reader will note, the latter is granted wide autonomous power on one hand, and on the other it is being transformed into a coordinating and administrative organ of the various functional bodies. The municipality in Catalonia begins to take on the character of a Commune for which the libertarian movement fought for more than half a century.

We reprint the following details of this reorganization from the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T. (Oct. 12) from the decree of the Supreme Council of Catalonia (Generalidad):—

... The latest course of events, the persistence of the struggle which places before the municipalities the necessity of directing the energies of a new revolutionary order, impels us to adopt new and precise norms in the constitution of municipal organs which should reflect the solidarity of action on the front and in the rear. The municipalities must be represented by those elements which until now stood apart from it (referring to the C.N.T.).

It is therefore necessary to bring the municipal law in harmony with the exceptional demands of the moment and to fix such norms that would correspond with actual life.

The municipal organs are based on the representation of political and trade union organizations in the same proportion as the one on which the Supreme Council (Generalidad) of Catalonia is built up.

The municipal councilors are elected at the general meeting of the representatives of the political and trade union bodies, the basis specified in the first article. The councilors make up the new executive body, elect the municipal judge or the body fulfilling

Every municipality may adopt a form of organization suitable to its own specific life.

The municipalities are to set up committees for every function of local life such as administration, culture, public works, de-

fense and others.

Those functions are to be exercised on the basis of full autonomy on one hand and on the other—in agreement with the supreme organs of the Generalidad.

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS IN CATALONIA

Madrid Sabotage

Comrade Fabregas who is now at the head of the department of National Economy of Catalonia, publicly condemned this attitude on the part of Madrid. Largo Caballero is not better in this respect than his predecessors, this being due to his hostility to the basic ideas and methods of the C.N.T. He refused to advance a credit of 800 millions of pesetas asked by Catalonia for the purpose of buying war materials, and he also refused to credit Catalonia with 150 million francs necessary for the purchase abroad of raw materials for the industries. As a security for those credit advances, Catalonia offered one billion of its saving bank notes now held by the Bank of Spain.

In the same manner was met the Catalanian demand to get some part of the 400 billion gold supply now held by Madrid. One can very well understand Catalonia's desire to set up a sort of independent bank. At the last congress of the Catalanian C.N.T. (regional) a proposal was made by one syndicate to set up a currency for Catalonia's inner consumption while reserving Spanish paper money for foreign trade only.

From War Economy to Rational Economy

... The civil war, as is well known, made many ravages. The socialization, sequestration and the introduction of workers con-

* ED. NOTE—The conflict is not altogether political in its nature. It is due not only to the centralistic claims of the Madrid government. Up to now the Socialists and Communists who dominated the Madrid government opposed any attempt to change radically the economic structure of Spain. Their defense of capitalism led to a series of conflicts with the forces molding the new social order of Catalonia. And as the author hinted in another part of the same article, those conflicts have something to do with the growing influence of the Russian

The revolutionary reorganization of the economic life of the Catalanian and other provinces where the anarchists are predominant (the eastern seaboard) is a comparatively smooth process. It is not accompanied by the monstrous waste and destruction characterizing the revolutionary reorganization of Russian economic life in 1917. But difficulties there are, and must be. A new order has to be created and not just patterned after some existing model. What are those difficulties and how do the anarchists of Catalonia meet them? Of this our readers may learn from the article appearing below. It is part of a larger article appearing in the syndicalist magazine "La Revolution Proletarienne" (Oct. 19), one of the best informed magazines on the situation in Spain.

Economic Difficulties

As it was to be expected, difficulties arose in the process of economic reconstruction. Some of the industries are inactive, while others hold their own with difficulty. The stock of raw material is dwindling, while at the other end surpluses of finished products begin to accumulate. The market very often does not absorb the entire production. There is a noticeable rise of the prices of some commodities, such as sugar, coffee, coal, eggs, potatoes...

... The most serious difficulties are encountered in the financial field. The Supreme Economic Council needs a revolving fund to make the necessary purchases abroad and to buttress up those collectivized industries which may temporarily find themselves in straits.

Unfortunately such funds could not be obtained in Madrid. This is the economic side of the political conflict going on between the Marxists of Madrid

and others. Production was to a large extent directed toward war needs, the main efforts being concentrated upon the production of armaments and other war equipment.

But the problem already arises of clarifying the situation, of adapting production for the regular needs of economic life. It is necessary to start already preparing the economy for the coming period of peace, to establish a plan for the future with the view of directing and harmonizing production. Such a plan would obviate any sudden and hasty improvisations, would make it possible to distinguish between good and bad enterprises.

Comrade Fabregas dwells a great deal upon the need for rationalization and upon the necessity of obeying the laws of technic and economic life. But it is as an anarchist that he speaks about those matters. He shows the need of respecting the autonomy of the individual, municipality, syndicate and entire regions insofar as they fall in line with the general interest. Fabregas appeals particularly to the lower middle classes who are bound to play some role in the mixed economy of the transitional period. The small peasant household will survive for some time and partly so, the petty industrial and commercial enterprises.

Our comrades of the C.N.T. are especially concerned with cementing the necessary solidarity among all producers. They are determined to eliminate the dispersion of efforts, the lack of co-ordination characterizing the first period of economic reorganiza-

Help Collect Clothes for Spanish anti-Fascists

Committee representing all Spanish anti-Fascist organizations of the city collects warm clothes to be sent to Madrid and Barcelona.

Send such clothing to
The Spanish anti-Fascist
Committee
59-61 Henry Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

SARAGOSA WORKERS BETRAYED BY PEOPLE'S FRONT REPRESENTATIVE

Saragossa is now the strongest fortress possessed by the Fascists. It is nearly impregnable, not only because of its geographic position, but also because of the highly mechanized equipment possessed by its garrison.

Saragossa was also one of the firmest revolutionary strongholds. Its workers belong predominantly to the C.N.T. and were always noted for their valor. Had they succeeded in preventing the Fascist generals from capturing the city, the revolution would have taken a different course. The road from revolutionary Catalonia and Arragon to Navarre—the heart of the Fascist movement—would be clear and the threat to Madrid and the northern provinces would have been removed.

What prevented the anarchist workers of Saragossa from thwarting the Fascist plot as they did in Barcelona and other towns of Catalonia? The anarchist weekly "Tierra y Liber-

tad" (Oct. 15) prints the report of one of the comrades who recently escaped from Saragossa. It tells the story of betrayals on the part of the representatives of the government of the so-called People's Front.

"Long before July 19, the militants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. expected a military uprising.

"On July 17th a delegation of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. unions visited the governor of Saragossa, calling his attention to Franco's activity in Morocco and to the urgent necessity of distributing arms to the people through the trade unions. The governor promised to do so, but when the people, notified of this, gathered in the streets, the governor ordered the detention of numerous militants who had some arms of their own.

"The following day the revolutionary committee (of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.) ordered the members of the respective

trade union bodies to appear at the union locals expecting the promised distribution of arms. Instead, the governor ordered the Assault Guards (a military police built up by the Republican government — Ed. note) to surround the union quarters and to attack the workers.

"Barricades rose immediately. But the workers who had only a very limited amount of arms were no match for the Assault Guards who were now joined by the soldiers of the garrison, the Civil Guards and Fascist volunteers. The defeat of the workers was followed by a frightful massacre in which neither women nor children were spared.

"This governor was a member of the Left Republican Party. The contemptible role played by him did not, however, save him from the Fascist vengeance. He was arrested and is now kept in the prison of Pamplona."

WHY GERMANY INTERFERES IN SPAIN

Mercury Behind the Civil War

The answer is clear. In former wars the main reason was *petroleum*; in the civil war in Spain the main reason is *mercury*.

It is well known that Spain is the most important producer of mercury in the whole world. The production of mercury is as follows: First Spain, 2.47; then Italy, 1.99; America, 0.86; Russia, 0.27; Mexico, 0.25; Czechoslovakia, 0.08. These numbers mean millions of kilogrammes a year.

Mercury is of the greatest importance in war; each hand grenade, each gun shot, each cannon shell must contain mercury. It is a fact that without mercury no war can go on.

Germany wants undoubtedly to take the the Spanish mercury mines at Almaden, so famous throughout the world, to serve the fighting purposes of the Reich, and at the same time to deprive the whole of Europe of its principal market of mercury, which provides 40 per cent of the whole production of this metal.

The second place in mercury production belongs to Italy, but Italy is in full accordance with Germany. In case of a victory of the rebels, Spain would be under the control of Germany, who would profit by our rich mines, while the rest of Europe would be deprived of this precious metal, not only useful for war industries but for many other purposes. This privation would be very injurious to all countries.

Here is the basis of the present events in Spain provoked by Germany which will end in a world

Iron Also

Mercury is the main basic object of the Spanish civil war, but not the only one, as Spain is very rich not only in mercury but in many other metals important in war industry of which Germany is short, especially iron.

During the year 1935 Spain has exported to Germany fourteen million tons of iron.

Spain produces every year more than seven million tons of iron.

And Copper

Spain exported to Germany last year 400,000 tons of copper, and the Spanish production every year is 540,000 tons. There is nothing strange that Hitler should envy Spanish copper.

Lead Too

The lead mines of Andalusia are most important, and shellac

mines exist also in Asturias, though in this region the coal mines are more important. The importation of lead to Germany was in the last year 54,000 tons, and the regular Spanish production of this metal is 116,000 tons.

For another reason, also, Hitler Germany desires Spain. Its great dream is France and Paris, the coveted Paris of the last war; but now France, through many sufferings, has got the most powerful army in the world; and Germany dare not attack the tremendous defences built by France all along her German frontier, called "ligne Maginot," and extended also along the Belgium frontier. Then what is the only thing to do? To act as a snake does and attack the enemy in an underhand way.

—from "New Times" an anti-Fascist paper published in England.

Professor Comments on Anarchism

(Continued from page one)

there the members of the syndicates are their own masters, and they regulate the production and the distribution of properties under their control; after listening to the advice of experienced technicians in whom they have confidence. The enthusiasm of workingmen and employees is so great that they spurn personal advantages offered to them, and think only of the interests of all. The industrial concentration carried out has produced miracles. Sales prices have dropped, and that is in spite of the fact that the working hours are shorter and the salaries slightly higher.

Inspired by these results and influenced by this environment, dispossessed capitalists have spontaneously offered their tech-

have not been expropriated, placed their factories and their fortunes at the disposal of the committees of the syndicates.

In summarizing, one may say that, although carrying out a social revolution in all essential points, Catalonia has adapted itself to the economic requirements imposed by the struggle against the rebels. Seven weeks after having taken over the power, the proletariat succeeded in organizing the rear to a point which France was able to reach only fourteen months after the beginning of the world war.

The foregoing is a portion of a statement made by the socialist, Andres Oltmares, a professor at the University of Geneva. It is taken from CNT of October 14,

A Marxist Tribute to the C.N.T.

The Worker's Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) is an organization of communist oppositionists which struck some roots in Catalonia. (It is much stronger there than the official Communist party.) It differed in many respects from the Stalinists, but there was one point on which they both agreed, and that is their hatred of the anarchist movement and the C.N.T. It was as unscrupulous and unprincipled in its struggles against the latter as the official Communist Party. It is, however, beginning to experience a change of heart in that respect. The overwhelming role played by the C.N.T. in furthering the cause of the revolution is so clear to the workers and peasants of Spain that even those who until recently kept on prattling about the petty-bourgeois and reformist nature of the an-

archist movement (the last book by the late Maurin, the leader and theoretician of the P.O.U.M., published on the very eve of the July events, is full of those pearls) are forced to make public acknowledgement of it. The resolution reprinted from the "C.N.T.," the official organ of the C.N.T. speaks for itself in this respect.

"At a recent conference of the P.O.U.M., among other resolutions there was one relating to the C.N.T., saying that 'it is necessary to maintain the closest relations with the C.N.T., for it is this organization which, in view of its independent attitude toward the bourgeoisie and the importance given to it by its great numerical strength, which offers us the greatest guaranty that the social content of the revolution will not be frustrated'."

C.N.T. - Generalidad

(Continued from page one)

decisive body, created by the people themselves. The Committees actually represent the entire current of life in Cataluña. In cooperation with the different syndicates they are the determining organs of socialisation and the reconstruction of the old economy for all of Cataluña.

Under the new social forms the existing government proved both futile and unnecessary. It had to resign. Its place has now been taken by an Executive Council of the Generalidad of Cataluña. Its function is the coordination of all the commit-

tees and the Economic Council. It is made up of three delegates of the C.N.T., three of the Catalan Left, one member of the Farm Labourers Union (the Rabassaires) and one of the United Marxian Labour Party (The P.O.U.M.).

The two determining sectors of the Catalan population represented in the Executive Council are the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T., and the Farm Labourers Union and the lower middle class of the Catalan Left. The so-called Unified Socialist Parties consist of small groups of social-democrats, communists of the Stalin hierarchy, and the Left Catalan Separatists.

(Up to October 31, 1936)

Mr. Edwards—List 445	\$ 19.75
Mohegan Colony—Through Bannister	89.05
(Includes Lists 220 and 426)	
H. Razanowich—List 216-217	8.15
Melvina Messer	2.00
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Income at mass meeting at Irving Plaza Hall,	
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Progressive Miners Local No. 1, Gillespie, Ill.	500.00
Liza Brilliant—List 43	12.00
Libertarian Group—Through Zena	2.10
D. T., Shenendoah, Pa.—Through Garchuk—List 199	2.45
\$828.55	
Previously collected (as per "Spanish Rev." Oct. 19)	
2,171.21	
TOTAL	
\$2,999.76	

Note—The following amounts were sent direct to Ganin, Paris from Mohegan Colony—

October 3rd	152.00
October 27th	85.00
Money collected for "Spanish Revolution" (first three issues)	
256.08	
EXPENSES OF THE U.L.O. and REMITTANCES TO SPAIN	
Money sent to Spain	2000.00
Expenses of Cablegrams	21.09
Printing and Stationery	40.90
Printing "Spanish Revolution"	308.10
Postage and Wrapping Paper, Etc.	72.07
Rent for Irving Plaza Hall	25.00
Miscellaneous Expenses	15.50
Exchange Pending	20.00
\$2502.66	

"... In Spain everyone is free to go anywhere he pleases, to form an opinion of his own on the revolutionary work going on in the country. Far from suppressing free criticism, our

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Price 3 cents

Spanish Workers Unite for Revolution

Anarchist and Socialist Unions of Catalonia In Revolutionary Alliance

Revolutionary Alliance Proposed by the C.N.T.

One of the most important decisions taken at the last congress of the C.N.T. (held in May 1936, in Saragossa) was to conclude a revolutionary alliance with the socialist trade unions (the U.G.T.). Like every alliance it implied certain concessions and compromises. A bureaucratically controlled trade union like the U.G.T., narrow and confined in its outlook, is not exactly the right vehicle for the realization of libertarian communism.

But the realities of the situation had to be met. The C.N.T. did not intend to set up the dictatorship of an enlightened minority within the working class. It sought to conciliate certain sections of the working class even in those provinces where it had a preponderant majority. Revolutionary unity and proletarian democracy are the basic principles of the C.N.T. tactics. That is why it had to find a way of drawing the more backward section of the working class now organized in the socialist unions (U.G.T.) into the struggle for a new social order.

Bureaucracy of U.G.T. Lukewarm to Proposal

The revolutionary alliance proposed by the C.N.T. at its last convention was an attempt to discover such a way of revolutionary collaboration with the more backward section of the working class. And had such a pact been concluded at that time, events would have taken an altogether different course. The Fascist rebellion would have been stifled at its very source instead of letting it spread out. But in spite of the pressure of the rank and file of the U.G.T. for the concluding of such a pact, the bureaucratic leadership succeeded in sabotaging this proposal. And even after the outbreak of the Fascist revolt when revolutionary unity was becoming a living fact, the Socialist politicians in control of the U.G.T. tried to evade the issue of crystallizing this actual unity in the form of a revolutionary pact stating clearly the basic aims of common revolutionary action.

It was, only in Catalonia, where such revolutionary action

(Continued on page three)

REVOLUTIONARY FLEET IN AGGRESSIVE ACTION

From time to time the capitalist press prints reports of the demoralization of the loyalist fleet and its inactivity, brought about by dissensions within the ranks of revolutionary sailors. Like most of the news coming from that source, those reports are highly colored by the Fascist sympathies of the correspondents or the news agencies. The revolutionary fleet has not lost its fighting ability nor has the morale of its personnel suffered any impairment. The description given by the Moscow "Pravda" of the work done by it only recently in lifting the blockade from the northern coast of Spain gives us a different picture from the one drawn by the capitalist press.

It was not an easy job. The fleet started from Carthagena (not far from Valencia) and, with the exception of Malaga, it had to give wide berth to all the ports on the southern and western coasts of the peninsula (and that, of course, had also to be done in regard to the Portuguese ports). The fleet was fre-

quently attacked by the enemy's aviation, which was getting, in this case, the full assistance of the German fleet in having signaled to it the whereabouts of the revolutionary ships.

The entire preparation for the expedition lasted only a few days, during which the fleet fully equipped itself for the long and dangerous cruise. The fleet consisted of two cruisers and six destroyers. On the way it was joined by another cruiser arriving from New Guinea. (The cruiser was in the hands of the rebels for a whole month, but on the way to Spain the sailors overpowered the officers and took hold of the ship.) The purpose of the expedition was to clear the northern coast of the pirate ships of the rebel fleet which by mining such ports like Bilbao and Gijon, and threatening directly the neutral shipping, succeeded in cutting off the northern forces from vital sources of supply.

The revolutionary fleet fully succeeded in its task. The rebel fleet went into hiding upon the appearance of the revolutionary

MUSSOLINI PLOTTING INTERVENTION

ITALY FAILS IN ITS FIRST ATTEMPT

Several weeks ago a brief report appeared in the press telling of an attempt made by the Fascists to land troops on the Catalan coast. The attempt failed because of the vigilance of the population. The Solidaridad Obrera of Oct. 31 gives a full description of this attempt. Some of the details are highly interesting, pointing to some sinister preparation now being made by Italy.

That some foreign power, presumably Italy, was back of this attempt was shown by the fact that the ships bombarding the coast came from and left in the

direction of Majorca Island, now held by Italy. Also, the manner in which the enemy's artillery functioned convinced the experts that it was some foreign ship that did the bombarding. That was also confirmed by the fact that submarines were sighted near the ship. And it is only Italy or Germany that could supply submarines.

In frustrating this attempted invasion, the Catalan people displayed remarkable spontaneity and vigilance. The peasants and workers of the villages and towns around this attempted

landing spot did not wait for any orders from above to make themselves ready. As soon as the news of the bombardment spread in the neighborhood—and it spread with lightning-like rapidity—the roads leading to that particular spot became jammed with vehicles of all kinds carrying armed men from the surrounding towns and villages. The spontaneous manner in which the organization of those armed men was effected well bespoke the revolutionary ardor animating the workers and peasants of Catalonia.

(Continued on page four)

Popular Militia in the First Period of Civil War



ships. The ports were cleared of any mines, the immediate danger of bombardment was removed, and supplies began to pour in through the northern ports. The successful offensive of the Asturian miners was made possible only as a result of this lifting of the blockade.

The most remarkable feature of this expedition was the almost complete lack of officers in it. The officers of the Spanish navy were Fascist in their preponderant majority. The work was done by the sailors themselves who planned and executed this remarkable feat through their

ship committees.

The Moscow "Pravda" is forced to admit that revolutionary democracy worked well in the navy. But why then this communist-inspired drive for the eradication of revolutionary democracy from the militia and the instituting of the autocratic rule of the commissars? If ship committees stood well the test of one of the most difficult expedition, which ordinarily require the guidance of well trained officers and the discipline of a drilled body of sailors, why could not similar democratic organizations function in the army?

All funds collected for our bulletin, "Spanish Revolution" should be turned in at once. If sufficient money is forthcoming we will be able to print the paper more regularly and perhaps soon make a weekly of it.

Send contributions and sales collections to

UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

I. Radinowsky, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street
New York City

WHY THE MADRID GOVERNMENT FAILED

Everyone of us knows what were the general causes leading to the victories of the rebel armies on the Madrid front. The flood of German and Italian arms placed the rebel hordes in a much superior position. The march from Seville to the gates of Madrid was to a considerable extent the triumph of the most

modern military technique over that of an earlier decade.

But that does not tell the entire story. There were other causes accounting for the weakness of the loyalist armies at that sector of the front. The Madrid government lost a great deal of valuable time. It showed a lack of organizing ability. The revolu-

tionary energies of the masses of people were not given adequate expression, and often the government found itself at cross purposes with the spontaneous tendency of the masses of workers and peasants to build up their own organs of revolutionary defense.

(Continued on page four)

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Vol. 1, No. 6

November 25, 1936

THE MESSAGE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Immediately after the outbreak of the Fascist revolt in Spain, the representatives of the libertarian organizations of New York met for the purpose of finding ways and means of organizing effective help for the Spanish workers.

And one of the means chosen was the launching of a vigorous publication for the purpose of informing the public opinion of the country of the real character of the Spanish struggle.

That was necessary because of the total ignorance in which the American public opinion was kept in regard to Spain not only by the capitalist press, but also by the liberal and radical publications. The libertarian movement of Spain, which thus far has been the real driving force of the Revolution, was so little known in this country that its very appearance upon the historic stage of events was considered by many in the nature of a miracle, of an historic freak, of an illusory phenomenon of passing interest and significance.

Very few in this country realized that the workers of Spain took up arms not in defense of bourgeois democracy, but in order to build up a new social order based upon the principles of solidarity and justice. Very few grasped the true significance of the events taking place after the outbreak of the Fascist revolt three months ago. The communist and socialist press was just as misleading in this respect as the capitalist sources of information. They all attempted to belittle, to understate, to ignore and cover up the significance of the greatest event of modern life, comparable in its far reaching effect to the October revolution of 1917.

The present publication was launched to overcome this widespread ignorance. It was named the "Spanish Revolution" because of the deep conviction of all the libertarian organizations that what is now taking place in Spain is the beginning of a great revolution opening up a new era in the life of humanity. It is a revolution that, unlike the October revolution of 1917, is consciously oriented upon the great values of the socialist ideal. It is more constructive in its effects than the Russian revolution, and it lacks the destructive fury of a blind elemental outburst which nearly placed the October revolution on the verge of ruin.

To bring the message of this revolution to the hearts and minds of the great number of workers, farmers, intellectuals, now disheartened and discouraged by the sight of a seemingly irresistible Fascist tide, is in itself one of the greatest tasks now facing every libertarian in this country. To show to all those people that in Spain a new social order is now being built, not at the price of total eradication of liberty, not by setting up a totalitarian State, not by endowing one man with the unlimited power of an oriental autocrat, but through the full exercise of revolutionary democracy, the free cooperation of all the progressive forces,—to stir up even a small section of the public opinion with the awareness of this fact is to perform the greatest service to the cause of the world-wide fight against reaction and Fascism.

And this is the aim of our publication. We are out to tell our readers of the basic aims of the driving force of the Spanish revolution. And no revolution can be understood apart from the system of ideas underlying the work of its vanguard. We will try to reveal the manifold phases of the great revolutionary process in its unfoldment. We are going to bring as much light as we can upon the intricate problems now facing the workers and peasants of Spain in their efforts to recast the entire life in the mold of their basic aspirations.

To do it requires a much more powerful organ than the one we are publishing now. We need a weekly to keep up with the rapidly changing situation. And we need a much larger circulation. There are enough people in this country sufficiently interested in the course of the Spanish revolution to warrant us in our expectation of building up a circulation of 20 to 25 thousand copies. We have thousands of our own comrades eager for authentic news and information.

It can be done. A weekly of wide appeal can be built up if all of us realize the supreme importance of this task. And it is to undertake the immediate work in this direction that we call upon all our comrades and sympathizers.

"If the world permits the crushing of the Spanish revolution, it will be guilty of one of the greatest crimes ever com-

REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE, NOT ORGANIZED REVENGE

Every great revolution must first of all make a clean sweep of all existing laws and institutions. The creation of new forms of life and their regulation must be based upon the intuitive sense of the revolutionary masses. A revolution is successful when this innate sense of right is given full play without being hampered by antiquated laws and norms.

Catalonia, the most revolutionary province of Spain, is now proceeding along this course. The new popular tribunals now being set up in that province are based upon the idea that the revolutionary masses must build their own norms, proceeding from their own sense of right and wrong.

The tribunals were brought into existence by the need of dealing with the counter-revolutionary activities of the fascist sympathizers. A revolution must defend itself not only on the war front but also in the rear. Revolutionary civil war is not confined to one sector: it permeates the entire social life for quite a considerable time. The enemies within have to be guarded against as much as the enemy without.

But unlike the Russian revolutionists the Catalan workers do not strike out in blind rage. The organs of revolutionary self-defense have nothing in common with the monstrous Extraordinary Commissions (the famous Tcheka), which banished all considerations of justice from their operations. They are tribunals for revolutionary justice and not for blind revenge. That shows itself in the structure of those Tribunals as well as in the rules laid down for their functioning.

We are giving here a brief summary of some of the outstanding features of the decree setting up such tribunals. (The decree is published in full in the "Solidaridad Obrera, Oct. 16.)

The purpose of these Tribunals is to fight against counter-revolutionary activity in all its forms, such being considered:

a) Armed rebellion against the administrative organs created by the revolution.

b) Espionage, transmission of important news of political and economic nature to fascists, foreign governments or counter-revolutionary organizations.

c) Sabotage of the new economic order.

d) Terrorist activities.
e) Counter-revolutionary agitation. And by way of safeguarding the population against the flood of denunciations inevitable at such a period, and often inspired by personal motives, the sphere of action of the Revolutionary Tribunals is broadened to include false denunciations, to be punished with the same severity as the crime alleged by it.

The structure of the Popular Tribunals is based upon the same principles of revolutionary democracy as all the other revolutionary institutions. The members of such tribunals are elected by the syndicates and parties now making up the anti-fascist front.

Revolutionary justice is incompatible with Star Chamber methods, and that is why the rights of the accused are scrupulously safeguarded. Trials are to be held in public, a certain time limit is placed upon the preliminary period of investigation (the accused cannot be held in detention for a long time without having charges preferred against him; the same limits are placed upon the period elapsing between his detention and the date of trial.) The accused is granted the right of choosing an attorney of his own, the right to appear as such being given to any citizen.

The latter provision, doing away with the privileges of the so called legal profession, is in keeping with the basic provision according to which "the members of the Tribunal are to decide according to their moral convictions, the old norms being applied only in measure that they accord with the free conscience of the members of those Tribunals."

Moral convictions and not antiquated laws as the source of the new norms of social regulation, fair, open trials and not inquisition proceedings, democratic control and not arbitrary rule of dictators speaking in the name of the revolution,—such are the distinguishing marks of the new organs of revolutionary justice.

And revolutions are safe where such regard is shown to demands of justice.

The Spanish workers need your continued aid. We cannot rest until these heroic fighters lay down their arms in victory. Only working class solidarity can achieve victory. Send funds to I. Radinowsky, c/o U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

SPAIN — THE HARBINGER OF A FEDERATED EUROPE

Slowly but surely the federative principle upheld by the anarchists as the basic guide for common action is now beginning to dominate the constructive efforts of the Spanish revolution. At first Catalonia, then the Basque provinces (they had already established an autonomous regime of their own), and now comes the province of Arragon—one of the most important battlegrounds of the armed forces of the revolution.

As soon as a sufficient number of towns and villages were freed from Fascist domination, a Supreme Council was formed, representing all the actual revolutionary forces of the province. The old bureaucratic apparatus was swept out of existence, giving place to a political structure similar to that of Catalonia. A net of local revolutionary committees, based upon the unions of workers, peasants and also upon the armed revolutionary units operating in the province,

began to spread throughout the province. The formation of the Supreme Council of Defense came as the ultimate step in linking up the local committees into a well-knit body.

The Spanish revolution is proceeding along a course which is already pointing to a new political future for Europe. What is now taking place in the revolutionary province of Arragon—that is the sweeping away of the old bureaucratic apparatus, the emergence of the new type of communes and their federation into higher political units—is being repeated throughout Spain, that is wherever the centralized power of the government decays so far as to call for the necessity of local revolutionary initiative. And the new revolutionary Spain emerging as the federation of free communes is the harbinger of a new federated Europe which will arise upon the ruins of its present militarist states.

Tune In To Barcelona

To hear the C.N.T. Broadcasting Station at Barcelona, Spain, adjust your dials to short wave 42.88 meters—6995.1 kilocycles.

Programs conducted alternately in many languages including English, between the hours of 5 P.M. to 10:30 P.M. Spanish time, or 12 noon to 5:30 P.M. New York time.

"If our right to participate in the management of affairs is to be based upon the degree of participation in the armed struggle against Fascism, we surely de-

the front. The provinces which have shown the greatest loyalty and the strongest anti-Fascist sentiment are, with few exceptions, those in which the C.N.T. predominates.

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker — 5c

"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashar — 10c

Send to U.L.O.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS TAKING CONTROL OF INDUSTRIES

The first phase of revolutionary reconstruction of the economy of the country was marked by a spontaneous wave of socialization initiated by the workers themselves. The workers would seize the enterprise, set up their own management and run it for their own benefit.

It was an inevitable phase since the initiative of such revolutionary steps must come from the workers themselves. And inasmuch as the workers have to struggle through the process of fitting the enterprise into the chaotic structure of a nascent economic order, they acquire the necessary experience enabling them to exercise the function of democratic control in a collectivized industry.

However, this phase could only be temporary in its nature. It led to certain injustices and inequalities with which the revolutionary workers could reconcile themselves only because of their temporary character. Thus some enterprises thrived, en-

abling the workers to draw a much higher income than the rest of the workers in the same industry. At the same time other enterprises which had to overcome certain difficulties inherited from the old regime, or because of the generally chaotic state of the economy, were running up heavy deficits. That is why in measure that the original chaotic conditions were overcome the syndicates began to take over the control of the industry as a whole. A description of such industry (wood industry) now operating under full control of the industrial union is given in an interview with the president of the union published in "Solidaridad Obrera," (Oct. 21). We quote some of the most relevant points reported in the paper:

"In our industry we have no more enterprises belonging to the employees only. All the enterprises are completely controlled by the syndicate: the purchase of raw material, the payment of wages, payment on

invoices; in other words the administration of the enterprises is in the hands of the union.

"We don't accept cooperative ownership or isolated collective control of the employees. All that sets up petty group interests against which we often have to fight. We don't want to put up a number of small shareholders instead of one owner.

"The workers in our industry get a stipulated wage in accordance with the general norms worked out by the plenum of the regional committees.

"We work for the front, for the schools, for the city. We make furniture of the highest grade and we have already obtained great successes in this field. Thousands and thousands of furniture pieces manufactured by us since the revolution are finding a wide market all over the province.

"The industry is run as a whole, the surpluses of every enterprise going to the general fund, from which we draw for improvements, reorganization and building of new enterprises."

REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE OF CATALONIAN WORKERS

(Continued from page one)

has gone the furthest in cementing the various factions of the working class, that the efforts of the C.N.T. have finally borne fruit. On Oct. 22, both labor unions—the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T. entered into a solemn pact clearly formulating the basic revolutionary aims of the present moment.

The document is too long to be cited here in full. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a general presentation of its character and to a few comments upon some of its outstanding points.

What the New Pact Stands For

The pact recognizes the social nature and aims of the revolution. It declares itself in favor of the expropriation of the big industries, establishing workers' control in every enterprise, whether privately owned or collectivized. Nationalization of banks and the joint control over the entire system by the workers organizations and the Treasury Department of the Catalonian Council are upheld as the immediate tasks of the new revolutionary economy.

Foreign commerce, which is of such vital importance to Catalonia, is to be placed under the rigid control of the Economic Department of the Catalonian Council.

The pact also sanctions the basic principles of the policy pursued hitherto in the fields of agrarian relationships and the reorganization of the municipalities. All the land is to pass into the ownership of the municipality (commune), while collective cultivation is made optional with the peasants. This, as well as the taking over by the municipalities of the houses and rents, consti-

tutes one of the most important points of agreement reached by both labor organizations.

Significance of the New Pact

At first glance it may seem that all those points of agreement only sanction what has already been accomplished or is being accomplished by the pressure of the revolutionary forces of Catalonian proletariat. But its importance is greater than that. The U.G.T. of Catalonia is by now a very influential section of the national organization, which, led by the socialists and communists, has thus far declined to come out with an open acknowledgment of the social nature of the Spanish revolution. Until recently the Madrid government, and especially its communist wing, tried to confine the revolution to aims which should not take it beyond that of an ordinary bourgeois democratic regime.

But now that one of the most important sections of the Spanish socialist movement (the pact was also signed by the united socialist-communist party of Catalonia) has signed a pact which openly states that the immediate task of the present-day policy of the labor organizations is to transcend the limitations of a bourgeois economy and to venture out boldly in the direction of a new social order,—now the task of sweeping in the socialist-controlled labor organizations into the task of revolutionary reconstruction becomes so much easier.

It is in view of the tremendous effect that such a pact is bound to have upon the working class of the other provinces of Spain, and also because of the exigencies of the bitter struggle against Fascism that our comrades of the

C.N.T. have made certain important concessions. The pact contains certain provisions which, taken apart from the context of those peculiar conditions under which the anarchists of Spain are working now, may seem as unwarranted yielding to principles alien to our basic philosophy. And that is the creation of conscripted militias converted into a popular army. Taking into view the drive of the communists and socialists against the democratic committees within the militia units and their attempt to substitute in place of the latter the autocratic rule of the commissars, the provision of the pact envisioning the creation of a popular army should contain more specific points guaranteeing the rights of the democratic committees within such an army.

Nor is there sufficient stress in this pact upon the total elimination of political parties from any control of the revolution. The original draft of a revolutionary alliance proposed by the C.N.T. at its last convention was more specific in that respect. The comrades are quite aware of those compromises. But the sacrifices imposed by the necessity of a war to a finish against Fascism are not confined to human and material resources. In order to forge the unity that is absolutely indispensable now for the staving off of the immediate Fascist danger important concessions had to be made to the authoritarian movements of the country.

And with all that the pact represents one of the greatest triumphs of the revolutionary tactics of the C.N.T. Revolutionary unity of the Spanish working class is becoming a fact, and that—upon the basis of full recognition of the immediate necessity of a radical transformation of the capitalist order into a higher social system.

SOCIALIZATION AND NOT NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

*"The Spanish Minister of Agriculture has issued a decree proclaiming the nationalization of all estates belonging to persons mixed up in the Fascist putsch. As usual, the social facts have preceeded the resolutions of the state. The Spanish agricultural workers did not wait for the state in order to solve this important problem. They have been quicker than the government. In all places where the Fascist putsch has been suppressed, the peasants took possession of the land. They showed singular clarity in regard to the problem of agriculture. They are better informed than the state. The Spanish agricultural workers ex-

A Necessary Compromise

We are reprinting the following from a letter written to us by one of our local comrades who is now doing active work in Barcelona. The letter sheds light on some of the motives impelling our Spanish comrades to seek closer collaboration with the Socialist unions:

"... The greatest thing accomplished recently was the pact entered into by the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (the anarcho-syndicalist industrial unions and the federation of anarchist groups) on one hand and the U.G.T. and P.S.U.C. (socialist trade unions and united socialist parties) on the other. The decisions stirred up the entire labor movement of Spain. The National Committee of the C.N.T. as well as all the other labor organizations of Spain sent their greetings to the Plaza de Toros where we held one of the largest meetings to celebrate this pact. More than 200,000 people came to that meeting.

The Supreme Council of Catalonia waited for this agreement in order to issue some important decrees in accordance with the decisions of both organizations. *Nothing is sponsored in the Supreme Council without first having the decisions of the plenum of the regional committees of the C.N.T.* We have very capable representatives in the Council from the C.N.T. They first take matters up at our meetings and then initiate action in the Council.

You must not misjudge the pact. Some of its provisions may not sound anarchistic, but you must bear in mind that we are in the midst of a civil war that surpasses in its cruelties the worst features of the civil wars of the French and Russian revolutions. The cruelties perpetrated upon

"The working class of Spain accomplished something which has no precedent in any other revolution. It avoided dictatorship of any form: of one party, of a group of parties or even of all the anti-Fascist organizations.

(From a speech made by the representative of the C.N.T. of Valencia.)

propriated all large landed estates, whether their owners were directly connected with Fascism or not. Social justice and the necessity to do away once for all with feudalism in Spain, led them to apply direct action. The socialization of the land, carried out by the workers themselves, was the only solution of the problem. Nationalization, as punishment for participation in the military insurrection, can not possibly settle the agricultural problem of Spain.

Our government must understand that July 19th has definitely cut the legal democratic knot. The privileges of the old order are destroyed, a new society is in the making. The syndicates of the agricultural workers have socialized the land, production and consumption while the government still prates that the land shall be expropriated for the benefit of the state. This shows dense ignorance of the revolutionary will of the masses. In Catalonia and Levante congresses of the agricultural syndicates have already taken place. Even in social democratic Castille, regional conferences were held. The socialistic U.G.T. was represented at many of these gatherings. All congresses had the slogan: "Socialization of the Land! Through and for the workers! Socialization! Not Nationalization! Organization of production through the workers' organizations!"

—From the CNT (Central organ of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation.)

*ED. NOTE—The article refers to the policy of the old Madrid government controlled by the socialists and communists. The reorganization of the government along the lines demanded by the anarcho-syndicalists also resulted in radical change of its policies. The demand of workers for immediate control of the collectivized lands will find its adequate expression in the new policies.

the population by the Fascist hordes are indescribable. In many places our comrades are tied by their necks to horses tails and then dragged around the city. Girls, 13 years of age, raped first then shot, dismembered, packed in boxes and delivered to the homes of their parents. Pregnant women forced to drink a mixture of castor oil and petroleum, then have their bellies slashed open, their unborn children torn out from their wombs and then left to die a horrible death. Can we now stop and quarrel over differences of opinion in the face of such an enemy? . . ."

Those lines speak for themselves. Our Spanish comrades do not yield as far as the general line of revolutionary action is concerned. But in secondary matters, departures from it are allowed in order to maintain a strong united front against the horrible danger facing them now.

MUSSOLINI PLOTS INTERVENTION

(Continued from page one)

Nor were the regular armed forces of Catalonia behind in this thrust against the invading enemy. Several hours after the sighting of the enemy fleet, the military command of Barcelona had 15,000 militiamen ready to start out for the attempted landing spot.

It was not necessary though. The resistance shown by the spontaneously gathered forces was such that the enemy failed in every attempt to land troops. After several hours of intense bombardment of the village, the fleet left in the same direction from which it came.

ITALIAN DESIGNS

The attempt to attack Catalonia from the sea failed. But is it going to be the last one? The information given by the French left press about the Italian preparations on the Majorca Islands points to certain plans now being hatched by the Italian government. The attempted invasion was only in the nature of reconnoitring and what will follow may prove to be of a more serious nature, that is unless the international proletariat exert a much greater pressure in the direction of frustrating such attempts.

Here is what the French daily "Le Peuple," Oct. 28, (the organ of the French Confederation of Labor, has to say on this matter:

"Large contingents of Italian soldiers are landing daily on the Majorca Island. Their obvious destination is the coast of the province of Taragonne. The intention of the higher command is not only to cut the line of communication between Madrid and Barcelona but establish a base of operations against Barcelona itself."

"From the same source we learn that 112 bombers and pursuit planes are kept ready for an air raid upon Barcelona."

"The Italians are now building with feverish haste a line of fortifications running along the entire length of the Balearic Islands."

"Eight Italian submarines, manned by the Spanish rebels but officered by Italians are ready to leave at any moment from their naval base at Genoa. Their task is to stop any 'undesirable' vessel from reaching Barcelona."

This information confirms the general reports printed in the local press about the German and Italian plans to interfere more actively on behalf of the rebels.

The Spanish revolution is in great danger and it is the duty of every one of us to redouble our efforts in defense of it.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE CATALONIAN VILLAGES

The struggle against the timorous policies of the socialists, communists and the petty-bourgeois parties in regard to the agrarian revolution is not confined to the central provinces only. In Catalonia and Levante the struggle is taking on a different character.

There, the main outlines of the anarcho-syndicalist program have already been embodied in the decrees issued by the Supreme Council. The land is turned over to the communes and the voluntary building up of collectives for the cultivation of land is upheld as the guiding policy of the unions, municipalities and organs of the Supreme Council.

But the struggle against the policy on the part of the petty-bourgeois elements continues in the form of hidden bureaucratic sabotage and insidious propaganda.

One of the outstanding figures of the anarchist movement of Spain, Federico Urales, gives a vivid picture of such resistance in his article published in "Solidaridad Obrera," Oct. 20.

According to Urales some of the Barcelona papers have already opened a campaign against building collectives in the villages. This campaign is finding quite a response in the apparatus set up by the Agricultural Department of the Supreme Council. Although fearing to come out openly against the decisions of the Council, this element entrenched in the apparatus exerts hidden pressure upon villagers in order to discourage

them from building collectives for communal cultivation of land. (Until recently the socialist and communist parties of Spain also frowned upon collective cultivation, considering it in the nature of "dangerous experiments.")

Whose interests do those elements reflect?

According to Urales it is the pressure of the richer peasants that finds its expression in this silent sabotage of some officials and in the open campaign of the Barcelona press. The upper layer of the peasant population is against collectives. They are for parcelling out the land. They find ways of circumventing the decree according to which a peasant family is to have only as much land as it can cultivate without hiring labor. That element realizes that collective cultivation deprives them of the supply of hired labor since all the poorer peasants are becoming members of such collectives.

There is also a tendency to speculate upon rising prices, to evade the control of the communal committees, the hope that some time in the future they, that is the economically entrenched peasants, will be able to grab the surplus lands for their own use.

Those are only tendencies against which the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain stands on guard. The revolution is only beginning. The pressure of the agricultural workers and the bulk of peasantry for collective cultivation will not be thwarted.

Why Madrid Gov't Failed

(Continued from page one)

The correspondent notes the general tendency of the Madrid authorities to work bureaucratically and to place exclusive reliance upon the officers of the army in matters of war defense. At the first month, the various committees tried to interfere actively in the organization of defense, but that was discouraged by the government. The results of this displacement of popular initiative by bureaucratic methods made themselves felt very soon. The government had very few officers to rely upon and even those few showed an astounding lack of initiative.

Here is what the correspondent writes of the Toledo-Madrid sector of the war:

"There was no kind of leadership at the front. Even strategic points were left without trenches or barbed wire. Too often the government front line consisted of a line of men out in the open country without any kind of shelter. The officers should have known better." (Italics ours.—Ed.)

But what was the cause of such apparent laxity? The correspondent, of course, has nothing to say on that matter outside of the incidental remark that "unlike Catalonia or the other eastern provinces, Madrid has thus far escaped any far-reaching changes in her general economy."

In other words, the socialists and communists, who until recently were in full control of the Madrid government, stood faithfully on guard of Spanish capitalism. But could anything be more conducive to the demoralization of the forces of defense than this timorous attitude?

For in order to safeguard the capitalist economy against the pressure of the workers' and peasants organizations, the Madrid government had to fall back upon a bureaucratic apparatus, part of which consisted of elements hostile to the popular cause. The country was not covered with a net of revolutionary committees taking the entire power in their hands and making a clean sweep of the old laws and institutions. It is those local committees that constitute the real strength of the revolution of Catalonia, Arragon and the other provinces in the east and south of Spain. The stifling of such committees could not but lead to the results described by the correspondent of the bourgeois magazine.

Build a united front of all libertarians for the defense of the Spanish revolution. Build a federation of groups and unions to carry the voice of the Spanish revolution to American people.

"THE CENTER OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION IS NOW BARCELONA."

Revolutionary Councils But Not A Centralized Government

The question of anarchist participation in the Madrid government still agitates many of our friends and enemies. To both it is a source of amazement and perplexity.

It would, perhaps, be less of a stumbling block if people went less by verbal standards and more by basic evaluations. It was not an old type of government that the anarcho-syndicalist joined, but a revolutionary committee. The government was remolded into a type of supreme revolutionary body under the pressure of the anarchists. And certainly no one will see any contradiction between the basic principles of anarchist tactics and the joining of such a committee. To do so would be to deny the anarchists the right to join a strike committee or any other body of a similar nature.

The motives and the struggle for participation are presented to some extent in the following excerpts taken from the English bulletin of the C.N.T. and the "Solidaridad Obrera."

From the C.N.T. Bulletin:

"In Catalonia and Levante the C.N.T. has the absolute majority. It also counts a considerable number of members in Aragon, Andalusia and all other regions of Spain. Just now, its moral importance and its number of memberships are growing enormously, even in regions where the C.N.T. used to be in the minority, as for instance in Castille. Nevertheless, the government of Largo Caballero has excluded the organization, comprising more than half of the fighting Spanish workers, from the responsible direction of war.

In Catalonia, the C.N.T., in cooperation with all other anti-Fascist forces have created the Council of the Generalidad. The C.N.T. participates in this Council, which coordinates all anti-fascist efforts for the great revolutionary struggle.

In Levante (Valencian provinces) the popular Executive Committee and the Economic Council, control the entire social and political life. In these two organizations, the C.N.T., U.G.T.

and other antifascist movements are cooperating. In the liberated parts of Aragon, all antifascist efforts are coordinated in the Council of Defence, under the presidency of the Anarchist comrade Ascaso. Only Madrid continues the old political party form of government and intrigue."

From the "Solidaridad Obrera."

"The Madrid government pretends to be for a unified command. We have always stressed this point and in Catalonia we have already established in our Council the unity in the command. But this example does not seem to mean anything to the central government. Largo Caballero should understand that the government he is directing has not the necessary authority to solve the problem of victory over fascism. The Caballero government lacks the support of the proletarian masses who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of Spain. These masses and our organizations took the initiative to save Spain from the rebel generals. Unity of command can only be achieved by altering the formations of those political organs who are directing the affairs of the nation. To ask for unity in the command and to refuse at the same time the participation of our strong and powerful organization in this command—as the socialist party does—means striving after a peculiar and even dangerous monopoly, means open contempt of the great revolutionary masses, who are ever ready to give up everything for the Revolution, and without whose quick and direct action, the military putsch could not have been suppressed. We must show the world real unity by creating one leading organism, comprising all workers' organizations, and taking full responsibility for the constructive advance of the Revolution. The sad experiences of the past and the danger of committing again the same errors of old, force us to create a new leading organism with the participation of all revolutionary efforts.

The Kind of Work The Spanish Revolution Needs

"I have been lax in acknowledging receipt of the "Spanish Revolution," but I was extremely busy trying to get other groups and organizations to help out our Spanish brothers in their heroic struggle. To date I have only succeeded in acquainting the workers of this section with the nature and perspective of this struggle. That was achieved with the help of the literature received from you.

I have given out the literature to the workers without charge (that is, the "Spanish Revolution," "Vanguard," and the pamphlets, "The Truth About Spain" and "The Revolutionary Movement in Spain.") I expect to refund the literature by asking for voluntary contributions.

"On Wednesday, Oct. 21, my local, No. 1, Gillespie, in which we fortunately have some influence, again voted a donation of \$525 to the workers in Spain. I only hope that it may arrive in time to help.

"Yours for the Revolution,

—Sebastian Fromm

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

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BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

(Continued from page one)

He tasted to the bitter end the life of a revolutionary hounded at home and in exile. Driven from one country to another, persecuted by the police of almost every "democratic" country of the world, he kept on wandering from one refuge to another, leading the tortured life of an anarchist exile.

He went back to Barcelona immediately after the revolution of 1931. He could easily have compensated himself for the years of suffering by some soft political job which were open at that time to every expatriated exile. But like many of those comrades who made the anarchist movement the great moral power it is now in the life of the Revolution, Durruti spurned any offers of that kind. He went to work in the factory, and it is from there that his clarion call for a new real revolution resounded throughout the whole country. While working at the factory bench, he became a greater power than the socialist politicians occupying prominent ministerial positions.

He was the first to raise the banner of revolt against the sham of the new democratic government. He exhorted the workers to bestir themselves to a new mighty effort toward a genuine revolution and not the kind of which the politicians spoke in 1931. And because of his tremendous influence, he was singled out for persecutions by the new governing powers. He was banished to Africa, beaten and tortured in the prisons, hounded at his place of work and driven from one factory to another.

But around him the steel wall of proletarian solidarity kept growing in strength and power of resistance. In spite of all the persecutions and machinations of the government, the workers of Barcelona flocked to the banner of social revolution raised by Durruti and his comrades of the anarchist federation. It was due to Durruti and thousands like him, nameless heroes of a great movement, that the workers of Barcelona were not caught napping in the great critical hour of the Fascist revolt. Together with other countless heroes, Durruti fought at the barricades of Barcelona where the destinies of the Spanish revolution and that of the fate of the international proletariat hung in the balance.

And then—from the street barricades of Barcelona to the most dangerous sector of the front, leading one of the most valiant brigades of comrades, which already made history by saving Madrid in its critical hour. The "General" Durruti—that is what the capitalist and communist press wrote of him. But he was no more a "general" in their sense than he was a "Leader" of the Stalin kind. He led his men by the power of personal example, of moral persuasion, of revolutionary enthusiasm and deep faith in the cause of the common man that permeated his being. He demanded discipline, but the free self-control of a class-conscious revolutionist, and not the drilled automatic obedience insisted upon by the socialists and communists in their attempt to shape the fighting forces of the Revolution in the pattern of the Russian army. And now even the enemies have to recognize that his brigade was one of the best fighting units in the military sense.

His death came as a fitting climax to his heroic life. Always in the front ranks of his fighting men, sharing the risks and hardships of every comrade in his brigade, he finally succumbed to the numerous wounds received during the fight for Madrid. Always fighting shoulder to shoulder with the masses of workers battling for a new humanity, exercising leadership by personal example and revolutionary action displayed on a high moral plane—such he remained to his last minute. And in revering him the great masses of workers that poured out spontaneously to pay homage to his epic life and death, also paid a deep felt tribute to the libertarian movement which molded and shaped the heroic qualities of this man into the pattern of a new humanity.

Tune In On Barcelona

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WHAT THE FASCIST RULE
HOLDS IN STORE FOR SPAIN

FASCIST TERROR in Seville

We are reprinting the following from the British liberal daily, "Manchester Guardian": The writer of this article disavows any undue sympathies for the Spanish Lefts. The account of Fascist terror is based upon personal investigation and check-up reports.

The account given below speaks for itself. The Fascists are aiming at the wholesale extermination of the workers and intellectuals. And in Seville they have partly succeeded in doing so. The shooting of prominent liberals of the pinkest variety tells a great deal about the extreme swing of the Spanish reaction. And that also explains the growing attraction which the social revolution, now taking place in many parts of Spain, holds for those social layers which are not impelled to it by their economic position. There is no middle road between Social Revolution and the total annihilation of culture, and the description given below of conditions now reigning in Seville bears it out once more.

Wholesale Shootings in Seville

"According to most reliable information the terror prevailing here is becoming more and more appalling. Every morning armed bands of Falangists (Spanish

Fascists) drag people out of their houses and shoot them. Usually they select their victims by lists, but sometimes they choose workmen and working women from streets by hazard. (This particular point is confirmed by Pierre Ichoc, a French journalist of by no means Left sympathies, who was eyewitness to such scenes.)

Murdering in the Name of Jesus

"A fanatically religious atmosphere invests the whole town. All the Falangists have the Sacred Heart of Jesus embroidered or pinned on their sleeves. In streets, little shrines to the Sacred Heart have been put up. When anyone in prison claims to have been put there by mistake, he is told that he has to prove that he was married by the Church and not by the State and that his children were baptized, which is something very few Seville workmen under thirty can manage.

Wholesale extermination of workmen and liberals.

"Already 8,000 have been shot in Seville. Syndicalists, socialists, anyone who sat on trade union committees, anyone in whose house was found a book on Russia, on socialism, anarchism. But the Fascists have a special hatred for middle class republicans. Freemasons have

been shot, many chemists, most school teachers (men and women) and a number of doctors, including the president of the Seville Medical Association.

A number of buildings have been converted into prisons. These and the old prisons are overcrowded. Soldiers are billeted on the families of all prisoners, and they have to supply them with food and clothing. Since the property of all persons associated with the Left has been confiscated, one wonders how thousands of women in Seville whose husbands have been shot or imprisoned, are going to support themselves and their children.

"Even shopkeepers are being executed in considerable number. One might say that more than half of the leading citizens of town have been shot. Most of them were liberals of a moderate type, and were hostile to socialism. The excuse was that they were anti-clericals.

"Many of them were shot in order to have their property expropriated from them. When arrested, they were made to sign over all their bank accounts on the understanding that they would be released afterwards. They were shot immediately after having signed such papers. Their families were even forbidden to wear mourning."

COWARDLY POLICY BROUGHT MOORS TO SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

"During the two years following the proclamation of the Republic the liberals and socialists of the Republican government did nothing for the native population of Morocco. The same may be said about the government of the People's Front which ignored this problem during all the five months of its stay in power, that is those that preceded the Fascist rebellion.

"Franco knew that it was necessary to have the Moroccans as their allies. He granted the Moroccans liberties which the Republic refused them. Franco, for instance, granted the native Moroccans the right to publish their own papers. But it is exact-

ly this right that the Moroccans tried in vain to obtain from the People's government. For a number of months the Moroccans kept on petitioning the government of the People's Front about the issuance of a native paper in the Arabian language. The government did not as much as answer this demand. One of the first acts of Franco was to grant the Moroccans this demand.

"By now we may already reveal the fact that some native Moroccans wielding great influence in their country, known patriots but democrats at the same time, demanded that the Largo Caballero government (before the entrance of the anarch-

syndicalist into the government) make a definite promise of certain autonomous rights to the Moroccans if they succeed in liberating themselves from Franco's rule. Those demands, although discussed by the Cabinet Council, were tabled afterwards, and the prominent Moroccans who sent out such feelers were not even answered."

However, the entrance of the anarch-syndicalists into the government has changed matters in this respect. According to the same magazine, the pressure of the anarcho-syndicalists resulted in the working out of a plan of full autonomy for Morocco, which is going to be made public very soon.

Forward With the Work of Building a
Federation of United Libertarian Organizations

The ranks of the United Libertarian Organizations are growing. The last report received was from Detroit where an active International Libertarian Committee has been unfolding active work for the Spanish revolution. They have been collecting money, arranging mass meetings, pushing vigorously the sale of the "Spanish Revolution" and literature on Spain.

New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit have already lined up behind our program of rallying all the libertarian forces for a concerted effort to place the work of helping the struggle of our Spanish comrades on an organized basis. But this is only

the beginning. The larger tasks are still ahead of us. We have to expand our paper, start publishing pamphlets on the Spanish revolution and also send out speakers to all parts of the country.

There are other cities in this country containing various groups and sympathizers. They all should follow the example of those four cities in which definite organizations have been set up for the purpose of stirring up the workers of the country to the great significance of the Spanish events.

Let us hear from you, comrades! Let us show that we can rise to the great historic occasion

and face the great responsibilities thrust upon us in virtue of our position as one of the important sections of the international libertarian movement.

All funds collected for our bulletin, "Spanish Revolution" should be turned in at once. If sufficient money is forthcoming we will be able to print the paper more regularly and perhaps soon make a weekly of it.

Send contributions and sales collections to

UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

I. Radinowsky, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street
New York City

Libertarian Revolution Winning Petty Bourgeoisie to Its Economic Program

The Petty Bourgeoisie and the Proletarian Revolution

The victorious sweep of the Fascist reaction in some countries was to a considerable extent due to the support it obtained from the numerous classes of petty bourgeoisie. And this in turn was brought about by the inability of the revolutionary elements to find a common language with that class. The prevailing opinion was that during the revolution the petty bourgeoisie would inevitably find itself on the other side of the barricades.

The Spanish revolution has shown that this is far from being inevitable. The realistic course of revolutionary reconstruction pursued by the anarcho-syndicalists of Catalonia and other revolutionary provinces of Spain have wrought great changes in the attitude of the petty-bourgeoisie. If successful, this policy of collaboration will open a new chapter in the revolutionary struggles. A revolutionary union of the workers with that class will deprive the Fascist counter-revolution of its mass base. On the other hand the same policy of drawing the petty bourgeois economy into a wider cooperative scheme will save the Revolution from the horrors and the subsequent moral degradation of the Russian revolution.

The article reprinted below is

a part of an editorial appearing in the "Solidaridad Obrera" of November 15th. The opinions expressed by the writer are not mere theorizing, but are based upon the living practice of the Catalan revolution.

"... In laying down the basic norms of the Revolution the C. N. T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) adhered to a solution which would leave intact the small commerce, industry and the owner of small property. This point of view found the most enthusiastic approval on the part of the greatest majority of unionized workers.

Full Communism Can Be Realized Only Gradually.

"In countries where an attempt was made to realize full communism at once, the difficulties with which such an attempt was met were of a stupendous nature. Here in Spain they would be almost insuperable. The individualist character of the Spanish nation can become a factor of great value if directed along the right course. But if we try to suppress it in the course of the transition from capitalism to communism, we might obtain results that would tell very heavily upon the productive forces of the country.

"The C.N.T. is aware of the importance that the winning over to our side of the petty bourgeoisie might have for the triumph of the Revolution. That is

why it did not hesitate to insist that the institution of small property be retained. Moreover, we are convinced that in retaining small property, in enabling the small merchant and manufacturer to function, we are making it easier for the present transitional system to evolve into a communist society. The distribution of products will be more perfect. The transition of the bourgeois super-capitalist system to that of communism will be effected without a bloody havoc, without upsetting the life of a country like ours which carried out such a vast economic and social Revolution within the brief period of a few weeks.

Workers Control of Industry Makes Possible Revolutionary Collaboration with Petty Bourgeoisie.

"Without any fear of equivocation, we might say that the formula found by the C.N.T. is so perfect that our proletarian Revolution already revealed to the world the original phenomenon of a petty bourgeoisie working enthusiastically side by side with the workers. The petty bourgeoisie will realize more and more that the proletarian revolution has removed the main hindrance to its development—and that is super-capitalism. With the big industry in the hands of workers unions, with the nationalized banks converted into a public service, the hindrance to the assertion of free initiative of the small merchant or artisan will largely disappear."

Technicians Work for Revolution

One of the most remarkable features of the great revolutionary work now going on in Catalonia and the adjoining provinces of the Eastern coast is the loyal cooperation of the technicians and professionals with the revolutionary forces. They do not turn their back upon the revolution as similar groups did in the October revolution of 1917.

This is due greatly to the preparatory work done by the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain. The C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) always tried to draw those elements into its movement and inculcate within them the realization of the need of close cooperation with the workers for revolutionary purposes. After the revolution the Union of Free Professions affiliated with the C.N.T., rapidly grew in number and importance. School teachers, doctors, university professors and engineers now work side by side with manual workers in rebuilding the life of the country along lines of the revolutionary policy of the C.N.T.

An interesting sidelight on the activity of one of those groups (the section of engineers and technicians at the C.N.T. union of Free Professions) is given by

the reporter of the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Nov. 1.)

This section, according to the reporter, contains now the best technical forces of the country. (Catalonia). It is already mapping out a comprehensive program of the economic reorganization of the country, of raising the productivity of the industries and also the general level of technical qualification of the workers.

The latter task is to be carried out by organizing a net of technical and professional schools for workers, covering every specialized field. The C.N.T. technicians are already working upon the plans of such a comprehensive technical education.

The section is also busily working upon the building up of an experimental divisions now to unify and direct the work of the experimental divisions now set up in the factories.

And though the problem of industrialization of the country is not one of immediate actualities, the section is already making the necessary work of preparing the statistical data and sketching out general outlines, to be submitted when the control and regulation of the country will have assumed the forms enabling the regulating bodies to tackle the problem of industrialization.

OPEN LETTER to RUSSIAN WORKERS

The open letter, part of which we reprint here, reserved as it is in its tone and expressions, fully exposes the duplicity and hypoc-

risy of a government which still dares to speak in the name of democracy and liberty while trampling them daily under its feet.

falls in line with its aspirations and potentialities.

"And what does it matter to us, anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists, that in some communities we might find ourselves in the minority, that those very communities might resign themselves to a regime of the type of bourgeois democracy or state socialism? What is important that we shall obtain the right to live our own life in full harmony with our own aspirations, be it even Libertarian Communism itself. (Ed. Note: That is in those communities which are controlled by the libertarian forces.) This gives us the hope of winning over by example those communities which escaped our ideological influences.

"The Socialist Federal Republic admits such a diversity of patterns and systems, for it starts out with the idea that economic needs are the basic links binding communities together, and that those needs will impell the latter to establish a close system of interrelationships.

"But for the present moment the most important thing that all of us have to learn is to compose our differences within a broad plan of mutual understanding. In order to arrive at such an understanding, the Spanish proletariat must take the Socialist Federal Republic as the starting point of all the constructive tasks imposed by the Revolution.

"... From the first days of the Fascist revolt we were here fighting against the reactionaries. Our group was on the Aragonian front, having taken the name of a comrade whom you know well and whose death in the German concentration camp stirred up the indignation of the entire world.

"Having united our hearts with the name of this martyred comrade, we feel it our duty to take up the defense of a woman who for a long number of years had been the companion of Ehrich Muehsam.

"Some of us know her as well as we knew him. And we know that she remained faithful to the cause of the revolutionary workers.

"It is already more than half a year that she was arrested in your country, having disappeared since then, so that we cannot even establish any contact with her.

"In the name of our common cause, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the world we ask that Zenzel Muehsam be freed. While the Spanish people carries on a life and death struggle against Fascism, Zenzel Muehsam should not rot her life away in Russian prisons or exile.

"And that is why we keep on demanding: Freedom for Zenzel Muehsam! Let no other ship come from your country unless it carries aboard Zenzel Muehsam.

A group of machine gunners of the name Ehrich Muehsam.

THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL AIMS OF THE C. N. T.

The course now followed by the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain is full of compromises and concessions. Everyone realizes that the program now carried out by them is yet far from the full idea of anarchism which has been and still is the guiding faith of millions of organized workers in Spain.

The present day policy is partly dictated by the demands of a war situation. But to a still greater extent it is guided by the realization of the necessity of a transitional system for the present period. Libertarian communism cannot be carried out immediately after the breakdown of the power of the capitalists. It presupposes a system of transitional measures in the domain of political and economic relationships which will clear the way for the active forces remolding life in the direction of our ideal.

What are the basic ideas of such a transitional system now guiding the work of the anarcho-syndicalist confederation? We give here excerpts from the speech delivered on this topic by Juan Peiro, one of the prominent figures of the C.N.T. (now a member of the national government).

The speech deals mainly with the political aspects of the immediate program of revolutionary transformations. It upholds federalism as the basic principle of the new political system which

the Revolution is now erecting in place of the old regime.

"... The historic hour of the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

"In 1931 the republicans and the socialists could not discover the road of revolutionary action demanded by that movement. And it is hardly possible that they will find it now, for the rhythm of the Revolution and civil war now demands deep changes in the economic and social order and not mere political reforms.

"But if the republicans and socialists lack the moral authority to mark out a road for our Revolution, we anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists assume such responsibility. The C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor) and the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) have proven sufficiently that they possess the necessary thoughtfulness and the spiritual values necessary to become the guiding brains of a new world."

The speaker then points out that the high spiritual qualities of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement are indispensable now in view of the need of finding a revolutionary way of working together with other forces on the basis of some form of a transitional regime.

The Political Form of the Transitional System.

"The end of the war will find its completion in a transitional

system. And that will be so because there is no more rational, more just and logical way out. If we all contributed toward the victorious end of the war, it is just that we all taste the fruits of the Revolution.

"To me the most adequate form of the transitional system created by the war and the Revolution is a Socialist Federal Republic. And I am asking the comrades not to be taken aback by the term "Socialists." We are all socialists, even those who call themselves anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists. But not all socialists are federalists. What is important is that a Republic of a socialist type should accept the premises of federalism, which grant to every community the right of self-government in the fullest meaning of this term. Such a federalist system will give us a sufficiently wide room to experiment with our political, economic and social ideas.

Free Experimentation for Every Community.

"The Socialist Federal Republic will have to be built upon the basis of complete liberty for every community, all such communities being linked up by a system of economic federalism leading to the most comprehensive and elevated form of moral and economic solidarity. And this means that the free communities of the Socialist Federal Republic will be given the right to adopt the kind of socialism which

WORKERS RUN DEPARTMENT STORES

The organization of distribution was always considered one of the most difficult tasks of the revolutionary period. Even now the distributive mechanism of Soviet Russia is the weakest link of its nationalized economy. Poor service, inferior quality of commodities, lack of efficiency are quite common now in most of the stores of Soviet Russia. And as to the first period of the October Revolution, it is known to everyone that the bureaucratic method of nationalization led to the complete demoralization of the mechanism of distribution.

The more amazing it is to read of the phenomenal successes achieved by the C.N.T. workers (C.N.T. — Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in taking over and running one of the largest chain of clothing stores of the country. There are ten of them in that part of the country which is controlled by the loyalists, the main store being situated in Barcelona. It was in Barcelona that the first step toward the socialization of those enterprises was taken. Its success led to the gradual taking over by the workers committees of all the ten branches in the leading cities of the country.

The full story of how those enterprises were taken over and how they function now is given in the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Nov. 1). Here we give only a brief account of it, presenting the most interesting features of the whole process.

The firm is one of the oldest, having been founded in 1850 and having grown since into one of the richest in the country. It thrived during the war and like most of the firms that profited during the war, it found the lean years following the war, and especially the years of world crisis, rather hard going. Overcapitalization, wasteful management, exorbitant salaries of the higher

ups (which, of course, went hand in hand with low wages for the great mass of workers and employees), led to the gradual whittling down of the earnings of the company. By 1935 the company was in the red, and before the Fascist revolt, the financial situation became very desperate.

When the workers took over the stores, they found that not only was there a lack of revolving capital, but that the enterprise was burdened with heavy debt. Besides, there was the additional difficulty of having the liquid funds immobilized in the bank due to the temporary limitation placed by the Catalonian government upon the withdrawal of deposits.

All those difficulties, however, were overcome by the workers. Immediately upon the socialization of the enterprise, the workers set up a technical and administrative committee, both of which set to work energetically in reorganizing the enterprise and finding the necessary means to keep the stores going.

One of the first steps of the committee was to ask all the creditors for the cancellation of all the old debts of the Company, promising at the same time the most punctual discharge of any future obligations in case credits were extended to them. This appeal worked. New credits were found. The prompt payment of all accounts is creating a very favorable impression among all who deal with those committees. Now there is a plentiful supply of credit, enabling the workers to extend the scope of their enterprise.

Sales have tripled the two months of September and October. This is due to the methods used by the workers in disposing of their stocks. They are going in for a large turnover and low prices. They are catering to the mass of workers and sales meth-

ods have been changed accordingly.

In Barcelona alone there are more than three hundred people employed in the shops and stores of that socialized Company. Before the revolution all those workers were divided into numerous wage groups. High salaries and monthly and yearly premiums at one end, and starvation wages at the other—characterized the wage structure of that firm. One of the first steps of the workers committees was to do away with all those differences. Now a single unitary wage scale has been set up allowing only for small variations in accordance with age and experience of the employee. This equalization of salaries produced a remarkable impression among the workers, conducing in a direct manner to the atmosphere of fellowship and cooperation now prevailing in the stores and shops of those socialized enterprises.

Not only did the worker's control produce a remarkable effect upon the turnover and the material well-being of the workers but it was also instrumental in initiating considerable improvements in the shops and stores in accordance with the demands of hygiene and sanitation. During all the years of its financial prosperity the Company never bothered at all about sanitary conditions for its employees. And that is why the workers committees turned their attention to the work of modernizing the shops and stores. By now this work of refitting those places has almost been completed. There are no more unhealthy, dingy places in this enterprise run by workers.

All of which, as the writer of this article concludes, explains the tremendous enthusiasm now shown by the workers and employees of the former "El Aguila" (the Eagle) and now the "Workers Society of the C.N.T."

but also in the factories, fields, and on the war fronts. And they will never resign themselves to slavery."

The above quoted opinion is not an exaggerated statement of an enthusiastic convert to the cause of Catalonian anarchism. The rapid improvement of the revolutionary army in equipment and fighting ability is attested by the Valencia correspondent of the British "Daily Herald," who writes:

"A new army has been created and is now being equipped with the most modern arms of Spanish make. (Ed. note. The role of Russia in supplying arms has been greatly exaggerated by the pro-Fascist press.) The rapidly growing war industry of Catalonia made possible the transformation of the ill-equipped and unorganized brigades of the irregular type into mobile, well equipped and partly mechanized army units.

"New military schools have been set up and they work now at full swing. The course of instruction is calculated for elementary military grades of vari-

AN APPEAL TO THE FRIENDS OF THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

When the libertarian organizations of New York first undertook the publication of the "Spanish Revolution" we had no definite idea of what its future might be. The response to the first few issues was so favorable, however, that we felt we were treading on safe grounds when we undertook to publish the bulletin as a bi-weekly. From all over the country, groups and individuals receiving "Spanish Revolution" were very generous in their financial response. But the situation has changed somewhat. While the influence and circulation of the bulletin is steadily growing, the past few weeks have witnessed a serious decline in the amount of money sent in for the publication. We find that a number of groups have been lax in remitting for bundles sent to them. All such groups are, therefore, urgently requested to check up their accounts and to turn in all funds due as soon as they possibly can.

The paper cannot appear on time unless the copies printed are distributed and paid for.

At present, when the need for our bulletin is greater than ever before, we are faced with financial difficulties. You, the readers of "Spanish Revolution," know what a valuable service it is performing on behalf of our heroic comrades in Spain. We are appealing to you to help us in this emergency so that we can keep going and expand the scope of our work. Help us build up a publicity fund so that emergencies like the present one cannot arise again. To that end all friends of the "Spanish Revolution" are urged to send in donations. Whatever means you may use for collecting such donations, (money can be collected in a variety of ways) please send in all collections at once.

Since you all know to what extent the help we can give our comrades in Spain depends upon favorable and widespread publicity, we need not press this question any further. All contributions should be sent to:

U.L.O. — I. RADINOWSKY, Treasurer

45 West 17th Street

New York City

FUNDS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN DURING NOVEMBER

Receipt No.	
102—Grishkan, Sec'y J.A.F.	\$262.00
103—Dr. H. Block, Chelsea, Mass.	5.00
104—Proletarianische Gemeinschaft	38.00
105—John Battuelo—Progressive Club, Gillespie, Ill.	5.00
106—John Fedorhoff, Ansonia, Conn. List 157	4.80
107—J. Scarcereaux, Los Angeles, Cal., List 430	13.00
108—Proletarianische Gemeinschaft	5.75
109—Russian Ind. Mutual Society, Baltimore, Md.	5.00
110—Subko, Baltimore, Md., List 186	14.00
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113—A. Perlman, Mohegan Colony	10.00
114—Mohegan Colony Group	66.71
115—A. Polonsky, List 185	5.00
116—Mass Meeting Nov. 1, Russian Com. for Spain	25.00
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134—Martin, N. Y., List No. 156	16.25
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136—Anna Rabinowitz	1.50
137—Sunrise Colony, Alicia, Mich.	103.00
138—Moish Lifshitz, Alicia, Mich.	2.00
139—I. C. Calhoun, Chicago, Ill.	5.00

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I. RADINOWSKY, Treasurer, U.L.O.

In 1919 the workers of the world came to the rescue of the Russian revolution. It is now time that a similar effort be undertaken on behalf of the revolution in Spain which promises to turn an even more glorious page in the history of humanity.

ous branches. The training in those schools lasts six weeks.

"The Catalonian factories working for war already manufacture airplanes, tanks, armored trains, machine guns and rifles of the latest make"

And as the writer of the "Giustizia e Libertà" pointed out, this almost miraculous pace at which the Spanish revolution is arming itself is due mainly to the organizing genius of the Catalonian anarcho-syndicalist movement

Catalonian Workers Build Free Socialism

(Continued from page one)

"That this mobilization of resources is succeeding is evidenced by the improved equipment of the soldiers at the front; our army is now on the way of becoming one of the best equipped in the world. A miracle? Yes, but one whose secret lies in the adherence of the masses to the revolution, in the organizing ability shown by the labor unions and their leaders.

"I am not an anarchist, but I believe it is my duty to tell the world my opinion of the anarchists of Catalonia, of those who were so often represented as a purely destructive, if not an altogether criminal, force.

"I was with them at the front and in the trenches and I came to admire them. The anarchists of Catalonia are one of the advance guards of the coming revolution. A new world was born with them and it is a pleasure to serve this world.

"In Catalonia a new form of democracy and socialism has

been born, a form representing a theoretical and practical synthesis of the Russian experience with the heritage of the Western World.

"The leaders of the Catalonian anarchists are not confused old people, debilitated by years of parliamentary activity. They are young revolutionists of thirty and thirty-five years of age. They matured in prison and exile. Like all Catalonians they are endowed with a practical sense, supplementing their broad vision. They are not hampered by a meticulous and static doctrine. Their socialism is fed upon experiences and their personality is too vigorous not to respond to the iron demands of war and revolution. Within a month there will be an army of 300,000, with which victory will be assured. Battles may be lost, but the war will be won.

"The reason for this faith is simple: a new world is budding forth, the masses of people have tasted the fruits of liberty not only in the field of organization,

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 8

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 23, 1936

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Nazi Plans to Enslave Spain Revealed

Nationalist Plot Failed in Catalonia

Two weeks ago there appeared a brief news item in the *New York Times* saying that a semi-Fascist plot had been discovered in Catalonia and that its ramifications led to some of the higher-ups in the official life of Catalonia. (That is, those connected with the middle class parties who participate in governing Catalonia.)

The plot, according to that report, was engineered by the Catalan separatists whose aim it was to form an independent Catalan state with the help of the Italian Fascists. What happened since, we do not know. The details of the plot must have been withheld from the foreign press for reasons of secrecy. The last issues of the anarcho-syndicalist *Solidaridad Obrera* only comment upon this plot in their editorials, promising, however, to acquaint the readers with the details of the plot in the coming issues.

In the following issue of the *Spanish Revolution* we shall be able to give a coherent account of this plot. By that time the bearings thereof upon the revolutionary struggle in Catalonia will have been brought out in the form of some concrete changes in the political make-up of Catalonia. For the present we confine ourselves to reprinting portions of a powerful editorial appearing in one of the last issues of the *Solidaridad Obrera*.

The readers will easily learn from these comments that the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are not relaxing their vigilance, that they are not playing a fool's game in their temporary political alliances. They are not taken in by some of their present allies, and when the interests of the Revolution will demand the break up of the union with some of the middle class parties, the anarchists will strike out with as much promptness and vigor as in nipping the last nationalist plot in its bud.

The comments quoted below will also easily dispose of some of the silly notions imputed to
(Continued on page four)

Build a united front of all libertarians for the defense of the Spanish revolution. Build a federation of groups and unions to carry the voice of the Spanish revolution to the American people.

"Spanish Revolution" Needs Help!

In spite of the fact that the "Spanish Revolution" circulates now more widely than before, money has been coming in more slowly. As a result of this the life of the paper is in danger. At the present moment we don't know whether it will appear again. Groups receiving the paper must immediately turn in all monies collected.

But even this is not enough. The paper cannot exist merely from sales, as this does not cover the cost of printing. The difference must be made up by donations. There is no time to be lost. If the paper is to appear again money must be immediately forthcoming in order to cover a large deficit.

Do not delay. Turn in all money owing to the paper and collect contributions right away. Rush aid to the United Libertarian Organizations, 45 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.

SPAIN WILL NOT BECOME A SECOND ABYSSINIA

The leading financial groups of Great Britain and France are swinging their support to Franco in order to get back their lost monopolies. But German capitalists have a more ambitious plan in regard to Spain. It amounts to nothing less than reducing that country to the state of an African colony. The

last Spanish bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. has some interesting things to say in this connection. The information given by it comes from well authenticated sources and it illuminates greatly the course of Nazi policy now pursued in regard to Spain.

According to this Bulletin, the latest outcry about the vital need of colonies for Germany was raised by Schacht and Goebbels with an eye on England and Spain. The purpose was to gain an advantageous position for bartering with England. The German ambassador in England got instructions to convince the British of the necessity of giving Germany a free hand in Spain, in exchange for which the latter would relinquish her claims for colonies.

The financial circles of Berlin and London are convinced now that Hitler's adventure in Spain constitutes the greatest opportunity to reorganize the German economy. The so-called four-year plan is admitted to be a failure unless backed up by foreign conquests. The opportunity for such a conquest has already come, according to those circles, with the intervention in Spain.

Already the economic experts of Germany have worked out a plan of solving the difficulty of the four-year plan by a systematic exploitation of Spain along the lines of an African colony. This plan consists of the following:

Germany takes control of all the subsoil wealth of Spain—of its copper, iron, mercury, lead, zinc and other mineral ore mines.

German industry takes a leading part in the reconstruction of
(Continued on page four)

LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION SWEEPS ON IN CATALONIA

From a speech broadcasted from Barcelona to the Polish workers by a Polish anarchist, Jeanette Hardy:

"... When the workers of Catalonia came out in the streets on the day of the Fascist revolt, all they had was enthusiasm, heroism, barricades and ... one rifle for twenty men. The soul, the moving power of this struggle were the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. The victory was won because those organizations had a long training in direct action and street fighting.

"And it was only four days after the Fascist uprising that the Catalan workers began to send out their regular militia detachments to all fronts of Spain. In Catalonia, like in every other part of Spain, first columns were made up by members of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. It was those

columns that cleared the provinces of Aragon and Levante of Fascists bands.

"By now the C.N.T. and F.A.I. have already sent 100,000 militiamen to the Aragon front and 50,000 to the first firing line of the Madrid front.

"In the anarchist provinces of Catalonia, Levante and Aragon, the industry, means of transportation and the natural wealth have been socialized. We have numerous cases here of workers directing factories which employ three and four thousand workers. They do it while getting the same wage as before and succeeding in managing those factories much better than the former directors and owners who were getting hundreds of thousands of pesetas a year.

"Three fourths of the land in Catalonia has been collectiv-

ized and is now cultivated on the basis of anarchist principles; that is, according to the principle: 'to each according to his abilities.' Every collectivized community has its own type of remuneration, distributing the total income in proportion to the number of persons in every family.

"We say that only three quarters of the land has been collectivized, but not all of it. That is so because anarchists do not intend to force the small peasant into collectives. They leave the small peasant the freedom to choose between an individual and collective economy. But the advantage of collective cultivation are such that every day new peasant communities swell the ranks of those that have been already collectivized. . ."

From the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

FRENCH JOURNALIST REPORTS REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS

Christian Coudere, a French journalist, is now visiting the revolutionary province of Levante. This is one of the provinces which has been strongly permeated with anarchist ideas and which has been rivaling Catalonia in the sweep of its revolutionary reorganization.

Impressed with the significance of the work, the writer, who is neither an anarchist nor a syndicalist, sent a description thereof to a prominent French paper, *La Dépêche de Toulouse*. The paper refused to print this article unless the author deleted from it the description of the most striking facts observed during his visit.

Part of this article appeared in the French libertarian paper *L'Espagne Antifasciste* (a paper of the same orientation and purpose as our *Spanish Revolution*). We present here some of the most outstanding points of this report.

The writer describes his visit to three places in that province: two centers of the textile industry and one vast village situated in the center of the agricultural region.

The first town visited was Alcoy, a center of wool and ready-made clothes industries. He was given the fullest opportunity to investigate freely, to inquire and find out things for himself.

All the factories, according to the writer, are now run by workers' committees elected by the General Meeting of the employees. The management lies entirely in the hands of such committees. They are often supplemented by control committees, also elected in the same manner, which act as connecting links between the central committee of the local textile industry and the shop committees of every factory.

The setting up of a central committee for the local industries, coordinating the work of all the factories into a single plan, was the work of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. The whole thing is
(Continued on page three)

The greatest achievement of the Spanish anarchists is that they proved to the world that revolution is compatible with liberty, with an elementary respect for the great humanitarian values of the Western culture.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

45 WEST 17th STREET - NEW YORK, N. Y. - CHelsea 3-9567

Vol. 1, No. 8

December 23, 1936

Why The "Spanish Revolution"

Ever since we started publishing the *Spanish Revolution* we hardly appealed to our friends and sympathizers for aid. The need of the paper was so self-evident in the first month of the sensational development of events in Spain, the response of the groups was so spontaneous, that we hoped that within a very short time definite forms of support would crystallize of their own accord. We hoped that by this time the paper would be well on its way to become a weekly.

Those hopes, however, have proved to be much premature for the feeble stage of development of the libertarian forces in this country. Not only have we been slow in making progress in the direction of a weekly, but the financial state of the paper has been permitted to grow worse and worse with every issue. Organizations have been very lax in remitting for the bundles sent to them, and no effort is being made to raise extra funds for the paper, which like every other radical publication, cannot be expected to function on a self-supporting basis.

This state of affairs is due not only to the general weakness of the libertarian movement in this country; it also flows from the mistaken notion now held by many a sympathizer with the Spanish revolution, that the only way to discharge his duty toward the latter is to send some money to the anti-Fascist forces of Spain.

There is no doubt that this is an important part of the duty of every libertarian. But an equally important part thereof is to acquaint the great masses of people with the aspirations, achievements, struggles and difficulties of the libertarian revolution in Spain. And can we do it here, in this country, without a regular English language publication?

Everyone of us realizes that international support is of vital importance for the success of the Spanish revolution. But how can that support materialize if we neglect the most effective means of building it up—and that is by laying the foundation for a regular publication? How can we convince the public opinion of the proletarian world of the great significance of the libertarian revolution of Spain if we fail to inform it of its aims and the present course followed by it?

Or can we depend upon the socialists and communists to rally such support? Until now there press has been ignoring the very existence of social revolution in Spain. They all have been constantly harping upon one thing, and that is: the struggle now going on in Spain is only that of a bourgeois democracy against Fascist reaction. The entire communist press of the world—from the *Moscow Pravda* to the *Daily Worker*—hardly contains any reference to the epoch-making work of revolutionary reconstruction now going on in many a part of Spain.

The socialist press has been pursuing the same course of self-imposed censorship. If we leave the field clear to them in matters of informing the public opinion on Spain, the great majority of workers and farmers will never learn that social changes of momentous significance are now taking place in Spain, that is something that is bound to affect their lives and struggles in the very near future.

Not only is this basic fact of the Spanish struggle now being withheld from the workers and farmers of the world, but already a campaign of misinformation is under way to represent the libertarian forces of the Spanish revolution as a demoralizing factor. This campaign is yet in its first stage, but can any one of us who has any knowledge of the unscrupulous ways of dictatorial parties doubt that soon this campaign will be in full swing?

Yes, soon the gates of slander, calumny and vilification will be split wide open. We shall soon be hearing the old refrain about the "counter-revolutionary" anarchists and syndicalists who "jeopardize the struggle against Fascism by their extreme demands and lack of discipline." It is only very naive people who believe that the communists went whole-heartedly into a united front with a revolutionary force like the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement, the success of which spells the end of the dominant role played by the Third International in the radical world of international labor.

"... IN SPAIN EVERYONE IS FREE TO GO ANYWHERE HE PLEASES, TO FORM AN OPINION OF HIS OWN ON THE REVOLUTIONARY WORK GOING ON IN THE COUNTRY. FAR FROM SUPPRESSING FREE CRITICISM, OUR COMRADES WELCOME AND ENCOURAGE IT."

—PIERRE BESNARD.

We must prepare for this inevitable course of events. We must be prepared to counteract all the vicious lies spread about the libertarian revolution of Spain. We must be ready to thwart the campaign of demoralization upon which a powerful communist press of wide international ramifications is bound to enter. And we can do it only by building up a press of our own. We can do it by breaking the ring of isolation now enveloping the greatest revolutionary force of our time—the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain. We must realize that by laying the foundation for such a paper now, we are preparing the ground for a successful challenge of all the forces of the dictatorial parties in their inevitable attack upon the Spanish revolution.

A regular paper is the most effective weapon in our hands because it enables us to follow the devious ways pursued by the libertarian forces of Spain. We must be able to follow intelligently the entire course of revolutionary reconstruction, of sudden retreats forced by the demands of a passing situation, of compromises made necessary by a movement cleaving close to the realities of life. We ourselves must be well posted and informed on the phases of the rapidly changing situation. And can that be done on the basis of hearsay, scraps of information thrown out here and there by the correspondents of the capitalist press, whose attention is keyed up to the sensational, spectacular and often trivial, aspect of events in Spain?

Weak as the libertarian movement is in this country, it still has enough power to build up a successful weekly to supply the crying need for information on the current phases and basic aspirations of the Spanish revolution. And if instead of building up such a weekly, it permits the gradual dying out of the present publication, it can mean only one thing: the movement fails to live up to its own possibilities, it fails in the most elementary task of defending the great Social Revolution of Spain.

ARMS FROM BARCELONA—NOT FROM RUSSIA

The cry of the pro-Fascist press is that Russia has been arming Spain. Russian tanks, airplanes, cannons and military experts have been flooding the country. Russia is behind every strategic move and it is her generals that are planning the large-scale military operations.

It is more than natural, of course, to expect that from the reactionary press. But the sorry thing about it is that even the radicals fall for this stuff. That the anarcho-syndicalist workers of Catalonia have been working day and night re-equipping their factories for the production of armaments—this is something the average radical hardly knows. That wonderful results have already been accomplished in this respect is also hardly reported in the communist and socialist press of the world. But the legend of Russia acting as the Santa Claus of the Spanish revolution is spread assiduously.

There is, however, the official statement of the Catalonia government given out in an interview with the correspondent of the *New Times* (Dec. 5.—*New Times*—a British anti-Fascist paper).

"It is astonishing to us that a paper of such large circulation as the *Daily Mail* should print such utter nonsense on Spain as that written by 'Our Special Correspondent.' It is obvious that this man has never set foot in Barcelona, or if he has, that he has resolutely determined to report, not what he saw, but what his Fascist newspaper wanted him to report.

"'Russian ships,' says the *Daily Mail* special correspondent on Tuesday, November 24th, 'carrying huge supplies of planes, guns, rifles, ammunition and thousands of soldiers are regularly putting in at Barcelona

and the smaller ports on the Catalan coast.'

"This is quite untrue. No Russian soldiers have landed here, and not a single troop ship has ever come near us. If we had received all the armaments mentioned above we would have won the war long ago.

"The 'brand new models' of machine guns which the *Daily Mail* correspondent says he saw on the Huesca front he catalogues as Russian. It is obvious that this person has Russia on the brain. There are some new machine guns on the Huesca front and other new material of war, but they do not come from Russia. They come from our own armament factories, which, by working day and night, are managing slowly, but surely, to replace the antiquated weapons with which we had to repulse the attacks of the Fascists and their modern machinery up till now. Barcelona has always been a prosperous and highly industrialized city. There is no reason to suppose that our workers and our factories are not capable of constructing war equipment quite as good as they use in Russia, and what the *Daily Mail* terms Russian 'control of every phase of industry' would be absolutely unnecessary even were it true.

"Russia has not 'taken control of ... schools, cinemas and theatres.' These establishments are run by committees of the C.N.T., who would certainly resist any interference."

The same is confirmed by the *Manchester Guardian* (Nov. 16) which writes:

"The loyalists have now heavier armaments than before. Most of the armaments have been rushed from Catalonia. It consists of tanks, aeroplanes and other contrivances of modern types.

Madrid News Via Moscow

The bourgeois press of the world admits now that it was the anarchists from Catalonia that saved Madrid in its most critical hour. Even the Spanish Fascist press has to admit as much as that. (*Solidaridad Obrera* writes about it in its editorial of Nov. 26.)

However, Louis Fisher, who imbibed his hatred of anarchism during his long stay in Moscow, is not convinced about it. For the anarchists, according to him, far from saving Madrid, nearly brought its ruin. They were the first to bare the front and flee cowardly before the advancing Moors.

The readers of the *Nation* (Dec. 16), of course, know as little about Mr. Fisher's biases as they do about the basic fact of the Madrid situation. And, perhaps, they are impressed with the fact that after all Mr. Fisher cables his communication directly from Madrid where facts of that sort may be the common knowledge of the population.

The readers of the *Nation* have no right, however, to forget that it is the same gentleman who only about two years ago wrote in the same magazine that the anarchists in Spain were working hand in hand with the monarchists and were also getting financial assistance from the latter.

And it may also puzzle the reader somewhat that Mr. Fisher, who wrote so regularly from Spain, reporting on the most trivial affairs, did not make as much as a single mention of the great reconstructive work now going on in the anarchist controlled provinces. All of which is bound to cast some reflection on the veracity of Mr. Fisher's latest communication even in the minds of most unsuspecting readers.

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker — 5c

"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashar — 10c
Send to U.L.O.

45 W. 17th Street, N. Y., N. Y.

A GALA AFFAIR — will be arranged by the United Libertarian Organizations of New York for the benefit of the "Spanish Revolution."

Watch for announcement in our coming issues.

"A considerable part of military experts, now cooperating in the defense of Madrid, are Spanish. They got their military training in Catalonia during the Revolution."

The Revolution is arming itself and therein lies the greatest guaranty that it will have its own way, unhampered by foreign advice and pressure.

French Journalist Reports on Achievements

(Continued from page three)

struction in the villages. He visited Jativa, a very big village situated in the center of a fertile agricultural region. This big agricultural community is now functioning along the lines of a socialized economy. All of the most important social functions of this community are carried on by a number of committees, each one fulfilling a special task of its own. Apart from the functions common to all municipalities, those committees include such which tell clearly of the vigorous efforts to rebuild life along the lines of a free communism.

Thus, for instance, the author lists such committees as those charged with provisioning the community, exchanging the agricultural products for those of industry. There is a committee whose task is to harmonize production with consumption. A financial committee takes exclusive charge of exchanging products with other communities, and there is another one to regulate the hours of labor and work out general plans of production.

The general tendency is to do away with money altogether. The author states that in many a community of that agricultural region this has already been accomplished.

"It was here," concludes the author, "that we could convince ourselves of the might of the revolutionary organizations like the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. which control the economic life of the smallest villages and also of the dynamic power which certain ideas now wield over the minds of the peasants and workers of Spain."

Spain Not A Second Abyssinia

(Continued from page one)

Spain which is to follow Franco's victory.

Spain is to be colonized by the surplus population of Germany—its unemployed workers and landless peasants. (All the expenses of course, to be taken out of the hide of the Spanish workers.)

Germany arms Spain heavily in view of the expected world war. The arming takes place under the control of German officers, and industrial magnates. A net of fortifications, aerodromes, military roads, naval stations are to be built by Germany and under German control. (Already the aerial line of Teutan (Morocco)-Sevilla has been taken over by Germans.)

The gigantic apparatus of Nazi propaganda has already been put in full motion, explaining to the German population the wonderful possibilities of this Spanish Abyssinia. Branches of

INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISTS BACK FRANCO

The Spanish revolution is fighting not only its own capitalists. The most powerful enemy it has to contend with is the league of foreign capitalists, now solidly arrayed behind Franco and his legions. The French papers of the Left (*Le Peuple, L'Humanite, Le Populaire*) and the anarcho-syndicalist press of Spain have revealed a great deal of the international machinations now taking place behind the scenes of European diplomacy.

Thus, for instance, the reports reaching them from the leading Stock Exchange centers of Europe tell of a definite organization of international capitalists having been formed for the purpose of backing up financially the Fascist government at Burgos. It is headed by some of the most prominent members of the famous "200 families" now in control of the economic life of France, who work hand in hand with powerful groups of British and American financiers in order to carry out a complete scheme of economic exploitation of Spain.

According to the anarcho-syndicalist *Solidaridad Obrera*, those groups have already extended credits to the Franco government. *The latter reach the fabulous sum of several hundred million pesetas.* This is a big sum even for powerful financial groups, and to understand this sudden generosity we must keep in view the enormous economic interests put at stake

by the rapid march of the Spanish revolution.

The entire subsoil wealth of Spain is in the hands of foreign companies. Copper and iron mines, zinc, lead and one of the most abundant supply sources of mercury—all of those are controlled by British, French, Belgian, Dutch companies.

The most important railways of the country belong to French and British banks, the Spanish financial institutions having been admitted only as "compradores," minor shareholders in the vast system of colonial exploitation.

Here is what *Solidaridad Obrera* has to say about those international groups that have already lined up behind the Fascist invasion:

"... Heading the list (of the financial backers of Franco) is Sir Auckland Geddes, the president of the Riotinto Company (one of the richest copper mines in the world), sold in 'perpetuity' for a ridiculous sum by the Spanish government of the pre-war period. The higher personnel of the company is exclusively British. The miners were always treated like slaves, and this provoked one of the bloodiest strikes in the history of Spain. (It took place in 1920.)

"The House of Rothchild is one of the shareholders of this company. The same house controls many mines and metallurgical enterprises of Spain. For instance, the mercury mines of Almadin, the best and most abundant in the world, are mainly controlled by the Rothchilds.

"There is also the international group controlling the rich lead mines of Penarroya. The company possesses a capital of 309 million francs. Its control of other lead mines gives it the virtual position of a monopolist. Its main office is in Paris, it being mainly French as far as the controlling group goes. But it is also linked up with the German war industry, one of the representatives of the latter, Dr. Aufschlager, holding the position of a director of this Company."

Those are the main backers, but there are many others according to this paper, who are openly extending their financial support to Franco. They are the foreign interests who before the revolution controlled the railways, central electric stations, subways and trolley lines, chemical industries, telephone companies, textile factories and metallurgical enterprises. The revolution is rapidly depriving them of their monopolies. Hence the gold flood flowing into the coffers of the Fascist government.

The Catholic faith is defended in Spain not only by the Moslem hordes of Morocco, but also by the Jewish Rothchilds, and the protestant Geddes and Aufschlagers. Is there any more striking arguments in favor of immediate help to the Spanish revolution by the international proletariat?

DURRUTI AND HIS SUCCESSOR

By now most of the readers know that Durruti was killed by an assassin's bullet and not during a battle, as it was reported in the local papers. The few simple lines describing Durruti's funeral and the general impression created by his death upon the population belong to one of our comrades who is now doing active work in Barcelona. Our readers will perhaps get from those lines a glimpse of the feeling which swept over the revolutionary workers at the news of Durruti's death.

"... The body was brought from Madrid and thousands were waiting to take a glance at it. Nearly a million people turned out at his funeral. The comrades who brought his body from Madrid tell me that at every town and village they passed, there were hundreds of

thousands of people waiting at the station anxious to pay their last regards to this noble and heroic figure now bewept by the workers and peasants of the entire nation."

The letter does not say anything about the report appearing in the bourgeois and communist press, saying that the place of Durruti has now been taken by a communist who was appointed as the commander of all Catalan troops in Madrid. But the last issues of the Spanish papers deny it (*Solidaridad Obrera*). Durruti's place has been taken by his closest friend and associate José Manzano, a Barcelonian anarchist who had some military training and who played one of the most heroic roles in the first days of the Barcelona street fighting against the Fascists.

Nationalist Plot Failed In Spain

(Continued from page one)

the Catalan anarchists. The socialist and communist press have been insinuating that the Catalan anarchists are separatists in their sentiments and aspirations. (Even Walter Durruti stoops to such accusations.) To what extent the imputation of such ideas to the most clear-cut international wing of the revolutionary movement constitutes a calumny of the most vicious sort, the lines of the editorial comments will speak for themselves:

"While the workers shed their blood at the various fronts, a group of traitors has been busily hatching conspiracies of the Fascist kind... *The anarchists are watching the middle class elements*... Those gentlemen, however, failed to take into account our vigilance. Their surprise at seeing their plot unearthed was immense. The fifth column (Ed. note: The fifth column is called in Spain the counter-revolutionists who work under cover), and their allies who were lying in wait for the Revolution were watched from the very beginning of the revolutionary struggle. We knew them well and they never deserved our confidence. Our apprehensions have now been well confirmed. And the masses of people were with us in this respect. They sensed instinctively who were the traitors and where to look for them. They knew that those gentlemen, although parading as revolutionists and worming themselves into positions of high responsibility, hated from the very depth of

their souls the new forms of social life born in this great social struggle.

"... What happened did not take us by surprise. We expected it... The indignation among the masses of people was tremendous; it heightened their enthusiasm and strengthened their will to wipe out the hidden enemies of the people, those who were out to knife the Iberian revolution.

Separatism is a Reactionary Ideal

"There is no room here for diminutive republics. The proletarian revolution is Iberian in its scope and will lead to the triumph of the workers of the whole world.

"The great Catalonia which the workers are now building up cannot be shut up within itself, isolating itself from the rest of the Iberian nations and from the rest of the world. Its scope of action is the whole world. Its direct aim is to influence in a decisive manner the forward course of Humanity."

A Speakers Bureau has recently been organized by the United Libertarian Organizations for the purpose of providing competent speakers on Spain for forums, lectures, mass meetings, symposiums, etc.

The Speakers Bureau will be glad to furnish qualified English and foreign language speakers for all types of meetings. No charge will be made for this service.

Organizations are requested to select speakers capable of dealing with the situation in Spain and submit their names and addresses, together with the languages they speak, to

**United Libertarian Org.
45 W. 17th St. - N. Y. C.**

FINANCIAL REPORT

of the International Libertarian Committee Against Fascism in Spain

3361 Bagley Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Dec. 10th, 1936

Funds Collected \$3,238.70
Funds sent in—6 times... 2,645.00
General Expenses 389.85
Funds on Hand..... 203.75

More details will appear in a bulletin to be issued soon by this Committee.

Readers who have succeeded in tuning in to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. radio station (42.88 meters) in Barcelona are requested to write to the U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York city.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 9

NEW YORK, JANUARY 8, 1937

Price 3 cents

Spanish Workers Build Planned Economy

Catalonia Moves Toward Complete Socialization

The first phase of socialization of industries in Catalonia was marked by a wave of spontaneous confiscations undertaken by the employees of each enterprise. Those seizures were afterwards sanctioned by the first collectivization decree passed by the Economic Council of the Generalidad.

The larger aims of a socialized economy were somewhat ignored during this process of initial seizures. Nor were they sufficiently recognized in the first decree. Enterprises passed into the hands of the employees who exercised a sort of ownership over them. No one benefited from those seizures outside of the employees themselves, who would divide up all the profits. There was no common fund for the industry as a whole, each enterprise having to wage a struggle of its own. Those that ran up against special difficulties or had to start with a depleted treasury were operating at a loss and were compelled to fall upon the government for support.

Although a necessary phase in the development of the new socialized economy, this state of things could not be tolerated much longer. In measure that the new controlling and coordinating agencies developed, more comprehensive plans for organizing the socialized industries were evolved. All that culminated in a new decree worked out by the Economic Council of the Generalidad (The Catalan State). The decree was introduced to the workers of Barcelona at the two large mass meetings held in the largest hall of that city.

We find brief reports of those meetings in the *Manchester Guardian*, and the official Bulletin of the Catalan Generalidad. (The issues of the *Solidaridad Obrera* containing those reports have not arrived yet. Space permitting, we shall be able to present on the basis of the new material a much fuller picture of the changes introduced by those decrees.)

Thousands of workers came to listen to the reports on those

(Continued on page three)

Build a united front of all libertarians for the defense of the Spanish revolution. Build a federation of groups and unions to carry the voice of the Spanish revolution to the American people.

ANARCHISTS STRENGTHEN POSITIONS IN CATALONIA

Everyone realizes that the ousting of the semi-Trotskyite faction (P.O.U.M.) from the Catalanian Supreme Council was done at the direct pressure of the Soviet representatives. Unlike the Mexican government, the Russian government does not act in a disinterested manner in extending help to the Spanish revolution. Not only does it project its domestic quarrels upon the Spanish scene, but it begins to interfere actively in the course of revolutionary reconstruction, rallying around the Communist party all those forces

which are opposed to any vigorous policy of revolutionary change.

In this respect the campaign waged against the P.O.U.M. is beginning to take on an ominous aspect. Its vicious tone and character show that a much more subtle move was back of this drive to eliminate a faction which does not play a very large role in shaping the revolutionary events of Spain. It was nothing less than an attempt to bully the C.N.T. and F.A.I. into yielding its leading positions in the Catalanian revolution.

The resignation of the middle class premier, Tarradellas, came after, and was closely linked up with, a series of attacks launched by the Communist party and its allies (the Socialist party is becoming Stalinized to an ever greater extent) against the semi-Trotskyite faction. Raids upon its Madrid headquarters (they do not dare do the same in Barcelona), provocative articles in the press, inciting some of the troops against the P.O.U.M.—all that broke out with the suddenness of a premeditated drive.

(Continued on page four)



MANNING THE MADRID TRENCHES

EMMA GOLDMAN ON THE UNITED FRONT IN SPAIN

We are drawing the attention of our readers to the ideas expressed by Emma Goldman on the sabotaging role of the socialists and communists.

It is not for us to judge how far our Spanish comrades were justified in their policy of a united front with the other parties. There is one thing clear, though: the Stalinists will never reconcile themselves to the leading role of the anarchists in the Spanish revolution. To do so would be to admit that they were and are nothing but usurpers in claiming for themselves monopolistic powers.

And as to the astounding revelations that out of all the money collected by the unions, not a cent went to the C.N.T., it is high time that our press raise an alarm about it. It is time that those who mouth pious phrases about the defense of democracy should be held up before the bar of public opinion for

misappropriating the funds of democratic organizations like workers' unions for the narrow purposes of a sectarian and party strife against the Spanish revolution.

Fascism is bad enough indeed, but the worse, by far, is the enemy within. . . . For long it has not been possible to thus speak out, but now the sabotage has gone so far that silence

would be cowardly, nay, criminal. . . . It has been felt up to now that the knowledge of any rift would be grist for the Fascist mill. However, the danger from all sides is too great for further diplomatic consideration.

There are so many inexplicable things to be taken under consideration in this terrible welter of slaughter. First of all is the question why the comrades should have joined the United

"Help The "Spanish Revolution"

The United Libertarian Organizations of New York City are organizing a big affair on FRIDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 5th, for the benefit of the "Spanish Revolution."

It will be an outstanding affair in many respects. Its rich program of entertainment will feature a number of prominent dancers and singers. The jazz band engaged for the evening is one of the finest in the city. An excellent bar and the chance to meet all sorts of people at one of the biggest and most colorful rallies of its kind should be an additional inducement to all the friends of revolutionary Spain.

The affair will take place at STUYVESANT CASINO, 140 SECOND AVENUE. :: :: Admission 40 cents

Parliament Ignored By Revolutionists

After a long interval of several months, the Spanish parliament (Cortes) was called again into session by the Largo Caballero government. The motives for convoking the Parliament were not only those of demonstrating to the outside world the legal continuity of the present government. Back of this legalistic move was the hope still fondled by all those opposed to the revolutionary course of events that the social revolution might be thwarted by vesting the supreme authority of the country in the hands of the Parliament.

Whatever plans those gentlemen might have entertained (and judging by the ecstatic hosannas with which the Parliament sessions were greeted by the communist press, the communist

(Continued on page three)

Front at all, for it has led, and inevitably was destined to lead them into the most contradictory steps and is daily proving a graver danger than Fascism itself. The growth of the villany of the enemy from within is due to too much tolerance from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in order to show that anarchism would suppress no one but armed or avowed Fascists—hence they have given the socialists and communists all too much leeway with the result that both these age-long enemies are sabotaging the revolution right and left. This, comrades, is the greatest danger for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Being men of their words our comrades cannot well stop the pernicious counteractivities of their own allies. But in spite of this most discouraging situation, with the Fascists at the gates of Madrid, our comrades go about their constructive labor as though there were no Judases and armed enemies within and without their ranks. The great hope of the Fascists is not so much aid from other countries as it is the development of feud within the ranks of United Front. Beyond this, is the horrible realization that organized trade union movements throughout the whole world are organized into a veritable fortress against everything the C.N.T.-F.A.I. stand for. Out of the thousands of pounds they have collected, our people have received nothing; of the more than \$86,000.00 sent to Citrine in Paris, not one solitary peseta has been received by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, published by the United Libertarian Organizations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

45 WEST 17th STREET - NEW YORK, N. Y. - CHelsea 3-9567

Vol. 1, No. 9

January 8, 1937

THE SECRET OF THE CATALONIAN WORKERS

Every unbiased observer of the social revolution now taking place in Catalonia is deeply impressed by its orderliness and efficiency. Socialists, liberals, newspaper correspondents—they are all struck by this singular quality of Catalonian life.

They cannot help seeing that a very important revolution is changing the texture of the social life of the country. Industries are being socialized, communes are built up in the villages, education is radically reorganized and a new political order is supplanting the old State machine. And with all that the chaos and destruction so closely associated in the past with every great upheaval are totally lacking.

"What is amazing about the Catalonian economic revolution is the fact that prices have hardly risen," writes the French socialist paper *Le Populaire*. And can there be a greater measure of economic success of any upheaval than a general stability of prices?

"The workers are mastering the industries," writes the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. "Difficulties are due only to lack of raw material but not to bad organization or unwillingness on the part of the workers."

One of the most difficult problems of any revolution, that of organization of transport, is solved satisfactorily in the revolutionary provinces of Spain. In spite of the terrible strain imposed upon them by the civil war, the railroads are functioning as normally as one can expect under the circumstances.

Fifteen years after the October revolution, the Soviet government had to grapple with this problem. Draconian measures, barbarous codes of labor discipline, dictatorial powers to the super-commissars and efficiency experts—who does not know the perennial problem of the Soviet transport and the desperate methods the Soviet government had to fall upon in order to keep it from complete breakdown?

But the Spanish railroad workers are keeping this most important branch of transport in a state which no other type of management could hope to achieve under the given conditions of a civil war. And this is admitted by no less a person than the special correspondent of the Moscow *Pravda*, who generally avoids any reference to the reconstruction work of the Spanish revolution.

Wherein lies the secret of the Spanish workers, and of Catalonian workers especially? What enabled them to effect the colossal changes in the social life without seriously impairing the economic structure? How is it that in the midst of a great revolution the factories are working as usual, the markets are functioning without any serious interruptions, the fields are cultivated even better than before and the financial structure remains almost unperturbed?

The socialists, liberals and all other observers are greatly puzzled. But it is no puzzle to anyone who has had some knowledge of the basic ideas guiding the work of the active forces of the Catalonian revolution. Those are the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism, of industrial democracy based upon the union of producers. A revolution guided by such ideas is an altogether different affair from the old type exemplified by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.

Chaos and destruction are not unavoidable in a modern revolution. They come only when revolutions are monopolized by political parties. The economic breakdown is the result not of a civil war but of the attempt of the dictatorial parties to displace the only agency capable of effecting the vast economic changes demanded by the revolution—and that is the economic organization of the masses of workers and peasants.

This was the case of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. The hopeful beginnings of an industrial democracy were stifled by the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The Commissar, the revolutionary bureaucrat took the place of the industrial union, of the peasant committee. Economic links between the village and the city were severed by a policy which no industrial democracy would ever countenance. The workers and peasants became the objects of economic experiments on the part of the revolutionary dictators instead of being the active agents of the economic transformations.

The economic success of the Catalonian revolution is chiefly due to the fact that thus far it avoided the pitfalls of the Russian revolution of twenty years ago. Industries to the workers, land to the peasants—this is the simple secret of the Catalonian revolution. Those that are directly concerned with the economic process, that function in one or another capacity in the complicated machinery of economic production—those are best qualified to determine the economic destinies of the revolution.

This simple idea that got hold of the minds of the most

SPANISH PEASANTS--VANGUARD OF A LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION

The libertarian press of Spain contains frequent descriptions of peasant communes organized in the various parts of the country, and especially strong in those provinces where anarchist influences have been at work for some length of time. Those experiments are very often undertaken by the peasants on their own initiative and in some places they assume the character of a popular movement directed toward free communism.

Like the other aspects of the Spanish revolution, those developments do not exactly harmonize with the Marxist idea of the moving force of modern revolutions. The peasant, it is alleged by them, is petty-bourgeois by his nature and can only be drawn into a socialist revolution by the means of "persuasion" so well familiarized by the Russian dictatorship of the proletariat.

What would be the most difficult thing to explain from that point of view is the fact that the province which shows the greatest number of peasant communes is exactly the one which has the most widely spread system of peasant proprietorship. In Catalonia the big land-estate is much less in evidence than in the other parts of Spain. And it is there that the peasant movement toward collectivization has assumed such a wide sweep.

Here is what the French libertarian paper *L'Espagne Anti-Fascist* has to say on this peasant movement initiated by the revolutionary events of the July days.

"The Iberian peasantry has its own traditional revolutionary movement, its own revolutionary ideology and its own insurrectional history. It is not merely trailing behind the cities, nor is it always under their influence. One might even state that in a great number of cases the village is ahead of the cities."

"In Catalonia, for instance, the peasants who own small parcels of land understand that even when organized in unions of their own, they can hardly count against the powerful economic forces of the country. The peasant realized as a matter of self-defense that in order to be his own master he cannot confine himself any longer to his small household, that he has to associate with his fellow-peasant as a producer and as a consumer."

"All that is now being carried out on such a large scale, in such a spontaneous and varied manner that volumes would have to be written in order to give one an adequate idea of the vast sweep of the process of collectivization now taking place in the Spanish villages. This creative work takes even the anarchist militants by surprise. One of

them, having returned from a propaganda tour over the country, expressed his amazement at the revolutionary changes initiated by the peasants themselves.

"We went to the villages' he said, 'with the idea of teaching the peasants the ideas of libertarian communism. But it turned out that we had to learn from them about it.'"

"The most solid foundation of the Spanish socialism is the collectivist revolution now sweeping the villages. And it is those peasant communes that in the long run will prove to be the most formidable bulwark against the Fascist forces."

guard at the general headquarters, and no closed doors. And yet everything goes on in perfect order. Everyone, from the front-line trenches to the orderly of the pharmacy at the base, assumes the full responsibility of his service and fulfills it, conscious of his duty as an integral unit of action.

One would suppose that even when we recognize the admirable way in which Anarchist principles are realized at the front, we must admit some factor of control against individual abuses or failure. And here, it may be said, that there are no guard rooms, no prisons, no courts of justice. There exists, however, an unwritten law, inexorable in its effect. Undesirable elements make their presence apparent as inevitably as a speck of dirt in a glass of clean water. And they are dealt with according to their dues—without passion, but also without false sentimentality. The Revolution must be stainless—that goes above all things, even above individual human life. Such is the ideal and the practice of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. at the front.

And so the proletariat of Spain, exemplified in the self-discipline, self-organized combatants of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has uprooted the poisonous weeds of classic militarism. They have created a new spirit, the stimulus of freedom. These Anarcho-syndicalists are not merely soldiers. They are warriors fighting for the definite emancipation of the workers. No sacrifice is too great for them, and no power on earth can stop their march to victory.

A refreshing vigour strengthens the hearts of the pariahs of the earth and Bakunin's dream of Social Revolution is in the act of realization by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. of Iberia.

(From the Bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.)

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity. It is your fight as well as theirs.

Help this heroic struggle. Send contributions to I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, United Libertarian Organizations, 45 West

ANARCHIST MILITIA AT THE FRONT

Much has been said and written about the realization of the Anarchist principles in the economic and social fields. The Communists themselves were forced to acknowledge the splendid achievements of the anarchists. In the war-zone in Aragon, the results achieved are even more amazing.

The first impression one gets is the total absence of hierarchy in the entire corps. There is no one giving orders by authority. Instead there exists almost the automatic capacity of functioning in the right place. All are comrades performing their service with zeal and competence in the common effort to win the war against the Fascists. And not only is there zeal and competence, but a spontaneity of joyousness of action of which only free men are capable.

In place of rivalry and ambition common in the usual military ranks, emulation and disin-

terestedness of service inspire the combatants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

It is said, that in time of war the best men go to the front. This is more than substantiated by the Durruti Column of volunteers. From Bujalaroz, the base of supplies, through Gelsa, Pino del Ebro, Osera and Farlete—marking the front line of the column—everywhere is manifest a genuine enthusiasm, good humor and the noblest of comradeship.

In all the sectors of the front, after four months of active service, these warriors of the F.A.I. share the same impetus of the first glorious days of victory in July. Only a more sustained determination towards final victory, at any and all costs, is everywhere in evidence.

At the same time one meets with a perfect cordiality everywhere. There are no sergeants or majors. There is not even a

situation of the struggle in Spain, is already making history. For it is showing to the world that revolutions do not have to be accompanied by an economic breakdown, by widespread starvation, by a ferocious terror and the wiping out of the best traditions of liberty and democracy for which generations of valiant men and women fought in the past.

It is showing the road for the revolutions to come. For when the great masses of workers of the other countries grasp the secret of the successful course of the Catalonian revolution, the sway of the political parties—socialists, communists and other self-styled saviors—will become as much a thing of the past as the

HEALTH DEPARTMENT RUN BY ANARCHISTS

A. Blicq, a well known French anarchist, accompanied Sebastian Faure on his trip to Spain. Now he publishes in the French anarchist weekly *Libertaire*, his notes on the achievements of the Spanish revolution.

In the last issue of our *Spanish Revolution* we reprinted some of his articles dealing with prisons and courts in Barcelona. In this issue we are presenting to our readers some of his impressions of the work done by the Department of Health of the Catalan Council.

At the head of this Department is a well known anarchist, Dyonisios, the author of many articles on problems of Public Health and their solution in the light of revolutionary ideas.

The work now carried on by this Department is in harmony with the revolutionary ideas of its leading figures. It is characterized by revolutionary boldness, which is the more striking when we compare it to the timorous attitude taken by the Spanish republic on those matters.

One of the most remarkable steps taken by this Department is that of setting up a sub-section for the purposes of disseminating information pertaining to sex hygiene. It is, what the writer calls it, "a veritable school of conscious motherhood." Its revolutionary significance is self-evident, especially when we take into account the great backwardness of Spain in this respect. A country dominated by the Catholic religion to such an extent as pre-revolutionary Spain, is more than ripe for a revolutionary institution of that kind.

Another important task undertaken by this department is the rehabilitation of defective individuals. Scientific institutions are built up for the handling of those individuals. Those institutions are closely connected in their work with the syndicates.

After being cured, the patients are turned over to the syndicates whose task it is to provide them with a trade suitable to their aptitudes.

The approach to the problem of prostitution is guided by the principles of social therapy. The most serious efforts are directed toward the social base of prostitution. Prostitutes are provided with jobs through the employment section of the department. Special care is taken to keep the prostitutes who had already obtained such employment from relapsing into their old state. Every one of them is studied individually through a detailed "case history" which enables the Institute to look for individual solutions in cases of relapse.

Sweeping changes have been wrought in the management of hospitals and homes for aged. Until the revolution, most of those institutions were in the hands of religious orders. How well they managed them shows the case of one of the largest Homes visited by our author. The religious order in charge of this Home ("The little sisters of the poor") is one of the richest in the country. In Madrid 100 millions of pesetas were found in the central office of those "poor sisters." And with all their wealth, the sisters showed a mean niggardliness in regard to the inmates of that home. Privations and petty tyranny rendered the life of those inmates not much better than that of ordinary prisoners.

The changes instituted by the anarchists in charge of this Home are in keeping with the general line adopted by the Department of Health. The regime of petty tyranny, of intolerable restrictions and interferences into one's personal life was done away with. The inmates now have the full liberty to go and come when they please. There

are no special restrictions for women who enjoy in every respect equal rights with men. Admission into those homes is determined by one's physiological state and not by age only. Old couples are not forced to break up their household and to separate in a sort of divorce. As in many other respects the administration is trying to create an atmosphere from which all traces of "charity" institutions are removed.

The writer also visited the largest hospital in the city, an institution run formerly by monks and nuns of some religious orders. They were also "poor," like all the other orders of that kind, which of course did not prevent them from hiding 12,000 pesetas in the hospital furniture.

The "anarchist bandits" who found this tidy sum turned it over to the treasury of the Catalan state and began their work of reorganization of the hospital. The monks and nuns were "moved out" from the finest apartments which they had taken to themselves. This enabled the new administration to enlarge the hospital facilities to almost twice the original capacity. A new competent personnel was put in place of the "sisters and brothers in poverty." The doctors placed themselves at the disposal of the syndicates and now they are in the forefront of the active struggle for the libertarian cause. In several months of anarchist administration the hospital has grown to such an extent that by now it ranks as one of the finest and the largest of its kind in Europe.

Still more striking changes, signifying a veritable landmark on the course of the Catalan revolution, are now being prepared by the Health Department. According to the writer of the same article, by the first months of 1937 socialization of medicine will have become an established fact throughout Catalonia.

PARLIAMENT IGNORED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

(Continued from page one)
party has played quite a considerable part in framing those plans), they certainly counted without the most powerful force of the Spanish revolution—and that is the anarcho-sindicalist Confederation of Labor. The C.N.T. did not fall for the Parliamentary ballyhoo—no more than it did so in its past history.

True, the united front imposed upon it by the exigencies of the present day situation dictated a somewhat reserved form of criticism. But the attitude taken by it is unmistakable. It is that of contemptuous aloofness toward something with which the other sectors of the united front may toy around but which is not going to be permitted to interfere in any manner with the course of revolutionary events.

This attitude was manifested

first of all by the abstention of the C.N.T. ministers who were conspicuous by their absence from all the sessions of the parliament. And that this was no mere gesture on their part, but emanated from a well thought out policy adopted by the leading organs of the Confederation of Labor, is shown by the few sneering lines with which the Catalan organ of the C.N.T. (*Solidaridad Obrera*) greeted the opening of the Parliament. We quote this brief editorial in part in order to give our readers some idea of the attitude of the anarchist movement to one of the latest moves on the part of the socialists and communists.

"... the Parliament will have no other business than again voting confidence in the government and approving the Statutes for an autonomous Valencia ...

"... We confess that we prefer a closed Parliament to an open one (Ed. note: Our own emphasis). So much confidence do we have in it. And if it has to be kept opened, we wish to see its sessions last as short a time as possible.

And as to the Statutes for an autonomous Valencia, this responds to a regional necessity ... But we believe that when the Revolution has triumphed, the building up of the life of the Iberian provinces will take on shapes totally differing from the one which is now serving as a pattern for the autonomy Statutes passed now by the Parliament.

At least we may say that the working class represented by our organization goes much beyond the formulas adopted by the present Republic."

Readers who have succeeded in tuning in to the C.N.T.-P.A.I. radio station (42.88 meters) in Barcelona are requested to write to the U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York city.

READ AND SPREAD
the
"SPANISH REVOLUTION"

REVOLUTION ARMING FOR AGGRESSION

We wrote already in the last issue of the *Spanish Revolution* that the reports of Russian assistance to the Spanish troops fighting against Fascism are greatly exaggerated. Whatever help there is—and there might be quite a substantial amount of it—it is not great enough to overshadow in importance the supply of arms and general equipment obtained from the Spanish factories.

The same subject was dealt with in one of the leading articles of the *Solidaridad Obrera* (Dec. 1). Writing of the general tendency to attribute the heroic resistance of the Spanish workers to Moscow's aid, it points out that all those people "forget that revolutionary Spain has made a supreme effort and during the last four months it succeeded in putting its industries into working shape. By now those industries have a sufficient production

capacity to supply the necessities of the army. With every day our production and our war supplies keep growing."

The article points out that this statement does not imply any belittling of the role of international solidarity and assistance. Help is still needed, but the crisis is over. At the present time revolutionary Spain has enough men to fight on its fronts.

"Spain now has a sufficient number of men on the side of the Revolution. They will be mobilized when occasion demands it. We shall soon have a revolutionary army equipped with modern armaments and sufficiently strong to crush the Fascists and its international backers ... The revolutionary people of Spain is now sufficiently strong to win the war and to realize in full the basic ideas of the Iberian revolution."

SOCIALIZATION REACHES HIGHER PHASE

(Continued from page one)

new plans of reorganization. It is estimated that more than twenty thousand people attended each session. Special admission cards were distributed in the unions, factories and offices.

The speakers pointed out that the surest way of winning the war against Fascism is to master the collectivized industries. The workers can do it if they evolve the necessary moral discipline and transcend the petty group interests developed as a result of a temporary situation whereby enterprises came to be "owned" by the employees.

The new plan does away with that state of things. Profits are now turned over to a common fund to be used for general purposes of the socialized economy. Industries and public services running at a loss are financed from this general fund. Industries are to be grouped in large concentrations which will give greater returns and open greater possibilities for foreign commerce.

The old decree restricting the socialization to enterprises employing 100 workers and more was modified. From now even smaller shops and factories are to be socialized, it being deemed that such enterprises were of sufficient importance to be removed from the field of private exploitation.

The general control of the reorganized industries is to be exercised through the medium of the existing industrial unions. Such a control will make unnecessary the centralization of economic power in the hands of a bureaucracy.

The new decree also provides

for the beginnings of a nationalized banking system acting as a Clearing House for the socialized industries. Until now Catalonia lacked such a banking system. (It was the sabotage of the socialists and communists that prevented revolutionary Catalonia from nationalizing its bank system.) Not having been able to nationalize its banks, Catalonia could not cope successfully with the problems of a socialized economy. That is why the new step taken now by the Catalan government is of such importance. An industrial and commercial bank was founded for the purposes of providing credits, collecting profits and cover losses of the socialized economy. This is the first step toward the avowed goal of transforming by degrees the entire banking system into an important link of the new socialized economy.

The larger meaning and purposes of this new decree were outlined by the Counselor of the Economic Department of the Generalidad, J. Fabregas.

"The ultimate aim of those reforms he said in addressing the enthusiastic audience, "is to place in the hands of the proletariat the sources of the country's riches for equal distribution among productive citizens ... We are carrying out an experiment unprecedented in the world of today. The finished work will have far-reaching historical significance. We are in the first revolutionary stage and the new decree on collectivization expresses one of the basic conceptions underlying the tendency of this stage."

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

•
"The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker 5c

•
"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashar 10c

•
Send to United Libertarian Organizations
45 WEST 17th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

FOOD PROBLEM SOLVED BY INDUSTRIAL UNION

Eggs are always considered a great luxury during a revolution. The difficulties of regulating this highly individualistic market are so great that as a rule speculation has a free hand in setting prices for this important food item. And that they are set at a prohibitive level as far as the masses of people are concerned shows the history of every social upheaval during which eggs disappear from the table of the masses of city workers.

In Soviet Russia this happened not only during the first period of the revolution. Up to about a year or two ago it was only the highly paid specialist who could afford to include eggs in his daily food. For the rest of the city population it was almost as rare a delicacy as during the first years of the revolution. And that this was due not to local shortages but to the top heavy bureaucratic apparatus of regulation is shown by the fact that the same conditions existed in cities situated in places of abundant egg supplies.

In Barcelona, however, in spite of the revolutionary struggles taking place throughout the province of Catalonia in the first month of the Fascist revolt, in spite of the deep changes in the economic structure affecting the working of the free market, the supply of eggs has hardly suffered any interruption, and what is even more remarkable, egg prices have remained on the same level. Back of this situation, which tells more than volumes could do about the or-

ganizing genius of the Spanish revolution, is the heroic struggle of the food workers of Barcelona without whom the market would have plunged into the same chaotic conditions which prevailed in Soviet Russia.

We present here a brief account of this heroic work as told by the reporter of the anarcho-syndicalist daily *Solidaridad Obrera* (Dec. 3).

Speculation already showed its ugly head in the first days of the revolution. The big dealers realized that there was a chance to make money by speculating on possible shortages brought about by the turbulent conditions in the country. Prices began to soar and there was a general rush for those supplies that were still sold on the market. Eggs began to vanish mysteriously from the big supply houses of Barcelona.

The speculators, however, figured without the new power that was to take over the food supply of the city. That was the Union of Food Workers affiliated with the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor. As soon as the sabotaging designs of the big dealers became evident, the Egg Supply Section of the Food Workers Union called a general meeting of all its members, to which all the wholesalers and the larger retailers were invited. A comprehensive plan of workers' control was worked out at that meeting and under the circumstances the employers could not but accept it.

Soon, however, the employers themselves changed their attitude. They were drawn in as

technicians, receiving weekly salaries and under the control of the workers committees their experience, foreign connections, organizing ability, became an important factor in regulating the egg supplies of the city. By now they are a part of the organization, having the same rights and duties as the rest of the workers.

The first step of the workers' committees was to replenish the vanishing supplies of the city by undertaking a large-scale purchasing operation, backed up by the financial resources of the egg dealers. Results showed immediately. Prices came down and now they are on the same level as before the revolution. These operations were so successful that soon workers began to get their regular pay envelopes plus the back pay for the period of reorganization.

There is still an occasional scarcity, but prices are kept under rigid control. The retailers get their supplies under condition of adhering to a definite price and that is being closely watched by investigation committees composed of workers who in their spare hours make the rounds of their locality seeing that prices do not exceed the standard set by the Control Committee.

As in other fields of revolutionary reconstruction, the supply of food in Barcelona shows the vast superiority of industrial democracy to bureaucratic regulation, even when it is run by professional revolutionaries and learned economists.

were threatened with isolation, with the breaking up of the pact, with dissolution of the United Front against Fascism.

What followed is known to the readers. The anarchists have not yielded on any of the vital points. Their official statement was that "if the other parties of the United Front decide to withdraw from the struggle, the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are ready to carry on single handed the struggle against Fascism." (*Libertair*, Dec. 18.)

The manoeuvre on the part of the united block of communist and liberal politicians failed. The C.N.T. came out of this crisis with strengthened positions. But the struggle is only beginning. Much more than ordinary vigilance will be required on the part of the Spanish anarchists to keep the libertarian conquests from being interfered with by an insidious power which in the long run may prove to be even more deadly to the true interests of the revolution than Fascism.

If the world permit the crushing of the Spanish revolution, it will be guilty of one of the greatest crimes in history.

UNITY THROUGH PACTS

Malaga was one of the few Spanish cities in which the communists succeeded in obtaining some foothold among the workers. And as it was to be expected, the spirit of narrow factionalism and intolerance became entrenched among those sections of the working class where the communist party exercised its influence. Bitter fights among the anarchist and communist workers were common before the Fascist revolt. And even lately the press carried frequent items of serious clashes breaking out between the two sections of the working class of Malaga.

However, the influence of the Catalanian pact concluded between the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor and the Socialist trade-unions has finally reached the strife-torn Malaga. The Spanish papers report that

in Malaga a pact, similar to that arrived at in Catalonia, has been concluded between the anarchist unions (C.N.T.) and the U.G.T. (controlled by communists and socialists).

The pact was celebrated in one of the grandest mass meetings the city ever had. The speaker pointed out to the mass of workers the significance of this pact, the need of collaboration in view of the great danger of Fascist victory and the important task of reconstruction facing the country.

The idea of a pact, covenant is an anarchist idea. That the Spanish workers are reaching out for a united course of action via pacts, agreements, and not through the dictatorship of a single party, is in itself the best evidence of the deep influence of the libertarian ideas.

WORKERS' SOLIDARITY IN FASCIST COUNTRIES

The Fascist governments of Italy and Germany claim the full support of the population for their military adventures in Spain. The latest news, however, reaching us from those two countries, tells of a strong underlying movement of workers in sympathy with the Spanish fighters against Fascism.

Thus the Manchester *Guardian* reprints a dispatch from the Reuter Agency saying that in spite of all the precautions taken by the Italian government a number of people succeed in stealing their way to Spain in order to fight for the Spanish people.

The *Solidaridad Obrera* writes that in various parts of Italy money is collected by the population for the Spanish United Front. In spite of numerous arrests of people suspected of carrying on such activities, this work of collecting money is going on with an unabated vigor. In Germany, according to the

French press, the Gestapo recently uncovered a widely ramified organization for the collection of money for Spain. Money was collected in factories, offices and private houses. Not only factory workers were involved in this organization, but a number of people belonging to the middle classes.

Desertions from the German troops now stationed in Spain are quite frequent. There were even cases of large scale desertions involving several hundred people.

According to the correspondent of the Moscow *Pravda*, the morale of the German soldier is not very high and great efforts are made to keep it isolated from the population.

Workers' solidarity is by no means dead. The day will come soon when it will assert its living power on the battlefields of Europe.

SPANISH WORKERS SUCCEED IN RUNNING RAILWAYS

"The workers now run the railways and they do it quite well considering the difficulties of the war situation. A tremendous job was done on organizing the movement of freight along the Mediterranean coast and the front sector.

"The work of evacuating the

population from the war zone was excellently done. The supplying of Madrid is done without any noticeable hitches. . .

"... All that is done by workers who had to work and study at the same time the complicated problems of railway transport."

—*Pravda*, Dec. 3rd

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140—H. Block, Chelsea, Mass.	\$10.00
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162—Jules Scareaux. List 427.	5.50

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Pub. Dec. 9 issue, \$4115.42—Sent to Spain, \$3929.91—Bal. 185.50

Anarchists Strengthen Positions IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)

The attacks were directed at the P.O.U.M., but the language used leaves no doubt that a much wider range was aimed at.

"Yesterday," writes the *Mundo Obrero*, "the political commissars and representatives of various parties of the Popular Front explained to the soldiers the counter-revolutionary role of the Trotskyites. (That is why the communist and socialist parties are so anxious to eliminate democracy at the fronts and to replace it by the rule of commissars. Ed. note.)

"The moment has come to pay more attention to this group of counter-revolutionists and the tools of Fascism. The Trotskyites should not be allowed to go unpunished. They criticize the government and demand the dissolution of parliament."

But it is not only the Trotskyites who demand the dissolution of parliament and criticize the government. The anarchists do

the same. In regard to them, of course, none of the communist or semi-communist groups dares to take the same tone. But pressure is exerted upon them to change their policy. The secretary of the Catalanian United Socialist Party (socialist and communist) sends an open letter to the C.N.T. which "demands" a radical change of policy and granting to the government plenary powers so as to be able to create order and establish the necessary discipline. "It is intolerable," the letter states in the true Stalinist spirit, "that the criticism of the government should be permitted after decisions had been taken by it."

That was followed by the resignation of the Premier representing the Catalanian middle class parties. The united front of communist, socialist and liberal against the revolution has become a fact. The anarchists

In Soviet Russia the workers lost their freedom because they did not possess revolutionary unions to take over the management of industries.

In Spain the ground for such unions has been prepared

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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I. 1, No. 10

NEW YORK, JANUARY 25, 1937

Price 3 cents

Free Socialism Immediate Goal of Spanish Workers

evolutionary Policies Triumph In Catalonia

The outcome of the last political crisis in Catalonia is represented by many, and especially the Trotskyite press, as the capitulation of the anarchists to the pressure exerted by the combined block of middle class and the unified Socialist-Communist parties.

This opinion is mainly based on the fact that the anarcho-sindicalist confederation of labor did not yield on the question of further participation of the Semi-Trotskyite faction (P. O. U. M.) in the Supreme organ of Catalonia. And since this issue looms very big in the eyes of many, it is thought that the forced concessions on the part of the C. N. came as a result of a general weakening of its position.

The real situation, however, is altogether different. The struggle revolved around much more important issues than the participation of the P. O. U. M. in the Catalanian government. And it was upon those issues that the combined anti-anarchist block suffered defeat. The C. N. came out victorious in this crisis, having strengthened its positions in the Council on one hand and on the other—having greatly increased its standing.

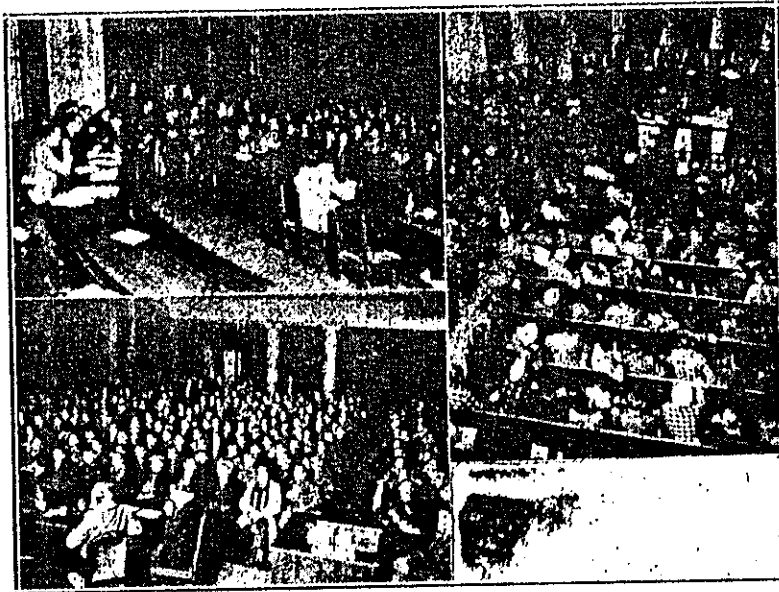
(Continued on page four)

ANARCHISTS MAP COURSE OF REVOLUTION AT CONVENTION

The leading role of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) in the Spanish revolution is now being recognized even by the correspondents of the bourgeois press. It has now become the common knowledge of everyone who is following the Spanish events that the initiative in the important revolutionary policies rests with this organization and the Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) with which it is closely interlinked.

And because of this growing role, the conferences and conventions of the Anarchist Federations are beginning to take on the character of great historic events. The decisions of those conferences chart a new course for the Spanish revolution, clarify its aims and open the wider perspectives temporarily obscured by the compromises of the daily struggle.

One of such great historic gatherings was the convention of the anarchist groups of Catalonia which took place in Barcelona December 6th. More than 200 organizations were represented. Discussions revolved around the burning issues of the day; the organization of the army, of the economic life and the entrance of the anarchists in-



Anarchist Convention in Barcelona

to the government.

Important speeches were delivered by conspicuous figures of the movement. Comrade Juanel spoke on the problem of war. He pointed out that guerilla warfare is a hopelessly outdated method and that without a disciplined well-organized army the war against Fascism cannot be won. This also implies the acceptance of a single command and the subjection of various units of the militia to military orders of this unified command.

Santillan, the minister of economy in the new Catalanian cabinet, spoke on the entrance into the government.

"I accept," he said, "this idea of working together with other anti-Fascist forces in the Catalanian and Central governments. I am also for having representatives in the Municipal Councils. But this collaboration should not make us forget our opposition to the state and our negation of private property in all its forms. We are working within the

(Continued on page three)

United Front Sabotaged in Barcelona

During the last month, Barcelona experienced serious food difficulties coming as a result of a partial sea blockade and the shutting off of the former sources of wheat supplies. Catalonia is an industrial state, and although agriculture plays an important role in its economy, it had to depend upon other parts of Spain and foreign imports for the supply of one of its important food staples.

It stands to reason that this dependence was felt much more keenly in Barcelona than in the other parts of the State. The sea forms an important line of communication of this vast industrial city, and though the Fascists are still far from being able to carry out their threat to cut this line, they did succeed, by their piratical raids, to undermine it to some extent. The unfriendly policy of the French government rendered more and more difficult the task of importing wheat through some process of direct exchange of products. And on the other hand, the vast social upheaval shaking the life of the villages contributed its share to the aggravation of the food problem.

Former Difficulties Overcome by Anarchists

Those difficulties were felt from the very beginning of the revolution. But until recently they were handled in a quite successful manner by the food supply committee formed by the unions and gradually merged with the governmental agency of the Catalanian Council. The Committee was mainly in the hands of the anarchists, and its methods were characterized by the revolutionary realism displayed by the Catalanian anarchists in other fields of activity. Old trade connections were not disrupted, but gradually integrated into the new apparatus. Working through the industrial unions of food and transport workers on one hand and through the peasant committees and cooperatives on the other hand, it succeeded in securing a relatively steady flow of wheat to the city.

It was relative, of course, to fluctuating situations on the fronts, the political struggles within the United Front and the

(Continued on page three)

SOVIET CONSUL IN BARCELONA PRAISES ANARCHISTS

Official statements of diplomatic representatives are rarely taken at their face value. But there is something about the statement made by Antonov-Ovseenko, the Soviet Consul in Barcelona, in regard to the Catalanian government which makes one forget its official origin. The statement was made in an interview given by the Soviet Consul to the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* who asked him several pointed questions as to Russia's role in the last Catalanian crisis and its attitude to the anarcho-sindicalist movement.

(An account of this interview was given in the *Manchester Guardian* of Dec. 22.)

The Consul, of course, denied the well known fact of the interference of Soviet Government in the internal politics of Catalonia. But at the same time he expressed greatest admiration for the Catalan workers, especially for the anarcho-sindicalists. (Ed. Note. This admira-

tion could be voiced by the Soviet Consul through the medium of a "bourgeois" paper. His own paper, *Pravda*, studiously avoids any reference to the revolutionary work of the Catalanian anarchists, and we are confident that Mr. Antonov-Ovseenko will not dare tell the Russian workers of his admiration for the anarchists.)

"The sobriety of the Catalan workers surprised and gratified the Soviet Consul no less than their extreme common sense and adaptation to realities. Recalling that it had been necessary in Petrograd in 1917 to flood the cells of the palaces to prevent drunkenness, Ovseenko related his astonishment at visiting a champagne factory outside Barcelona, which had not only been raided but kept in the most perfect state by the workers' committees. (Ed. Note—This high moral tone is the result of years of anarchist education.)

(Continued on page three)

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SPANISH WORKERS ARE THEIR OWN LEADERS

More and more often we hear people ask the question: who are the great leaders of the Spanish revolution, who are its key-men, its guiding brains; who charts its course and sees it safely piloted through the terrific difficulties besetting its path?

And it sounds strange to all those people when we tell them that the Spanish revolution does not have such dominant individuals and that it is none the worse for the lack of them. The Spanish revolution has already met the test of the most trying difficulties; it scored considerable victories and triumphs. The leadership cult, which put its strongest impress upon the course of the October revolution from its very first days is totally absent. The world's attention is not centered upon a few figures, like Lenin and Trotsky, to the exclusion of the role of the great masses of people who are the real movers of every great social upheaval.

There are no Lenins and Trotskys in the Spanish revolution. The workers and peasants of Spain are their own pilots. They direct the revolutionary ship in the light of their own experience, and judging by the results already obtained they have done a much better job than providentially appointed leaders and saviors.

The Spanish revolution is not rushing precipitously into military communism, it does not tolerate any dangerous experiments with the lives and destinies of millions of people. It does not attempt to force upon the peasants a policy of grain requisitions which was responsible for more bloodshed and economic chaos than all the combined forces of domestic and foreign counter revolutions.

A revolutionary army of the most modern kind has to be improvised under the trying circumstances of constant defeats and open intervention of Fascist powers. But that is being done without swinging into the extreme of full abolition of any signs of democracy within the army, of depriving it of any will of its own, of turning it into a blind instrument of a single party.

The difficulties facing the Spanish revolution are in many respects just as great as those against which the October revolution had to struggle nineteen years ago. They also had to be met by skilful manoeuvring, by timely concessions and temporary concessions. Did the Spanish revolution have to fall back upon the fatuous Russian myth of a single man, like Lenin, possessing the monopoly of revolutionary strategy and skill of elastic manoeuvring?

The Spanish revolution is guided in its forward course by the surest compass of human progress—and that is the collective experience of the great masses of people. And revolutions are safe where the channels for the free crystallization of such a free expression are kept open. They are safe not only from external danger, but from the still great danger of inner degeneration, of losing its driving force, of becoming a footstool for an ambitious climb to the position of a new oriental despot.

"The Spanish Revolution is more than a great hope. It is already a living, indisputable reality. It is our revolution, it belongs to the workers of all the world."

—Pierre Besnard.

"We can say now with some degree of certainty that when the present social transformation completes its first stage, two thirds of Spain will be socialized in a form closely approaching that of free communism."

—Gaston Leval.

"This is not an ordinary civil war: it is a war of one class against the other. If our enemies win, the totalitarian state will crush the working masses. And everyone knows that with our triumph classes will disappear in Spain."

—Federica Montseny.

"The anarchists of Spain are the only large group of people in the world who still love liberty enough to struggle and die for it."

—Emma Goldman.

COLLABORATION WITH MIDDLE CLASSES SLOWS DOWN COURSE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The policy of collaboration with the organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie adopted by the Catalanian anarchists under the stress of a war situation proved to be successful in its major outlines. Not only was it effective in averting the danger of Fascist victory, but it also enabled the anarchists to draw in all the neutral elements into the work of social reconstruction. The Spanish revolution did not have to fall back upon the worse forms of terror in order to break the resistance of a recalcitrant middle class.

But some price had to be paid for it. The pace of the social revolution is being slowed down on account of this collaboration. Alien elements are forcing themselves into important positions where they succeed at times in turning away the Revolution from its purely proletarian goals.

The French magazine *La Revolution Proletarienne* of Dec. 25th (of revolutionary-syndicalist orientation) dwells upon some of the deviations suffered by the Revolution as a result of this necessary policy of collaboration with the other sectors of the anti-Fascist front.

"A veritable campaign is now carried on by the Catalanian organ of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party ('Trebal') and

by the party itself against collectivization of industries. In this matter they make use of the bureaucratic element which grew up as a result of the application of the decree on collectivization.

What Led to Bureaucracy

"The growth of this bureaucracy is due to the fact that representatives of the Generalidad (the Catalanian State) were made a part of the Councils of Industry. That was due to the insistence of the party of Left Republicans which carried its point of not turning over the industries directly to the syndicates. And it is because of that suggestion that in the management of socialized industries a large place is reserved to the representatives of the State.

The participation finds its expression in placing an 'intervener' in the socialized enterprises, that is one who is supposed to represent the interests of the Catalanian State and who is appointed by the Economic Council after obtaining the consent of the workers to it. On the other hand the appointment of the director of the socialized factory must be approved by the Economic Council, an institution of a mixed character having some of the elements of the State in it.

"But the influence of the mid-

dle class sector makes itself also felt in the question of paying indemnities to the ex-owners of socialized factories. (Ed. note—Additional information on this problem will be found in the article from *Solidaridad Obrera* which we reprint in this issue of the *Spanish Revolution*.) Such payments are provided for foreign properties. And as to the capital of the banks (savings banks and others), indemnification is recognized on principle but the part of the value which is to be recouped is to be fixed later.

This is only a Transitional Stage

"But it is clear that the Spanish proletariat has not yet said its last word in this field. He has in his possession all the important factories of the State. And in practice the representatives of the State know too well that it wouldn't be too good for them to press their point against the will of the workers. In many an enterprise the State functionary does not dare show up at all.

"Altogether, it depends on the ultimate course of the revolution whether the role of the bourgeois state will keep on growing or whether, on the contrary, the workers will retain the direct management of the factories exclusively in the hands of their industrial unions."

A Letter from Spain

... You want to know some thing about the life in Catalonia. As you know, everything is collectivized with the exception of the petty trade which is kept under control.

In the villages collectivization proceeds in a magnificent fashion. I visited some of them and I was amazed at their revolutionary achievements. I want to stress here the point that collectivization in the villages is no compulsory. The peasant who does not want to join the collective receives from the municipality (since the land now belongs to the latter) a piece of land sufficiently large to enable him to cultivate it with the help of his family.

The differentiation in the scale of wages is quite small: a worker receives from 300 to 400 pesetas a month, and an engineer from 400 to 500.

It is wonderful, perhaps too much so, for we may risk losing our technicians.

Social life has been changed to its very depths. IT IS INDEED A REVOLUTION OF THE KIND WHICH THE WORLD HAS NOT SEEN UNTIL NOW.

The situation is getting tough. I don't have any illusions about the fact that this terrible war may even reach Barcelona. But I am an optimist just the same one cannot help being one while living in Catalonia

DAILY PRESS TO BE CONTROLLED BY REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

One of our comrades who happened to visit Barcelona about two months ago wrote to us that "it is strange to see that in this predominantly anarchist city most of the daily papers are still reactionary."

The situation is, indeed, far from normal. Immediately after the revolution, many of the daily papers passed into the hands of small groups of workers and journalists who happened to be employed by the former owner of the daily at that time. But a daily press is too powerful an agency to be left in the hands of a few irresponsible groups, whose only concern is to hold on to their jobs and to make the paper "go." Their attitude is the same as that of the former owner, with the difference, of course, that they have to adapt themselves to a revolutionary reader.

It is this problem that began to force itself upon the attention of the Catalanian anarchists. The daily organ of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor, *Solidaridad Obrera*, deals with this problem in a series of powerful articles presenting great interest because of the supreme importance of the problem of revolutionary control of

The paper points out that just as the revolution put an end to the "freedom" exercised by the bourgeoisie in organizing the economic life for its own profit, so must it also deal a decisive blow at that sham freedom of press which means in reality the monopoly of powerful agencies by irresponsible groups. A daily paper belongs to the category of means of production, like a factory or mine, and to leave it at the disposal of groups that have no revolutionary standing is to show that the bourgeois concepts of freedom still hold their sway.

The paper does not deny the right of small groups united on the basis of a certain idea to run smaller publications. But dailies must be placed at the disposal of revolutionary organizations and unions.

As in many other fields of social reorganization, the articles of the *Solidaridad Obrera* foreshadow a new course to be soon adopted by the revolution. The problem of revolutionary control of the press will be solved soon in accordance with the basic idea of a proletarian revolution, which is not party monopoly of the Russian style, but placing at the disposal of all responsible workers' organizations the powerful means of molding the pub-

WORKERS UNIONS ORGANIZE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. decided on the following points at a general meeting in the Olympia Theatre:

(1) Complete agreement on the collectivization of the entire textile industry of Catalonia.

(2) The Committee in charge proceed immediately with the creation of a general council for this industry, according to Article 25 of the decree dealing with collectivization, issued by the Generalidad.

While the General Council of the textile industry does not possess yet the information necessary to regulate production, prices and quality, the owners of the plants will carry on individually with their agents who remain in the country but, all matters connected with exports must be arranged through the General Council. The distribution of raw materials must be centralized at once and unified scale of prices established.

(3) A general bank for the textile industry, where all the operations of this industry—collectivized or not—are centralized, must be created as soon as possible by the General Council.

(4) The committee in charge assesses the need of the election of delegations from the various districts or industrial zones. These delegations should serve as links between the General Council and the various industries.

(5) As soon as the bank is established, the councils of the various enterprises will take over the technical, industrial and administrative functions within the framework of the general plan

as designed by the General Council until total collectivization is established. All operations of an economic or financial nature (wages, payments, etc.), must be transacted through the bank. All such payments will be centralized.

(6) From now on, none of the councils of the various enterprises can modify or increase wages, working-hours or working conditions. The capital of the enterprises will be considered the property of the collectivized textile industries and cannot therefore be used in the interest of individual enterprises.

(7) The unions must carry out these resolutions according to the decree and establish co-operation between the Council of the Generalidad and our aims.

(8) The General Council must study the situation and fix the definite form in which the collectivization will be made practical. An assembly of the workers' delegates will be called for the purpose of putting this plan into immediate operation.

Those who are fighting at the front can rest assured that the C.N.T.—the genuine expression of revolutionary will and practical loyalty to the ideas of proletarian unity—will never separate economic reconstruction in the sense of socialism and progress from war against Fascism and reaction. Our strength lies in the syndicates and our love of liberty! These two factors are destined to create a new Catalonia, a great Spain and a new and better society.

(From the Bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.)

Soviet Consul Praises Anarchists

(Continued from page one)
"The anarchist movement," the Soviet representative stated, "is obviously rooted in the Catalan working class, but its representatives were astonishingly able to realize the needs of the present situation... Their strength is unparalleled in the anarchist movement in any other country. Despite certain fanatisms (to Anton-Ovseenko, ex-revolutionist, an ex-member of the Communist opposition who renounced his most cherished views for the sake of a diplomatic career, revolutionary convictions of any kind seem so fantastic—Ed. note.), the official worker in the C.N.T. was deeply interested in working under decent conditions, and for this reason would fight to death against Fascism."

"... For these reasons Russia did not but look sympathetically upon the Catalan workers' movement. It certainly has no intention of preventing their working out of their own salvation in the manner most suited to their national characteristics." Thus far the statement of the Soviet Consul as to the "neutrality" of the Soviet Government is altogether borne out by facts. The Soviet government is interfering in Catalonia as in the

other parts of Spain. It is rallying around the small and formerly insignificant Communist Party all the conservative elements of the anti-Fascist block who are opposed to the immediate struggle for socialism.

"The Consul has no doubt that the Catalan workers are capable of reconstructing the wrecked industries, their unaided work in the harbor and factories showing that they are capable of running industry themselves. He was impressed with the fact that the political crisis in Catalonia had been resolved in two days with the minimum of disturbance. (Ed. Note—The Consul forgets to add that this was mainly due to the overwhelming sense of responsibility displayed by the C.N.T. during this crisis.)

But the possibility is there that the obstinate facts of the Spanish revolution are beginning to teach some lessons to the Soviet government. And is the realization of the deeply rooted character of the Spanish anarchist movement, which struck so much the Soviet representative in Barcelona, the result of one of those lessons?

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the
"SPANISH REVOLUTION"**

ANARCHISTS MAP COURSE OF REVOLUTION AT THEIR CONVENTION

(Continued from page one)
government because of the exigencies of a war situation and not in virtue of a principle or a norm."

The convention adopted the following important decisions which clearly defined the anarchist position toward the revolutionary actualities of the present struggle.

(1) The F.A.I. reaffirms in thought and action, its negative attitude toward the state and capitalism.

(2) The F.A.I. proposes that

the problems of the revolution be solved on the basis of equality and solidarity. The economic means must be equalized and the social wealth must be utilized for the benefit of all.

(3) The anarchist groups must devote their energy to persuade the workers of the necessity of applying the principle of selection to production. That is, production must be centered in profitable enterprises and the rest should be eliminated.

(4) It is necessary to suppress the parasitic bureaucracy

which has grown considerably in the shops, factories, municipal and the state organs.

(5) The organization of economic life should be in the hands of the Industrial Unions and the Municipal Councils (communes), avoiding all partial collectivizations which fully negate the spirit of socialization.

(6) The socialization of the production must be completed by a socialist form of distribution leading to the abolition of speculation which only perpetuates the state of economic inequality.

UNITED FRONT SABOTAGED IN BARCELONA

(Continued from page one)
attitude of the foreign governments. All that kept on changing—and the result was an occasional crisis in the supply of food. One of such hitches coincided with the last political crisis in Catalonia which resulted in the taking over of the food supply commissariat by the U.G.T. (The trade union body controlled by socialists and communists.)

New Administration Sabotages Work

It resulted, however in more than a change of administration. Somehow the food crisis began to take on threatening proportions upon the assumption of office by the communist politicians. And it did not take much time for the Barcelona workers to find out that the major part in this aggravation of the food problem was played by the new administration, which instead of bending its efforts to solve the crisis as it was done formerly, began to use it as a political weapon against the anarchists.

The story of this open sabotage of the revolution on the part of those who have been the loudest in advocating a united front sounds almost incredible, but it is well authenticated in the manifesto issued by the federation of C.N.T. unions and anarchist unions of Barcelona. The manifesto is very restrained in its language but it is crammed with facts of the most startling nature. It is reprinted in the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (No. 140, Dec. 28, 1936). We are presenting here its most outstanding points, supplementing it by the additional information given by the *Solidaridad Obrero* (anarchist daily in Barcelona).

A new book of great importance will be soon ready for print. The name of the book is "AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT." Its author is Diego-De-Santillan, the former editor of the anarchist daily in Buenos-Aires, "La Prolesta," and now the minister of economy in the Catalan cabinet.

The book deals with the problems of the transitional period. The translation is being done by the well known writer Max Nomad.

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Inciting Population Against Anarchists

The new administration knew that food supplies were on the way to Barcelona, that within a short time the crisis would be greatly alleviated. Nevertheless, it began to spread panicky rumors among the population, at first by veiled insinuations and then by open statements of the responsible people in this committee, all tending to show that the shortage of supplies is of a *lasting nature as a result of the anarchist policy.*

This was followed by a more provocative policy of inciting the population against the anarchists. When a delegation of women presented itself to one of the councilors of this committee, asking for an energetic policy of provisioning food for the city, his answer was that the C.N.T. is in the way of such a policy, and since it cannot be dislodged from its power, the women have to go out and get food where they can.

And strangely enough, this declaration was followed by assaults upon bakeries which were left quite unprotected by those very people who shout themselves hoarse about the necessity of "discipline" and a "strong government." How is it, this manifesto asks, that the food supply council which had all the police at its disposal did not make the slightest effort to protect the bakeries?

There was something even more alarming from the point of view of proletarian unity. Disturbances were artificially stimulated, manifestations bearing all the marks of skilful direction by some outside agency, were

directed against the anarchists. Why were most of the placards borne by the demonstrators political in their nature, asks the manifesto, and who took all the preliminary trouble of providing them in time with such placards?

This campaign was directed not only against the anarchists but also against the local defense committees which were and are the bulwark of the popular revolution in Catalonia. And at the same time attempts are made to eliminate the industrial unions of food and transport workers from taking part in the work of the Council of food supply, as a result of which the latter began to take on the character of a bureaucratic institution. Trainloads of food awaiting shipment to the city were stalled because of the bureaucratic methods introduced by the new administration.

Anarchists Give Warning

The purpose behind those moves on the part of the socialist and communist politicians is clear. As the manifesto states it, "a systematic attempt is made to foment a state of discontent with the anarchists in order to break away the people from the most powerful force of the proletarian revolution. The last political crisis was created in order to eliminate a revolutionary party (the P.O.U.M.) which has quite a following among the Catalan workers. Similar intentions in regard to the C.N.T. are harbored by those who are back of the last campaign of insinuations."

The manifesto ends with a warning to all those elements, pointing out that the anarchists are willing to sacrifice a great deal for the sake of a united front but that there are limits beyond which they do not intend to go. It demands that all this campaign be stopped immediately and that any attempts to disrupt proletarian unity by making use of the office of the Catalan government be punished with all the severity demanded by the revolutionary period.

**Barcelona is now the center of the world revolution.
—Sebastian Faure.**

EXPROPRIATION ON BASIS OF REVOLUTIONARY EQUITY

Timidity in Disguise

Despite the former agreement made by the workers concerning the confiscation of large industries without indemnity—with the exception of foreign properties—there are certain timid individuals who are depressed by the resolution that opened the channels for a new economy. Those who wish to compromise on former decisions lack the audacity necessary for defending the revolution; to write articles, address mass meetings and preach theories was much easier for them than actually to put revolutionary ideas into practice.

Chaos Checked by Revolution

And since those that say it do not want to lose their standing with the people by altogether denying the necessity of going on with the revolution, they simply present it as something that can be put off until the war is won.

All those people do not realize that the bourgeois economic system has definitely collapsed on July 19 and that it is being rapidly supplanted by a proletarian economy. They do not understand that it is in order to prevent any chaos that we must

rapidly build up a new economic system by applying our revolutionary principles to the solution of the daily problems. And it is this work that is making something unique out of our revolution, something which is drawing to itself the attention of the whole world.

The document signed by the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. last October 22, contained the fundamental basis for a new economy. The elementary mission of workers' organizations in the industrial field is ended. The capitalist means of production have passed into the hands of the proletariat, and the large industries and enterprises will remain collectivized. Now the syndicates must initiate and undertake to carry out the direction of all productive elements in the collectivity.

No Indemnity for Large Owners

The second clause of the historic document clearly states that the collectivization of large industries and enterprises shall be effected without indemnification. The transfer of this class of property to the collectivity is a natural procedure in the course of the revolution. The bourgeoisie had in its hands the wealth which belongs to society. There can be no discussion now

about paying indemnities. One point remains to be clarified, however, which was dealt with at the end of the second clause; the case of collectivization of some sectors of small industries.

Equity in Dealing with Small Owner

In cases dealing with small industries belonging to Fascist elements of the bourgeoisie, collectivization will be carried out with no indemnities. In other cases indemnity will be paid and all means of production will be transferred to society. The agreement was clear and determined on the question of compensation. It assures compensation to individuals whose property has been expropriated; it establishes means for them to make their personal and professional contribution to the industries in the hands of the community, and enables the utilization of their intelligence and knowledge for the development of the industry. Persons who make those contributions will be sufficiently compensated and their activities will increase the welfare and benefits of the community and the revolution.

Dec. 25th.

From *Solidaridad Obrera*,

REVOLUTIONARY POLICIES TRIUMPH IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)

with the masses of Catalonian workers as a result of its dignified and uncompromising revolutionary policy.

The real issues were outlined in a declaration made by the secretary of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party, Juan Comorera. (It was published in full in the French daily *Le Temps*, Dec. 15th.)

Attempts to Check Revolution

The outstanding points of this document were the demands for "a strong government," for calling a halt to the further course of revolutionary reconstruction. "The Council," said the document, "should center its attention exclusively upon the task of organizing the war and leave aside the problem of the further organization of society."

And as one of the means of organizing such a strong government, the document demanded the suppression of the Committee of Safety (that is an organ created by the revolution, enabling the workers to keep a vigilant eye on the old police apparatus) and the concentration of the supreme guidance of

war matters in the hands of a special bureaucratic body responsible to the Council only and not to the workers' organizations which constitute an integral part of the Secretariat of defense.

It is when we take into consideration these issues, which hardly figured in the reports of the general press, that we can see to what extent the anarchists succeeded in blocking this concerted move against the revolution. The demand for the exclusive concentration upon the carrying on of the war was met with a more intensified drive to deepen the revolution. The basic idea that war and revolution are inseparable and that both must be pursued simultaneously was given greater precision and clarity. It was embodied in the important resolutions of the Anarchist Federation and the local syndicates and was concretized in a number of decisions affecting the basic problems of economic life, such as socialization of the distributive mechanism, collectivization of land and strengthening the role of the syndicates in the management of industries.

Nor was the C.N.T. taken in

by the talk about the need of a "strong government." It did not even have to strain its ears to catch the familiar overtones of the Russian tune in it. Some papers of the anti-anarchist bloc were bold enough to interpret this slogan in the sense of a "need for a dictatorial body." (The *Solidaridad Obrera* does not mention the name of the paper, but judging by the style and tone of this interpretative statement, it must have come from the organ of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party.)

The political crisis resulted in a somewhat changed composition of the Council. But the powers of the latter were not broadened at the expense of the local organizations, Committees of Defense, syndicates and municipalities, as was demanded by the communists and socialists. The Committee of Safety was not dissolved, and the management of national defense was not turned over to a special bureaucratic body which by obtaining the control of the new army in the making would thereby become the arbiter of the destinies of the Revolution.

To most North Americans, until recently, Barcelona was just another town in Spain. Today it is the cockpit of Europe and the dynamo of a revolution which will change the history of the world.

—Toronto Star.

REVOLUTION BUILDS WHILE FIGHTING

While the cannons are thundering at the fronts of the civil war, the workers of the two central unions—the anarcho-syndicalist unions of the C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T.—have come to a constructive agreement with regard to collectivization in Catalonia.

At an assembly in Barcelona, the representatives of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. agreed to proceed upon a collectivized system of the textile industry of Catalonia, introducing an economic reorganization for maximum efficiency. In this way, a high standard is to be maintained and the output will correspond with the requirements of the national market. The ultimate aim of this project, with its possibility of producing on a much larger scale than heretofore, is to open a field of exportation in the east, and to meet the needs of the Russian and South American market. The plan is to create textures of the type generally required in the above-mentioned countries, at the same time perfecting the mills in order to make a finer yarn with a better finish. Catalonia will try to reach the same standard in perfection of quality as that of the British manufacturers. This will be another great progressive step which collectivization has brought to industry, and will mean a rebirth of industrial

activity of great importance. In Catalonia, more than 300,000 persons will put their brains and physical ability at the service of the new collectivized textile business.

Municipalization of Houses Planned

Industry is not the only activity to benefit by collectivization. A decree has been passed announcing the municipalization of dwellings in Barcelona. This matter has been in discussion for some time, and the entire population of the city has been impatiently waiting the final decision. Dwellings cannot be left in the control of private enterprise, as this is one of the most marked characteristics of the capitalist regime. The old capitalist regime was overthrown once and for all in July, and now, under worker control, its influence in the running of public and private life is being replaced by measures fitted to the new organization. The present civil war is a war against capitalism and all its ways, and is one with the revolution. The war and the revolution are inseparable, and must go hand in hand if the struggle at the front is to fight for the ideas which the workers are putting into practice behind the lines.

(From the Official Bulletin of the Catalonian Generalidad.)

POLITICIANS AT WORK IN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

The International Brigades have already inserted a glorious page in the history of the Spanish revolution. They came in the most critical hour of the Spanish struggle and together with the vanguard of the revolutionary militia—the anarchist columns under the command of Durrut—they fought their heroic battle to save Madrid from what seemed then an unavoidable seizure.

The rank and file of those Brigades consist of ardent anti-Fascists whose primary concern is to prevent the international reaction from scoring another decisive victory. But certain political groups now active in the organization of some of those International Brigades are guided by motives of a much inferior nature. Some light on those motives is shed by the exposures made in the French anarchist weekly *Libertaire* (January 1) by one of the members of the International fighting units, an ex-member of the German Communist Party, and now an anarchist by convictions. The paper vouches for the authenticity of his report, undertaking to corroborate his statement by other facts if any doubts upon his veracity are cast by anyone.

"When we came to France" this comrade relates, "we went to the Committee in charge of

this formation. Before the registration began we were addressed by one of the men in charge of it who told us: 'you, comrades, are warned that you go to Spain to fight for democracy. There the question is not that of establishing socialism. The Spaniards are a backward people. They will not understand if we tell them that we are to fight for a socialist Spain. You know that the anarchists began to socialize in Catalonia, that is they confiscated the property of poor peasants and of every small storekeeper, and now they have the people against them.'

"Later on we were addressed by an official speaker of the Communist Party who told us that we shall have to pass Catalonia on our way to the battle front. The anarchists—he said—will try to win you over to their side. But you are going to Spain in order to fight and not to wallow in the barracks like the anarchists do. The anarchists, he said, do not attack the Fascists, but wait until they are attacked. Fortunately they cannot attract our comrades, but in the rare case where they did succeed in doing so, they did not furnish the groups with any arms, as a result of which the groups that went to work with the anarchists are still rusting away in the barracks."

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