Spanish Revolution

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

45 West 17th Street New York, N.Y. Chicago 3-9567

Vol. 1, No. 1, August 12, 1936

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 undertaken, 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 Francisco 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 were refused, but they were forced to come to the churches to defend them. When the anti-Fascist wills was appeased 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 peasants by virtue of the fact that the white hands of the priests showed no signs of labor. The peasants, whom the priests had forced at the point of guns to take refuge in the church were immediately freed, the priests were arrested and the church burned. The priests warmly thanked our comrades for having freed them from the yoke of reaction.

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 general Franco, backed up by the Fascists, Robles, and the banker-adventurer, March, is 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. 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 Anarchist-Syndicalist Federation 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.

Madrid, Malaga, Cadiz, Sevilla, Gijon and the other heroes, the Asturian, 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 passively 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 Workers' 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 this 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 WORKERS' 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 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 to create a Fascist front. 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 Anarchist-syndicalism.

Last night the Revolutionary Committee decided the following:

1. The destruction of all records of chains to private property.

2. A struggle for proper social hygiene.

3. The abolition of hollows 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 save the Spanish Anarchists or perhaps Barcelona in order to join those forces marching against the Fascist invaders in the center of Spain.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Pierre Albert.

FRANCISCO ASCASO

Hero of the Revolution

Francisco Ascaso was born in the town of Amanavedas in the province of Huesca in the year 1901. At a very early age he became acquainted with the Anarchist movement. In 1919 he was arrested for joining a tumultuous strike in Saragossa, he was arrested and condemned to death. Due to an extraordinary pardon he was released.

In 1923 the reactionist movement in Spain took on added impetus. The soul of this movement in Saragossa was Carlos Soldevila, who was killed in a political arrest. Ascaso, suspected of having participated in this murder, was arrested; torture awaited him, but he died before the trial.

Primo de Rivera was declared dictator of Spain. A bloody persecution followed. There was dire need of money to aid the victims and their families. Ascaso was determined to get something in return.

In 1930 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. He left out of France, not sure of his safety 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 foremost events of this revolution. Ascaso, was both orator and fighter. On the platform one was impressed by his logic, on the battlefield his grandeur. With rifle and sword in his hand 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's statue, on the outskirts of the district, adjoining the suburbs, some set up a machine gun and directed their fire upon our men, who under the leadership of Francisco Ascaso and Durutti were able to capture their position. The Fascists raised the white flag of surrender. When our comrades, with Francisco Ascaso in the van, approached to take the machine guns, 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.
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 uncipculous of Capitalist papers have expressed admiration for the orderliness and respect for foreigners that the workers of Catalonia are showing. The uncipculous 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!

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

(Continued from page 3)

C.N.T. Both organizations work closely together. The F.A.I. is an organization which aims to uphold the ancient 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 C.N.T. and F.A.I. 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 shows the strength of the movement and the extent of its influence upon workers and peasants. Added to which there is a number of autonomous unions which stand outside of the C.N.T. but 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 the outlook to Humanity itself. To bar the Germans, Italy and Austria are bloody warnings and let us see to it that the lesson of the heroic example of Spain should not be lost.

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 Catalan 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 factor with which 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, describe them as vicious, nameless matters carrying the armed workers of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. who are heroically fighting against Fascism. At times "revolutionaries" join in the same attack, e.g. Ilya Ehrenburg's recent article in "New Masses" entitled "Enemies of Spain."
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Affiliation of the U.L.O.: Cultural Federation, Freedom Group, Labor

Workers Union General Recruiting Union, I.W.W.; IMR; Abbreviation, Anarchist Federation; Marine Transport Workers, I.W.W., Run-

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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 P.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 Fascist reaction and in the task of charting a new course of social reconstruction based upon the principles of free political trends, characterized and supported by all individ-

uals 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. Spain is now affiliated to the U.L.O., united in a common effort to mobilize the financial and moral support of workers in the United States and to disseminate widely as possible the truth about what is happening in Spain. The C.N.T. and P.A.I. are determined to defend Spain against the heroic workers and peasants in Spain, and also the re-sided reports in the Marxist press. We must help our Spanish comrades get the necessary money and arms to defeat the black shuck. The C.N.T. and the P.A.I. have called on us to spread the word about Spain, to give them moral and financial aid. Our support to this call has just begun. All those individuals and organizations who think and feel as we do about this struggle must join us, and unite we can answer the call of our brave friends. Spain's struggle is the struggle of all the working class. The very wave of common solidarity it will amass will forever the bloody fascists monster.

Significance of the Spanish Events

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

It would be of the greatest importance even if it were connected to the defeat of Fascist agression. For the first time since the November revolution, the working class of a European country find sufficient courage to assert the armed challenge of Fascism. This in itself represents moral victory of the kind which may prove decisive in bolstering up the shattered morale of the international proletariat.

For the most distant thing about the Fascist sweep of the land that was not the temporary labor movement of the lower classes. Inter-revolutions were quite frequent in the course of the nine

th century, but none of them demoralized the working class - 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 the 20th century.

And compared to that low point of confusion, inner division, helplessness displayed by the workers of Germany in 1932, the recent 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 fought by a united stand of workers and peasants. Vast potential sources of heroism are lying dormant in the working class - such is the message of the Spanish events, and judging by the tremendous outburst of enthusiasm which the Spanish events were met by the international proletariat, the workers of the world are already this message.

But the importance of the present struggle is not confined to the meaning of Fascism against other countries. What is going on now in Spain is not just a struggle for the defense of the democratic Republic. Spain is already entering into a period of vast revolutionary changes. The Fascist rebellion released great revolutionary forces which are spreading rapidly over 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, industry, etc., are all controlled by the people who are ardently Fascist in their sympathies. To leave all that in their hands during the present struggle is to limit the anti-Fascist forces now battling heroically at the front. The Fascist revolutionaries and Communist party 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 profound. It is not because its conscious driving force is vastly superior to the one dominating the Spanish 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 leap to socialism at the result of the dictatorship of the Communist party. The strength of the anarchist movement, the power shown by it 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 must be for the people, but by the people, the cooperation of all revolutionary elements, the ultimate control of every phase of social reconstruction by the working organizations themselves these are the clearly outlined aims of the Anarchist movement in Spain.

A social revolution following these lines represents a new departure in the life of humanity. The struggle which a degenerate 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 Russian and a Katharevushka form of a revolutionary way, the realization of revolutionary Socialism on the road of larger democracy and liberty is already blazed forth in the great revolutionary struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants, and the moment of their epoch-making significance of this greatest event of our time.

Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Maintain Order

(Continued from page 1)

immediate task of the councils is to purge the ranks of the police of the reactionaries.

This development is a logical outcome of the great 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 reconstituted, but the communists brought about a new spirit of solidarity. Many of them joined the fighters of Fascists. Together they have to be met with the same fight against Fascism and Fascism.

Besides the Guardia de Asalto and the regular police, Cal-

ot, possesses the following military organizations of the local type: the National and Civil Guard. The first was always Republican in their sympathies, having been built up by the left Republican party of the region. The Civil Guard of Catalonia joined the government, and in Aragon it joined the Fascists. Altogether it has a considerable number of a European country. Even the Civil Guard contains a number of soldiers who are sympathetic to the C.N.T. They are divided into three groups, the latter, working diligently in order to clean the reactionary offices from their ranks.

Slogan "Make The Rich Pay"

Fully Applied

With the Anarchist Militia

Under the Direction of Duran

(Ed. Note—Most of our readers know something about the Anarchist militia of the Zaragoza front, from the few excellent descriptions given by Walter Duranty (N. Y. Times, Sept. 1st). The heroistic spirit displayed, the character of the army, 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 militiamen.

In this and other issues of the bulletin we will print as much material as we can find on the organization of popular forces for the reconstruction of Spain, its equatorial 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 the property of the village 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 encourages strengthening the defense are taken. The church rarely escapes the fury of the population. Armored cars are parked before the church and 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, deeds 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 the fear possible return of the Fascists prefer to join us and themselves in this respect.

Whatever is necessary for the troops is chiefly taken from the big shots of the village, who are mostly hiding. They are being killed or taken to serve as spies. 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.
NO DICTATORSHIP FOR NEW SPAIN

HITLER AGENTS EXPOSED
FASCIST VERMIN FLEE ON FUERHER'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 CNT-funded Administration Building) in Barcelona, in the Casa Parda and at the German Workers Front (now in the hands of the CNT and the F.A.I.) which bare beyond a doubt, the nefarious plot organized from the consulate under Nazi orders.

Fascist agents in Spain were given shelter by German agents in Barcelona from which Nazis spread their activities throughout the country.

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 the F.A.I. feel that a coalition government is of the kind hindrances to the social revolution just as much as a dictatorship governmental 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 the F.A.I. represent the masses of the revolutionary workers in Spain; they see the fighting power of the Spanish proletariat. Without them the present anti-Fascist movement in Spain would not exist. The C.N.T. and the 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 way to solve the problem of the Catalan proletariat. This is also 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 syndicalists 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.

SYNDICALIST LEADER 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, 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 paymeny charge of 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 one salvaged of the well-nigh handed libertarians. When a column is ready to drop with exhaustion, Durutti goes to talk courage to the men. When they go backldap Saragossa way, Durutti climbs aboard an aeroplane and drops down into the field of Aragon to put himself at the head of the Catalan syndicalists. 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 syndicalists 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 peasant dialect. Durutti, although a metal worker who works at his trade, has trained himself as a linguist and is a skillful political analyst as well as a military strategist.

When Van Paassen came upon him he was resting in the hallway of the palace of the Medins Celli dukes, above which floats the black and red flag of the 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 Valencia. That is where the armadas and the munition factories are. We must take Saragossa... the miners are in arms. But don't waste time.というのは our longest time. Will the workers in Spain know if Fascist triumph is, it will be famine and slavery. But the Fascists also know what is at store for them when they are beaten. That is why the struggle is implacable and relentless. For us it is a question of existence."

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 the 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.
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TIME FOR WORKERS TO ACT!

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

Iron fell, opening the gates to Sam Sebastian. It is Mussolini's bombing planes and Hitler's Junkers whose precision in dropping aerial torpedoes turned Iron to a full—this is the unanimous verdict of foreign observers. Without the help of Rome and Berlin, France and his fellow big-power 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 more YET THE MAD FACE AGAINST THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT CONTINUES.

They fought to the last cartridge, the men of Iron. When they had no more ammunition, they hurled packets of dynamite. When dynamite was gone, they rushed forward barehanded and tackled each man's back, while the 60 times stronger enemy backed up his knapsack with a gun and held his hand on his trigger. As the Anarchists were to the last, so the workers held on. And still they advance. They are the cream of the Fascist army locked up in Saragossa. They are marching 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 gas his men can fill the mitia stationed in the valley of the Sierra de Gredos. He is promising his Moors 1,000 pesetas per man and three days free lodging, 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 aide 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. Radinowicz, Treasurer, U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

DURANTI IN WONDERLAND

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

In Catalonia the government, or Generalitat, is little more than a sort of bureau to carry out the orders of the all-powerful workers' militia. I had proof of this the moment I crossed the French border to Port Bou. It was just before leaving 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 generally: "Not in Catalonia, nor in Barcelona, you need the stamp of the Milicia Committee. Their office is down on the waterfront."

I went down to the waterfront and found a group of young anarchists, probably from Catalonia, but they are not what they seem. With rifles and revolvers and the red and black emblems of the word means to Americans, crazy bands 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 three young anarchists looked over my papers and shrugged their shoulders in the dialect of the Spaniards. I learned that, at the time of the Spaniards, all traffic to and from Paris. The fact that I came from Moscow turned the scales, although they were careful to remark that they did not approve the Bolsheviki but they were quite ready to let the road be run by the workers.

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

The train ran smoothly to Barcelona, although its guards, armed with revolvers and bullwhips, and the rest of the gang of anarchists, 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 slanderous slanderously fostered by the bourgeois and reactionary press representing the anarchists as burners and looters, in spite of the misrepresentations by liberal and imperialist elements painting the anarchists as vengeful, 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 fallacy of political action which can only result in a dictatorship of the black or red variety. There 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. Duranti'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. In fact, an individual knows how to conduct himself as a social unit. Actually, the anarchists have found that there is a vast difference between theoretical and practical application under the stresses and strains of everyday activities. Individuals must yield to discipline, and freedom to obedience.

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

The unique contribution of Bakunin and Kropotkin to social science is the development of methods whereby individual liberty could be instituted in a society and economic organization. We suggest that Mr. Duranti sweep the Krenlin coldows 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 in the face of the revolutionary struggles of our time. Anarchists, Socialists, Communists of various tendencies, have been fighting together against the common enemy, but, what is more important, work together on the economic level to build a new Spanish economic life along the lines of a new social order.

That means that the Spanish revolution has thus far succeeded in avoiding the greatest danger lurking at every revolution—internal discord. And that is, the danger of party dictatorship; the monopoly of one group, the uncheked rule of one ideology and the people representing it.

The cooperation of various revolutionary factors in Spain has already brought about a great change in that respect—a new type of revolutionary democracy 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 extension of the right to vote for various minorities within the mass organizations of the workers. And where such freedom is obtained for various groups, the right to vote will be guaranteed in 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 a society under a state of revolution 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 applied to the whole province which thus far has shown the greatest resistance to Fascism and has gone the furthest in the development of various revolutionary movements is more fully developed. It is also the general emphasis on mass organization of the working class—the industrial union—is rapidly becoming the basic cell of the new revolutionary organism.

As in all other revolutionary matters, it is the Anarchist-Syndicalists who have taken the lead. The Anarchist-Syndicalists are actually promoting the existence of 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 Anarchist-Syndicalists are in the minority, they forced upon the Socialists a degree and kind of revolutionary cooperation which represents the original spirit of the principle of the new revolutionary order.

Whatever it is, proletarian democracy is becoming the basic factor in the development of the Spanish revolution. Its triumph signifies the triumph of the common man over all the world; the triumph of the concept of democracy, the faith in common man which once constituted the finest features of our civilization. It signifies the triumph of the highest hopes of our civilization and that is what the great mass of workers who live by such hopes must come to realize in an ever greater extent.
The Artists in Spain

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

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 our people. We want a union of all draftsmen, painters and sculptors of Catalonia, in order that the expressions of the human spirit may not suffer interruption at this time. The revolutionary artist has until now been a hopeless pariah or at best a miserable slave. In the future, however, he will have 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 collective production of standardized things. It must always find expression through the personality of the artist. However, after the present struggle, the Spanish workers have no knowledge of what they are doing. An artist may think he is any more than the plainest worker. Art has not been able to express itself select few. It was only the bourgeois social order that stipulated this as well as all other injustices and privileges. The main task of the representatives of artists and intellectuals today is: to develop a propaganda which will make culture the concern of all men and thus bring about the destruction of all work of art shall be felt as being needful for living as one's bed, table and chair. Within the trade union activities, as in the factories, craftsmen, painters, sculptors, etc., while freely preserving their distinct individualities, a bicultural development as 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 C.N.T. of the Province of Barcelona.

Durutti Explains Aims

(Continued from page 1)

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

Van Passen could not understand why Durutti should abuse 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 revolution?"

Durutti does not allow the heat of the present battle to blind him to the lessons of history during his many years as a fighter for workers' freedom. He answered: "No government in the world is profiting from the war. We want to make the world what you 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 barbarities by Stalin. We want the revolution here in Spain. We are not afraid of the next European war. We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry today with our Revolution than we could give the whole Red Army of Russia. We are setting an example to the German and Italian working class how to fight 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 agree to learn his mind because its essence is to know what is going on in the minds of the Spanish workers who are dying in the trenches. The masses showed that the situation might take a direction for which few are prepared. That Moscow had no influence on the Spanish proletariat, is a well known fact! Van Passen asked what help Durutti expected from America Spain. Apparently, Durutti is under the illusion about the bourgeois nations coming to his aid.

"Do I not expect any help for a libertarian revolution from any government? None. There cannot be the conflicting interests in the various imperialisms might have some influence on our struggle. That is quite well possible."

Defence Industries (Continued from page 1)

They function in a highly efficient manner, even though controlled by many foreign correspondents. Some of the metallurgical plants were confiscated while others, although still in private hands, have been worked under workers' control. This dual system of factories totally socialized and factories placed only under workers' control, prevails 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 Catalan life. Equally remarkable is the legal cooperation of technicians. This is due to the fact that the Anarchists in Catalonia always 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 common activity. That is why it is quite common to see intellectuals represented on the factory committees.

It is the harmonious work and the creative spirit of the Catalan workers who make possible the rapid reorganization of the light and heavy industries for war purposes. The comrades of the C.N.T. and the War Committee (the Department of Popular Militia) succeeded in coordinating within a short time the duties of the workers, which had to be carried out by those of the technicians, thus making possible the phenomenon rapid rebuilding of war industries in Barcelona for the purpose of revolutionary defense.

France is doing his best to drag Europe into the conflict. He will not hesitate to pitch Germany against us. But we expect to 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 victors, but if we are defeated, we have always lived in ruins and holes in the wall," Durutti answered. "We will be fighting for the Spain we always dreamed of for ourselves for a time. For, you must not forget, we can also build it. It is we who built those palaces and streets we saw in Spain and in America. We are the men who work. We can build others to take their place. And better ones. We are not in the hands of the bosses but of the workers."

The Spanish government is going to inherit the earth. There is not the slightest doubt about that. The bourgeois might remain in Spain. That is possible. Maybe 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 Passen when we quote at length in the present issue of "Spanish Revolution," is not an anarchist. So far as we know, he can remember the Ausblick in May, 1936, for the Toronto Star which was definitely antagonistic to the Spanish anarchists, the movement for a non-violent solution for a number of bourgeois newspapers on this continent, Van Passen, in Spain for about twelve months before 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 recent issue of the Catholic Daily Star of July 17, 1936, he reports an interview with Jaime Merairets "one of the most intellectual heads in the libertarian movement." Mr. Van Passen says as follows: "The ruthless execution of Zinoviev and Kirov, the massacre of industrial workers that produced a general strike, the murders of workers on the executive committee, the anarchists charging that the Moscow Government is leading the United Front movement, but these grievances have not been temporally only, in the face of the common enemy. The secrecy of the goals is the only sphere, which will happen here in Catalonia and when the brothers of Spain are crushed? I asked this question of several Socialists leaders. The answer was invariably: "We anarchists will do our duty."

Pressed to say outright whether they would align themselves against the government of the provisional government, they would reply: "Most certainly it is clear that the Most Popular I glamorous government which is practised by the Stalin bureaucratic government is only a name."

The brothers are treated with a ferocity that might serve as a model to Nazis and Fascists. A united front with the Communists, as in the United Front is also made a reality in Russia and the tens of thousands of syndicalists, trade unionists, conscientious objects, who are now stationed as the "reconquista" of the imperialist S.R.'s are released from the autumn Bolshhevism concentration camps and the deadly internment camps in the last days."

"Even so," he added, speaking of the "comrades" who shout "Judas! betrayer! brothers may be avoided. At least we must not have an armistice."

"But the Communists must understand that the institution of an authoritarian regime after the victory over the fascists. "If they insist," Merairets panted for a moment and he looked me in the eye, "if they insist, we will find them in their way. They know it. They will take the heads of the army. They will have their hands on the heads of the army."

"They will tolerate no red terror or red dictatorship. There will be war, only war. We do not care a — about the imperialist interests of Spain, France, England or international bourgeoisie. We stand with the Spanish workers and the Russian workers against their own oppressors."

The Spanish revolution is not and never was a workers' revolution because many must be worked among what is seemingly the external enemy for a Spanish revolution. In this Spanish revolution, as elsewhere, the masses are to be saved from the white slave, and against the masses is the enemy. Everything but the masses."

Nothing new. Everything the same as in this great city. The underground railway runs on time as before the famous train to Mussolini's Italy.

And something else begins to run pretty well besides. "I have to admit that I never suspected such magickal ideализm, such perfect discipline, such supreme loyalty as I see displayed by the libertarians, who have spontaneously taken over the socialist workers' movement in Catalonia from Fascism," declared his P.S.U.R. to the workers' newspaper, Obrero General de Catalonia, and Liberal Socialists of Catalonia, and Liberal Socialists of Catalonia.

"They not only fought like lions and downed the military insurrection of 1923, but they have opened 112 new factories for the production of war and commerce. Private liberal collections of art are being gathered together and distributed to various public libraries and cultural centers in the city and in the rural regions. Thirty-two movie theaters have been changed into clinics and libraries in the last days."

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

Conradists, workers of the U.S.S.R.? We have just seen demonstrated how 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 this questioning method, these methods, these techniques, even if only for the sake of the test, only the direct action of the organized workers has prevented Spain from sinking into 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 Catalan Economic Council follows:

1. To regulate production in accordance with the needs of the consumers, cutting down unneeded industries which are not important now and stimulating the organization of new industries necessary in view of the fall of the fascists (Spanish Fascists). (Continued)

2. The monopolization of foreign trade.

3. The collectivization of big hundred enterprises, under the syndicates of peasants and land workers.

4. Partial devaluation of unproductive property by reduction of interest.

5. Socialization of big industries, public utilities and transport.

6. The seizure and operation of coal mines abandoned by their owners.

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

8. Workers control of all banking firms until a comprehensive plan of nationalization of the sources of capital is fully developed.

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

10. To work energetically towards the realisation of the socialist transformation of industry and agriculture.

11. The abolition of diverse taxes and the introduction of a universal tax.
GOVT. EMPLOYEES IN C.N.T.

Carried away by the general feeling of sympathy for the Catalonians, many of the great mass of the population are turning to this organization. Only now, after Catalonia has been saved from Fascist tyranny 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 organized. 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. Not so the C.N.T., the great organization of Catalonia with revolutionary tradition.

The possible dissolution 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. They have formed a section 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. There is a group who ought to be organized just like the rest of the workers. They have their own bureaucratic mentality. The atmosphere belonging to it has been abolished. Every single state employee ought 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 "Catholic 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 C.N.T.-F.A.I., 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 People's University. A new committee has been organized which is making preparations for the construction of a school for higher level students of various organizations. The Youth and People's Groups of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have ten representatives on this committee.

Workers of the field, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. sends out a call to all of them, who are connected 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 C.N.T. and U.G.T. A number of distinguished scholars have pledged their support to the People's University.

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 Anarchist Syndicalist C.N.T. and the Socialist U.G.T.). This control extends over the entire field of management, such as: maintenance, expansion, supervision, consultation, and banking operations are also included in this control. (The company cannot withdraw any money banked by the workers' committees.)

The C.N.T. (the Anarchist 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 company, belonging to both organizations. The functions of the company are reduced to that of keeping intact its arrangements and expansions. 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 then 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 central committee of control. Every sub-station has its sub-delegate. The sub-delegates meet every day in the central station and form a commission to 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 Commission, 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 exercised by the workers' committee, supervisory employees placed by the company for purposes of its own, were discharged. In some cases, company managers shared the same fate.

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 and to draw up good maps of the land they own. This task is made easier by the peasants who it is now possible to turn 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 works with the farmers organized in many places is now becoming more and more important, partly from a scarcity of money and partly from the long standing libertarian traditions of the Spanish peasants.

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 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.

—Comité Internacional Pro Revolución Española (C.N.T.-F.A.I.)

This appeal needs no comment. Send all funds to U.L.O., 1. Roebuck, Treasurer, 45 West 17th Street, New York City.
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. It is a swift and determined intervention of the people called the people's revolution. Beyond its original scope, and what started as a "patch" 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 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 (Generalitat). Three of our comrades of the C.N.T. accept positions in the council of the Generalitat.

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 defence 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 Generalitat 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 and did assume the political domain in an equal footing with the political parties.

(From "Le Libertaire" French Anarchist paper.)

Militia Heroism

by Pierre Van Paalen

MADRID—(FP)—Franco is 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 nearest Franco comes, the higher rises the combative ardor of the masses. There is not the slightest sign of weakness 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 blunting their street, 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 not find it a last extremity, even as Mussolini in Ethiopia, use poison gas to gain his ends. Fascists have no scruples when it comes to humanism of a respect for the prescriptions of international law.

But no more the Cangrejeros bombers can blast a breach in the human wall of the workers' militia, no more can Franco's yester week's British city of victory, the Spanish proletariate, 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 will be hard, long and cruel, but the final victory is certain.

(Continued on page 4)

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 Libertarian 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 runabouts of their own bodies, are displaying a heroism that would cause the world to gasp if the capitalist press had the slightest sense of awareness.

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 militarists clique headed by Gen. Franco.

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 blacklist to socialize a number of industries and cultural institutions.

They have also socialized the railroads, the entire network of transportation including airplanes, ships, street cars, houses, and taxi's 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 offices of the CNT.

(Continued on page 3)

Militiamen Demand Russia Free Anarchists

The delegates of the anti-Fascist militia of the Aragonian front demand that the Russian 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:

ZER, Stalin, Moscow, USSR

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REVOLUTION BY EXAMPLE 
NOT DECREET

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 and undisciplined multitude 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 they have not been harried and intimidated by the military garrisons.

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 found to be four times as great as that caused by the outburst of elemental forces in the October revolution. There is more conscious planning, spontaneous solidarity and permission with the ultimate aim of a libertarian revolution on the part of the Spanish workers and peasants. Its contours are even more clearly seen in the 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 militancy and a moral fervor.

All that is in evidence in revolutionary Spain to a much greater extent than in Russia in 1917, not only because of the difference in the historical experiences, the disintegrating forces of a terrible World War, with the resulting destruction of society, the mass morale of the mass movement, but also because of the peculiarities of the country on the other side of the sea - 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 the spontaneous acceptance of the new order.

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.

Fear is 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 the new order. Wherever the Anarchists are strong and are the case in Catalonia, we see authority reduced to its minimum and the social transformation initiated by example and appeal. Revolutionary changes spread like waves from great revolutionary centers and, through the medium of deal, barter, 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 anxiously to obtain news of the real situation in Spain.

Workers all over the world sympathise with the anti-Fascist Spain. A great number of foreign communists have come to Spain in order to fight for the victory of the Spanish Republic.

The workers of other countries are lending their moral and financial support to the Spanish Republic and to the cause of the working class all over the world that know of the victory of the Iberian proletariat is there own victory.

SPAIN A PAWN IN THE NEW WORLD WAR

What are the reasons for the interest which the different circles in Europe show in the present Spanish revolutionary crisis? 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 abolition of the apparatus and military order. It is the great contingents of revolutionary action deployed on a high plane of individual moral discipline and comradely responsibility which has such an irresistible appeal to an ever greater mass of people.

This radical reconstruction is 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 Andalusia. Modern artillery, tank-armed 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 flouting 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 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—assertively proclaimed the Soviet diplomacy. But the interference of Germany and Italy on behalf of the rebel cause creates the greatest threat to peace when the whole world is in a state of intense international tension.

What is going on in Spain is the key to the problem of the whole capitalist world—a problem that finds expression in the creation of an Italian-Fascist-German military league. Germany gets a foothold on the Spanish mainland that adjoins the Fascist nations and by that way the movement by the victory of the rebel army—all that makes any talk about the preservation of peace sound like a delusive mockery. We can very well understand why the ruling classes of France and Great Britain indulge in that mockery. They understand that it is not within their own power to do anything for the sake of their fear of the Spanish revolution. They are paralysed into inactivity by the panic stirred up within them by the Spanish events. The shadows of October loomed upon the horizon. But why should the Soviet government sit by and let the international intervention stand itself in this most vulnerable sector of the democratic front?

Or was it that the Soviet government win too busy knitting the Spanish revolution by the same thread 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 revolutionaries, for the Soviet government to deliver the greatest blow to the united proletarian front. And how could indeed the Soviet government pay any heed to the concerted efforts of the international reaction to stamp out the Spanish revolution if it was so busy manufacturing plots and conspiracies of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution?

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. Spain is fighting a war, reaching its end and 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 which is powerless in the face of his regime in inextricably bound 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 peace in Europe is safe. Safe for the international revolution; safe for the coming victories of Fascism and also safe... for the triumph of socialism in one country.

SPAIN A PAWN IN THE NEW WORLD WAR

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Spain has been for some time and not without reason, the object of international attention. Should the battle being fought out in the Mediterranean, the Iberian peninsula would be of great strategic importance as a base for her forces and for the navy. For the sake of Africa, the entrance of Spain into one or the other of those coalitions would be of immense advantage. It is for this reason that imperialist France, under the pretext of humanitarian interest and protecting defense, shows sympathy to the Madrid government. It is for this 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 Franco or his government. On the other side of this alliance, the Communist Party, Caballero and its affiliates, have already expressed to the effect that they would go to war as a battlefield of the Fascist and democratic capitalist powers.

The question today is: will the world go to war in defense of the heroic struggle in their own interest or in the interest of foreign imperialist powers.

The first step towards opening the fight Spanish proletariat for imperialist interests. In all honesty we must admit that the war-pay role is one of the mobilizations that we are prepared in order that the anti-militaristic propaganda in France should meet with great difficulties against the universal mobilization for the sake of the nationalistic tendency of the French Communists. The Spanish Marxists seem ready to follow the same road. The situation creates an immense responsibility for the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. An independent proletarian policy must be followed that opposes the one or the other imperialist thesis. The front of the proletarian revolution must be fought against all capitalist combinations which combat either with economic forces or with effective modern armaments. There are several factors which will make capitalism fight against our international aim: the absolute anti-war attitude of the Spanish worker and the fact that hatred of all other situations does not exist in Spain.

The National Confederation of Labour (CNT) and the Anarcho Federation of Iberia (FAI) which is the only organization to represent today, proletarian internationalism and fight all imperialist interests without distinction. Above all, nations in divided conflict between each other, above all the natiuns 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 the words of the leaders of your own countries paid by imperialist groups and have long given up the idea of proletarian revolution. Believe only in the Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism. They march forward on the road of social revolutionary internationalism, which must be fought against by the workers of Europe. To avoid a terrible slaughter of European workers, proletariat of all the countries, the world must rise to fight for the Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism. The task is in front of us all such as is this battle between the world of workers and the world of exploiters 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 recent broadcast to the whole of Spain and broadcast from one of the transmitting stations installed in the Aragon frontera.

Workers of all Spain! From a distance of 28 kilometers from Zaragoza I send my greetings to the workingmen of Catalonia and Aragon who are fighting 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 concentrated in the Aragon frontera; 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 village of Los Gaviones and the barracks of the 9th Castillejos regiment of cavalry.

At 7 o'clock in the evening our army was in an isolated position in the hacienda of a house in which the general headquarters of the Fuentes de Ebro sector was located. Simultaneously, our infantry, having taken cover and captured several machine guns, then, our men, the attack and forcing their way forward, in a direct and simple manner, 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, "Get up, men, please, please help us!" and with smiling faces subordinated to our militiamen, to those who are struggling to create free Spain, a glorious Spain, a productive Spain.

These soldiers told us that the Fascists claim that we are murderers. But no one is able to 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 be immediately shot. But no one can say that the deserters are not well received. When they join our columns they become one of another militiaman, 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 your rotten Trotskyism? 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 have already begun to act, 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 for 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. to the Front, if possible, will get together and will come to an understanding.

Workingmen of Spain, be brave! In there was ever a moment when we risk our lives, this is it. Workingmen, be optimistic! We are led by an ideal, fighting Fascism! Fascism should not be discussed. It should be destroyed! Salute, comrades!

C.N.T. DE⁄ANDS UNIFIED 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 resolution was 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., ten from the U.G.T. (Socialist) and four Republicans. The president of the Council is to be Largo Caballero, Chairman of the Compania or an Azaque. The council will be organized in all localities and provinces.

2. The political and economic administration is to be based upon local, provincial, and regional federalism. The offices of Civil Government are to be abolished by 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, propaganda, education, large scale agriculture, industry, transport, public works, sanitation.

4. The national military militia to maintain public order. Also a war militia compulsory for all. The control of such militia should be placed in the hands of the Council of Workers and Militiamen made up of joint committees of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. (Socialist) (the CNT.

5. To establish a Popular, Proletarian and Provisional juridical body designated by the National Council of Defense, giving representation to the different sectors of the Anti-Fascist front (Anarchists, Proletarians, Socialists—Anarchists).

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

7. The socialization of the property, the abolition of holdings of the large landed estates, of the big industries, large commercial enterprises, the entire transport system as well as the granting of the ownership of 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 exchange of goods, the right of the worker in his trade as protection against unemployment.

8. The law of the soil which should be organized in such manner as not only provide for equalization of the different classes but also to provide for the small peasant and the worker as well. The right of the worker to own his own dwellings.

9. The right of the worker to own his own dwellings.

10. The creation of a Popular Front government to the direction of which will be appointed a number of important men who are not members of any political party.

The struggle for peace upon the basis of the international abolition of the proletariat, the reorganization of diplomacy and the calling together of an international conference of all the major political parties for the purpose 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. Radinowski, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street
New York City

(Continued from page 17)

The CNT-FAI made it my business to talk to some of the workers about the question of my astonishment that they had been able to prevent wholesale damage to the property now in the process of being destroyed. 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 a crime to destroy anything that can now be made accessible to the use of all who labor. This marks a new departure in the consciousness of the value and sanctity of human effort and sets a convincing example for the quality, integrity, 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 suppression, as it were, the tearing apart and the alignment of the Church with the monarchist and military as well as the capitalist system, 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 workers set fire to the churches only after they had been attacked by priests. These men though sworn to live and die, "THOU SHALT NOT KILL," yet sea volley after sea volley from the high church windows into the masses, who in many cases had not fired a shot. The people have been severe in their criticism of the mendacity of the immediate menace within Spain. And they will not rest until that menace has been crushed.

Men and women, are you aware of the fact that the supporters of Fascism are supplying the German and Italian Fascists with large amounts of modern weapons of warfare while the defenders of liberty have to battle almost with our own weapons.

True, the Spanish people are invincible, and overwhelming in their fortitude, courage and will to concatenation while the enemies of freedom are crushed.

But the most inspired men

—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 trade union movement. July 19th shattered the legal apparatus in Spain, which was in part treacherous and in part incompetent. The people had to win its demands and build up a new life according to its will. And therefore all the means for carrying on the fight must rest solely in the hands of the people, in the hands of the Spanish revolution. All these factors are in agreement on the point that the direct result of victory over Fascism can only be a complete and unqualified social and political change. But opinions differ as to what basis of the new social and economic structure should be. Each faction has its own vision for bringing them to realization. This is natural but it is also dangerous when such divergences of wishes pass the limits of good sense and lead to nothing but new fighting.

Care must be taken that the struggle goes on without giving anyone in the country the chance for an easy party position that will some day endanger the utilization of a victory won by joint action. Just as the propaganda of all factions fights at the front, so it is also necessary to create in the rearward organizations those 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 an absolute freedom.

Socialization of Land
(Continued from page 1)

of land workers to attempt to realize in full the order of liberating
Socialism under the following circumstances:
1. The total collectivization is to be carried out in two stages, in which there is no danger of running into any opposition with the small land owners.
2. But if such a danger does exist, the only land to be collectivized is that which belonged to the big land owners and any other land owned that took the side of fascism.
3. The land workers must win over to the idea of collectivization, the poor peasants and the tenant farmers. Every district must have land collectives. In those areas where 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.
4. A certain latitude must be given every region in the application

Masses Fight Heroically
(Continued from page 1)

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

Catalonia's example should give the other regions of Spain a new hope. It 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 revolu-
tionary and therefore transitory organizations must therefore bear 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 has 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 alone to it; it must create its own expression. The CNT and the FAI, whose decisive importance is now recognized, have given sufficient proof of their understanding of this task, and the work to demand the same from all other factions.

Let us organize our victory without political rivalries and without mistrust, and the people will be able to choose freely, its way for itself. The defense (fundamental) council must replace the obsolete banking institutions. They will show the revolution the next road.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE ANARCHISTS
IN SPAIN?

We have

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 at 1 o'clock

SALESMEN WANTED
for "Spanish Revolution" and other Libertarian literature.
Liberal. Commercial. Call at
1111. 45 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.

MIDDLE CLASS SUPPORTS REVOLUTIONARY MASSES

The Catalan foodworkers of the C.N.T. issued the following declaration to the small busi-
pessmen:
"We respond to the serious ap-
pel issued by the anti-Fascist committee to the whole of the mass of the working
folk of the C.N.T. and the
small class. The anti-Fascist com-
mittee pointed out that we all share a great historical responsibility. They appeal to you to enter the ranks of the workers. It is necessary that you transact the narrow mentality of your class. You are also workers like us, 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 eco-
nomy that is coming into existence now and which is going to be firmly controlled by the worker.

Mass-presidents for years you worked hard from 12 to 14 hours a day. The bitter struggle for life deprived you of your leisure, of any opportunity to devote some of your time to social problems. And so you have as much reason as we to join the great social movement which has already begun and which is just and dignified social order for all.

Let us all refrain our efforts to make life worth while for the future, the revolution appeals to you to do something on your own behalf, for your own free-
dom which will come as a part of the greater freedom. The comrades of the Oil and Soap Merchants Association, employ-
ers and employees, have already taken the decision. They clearly saw the needs of their trade 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 distress 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 way in which they are fighting for the interests of the entire people, for the future of Spain.
Revolutionary Councils Taking Control of Spain

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 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 Anarchist-Syndicalist 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 organs that were created by the revolution on a regional and local scale must be expanded to national and provincial levels. (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 have come 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 apparatus, do not correspond in any measure to the present situation. Nor can they give expression to the revolutionary spirit now animating our social life."

(From the "C.N.T.", the official organ of the Anarchist-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, not governments of the old type. It also means a resolve brevish with the timely policy in regard to capitalist relationships. It means the unbribery in 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 decisively against, but the demands of the revolution proved stronger and determined the outcome. It is not the anarcho-syndicalists who 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.

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 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 L. Radinowsky, U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.
SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current labor news from Spain, pub-lished by the United Liberation Organisations, Against Fascism and for Support of Spanish Workers.

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J. 1, No. 5

November 6th, 1936

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

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

Those arguments are advanced not only by the leftists and the so-called revolutionaries. The socialists and communists will back up such arguments in order to justify their participation in the block of bourgeois parties. For if an organization in the name of revolution 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 Azara in Spain and Herriot in France?

Is it the same, though? Is it 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 volatile 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 Fascism cannot control in Spain?...The real question is: how is the new socialist system to be built and what is the role of the new political system of the third road in 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 and effective basis, 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 out- standing fact of our times and that it is an urgent task of the revolutionary movements and the struggle against Fascism to build a revolutionary broadcasting; a revolution breaking with all prece-dents and charting a new course for humanity.

The capitalist press distorts and deforms it. The socialists and communists deliberately ignore it. They oppressed it, they tricked it, they betrayed it; and that is to say that they are not able 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 who will do the work of informing the public opinion of this great movement, of its problems, aspirations and the Spanish revolution.

We have to do it not only in order to build our ordinary duty in regard to the Spanish revolution. Our work right here, in this country, depends on a direct measure upon the success of our activity in behalf of Spain. The greatest hope to any dictatorship 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 capitalism, Fascism and farmer movements in military fashion, is still influencing the greatest mass of Americans 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 were seven eager men at the wheel. We must not rest until a movement of millions of people all over the world has raised the question and filled the volume with the whole story of the Spanish revolution and the Spanish people.

We can do that only by uniting our efforts. Build up United Libertarian Organizations, endirching all those who sympathize with the Spanish people and with the Spanish revolution, and that is to say, 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 information on Spain.

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

COMRADELY DISCIPLINE

(From an interview with Du- ranty reprinted by the SOLI-DARIDAD OBRERA, Oct. 8)

As to discipline, I believe that this is only a question of respect- ing one’s obligations. I am against the discipline of barracks, but I am also against an ill-understood kind of liberty behind which hides at war the elected delegates to be obeyed; no military operation of any kind will be possible. In our brigade we have the whole 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 in those excuses in order to shirk their duties are getting due. However, those cases are rare. That is the spirit of our brigade is 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 unceasingly. They are not called anarchists, but without being aware of it, they march toward libertarian communism. We visited villages in Catalonia, and as it was natural on our part, we advised the peasants to organize their life upon libertarian foundations. But after a long time, 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 to realize libertarian communism in full. Money has been completely abolished. That is why we worship as a sort of sacred, 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 Andalucia, Castile, Ara-gua, Marca, Asturia and Cata- lonia — everywhere libertarian communism is being implanted. Sometimes it is done in its rudimentary aspect, it being a spontan-eous, somewhat haphazard and unco-ordinatedly planned system."

This fact is of tremendous importance. Economic Councils, in the present conditions, the C.N.T. must pay close attention to this process. It is necessary to also a statistical account of it: of the number of people of each locality, of its agricultural pro-duction and other side lines. The exchange of products now sponta-neously entered by the collective villages should be co-ordinated, and the C.N.T. must pay close attention to this process. It is necessary to direct these splendid beginnings of the Span-ish villages into a broad plan."

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

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

All funds collected for our bulletin "Spanish Revolution"
TOWARDS FREE COMMUNES IN CATALONIA

The reorganization of the sup-reme executive body of Cata-
lonia from a government insti-
tution to an administrative Coun-
cil of various economic and po-
tical organizations was followed by a similar reorganization of municipali-
ties. As the reader will note, the latter is granted wide powers, on the one hand, and on the other it is being trans-
formed into a coordinating and administra-
tive organ of the various local orga-
izations of the movement. The mu-
picary in Catalonia begins to take
on the character of a Com-
mune for which the libertarian
movement fought for more than
half a century.

We reprint the following de-
tails of this reorganization from the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T. (Oct. 12) from the de-
gree of the Supreme Council of Catalonia (Generalitat):

... The latest course of events, the decision of the C.N.T. which places before the munic-
palities the necessity of directing the energies of a new revolution-
ary wave, lead us to adopt new and precise norms in the constitution of municipal organs which should solidify the strug-
gle of action on the part 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 into line with the economical de-
mands 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 social struc-
tures in the same proportion as the one on which the Supreme Council (Generalitat) of Cata-

We present these municipalities 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 struggle for the democratic movement against the Republic.

At the same time the Council of Catalonia decrees in its name the expropriation of all big estates, respecting at the same time the rights of small peasant proprietors. Madrid itself 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 ped-

Rapidly running CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS IN CATALONIA

Madrid Sabotage

Comrade Fabregas who is now at the head of the department of National Economy of Catalonia, publicly confirmed the situation of Madrid. Largely Calatoro is not better in this respect than his predecessors, this being due to his hostility against proposals from the C.N.T. He refused to ad-

ative a finance of 800 millions of pesetas asked by Catalonia for the purpose of buying war mater-

as an economic organ of the movement.

The revolutionary reorganiza-
tion of the economic life of the Catalonian and other provinces where the anarchists are pre-
dominant and are therefore, administratively, is a coordinatively smooth process. It is not accompanied by the monstrous waste and destruct-
ion characteristic of the economic life of Rus-

Rapidly running CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS IN CATALONIA

in Catalonia advanced in a somewhat hastened fashion. Production was now at a large extent direct instead of toward war needs, the main ef-

Mainly it is necessary to start already pre-
paring the economy for the post-war period of peace to establish a plan for the future with the view of directing and harmoniz-
ing production. Such a plan would obviously have sudden and hasty improvisations, but would make it possible to distinguish between good and bad enter-

In the same manner was urged the Catalan demand to get some part of the 400 billion gold supply under the control of a well understood Catalan trade in the C.N.T. in order to set up a sort of independent bank. At the last congress of the Catalan C.N.T. it was made by one syndicate to set up a currency for Catalonia's internal consumption while reusing Spanish paper money for foreign supplies only.

From War Economy to Rational Economy

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

The original zone of Fascist repression was the southern provinces of Catalonia, for after the war it succeeded in cutting a swath along the western part of the province. With the ex-

The latter are rapidly organ-

The problem already arises of obtaining a situation of adapting production for the regul-

Comrade Fabregas dwells a great deal on the measures taken for rationalization and upon the ne-

Dr. E. O.-Note: This conflict is not altogether political in its nature. It is due not only to the contradic-
tions of the economic organization. To be sure, the Socialists and Commu-
nists have tried to impose their wills on the government and the military, by appealing to the people to support them in their struggle against both the Socialists and Communists.

Help Collect Clothes for Spanish anti-Fascist

Committee

Committee representing all the Spanish anti-Fascist organizations of the city col-

Help Collect Clothes for Spanish anti-Fascist

Committee

Committee representing all the Spanish anti-Fascist organizations of the city collects warm clothes to be delivered to the C.N.T. such a com-

Send such clothing to

The Spanish anti-Fascist Committee

56-51 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 so much because of its geographic position, but also because of the highly mechanized equipment possessed by its garrison.

Saragossa was also one of the fiercest revolutionary strongholds in Spain. In the present general uprising, from capturing the city, the revolution would have taken a different course. The road from revolutionary Catalonia and Aragon to 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 Libertad" (Oct. 15) prints the report of one of the comrades who escaped from Saragossa. It tells the story of betrayal on the part of the representatives of the government of the so-called People's Front.

"Long before July 19, the militiamen of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. expected a military uprising. On July 17th a delegation of C.N.T. and U.G.T. unionists visited the governor of Saragossa, calling his attention to Franco's activity in Mercedo and to the urgency 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 militiamen who had arms of their own.

"The following day the revolutionary committee (of the C.N.T. and U.G.T.) ordered the members of the respective trade union bodies to appear at the union locals representing the distribution of arms. Instead, the governor ordered the Assault Guards (a military police built up by the government to round up the union quarter 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. The police were joined by the soldiers of the garrison, the Civil Guards and Fascist volunteers. The defeat of the workers was followed by a frightful bloodshed in which neither women nor children were spared.

"This governor was a member of the local Fascist Party. The 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."

A Marxist Tribute to the C.N.T.

The Worker's Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) is an organization of communist opponents which struck some of the worst blows to the C.N.T. (it is much stronger there than the official Communist Party.) It differed in many respects from the Stalinists, but through the policy that they both agreed on, and that is their hatred of the anarchist movement and the C.N.T. It was an unscrupulous campaign against the C.N.T. and it was unscrupulous in its struggle against the Fascists as well. The whole ruling 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 attacking the petty-bourgeois and reformist nature of the C.N.T. - Generalidad (Continued from page one)

decisive body, created by the people themselves. The Committees actually represent the entire current of the anarchist movement in cooperation with the different syndicates they are the determinants of organisation, socialisation and the reconstruction of the old economic order for all of Catalonia.

Under the new social forms the existing government proved both futile and unnecessary. It had to resign. Its place has now been taken by a recently-elected Executive Council of the Generalitat of Catalonia. Its function is the coordination of all the committees — a relatively unimportant function which is a step forward compared to the pre-existing Central Committee of the C.N.T., the old group of "leftist" anarchists who controlled the C.N.T.

The Second Section of the Catalan population represents the whole of the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T. and the Farm Labourers Union and the lower middle class of the Catalan Left.

The Social Unions of Socialists consist of small groups of social-democratic, commissaries of the Stalin hierarchy, and the Left Catalan Separatists.

Mercury Behind the Civil War

The answer is clear. In former wars the main reason was gas-poisoning; 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 as follows: First Spain, 247; then Italy, 199; 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 shot gun, each cannon shell must contain mercury. It is a fact that without mercury no war can go on.

Germany wants undoubtedly to take 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 riches, while the rest of Europe would be deprived of this source of supply useful for war industries but for many other purposes. This privatization 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 crisis

WHERE MERCURY INTERFERES IN SPAIN

Mercury in 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 other metals important in war industry of which Germany is short, especially iron. During the year 1935 Spain exported to Germany four million tons of coal.

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 has now Spanish copper.

Lead Too

The lead mines of Andalusia are most important, and shells from "Howe Trains" and "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 for the employees is so great that they spurn personal advantages offered to them, and think only of the interests of all. The distribution of wages 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 of these models have not been expropriated, placed their factories and their fortunes at the disposal of the communities 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 of the struggle against the rebels. Seven weeks after having taken over the power, the proletariat succeeded in organizing four model syndicates. It was able to reach only fourteen months after the beginning of the world war.

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

Mr. Edwards—List 445 $19.75
Mohagen Coloney—Through Bannister 270 $9.05
H. Rozansow—List 216-217 $8.15
Melvina Mason 2.00
Julia Light—List 426-428 12.05
Anto i Valera—List 342 and 342B 28.00
D. T., New York—List 184 8.00
Olgia Moisfield—List 218 10.00
Carl Rothman—List 213 2.00
Income at most meeting at Irving Plaza Hall, Saturday, October 24, 1936 123.00
Progressive Miners Local No. 1, Gillespie, Ill. 500.00
Liza Brilliant—List 45 12.00
Liberty Federation—Through Zeno 2.10
D. T., Shenendehoa, Pa.—Through Garber—List 195 2.49
Previously collected (as per "Spanish Rev." Oct. 19) 2,171.21
TOTAL $2,999.76

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Exchange Declaring 15.50
$252.66

...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

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

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NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 25, 1936
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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 compromizes. A bureaucratically operated 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 in even those provinces where it had a nonprofitable majority. The description of such a pact, the 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 mass backward section of the working class now organized in the socialist unions (U.G.T.) into the struggle for a new social order.

REVOLUTIONARY FLEET IN AGGRESSIVE ACTION

From time to time the capitalist press repeats the horrible fact of the destruction of the loyalist fleet and its inactivity, brought about by dissensions within the ranks of the 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 lost its fighting ability nor has the morale of its personnel suffered any impairment. The situation given by the Moscow "Pravda" of the work done by it 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 Cartagena (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, of course, had also to be done in regard to Portuguese ports). The fleet was frequently attacked by the enemy's aviation. But in such a situation, 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. (This 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 our ports like Bilboa and Gijon, and threatening directly our naval sources of supply.

The revolutionary fleet fully succeeded in its task. The rebel fleet went into hiding upon the appearance of the revolutionary ships. The ports were cleared of any mine, the immediate danger of bombardment was removed, and supplies began to pour in through the northern ports. The successful offensive of the Anarchist miners was made possible, not only as a result of this lifting of the blockade, but also due to the collaboration of the Anarchist miners. The officers of the Spanish navy were Fascists, and the proletariat majority. The work was done by the sailors themselves, with the help of the republican government, and the discipline of a skilled body of sailors, who could not be replaced by any better organized organizations in the army.

WHY THE MADRID GOVERNMENT FAILED

Everyone of us knows what were the causes leading to the victories of the rebel armies on the Madrid front. The flood of German and Italian arms placed the rebel forces in a much superior position. The march from Seville to the gates of Madrid was to be a considerable extent the triumph of the 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 revolutionary forces had the advantage in every要素 of the war. But they were not able to profit from these advantages as the other side did. The revolutionaries were fighting a defensive war, while the other side had a superior strength. In this case, it was the advantage in numbers that determined the outcome of the war.

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 reports

UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS
1, Radinowski, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street
New York City

(Continued on page four)
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 revolution must be based upon and the foundation of the revolutionary masses. A revolution is successful when this innate sense of right is given full play by the action of the unorganized and illegal rulers.

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 forces. They have been set up to hold the fascist leaders, the fascist agents, and the fascist soldiers. They have been set up to fight against counter-revolutionary activity all in its forms, such being considered:

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

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

c) Sabotage of the new economic order.

SPAIN—the harbinger of a federated Europe.

Slowly but surely the federative principle is being established by law in Spain. The formation of the Supreme Council of Defense was the ultimate step in linking up the local committees into well-knit provincial federations.

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 provinces is a process that is the sweeping away of the old bureaucratic apparatus, the emergence of the new type of commune and their federation into higher political units—is being repeated throughout Spain, that is wherever the central power of the government decays so far as to call for the necessity of local revolutionary initiative.

And revolutionary Spain emerging as the result of the efforts of the Barcelonans is the harbinger of a new federated Europe which will arise upon the ruins of its present military state.

Tune In To Barcelona

To hear the C.N.T. Broadcasting Station at Barcelona, Spain, adjust your dial to short wave 42.88 meters—6995 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 simply demand 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."

"If the world permits the crushing of the Spanish revolution, it will be partly of one of the greatest crimes over come.
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.

However, the situation was unstable since the initiative of such revolutionary steps must come from the workers themselves. And inasmuch as the workers have to be the makers of their own destiny, the only way of fitting the enterprise into the chaotic structure of a nascent economic order, they acquire the necessary experience to take things on themselves. And when they exercise the function of democratic control in a collectivized industry.

Nevertheless, this phase could only be temporary in character and led to certain injustices and inequalities with which the revolutionary workers could reconcile themselves only because of their temporary character. Thus some enterprises thrived, enabling 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 industry, were running up heavy deficits. That is why the revolutionary conditions which prevailed in the syndicates began to take over the control of the industry as a whole. From then on, the control of each industry (industry—industry) was being extended and the conditions of such industrial control were being extended. This led to the syndicates taking over the control of the union and extending it to the unorganized in the syndicate.

As we have seen, the workers in the city have not yet managed to organize their industries completely. But the tendency is there, and we quote some of the most relevant points reported in the papers:

"In the following months we have organized enterprises belonging to the workers only. All the enterprises are completely controlled by the syndicate: the purchase and sale of goods, the payment of wages, payment on invoices; in other words the administration of the enterprises is in the hands of the union." (October 2, 1920.)

"We don't accept cooperative ownership or isolated collective control of the employees. All of us are in the same group interested against which we will fight. We don't want to put up a number of small shareholders instead of one owner." (October 2, 1920.)

"The workers in our city are not governed by the conditions of the syndicates for the city in order to solve this important problem. They have been quicker than the government. In all parts of the country the Fascists have not hesitated to carry out the peasants took possession of the land. They showed singular clarity in regard to the problem of the land, more than any other government better informed than the state. The Spanish agricultural workers have

REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE OF CATALONIAN WORKERS

(Continued from page one)

has gone the furthest in cementing the various factions of the workers' movement in the C.N.T. have finally borne fruit. On October 22, both labor unions—the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T.—entered into the syndicates, thus formulating the basic revolutionary aims of the present moment.

The document is too long to be cited here, but it contains the general lines of the new pact, and we 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 the principle of the expropriation of the big industries, establishing workers' control in every enterprise which is not completely collectivized. Nationalization of banks and the joint control over the entire economy by the workers' organizations and the Triennio 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 Catalans, is to be placed in the hands of the workers under the control of the C.N.T. The short and rapid control of the Economic Department of the Catalonian Council. The pact also sanctions the basic principles of the policy permitted by the agreement of agrarian relationships and the organization of the municipal councils.

All the land is to pass into the ownership of the communities, and collective cultivation is made optional with the peasants. This, as well as the taking over by the municipalities of the properties taken by the C.N.T.

SOCIALIZATION AND NOT NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

- The Spanish Minister of Agriculture has issued a decree proclaiming the nationalization of all estates belonging to persons believed to be Fascists in the past 20 years. As usual, the social facts have preceded the revolution of the state. The Spanish agricultural workers have not hesitated to organize the state in order to solve this important problem. They have been quicker than the government. In all parts of the country the Fascists have not hesitated to carry out the unemployment, not stopped by the Fascists, still faces the agricultural problem of Spain.

Our government must understand that July 19th has definitively cut the legal democratic front. The privileges of the old order are destroyed, a new soviet is in the making. The syndicates of the agricultural workers have socialized the land, productivity is increased. While the government still paces that the land shall be expropriated for the benefit of the state. This shows clear ignorance of the situation. In Catalonia and Levante, congresses of the agricultural syndicates have already taken place. Even the social democratic parties, the conservative, regional conferences were held. The socialistic U.G.T. is represented at many of these gatherings. All congresses had the slogan: "Socialization of the Land! Tongue for the workers! Socialism not Nationalism! Organizing production through the workers' organizations!"

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

"ED. NOTE—The article refers to the situation in the anarchist Madrid government controlled by the CNT, which is in the process of organizing the government along the lines demanded by the anarcho-syndicalists in order to carry out radical changes in its policies. The demand for immediate solution of the immediate problems, and 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 population by the Fascist parties are undeniable. In many places our comrades are tied by their necks to horses tails and then dragged around the city. Girls who resist this treatment are now shot, dismembered, packed in boxes and delivered to the homes of their parents. Pregnant women, deprived of a mixture of suitcase oil and pepper, then have their bellies slashed open, their unborn children torn out from their wombs and discarded; a form of abortion.

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

- "The working class of Spain accomplished something which has no precedent in any other revolution. In order to organize any form of dictatorship of any form of one or another group of groups of any group of people with the CNT and the U.G.T., we would like to see the organization of a group of groups or even of all the anti-Fascist organizations."

"From a speech made by the representative of the C.N.T. of Valencia."
ITALIAN DESIGNS

The attempt to attack Catalonia from the sea failed. But is that the end of the matter?

The information given by the French left press about the Italian preparations on the Majorca Islands, which has now been confirmed in certain places, is still being hatched by the Italian government. The attempted invasion was only in the nature of a reconnaissance, and what the low may prove to be of a more serious nature, is that unless the international proletariat exerts a much more vigorous pressure of frustrating such attempts.

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

CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE CATALONIAN VILLAGES

The struggle against the trimorous policies of the socialists, communists, and anarchists, and the 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 been worked out, and the decrees issued by the Supreme Council. The land is turned over to the communes and 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 mode of the hidden bureaucratic sabotage and dictatorship.

One of the outstanding figures of the anarchist movement of Spain, the anarcho-syndicalist Miguel Urrutia, has given a vivid picture of such resistance in his article published in "Solidaridad Obrera," Oct. 20.

A measure of the spirit of resistance of the Barcelonan papers has already opened a campaign against building collectives in the villages. This campaign is being written into the organizational and administrative set up by the Agricultural Department of the Supreme Council. Although fearing to come out openly against the decrees of the Council, this element exerted its pressure upon the villagers in order to discourage them from building collectives for communal cultivation of land, and in the name of the fascist and communist parties of Spain also frowned upon collective cultivation, considering it in the nature of "counter-revolutionary." What interests those elements reflect?

According to Urrutia it is the pressure of the richer peasants that finds its expression in this case. The rich and middle-class workers, who are commissioned to carry out the decree, are very much opposed to the idea of communal working of the land. But the real elements that realize collective cultivation deprive them of the support of hired labor, and the latter fact is their own doing. The "real" peasants are neither willing to hire labor, that element realizes that collective cultivation deprives them of the support of hired labor. They realize that collective cultivation deprives them of the support of hired labor. That element realizes that collective cultivation deprives them of the support of hired labor, and the latter is shared among the members of the collective.

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

There 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.

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 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 may prove to be the government that the anarcho-syndicalist joined, but a revolutionary committee. The government was remolded into a type of suprational organization to which it felt 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 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 bulletins of the "Solidaridad Obreras" 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 importance and its number of members are growing enormously, even in regions where the C.N.T. used to be in the minority, as for instance in Castile. 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 organizations, the United Council of the Generalidad. The C.N.T. participates in this Council, which coordinates all anti-fascist federations in the great revolutionary struggle.

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

The Kind of Work The Spanish Revolution Needs

"I have been in awe—accepting receipt of the "Spanish Revolution," but I was extremely busy trying to get other groups and organizations to understand that the 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. They have generously offered help with the literature received from you.

"THE CENTER OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION IS NOW BARCELONA."
WHAT THE FASCIST RULE HOLDS IN STORE FOR SPAIN

SPANISH REVOLUTION

A publication dedicated to current news from Spain, published by the United Libertarians 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 revolt 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 offer of the "legal" world that was in the factories and the streets. The answer to that he claveral claim for a new real revolution resonated 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 shabby, antiquated new democratic government. He exhorted the workers to bestow 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 simultaneously the most powerful of 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 until it became a mighty power. In spite of all the persecutions and machinations of the government, the workers of Barcelona flanked to the banner of social revolution raised by Durruti and his comrades of the anarchist federations. It was due to Durruti and thousands like him, unnamed heroics of the basement, 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 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's last hope in the last 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 person, example, of revolution, 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 first rank, always fighting men, sharing the rides 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 in a fully 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 he led and shaped the heroic qualities of this man into the pattern of a new humanity.

FASCIST TERROR in Seville

We are reprinting the following from the British liberal daily, "Manchester Guardian":

"The writer of this article disavows any undue sympathy for the Fascists, but his account of how an卅on 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 they have partly succeeded in doing so.

The shooting of prominent leaders of the popular variety is of course no extreme swing of the Spanish revolution. And that also explains the growing attraction which the social revolution, now moving in many parts of Spain, holds for those social layers which are not impelled to it by their economic position. There remains a social revolution and the total annihilation of culture, and the description given below of conditions in Seville, where the Fascists of Seville bear it out once more.

Wholesale Showdowns 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 workers and working women from the streets by their clothes. A particularly incisive point is confirmed by Pierre Ichac, a French journalist of by no means Left sympathies, who was eyewitness to such scenes.

Mourning in the Name of Jesus

"A fanatically religious atmosphere invests the whole town. All the Falangists have the Sacred Heart of Jesus either pinned 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 be baptized and that his children were baptized, which is something very few Sevillian workers under thirty can manage.

Wholesale extirpation of trade unionists and liberals.

"Already 8000 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. Pronouncements have been shot, many chemists, most school teachers (men and women) and a number of doctors, including the president of the Sevillian Medical Association. (This patient has been converted into prisons. These and the old prisons are overcrowded. Soldiers are bilateralized, and the police are reduced to supplying them with food and clothing. Since the property of all persons in the name of Fascism is 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 numbers. One might think that 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 their homes, and the bodies were exported from them. When arrested, they were made to sign over all their bank accounts on the basis that they would hand it back. The bodies were 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 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 the nine months of its stay in power, that is to say, to precede 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 form a government (the Largo Caballero government) by its own people. But it is exactly this right that the Moroccans tried to win in order to get the position of the government of the People's Front with the support of a native paper in the Arabic language. The government did not as much as answer this demand. One of the first acts of its government was to grant the Moroccans this demand."

"By now we may already realize the fact that some native Moroccans wielding great influence in their country, known patriots but democrats at the same time, demanded that the government of Largo Caballero publish the forebearance of the anarchosyndicalists in the government) make a definite promise of certain and stable agreements if 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 feders were immediately arrested."

However, the entrance of the anarchosyndicalists into the government has changed matters in this respect. According to the same magazine, the pressure of the anarchosyndicalists 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 while our work steadily progresses and the libertarian movement continues intact. The work of the Libertarian Committee was from Detroit where an active International Libertarian Committee has been unfulfilling within the American movement. They have been collecting money, arranging mass meetings, publishing pamphlets on the Spanish Revolution and also send out speakers to all parts of the country on this subject.

There are other cities in this country containing various groups and sympathizers. They all should follow the example of these 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 own autonomy rights and those which we believe that we have acquired in the Spanish Republic."

Tune In On Barcelona

To hear the C.N.T. Broadcasting Station at Barcelona, Spain, adjust your dial to short wave 4288 meters—6995 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.
The immediate

The course now followed by the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain is full of compromises and concessions. Everyone realizes that the situation cannot be reversed by the workers carrying out the C.N.T. The policy of collaboration will open a new chapter in the revolutionary struggles. A revolutionary struggle that is carried out with that class will deprive the Fascist counter-revolution of its mass base. On the other hand, the same policy of drawing the petty bourgeoisie 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 on the living practice of the Catalan revolution.

"In order to develop the basic norms of the Revolution the C.N.T. (Anarchist-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) adhered to a solution which would save the petty bourgeoisie, the commerce, industry and the owner of small property. This point of view found the most enthusiastic approval among 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 insurmountable. The individualist character of the Spanish nation can become a factor of great value if directed along right lines. But if we try to suppress it in the course from capitalism to communism, we might obtain results that would tell very heavily against productive forces of the country.

"The C.N.T. is aware of the importance that the winning over of our 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 form of production. Products will be more perfect. The transition of the bourgeois super-capitalist system to a parliamentaristic form will be effected without a bloody havoc, without upsetting the life of country like ours which carried out such a vast economic and social transformation 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 movement in Spain is able to project to the whole the original phenomenon of a petty bourgeoisie working enthusiastically side by side with a revolutionary proletariat, and this petty bourgeoisie will realize more and more that the proletarian revolution has removed the main hindrances that impede the development of the C.N.T. in Spain is super-capitalism. With the big industry in the hands of workers unions, with the nationalized banks, with the post office, the hindrance to the assertion of free initiative of the small merchant or artisan will largely disappear.

The revolution is now eecting in place of the old regime."

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

... In 1931 the republicans and anarchists did not discover the road of revolutionary action demanded by that movement. And it is hardly possible that tomorrow in Spain, 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 the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) have proven sufficiently that they possess the necessary truthfulness and the spiritual values necessary for the guidance of a new world."

The speaker then points out that the high spiritual qualities of the Spanish revolution - the 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 the new form of 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 victory."

Technicians Work for Revolution

One of the most remarkable features of the great revolutionary work now going on in Catalonia and the neighboring provinces of the eastern coast is the total cooperation of the technicians and professionals with the revolutionary forces. They do not turn their back upon the revolution after the victory in the October revolution of 1917.

This is due greatly to the preparatory work done by the anarcho-syndicalist movement of the C.N.T. (Anarchist-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) always tried to draw those elements into its movement and inculcating within the realization of the need of close cooperation with the workers for revolutionary purposes. After the revolution the Union of Free Professionals affiliated with the C.N.T., rapidly grew in number and importance. School teachers, engineers, doctors 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 Professionals is given by the reporter of the "Solidaridad Obrera" Nov. 1.

The section, according to the reporter, contains now the best technical forces of the country. (Catalonia). It is already mapping out a direct work program of the economic reorganisation of the country, of raising the productivity of the industries and introducing a new technical qualification of the workers.

The latter task is to be carried out by organizing a net of technical and professional schools in the C.N.T. unionized field. The C.N.T. technicians are already working upon the plans of such a comprehensive organization.

The section is also busily working upon the building up of an experimental divisions now set up, so that a direct work of the experimental divisions now set up in the factories.

And though the problem of industrialization of the country is not yet solved, the section is already making the necessary work of preparing the statistical data and sketching the necessary specifications which they will cmit when the control and regulation of the country will have assumed the forms enabling in regulating bodies to tackle the program 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 hypocrisy which falls in line with its aspirations and potentialities.

"And what does it matter to anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists, that in some communities we might find ourselves in the minority, that those very communists who declare themselves to be of the type of bourgeois democracy or state socialism? What is important is that we turn ourselves all into anarchists and communists to help us 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 labor forces.)"

This gives us the hope of winning over, but the example those communists who shaped our revolutionary ideas.

"The Socialist Federal Republic admits such a diversity of types. What they want is to take up the defense of a woman who for a long number of years had been the companion of Emilie du Marx.

Some of us know her as well as we know. And we know that she remained faithful to the cause of the revolutionary union movement.

"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 union movement, we ask that Zenevo Muehmann be freed. While the Spanish people carries on a life and death struggle for freedom, Emilie du Marx and Zenevo Muehmann should not rot her life away in Russian prisons or exile.

"And that is why we keep on asking that Zenevo Muehmann live. Let no other ship come from your country unless it carries abroad Zenevo Muehmann. A group of machine gunners of the name of Zenevo Muehmann."
The organization of distribu-
the bureaucratic system was weakest of all in the content. The efficiency of the worker was at its lowest point in the system. The most difficult of all the problems was the distribution of the product. The system did not work as planned. The worker was not able to get the product because he did not produce it. The worker had to depend on the state to distribute the product.

When the workers took over the stores, they found that not only was there a lack of revolutionizing capital, but that the enter-
prise was burdened with heavy debt. Besides, there was the additional difficulty of having to liquidate the funds immobilized in the bank due to the temporary limitation of the banks on the Communist government's withdrawal of deposits.

All those difficulties, however, were overcome by the workers. Immediately upon the socializa-
tion of the enterprise, the workers set up a technical and admin-
istrative committee, both of which were to work energetically in reorganizing the enterprise and finding a way to keep the stores going.

One of the first steps of the workers' committees was to release all the funds from the banks and all the old debts of the company. This appeal was made and the funds were released. The proof pay-
ment of all accounts is creating a great impression among all who deal with those committees. Now there is a plentiful supply of credit, enabling the workers to expand the scope of their enterprise.

Sales have tripled the two months of September and Oc-
tober of this year, as compared to the months of August. They are going up in a large turnover and low prices. The workers are expanding the range of their work and sales methods.

The Catalan Workers

Build Free Socialism

(Continued from page one)

The workers of the Catalan anarchists are not confused old people, debilitated by years of parliamentary activity. They are young men and women between thirty and thirty-five years of age. They have been in prison and exile.

Like all Catalan workers they are en-
thusiastic in the spiritual sense, showing their broad vision. They are not hampered by a mistic and static doctrine. Their experiences and their personality are too narrow to see the rest of the iron demands of revolution and revolution. Within a month they will be capable of carrying out their work, with victory 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, 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 the capabilities of the Catalan anarchists.

The rapid improvement of the revolutionary army in equipment and organization is due to the cooperation of the Valencian correspondent of the British "Daily Herald," who writes:

"A new army has been created within the last ten weeks by the most modern arms of Spanish make. (Ed. note. The role of Russian in supplying arms has been outstanding for this purpose, as well as the support of the pro-Fascist press.) The rapidly growing war industry of Catal-

an anarchists has made possible the transformation of the ill-equipped, unorganized brigades of the irregular type into mobile, well-equipped and partially mechanized army units."

"New military schools have been set up and they work now at full swing. The course of instruc-
tion is calculated for ele-

mentary military service of sev-

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

And as the writer of the "Guia estatica" pointed out, this almost miraculous pace in the Spanish revolution is a matter of fact, as evidenced by the organization of the Catalan anarcho-syndicalist move-

miment.

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.
Nazi Plans to Enslave Spain Revealed

Nationalist Plot Failed in Catalonia

Two weeks ago there appeared in the New York Times a brief news item saying that a 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. It was to form an independent Catalan state with the help of the Italian Fascists. What is the plan, 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 anarchosyndicalist 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 reiterating 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 F.A.I. are not relaxing their vigilance, that they are not playing a fool’s game in their temporary political alliance. They are not taking for granted any 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 the bud.

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

FRANCE - FRENCH JOURNALIST REPORTS REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS

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

Impressed with the significance of the work, the writer, who is neither an anarchist nor a social democrat, has decided to describe the remarkable 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 the revolution.

The story of this revolutionary achievement, and is now cultivated on the basis of anarchist principles, that is, according to the principle: ‘each according to his abilities.’ Every collectivized community has its own type of liberation, 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. The advantage of collectivization is such that every day new peasant communities swell the ranks of those that have already collectivized.’

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

Spanish Will Not Become a Second Abyssinia

The leading financial group of Great Britain and France are swinging their support to Franco 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 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 conquest. 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).

The greatest achievement of the Spanish anarchists is that they prove revolution compatible with liberty, with an elementary respect for the great humanitarian values of the Western culture.
Why The "Spanish Revolution"

Ever since we started publishing the Spanish Revolution, we have frequently appealed to our friends and sympathizers for aid. The need of the hour is the development of events in Spain. The reaction of the government was so spontaneous, we hoped that within a very short time definite forms of resistance would crystallize of their own accord. We hoped that by this time the paper would be well established and would be a steady weekly.

These 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 most disheartening. We have been unable to attract an adequate circulation, and the paper is in debt.

Our attitude is not due only to the general weakness of the libertarian movement in this country; it also flows from the mistaken notion held by many a sympathizer with the Spanish revolutionary movement, that the 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 mass of people with the achievements of the movement, and the other social and economic difficulties of the libertarian movement in Spain. And can we do it here, in this country, without a regular language publication?

Everyone of us realizes that international support is of vital importance for the success of the Spanish Revolution. But how can the growth of a movement be realized 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 conduct the public opinion of the proletarian world of the great significance of the libertarian revolutionary movement, and inform it of its aims and the present course followed by it?

Can we depend upon the socialists and communists in rally such support? Until now there has been no concerted effort to construct a mass movement in this country, and that is: the struggle now going on in Spain is only that of a bourgeoisie democracy against Fascist reaction. The entire communist press of the world—any reference made in this issue to the Moscow Pravda to the Daily Worker contains an attempt to make the 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. We leave the reader to draw his own conclusion.

Not only is this the 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 unconscious ways of duplicity and evasion, doubt that the present 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." We are already hearing demands that only those who prove they cannot be relied upon are those who are willing to "assume responsibility" for the成败 of the movement. The success of which will spell the end of the remaining role played by the Third International in the radical world of international labor.

"...In Spain everyone is free to go anywhere. Where he pleases, to form an opinion of his own on the revolution. Work goes on in the country. Far from suppressing free criticism, our comrades welcome and encourage it." —Pierre Besnard.

ARMS FROM BARCELONA—NOT FROM RUSSIA

The cry of the pro-Fascist press is that Russia has been supplying arms to the Spanish anarchists. This is utterly untrue. No Russian soldier has landed here, and at least one soldier ship has never come near us. We have neither the means nor the time to discuss the matter. We are told that the "Communist press" has been calling for this for years.

The "brand new models" of machine guns which the Daily Worker referred to in the front page of the May 9th issue were coming from the arms factories in Russia and other foreign material of war, but they do not come from our own arsenals. That we have not armed, and that we have diversified our armament factories, that by working day and night, are making many, but slowly, but surely, to replace the antiquated weapons we had to send to Spain in order to repel the attacks of the Fascists and their modern machinery up till now. Barcelona has always been a prosperous and highly industrial city, and no one can say with any reason to suppose that our workers and our factories are not capable of constructing war equipment as well or better than any other state, and that the Daily Worker's Russian control of every phase of industry would be abolutely unnecessary even were it possible to realize it.

"Russia has not taken control of...schools, cinemas and theaters. These establishments are run by workers' and tenants' committees C.N.T., who would certainly resist any interference." The same is confirmed by the Moscow Pravda (Nov. 16) which writes: "The local committees have now heavier armaments than before. Most of the armaments have been exported from Catalonia. It consists of tanks, aeroplanes and other contrivances of modern types.

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

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

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

Send to U.L.O.

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

A GALA AFFAIR — will be given by the United Libertarian Organizations of New York for the benefit of the Spanish Fighting. Watch for announcement in our coming issues.

"A considerable part of militarism's power, according to him, in the defense of Madrid, are Spaniards. They got their militarist training in Catalonia during the Revolution."

The Revolution is arming itself and therein lies the greatest guarantee that it will have its own way, unhalted by foreign advice and pressure.
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'Humanité, La 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 and the European federations 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 Franco, who have hands in 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 reached a sum of several millions of pounds. 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 subset wealth of Spain is in the hands of foreign capitalists, who, with the military assistance of Britain, France, and Belgium, are determined to destroy the revolution by force of arms. The most important railways of the country belong to French and British hands, and the Spanish financiers have been admitted only as “comparadores,” minor shareholders in the vast system of colonial exploitation.

The leaders of the Fascist government in Madrid and thousands were taken as hostages at a nearly a million people turned out in the streets of the capital.

... Hearing the list of the financial backers of Franco is Sir Auckland Geddes, the president of the Rio Tinto Company (one of the big mining companies in the world), whom in “perpetuity” for a ridiculous sum by the Spanish government of the previous regime. He is also the son of the company is exclusively British. The mines were always treated like slaves, and this program is typical of the British position in the history of Spain. (It took place in 1920.)

“...The House of Rothschild is one of the shareholders of this company, which house controls many mines and metallurgical enterprises of Spain. For instance, the mercury mines of the largest in the world, are mainly controlled by the Rothschilds.

“... There is also the international organization controlling the richest mines of Spain. The company possesses a capital of 309 million pounds. Its control of other coal mines gives it the virtual monopoly of the coal trade. Its main office is in Paris, it being mainly Spanish as far as the controlling group goes. But it is more than that. It is a war industry, one of the representatives of the latter, Dr. Aufschlag, 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 the Fascist government. They are the foreign interests who before the revolution controlled the railway, central electric stations, the various banks, the industrial, health, agricultural and commerce industries, telephone companies, textile factories and metalurgical enterprises. The revolution has been a complete failure to them of their monopolies. Hence the gold flood flowing into the coffers of the Fascist government.

The Catalan faith is defeated in Spain not only by the Moslem hatreds of Morocco, but also by the Jewish Rothschilds, and the British Syndicate and Fascist employers. Is there any more striking arguments in favor of immediate help to the Spanish revolution by the international proletariat?

SPAIN NOT A SECOND ABBAYNISIA

Spain which is to follow Franco’s victory 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, industrial magnates. A net of fortifications, aerodromes, military roads, naval stations, etc., is being constructed in Germany and under German control. (Already the aerial line of Teuton (Morocco-Sevilla) has been taken over by Germans.)

The complete capture of Nai propaganda has already been put in full motion, explaining to the German population the wonderful possibilities of the Spanish Abyssinia. Branches of

DURRUTI AND HIS SUCCESSOR

By now most of the readers know that Durruti was killed by an assassin not during a battle, as it was reported in the local papers. The few simple lines describing Durruti’s murder and the news spread 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 in the streets. The comrade 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 stations anxious to pay their last respects 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 ceased, that he was appointed as the commander of all Catalan troops in Madrid. But the last issues of the Spanish newspapers (El Pais and Obras) mention: Durutti’s place has been taken by his closest friend and associate José Mansano, a Barcelona worker who was captured by the Fascists and sentenced to death under charges of having conspired against the Fascist government.

NOT A REACTIONARY IDEAL

There is no room here for diminutive revolutions. The socialist revolution is in the scope of our ideal and will lead to the triumph of the workers of the world. The great Catalonia which the workers are now building cannot be shut up within itself. The whole of the country and the rest of the world is its scope. Action is the whole world. It is all this that is meant by the decisive manner the forward course of humanity.

FINANCIAL REPORT

of the International Libertarian Communist Organization in Spain

3131 Bayview Ave., Detroit, Mich.
December 1930
Funds Collected $32,238.70
Funds spent in 6 months: $2,645.00
General Expenditures $20,751.70
Funds on hand: $20,751.70
More details will appear in bulletin to be issued soon by this Committee.

SOUTH AMERICAN REPORT

The Catalan anarchists. The socialist and communist press have been printing the Catalan anarchists are seeking new ideas and aspirations. (Even Walter Durruti stoops to such accusations.)

To what extent the imitation of such a reactionary international wing of the revolutionary movement constitutes a calamity of the most vicious sort, the lines of the editorial comments will speak for themselves:

"...When the workers shed their blood at the various fronts, a group of revolutionaries has been busy watching the conspiracy of the Fascist leaders. The anarchists are watching the middle class elements. Those gentlemen, however, do not seem to notice that we have found our vigilance. Their surprise at seeing their plot uncovered was immense. The fifth column is the name given to the Counter-revolutionaries who work under cover, and their allies who were lying in wait for the Revolution, who were watching from the very beginning of the revolutionary struggle. We know them well and they never deceived us. Our apprehensions have now been well confirmed. And the masses of people were with us in this respect. The counterfeiters who were the traitors and were there to look for them. They knew that those gentlemen, although purring as revolutionaries, was to deceive the workers, and that the defense of high responsibility, hated from the very depth of their souls the new forms of social life born in this great social struggle. The revolution 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 revolutions. The socialist revolution is in the scope of our ideal and will lead to the triumph of the workers of the world.

"The great Catalonia which the workers are now building cannot be shut up within itself. The whole of the country and the rest of the world is its scope. Action is the whole world. It is all this that is meant by the decisive manner the forward course of humanity.

A Speakers Bureau has been appointed by the United Libertarian Organizations for the purpose of providing competent speakers on Spain for conferences, audiences at convents, meetings, symposiums, etc.

The Speakers Bureau will be glad to furnish qualified English and foreign 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. 46 W. 17th St. - N.Y. C.
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 action. The desire was often that of the workers in each enterprise to own the enterprise, to control all of the work on the basis of the economic and social needs of themselves and the neighborhood. This was clearly the case of the textile industry of the Principality of Catalonia and of the coal industry of the same region. The desire was that of the workers in each enterprise to control all of the work on the basis of the economic and social needs of themselves and the neighborhood. This was clearly the case of the textile industry of the Principality of Catalonia and of the coal industry of the same region.

ANARCHISTS STRENGTHEN POSITIONS IN CATALONIA

Everyone realizes that the ousting of the semi-Trotskyite P.O.U.M. by 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 democracy.

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 Durruti, 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 even 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)

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 anarchists 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 enough; the Syndicalsists 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 monopoly powers.

And so 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 we 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 to the unions’ aims 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 money within . . . For long it has not been made to thus speak out, but now the sabotage has gone so far that silence would be cowardly, say, criminal . . . It has been felt up to now that the knowledge of any rift would be grim 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 the terrible selection 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, 40 SECOND AVENUE. 10 Admission 40 cents

PARLIAMENT IGNORED BY REVOLUTIONISTS

After a long interval of several months, the Spanish parliament (Constituent) was called again into session by the Largo Calatravo 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 legal move was the hope still entertained by the government that 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 may have harbored and judging by the ecstatic homilies 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 greater danger than Fascism itself. The growth of the villagers 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 unarmed—Fascists—hence they have given the socialists and communists all too much leeway in the realm the result of which our age-long enemies are sabotaging the revolution right and left. This, comrades, is the gravest problem for the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Being men of their words our comrades cannot well stop the pernicious counteractivity 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 task with the same alacrity as though there were no Judases and armed enemies within and without and 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 for the defense of Fascism against everything the C.N.T.-F.A.I. stand for. Out of the thousands of pounds they have collected, our people have received not a cent, for the value of the is 144,000,000,000 cent to Citrine in Paris, not one solitary peso has been received by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.
SPANISH PEASANTS--VANGUARD OF A LIBERATION REVOLUTION

The proletarian press of Spain contains frequent descriptions of peasant communes organized in the various parts of the country, and especially strong in those provinces where anarchistic influence had been strong for some length of time. Those experiments are very often undertaken by the peasants on their own initiative, and it is assumed that some popular movement directed toward freedom communism is the result. The first official publications of the Spanish revolution, these developments do not exactly harmonize with the Marxist idea of the moving force of the revolution coming from the towns. To the extent that it is alleviated, it is petty-bourgeois by its nature and can only be drawn into a socialist revolution by these movements to which I am well familiarized by the Russian dictatorship of the proletariat.

One of the most difficult problems of any revolution, that of organization of transport, is solved satisfactorily in the revolutionary conditions 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 transport conditions in Spain are most hopelessly bad. A peasant makes his way to the nearest railroad by foot. The railroad, like the house and the road itself, belongs to private owners.

The Spanish railroad workers are keeping this most important branch of transport in a state which no other type of management could keep in operation under the civil war. This is and 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 railroad workers, and of Catalan 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 revolution, no economic chaos, and the markets are functioning without any serious interruptions, the fields are cultivated even better than before and the financial structure remains almost unperturbed?

Anarchists, 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 Catalan revolution. Those are the ideas of anarchosyndicalism, of industrial democracy based upon the union of producers. A revolution guided by such ideas is altogether different a affair from the old type exemplified by the Bolshevick revolution of 1917. Chaos and destruction are not unavoidable in a modern revolution. They come only when revolutions are monopolized by political parties, when the revolution is used as a means of building up a civil war but of the attempt of the dictatorial parties to destroy 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 Bolshevick revolution in 1917. The hopeful beginnings of an industrial democracy were stifled by the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The Commissars, the revolutionary bureaucracy of the trade unions, the secretaries of the peasant committee, economic lines between the village and the city were severed by a policy which no industrial democracy would ever undertake. The workers and peasants became the objects of economic experiments on the part of the Bolshevik revolutionary dictatorship instead of being the agents of the economic transformations.

The economic success of the Catalan 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, is the simple secret of the Catalan revolution. Those that are directly concerned with the economic progress, that function in one or another capacity in the complicated web of economic production, these are best qualified to form the economic divisions of the revolution. The idea that got hold of the minds of the most

Here is what the French libertarian paper L'Esprit du Peuple said of the peasant movement initiated by the revolutionary events of the July days.

"The Catalan peasantry has responded to its own traditional movement, its own revolutionary ideology and its own insatiable, historical, local patriotism. It is equipped with a method of growing behind the revolution that always under their influence." One might even state that in a great number of cases the village has almost become a commune.

"In Catalonia, for instance, the peasants who own small parcels of land understand that even when working on their own, they can hardly count against the powerful economic forces of the country. The peasant realized a sense of self-defense that in order to be his own master cannot confine himself any longer to his small household, that he has to associate with the other producer to become a producer and as a consumer.

"All that is now being carried out on such a large scale, in such a spontaneous manner, that volumes would have to be written in order to give one an adequate idea of the vast accuracy 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 visit to the Catalan front, expressed his astonishment at the revolutionary changes initiated by the peasants themselves. It can be said, with the idea of teaching the peasants the ideas of libertarian communism. But it turns out that what we learn from about 17,000."...

"The most solid foundation of the Spanish socialism is the collective revolution now sweeping the country. A very peasant commune that in the long run will prove to be the most formidable bulwark against the Fascist forces."...
HEALTH DEPARTMENT
RUN BY ANARCHISTS

A. Illic, a well known French anarchist, accompanied Sebastian Faure, his fellow countryman, who was publishing in the French anarchist weekly Libertaire, his notes on the achievements of the Spanish anarchists.

In the last issue of our Spanish Revolution we reprinted some of his articles dealing with problems of public health and their revolutionary solution.

The work now carried on by this Department is in line with the revolutionary idea of its leading figures. It is characterized by revolutionary boldness, which is the more striking when we realize the passive and timorous attitude taken by the Spanish republic on those matters.

One of the most remarkable steps has been the transfer of the chief hospital administration to the anarchists. It is this that of setting up a sub-section for the purposes of disseminating information pertaining to the hygiene of the mass, which is what the anarchists call, "a veritable school of conscious motherhood." Its revolutionary significance is self-evident, especially when we take into account the conditions of the hospitals of Spain today.

A country dominated by the Catholic religion to such an extent as pre-revolution Spain was, is more than ripe for a revolutionary initiative of that kind.

Another important task undertaken by the anarchists is the rehabilitation of defective individuals. Scientific institutions are built up for the handling of those who are under treatment, and these institutions are closely connected in their work with the syndicates.

After being cured, the patients are turned over to the syndicates of their respective trades with a trade suitable to their aptitudes.

The approach to the problem of the socialization of the hospital was based on the principles of social therapy. The most serious efforts are directed toward the social base of prostitution. Prostitutes are provided with an 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," and the "lazary" with which to look for individual solutions in cases of relapse.

Swapping schemes have been established in the hospitals and homes for aged.

Until the revolution, most of those institutions were in the hands of religious orders. How much the situation has changed can be seen in the case of one of the largest homes visited by our author.

The religious order in charge of this Home ("Guardian of the poor") is one of the richest in the country. In Madrid 1,000,000 of pesetas were found in a central office of Valencianism.

And with all their wealth, the sisters showed a mean niggardliness in regard to the care of the patients and petty tyranny rendered the life of those inmates not much better than that of ordinary prisoners.

The change instituted by the anarchists in charge of this Home is in keeping with the general line adopted by the Department of Public Health. The regime of petty tyranny, of intolerable restrictions and interferences in to one's personal life was done away with. The sisters have the full liberty to go and come when they please. There are no special restrictions for the patients.

We quote from the opened of the Parliament. We quote this brief editorial in part in order to give our readers some idea of the state of affairs today and 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.

At least we may say that the working class represented by our organization has received the Franco government the formalus adopted by the present Republic.

We wrote already in the last issue of the Spanish Revolution that we oppose to the Spanish workers the principle of charity assistance to the Spanish troops fighting against Fascism are greatly exaggerated. Whatever help they do render might be quite a substantial amount of it is not great enough to over shadow 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 Solidad Obrero (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 war production and our war supplies are growing.

The article points out that this statement does not imply any belief in the rôle of revolutionary solidarity and assistance. Help is still needed, but the crisis is over. At the present time revolutionary Spain is strong enough may fight for its own.

"Spain now has a sufficient number of men on the side of the Revolution. They will be mobilized in the revolution and put 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 war production and our war supplies are growing."

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 adhesion 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 put the industries of the collectivized industries. The workers can do it if they evolve the necessary moral discipline and wansparedness. The 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 collectivized economy. Industries and public services running at a loss are financed from this general fund.

Industries are in two general concentrations which will give greater returns and open great possibilities for foreign commerce.

The old decree restricting the socialization to enterprises employing 100 workers and more was abolished. Even smaller shops and factories are to be socialized, it being deemed that such enterprises were of the first importance to be reorganized from the point of private exploitation.

The general control of the reorganized industries is to be exercised through the development of the existing industrial unions. Such a control will make unneccessary the centralization of the 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 was the only region of Spain (It was the sabotage of the Socialists and communists that prevented revolutionary Catalonia from establishing some of the basic features of the Banking system.) Not having been able to nationalize its banks, Catalonia could not cope successfully with the Fascist menace. The bankers' interests developed as a result of a temporary situation whereby enterprises came to be "owned" by the employees.

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"We confuse that we pre

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker.

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

Send to United Liberarian 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 essential article are so great that a free hand in setting prices for this important food item, and that they as set at a prohibitive level as far as the masses of people are concerned shows the history of every socialist upheaval when wages disappear from the table of the masters 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 eat eggs in his daily food. For the rest of the city population it was almost as rare a delicacy as during the period of the old autocratic revolution. And that this was done to local shortages but to the heavy bureaucratic apparatus of regular requisitioning shows that the same conditions existed in cities situated in places of abundant egg supply.

We have come to understand, 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 at all, and what is even more remarkable, egg prices have remained on the same level. Jack of this situation could occur more than themselves do the anarchists.

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 Musa de 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 par-

ties are so anxious to eliminate democracy at the fronts and to replace it by the rule of com-

itarians.)"

"The moment has come to pay more attention to this group of counter-revolutionaries and to 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.

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 technically, receiving weekly salaries and under the control of the workers committees their expenditures, the organizing genius of the Spanish revolution, is the heroic struggle of the food workers of Barcelona with all the market outside of which would have plunged into the same chaotic conditions which prevailed in Soviet Russia.

This was the case, in the words of a recent report by the secretary of the anarcho-
syndicalist daily Solidaridad Obrera (Oct. 31),

"Speculation already showed its ugly head in the first days of the revolution. The big dealers real-
ized 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 wholesale house of Barcelona.

The speculators, however, fig-

ured without the new power that was to take over the food supply was the Union of Food Workers affiliated with the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor. As soon as the revolution began, the big dealers became evident, the Egg Supply Section of the Food Workers Union called a general meeting of its members, to all of which the wholesalers and the larger retailers were invited. A comprehensive plan of workers' control was quickly worked out at that meeting and under the circumstances the employers could not but accept it.

Soon, however, the employers began to feel their lag behind the workers in this respect. They were threatened with isolation, with the breaking up of the pact, with the dissolution of the United Front against Fascism. Observers are well acquainted with the demands of the workers. 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 a single-handed struggle against Fascism."

The situation was making it obvious that the unbroken line of the workers' movement was a very difficult task. Professional revolutionaries and learned economists.

If the world permits 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 which formed was not concluded between the anarchists and the U.G.T. (controlled by communists and socialists). The union was celebrated in on of the great mass meeting the city ever had. The speaker pointed out to the mass of workers the significance of the need of collaboration in view of the great danger of Fascist victory and the important task of the construction of the Spanish countryside.

The idea of a pact, covenant is an anarchist idea. That the Spanish workers are for a united course of action in this pact, agreements, and no through the dictatorship of 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 chum the full support of the population for their military adventures in Spain. The workers in the factories 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 and Italian troops stationed in Spain are quite frequent. There were a large number of desertion of several countries.

According to the correspondent of the Moscow Pravda, the morale of the German soldiers is not very high and great effort is made to keep it isolated from the Spanish front. Workers' solidarity is by no means dead. The day will come when it will insert 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 in organizing the movement of freight along the Mediterranean coast and the front sector."

"The work of evacuating the population from the war zones was excellently done. The supply of Madrid is done with no notice to the workers and all that had to work and study at the same time the complicated problems of railway transport."

FUNDS RECEIVED FOR SPAIN DURING DECEMBER

441—H. Block, Chelsea, Mass. $10.00

442—Italian Social Club, Eatontown, N. J. 5.00

443—American Italian Social Club, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2.50

444—Simmons Family, Camden, N. J. 0.50

445—Farmers Co-op. Trading Co., Honesdale, Pa., Ranger, Mich. 5.00

446—G. Conolly, Haverlack, N. Y. 15.00

447—B. H. Johnson, Binghamton, N. Y. 10.00

448—Mrs. Zaccaria (H. Black, Chelsea, Mass.) 1.00

449—Brockway Company, Calcutta, India. 20.00

450—O. Ubiukic, Bethesda, Pa. List 200.00

451—Gamarra Arenz, V., H. Black, Chelsea, Mass. 5.00

452—Murray Gross, Brooklyn, N. Y. 3.00

453—W. Paterson, New York, N. Y. 2.50

454—Progressive Community Club, Willimantic, Ill. 5.00

455—Frank Lucas, Kegtown, Pa. 10.00

456—Pro Juventute, London, Eng. 5.00

457—G. F. M. Dipti, Sec'y J.A.F.C. 6.17

458—Mrs. Inge, Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00

459—H. Black, Chelsea, Mass. 5.00

460—Mahaney Colony Group (L. Bingham), 30.00

Julia Scarrington, List 425. 5.00

$128.90

Feb. 9, 1940, issue, $415.42—Sent to Spain, $392.91—Bal. 185.00

P.S. With this issue, the funds sent to Spain this month and the collections from our subscribers amount to $1,289.00. Thanks, comrades.
Free Socialism: Immediate Goal of Spanish Workers

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 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 historic events. The decisions of these conferences chart a new course for the Spanish revolution, clarity of commands and open-handed 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 into the government.

Important speeches were delivered by conspicuous figures of the movement. Comrade Juan Canelon spoke on the problem of war. He pointed out that guerrilla 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 subordination of various units of the military to military orders of this unified command.

Sanfilla, 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 government. 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 negative of private property in all its forms. We are working within the framework of the Anarchist Convention in Barcelona.

OF COURSE YOU'LL BE THERE!!

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SOVIET CONSUL IN BARCELONA PRAYS 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 it forget its official origins. 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-syndicalist 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, especial for the anarcho-syndicalist. (Ed. Note: This admiration 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 Catalan 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 reality. 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 bar in Barcelona, which had not only been raid but kept in the most perfect state by the workers' committee. (Ed. Note—This high moral tone is the result of years of anarchist education.)

(Continued on page three)
COLLABORATION WITH MIDDLE CLASSES SLOWS DOWN COURSE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The policy of collaboration with the organizations of the petty-bourgeoisie adopted by the Spanish anarchists during the stress of a war situation proved to be successful in its major out-
takes. 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 the National Anarchists under the
Spanish revolution did not have to fall back upon the worse form of terror in order to break the
t oo of a reactivated middle-
tabelle.

But some price had to be paid for it. The pace of the social
revolution is being slowed down on account of this collaboration.
Allen elements are forcing them-
into important positions where they succeed at times in
turning away the Revolution from its original goals.
The French magazine La
Revolution Provoctoricienne of Dec.
25th (of revolutionary-socialist
orientation) dwells upon the
deviations suffered by the Revolution as a result of
this necessary policy of collaboration with the other sections of the
anti-Fascist front.

A veritable campaign is now carried out by the Comintern
(or the Unió Socialista
Communist Party (Trela)) and
by the party itself against col-
lectivization of industries. In
this matter they are on the same
point as the Generalitat (the
Catalan State) who were
made a part of the Councils of Industry.

The growth of this bureau-
cracy is due to the fact that rep-

23rd of January 1937

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 lords and
masters? Who is guiding the nation? who is steering the ship that
it is safe to pilot through the terrific difficulties besetting its path?

But it sounds strange to all those people when we tell them
that the Spanish revolution does not have such dominant indi-
viduals 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, which put its strongest impress upon the course of the
October revolution from its very first days is totally absent.
The work of the revolution has 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 mowers of every great social upheaval.

There are no Lenins and Trotsky's 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 judge the results and demand that they have made a better
job than providentially appointed leaders and saviors.

The Spanish revolution is not rushing precipitously into mili-
tary communism, it does not tolerate any dangerous experiments with the
lives and destinies of millions of people. It does not attempt
force to upon the peasants a policy of grain requisitions
which was responsible for so much bloodshed and economic chaos
than all the combined forces of domestic and foreign counter
revolutions.

A revolutionary army of the modern kind has to be
improvised under the trying circumstances of constant defeats
and upon intervention of Fascist powers. But that is being done
without sinning against the extreme of full abolition of any sign 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 revolu-
tion had to struggle. Twenty years ago, its leading figures had to be
met by skillful maneuvering, by timely concessions and temporary
cessions. Did the Spanish revolution have to fall back upon
the fabulous Russian myth of a single man, like Lenin, poisoning the
monopoly of revolutionary strategy and skill of classic man-
overing?

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,
that belongs to the workers of all the world."

—Pierre Bernard.

"We can say now with some degree of certainty that
when the present social transfomation completes its first stage,
two thirds of Spain will be socialized in a form closely approaching
that of free communisms."

—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 class. And even more, the whole that
our lives 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
for it."

—Emma Goldman.

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
country which is the cradle of the economic revolution, most of the
daily papers are still rea-

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 onto
their property and make them profit.

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
readers.

It is a problem that begins to force itself upon the attention of
the revolution.

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

The paper points out that just as the revolution put an end to
the "freedom" exercised by the bourgeoisie in organizing the work of economic life, 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 the owners 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 foster
a new course to be soon adopted by the revolution.

The problem 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

A Letter from Spair

...You want to know some things about the life in Catalonia. As a result, I am not only more than satisfied with the exception of the petty trade which is kept under control.

In the villages collectivization proceeds in a very deliberate and deliberate fashion. I visited some of them and I was amazed at their revolutionary achievements. I was about to sneer at the point that collective agriculture is something not only thorough but also compulsory. The peasant who does not want to join the collective receives from the municipal agency (since the land now belongs to the latter) a piece of land insufficiently large to enable him to cultivate it with the help of his family.

The differentiation in the soil is quite small: a worker receives from 300 to 400 perctas a month, and an engineer from 400 to 500.

It is wonderful, perhaps, to those who have never seen that may take you back to your own country, that the idea, which is practically accepted in the whole of the rural areas, is that of the "peasant's home" and that the collective agriculture is growing.

Social life has been changed to its very depths. IT IS IN

The situation is very tough. I don't have any illusions about the result. But the thing that worries me is how I may reach Barcelona. But I am an optimist just the same. My one and only fear is not being able to write to my relatives in Cataln.
ANARCHISTS MAP COURSE OF REVOLUTION AT THEIR CONVENTION

(Continued from page one)

The problems of the revolution must be solved on the basis of equality and solidarity. These means must be equalized and the social wealth must be utilized for the benefit of all.

(3) The anarchist groups must devote their efforts to persuade the workers of the necessity of applying the principle of selection to production. That is, production must be centered in the 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 other organizations.

(5) The organization of economic life should be in the hands of the Industrial Unions and the Municipal Councils (comunas) to check the parasitical collectivizations which fully neglect the spirit of socialization.

(6) The socialization of the production must be completed by a socialist form of distribution based on the principle of calculation which only perpetuates the state of economic inequality.

UNITED FRONT SABOTAGED IN BARCELONA

(Continued from page one)

Inciting Population Against Anarchists

The new administration knew that food supplies were at a low ebb in Barcelona, that within a short time the crisis would be greatly alleviated. Nevertheless, it began to spread panic rumors among the populace, at first by veiled insinuations and then by open statements of the responsible people in this committee, 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 councils 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.

The purpose behind those moves on the part of the socialists and communist politicians is to throw the anarchists (not, as some say, "a systematic attempt to make it a political weapon against the anarchists.

The story of this open sabotage is the part of those who have been the least in advocating a united front sounds almost incredible, but it is well authenticated. 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 carries with it the same kind of attention. It is reprinted in the Spanish edition of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. (No. 140, Dec. 28, 1936).

We are presenting here its 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 Barcelona, "La Vida Obrera," and now the attorney for one of the office of the Catalan government.

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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Barcelona is now the center of the world revolution.

—Sebastian Faure.
EXPROPRIATION ON BASIS OF REVOLUTIONARY EQUITY

Timidity in Dispute

Despite the former agreement made by the workers concerning the principle of U.G.T.—have in- 
terest without indemnity—with the exception of foreign prop- erties—there are certain timid indi- 
viduals who are always opposed by the revolution that opened the 
channels for a new economy. Those who wish to compromise 
on former decisions lack the audacity necessary for defend- 
ing the revolution; to write ar- 
chiters, address mass meetings, and 
say much easier for them than actually to put revolutionary ideas into prac- 
tice.

Chaos Checked by Revolution

And since that they say it is not 
want to lose their standing 
with the people by altogether 
denying the necessity of going on 
with the revolution, they simply 
predispose the mills to be put 
off until the war is won.

All those people do not realize 
that the bourgeois economic sys- 
tem has definitely collapsed on 
July 19 and that it is being 
rapidly supplanted by a proletarian 
economy. They do not under- 
stand that it is in order to pre- 
vent any chaos that we must 

REVOLUTION POLICIES TRiumph in Catalonia

(Continued from page one) 
with the masses of Catalan workers as a result of its digu- 
ished and uncompromising revolu- 
tionary policy.

The real issues were outlined 
in a declaration made by the sec- 
tary of the Unified Socialist- 
Communist Party, Juan Comor- 
era. (It was published in full in the 
Catalan daily Le Tem, 
Dec. 15th.)

Attempts to Check Revolution

The outstanding points of this 
document were the demands for 
"a strong government," did not 
fail in its efforts to catch the 
familiar overtones of the Russian 
tune in it. Some papers of the right tried to interpret 
this slogan in the sense of a 
"dictatorial body." (The 
(Solidaridad Obrera) 
Criminal."
The political crisis resulted in 
somehow changed composition 
of the Council. But the powers 
of the latter were not broadened 
at the expense of the local 
organizations. Committees of De-
fense, syndicates and municipal-
ities, as was demanded by the 
communists and socialists. The 
Committee of Safety was not 
dismissed, but its functions 
that the control of the new army 
control the army would thereby be 

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- "The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rockefeller
- "The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Darrow

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REVOLUTION BUILDS WHILE FIGHTING

While the cannons are thun- 

dering at the fronts of the civil 
war, the workers of the two 

REVOLUTIONARIES

central unions—the anarcha- 

syndicalists, unions of the C.N.T.

and the U.G.T.—are making 

a constructive agreement 

with regard to collectiviza- 

tion in Catalonia.

At an assembly in Barcelona 

the representatives of the C.N.T.

and the U.G.T. agreed to proceed 

upon a collectivized system of the 

textile industry of Catalonia, intro- 

ducing a new method of produc- 

tion for maximum efficien-

cy. In this way, a high standard 

is to be maintained and the out- 

put will correspond with the re-

quirements of private enter-

prise. The same is true 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, it 
is influencing the formation of 

public utilities which are being re-

placed by measures fitted to the 

new organization. The present 

civil war is a war against capi-

talism, and is one in 

on with the revolution. The 

war and the revolution are insep-

erable, and must go hand in hand. 

In short, it is to fight for the 

ideas for which the workers are 

putting into practice behind the lines.

(From the official Bulletin of the 
Catalan Government.)

POLITICIANS AT WORK IN THE 

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

The International Brigades have already written a 
glorious page in the history of the Span- 
ish revolution. They came in the 
most critical hour of the Spanish 
people after a long and bitter 
struggle. It was the vanguard of the revolutionary 
soldiers—the anarchist columns under the command of Durutte —they fought with their bayonets from what 
seemed then an unavoidable seizure.

The rank and file of those Bri-

gades consist of ardent anti- 

capitalists who consider it 

is to prevent the international 

reaction from scoring another 
decisive victory. But certain 

Communist groups now active in 

the organization of some of those 

International Brigades are guided 

by motives of a much inferior 

nature. Some right-wing 

military dictatorship is the 

exposure made in the French anar- 

archist paper Libertaire (January 1) 

by one of them. International fighting units, an 

ex-member of the German Com- 

munist Party, and now an 

archist by conviction. The paper 

announces the authenticity of 

his report, undertaking to cor-

rect abuses by other political 

organizations. The present war is 

a real conflict of political parties, 

and the issue is whether the workers 

will or will not win. To win the 

war is to win the future of the 

rebuilt Spain. 

Later on we were addressed 

by an official of the Com- 

munist Party who told us that 

we shall have to pass Catalonia 

as a stepping stone to the 

battlefront. The event is one of 

the most important in the his-

torical course of the country.

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.

WOMEN OF AMERICA! PROTEST EMBARGO ON SHIPMENT OF ARMS TO SPAIN.