ANARCHISTS ARE DOOMED IN SPAIN

ANARCHISTS PRESENT PROGRAM FOR SPAIN

The anarcho-syndicalist unions and anarchist groups of Barcelona have recently started a series of educational mass meetings with the aim of placing before the great mass of workers the problems of the present revolutionary hour and the anarchist approach to their solution.

The first meeting drew a vast audience of workers who filled up the hall—one of the largest in the city—and the adjoining quarters, where door speakers were installed at each convenient spot.

The key speech was delivered by Federica Montseny, one of the C.N.T. representatives in the Central government, now holding the portfolio of Education and Sanitation. It was a magnificent speech—Federica Montseny is one of the finest speakers in the country—sketching a broad outline of the anarchist program for the present moment, linking it up with the basic principles of the libertarian outlook and showing the transcendent historic value and the present scope of the work already achieved by the anarchist movement of Spain.

THE SUMMARY OF MONTSENY'S SPEECH

(like many other documents of importance which we presented to our readers in the past, this summary does not offer an exact translation of the speech, for the limited space of our paper.)

Anarchists As Ever

The starting point of her speech was the assertion that the anarchists of Spain have not reduced their basic principles and that they are as radical as ever upon the realization of their central goal—the eradication of authority. That a program for almost every strategic point of importance. The two main strongholds—the cities of Huesca and Zaragoza—are nearly surrounded. Their fall, which is expected as a matter of course, will clear the road for a vigorous drive upon Navarre and Palopoma. This will enable the Catalan forces to effect a junction with the Asturian and Basque troops, as a result of which the smashing of the Fascist army caught by an increasing enzest. The anarchist daily published for the militia, Frente Libertario, reports frequent attempts to force the mili- tiamen into joining the "cells" of the organization.

(Continued on page three)

REVOLUTION ONLY BEGINNING IN SPAIN

(Comrade Writes From Barcelona)

One of our comrades now visiting Spain presents his impressions and ideas in a few articles appearing in our local Spanish press. The comrade is not altogether in agreement with the militant line pursued by the anarchists in Spain, although he recognizes that such line is in accord with the ideas of an overwhelming majority of Spanish anarchists on that subject.

The writer is a man of independent judgment and is not given to official praise singing. This imparts a sense of freshness to his observations.

The articles are much too long for our small paper and can be presented here only in the form of a general summary.

Revolutionary Army Has Upper Hand on Aragon Front

The writer visited the Aragon front now held by the Catalan forces under whose command the anarchists constitute a preponderant majority. He spoke to a number of leading comrades and also military specialists, all of whom concurred in the opinion that the revolutionary militia is in full control of the strategic situation.

More than three-quarters of the Aragon province is now in the hands of the revolutionary army. That a work for almost every strategic point of importance. The two main strongholds—the cities of Huesca and Zaragoza—are nearly surrounded. Their fall, which is expected as a matter of course, will clear the road for a vigorous drive upon Navarre and Palopoma. This will enable the Catalan forces to effect a junction with the Asturian and Basque troops, as a result of which the smashing of the Fascist army caught by an increasing enzest. The anarchist daily published for the militia, Frente Libertario, reports frequent attempts to force the mili- tiamen into joining the "cells" of the organization.

(Continued on page three)

FOR GOD and COUNTRY

Children Orphansed

by "Saviors of Civilization"

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PRESS AGENTS AT WORK

Mr. Fisher's Apology

Lou Fisher recently made one of the defamatory statements about the anarchists which he has been in the habit of making for the last few years. The readers of the Nation, where this statement appeared, are quite well acquainted with his mendacity, which at one time went so far as to attribute to the anarchists' close cooperation with the monarchists and fascists.

Conspiring in his previous slanders, the last one tending the cowardice of the anarchist militi in Madrid (front月末 ends months) it does, however, take on greater significance when viewed as a part of the whispering campaign now directed against the anarchists by those who want the worst for "loyalty" to the United Front.

Thus the Humanistic, the French communist, and the German communist 알래리에 비행 is bitterly of this whispering campaign, which very often goes hand in hand with sabotaging attempts to withdraw necessary arms and ammunition from anarchist brigades.

And as many naive people did not believe that Mr. Louis Fisher's slanderers did not emanate from this latest "party line," the reelected and his to the pro-

inciple that the State, because of the anarchistic spirit, should speak to eyes to it.

While hypocritically employing the United Front, he reiterates the same change in the form of an incidental remark which shows all the marks of a communist press agent technique.

And Mr. Fisher is nothing but a Moscow press agent, all his claims to the status of an independent journalist withstand.

Ralph Bates Explains Catalan Situation

Another "independent" journalist reports of the movements in Catalonia. Ralph Bates is generally known to the American readers as a writer of note, but his knowledge of the Spanish and the author of several sharp articles on the anarchists of Catalonia. (His declamations on the unrighteousness of the Spanish and were about as helpful in understanding the anarchist movement as Mr. Duran's invoking of Dostoyevsky in the mystery of Moscow trials.)

And because of the alleged "anti-partisanship" of Mr. Bates, who wrote so many articles in the United States, his article is included to give credence to the sensational statement about the decline of Catalan anarchism made by him upon his arrival in this country. That Mr. Bates is a member of the United Socialist - Communist Party of Catalonia and that he brought into the Communist Party of the United States for specific purposes is known to very few in this country. Not only should the papers of the black and radical publications take his opinion as objective statements of an unbiased observer.

REPUBLICANS AND POLITICIANS IN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

. . . The Brigades is made up of workers of all nationalities: Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, and others. Many of these are old fighters who particip-
inated in the revolutionary wars of Russia, Hungary, Germany, and Austria. It contains a num-
ber of Stalinsites, mostly students of the Comintern schools, who attempt to impose blind obedience to and eliminate political criticism of any kind. But the soldiers of the Brigade reacted on several occasions against such attempts. For instance, they REJECTED THE PRO-
POSAL OF THE DELEGATES OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY TO PLACE THE TRICOLORED FLAG (the national French banner) ALONGSIDE OF THE RED BANNER.

. . . They also carried the point that they themselves should pass on revolutionary activity and outstanding exploits.

. . . At the head of the Bri-

gade is Andre Marty. (Vol. note: One of the most popular milit-

ants in the French Communist Party. Convicted at one time for his part in the mutiny of French sailors in the battlecoght by the French government in support of the White army."

And, of course, in most cases he follows faithfully Stalin's policies.

"But at times the old revolutionary sailor awakens within him. It is at those moments that he reacts violently against the attempts to calm down and even promote -" (From "La Lutte Ouvriere")

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

. . . "The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker . . .

. . . "The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dahar . . .

Send to United Libertarian Organizations

45 WEST 17TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

The last article in the New York Times of Jan. 24 is written in the manner of such deceptive reports. The author's grandiose statements of the U.G.T. union, of the United Socialist Communist Party, of the movement concluded with the anarchists and the U.G.T.,yellowing the impression that both are about to conclude an amicable and revolu-

tionary initiative.

But since his party afflications have now become known, it may be fair to offset it by the explanation given by one of our comrades in Barcelona, who writes us about this "growth" of the joint Stalinist movement. The writer says that the C.N.T. has controlled of the most important industries and transportation in the capital. After the uprising of July the petty-bourgeois element began flocking to the U.G.T. This increased the membership of this organization. But all that our forces dominate Catalonia.

And as to the revolutionary initiative shown by the U.G.T. and the United Socialist Communist Party of Catalonia, Mr. Bates should be able to explain to us the rather strange fact that in Catalonia the United Socialist Communist Party and the U.G.T. unites speak of co-

certivizing the industry while in other parts of the country they represent the continuous and continuous- internal movement of the workers toward the same goal. Is it the proportionate strength of the C.N.T. and C.T., in Catalonia (albeit which Mr. Bates is rather "silent") that is responsible for the "spontaneous" initiative of the Catanian U.G.T.? . . .

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Of late the blacks are beginning to show signs of interest and dissention as fighting units. The Spanish press reports an increasing number of desertions, where the recently captured working on the civil war is seen.

Thus the CNT, the official daily of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor, writes: "In the Radajos sector a number of Moroiz infantrymen were shot. They were caught in a mass action to cross the Pyrenees border in order to escape to the further service in the Fascist army."

"French Morocco (the "borders of the pope's yard") is being opened up a road for a wave of de-

serters. In some cases the latter bring with them ammunition and army equipment."

The news is becoming more and more difficult. Agents of the Franco government effect assassinations and recall their friends (including the murder of the chieftain or one of the tribes, who was killed by the RIFs because of his part in recruiting soldiers for the Moorish army in Spain.

Every Revolution Has Its Own Historic Pattern
ANARCHISTS PRESENT PROGRAM FOR SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

by exiling Spanish workers, peasant and workers' and peasants' unions as the basic political cells of this political movement—such are the features of the new Spain. And Spain now rapidly transformed into a Federal Union of Iberian Republics.

The one of the most revolutionary provinces of Spain, has of late been granted a large autonomy. It has not yet risen to the status of a semi-independent state like Catalonia, but the presidential and economic fields. The Federalism that the Majority De-centralized Spain was formerly a rickety body with a notoriously developed head. Bureaucratic Madrid ruled, suppressed and exploited the central government was already a threat to a federalist structure in which every region will have the opportunity to develop in accord with its own needs and ideas. An Iberian Federation of Socialist Republics is the minimum program upon which all the anti-Fascist forces must agree so as to bring the Spanish Republic from the country after the war. Control of a Socialized Economy by the Industrial Unions Minimum Demand of Economic \( \text{platform of unity.} \)

HISTORIC DECISION BETWEEN TWO COURSES OF ACTION

Two courses of action by open for the anarchist movement after the success of the revolt in Barcelona. One, to reach out for an immediate realization of libertarian communism. The other, to attempt a program of action. In this case, they carried great moral weight with the workers, among whom they were opposed only by a class-stricken movement that was worn by factional struggles and weakened by an opportunistic spirit.

This attempt, however, was not warranted by the situation facing the anarchist movement. Unfortunately, the hasty proclamation of libertarian communism in Catalonia would be catastrophic in the same measure. An attempt by the authoritarian communists to impose their ideas.

It would render the international situation enormously difficult, exposing the Spanish people, which found itself almost unarmed, to the danger of an immediate attack by Germany and Italy. It was necessary to obtain some sort of a reprieve in order to get arms, which were essential to the defense of the country. A decision was made to hold its own in a civil war which demands the use of up-to-date arms and ammunition.

ANARCHISTS PROPOSED DICTATORSHIP

The attempt immediately to realize the ideal of Libertarian Community would also break the unity of the workers' ranks. And anarchists always advocated such unity as the indispensable condition for the carrying out of the tasks of this revolutionary hour. The mission of the anarchists is to prevent the emergence of any form of dictatorship, whatever source it might spring from. And the best guaranty of success in this respect is to maintain the unity of the forces of the working class, by working toward a form of revolutionary reconstruction that will be based upon the will of the working people as a whole.

A REVOLUTIONARY MINIMUM PROGRAM FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

After the War

The real revolution will only begin when the war is ended. It is only then that it will acquire the character of a thorough reorganization of social life. This can be pursued on the basis of the same unity, provided the Spanish people are united once more, with all the forces to the basic lines of this revolution.

The real revolution is necessary to search out a point of contact, a platform which will permit us to follow a common road upon the basis of a minimum of realization in the political and economic fields. It is necessary to prevent any possibility of a recurrence of this kind of anarchy.

The Federalist idea is now rapidly becoming the basic principle of the new Spain. Full autonomy for the larger provinces, self-rule for every community within such provinces, of workers' and peasants' unions as the basic political cells of this political movement—such are the features of the new Spain. And Spain now rapidly transformed into a Federal Union of Iberian Republics.

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SPEDDY VICTORY PREDICTED BY PROMINENT ANARCHISTS

(Continued from page one)

WHAT FRIGHTENED FRANCE AND ENGLAND

The French press made public the conditions upon which Germany and Italy agreed to help Franco—

(1) To Germany: (a) ceding the Canary Islands as a naval and military base.
(b) Ceding of Spanish Morocco and Guineas.
(c) Granting unlimited naval rights in the Mediterranean.
(d) Ceding of the Asturias, Bizerte and the Rionero (oriner) mines in the south.

(2) To Italy: (a) Ceding the Baleric Islands.
(b) Ceding the Spanish colony of Rio de Oro on the west coast of Africa.

(3) The right to exploit the coal mines and the mercury deposits in Spain.

In view of the exorbitant nature of such demands France and England came to view the German and Italian aggression as their greatest danger. THEY HAVE DECIDED TO HELP THE SYNDICALIST SPAIN WITH WHOM CERTAIN TERMS CAN BE ARRANGED, THAN TO THE DANGEROUS RIVALRY OF FASCIST POWERS.

STOCK EXCHANGES REACT TO FRANCO'S FAILURE

From the purely commercial point of view, Franco's chances begin to look rather poor. Until Franco touched Madrid, international capital first.tap by the syndicalists, who regarded this as a real revolution. The shares of the British financial syndicate (the one in control of the mines of Andalucia), kept on rising. But now they are heading up sharply, but not exuberantly. The same is true of the French consortium which speculated on Franco's victory. The French syndicate dropped from 350 to 280 points.

TOWARDS ANARCHIST SPAIN

The new Spain will bring us victory over Fascism. But this is only a part of our task. After the civil war will come the social reconstructions of the country. This victory was made possible by the firm unity of the Spanish anarchists.

And now we shall be faced with the problem of building up a socialized economy, of defending the positions conquered by the anarchists in the Spanish Republic from the Fascist control. The C.N.T. has a program. It demands that the economic life of Spain should be placed under the control of the syndicates. And if the U.G.T. (the socialists trade unions) subscribe to the same program, the democratic task of the proletariat is assured. A. Souche.

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

(Continued from page one)

to the Socialist party, one to the Syndicalist party (a comparatively small group of ex-members of the Anarchist-Syndicalist Federation of Labor) and U.G.T. (Socialist Trade Unions) in the only basis for a future Spain, for the continuation of the Revolution after Fascism has been driven from the country. And, as the speaker added, "it is necessary to open a new road for humanity, for the conquest of bread and liberty for the whole world."

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The Communists declared their position on the ground that they were entitled to more than one delegate (Ed. note: There were four delegates). They wanted the influence of their actual movement in Spain. By bringing claims to the position of a monarchical power in the revol
tion, the Centralan-controlled unions can be removed. The rest go to various ideological groupings and political parties.

One to the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one to the C.N.T. (Anarchist Federation of Action), one
REVOLUTION ONLY BEGINNING IN SPAIN
(AROMADE WRITES FROM BARCELONA)

(Continued from page one) Democrat and his main interest lies in pushing the struggle against Fascism to a victorious end.

"If I had to choose the necessary armaments and if the Madrid government were willing to supply them, I would not hesitate to order them from the Industrial Workers of the World, if necessary, for the purchase of such arms, I can assure you that by March we would already have established the working class in the most important centers of the Iberian peninsula, and we would be in a position seriously to threaten the Fascist forces north of Madrid.

I went to Madrid several times and each time I asked something for the campaign in Aragon, I was told that it was necessary to reserve the gold supply for the reconstruction of Spain after the war, as though this were now more important than the crushing of the Fascist forces!"

*) Ed. note. This is quite in line with the information obtained from private sources telling of a deliberate attempt on the part of the anarchists to stave out the anarchist forces on the Aragon front.

The supply of ammunition from Soviet Russia is directed to those sectors of the front where the anarchists do not control the situation. A smashing victory by anarchist forces might render the remainder of the front less important to the revolutionaries.

A Grand Offensive in Preparation

However, our courage assures us, ammunition is now being received in such quantities that the moment is not far off when the re-equipped militia will start on its march. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the militia is so high that it becomes somewhat difficult to restrain them from starting on their own without official orders. That orders will come soon and that Zaragoza and Huesca will not be much in the rear is a question of minutes, but a large scale is now the opinion of almost every one on the Aragon front.

Libertarian Communism Dominant in Aragon Province

In almost all of the communities of the Aragon province, libertarian communism has become the predominant form of economic life. Money is eliminated and work as well as distribution of its products is now decided upon by the community as a whole. This form of communization, of course, hampers its further development by the necessity of adapting itself to a war situation on one hand and on the other—by the necessity of the big cities of Catalonia. This leads to difficulties and even shortages, but on the whole a certain level of economic security has already been obtained which is valued by an ever greater extent by the population.

It is proven by the fact, that, despite the great proximity of many of the lands to the theatre of war, cultivation of the fields has grown in scope and intensity. The area under cultivation is 40% larger than that of last year.

The older generation of peasants is stimulation in this course of intensive cultivation by the opportunity to still its land hunger. But the younger generation, according to our writer, is stirred up by an intense revolutionary ardor. It is overwhelming another uprisings.

MAKING

ENGLISH SOCIALISTS ON THE ROLE OF SPANISH ANARCHISTS

"FASCISTS' DEFEAT IN BARCELONA IS AN EPIC OF WORKING CLASS HISTORY"

London, January 10th, 1937

A packed and enthusiastic meeting was held tonight at Conway Hall under the auspices of the London Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

After a short speech by the Chairman, Ethel Mannin, Emma Goldman, who has just returned from Spain, outlined the history of the Spanish working movement; from the time of the new Inquisition of 1897, to the elections at Montjuich, from the imprisonment of Francisco Ferrer and the mañana of the workers in the Asturias.

"We may say," Emma Goldman said, "that the men of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. are the direct descendants of these martyrs of the working class struggle, and have now realized the dreams of a new society for which all sacrifice of human life was made."

Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the British Section of the International, was the main speaker. He said that it was essential to understand what exactly the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the British Section of the International were for the understanding of the events in Spain.

The next speaker, Captain White, a former American anarchist, described his experiences in the Spanish Civil War. He spoke of the private warfare against the Fascists, and of the rebirth of the Spanish people. He was enthusiastic about the future of Spain, and expressed the belief that the spirit of revolution would spread throughout the world.

"We are in Spain," he said, "not because we are fighting for or against anyone, but because we are fighting for the freedom of Spain. We are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people, and we are not fighting for any particular political party. We are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people, and we are not fighting for any particular political party."

The meeting was adjourned with a standing ovation, and the speakers were given a hearty round of applause for their eloquent speeches.

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CRACKING OF LEFTISTS IN SPAIN FASCIST INVENTION

"LONDON HEARS LEFTISTS IN SPAIN ARE CRACKING" — is the title of an article which appeared on the front page of the "New York Times" of Feb. 16th, and signed by Frederick T. Birchall, London correspondent.

"London hears" sounds like a latrine rumour, and as such is confirmed by the subsequent indications of the reports coming from the British government consular agents in Barcelona, Valencia and other cities "held by the Leftist government," pointing to a possible break up of republican resistance. We know for a fact that the British consular agent in Spain hardly move from their offices, and their contacts with the government authorities are limited to taking care of British interests and subjects exclusively. They have no other responsibility in representing the greater and lesser powers, a definite enmity against the "leftists" in Spain, and in measure of their official capacity, afford an excellent channel of the sickly Fascist propaganda in their respective countries.

Curiously enough, in the same issue Herbert L. Matthews reports directly from the scene of battle: "The government troops are fighting excellently, and according to official figures the government planes brought down seven rebel pursuit planes on Friday, three pursuit craft and one bomber Saturday, and two pursuit ships Sunday." This continuous activity in the air, as well as the successful resistance against the rebels' powerful attack on the Valencia road and finally the decision of the command to launch a great offensive against the Fascist hordes, demonstrate not only an ample supply of arms, but an unshakable morale of the fighting forces of the government. Matthews says in the same dispatch that "Madrid's populace shows no sign of discouragement or even worry. A people who could stand bombings and shelling for more than three months are not going to be frightened by future difficulties." THE LOYAL FORCES HAVE THE MEN AND THE SPIRIT TO MEET THE NEW CHALLENGE OF THE NEW TACTICS OF FRANCO'S MERCENARIES AND WILL DEFEAT THEM AS IN THE PAST.

Against these authentic affirmations from original sources, how can the "Times" countenance Birchall's statement that "the International Brigade, BACKBONE OF REPUBLICAN RESISTANCE is 'beginning to exhibit' signs of weakening." Not only is this downright crookery, but the most puerile of lies. The statement applies to the captious invention about repatriation of volunteers.

The "leftists" in Spain will never crack. The cracking that will surely come will be that of the bones of the mercenary imperialist hordes which are trying to crush out the life of Spain. But a free people determined to resist to the last man in its own vital defence cannot be defeated on its own soil. And the vast majority of the people are workers inspired with the highest ideals of causes, fighting for their own freedom and for a new destiny. Their heroism and capacity for a final victory over the invaders is without limit. There is no weakening of the forces of the legitimate government of Spain. The Spanish masses have shown proof of their courage and sacrifice, and when the danger is greatest, their power is transformed into an impregnable well of resistance. The world bears eloquent testimony of the impregnable defence of Madrid. We are not repudiating only our faith and confidence in the cause of the Spanish people. We are definitely convinced by the fact that the government now has at its disposal the resources of man power, war material and able leadership, against the ever increasing enemy and the proletarian support from abroad, of economy they want to establish.

We very often hear about premature experiments in the field of agricultural collectivisation undertaken by the anarchists of Spain. The impression created by those allegations, frequently appearing in the communist and socialist press, is that the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) pursues an entirely utopian policy in regard to the peasants, which by its extreme emphasis upon the building up of agricultural communites, is liable to alienate the great mass of peasants who are attached to their individual holdings and methods of cultivation. Voluntary Collectivisation Centerors of C.N.T. Policies.

The truth is that the C.N.T. never tried to enforce its policies upon the peasants. The basic principle of its agrarian program is the free choice by the peasants themselves of the type of economy they want to establish. But that does not mean just hands-off policy in regards to this question. Years of anarchist propaganda among the peasants of many a province in Spain have already prepared the ground for a voluntary acceptance of agricultural collectives by a considerable number of peasants. There is a mass movement of considerable proportions in favor of such collectives. This movement has to be encouraged and helped by the workers' organization. And it also needs for its development, certain basic arrangements in regard to the use of lands, relations with the individual cultivators of the land, the basic principles of which have to be laid down by the organizations representing the peasants and workers of the country.

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN A NEW PAMPHLET JUST OUT (In English)

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"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashartha... 10c.
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"The Truth About Spain" by Rudolph Rocker... 5c.
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C.N.T. SPEAKER OUTLINES REVOLUTIONARY AIDS

The program of the C.N.T. and P.A.I. (anarchosyndicalist Confederations of Labor and Anarchist Federation of Catalonia) is now being outlined in a series of speeches delivered by the prominent figures of the movement at the large mass meetings held in Barcelona.

In the last issue we gave the summary of the first programmatic speech delivered by Federica Montseny. The second speech was given by Gaston Leval, one of the best economists of the movement, who has written several books dealing with the economic problems of the Spanish revolution.

SUMMARY OF LEVAL'S SPEECH

While the Fascist hordes furiously attack Madrid and foreign troops keep on landing on Spanish territory, the Spanish workers and the partisans conduct against the C.N.T. and the anarchist movement an open offensive. That is why it is necessary to give a clear and honest presentation of the basic aims of the C.N.T.

Revolutionary Achievements Only First Step in the Realization of Our Program

In Spain many factories and shops are now in the hands of the workers. In most of them management or control committees have been set up which make possible the continuous functioning of those enterprises. In the villages, lands have been partly collectivized.

While all those achievements are in harmony with the basic ideas of revolutionary reconstruction held by the anarchists, they are still far from realizing our basic demands. They are all of a transitional nature and will have to be corrected in order to bring it up to the level of our revolutionary expectations. They represent a considerable extent improvised solutions answering the need of a transitory situation aggravated by the tremendous difficulties imposed by a war against international Fascism.

Realization of Socialism Most Vital Need of Revolutionary Spain

The social and economic problems with which revolutionary Spain is faced, now make the realization of socialism even more of an elementary necessity than in the advanced countries. Spain is a very poor country. Its poverty is caused by social conditions but also by unfavorable conditions in which its population is placed in its struggle against nature. Its climate, soil and general topography impose additional difficulties upon the economic efforts of the population.

(Continued on page two)
INDUSTRIAL UNIONS CONTROL LIFE IN CATALONIA

In the last issue of the "Spanish Revolution," we presented the main points of the interesting communication sent by one of the comrades who has been a member of the Spanish Workers' Party and a member of the Board of Directors of the P.O.U.M.—the Secretariat for the study of the national question—and the role of the syndicates in the revolution.

The Political Crisis Was of Little Importance

The importance of this crisis, according to this comrade, was greatly exaggerated by the foreign press. It was brought about by the basic disagreement between the Socialists and anarchists in the United Socialist-Communist Party and the P.O.U.M.—neither of whom has any real influence in Catalonia or in the rest of Spain. The rather curious aspect of this crisis was that the C.N.T. had to act in the capacity of a conciliator between the two political outfits, whose struggles reduce themselves, according to our author, to an attempt on the part of the petty-bourgeois elements to establish themselves in the proletariat which is now organized in the U.G.T.

And it is generally known in Barcelona, although this is often forgotten, that the main impetus of the movement is by our comrades, that the aggravating factor of this crisis was the intervention of the representative, the general secretary of the U.G.T., acting through the United Socialist-Communist Party.

What the C.N.T. is Firmly in Control of the Situation

Those political crises can hardly affect the course of the revolution, for in the long run it is the working class that controls the revolution. The syndicates (industrial unions) now play the leading role, since it is they who carry on the large scale of organization, distribution, feed and supply the front. And the Catalanian unions do it, not only within the limits of their own province; Catalonia now carries on a war in Aragon and keeps on supplying the other provinces of Spain.

Peasants Struggle for Collectivization (Continued from page one)

under conditions of civil war, general economic difficulties caused by the lack of credits and capital necessary for the peasant economy, the disinclination of a spontaneous movement to take over the initiative, and the impossibility of the peasants to pool their resources for a common effort cannot lead but to the strengthening of the upper layer of the peasantry at the expense of the rest of the village population.

Collectives the Hope of the Poorer Peasants

The C.N.T. is setting itself resolutely against this policy of deliberate sabotage of a movement emanating from the peasants themselves and representing the best hopes of the revolution.

The comrade's peasant unions worked out a general program embodying the principles of fair play in regard to both—collectives and individual cultivators of land.

C.N.T. Suggests Mutual Pacts

It is very characteristic that this program was also approved by the great agricultural organization of Catalan peasants—the Union of Tenant Farmers. Acting in harmony with its basic method of proceeding on the basis of mutual pacts, the C.N.T. sent its program to the Union of Tenants for their approval.

THE REDUCED SIZE OF THIS ISSUE SPEAKS FOR ITSELF: We need immediate help to carry on this publication. Send all money to U.I.O., 45 W. 17th St., IMMEDIATELY!

C.N.T. Speaker On Revolutionary Aims (continued from page one)

Those efforts can be organized in the U.G.T. or in the C.N.T. under the leadership of the P.O.U.M.—the Semi-Trotskyite party—from the government—and the role of the syndicates in the revolution.

The agricultural reform of the kind which some of the political parties demand (the distribution of big estates to individual owners, the abolition of the individual type of peasant economy) was already tried out in several countries—Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria—and their results as far as improving the lot of the peasants are not so good. Capitalism has not afforded this experiment, for its agriculture demands first of all large scale irrigation projects, and these projects can only be done as part of an intensive application of capital which are utterly beyond the means of individual peasant economy.

Political Federalism Is Not Enough

The revolution can win on the economic front only when it follows a program of socialization of agriculture aiming at the gradual disappearance of small property. It will have to work on the national level, for it is not enough to make a country the bourgeois federalism which is altogether different from socialist federalism demanded by the C.N.T.

Socialist federalism presupposes the economic unity of the country, a planned economy enforcing the technical unity of the provinces, based upon the needs of the entire population of the country. It means equality in the consumption of goods among the various provinces, for it is from such basic equality that the building up of a planned socialist economy must start.

ADVANCED IN CATALONIA

For years Soviet Russia was the trend of all those who occupied themselves with the problems of the leading socialists of the world. The advanced legislation in that field, the legalization of abortion, the wide dissemination of information on the scientific use of contraceptives, the work of the hospitals and clinics in freeing the women from the curse of involuntary motherhood, the law, placed Soviet Russia in the forefront of progressive countries fighting for the full emancipation of women.

The place, of course, is no more held by a country which has almost prohibited abortions and gone back on all its revolutionary pronouncements in the field of scientific birth control.

But in measure that Soviet Farmer and the U.G.T. (workers' union controlled by socialist and communist political parties) for a mutual pact between the three organizations in regard to a common agricultural policy.

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5.95
TOTAL
$143.75

Industrial Unions Basis of New Economic Order

The economy of the country has to be organized on the basis of full control by industrial unions united into provincial and national federations. Economic control of the nation should be a matter of responsibility before society for the organization of production. Problems of consumption must be investigated by consumers themselves, organized into specific organizations of that kind.

Domination of Political Parties Suicidal to the Interests of The Revolution

The struggle of political faction spelled the doom of the French revolution. The same holds true of the Russian revolution.

The interlocking structures of the political parties are also a source of great danger to the Socialist revolution. It is only by the direction of affairs, and especially the control of the economy, must be in the hands of the working class.

Those are the basic aims of the C.N.T. in the present revolution. And the numerous anarchist fighters at the front will fight for those aims with as much tenacity as they are showing now against Fascist hordes.

"AFRER THE REVOLUTION WHAT?" a book by Santillan, with preface by Paul Mattick.

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people, which gives so high a percentage of fatal cases.

"In Catalonia abortions become a social and biological right, a means of eugenic control placed at the service of the proletariat. It will be practiced in medical institutions and only by specialists in that field. And it will be granted only after a preliminary medical and psychological examination."

"Alongside of such institutions there will be created centers for dissemination of information on birth control, especially knowledge of sex hygiene, which will lead to the gradual falling off of the rate of abortions."

"Voluntary motherhood means a motherhood that is becoming conscious of its responsibilities. The time is gone when women were forced to become mere pro-"
PLANS ADVANCED FOR A SOCIALIZED ECONOMY

We draw the attention of our readers to the highly important resolutions on revolution and socialization reconstruction to be adopted by the regional Plenum of the anarcho-syndicalist unions (C.N.T.) of Catalonia.

The resolutions point to a new upwelling of revolutionary energies on the part of the Catalanian workers. The C.N.T. is taking a resolute stand on the problem of deepening the revolution and pushing energetically the work of building up the new socialized economy.

The revolution is marching forward in spite of all the attempts to stop it in the name of the alleged necessity of concentrating all the energies exclusively upon gaining the war. (The bourgeois-Stalinist refrain.)

The resolutions are reprinted from the February 6th issue of the F.A.I. paper "Tiempo y Libertad," (F.A.I.—Anarchist Federation of Iberia).

1) To push forward the program of socialization, without taking into account the limitations imposed by the collectivization decree. For the anarcho-syndicalist economy of Catalonia is based to a great extent upon small enterprises, such restriction will make impossible the full expansion of the workers' unions.

2) To order out of this socialization, it is necessary to oblige in every enterprise, the workers to take the management of the enterprises where they work.

3) To be sure that socialization should be backed up by the creation of a union which will provide the necessary credits to undertake and maintain the exploitation of the enterprises.

4) To face, rather than avoid, the problems of the economic system on which the socialist economy is based, the solution of the labor union.

5) To follow the steps taken by the city councils in order to build up the new trade unionism.

6) To further the economic relationships between the city and the countryside.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SPANISH REVOLUTION

This was the subject of a very important speech delivered by one of the prominent members of the C.N.T., Mariano Cardona Rosell, in which he outlined the present phase of economic reconstruction and its most alarming problems.

The speech is one of the series arranged by the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) and the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in one of the largest halls of Barcelona. All those speeches are of the same importance as the revolution now taking place in Spain.

STOP PARTY STRIFE—ANARCHISTS DEMAND

During the last month the violent campaign carried on by the communist press against the P.O.U.M. (Proletarian Party of Spain) has taken such a particularly vicious character that the pages of their daily press are full of such polemics as deserve to be condemned by the international proletariat. The P.O.U.M. is an international labor paper and its workers and friends in Spain and the rest of the world are in a position to point out the insidious influence of such actions to the world and to the world's press.

The communist organ of the I.C. de Barcelona, "El Murciélago," gave the following dispatch on the subject:

"The communists are at war with the P.O.U.M. "From Spain to the world!" says the communists. In truth, the communists are the ones who are at war with the P.O.U.M. The communists now belong to the world of the revolution and not to the world of the reaction."

PEASANTS SUPPLANTING STATE AND CAPITALISM

The article reprinted below is from a local paper in France. It is taken from the French Anarchist magazine "L'Espoir Nouveau."

"It deals with the most important phase of revolutionary reconstruction in Spain. The emergence of a new revolutionary party, the immediate and spontaneous interlinking with the socialized economy of the cities is, perhaps, the most remarkable feature of the libertarian revolution in Spain.

"The humble peasants of Spain are blazing new paths for the emancipation of labor from capitalism and from the danger now looming ahead—the control of economic life by a totalitarian State. The full significance of this work is only now beginning to dawn upon the radical world which is coming to realize more and more the great originality and the pioneering nature of a revolution that broke with all time-worn methods and procedures."

(Continued on page two)

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

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**THE POLITICAL PATTERN OF THE NEW EUROPE**

The totalitarian idea which the anarchists are now trying to carry out in Spain is still considered by many as a purely Spanish issue, of no particular relevance to the great revolutionary struggle waged all over the world. What if Spain goes Fascist, people still keep in asking, if various provinces of the Iberian peninsula succeed in obtaining the widest sort of autonomy, in which way will that solve the burning question of economic reconstruction with which the world, and especially Europe, is now faced?

That question is due to the generally prevailing opinion that a new, progressive economic society can be built up without making similar efforts in the direction of a new political organization. People are still prone to believe that all we need is to build up a socialized economy and that the rest will come by itself.

But if anything was demonstrated by the tragic developments of the last few years, it is that without a progressive form of political organization no economic changes of the most radical sort can be made. Just as before, the ruling class of society, Socialism without a basic minimum of freedom is just as much of a monstrosity as any form of Fascism. And to secure such a minimum of freedom, the new social order must embody the federalist principles for which the anarchists of Spain are fighting.

This struggle is of particular significance in view of the situation in which Europe may find itself at any moment. The terrific catastrophe into which it is rushing now will dissolve revolutionary forces compared to which the elemental forces of the October revolution were but feeble stirrings. Europe will be soon cast into the vast crucible of revolutionary reconstruction during which the problem of federal unity of all its various states and regions will become as much of a necessity as the recasting of its economic order.

Without evoking such a federal unity, without striking out boldly for an integrated federation, nothing new and revolutionary organization will lead to frustration, to some form of socialist imperialism which will collapse just as surely as any other form of imperialism.

Socialist Europe will be a Federated Europe. This will be dictatorial by the great variety of conditions entering into the makeup of the new revolutionary society. But that means making allowances not only for national traditions, but for the great differences existing among the various localities on the question of how to build up a new social order.

It is this kind of federalism that the Spanish anarchists are now trying to carry out. The All-Iberian Federation at which they are aiming now has very little to do with the Soviet Federation which is so often in the basic principles of the Spanish federalism is the right of every region to proceed with its own experiments in the field of social reconstruction. And it is this basic right that is denied by the totalitarian state of Soviet Russia.

Let the anarchists succeed in weaving this basic principle into the emerging political structure of Spain and the fear-ridden Europe will see before itself the clearest demonstration of how to settle not only its vexed problem of national rivalities, but the still more difficult problem of socializing the wider variety of socialist ideas prevalent among its labor movements into a higher form of socialist society that is to emerge upon the ruins of the present imperialist states.

The Iberian Socialist Federation will become the political pattern of the great revolution toward which Europe is swept along by the irresistible march of events.

**POLITICAL TRICKERY EXPOSED**

We already reported in one of the previous issues of the "Spanish Revolution" (February 8) that, according to the generally prevailing opinion in Catalonia, the present inactivity on the Aragon front is due to the communist-inspired attempt on the part of the military commanders to quash fighting in Aragon in point of outlying armies.

The motives underlying this suppression are that the most vital sectors of the front are clear. The anarchists are predominant on the Aragon front and a decisive victory there would put an end to the lately revived hopes of going back to the old order of things. And that the policy of the Barcelona Republic policy pursued eighteen years ago in Soviet Russia in regard to the Koltun-led peasant militia of the Donets basin was being attempted on a larger scale in regard to the anarchist troops of the Aragon front.

Every known trick which is being used to divert the shipment of armaments to Aragon while the communist press is gradually spreading the lie about the situation over the fact that "the troops on the Aragon front are sloppy in coming to the aid of Madrid." The following excerpts from the Pueblo Libre, (January 29 and 30) expose the political manoeuvres underlying this campaign suddenly staged against the Aragon militia.

**What Everyone Knows About The Aragon Front**

"The inactivity on the Aragon front continues to be the center of discussions. In the official centers and in the columns of the press this vital important question is bandied about, although no one makes an attempt to treat it deeply enough. Everyone knows that an offensive on the Aragon front would be of great help to Madrid; that the chances of a successful outcome of such an offensive is very important. Yet the fighters on the front are more than willing to exchange their present sedentary life for one of greater activity which would afford the chance of a victory for the cause of the proletariat.

**Things Known But Not Spoken About**

"There is something else which everyone knows but which no one talks as the case deserves. Those are the shabby political manoeuvres which develop our war and which are engaged in by those who call themselves the champions of the Popular Army and of Liberty.

"The army fighting on the Aragon front is exclusively proletarian in its make-up. It consists of the best militants who were the first to answer the revolutionary call to arms. To accord a triumph to this army of workers would be to enhance the prestige of our proletarian fighters, which, according to some double-faced politicians, would rather tell unfavourably upon the political prestige of the governments which they vainly try to create."

**Fear of Anarchists Cause Sabotage of Aragon Troops**

In another issue of the paper the same question is taken up again.

There is a short article of slides and other armaments, which are withheld from us. Why? It is very easy to answer this question, just as easy as to answer the other. We are guided by an excess of zeal which makes one think of insanity, permit themselves to ask with a studied cord, why attacks are not made on the Aragon front. No attacks are made on the Aragon front because nothing was done to facilitate such an attack. And that was not done because there is a definite interest in the direction of not doing it. And that interest is motivated by the desire to cause the breakdown of anarchosyndicalism which is now predominating in Catalonia.

"Since it is the anarchists that are most strongly represented on the Aragon front, the shabby political manoeuvres are directed toward preventing the anarcho-syndicalist movement from making a full show of its possibilities... They prefer to lose the war rather than to see the triumph of the ideals of the C.N.T. and F.A.I."

**Anarchists Impose Unity**

(Continued from page one)

... The situation in which we have posed the question before the other sectors with clarity and precision, pointing out that, if they continued airing their differences in tactics in such a venal fashion, it would lead to mutual destruction. It was emphasized that all sectors were faced with the threat of an arrogant and powerful enemy who could be fought only by a close union of all units.

In the subsequent lengthy discussions, the representatives of all organizations have unanimously considered the idea of an armed insurrection.

The revolution is in constant danger by such policies. Common sense tells us that the revolution can be achieved in only one way; efficient defence against the attack of our common enemy and an 'indestructible' unity of all enemies.

**Revolutionary Ethics Upheld**

The "Solidarity Obrero" adds—"We fully uphold our revolutionary ethics. We do not forego our right to advocate our ideas or to criticize, in a noble and loyal manner, tactics that appear to us as being somewhat slippery in their nature. But we believe that it is possible to fight in the revolution, to work for the upbuilding of the revolutionary federation, to defend the right of the proletariat to dispose of the future of this country, and to maintain at the same time cordial relations with parties that manifest movements which they represent are necessarily opposed to our revolutionary line, but which still have certain points in common with us."

**Plans Advanced for Socialist Economy**

(Continued from page one)

the city. The town is being built up in the aid of the peasants not only in respect of supplying them with labor, but also by placing at their disposal all available financial means, improved technical methods and other means necessary to the well-being of the peasants, but lacking now in the villages.

7) To develop systematically, even as circumstances permit, the exchange of products, buying it upon municipal and syndicate initiative. That would permit the concentration of financial resources and the rapid elimination of private commerce.

8) To increase the export of those products that might be accepted by foreign countries, which, due to the pressure of their own workers' organizations, are not altogether hostile.

9) To affirm to an ever greater extent the economic solidarity among the separate industries as well as among the separate productive zones of the region.

10) To coordinate the economy of Catalonia with that of other regions not only through the medium of industrial federation but also by direct agreements having for their aim to establish a mutual harmony among all provinces.

11) To demand the suppression of bureaucracy, of high salaries and police forces whose existence is only useful for the army and for the police.

That is what the anarchists are demanding at the present moment, constituting a danger for the revolution and also weighing down upon the economy of the country.

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity. It is your fight as well as ours. Help this heroic struggle.

Send contributions to I. Radinovksy, Treasurer, United Libertarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SPANISH REVOLUTION

(Continued from page one)

Socialization and Not Nationalization

The problem of socialization versus nationalization is now being discussed among Spanish workers. The speaker holds that nationalization, which means turning over the control of the economy into the hands of the workers, is definitely rejected. It will distort the course of the revolution and create insuperable difficulties.

A Socialist Economic Council created along the lines suggested above, and, according to the speaker, steps are being taken in the direction of setting up such a Council, will evolve a method which will enable them to apply successfully the other solution: socialization or the control of industries by labor unions.

Controlled Inflation Favored

As a revolutionary, the speaker favors the radical transformation, and the creation of a medium of socialized credit. But for the time being, the realities of the situation dictate a slow course in this respect.

It is a problem that can be solved on a national scale. For the present, however, the urgent problem is that of preventing the collapse of private banks which function within the economic system.

That can be done by starting upon a policy of controlled inflation which cannot last any longer than the war. Toward the end of the war the socialization of the economy will have been completed, and that means the fall liquidation of the money through the medium of a new socialist currency made altogether independent from any metallic content.

Planned Economy Needed

Unemployment still exists in the cities as well as in the villages. Wages are paid out to workers of many unproductive enterprises. All that can be overcome only selectively and immediately upon an all-comprehensive plan of economic reconstruction. Such a plan should not be developed until after the war. The war will not be ended so soon, and the very necessity of carrying it to the end dictates the need of an immediate plan of organizing the economy as a whole, expanding many of its branches and reorganizing those which are not productive at the present moment.

Doing Away with High Incomes

One of the first tasks of the planned Socialist Economic Council should be to abolish all high salaries, which still abound in spite of the efforts on the part of the workers to do away with them.

A maximum salary of 600-800 pesetas a month should be set up for every category of officials, including the ministers, at the highest positions in the State hierarchy.

Wages and salaries should be based upon the needs of the individual and the family. That is, a minimum sum should be set up as a standard, to be supplemented in accordance with the number of dependents in every family.

Indemnifying Foreign Property

In order to avoid foreign entanglements, both labor unions agreed to indemnify all confiscated foreign property. The latter will not be permitted to stand in the way of any program of socialization. It will be confiscated, but the indemnification of such confiscated properties will speed up their transfer to the hands of the national government.

The payments on foreign debt are comparatively small since the total amount is no more than several hundred million pesetas. A much greater burden will be imposed by the necessity of paying for the confiscated mines, factories and other similar holdings. All that will be indemnified on the basis of a strict estimate of its value.

But great as this imposed burden may be, it should be far greater than is desired by those who oppose the nationalization of all property.
LIBERTARIAN YOUTH OF SPAIN FIGHT REFORMISTS

An important national conference of the powerful organization of Libertarian Youth (anarchists) took place at the beginning of the month of February. The brief report of the proceedings printed in the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Feb. 4th) gives us some idea of the powerful revolutionary current represented by this organization:

THE STRANGE ATTITUDE OF THE MARXISTS

In their reports all the delegates complained of the lack of solidarity shown by the socialists and communists toward our peasants. Their demands are done by them on the Ajurum front and that cannot be passed by in silence. "If areas are given up, they will start an offensive. But if the sabotage continues in this respect, we shall be forced to take measures to have it stopped." (The Plems asks the C.N.T. representatives in the National Government that they point out to the Council of Ministers the necessity of putting a stop to the counter-revolutionary campaign which the socialists and communists carry on against the anarcho-syndicalist political action.) The Conference demands an equal division of arms and munitions between the Marxist and anarchist forces.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND NOT BOURGEOIS

The delegates expressed themselves against a merger with the Youth Alliance as proposed by the United Socialist Party (one of the federal parties of the Catholic and those of the middle class.) An alliance of that sort confines its task to the defeat of the immediately threatening forces of reaction and democratizes the republic, while we, the delegates declared, are fighting for the triumph of the revolution.

Those that do not fight for the revolution should be unmasked and declared as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the workers.

The Conference protests against the statements of the Generalitat which united the United Socialist Youth, Camilo, made to the effect that all those who favor the Socialization of land and factories form a part of the "fifth column." (Ed. note: hidden Fascist sympathizers.) Such statements can emanate from people who are totally incapable of understanding the real meaning of the present war.

The Libertarian Youth will never consent to any form of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, nor will they veterinarian or aid the Social Revolution.

Economic Chaos in Fascist Spain

The Duncan-Ayer newspaper El Correo de Agricultores published an article written by Manuel Alonso, a town of the province of Cadiz. He belonged to the "fifth column" and was in connivance with the Fascist movement. He even took part in the latter, but he found it impossible to work with them, so he decided to complot and seek refuge abroad.

In a number of the Fascists executed a great number of the prisoners taken in their advance upon Madrid. His reports reveal that Fascist "captive" is complicit in what the Fascists now control the territory held by the Fascists remain to be cultivated. According to him, there is hardly a piece of land in the rebellious territory which is adequate.

In speaking of the measures taken by the people to issue their own money, he said that the people in general use the local Spanish money (of the Catholic government) for the purchase of necessary articles, and that the rest of the money is hidden by the population in their gardens and other places.

In the struggle around Madrid the Fascists suffered tremendous losses. The wounded soldiers coming from Madrid, he said, that it is impossible to take the capital with so many wounded soldiers coming from the Madrid front told Alonso that out of the four thousand Fascist soldiers fighting at that sector there remained only forty-three.

The soldiers are supposed to get nine pence a day but in reality two or three people of each company get nothing at all and the bulk of the part of the soldiers to claim these money is met with threats and punishments on the part of the officers.

"But all those advocates of a lost cause are given the lie by the work of the Spanish workers and peasants. For the latter, in their tentative attempts to build up a socialized economy are not based on ideological slogans but by the irresistible outpouring of vital needs and passions which, in view of the situation, leave only one alternative: Fascist slavery or full regeneration in the Iberian Federation of Workers."
MILITARY SPECIALISTS SHOULD BE CONTROLLED BY WORKERS—ANARCHISTS DEMAND

“All of us agree that the military activity of our forces must correspond to a general plan, must be directed by a single and capable leadership. But experience also taught us some other things of great interest. UNFORTUNATELY, COMPETENCY IN MATTERS OF MILITARY TECHNICAL AND LOYALTY TO THE POPULAR CAUSE ARE FREQUENTLY AT ODDS WITH EACH OTHER. THAT IS WHY THE PROLETARIAT DEMANDS THAT THE REALIZATION OF A UNITED MILITARY COMMAND SHOULD GO HAND IN HAND WITH A RIGID CONTROL OF THE MILITARY TECHNICIANS BY RESPONSIBLE MILITANTS OF WORKERS’ ORGANIZATIONS.

“We believe that this is a just demand. The loyal military technicians should not feel vexed over those necessary measures of precaution. Just the contrary: the latter should be interpreted as a weakening of the conscience of the revolutionary proletariat, manifesting itself in a demand for a direct and responsible intervention in the carrying on of the war.”

“We must keep in mind that, after all, in the struggle against Fascism it is the future of the working class that is most at stake. Nothing should therefore be gained against the desire of the working class to assume full responsibility of the struggle. And, moreover, we can state that a united military command will become possible only when the right of the workers to control the military chiefs is fully recognized.

“MILITARIZATION? UNIFIED COMMAND? YES; BUT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PROLETARIAT ORGANIZATIONS.”
—“Solidaridad Obrera” (February 16th)

SOCIALIZED ECONOMY BASIS OF NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Federation is a fighting slogan in revolutionary Spain. It expresses more than regional autonomy. It stands for the basic demands and aspirations of a revolution that is directed not only against the economic order of capitalism, but also against the entire political structure—
the State.

What is the nature of this federalist struggle, its achievements and present state of evolution?—all that was dealt in a brilliant speech delivered by Juan Lopez, the anarchist Minister of Commerce in the Central government.

Summary of Lopez’s Speech

From its very inception, the C.N.T. waged a relentless struggle against the all-absorbing centralization of the Spanish State. Those historic struggles have already put upon the Spanish life the compass already achieved in this field into action a number of so-called federalist movements which in reality have very little to do with the genuine federalist idea for which the revolutionary workers of Spain have been waging their historic battle. The C.N.T. (federalism) which tries to apply, in a spirit of the genuine federalist sentiments, of the people is in reality becoming more and more of an obstacle in the winning of the war and the revolution.

Revolution and Not Defense of Bourgeois Democracy

The political parties, who in reality express the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie, cater to a great extent to the bourgeoisie. Their maneuvers were directed against the C.N.T. in order to perpetuate the continuing bloc and policy of defending the bourgeois democracy against the revolutionary pressure of the working classes. Now the same elements come out saying that “this is not the moment to speak of revolution, that we are at war and our attention should be attached upon winning the war.”

The loss of Malaga and the bombardment of Barcelona shows up the great mass of workers, who prior to those events, were gradually moving into a sort of indifferent attitude towards the war. Now the general demand is for activity, for sacrifices, for a definite effort to put all the energies at the service of the war. They are ready to suffer the C.N.T. approved the decision to give millions of pesetas for fortifications. The construction workers agreed to stop all work and to devote themselves exclusively to the building of fortifications. They are going to place at the disposal of the C.N.T. the 40,000 workers and all the material they now possess.

In conclusion, the Plenum of the F.A.I. demanded that the syndicates and the Central government devote their efforts to the winning of popular mobilizations. In the future, says the F.A.I., there should be no more vacillations and playing of politics. The war must be won, whatever cost it may involve. This is the present demand of the F.A.I. of the C.N.T. and the people in general.

And more than that: all the congresses are to succumb to everything in order to maintain unity among the anti-Fascists. Even those who take a more or less passive attitude must be ready to make those sacrifices. This is the only condition necessary to crush Fascism. All are unanimous on this point.

GOVERNMENT LACK WIL TO FIGHT

But, personally, I believe that the Spanish people and many of the Mesarist leaders are not up to the situation, and much less are they disposed to consider what the popular demand. They lack sincerity. They lack the desire (Continued on page four)
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

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WAR AGAINST FASCISM

MEANS SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The tactics of silence employed by the defenders of bourgeois democracy in regard to the revolutionary achievements of the Spanish workers and peasants have lately given place to open challenge and denunciation. More and more we hear it said that the policy of going along with the wheels of revolutionizing the economic and social life during the war is hampering the struggle against the Fascists and is seriously undermining the chances of ultimate victory.

For what is the whole energy on the war and let matters rest until the war is won? Why not postpone the task of social reconstruction until peace is established and the mind of the people is freed from the haunting fear of Fascist invasion?

Twenty years ago the very same arguments were used by the landowners, bankers, big manufacturers and the ruling military caste of the old Russia in their frantic attempt to halt the workers in the struggle. The CNT and C.R. did not dissent. And their arguments were echoed by the wily-whitey Bolsheviks, by the tired radicals, by the frightened petty-bourgeoisie and the uprooted intellectuals. They all threw in their forces on the side of reaction in order to check what seemed to them a blind impotence of the great mass of workers and peasants, who refused to listen to reason and to postpone the realization of their revolutionary hopes until the war is won.

History has already passed its verdict upon the question as to whether the Russian workers and peasants were right in their seeming impotence to realize their revolutionary aspirations. The socialist parties that dared to set themselves against the irresistible revolutionary urge were swept off into history. And it is this very fact that the socialists and communists of Spain are preparing for themselves now in their attempt to copy the inglorious tactics of the Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries of twenty years ago.

For something is going to happen with a war against Fascism. It is a vital necessity, an indispensable condition for the final triumph of this struggle. It was forced upon the Spanish workers and peasants by the need of organizing the economy of the country. The latter HAD to be wrested from the hands of saboteurs and wreckers whose sympathies with the Fascist cause is a matter of general knowledge.

The Spanish workers HAD to confiscate factories or set up their own controlling organs in the various enterprises. Had they not done it, the economy of the country would have plunged into chaos and disorder which would have made impossible the mobilization of resources for the carrying on of the war and the great mass of workers were to be made to do it. The State had to step in, bringing in its wake the inefficiency and bureaucratic demoralization characterizing every attempt of the State to intervene in the economic life.

And once the workers began to take over the main functions of economic life, they could not stop half way. The same necessity which impelled the workers to undertake the first revolutionary steps is now driving them further along the same revolutionary road, leading to the establishment of a planned, state-corporate, authoritarian nature.

The interests of the war demand it to an even greater extent than the revolutionary ardor of the workers and peasants. It is the socialized factories that form the backbone of the war industries and in order to bring them up to the highest level of efficiency a general plan of a coordinated economy is needed which will embrace every line of activity.

Credit has to be socialized in order to enable the socialist industries to function in mass production on a national scale. Credit has to be collectivized in order to raise the general productivity of those provinces that found themselves shut off from the bread producing regions. And speculation has to be fought along the lines of linking up commerce, otherwise the front line and the homefront will be starved out as they were twenty years ago in Russia.

And in pushing vigorously those plans for the deepening the revolution, the Spanish anarchists are responding not to any doctrinal schemes but to the imperative necessity of saving the country from economic collapse and securing the material base for the carrying on of the heroic struggle against international Fascism.

Revolutionary Workers of Barcelona Are With the Anarchists

Of late the socialist and communist factions seem to have abandoned the idea of stage mass demonstrations purporting to show the loyalty of the masses of workers and peasants to the bourgeois-liberal republic.

Where the genuine sentiments of the masses lie, however, is shown by the demonstration organized in Barcelona about the sentence imposed by the councils.

The story of how this carefully planned demonstration was to be carried out and the outpouring of anxiety of anarchist workers is told by the special correspondent of the French anarchist weekly, "Pouvoirs." Multipling Anarchists, Planning Indirect Rebuke at the Anarchists

Last Sunday a manifestation of a peculiar character took place in Barcelona. This demonstration was organized by the political parties of the Unido Front, chiefly under the leadership of the Unido Socialist-Communist party and the Catalan U.G.T., which, as it is known, is fully controlled by the Communistists. The CNT and F.A.I. were expected to come out in a far larger number than beyond doubt that, realizing fully the important influence of the anarchists in Catalonia, some politicians concealed the idea of demonstrating by placing the CNT and F.A.I. in difficulty by indirectly opposing them to the mass demands of this demonstration.

This manifestation was to be regarded as a campaign waged by the Unido Socialist-Communist party in favor of a S.IN.G.L.E. command, a S.I.N.G.L.E. trade union, under the three-fold slogan: ONE COMMANDER FOR THE ARMY, A S.I.N.G.L.E. GOVERNMENT, A S.I.N.G.L.E. FLAG.

The apparent neutrality of these formulas disguised the definite wish of the Socialists—publicly expressed by the Unido Socialist-Communist party and the Catalan U.G.T., which, as it is known, is fully controlled by the Communistists. The CNT and F.A.I. were expected to come out in a far larger number than beyond doubt that, realizing fully the important influence of the anarchists in Catalonia, some politicians concealed the idea of demonstrating by placing the CNT and F.A.I. in difficulty by indirectly opposing them to the mass demands of this demonstration.

The CNT and F.A.I. had to accept this challenge with a far larger participation than was expected even by the most optimistic members of these organizations.

WHAT IS GOING ON BEHIND THE FASCIST LINES?

The outcome of the heroic battle now waged against Fascism in Spain is in the hands of the workers.

The rear, the degree of cohesion and efficient organization of the workers, is the same as in the counter revolutionary forces in Russia.

The idea of what is going on in the Fascist provinces is given by the correspondent of the Moscow "Echo of the Workers" in the Spanish provinces that found themselves shut off from the bread producing regions. And speculation has to be fought along the lines of linking up commerce, otherwise the front line and the homefront will be starved out as they were twenty years ago in Russia.

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MOVING TOWARD AN ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF CATALONIA

"Since July 19th," writes D. Santillan, prominent anarcho-syndicalist and at present secretary of the Catalan Confederation of Labour, in his column in the Catalan daily La Vanguardia, "the relations between Madrid and Barcelona have been characterized by a stagnation of the economic war. In fact it is the central government alone that, according to this treaty, the right to buy or sell in Spain will be impossible to buy or sell in France without the approval of the central government.

"That means that Catalans, and even more so the Catalan workers' organizations, will have to get Giraldo Callarraran's O.K. in order to buy or sell in France. The entire economic life of Barcelona will depend upon the will of the Prime Minister of the Spanish government.

Forging Another Link In The Economic Blockade of Catalonia

"The central government has already carried out a financial blockade of Catalonia by refusing to place at the disposal of the latter a part of the gold reserves which belong to the Treasury of Spain, and also by refusing to pay for the necessary purchases made by Catalonia. At one time this blockade policy led the C.N.T. to consider seriously the eventual possibility of having to march on Madrid. And now, with the Franco-Spanish treaty signed, the central government will be able to add the weapon of economic blockade to the one of monetary blockade which it has been using.

"Catalonia is going to be submitted to constant pressure, the aim of which is to starve out and exhaust the Catalan workers so that they will have to abandon the revolution and be led back to the pale of bourgeois law and order—the basic aim of those who now run the central government.

"The blockade of the revolution is now gaining added power."

(Ed. note—The article does not sufficiently take into account the power of resistance of the revolutionary Spanish workers. Until now they succeeded in thwarting the machinations of the Spanish government. Nor will they be checked in their revolutionary course by the added difficulty thrown in their way by the attempts currently being formulated by designing politicians.)

RUSSIA WITHDRAWS Support, Help, Correspondent of Liberal Paper Writes

The well informed Spanish correspondent of the Manchester Guardian writes:

"Further detachments of Italian troops arrived in Spain just before the prohibition of volunteers from entering took force. Their total is now estimated at 20,000, so that there are now at least 70,000 Italian troops in Spain.

"Amongst the war material shipped to Spain from Italy this month was a consignment of 110 Caproni bombers, which arrived in an aircraft carrier. IT DOES NOT SEEM THAT ANY RUSSIAN VOLUNTEERS OR WAR MATERIAL HAVE REACHED SPAIN DURING THE LAST FEW WEEKS. W.E.E.KS. INDEED, IT WOULD SEEM THAT RUSSIA HAS GIVEN UP HER INTERVENTION ALTOGETHER. (Ed. note. Emphasis is ours.)

"All figures relating to numbers of troops—which Spanish or foreign— in Spain are conjectural, but as far as can be judged at the moment, these would seem to be between 60,000 and 40,000 volunteers on the government side, and between 100,000 and 150,000 on the left side, of course, being supplied with an incomparably superior armament."

In another issue of the same paper (Feb. 27) the correspondent writes:

"When the Italian volunteers reached Spain a good many of them turned out to be anti-Fascists who had only volunteered in order to be able to fight for the Spanish government. They went over to the Republican side at the first opportunity. This would seem to prove the correctness that some at least of the Italian troops who have been dispatched to Spain are genuine volunteers."

After the Revolution What?

A book by SANTILLAN will be ready for print soon.

Price is $1.00 if ordered right now.

BUILD A UNITED FRONT OF ALL LIBERTARIANS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

(Continued from page two) traced by the efforts of the Catalan forces. The First Phase of the Revolution during the month of war the Veteran forces, very often con sisted with the petty-bourgeois and republican parties, is a question of the question of the entire character and the old military apparatus. This is only the first phase of a revolution which does away with the old forms of life and that the birth of a new society which is in the making of society. The bourgeois Federation is the Selective Course of Solwla

The constructive plans of the C.N.T. are also undermined by the fact that trade unionism and the C.N.T. cannot go on without economic unity. The power of the workers' unions is being undermined by two sides: the fact that the C.N.T. has to stand on guard against the maneuvers of the political parties. The power of the workers' union is going to be undermined if it is used to try hard as the political parties are. The C.N.T. still upholds the basic idea of proletarian federation which stands not only for the workers' unity, but also for independent organization, but a system of mutual agreements and understanding.

C.N.T. for a Co-ordinated Economy

Spain has enough resources to win the war, provided an intelligent effort is made to co-ordinate the resources of the nation. That means that the various resources must give up the idea of absolute economic independence. Spain is independent upon the United States. That means a certain degree of economic and social unity of the country. It means that a certain graduation of the property of capital is desirable for all communities. There are certain fields like justice, cultural work where they should enjoy complete freedom. But in the matter of the supply of both men and supplies for the carrying on of the war, the mobilization of economic resources, the communities should be subject to the interests of the whole. Agreement with U.G.T. Basic to Realization of Revolutionary Plan

The necessities of war and revolution demand a practical plan that could be put into immediate practice. This cannot be achieved without arriving at a basic understanding with the workers of the U.G.T. The latter have already gone through this phase of political experience. They have learned the "value" of the bourgeois democratic republic and the necessity of a united front with the anarcho-syndicalist workers of the C.N.T.

What prevents these sentiments for unity from being actualized is the varying attitude of the political parties who still wield some influence with the U.G.T. workers. The movement for unity is acquiring too great a sweep for the politicians to stop it.

The understanding with the U.G.T. can therefore be described as the principal condition of economic life of the new society, and as the basis of the work of all communities. There are certain fields like justice, cultural work where they should enjoy complete freedom. But in the matter of the supply of both men and supplies for the carrying on of the war, the mobilization of economic resources, the communities should be subject to the interests of the whole.
TREASON DISCOVERED WITHIN THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The latest papers arriving from Spain contain the sensational information that the anarchists have come out with definite charges against the Under-Secretary of War, Gen. Asensio. He is accused by the anarchist press of treasonable activities, of deliberately preparing the surrender of Malaga.

This General is the right hand man of Largo Caballero and because of the backing of the latter he is given him, the approval of his activities as being necessary, but on the way of the triumph of Asensio's defense of the General Franco and Mola repeated in face of the general knowledge of the preparation of the revolt.

Here is what the anarchist paper "Nosotros" writes about it:

"Although it may grieve the minister of war (Largo Caballero), the people are above everything else. The people accuse General Asensio of actively preparing its defense. Largo Caballero should give up the ministry of war, should resign should no more hinder the work of purging the ranks of high military command; this demand comes down from below, from the midst of the great masses of people who suffer and struggle.

Even the organ of the Communist Party, "Frente Rojo," which faithfully supported Largo caballero's policies, had it echo this popular clamor for t e General's dismissal:

"Counter to what Largo "caballero says, we affirm the General Asensio was not coo-ating lightly with the government."

As it is known to the reader, Caballero only made a gesture of resigning; he is still the Premier of the Central government. The interest of the struggle is already in the present situation. But the fight against treason from within will continue. The anarchists are not relaxing their revolutionary vigilance.

According to the latest news we have received, General Asensio is now under arrest.

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity.

It is your fight as well as theirs.

HELP THIS HEROIC STRUGGLE

Send contributions to: I. Radiawsky, Treasurer, United Libertarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

WORKERS DEMAND ACTION

(Continued from page one)

put to action the idea given above, made by the day. They lack the desire to attack the situation as it should not be accepted at all. In other words, they won't change unless the people rise against this face. For the evident fact is that the Marxist leaders and the petty bourgeois hate the revolution and the anarchist movement.

CABALLERO TRIES TO Dictate CONDITIONS

In spite of the demands of the Left the revolutionary forces of Largo Caballero and the leading elements among the Marxists continue their policy, of utilizing the forces of the Left in such arms unless their plans and the plans of Moscow are accepted. Both contributed directly to what happened lately. Malaga was lost because they were given wide powers. And whatever reverses are faced it is due to those elements hate the revolution and the anarchist more than they hate Fascism. Every worker here is well aware of it. Our comrades abroad should apply themselves to de-mouncing this betrayal.

There are enough resources outside to enable us to win the war even if a complete blockade is established. Why aren't they made use of? Because the Marxists (Ed. note: Socialists and Stalinists) haven't got the slightest desire to it.

ANARCHISTS PUT ON PRESSURE

Our comrades are already get-

ing tired of all that and responding not to the exclusive desire of the anarchist movement but to the gen-

eral demand and discontent, they are going to demand from the Left, progressive through that it cla-

cifies its position. A demand is going to be made that part of the gold stock may be spent immediately. The fac-

tilations be built and that a great military offensive start soon. Either the Valencia government and the Marxists will give in to these de-

mands or the anarchoists will take the initiative into their own hands and will demonstrate the incapacity we are fighting against i.e. anarchism and the triumph of this war.

—M. GARCÍA

(From "Cultura Proletaria")

Who Undermines The United Front?

We already reported (Spanish Revolution Mar. 12) about the attempt made by the Catalan anarchists to put an end to the vicious farce of polemics perpetuated by the various sectors of the anti-parliamentarian front. The rabid campaign unleashed against the P.O.U.M. began to react quite seriously upon the general atmosphere of the anti-parliamentarian front.

The conference called by the anarchists for the purpose of ending an end to it, adopted resolutions condemning this form of polemics. It was attended by delegates from Catalonia, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE UNITED SOCIALIST COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE U.G.T. UNIONS CONTROLLED BY "FANCIFUL" C.N.T. (some sections of the U.G.T., like the Wood Workers' Union, for instance, sent in their approval of the conference and resolutions).

Can there be any doubt as to where the root source of moral disintegration of the anti-parliamentary front lies? It is not in the sentiments of the Spanish people but in the actions of those who have learned to listen to the false voices coming from Moscow.

C.N.T. BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH (Barcelona)

Short Wave Length: 42.58 meters — FREQUENCY 6,959 Kc. — 1,348 Kc.

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PLANS MAPPED TO FURTHER REVOLUTION

Anarch-Syndicalist Workers of Catalonia Hold Convention

The outstanding Catalan event of the last month was the regional convention of the anarchist syndicalist union of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.). It represented more than a million organized workers of that province. (In Catalonia, according to the figures given by the regional secretary at the convention, the C.N.T. has now 1,200,000 members, while the U.G.T. and the C.A.I. have a combined figure of 450,000.) The tense political situation brought about by the persistent effort of the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc to hamstring the revolution, the imperative necessity of proceeding with the economic organization of the new society as it emerged after July 19, and the problems of war mobilization, relations with the other sections of the anti-Fascist front—all that was discussed by this convention, which, more than any other body represents now the aspirations of the great mass of workers and peasants.

The convention resolutions were submitted to the convention by the Resolution Committee:

(From "Tierra y Libertad"—organized by the Catalanian C.N.T.—March 6.)

1) The regional confederation of labor (C.N.T.) ratifies its alliance with the general union of workers (U.G.T.) in order to assure victory over fascism and the economic and political emancipation of producers.

2) This victory demands the immediate utilization of all the economic resources, which cannot be effected unless the organization of producers take charge of the management of work, of the exploitation of factories, mines, and means of transport.

3) Production must be increased in all its forms, which demands the direct intervention of manual workers and of technicians under whose direction a general mobilization is undertaken by all the people who are able to work.

4) Industries should be collected and labor power should be redirected according to the necessities of war and society.

5) An attempt must be made to establish in the factories involved in maintaining dead industries, useless occupations, and paralyzed labor power. (Ed. note: The sabotage of the plans to coordinate the socialized economy into some (Continued on page three).

DEMOCRATIC POWERS CONSPIRE AGAINST SPANISH REVOLUTION

As it was to be expected, the London agreement about the international control of Spanish waters proved to be as much of a hideous farce as the non-aggression pact of half a year ago. Thus far its results have been the fall of Melilla, the emergence upon the battle fronts of Spain of regular German and Italian armies instead of the former auxiliary troops, and the shutting off of the little help in arms and men which the loyalties were hitherto able to smuggle through the French borders.

It is clear now that the London agreement sanctioned a camouflaged form of intervention, and that England, France, and even Soviet Russia knowingly participated in this indirect form of intervention. This is stated by one of the leading figures of the Spanish anarchist movement who was recently interviewed on this question by the editor of the French monthly magazine "L'Espagne Nouvelle." The responsible position held by this Spanish comrade in the official world rendered it necessary to keep his name anonymous. 'But the authenticity of this interview is fully vouched for by the editor of the magazine—a man of high international standing as a militant revolutionary of great integrity.' The following is a report from "L'Espagne Nouvelle," March 8:

CONSPIRING AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN

—What do you think of the carrying out of the London agreement?

(Continued on page two)

TOWARD A POLITICAL CRISIS

Stalinist-Bourgeois Block Charged With Conspiracy Against Anarchists of Catalonia

"Of late a number of apparently isolated cases have been produced which point to the existence of a vast conspiracy to eliminate violently the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. from the political scene of our province. Doubtless, the presence of our comrades in the official bodies prevents the realization of certain "negotiations" which seem to be fully compatible with the morality of the old style politicians, who, unfortunately, abound so much. The straightforward revolutionary morality of the anarchists-syndicalist militants stands in the way of the realization of the shady designs of some of the anti-Fascist sector who are anxious to monopolize power.

"The morale of the anarchists is on a grand scale. In all activities which are of vital importance for the triumph of the revolutionary cause our comrades are presented with all kinds of obstacles, having for their aim to thwart the creative capacity of our movement. Those elements which made a religion out of "playing politics" are tired in their infamous work of trying to warp the horizons of the formidable social convulsion which now agitates Spain.

"The workers must answer this fascist assault with crushing blows, stressing more and more the tendency toward unity on the part of the two great unions—the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. Such unity will defend the shabby and ruinous manoeuvres now conducted against the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. Those manoeuvres manifest themselves in the queuing," on the public platforms, in the official bodies. And there are many who believe that all these manoeuvres found their point of culmination in the recent event of the withdrawal of tanks** which has for its aim to prevent by violent means what they could not prevent by their slanderous propaganda and lascivious manoeuvres."

("Solidaridad Obrera," March 11.)

(Ed. note: a whispering campaign of vast proportions, inspired and financed by agents of the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc is now carried on among the Barcelona women waiting in the food lines. The purpose is to incite them against the anarchists who by their revolutionary policy are alleged to create food difficulties and prevent Russia from supplying food to the population.)

(Ed. note: the same issue of the "Solidaridad Obrera" reports that even the so-called "revolutionary" military unit took out 11 tanks from the government garages. It was an unauthorized withdrawal and the subsequently procedure, coupled with the general distrust in which the Communist activity is held by the revolutionary workers of Barcelona, stirred up the suspicion of the Barcelona proletariat. The "Solidaridad Obrera" came out with a sharp demand for explanation. The concluding phrase of the editorial refers to the same incident.)

COME AND HEAR ABOUT SPAIN

A MASS MEETING will be held at the IRVING PLAZA - 15th ST. AND IRVING PLACE SUNDAY, APRIL 4th — 8 P.M.

SPEAKERS

W. STARRET CARLO TRESCA S. WEINER M. MONOLDI E. SEGURA

Aspersions: United Libertarian Organizations J. White, Chairman

IN CATALONIA

Attempts Made to Take Away Power From Revolutionary Workers.

In the Footsteps of the German Social-Democracy

ANARCHISTS FIGHT PLANS OF POLICE REORGANIZATION

Like in the other fields of social reconstruction, the Catalan revolution had also to enter into a compromise with the petty-bourgeois (represented by the Stalinists and the liberal political parties) on the question of police.

The old police forces did not join the rebels, as was the case in front of the other provinces, least the opposite: they extended considerable aid to the workers. In recognition of such services, and acting also in the spirit of reconciliation demanded by the exigencies of the hour—the threat of bombardment on the part of foreign warships—the revolutionary workers of Catalonia left the old police apparatus intact, adding to it an apparatus of its own in the form of the so-called "Patrols of Control." The rank and file of the old police forces became permeated to some extent with revolutionary ideas, but its higher personnel remained as hostile to the revolt.

(Continued on page three)

Read About Durruti

A New Pamphlet Issued by the C.N.T.

(English)
The Life and Work of Buenaventura Durruti . . . 20c

We also sell

The Truth About Spain by Rudolph Rocker . . . 5c

The Revolutionary Movement in Spain . . . 10c
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

45 WEST 17th STREET - NEW YORK, N.Y. - Chelsea 3-0667
Vol. I, No. 15 - April 9th, 1937

THE EMPTY SHELL OF INTERNATIONALISM

Not since the betrayal of the international parties of Europe during the great war has there been such a callous disregard of elementary demands of international solidarity as that which is being shown in recent pronouncements of the Stalinist and Communist parties, the trade union bodies of Europe in their infamous policy toward Spain.

The elementary purposes of any international organization of the proletariat are those of extending help to any member of this organization in time of desperate need. An International that fails in this elementary duty has no right to exist at all. It is a pretender, using the noble name and traditions of such a body for purposes that have nothing to do with its basic aims.

The Second and Third Internationals, now in the official control of Fascist movements in Germany, have made it quite clear how they are to be such imposters. They are hiding behind a smoke screen of international slogans while pursuing policies that are in flagrant contradiction with the elementary idea of international solidarity.

For eight months the Spanish workers and peasants have been waging a desperate struggle against the ever-growing hordes of Fascist interventionists. They are doing it in the name of a revolution which they have already started, in the name of a better society which they hope to build up as soon as they can free their country from the Fascists.

What are the elementary duties of an international organization of workers in regard to this heroic struggle? To prevent intervention of any kind. Not only the open intervention of the Fascist powers but also the equally dangerous intervention of the so-called democratic governments who use the threat of leaving the field free to Mussolini and Hitler in order to bludgeon the Spanish workers and peasants into abandoning their revolutionary hopes.

What the Second and Third Internationals have done in regard to the struggle of the Spanish people is known to the whole world. They sanctioned the tragic farce of non-intervention pact, resigning themselves very rapidly to the fact that those pacts have become one of the numerous scars of papers abroad of the so-called democracy of the world. They are doing it under the pretense that the European masses are not ready to go to war for the sake of Spain. But what have they done to gauge the sentiments of the great masses of people in their behalf? Have they made any attempt to set on foot any mass movement in order to exert pressure upon the government? Have there been any attempts to organize general strikes, mass demonstrations, mass meetings on a scale commensurate with the need of stirring up the masses of European workers to the realization of their international duty toward the Spanish revolution?

The Socialist and Communist bureaucracy which is now in control of the European working class has taken refuge behind meaningless pacts and futile schemes of international control because they have become the accomplices of their own governments in the attempt to stifle the Spanish revolution. Under the threat of unloading the mad dogs of international Fascism against the Spanish people, the governments of the so-called democratic countries are forcing the revolutionary workers to yield inch by inch their revolutionary positions, to turn over the power to the very same gang of politicians who were directly responsible in letting matters drift to the present revolt of the Fascists.

And this is not only the policy of the Baldwin government, but of Blum and of Stalin as well, the policy of the labor bureaucracy which has been living on the capital of past revolutionary struggles of the European working class.

The Spanish revolution will check the second kind of intervention just as it is already proving to be successful in handling the open intervention of the Fascist powers. And in achieving it, the Spanish revolution will deal the most crushing blow to the Second and Third Internationals—the mere ghost of internationalism now parading the scene of labor struggles under the guise of a genuine proletarian International.

British Weekly Explains Why Communist Party Is Opposed to Social Revolution in Spain

... There have been considerable changes in the political, economic and military situations since I was there in December and I would describe them as all for the worse. The outstanding political fact is the greatly increased power of the moderate elements in the Government backed up officially by the Communist policy which is to support a bourgeois democratic Spain against what they consider the premature revolutionary activities of the anarchists and the P.O.U.M.

Why Stalinists Back Up Such Policy

"Their reasons for this policy are:

1) That it is in Spain's foreign policy sphere, which is to do nothing to weaken the anti-Fascist democracies, which might be less able to defend themselves in war if extremists have provoked internal disruptions.

2) That only by presenting England and France with authentic evidence of a legitimate and moderate government in power in Spain will they win over those fearful of a revolutionary situation and possibly deflect Mussolini from his threat not to tolerate a Red Catalonia.

3) That it also enables the numerically weak Communist Party to get power through the support of liberals and Mariist Socialists, using the vast bulk of the U.G.T. as a heretic croat to press possession of a wrinkle. (Ed. note. That explains why the Communist foreign policies are so strongly against the C.N.T., attempt to establish a basis for an understanding with the workers of all countries.)

4) That it enables them to attack, on patriotic grounds, their ideological enemies, the anarchists of the C.N.T. and the Trotskyists of the U.S.T.C.

(From the British "New Statesman and Nation," Feb 20)

DEMOCRATIC POWERS CONSPIRE AGAINST SPANISH REVOLUTION

(Continued from page one)

... It was really meant to cover Spanish affairs purring along this diplomatic honeyway as a success of the policy of "non-intervention," while, in fact, we have nothing but an act of intervention and overt hostility from the two of all the non-intervention powers.

(Continued from page one)

... It is impossible to doubt now the duplicity of the French, English and Russian governments in their present action. It is a plot against us—without making any effort to check the powers which keep us in this position, we are inclined to accept the "anti-Fascist democratic bloc" of Paris-London-Moscow has deliberately organized it in order to make capital of the state of destitution and disarray into which the government of Spain has fallen. It is easy to point out enough to here that Eden gave Germany full liberty to act in the Mediterranean, that Blum was quite quick in reducing, and even stopping, exploring Spanish airfields, that Stalin declared that Spain was "the only country that is not a mere bone"... (Continued from page one)

(End. Note. The statement that the inhuman policy of financial persecution pursued by the Cebrellero government toward revolutionary Catalonia was dictated to Cebrellero by Stalin's representatives in Spain, can be found in a number of French and German emigré radical magazines.)

CONSPIRACY SHARED BY ALL SIGNATORY POWERS

... But doesn't the situation show signs of improvement?

... None whatever! The Italians and German warships which, acting upon the assurance of utter impunity, have bombarded, mined, torpedoed and shelled our ships and ports, will now add to their "neutral" capacity the authority conferred upon them by the Non-Intervention Committee. They cruise in the waters of Catalonia, Levant, Morcia, Andalusia, Asturias and Baetic provinces, and one can easily tell that they will be able to interfere with the way any commercial ships come and go, traffic the activity of our fishing fleets. And at the same time the Prussian warships will be well for the international proletariat and proletarian Spain. The latter, cut off from the world, will perish without anyone hearing its cries in the air-right cell which the capitalists build up... (Continued from page one)

... Do you believe then that all the European powers are in agreement upon this policy directed against the Spanish people?

... Their aims are the same: To strangle the social revolution, which is developing in Aragon, Levant, and in the more advanced sections of other provinces. Only their methods differ. Those of Italy and Germany are of a brutal Machiavellian kind. The methods of France, England, and Russia have a bland and insinuating quality about them. But, essentially, they are the same: tanks, torpedoes and cannon in the service of the capitalist coterie.

INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT OUR ONLY ALLY

... The game then is, as good as lost.

... Not at all! But it cannot be won with so many illusions enveloping the situation and hiding the truth from the Spanish, and the International proletariat. The Spanish proletariat is indeed led to believe that he can count for aid upon the democratic countries and the Russian state, provided he will give up for the time being his social revolution, and his own demands. The Spanish revolution is the only effective weapon of the Spanish proletariat and the international proletariat is the only ally upon whom he can count. It is in this that the work of all of us lies—of all of us who are struggling to get to the Spanish government the task of protecting Spain against the invasion of international Fascism. A general strike on all the ships going to Spain, the Fascist ports of Spain, and all ports, and delegating to their bourgeois governments the task of protecting Spain against the invasion of international Fascism. A general strike on all the ships going to Spain, the Fascist ports of Spain, and all ports, and delegating to their bourgeois governments the task of protecting Spain against the invasion of international Fascism.

BUILD A UNITED FRONT OF ALL LIBERATORS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

C.N.T. BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH (Barcelona)

Short Wave Length: 42.58 meters — FREQUENCY ........................................ 6,905 Kcs.
Normal Wave Length: 225.55 meters — FREQUENCY ........................................ 1,348 Kcs.
AR�MY REOR�GANIZATION
SECRETARY OF C.N.T. EXPLAINS HOW REORGANIZATION IS CARRIED OUT

The reorganization of the workers’ militias into a regular army is by now an accomplished fact. What is the nature of this process of “millicitarization,” which has been going on for the last few months? Does it lead to the revival of the army of the old type? These questions have been asked. The labor movement in the C.N.T. (National Committee of the CNT) has been working on plans and those who defend the country with arms in their hands. We will never tolerate those who, under the guise of militarizing privileges. Our plans rather express the necessity recognized among all of us that the defense of a certain position or the conquest of a city, while others fight with arms in their hands, will be equipped with everything necessary for effective action.

And, besides this, militarization—even if the other parties of the anti-Fascist front do not quite oppose—will not go beyond establishing the necessary harmony in the joint work of the military technician, who has control over the matériel plans, and those who defend the country with arms in their hands. We will not tolerate those who believe that their responsibility for the military operations will not be compromised by the real human rights and the people whose ideological views they do not share.

The “political commissars” for the plans of the C.N.T. organization, and it is to the latter that they will be responsible at every moment, even during the preliminary period of compulsory training in the schools specially established for that purpose.

NO MIXED BRIGADES

“As to the question whether the new brigades are going to be formed as expedient as possible, it is clear that, whether they will be made up of members of the regular army, the C.N.T. or the government, the column of others, should be transformed into brigades. The name is quite of little matter at this time. At any rate they will be equipped with every thing necessary for effective action.

“Otherwise there will be no changes of a basic nature. Military command in the new brigades will remain in the hands of the commander and the discipline demanded by every joint action.”

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

(Continued from page one)

The reorganization of the police, which was before the revolutionary movement, that is why it was distrusted by the revolutionary workers of Catalonia who built up special control bodies to keep an eye on those reactionary officials.

Stalinist-Bourgeois Bloc Plots To Turn Over Power To Republican Police Officials

The relative growth of the power of the moderates, accompanied by ever greater attacks upon the revolutionary achievements, has finally led to an attempt to reintroduce the old police in full power and to do away with the control apparatus built up by the revolutionary workers of Catalonia for the protection of their newly won positions.

This attempt took the form of a police apparatus which would abolish all the hitherto existing organizations, that of worker’s included, and build up a new force under the control of the hierarchy of the old reactionary police force. Membership in any organization would be forbidden to the rank and file of this new police force, supreme control is vested in the hands of a special committee representing all the anti-fascist organizations, as the case may be up till now, but in the hands of the officials of the old police — inspectors and commissars — who are to retain their positions and who are to be charged with the task of recruiting the newly established force.

Not only is the rank and file forbidden to join any organization, but it is also expressly enjoined from building up any sort of councils. After the resolution councils were built up in all the police organizations.

The same project is deeply into the self-government of the communes and municipalities by depriving them of the right to control their own police, which henceforth is going to be under the jurisdiction of specially appointed regional commissions of Indigenization. Felt Among Revolutionary Workers of Catalonia

This law stirred up great indignation among the revolutionary workers of Catalonia. The last political crisis, reported by the local press, is a direct attack on the government of the republic and the revolutionary movement. The law was the Realishvili, a repressive instrument born in the midst of the revolution. It was used by the German social-democrats to crush the extremely strong and widespread movement, a formidable instrument of repression against the proletariat, the social-democrats included, having been made full use of by the Nazis for their criminal policies.

And such a project was sponsored, backed up and is now lobbied for by those who are best known by the name of "proletarian revolution," shows the depth of degradation to which the C.N.T. Communist party has sunk, in its frantic attempts to check and thwart the forward course of the Spanish revolution. parcel of the C.N.T. gone; thus far the anarcho-brigades have retained their unmixed nature.

"Get rid, comrades, of the mistaken notion," said the Secretary, in conclusion, "that it is a despotistic sort of militarization that we are concerned with now. From the first days we set ourselves the task of establishing a firm discipline and now, for the interests of everyone, we intend to give it a definite direction."

Catalonian C.N.T.
Holds Convention

(Continued from page one) general plan led to the necessity of supporting a number of industries which, for the time being, are useless, falling as a heavy burden upon the resources of the country.) An end should also be put to the high salaries of the bureaucracy and to the maintenance of a police force which is more in keeping with the vanished regime.

6. The mobilization of the financial resources of the government in order to aid the mining industry, agriculture, the construction of public works and other public tasks.

7. The creation of a union bank in order to cooperate in the general work of economic re-conversion and re-education.

8. The socialization of distribution, proceeding towards it in a manner which should eliminate money as much as possible. Where the latter still exists, efforts should be directed toward the establishment of the family wage. (Vol. note: a form of monetary remuneration taking on its basis the communist principle of family needs.)

9. The highest degree of cooperation with the C.N.T. (unions), shown in the form of intensified production of commodities for the peasants, and also in the form of cultural aid to the villages. The socialization of land where such is freely agreed upon.

10. The organization of foreign trade on the basis of worker-cooperatives for the villages, especially in the relations with the international cooperatives.

READ AND SPREAD THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"
ANARCHISTS PUT UP ULTIMATUM

The anarchist group "Los de ayer y de los hoy"—(Those of yesterday and of today)—a member of the Barcelona Anarchist Federation—issued a manifesto in which it calls attention to the dangerous sabotage of the politicians. Its dire—language reveals a great deal of what is now going on in the minds of the revolutionaries and workers in Spain. The restrictions imposed by the necessity of adhering to the proprieties of a united front policy prevent those thoughts from being aired officially. But how strongly they sway now the popular mind we can judge by the intense conviction, emanating from this document, of a deep seated betrayal of the revolution on the part of the high-ups in the political administration of the country.

We are reprinting this manifesto from the Spanish Bulletin of Information of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (Feb. 25.)

MALAGA FALL IS NOT ACCIDENTAL

"The fall of Malaga brought forth a reaction on the part of the people. This reaction should not be of a passing, superficial kind. It should strike out firmly until final victory is obtained.

"To test fudged regrets, critical and censure are of no avail if they are not accompanied by serious and firm de
cisions which will prevent the recurrence of the same.

"Badajoz, Toledo, Ibnu, San
tSebastian, Malaga are not acci
dental occurrences at all; they call us su
merely for resistance but for the most vigorous revolt.

"The fatal policy of thwarting the reaction, which is responsible for the actual tragedy, con
tinues its criminal and cowardly work.

SABOTAGE IN THE HIGH SPHERES

"The war and the revolution are being shamefully sabotaged in the high spheres. On the Aragon front there is an inactive army. It is not made use of because it is systematically de
prived of the material and mun
itions which are indispensable for the undertaking of a offensive. Such an offensive would be of great help to the heroic people of Madrid and it would have prevented the Malaga debacle, had it been undertaken in time.

"The administration of the Minister of Navy, on its own part, maintains a suspicious lax
ity, which permits the four Fascist warships to be the unchal
 lenged masters of our waters.

"To the great amazement and indignation of all those who, like us, played a fair game through
doing our part, now it is being pro
going to do the exact opposite. The Fascist armies are being supplied by the inexhaustible wa
ds of the Fascists."

"All the anti-Fascists are well aware of the fact that this un
justifiable course pursued by the government is not due to the lack of war material. The general mobilization, the calling to colors

of people till 40 years of age, all the other people would be utterly absurd were they not backed up by sufficient reserves of equipment and munitions for the mobilized people. Why then this policy of disarming the vol
unteers, the revolutionaries?"

PROPOSE CNFT UNIONA REFUSE TO DELIVER AMMUNITION

"What could be done in the face of such a deliberate, grave and shocking situation? The most immediate and effective thing would be to punish those who are guilty of that course of action. But what if this is not feasible under the circumstances of a very complex situation? What then could be done to compel the government to place its sacred duties above the interest of the party or class?"

"As anarchists we pronounce ourselves in favor of direct ac
tion on the part of the syndi
calists.

"Under the stress of circum
stances, Catalonia came to hold a privileged position which can be exploited in a situation of this nature: a war industry has been installed which occupies now 50,000 workers and provides munitions to the Fascist fronts. We propose that the Syndicates and the revolutionary groups take a concrete, definite decision to refuse the further delivery of arms if the necessary war material is not furnished to the forces at the Aragon front." Ed. note: According to the latest information the anarchists pre
\ntained an ultimatum to the Va
\nciencia government, as a result of which, as reported by the French anarchist paper "Libertaire," the situation on the Aragon front in respect of armament has been considerably improved.

ACHIEVEMENTS IN ARAGON PROVINCE

"In Aragon the relations between the anarchists and various political parties are excellent. The work of the Defense Council is persecuted with the spirit of unity. The Council comprises six delegates from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the Socialist, Communist and Rep
blican Parties have two dele
gates each.

AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVES

"Are there any communities in the part of Aragon held by the anti-Fascists?

"We have 700 of them, most of which are agricultural.

"What are their social achievements?

"In certain places achievements have been pushed quite far. In some of those places we came very near to realize Libertarian Communism.

"A congress of all agricultural collective organizations organized by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Aragon prov
ince, was held recently. More than 70,000 peasants were represented. Questions of first importance were discussed such as the structure of the organ
ization, the relations between the municipalities and the collectives, etc.

"All over Aragon houses have been taken over by the municipalities."

"As to the land, it was spoo
nally distributed by the peasants in full accord with the C.N.T. and F.A.I. An exception was made for the small
holders, who cultivate their land with their family only.

"One of the results of the measures adopted by the collec
tives is that land that had been lying fallow for some time is now put into cultivation.

"The area under cultivation increased from 35% to 40%.

"Private commerce is gradua
ally losing its importance. In Canpe (capital of the anti
Fascist Aragon) serious at
tempts are made to replace its work with that of cooperatives.

"Availing themselves of the co-operative apparatus, our communities gradually extend the commercial transactions to the products of the land, dealing directly with the peasants to the exclusion of all intermediaries."

DEFEATS CAUSED BY BETRAYAL

BETRAYAL OF GENERALS

"We reported already in the last issue of this Bulletin that General Ascaso, the Under
Secretary of war, was accused of betraying Spain to the fascists. This general enjoyed the full confidence of Caballero, who yielded to the pressure of the Algeciras in order to procure for his dismissal. Like Ascaso, who, on the eve of the fascist revolution, was receiver of state, and general of the Gordonite faction of General Caballero, was backing up this notoriously reactionary general to the very last minute.

"The following is a reprint from the "Solidaridad Obrera" anarchist daily in Barcelona. It gives us some idea of the kind of military experts to whom, we are told, General Ascaso was being reported to the government in order to "control the "victory" government of General Caballero, those fascists began to start a new war in the north of the country. From San Sebastian, Toldeo and Malaga they were lost in succession.

"The Malaga disaster brought to a head the disgraceful fact of ignoring the public opinion of the country.

INCREDIBILITY AND BETRAYAL AT MALAGA FRONT

"The General placed in command of the southern front has been reported over to the fascists of the north front on account of his notorious inaptitude. This is in fact the truth, say openly that the cause of the revolution was already a lost affair. An order was given by the General to hand the Malaga opera
tions over to the fascists.

"When the predatory forces succeeded in entering the Fascist army at Estepona, Melque and Caravaca, the news of the Malaga front, this very individual unexpectedly failed. A general order in the name of the General in chief was handed to the Malaga opera
tions to the Fascists.

"Ascanio always was very close to Algeciras in the Congress of Rocha. The latter, while holding the position of ambassador to Portugal, and General Ascaso with him, having been posted in charge of the delimitation of the boundaries between Spain and Portugal. But this was more in the nature of a gesture, being only a pretext for keeping and making use of one who was prominent in the military cir
cles. Everyone knows that General Ascaso accompanied the ambassa
dor on the latter's frequent trips to Spain. Ascaso's action in Morocco in connection with the murder of the outstanding Moorish intellectual Dr. Sahin and the annexation of the territory went on at the time very much under discussion.

DEFEATS ON THE FRONT'S FRONT LOWING ASCASO'S APPOINTMENT

"No sooner did General Ascano begin to show signs of a new war, that military defeats of a mysterious nature followed one after another. During a visit to the "victory" government of General Caballero, those fascists began to start a new war in the north of the country. From San Sebastian, Toldeo and Malaga they were lost in succession.

THE SPANISH WORKERS AND PEASANTS ARE SHEDDING THEIR BLOOD FOR THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY.

It is your fight as well as theirs.

HELP THIS HEROIC STRUGGLE.

Send contributions to I. Radinovsky, Treasurer, United Liber
tarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

Responding to the needs of the moment and the ne
cessity of unified libertari
an action for the defense of the Spanish revolution and the social revolution that is taking place in Spain, there has been formed the North America Can.
United Libertarian Organ
izations.

A great welcome has been accorded the formation of this organization—many congratulations letters have been received from libertarian and syndicalist groups throughout the country. An organizing campaign will be soon be

The Spanish workers and peasants are

is tablished to locate funds and work should address inquiries to the above address.
CATALONIAN CRISIS STILL PENDING
C.N.T. DEMANDS REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

Supplementary Bodies of Workers
Control Possible Solution of Crisis

The reports coming from Barcelona on the last Catalonian crisis have been very vague. We still do not know the exact nature of the shifts taking place in the cabinet as a result of this crisis, nor have we any basis for an evaluation of those results in political terms. Whether the revolutionary workers represent the masses of Catalonia lost or won, or whether a stalemate has been produced leading to a postponement of the solution—we are not in a position to tell.

We do, however, learn something on the initial phase of the crisis from the latest French and Barcelona papers dealing with the circumstances leading to it and the first days of its development.

We are reprinting a direct communication from Barcelona appearing in the last issue of the French anarchist weekly, "Liberaire," April 2:

POLITICAL CRISIS WAS DUE TO COME

"If one can note with great satisfaction the improvement of the military situation in Spain, one also has to note that the time is coming for the Catalan situation among the anti-Fascist factors.

"The Catalan crisis which, in the present circumstances is being written, is already one week old, has created very serious difficulties. The basic cause of the latter are the differences which for more than a month have separated the C.N.T.—followed by the great mass of Catalan people—from the political and trade-union factions, such as the P.S.U.C. (the United Socialist-Communist Party) and the G.T. (General Union of Workers) who is compensated for its numerical weakness by the support given it by Soviet Russia, which throw all the weight of its power behind the politicians.

Anarchists Attacked by the Political Anarchists

"Until now our comrades of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. did not hesitate to sacrifice a great deal for the sake of anti-Fascist unity. But those sacrifices were not reciprocated.

More and more are the anarchists represented before the courts, like the F.A.I. and the C.N.T.

"(Continued on page four)

STATEMENT OF BARCELONA F.A.I.

The Local Federation of Anarchist Groups published a manifesto concerning the political crisis in Catalonia in which it formulates the basic demands of this organization, which are:

1) That Cabinet seats in the Catalan government be apportioned according to the strength of every organization.

2) The immediate annulment of the Public Order Decree (Ed. note: reorganization of police along reactionary lines) executed by the government and its substitution by another decree in consonance with the aspirations of both trade-union organizations (the anarcho-syndicalists C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T.).

3) A thorough and deep denunciation of the collaboration of the anarcho-syndicalists and the police forces of fascist sympathizers who have crept into war fronts as well as into the central bodies of the government and the responsible committees of the movement.


BUILD A UNITED FRONT OF ALL LIBERARIANS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Jua P. Fabregas was the C.N.T. representative in the first cabinet of the Catalan government. He held the post of the Counsellor of Economy until the cabinet crisis of three months ago. Now he is heading the Finance Dept. of the Economic Council. His recent speech on the economic factors of the Spanish revolution drew great attention by its constructive approach to the problems of the economic revolution now going on in Catalonia.

We are giving here a brief summary of the speech, the greater part of which appeared in "Solidaridad Obrera" (March 16 and 17):

"The central aim of the C.N.T. is to maintain the workers in command of the ecoonomic front. The lack of coordination of economic efforts may prove disastrous in every front.

Plan of Economic Organization

The basic unit of this single economic organization is the Shop Council which in turns forms a Factory Management Committee.

Who Is Behind Moves to Seek Reconciliation with Fascists?

Sensational Exposures Made by Revolutionary Press

It is yet to be proved which of the two dangers facing revolutionary Spain is the greatest: the open invasion of fascist powers or the camouflaged pressure of the European "democracies" exerted in the direction of disarming the revolution and liquidating all its conquests. Of late this pressure took the form of a diplomatic manoeuvre to end the civil war by bringing about a peaceful arrangement between the moderate section of the anti-fascist front and the fascists. This would require the violent elimination of the "extremists"—all the revolutionary elements—the strangling of the revolution and the setting up of a conservative bourgeois republic with a few democratic trimmings.

EVEN CABALLERO PROTESTS

This is no mere suspicion on the part of the radical opinion. Caballero had to take official cognizance of the existence of such diplomatic pressure. "On the other side of the border—" he said in the official statement issued about a month ago—"one hears a great deal of talk about intervening in order to compel us to bring the struggle to an end."

(Continued on page three)

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN CATALONIA

ONLY EMERGENCY SOLUTION

(From Jornal Dos Nobles de Barcelona)

Until now only a provisional government has been formed. Negotiations about the formation of a regular government are still pending.

The provisional government has a reduced cabinet consisting of 2 C.N.T. representatives, 2 Left Republicans, 1 U.G.T., 1 Rabassais (Tenant Farmers).

The crisis has not yet been solved. The slogan of the C.N.T. is to win the war and go on with the revolution at the same time.

It presented the document in which it laid down the following conditions for the formation of a government:

1) The first plan for the reorganization of the police.

2) The carrying out of the proposed agrarian reform.

3) The reorganization of the Councilors Departments.

4) The formation of Committees for the Regular Army. (Ed. note Committees set up by the politicians in order to wrest the control of the army from the Council of Defense, which Department is in the hands of the anarcho-syndicalists.)

5) The control of the following ministries: Defense, Inner Affairs (Police), Economy, Agriculture and Finance.
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

45 WEST 17TH STREET \ NEW YORK, N. Y. \ Citisheet 3-6547
Vol. 1, No. 16 \ April 23rd, 1937

THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Everyone knows of the heroic role played by the anarchists in the defense of the Basque cities—Irún and San Sebastian. The valor shown by the anarchists elicited the admiration of every one who followed up the epic struggle of those people. But in the Basque provinces the anarchists are in the minority. And although one of the basic ideas of all the concessions made by the anarchist movement was to secure certain rights for its members in those provinces where they are in the minority, in the Basque provinces the anarchists were eliminated from any participation in the direction of affairs.

The latter was in the hands of the Catholic, moderate republicans. The socialists and communists preferred a united front with the Catholics to that of the revolutionary minority represented by the C.N.T.

As a result the Basque province became the weakest link in the line of anti-Fascist defense. Its orientation was upon London even more than upon Paris, and London was interested in keeping the province in a purely defensive position, using it when the opportunity moment comes for the purposes of breaking up the solid anti-Fascist front.

That this opportune moment is not far off is shown by the recent action of the Basque government in dismissing the Regional Committee of the C.N.T., and the editorial staff of the daily anarchosyndicalist paper published in Bilbao—capital of the province.

A still more ominous aspect of this attack is the seizure of the printing shops and the TURNING OVER OF THOSE PLANTS AND EQUIPMENT TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The meaning of it is clear. The Communists are a party to this outrageous attack upon the anarchists of the Basque province. The offensive against the Spanish revolution started by Basque revolutionaries since it began intervening in the Spanish affairs has already entered the stage of open aggression. The period of hypocritical pretensions of loyalty to the common cause of proletarian unity has come to an end.

In the Basque province the anarchists are in the minority, but in other provinces they are not. To attack them in Bilbao in the outrageous manner already reported is to provoke revolts in Catalonia, Aragon and Levante. That means the break up of the united anti-Fascist front.

REVOLUTION A WEAPON AGAINST INVASERS

The Italian armies were not defeated by superior military equipment or skilful strategy. They were disintegrated by revolutionary propaganda, by carrying over to the workers and peasants in Fascist uniform the message of their brothers in Spain.

That message was effective because it told of actual achievements and not mere expectations. The Italian soldiers were stirred by the news that the Spanish peasants took possession of the land, that Spanish workers are in control of the industries, that a resolute struggle is carried on by the Spanish people for a NEW SOCIAL ORDER, answering the aspirations of the common man all over the world.

Would the Italian soldiers respond as readily to the message of a bourgeois republic? Would abstract slogans of liberty and democracy have the same stirring effect as the simple story of how lands were confiscated by peasants, collectives were built up, and how workers’ committees came to take the place of capitalists?

Revolutionary propaganda is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the Spanish workers and peasants in their fight against Fascist invaders. But that weapon can be effective only if it goes hand in hand with war, if the greater part of the Spanish people do not fall for the insidious propaganda of the politicians of various shades aimed to cheat the forward course of the revolution under the pretext that now the time is not ripe for it.

The Italian debacle has proven once more that revolution and war are inseparable, that the strength of the Spanish workers and peasants lies in the revolutionary message, they are now carrying to the world.

And the greater the message the better are the chances to win.

SPANISH GOVERNMENT TRAILING PEOPLE IN ACHIEVEMENTS

Revolution Has to be Deepened

The policy of republican Spain has been determined until now by three primary conceptions:

1. Not to do anything which might displease the European powers, or the leaders of "democratic" and "fascist democracies" and Soviet Russia.

2. To keep the government in the hands of the Nationalists, 1931-1934, that is, the ministers and functionaries of the bourgeois democracies.

3. To obtain from any financial measures which might frighten away the bourgeois.

This policy, let us speak out openly, brought republic Spain to the verge of chaos. And this is for the following reasons:

LEANING ON A BROKEN REED

The powers defending the Versailles Treaty always regarded the Spanish republicans as their auxiliary troops only. Those powers, confused themselves to the defense of their traditional positions on the Rhine, Danube and the colonies leaving Spain at the mercy of the "fascist" regime. Since 1931-1934 this attitude is all the more clearly now.

This attitude is now absolutely clear: every weapon of the unemployed, com- munist exiles belonging to France, England, Russia. Seamen, priests of the church are attacked, destroyed or captured by the priest ships of the rebels or the Fascist advancing to Madrid. All those acts, every one of which is in itself a casus belli, do not evoke as much as a placard protest.

Some one of the world who now actually turn away from Spain as from a country whose whole history might be spared if Fascism entered it, not turn toward it with all their fervor if they see before themselves a new social revolution, a new working over its politicians, capitalists and militarists, and audaciously practical the program of a world revolution.

FINANCIAL POWER OF THE BOURGEOIS COMMUNES

In Catalonia and Aragon

Bourgeois Correspondent Impressed

In most of the aragon villages and in a great number of rural communes of Catalunya, the COLLECTIVE has come to take an active part, even in the timbering and mining mines, and serious damage is done to private peasant households.

The individual plots are cultivated in common in order to obtain a more economic effort, a better distribution of work and a more reasonable for everyone and the fuller satisfaction of one’s needs. Children, sick people, old people and persons in care of others are looked after. The collective also provides the elementary necessaries, instruction, the means for cultural advancement for every member. Those who prefer to live outside of the collective are free to do so, being granted the right to cultivate their individual plots of land. But they are deprived of the advantages enjoyed by the collective.

Notices of the following type, issued by the Council of the agricultural co-operative, are to be found in every village:

1) Work and harvest are to be performed collectively.

2) All agricultural machinery is socialized and placed under the control of the village commune.

3) Work in communal enterprises results every year, one work with great oar and flavor. All material difficulties which appeared at the beginning have already been straightened out.

Many are the difficulties the workers and peasants have to overcome nowadays, but working will undo the effects of this powerful example and of facts.
ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST WORKERS OF CATALONIA HOLD CONVENTION

We already reported in the last issue of the *Spanish Revolución* about the convention of the Catalan C.N.T. (anarchosyndicalist union). The French anarchist weekly *Libertinaria* gives some more details of this historic convention representing the great majority of workers and peasants of Catalonia. (The population of Catalonia is 4,000,000; membership of the unions represented at this convention is 1,200,000.)

War and anti-Fascist Front

**Discussed.** "The sessions of the Convention were animated by pointed speeches of the delegates presenting their solutions on all the problems posed by the war and revolution. All delegates were of the unanimous opinion that in order to carry on the revolutionary construction that the C.N.T. is it necessary in the view of the international coalition of Fascist powers, to organize a powerful army. Next in order was the realization that the government was recognized as an exceptional measure necessary during the struggle against Fascism in order to create a rear power capable of countering the international support received by the Fascists.

"The collaboration given by the C.N.T. will be loyal and sincere, but the C.N.T. demands the same sort of loyalty on the part of the other anti-Fascist sectors."

**Agrarian Program Adopted.** "The agrarian problem was fully detailed. The following resolution, adopted as a result of discussion, should be of first-rate importance for the war and revolution."

1) "Socialization and municipalization of the land.
2) "No one should possess more land than he is capable of cultivating with his own efforts or that of his family. Possession of land should be allowed only in the interest of subsistence.
3) "All the big estates and those lands that are not cultivated by individual households should be expropriated."

Provided the above resolutions are implemented, there is a sufficient number of people desirous of working those lands collectively. The collectives created in this manner should be controlled by responsible organizations.

4) "In case no voluntary collectives are formed or in a certain locality, the lands are to be parcelled out to individual peasants. But it is understood there is no trial of labor by individual peasants is to be done away with.

5) "Following the decree of compulsory syndicalization, the expropriated will be placed under control of peasant unions. (Ed. note: on the meaning of compulsory syndicalization see Fabrege's speech in the last issue of the *Spanish Revolución*.)"

6) "A Federation of Collectives is to be formed, working in conjunction with the peasant unions. Agricultural collectives are to be recognized as legal entities."

The working class of Spain not only had to meet with the forces of Fascism, Italy and Germany, but with the more cunningly organized Fascists from the British ruling classes. LONDON BIG BUSINESS IS SOLIDLY LINED UP BEHIND FRANCO.

"Undoubtedly Russia is being given valuable aid, but it should have been accompanied by any kind of political domination. IT WAS A SHAMEFUL THING THAT THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF ARMS HAD BEEN THE ATTEMPTED DOMINATION OF THE WHOLE POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN SPAIN."

From a speech of M. Bonar Law (Liberal Party) at the annual conference of the Independent Liberal Party of Great Britain (I. L. P.)

SPECLCATING ON THE FALL OF MADRID

"The possibility is not altogether excluded that certain people in the local Republican government are lending a willing ear to the corrlutary munurings coming from the other side of Pyrenees. The fall of Madrid and the ensuing political disorder would favor the formation of a moderated government consisting of Left Republicans and Socialists of the Prieto shade. Such a government would be responsible to the peace-loving people of Spain."

WORKING THROUGH THE BASQUE GOVERNMENT

La Batalla, the P.O.U.M. daily in Barcelona, comments on how the Basque government is being used by the Fascists. (Ed. note: this was written before the Fascist offensive on the Basque front. The latter fact and political developments fully corroborate the view expressed by the writer of the article.)

The bourgeois press only speculates on the fall of Madrid, while the anarchist socialist paper *Solidaridad Obrera* comes out with an open accusation to the effect that certain powers, together with some sectors of the anti-Fascist front, were plotting to deliver Madrid to the enemies in order to force a policy of reconciliation with the Fascists. "A foreign army invades our soil in absorption of beauty, but England and France, frightened by the revolutionary drive of our people, are placing themselves on the side of reaction, secretly organizing things in such a manner as to lead to a pact by delivering Madrid into the hands of the Fascists."
CABALLERO PLANS TO LIQUIDATE THE REVOLUTION

Before the Fascist revolt of July 19th, Largo Caballero was known as a "left socialist." The rising ground swell of popular discontent was making itself felt to an ever greater extent and Caballero, an astute politician who always kept his ear close to the ground, felt that the old reformist line of the Spanish Socialist Party had to be changed somewhat in response to popular pressure.

As a surprise to his fellow bureaucrats of the labor union, Caballero began to float with the idea of a social revolution. At least overnight the erstwhile Labor Counselor of the fascist dictator Primo de Rivera became the "Spanish Lenin." And it stands to reason, of course, that during the first months of the revolution; before the government consolidated itself, before the Federation of Workers tried to play up to the revolutionary sentiments of the great mass of workers and peasants who were dominating the political scene at that period.

This revolutionary inflation did not last very long. Caballero does not have to cater to the revolutionary workers any longer. He feels safe now behind the support given to his government by Soviet tanks and airplanes, and also by the European "democracies" whose main weapon of offense against the Spanish revolution was obtaining from the Allied nations, in their interventionist plans. At least Caballero feels sufficiently safe to talk, although in a veiled manner, about liquidating the revolution. Such was the gist of the interview given to the representative of the Spanish paper El Diario.

NO BOLSHEVISISM OR "ANARCHY"

"It is difficult to say," Caballero said in this interview, "what course Spanish life will take for the near future. A transitional period of confusion is not altogether out of place, but we will never let anyone impose bolshevism or anarchy upon us." (Ed note: The bolshevism of Spain is not in the program of the Communist Party. The welcome given this statement by the Soviet press shows that this was directed not at the communists but at the revolutionary elements of present-day Spain."

"Anarchism" is not a word in the dictionary.

The confiscation or actual control of enterprises by the workers is a temporary things. Purely accidental occurrances (Ed note: workers shop committees are dubbed by a social democrat as accidental.

Workers' Solidarity Knows No Bounds

The following letter was received from Progressive Miners of America, 612 Local Union No. 1, Gillespie, Ill.:

March 26th, 1937.
Mr. Radinowski,
Socialist Brother:

You will find enclosed check for Five Hundred Dollars, for the defense of the Spanish workers in Spain. At our last regular meeting of Local Union No. 1, an appeal was made in the defense of the Spanish workers and a motion was made to assess our members 25c, for the above purpose. A receipt in return will be greatly appreciated. By this local union. This is our way of assisting our Spanish brothers in their heroic struggle for a complete victory and a workers' government.

William McNamara, Sec. Rec.
John Fisher, Pres.

Just Received from Spain

One of the most beautiful albuns it has ever been our pleasure to view. It contains 31 soul-stirring water color plates about 10x14 inches and each plate contains samples of the lithographers art, depicting scenes of revolutionary struggle and reconstruction.

Any description we might attempt to give of this book would be inadequate. It is beautiful. The quantity is limited and the price is only one dollar (worth $10.). Postage twenty-five cents.

To be sure of getting a copy order IMMEDIATELY from

Jack White
-0- U. L. O.
45 W. 17th St.
N. Y. C.

Dear Comrades:

We want to inform you that we are BROADCASTING FROM BARCELONA

STATION E.C.N. 1, RADIO CNT-FAI

AM Short Wave 42, 88.

Frequency 6995, 1 KC

every night in various foreign languages

As your readers will surely be interested, it would be useful to have this radio-program published in your paper.

With fraternal greetings,

AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

Funds Received for Spain during February and March

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Catalan Crisis Still Pending

(Continued from page one)

Catalonian Crisis Still Pending

The Catalonians reacted to this provocative policy quite vigorously. An intensive educational campaign through the medium of radio and posters and even more so than a thousand of them were held in Catalonion—was organized throughout the country. All that the various committees of the nation and the Phillips before the public opinion of Catalonin the real causes of inertia forced upon the militia of the Aragon front.

"The Catalonian crisis threatened to have its repercussions in the Valencia government whose evident partiality for the sectors where Marxists predominate it taxed the good will of the C.N.T.

It was told that the leadership of some group gave a test-painting of "Barchons Rojos" which cannot easily be improved. They must have practiced quite a lot in spite of the authorities."... "Manchester Guardians"

The C.N.T. demanded the control of the left and this was also a contributing cause of the crisis.

(Ed note: The C.N.T. never accepted the decree on the police reorganisation, the counter-revolutionary nature of which aroused the revolutionary workers to such an extent that the law was kept in temporary abeyance. The C.T.N. sent out instructions to all municipal police departments not to deal in favor of the newly established centralised force.

Safeguards of Revolutionary Control

"It is quite certain that from now on the C.N.T. will demand certain guarantees in order that the sacrifices made by it for the maintenance of an anti-Fascist front be not lost for the revolutionary movement.

"It is in this sector that Valencia, the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. declared yesterday in Catalonin, the evening paper of the C.N.T. that the crisis might be solved by having the cabinet made up in the same way as the previous one, but supplementing every Department of the Ministry with a consultative body formed by representatives of workers' unions and not discsarding.

"It is quite clear that such a body will not remain consultative in character, that it will gradually transfer the real power from the Ministries to the unions."

The Barcelona anarchist paper La Nota interprets this suggested solution in the same manner:

"If every Ministry Department is supplemented by a Commissariat represented by the workers' unions which are affect by the work of the Ministry, the full authority of the Ministry will inevitably come to represent the will of the syndicates. The Ministry in that case will be nothing more than an administrative commission and the official representative of the Commissariat built up by the unions as supplementary bodies of the Ministries."

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The Truth About Spain

by Rudolph Rocker . . . . 5¢

The Revolutionary

Movement in Spain . . . . 10¢

It was told that the leadership of some group gave a test-painting of "Barchons Rojos" which cannot easily be improved. They must have practiced quite a lot in spite of the authorities. ... "Manchester Guardians"
ENGLAND PLOTTED
FALL OF MALAGA
Famous Spanish Scientist Charges
English Diplomacy Works in
Collusion with Mussolini

MODERATE REPUBLICANS IN LEAGUE WITH ENGLAND

Immediately after the fall of Malaga, as soon as the first details of this military catastrophe reached the population, rumors of direct betrayal on the part of military leaders began to spread far and wide. The redcoats, militiamen arriving from that front brought striking details of the conduct of military authorities which could hardly be explained in any other terms but those of deliberate, calculated betrayal.

At first those rumors were confined to market places, factories, fields, passing from mouth to mouth, finding ready acceptance among the workers and peasants of Spain. Soon, however, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. organizations began to take official cognizance of those persistent rumors. The ever growing dis- satisifcation evidence brought by the direct participants of the struggle for Malaga left no doubt that the fall of that revolution.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION CHECKED IN CATALONIA

The struggle for the control of the nations that the Anarchists believed that they had been forced into. The C.N.T. Cabinet, under the leadership of the Anarcho-Syndicalist General Francisco Ferrer, had been given the task of forming the C.N.T. Cabinet.

The struggle, however, revolved not only around the control of certain Councils, it was the adoption of certain policies that became the central point of the severe political crisis. Information is still lacking on this point, but judging from the indications the compromise solution represented by the present makeup of the Cabinet was conditioned upon the adoption of certain demands in regard to tribal policies presented by the C.N.T.

NO MORE CONCESSIONS TO COUNTER-REVOLUTION

C.N.T. Speakers Declare

A very good idea of the position adopted by the CNT during the last political crisis is given by the speeches delivered by the prominent militants of that organization at the huge mass meeting held by the C.N.T. in Barcelona.

The first to speak was Joaquín Cortés who referred to the tragedy of a republic without republicans, a republic which respected private property and kept the C.N.T. out of politics. The events of July 19th brought an end to that state of things. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. fought heroically and, after having obtained a victory, made the streets of Barcelona, this friendly hand to the other elements of the anti-fascist front.

(Continued on page three)
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

46 WEST 17TH STREET - NEW YORK, N.Y. - Vol. 1, No. 17 - May 7th, 1937

TOWARD A NEW JULY NINETEENTH

This article reprinted from the French anarchist weekly "L'Espagne Nouvelle" is put here instead of an editorial because of the outspoken language and clear examination of policies toward which the anarchist movement of Spain is moving very rapidly.

It expresses the unofficial view of the revolutionary workers and peasants now fighting under the banners of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. And it crystallizes in a very vigorous form the growing sentiment for a more resolute policy of struggle against those who in the long run may present an even greater danger for the revolution than its outspooken enemies—the Fascist interventions.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TREASON

The "strong government" of Largo Caballero is essentially a government of treason which delivered the country into the hands of Fascist generals after having prepared the road for it by its subterfuges and peasant massacres of 1931-1934.

It cannot render any useful service to the struggling masses of the country.

Collectivization, revolution, armed struggle against Fascism and imperialist aggression, all of which are gradually being stifled by the rebuilt State, have been checked to an ever-growing extent and brought to a standstill during the last two months.

The political crisis of Catalonia cannot be solved by re-distributing the Cabinet seats, or by evoking a new scheme of proportional participation in the government by the impotent and domesticated representatives of the various anti-Fascist organizations of the working class. But from the depth of the masses there rises up the demand, the popular drive toward a "NEW JULY 19th."

A new July 19th means in Spain the sweeping away of the bourgeois republic which does not offer to the anti-Fascist people any hope of political unity, economic power, military victory or international support.

It means the regaining of full rights and full initiative by the syndicates, councils, workers' and peasant committees, sailors' and soldiers' councils which were always the vehicles of great popular victories.

A new July 19th means to enable the unions to mobilize and socialize all the national resources: currency, raw materials, means of transportation, arms and munitions, industrial and agricultural resources, as well as basic consumption now belonging to the privileged few, the parasites and speculators of all kinds.

It means the dissolution of the police forces of the State, participation of the masses, workers, political bodies, housing institutions, all that to be done in measure that the new forms of administration are created.

And, primarily, a new July 19th means the realization of a revolutionary alliance of all the proletarian organizations on the basis of social and liberty.

Outside of this program of immediate realizations there can be no hope of "winning the war" or attaining social justice in the next future.

ANARCHIST SLOGANS

Spain will never go back to the days of exploitation and tyranny!
Spain will never go back to bourgeois democracy!
Spain will not become again a victim of capitalism and politicians!
Spain is blazoning the road to a new life of work and peace!
Spain is forging ahead with a proletarian revolution, which is bread and freedom!
Spain is rebuilding its economy upon socialist foundation!
Spain will be a new world, open to all free men!
Spain will not permit that a dictatorship of any kind be imposed upon the people!
Spain will vanquish Fascism and will become the country of a triumphal social revolution of free producers!

(From the Bulletin of C.N.T.-F.A.I.)

FRENCH CONSULATE NEST OF FASCIST ESPIONAGE

By now there are very few people who take seriously Leon Blum's outpourings in favor of Spanish Fascists. However, would believe that the diplomatic service of the French United Front government, presided over by an alleged "apostle of democracy," has become an instrumentality of Fascist espionage and sabotage in Catalonia.

But it is true, nevertheless.

The sensational exposure of this fact is made by a radical but not a moderate liberal Madrid paper ("Politique") which recently revealed before its readers the workings of the French Fascist organization (quoted by Barcelona paper "Batalla" 8 iv-37).

According to this Madrid paper, the head of the Fascist group in France ("Cercle de Feu") work through the French consulate in Barcelona, which acts as a go-between and a cover for the conspirators.

Smuggling over Capital and Valuables with the Help of the French Consulate

The espionage was in the hands of a captain and a number of accomplices, who, it is said, have been given the position of "exempt consular officials." Furthermore, it has been asserted that he is the director of a regular maintenance service for regular and semi-regular periods, with the help of the French government.

Ships of the French Government at the Service of Fascist Conspirators

The Fascist underground organization of Barcelona communicates with the agents of the French government with the help of the officials of the French consulat. At the service of these gentlemen are ships specially reserved for the French government for official purposes. A number of Fascist agents are accommodated by the French authorities in their frequent trips to France.

Is the French government Unaware of All That?

All this is done not a thousand miles from the Foreign Ministry, allegedly in the hands of an outspoken Fascist, but in a city which was always regarded as the next door neighbor of Fascism.

It is possible that the revelations made by the Madrid liberal paper are not known to the socialists of the United Front Government of France?

Passport Forgery

Those agents are not necessarily French subjects. The consulat goes very far in extending passport services to Spanish Fascists. In fact, it maintains consular offices which really amounts to a regular passport forgery.

The French government pays the passage for all those spies, smugglers and conspirators. But it is not the Fascist organization that is supported by the government, but the French government itself, which has to donate to the latter a certain sum equaling the passage fare. Quite a tidy sum that has for many years carried the French and Spanish Fascist organizations.

Is the French government Unaware of All That?

All this is done not a thousand miles from the Foreign Ministry, allegedly in the hands of an outspoken Fascist, but in a city which was always regarded as the next door neighbor of Fascism. Does it not seem possible that the revolutions made by the Madrid liberal paper are not known to the socialists of the United Front Government of France?

PEASANT UNIONS STRENGTHEN HOLD ON ECONOMY

(Continued from page one)

by the poor and middle peasant.

The upper crust of peasantry formerly belonging to the clerical, semi-Fascist parties, is violently opposed to the spontaneous process of socialization. Not being able to sell under their own colors, they are camouflaging their work by setting up organizations under the official auspices of the Communist Party. And, paradoxically as it may seem to some, the Communist Party is now throwing its energies into the socialization in support of those elements who are the worst enemies of the spontaneous peasant movement for socialization and self-help along co-operative lines.

Extending the Work of Socialization

Socialized agriculture was urged from the beginning with great difficulties. Lack of credit, dependence upon export, subjugation of themiddlemen and government officials. Those difficulties, however, were gradually overcome by longer and arduous struggles.

The credit problem was solved by setting up a Confederation of Peasant Banks. Technical problems were tackled with the help of the technicians organized into a special union which works in conjunction with the C.N.T. Peasant Syndicates. A number of subsections have been formed for the promotion of special cultures. The most complicated problem was that of export. Some markets were cut off due to the civil war. Germany absorbed 40% of the orange exports, and now, of course, it dropped out completely.

In addition, the export was in the hands of large firms who were hostile to the revolution. Some of the foreign representatives of those firms are known as the most ardent supporters and financial backers of the revolution.

At first, it was necessary to make use of this apparatus, the peasant federation lacking the necessary experience and connections, to carry on the export trade.

Soon, however, the peasants found out that the old apparatus of private dealers could not be used to any advantage to obtain even the minimum of cooperation found in the transactions of ordinary merchants. The hatred of the work carried on by the peasants was so great and palpably evident on the part of the exporters that the Peasant Federation was compelled to build an export organization of its own.

This more than justified the efforts devoted to it. Within the comparatively short time of a few months this exporting organization achieved marvelous results.

New foreign markets were found, the middle men eliminated, and exports raised to a figure mounting high above the years of "imperialist" existence.

Government Inspiring the Work of the Federation

The Federation of Peasant Unions feels now strong enough to undertake the feeding of the army, direct exchange with the cities and bartering with foreign countries. It is, however, hampered in this work by the opposition of the government which suppresses all kind of obstacles in its way. Involuntary and consecutive tariff law to curtail under every pretext credits due to the peasants organizations in virtue of the great part played by their funds in bolstering the financial structure of the government.

Communist Minister

Enemy No. 1

The attacks upon the Peasant Federation and socialized agriculture are launched quite openly. Uribarri, the Communist Minister of Agriculture, is the most direct enemy of the Peasant Federation. He favors the middlemen at the expense of peasant co-operatives, the rich peasant at the expense of socialized agriculture. He already provoked a number of conflicts in various parts of the country, going so far as to incite the use of armed forces of the government police (assault guards) against collectivized villages.

And that is why he was singled out by the party as the main militants of the Peasant Federation when asked by the national sources of the sabotage used to destroy the constructive work. Their answer was that the sabotage emanates mainly:

1. From the Minister of Agriculture.

2. The organization of rich peasants (the Spanish Kulaks) organized by the Communist party.

Such is the irony of history.

Read and Spread the "SPANISH REVOLUTION"
UNITED FRONT? YES, BUT FOR REVOLUTION AND NOT REFORMS

INTERVIEW WITH SECRETARY OF UNITED FRONT OF REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

United Front of Revolutionary Youth

—What led you to create the Revolutionary United Front of Catalanian Youth?

—Before creating this United Front we established the United Socialist Youth and other organizations making up the United Youth Front. (Ed. note: all these outlooks are controlled by the communists.) But we ran up against the demand of the United Socialist Youth made by the Catalanian Communist Youth (of the semi-Trotskite P.O.U.) and to eliminate from our program anything that savors of revolutionary demands. And, besides, under no conditions are we going to be a party to a united front with catholics. (Ed. note: such a united front is demanded by the Stalinists.)

All those considerations impelled us to create a united front among the young workers of Catalonia whose ideas coincide with ours.

Recognition of Social Revolution Basic Condition of Acceptance

—What are the premisses of the United Front of Revolutionary Youth?

—In order to join this United Front an organization must recognize the economic and social transformation undertaken by Spain since July 19th, and the necessity of upholding the revolutionary conquests of the working class.

The basic considerations behind the program of the United Front of Revolutionary Youth are: to win the war and make the revolution. Our activity is directed against military, and political lines.

On the military front we aim to organize and train the working class youth for the struggle against Fascism and for the revolution. While we are organizing battalions of revolutionary youth, we are also trying to give the entire working class youth a military training comprising the handling of arms, grenade throwing, tank fighting and machine gunning. We intend to make the popular army into one that will not only fight against Fascism, but also for revolution.

All Power to the Working Class

In the political field the principal aim of the United Front of Revolutionary Youth is to maintain an effective unity among the youth and also to create an atmosphere favoring such unity.

It is in this sense that the United Front of Revolutionary Youth backs up the C.N.T. demand for united action on the part of the syndicates.

We also demand that the revolution follow a course of progressive development and that all power be vested in the hands of the working class and the communist parties. We are for socialism of industry and agriculture, respecting at the same time small property and especially peasant small holdings.

Socialization to us does not mean nationalizations, but the workers control by their employees. It is the industrial union that is to proceed along those lines. It is its task to set to work to establish a national plan of production answering the needs of war and revolution.

Revolutionary Youth and Left Republicans

—What is the attitude of the United Front of Revolutionary Youth to such organizations as the Left Republican Youth?

—We want to fight against Fascism and we accept all possible assistance. But we cannot fight against Fascism and the working class youth in an independent republic. The working class of Spain is fighting for the revolution and all its efforts are directed at this aim. We sympathize with the peasants and that for the present they have to join forces with the proletariat in order to build up a socialist society.

—Libertaire, 15-v.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION CHECKED IN CATALONIA

(Continued from page one)

Communists and Left Republicans of Catalonia protest for forming the so-called "Committee for the Popular Army" which, by getting all the support—official and unofficial—of the Stalinist-bourgeois bloc, has begun to arrogate to itself the functions of the C.N.T. Council of Defense. Those very people who were fighting under their own banners for "a strong government" were the first to demand the centralization of the state apparatus. The C.N.T., in a sense, is a group of men who are preparing the ground for a new Fascist movement.

ATTENPT TO DISARM CATALANIAN REVOLUTION

The work of that Committee was backed up by the combined forces of Catalanian counter-revolution. And when all of them failed to achieve their basic task of wrecking control of the army from the anarcho-syndicalists, they opened up a drive to transfer the Aragon troops to another sector and to the Aragon. It would mean for the future of Catalanian revolution everyone with the least bit of political experience can easily guess. It was a move similar to the one contemplated by the Kerensky government in its attempt to remove the revolutionary troops from Petrograd and deliver the city into the hands of the "loyal" troops of General Korniloff.

It is against those manoeuvres that the C.N.T. represents the interests of the government struck out by turn in its resignation. And whatever solution to the political crisis may find, the C.N.T. will not remain in place in the government unless an end be made to the attempt of undermining the work of the Defense Councillor, who works to make the C.N.T. a representative of labor organization.

DEMANS OF THE C.N.T.

The first demand of the C.N.T. is that the Defense Councillor be recently created committees for the C.N.T. Council of Defense. Of no less importance is the demand to have the police bodies to a rigorous purge of those holding the right to all of the police force to join labor unions.

A very important demand figuring in the list of the C.N.T.'s is on which the C.N.T. conditions its joining of the government is creating in each committee a sort of a vigilance committee represented by labor unions. The Councillors run by the C.N.T. representatives are in reality a consultative body consisting of various labor organizations.

It is not so, however, in other Committees, which tend more and more toward the bureaucratic type of a bourgeois Ministry. The C.N.T. demands that this tendency be stopped by revoking to the original design of the Catalanian Council which was to be the Committee of defense of the manifold activities of economic and social organizations and not a government in the accepted sense of the word.

Those are the minimum demands which the C.N.T. understands are regarded in the nature of elementary safeguards against any further encroachments of the counter-revolution. And whatever solution to the current crisis may find, the C.N.T. will be fully recognized and embodied in the program of the new council.

The C.N.T. could not subscribe any further to the policies pursued by the government in regard to police reorganization, carrying on of the war and economic life.

It was intolerable that mercenaries and intermediaries should be allowed to have a hand in the economic power by making them members of a labor organization. (Ed. note: policies pursued by the Communist party in building up the U.G.T.) It was an intolerable state of affairs when those who are a part of the anti-Fascist front deliberately organized the départements of women and children against us. (Ed. note: the anarcho-syndicalist press pointed out that the instigator of those demonstrations was a C.N.T. Councillor of food supplies, unemployed before the listeners a picture of the gradual ripening of the crisis and its final precipitation.

The C.N.T.—he said—did not aim at domination and monopoly of power. But it had to strike out against the intrigues conducted against it, having at their aim to displace and discredit the C.N.T.
CATALONIA FORGES AHEAD

Political events always loom large in the eyes of the general public; especially during the spectacular period of revolutionary struggles such as Spain is undergoing now. And very often these events assume such importance as to overshadow the basic processes of the revolution which, influenced as they might be by political struggles, are determined by altogether different factors.

That is taking place now in regard to Catalonia—the vanguard of the Spanish revolution. The attention of the general public is centered upon political struggles—strikes in the Cabinet, changes in the government, the correlation of forces fighting for power. But alongside of these struggles deeply significant processes of social reconstruction are unfolding their course. Is the general public aware of them to the same extent as it is of political changes?

Catalonian workers are now in control of the industries. How is this new economy functioning? How does it meet the difficulties inevitably arising during a revolutionary period?

WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES FACING THE SOCIALIZED ECONOMY OF CATALONIA?

Some idea of these difficulties is given by the editorial writer of the Valencia anarcho-syndicalist daily Fragua Social, who writes on that subject (Fragua Social 3-iv):

"The principal industries of Catalonia were tributaries of capitalist industry—textile, agriculture—otherwise to be found only in America, and even in the latter it has been imported. But importation is difficult now. How can this difficulty be overcome?"

"How could Catalonia obtain coal necessary for its railways and other industries? Where could it get copper, iron, aluminium, which are indispensable for the war, and other metallurgical industries?"

"Catalonia built its industries on the shaky basis of importation. And now this very fact puts to a very severe test the capacity of the country to organize an economy adapted to national possibilities and one building up of a free socialism."

CATALONIAN WORKERS OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES

"Catalonia, however, is gradually overcoming those difficulties. The Technical Department of the Council of Economy rallied the best brains in the country in the work of building up the very simple: it was to take Malaga and, perhaps, Almeria, then to swoop down upon Madrid, which was an easy target. The fall of Peñascola would give the forces the opportunity to ask for an armistice imposed upon them by France and England.

Conservative Bourgeoisie—Aim of British Policy

"But since England is a liberal country, it would probably be the aim of the English in Spain to exploit the Spanish people should be taken into consideration. A bourgeois democratic republic be formed without the admixture of anarchists or Marxists."

The English government was told in loyalist Spain there are sane and reasonable elements who are ready to steer the ship of state in a less hazardous course than that of the Social Revolution. Secretly, the English government got in touch with representatives of these elements, unfolding before them the plan of truce and control.

Sabotaging the Defense of Malaga

It was in cooperation with those elements that British plans for the conquest of Malaga and Madrid were worked out. Such plans were carried out by the British allies in the Spanish government is evidenced notably not by the patent betrayal of military command and by other, no less striking facts.

"Our fleet," writes the scientist, "which was to take off for Malaga as soon as the danger of attack appeared, did not even make a single stir. Was it because it was not ready to go? No, it was only because it was not near at hand."

Stiffened Resistance to Revolution is Due to Some Influences

The defeat of Italian armies north of Madrid brought to naught those plots carefully hatched in London. The fall of Malaga did not bring the revolution upon its heels, but spurred

England Plotted Fall of Malaga

(Continued from page one)

The result of those exposures was the dismissal of General Asensio and the arrest of Colonel Villasas, who will soon be brought up before the Popular Tribunal on charges of treason. One of the star witnesses against the latter is a member of the Popular Government of Almeria (the province adjoins Malaga), who lately came out with an official statement fully corroborating the charges made by the anarchist press in regard to this General Staff delegate at the Malaga front.

Who Was Back of the Malaga Betrayal

And now that we have the official avowal of the fact of betrayal on the Malaga front, the question arises: who was back of these counter-revolutionary generals who is responsible for placing them in positions of such importance in spite of their re-

* (Ed. note: Those official statements effectively silenced the echoes raised by the Communist press after the fall of Malaga. We hear no more of "anarchist inefficiency" and "Trotskyist agents" as being the main cause of the military de-

bacle on that front. The Communist press, which fought so bitterly against workers' control of the railway yards, fails now

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NEW YORK, MAY 21st, 1937
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Vol. 1, No. 18

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP FOR SPAIN PLANNED BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE

General Mina Approached with this Plan

WINSTON CHURCHIL REVEALS DIPLOMATIC GAME

It is quite in line with the general consciousness of alliance regarding the truly significant aspects of the Spanish situation that the bourgeois press almost entirely ignored the amazing proposals for "pacification" of Spain made by Winston Churchill.

They are amazing not in themselves—anything could be expected from the Most Honorable leader of the dead-end faction of the Tory Party—but by the semi-official stamp of approval given to those proposals. In fact, they were timed to well with other similar, although more veiled, utterances of Eden and other official figures as to give the impression of political song—I was forced to publish the thought of the government through its unofficial spokesman to test the reaction of the country to the schemes now being worked out behind the scenes.

"Neutral" Dictatorship for Spain Proposed

What was the nature of those sensational proposals?

Mr. Churchill declared it an encouraging fact that Germany, France, Italy, Britain and Russia were being "set aside in a way which represented the actuality of Europe and was a shadow of the idea of law." And it is this jungle law that Mr. Churchill wants to be applied to the larger task of strangling the Spanish revolution.

This would be achieved by the following plan:

1) "The first great Powers whose fleets are now operating nominally in a common policy, after agreeing among themselves, would offer to the Spaniards a solution."

This solution would be a dictatorship of the four Powers, extending over a period of six years, in three stages."

The first stage would be that of pacification or as Churchill puts it, of "restoring peace, order and giving the country time to come down."

The second a "hybrid government imposed on Spain from without."

The third stage—and here the "democratic" conscience of Mr. Churchill speaks out—"is known. Mr. Churchill has of late been visiting quite frequently the (Continued on page four)

REVOLUTION IN SPAIN
CANNOT BE CHECKED

AN INTERVIEW WITH EDITOR OF SPANISH PAPER

Comrade M. Garcia, editor of the local weekly, "Cultura Proletaria," just returned from Spain where during several months he had the opportunity to study the situation at close quarters.

In the interview obtained from him he touched only upon the most general problems of the revolution. A more detailed treatment of the situation will be given by comrade Garcia in a series of articles to be printed in the coming issues of the "Spanish Revolution."

Fascist Invaders Will Be Defeated

—What is the general expectation of the great mass of the Spanish population in regard to the outcome of the Civil War?

—Everyone expects the ultimate victory over Fascists as a matter of course. This confidence is not just the manifesta- tion of a hopeful optimism or an airy faith. It is based upon the patent signs of growing military and economic strength.

"The army is rapidly improving its fighting quality. The stock of ammunition is growing, war industries are increasing their output. The army has made tremendous strides in respect of equipment, training and organization. The military schools and training camps are turning out an ever increasing number of officers and military experts."

"In respect to main power, time also plays the hand of the loyalists. The same holds true of economic conditions which keep on improving in our prov-

(Continued on page two)

ANARCHISTS IN BARCELONA STILL HOLD POSITIONS INTACT

Stories of Defeat Not Borne Out by Scanty Reports

Not before the exact terms of the understanding reached between the anarchists of Catalonia and the representatives of Valencia will he become known, will we be able to evaluate the results of the recent disturbances in terms of revolutionary gains or losses.

One thing is clear, though: the fighting did not end in a defeat of anarchist forces as represented by some journalists. Even the Telephone Exchange building was given up only as a result of negotiations and not physical superiority.

The workers' suburbs are in the hands of the anarchists and the criminal attempt to disarm the anarchists had to be given up by the authorities.

In itself the latter represents a distinct success: the fighting did instil some wholesome lessons of respect for the anarchists into the minds of those who were relying too much on the strength of "official armaments.

It is one possible, however, that the value of this lesson may be reduced to naught by further concessions and compromizes in the political field.

Spanish anarchism has shown itself equal to any test in the field of open battle. The same, however, can hardly be said about back stage manoeuvres, negotiations at close doors and political bargaining.

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Power of Revolution Lies with Industrial Union, Not the State

Formed Minister of Economy Explains Anarchist Position

The participation of the Spanish anarchists in the present government is interpreted by many as a full reversal of the anarchist position in regard to the State. The anarchists, we are told, formerly ignored the role of the State, came to see the light, having at first been forced to become a part of the State apparatus and then gradually converted to its protagonists.

There is, however, a great difference between using the State as a protective shell of society during an emergency period and deplacating society, a nation, an epoch at the basis of the doctrine of revolutionary dictatorship.

This point is well brought out by D. A. de Saillans in an article written for the anarchist-syndicalist daily, "Solidaridad Obrera." (D. A. de Saillans—writer and economist, Minister of Economy in the former Cuban Constitution.)

(Continued on page three)

FIGHTING IN BARCELONA PRO-
VOKED BY COMMUNIST AND REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS

Writing of the political crisis of a month ago, the correspondent of the liberal Manchester Guardian found it necessary to point out that "behind the generalities published about the Catalan political crisis there is the wish to bring the anarchists who are numerous in Catalonia to a less extreme frame of mind."

This holds true to a much greater measure in respect to the recent events in Barcelona. Behind the clashes and street fighting there was the provocative policy of the bourgeois-communist bloc of politicians, their suicidal plan "to bring the anarchists to a less extreme frame of mind" by facing them with the alternative of an armed struggle.

Last Crisis Prelude to Present Conflict

This policy, relentlessly pursued ever since the combined forces of the Catalan revolution found themselves strong enough to challenge the anarcho-syndicalist unions, became even more evident after the settlement of the political crisis of a month ago. The situation of the crisis was no solution at all. It left the political situation as it was before the crisis. The only change effected was the setting up of a Supreme War Board to work in conjunction with the Defense Council of the Catalan Government.

In practice it meant that the republican and communist politicians who were manoeuvring to wrest the control of the army from the anarcho-syndicalists saw their chance by throwing the weight of the Supreme War Board, preceded over by Com- muns and controlled by the bourgeois - communist bloc, against the Defense Council. Instead of the unofficial Committee for Support of the Popular Army, which before the crisis was gradually reaching out for control of the army, the politicians had now an official body invested with the moral authority of a Supreme representative organ.

Conflict Deliberately Provoked

And it is very characteristic of the frame of mind of those who talk incessantly about national unity and a united front in face of the Fascist danger that the first real advantage scored in this political manoeuvring was used immediately to provoke an armed struggle with an organization which, according to every impartial observer, represents the majority of workers in Catalonia.

Having failed in their policy of attrition—the crisis was dragged out for 16 days—they decided upon a course of frontal attack, starting with an attempt to disarm the workers and the revolution.
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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May 21st, 1937

THE INCIPENT CAMPAIGN
OF DETRACTION

The latest dispatch sent by Lawrence Fernsworth to the "New York Times" (May 11) about the Barcelona disturbances represents the first attempt to present some coherent picture, not of the disturbances themselves at least of the background of their development.

It is, of course, full of inaccuracies and is obviously inspired by official reports and versions emanating from the Communist bureau in Moscow. Thus the P.O.U.M. is slandered once more in the typically Stalinist fashion, made even more reprehensible by the basically objective tone of reporting. (Mr. Fernsworth has lived long enough in Barcelona to know the difference between fact and slander. His former articles on the same subject — written before the Communists took control of the stage of power which has been in their hands ever since an average journalist—give the lie to it.)

Nor is there any truth to the statement that the C.N.T. incurred the resentment of Catalan peasants by forcing collectivisation upon them. It is a deliberate slander. It is enough to read the daily anarchist press in Catalonia to see that this statement was inexplicable in the hands of a resident agent. Voluntary collectivisation and solicitude for the welfare of the individual peasant prove the basic goals of the C.N.T. program, daily dwelt upon and expounded in the daily press. (Catalan delegates mentioned by Fernsworth (Faratella) was not due to any attempt to force collectivisation. Faratella was one of the few Catalan not in Catalonia. (It's a population voted for the reactionary in the February elections of 1936). The story presence of the C.N.T. was a source of conflicts which finally flourished in an armed clash.

As to the unpopularity of the C.N.T., the author does not specify the kind of people the C.N.T. is unpopular with. It may be as far as the middle classes are concerned—and Mr. Fernsworth feels perhaps at home among the latter among the workers and peasants whose sentiments toward the C.N.T. certainly do not show any signs of ebbing off. But there is objective evidence to the impressionistic statement of Mr. Fernsworth. "Solidarity Of Work' is the most widely read paper in Catalonia. It has a circulation of 220,000 while no socialist or Communist paper reaches above 30,000. It has the majority of workers with it: there is not an important branch of industry in Catalonia that is not controlled by the C.N.T. And unlike the U.G.T. which opened wide its doors to the middle classes and the petty-bourgeoisie, the C.N.T. membership is, according to the "Herald-Tribune" correspondent, "of old standing." That is, it consists of genuine workers who have gone through a long and bitter school of militant fighting under the monarchy, the Fascist dictatorship of Primo De Rivera and the Azana Republic.

And contrary to the flippant assertion of Mr. Fernsworth, this accumulated reservoir of labor militancy stored up within the C.N.T. will "bear out its claims" if and when the time comes for a "test of public strength."

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

The primary business of a newspaper is reporting of facts and events. It may fail in its interpretation of such facts, it may be guilty of obscuring a strong bias into the reporting of facts, but as long as it succeeds in presenting a coherent story it fulfills the minimum demands we present to a newspaper.

Judging from this point of view, the reporting of the last events in Barcelona falls below the barest minimum. The general account given in such a leading newspaper as the "New York Times" is not true of the others as well) simply does not make sense at all.

What did happen in Barcelona? Was it the outcome of the armed struggle in the streets of that city? What were the terms of the understanding reached at by the warring factions? There is not even an inkling of it in the reporting done by high-colored, top-matched correspondents of those papers. The accounts submitted by them

Revolution in Spain
(Continued from page one)

ences while progressively deteriorating in the Fascist controlled provinces.

Workers and Peasants

For Revolution

—What are the expectations of the population in regard to the continuation of revolution after the war?

—I wouldn't know. Most of workers and peasants are solidly behind the idea that the social revolution must be carried to its logical end upon the completion of the war. This sentiment is not confined to the more radical workers of the anarcho-syndicalist groups. The trade unionists have not to have trouble in the long range.

—What is the attitude of the bureaucratic leadership of the reformist union (U.G.T.) to this general expectation?

Cannot Be Checked

—The bureaucracy of the U.G.T., as well as the political parties, are against the social revolution, but the pressure of the great mass of workers and peasants will compel them to change their recalcitrant attitude. After the war this pressure will become irresistible. Far in the long run it is the workers' unions that exercise the real power.

—It shows mostly in the grip against economic life obtained by workers' and peasants' unions. In Catalonia all the big industries have been socialized. In the rest of Spain socialization came to prevail in most of the larger enterprises.

—Workers and peasants' syndicates are not only in control of production but also of the main avenues of trade. Exports are supervised. Commerce is mainly carried on by syndicates. Private trade still lingers on, but in spite of the solitude shown on its behal by the political parties it is rapidly losing its economic positions to workers' syndicates and peasant cooperatives.

Social Revolution in the Villages
—How far does the revolution penetrate the villages?
—The revolution is working colossal changes in the life of the Spanish peasants. The expropriation of large lands, the wiping out of feudal vassals, the strong collectivization movement are changing the face of the countryside;

—What is the general arrangement in regard to ownership and cultivation of land?
—Things are still in a state of flux, but we can already discern the general features of the social order which is now crystallizing in the villages.

All the expropriated lands passed into the ownership of the municipality which disposes of it through the peasant syndicates. And it is the latter that actually exercises the control over the agricultural economy as a whole.

—Peasant holdings are not interfered with. In many cases the owners of such holdings are allotted additional land from the general fund obtained by expropriating the vast land estates. The land, of course, does not become the private property of the peasant. The latter only enjoys the right of usufruct.

—How strong is the collectivization movement among the peasants?
—The collectivization movement is not fostered from above nor is it forced upon the peasants by an outside agency. It springs from the peasants themselves. Most of the expropriated lands passed into the hands of the syndicates which are now swimming all over the country.

—The sweep of this remarkable movement is tremendous. And on the basis of all that is happening I think I can say that within a short time collectives will become the dominant form of peasant economy throughout Spain.

FUTURE BELONGS TO LIBERTARIAN YOUTH

"It is in Valencia that the Young Libertarians have their regular monthly conferences to discuss the problems facing them. I had the pleasure of attending the last April conference from all provinces. Even Asturias, which for a number of months could not send any delegates, was represented at the conference.

—Catalan delegates opens the congress with a detailed account of the work and events of the past period. The reports are all presented in a coherent form and even more acceptable to the censorship than vague hints and enigmatic reporting.

—The congress from Asturias also reports of the latest country-wide revolutionary manoeuvres of the government in that province.

—In Valencia the government imprisoned 214 comrades from the C.N.T.-F.A.I., many of them valiant fighters of the "Iron Columns," thus paralyzing their energetic struggles at the front.

—The Asturian delegate tells of the split between the Young Socialists of Asturias and the socialist masses of that province. The Young Socialists regard the position of the Party as too reformist and want to work along more revolutionary line.

—My travels in the province of Valencia brought me great surprises. I thought I would find much hostility to the anarchists.

"Some of the Italian tanks operating in Spain bear the following signs: We are going to Madrid; from Madrid to Paris, and from Paris to Moscow."

(From C.N.T. anarcho-syndicalist daily in Madrid.)

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On the contrary: everywhere you saw anarchist flags, wall papers and placards. Every day new columns of letters were being organized, and our meetings were very well attended.

"I congratulated our comrades on these signs of progress. It came back in three months and Leonst will be even better than Catalonia's the secretary of the propaganda section told me.

"Indeed, the future belongs to the Libertarian Youth!"

(From "Le Reveil"—an anar- chist weekly published in Geneva.)
PEASANTS OF ARAGON
ARE FOR COLLECTIVES

Aragon is the most revolutionary province of Spain. The libertarian elements, which came to power upon the arrival of workers' contingents from Barcelona, made no compromise as much as the anarchists of Catalonia. The spontaneous impulse of the peasantry in Aragon has been hampered and thwarted as in the other provinces. Hence—a higher degree of socialization, more advanced forms of village communism and the control of all strategic positions by the revolutionaries. (Even the moderate unionists at times have approached the cooperatives.) U.G.T. is swept into the revolutionary work. In no other province, with the exception of Asturias, are the bonds of solidarity at the state or syndicalist union—C.N.T.—and the socialist U.G.T. as strong as they are in Aragon.

It is true, however, as it is alleged by the slanders of the Stalinist press—that this regime has been imposed upon the peasants by the combined forces of the state and the latter is refulent of the collectivist "experimentation"?

We find an answer to this question in the description given by the Italian anti-Fascist paper, "Giustizia e Liberta" of the general effect produced by the new social order upon the Aragonese peasantry. "Giustizia e Liberta" is not an anarchist paper, and the testimony of its correspondent cannot be taken as party propaganda of any sort.

New Social Order Deeply Appreciated by Peasants

As we corresponded with the peasants during my extensive travels in Aragon convinced me that the change of regime (collectivization of peasant economy) means a complete break with the former regimes to the peasants in the most direct and immediate manner.

"None of the villages of this province have been able to escape from the specter of starvation haunting the peasant communities for generations. The standard of life of these communities was at or very near the lowest level. Our participation in the war and the government do not mean that we gave up our basic beliefs in the possibility of building up a social order based upon political and economic freedom.

"Our organization and distribution and consumption,

"Social life can only be organized with the help of the workers, agricultural workers, without industrial workers, miners, navigators. And that is what we have seen, the big factories, means of transport and food, has also the power, the entire power."

Fighting In Barcelona

(Continued from page one)

We are against the State and militarism. But, having accepted the war, we must also accept the army and the State. This does not imply that we give up our principles. We may face any challenge, but we will face it with the same principles and the same method. We will fight for the revolution, that the leaders of the Catalan U.G.T.—(moderate union) and controlled by socialist and communist bureaucrats) signed a solemn pact with the anarchosyndicalist unions pledging loyal cooperation in the carrying out of the basic tasks of the revolution.

What has changed since that time that it was necessary to embark upon a policy which, were it even successful, would endanger the struggle against Fascism?

Were the anarchists recalcitrant in their attitude toward other forces? Did they show any tendency toward monopoly of power? Did they pursue a policy excluding any cooperation of other parties on the basis of the generally accepted revolutionary congresses?

The Spirit of Pact-Breaking

If anything, the anarchists were too yielding, too eager to maintain the cooperation of others, in the basic tasks of war and revolution. Had the republican and communist politicians meant what they promised their ideals and pledges and pacts signed with the anarchists 7 or 8 months ago, the road would be open for a harmonious, truly democratic, and beneficial union of all viewpoints on the basis of some compromise resolution of the problems facing the revolution.

Such compromise was, however, barred by the spirit of the bourgeoisie-communist politician, a spirit fully revealed by the idle talk about "liquidating the C.N.T." and "French manner" at the very beginning of the revolution. (See M. E. Ravage's article "Revolución en la Revolución," No. 9.) It was this spirit, butressed up by the material aid of the Moscow and Valencia governments, that dictated the policy of pact-breaking, of sabotage and deliberate provocations pursu ed ever since the Catalan government was formed.

Communist Policy Leading to Civil War

The fruits of this suicidal policy are already showing up. Now it is only a little skirmish leading to an armed truce and insignificant gains. But is there any doubt that given the same spirit and the blind suicidal policy on the part of the politicians, and a new civil war will flare up? Will all the ominous consequences entailed by it?

For Barcelona is not Kronsstadt and the Spanish anarchist movement is not a hard nut to crack than the Russian anarchist movement of twenty years ago.
Military Dictatorship for Spain Planned by England

(Continued from page one) great contribution that all of us who have suffered every manifestation of democracy in our own country have been the basis of the Spanish revolution. This is feared not only because it would mean the loss of an entirely new and victorious generation of Spaniards who have fought for democracy and freedom. The victory of the workers and the Spanish revolution would be the same as the victory of the Bolshevists. The Invernila, the writings of the Bolshevists, the Invernila who now has the victory of the Bolshevists from 1917.

Churchill’s Proposals Acted Upon by Britain and France

As it was pointed out, these proposals do not represent an individual opinion of any influential political figure. They incorporate the basic principles of the British and French governments. And what more is there to say about them? They are being acted upon by their diplomatic agents and are being discussed by all governments engaged in a war around the Spanish revolution.

Military Dictatorship for Spain Planned by England

“Discrete standouts have already been made among the generals of both camps.”

General Miaja Groomed For Dictatorship

“Le Depeche de Touclos” reports that General Miaja was also approached with this plan.

“General Miaja,” writes this paper, “is regarded as one who is singularly fit to head such a military dictatorship.” It is believed that a number of generals in France’s army, as well as in the great military and civil powers, are able to carry out any attempt of the revolutionary workers to increase their grip and control over the military leaders.

In the long run it is in the policy interest of the secret agencies of the C.N.T. of Spain to gradually depriving the workers and soldiers of all power, thus giving the revolution and turning over the control of the country into the hands of the old gang of so-called “democratic” politicians that is so familiar to the Spanish military.

And when the Moor has done what he has to do, the British government considers the situation tips to tell the Moor to go.

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REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE DEFIED

COMMUNISTS BUILD SECRETE CHE-KA

One of the Soviet bloc’s principal signs of the peace of mutual defense against Fascist invasion was to establish a form of popular justice which would make impossible any form of political persecution within the anti-Fascist ranks.

And indeed, the forms of such justice have been fully worked out and incorporated in the Popular Tribunals, the functioning of which presents one of the best achievements of the revolution in Spain.

The Spirit of Lynch Law Asserting Itself

It would appear that the party that has been showing the biggest defense of democracy would show itself the staunchest defender of democratic rights in the field of justice. Those, however, who have been immersed in the Communist Party in this land of Lynch law will hardly find any hope on the part of that party to this revolutionary attempt to work out higher forms of justice.

And indeed, wherever the Communist Party of Spain succeeded in expressing its positions, it first acted to establish some sort of a Che-Ka which, acting with the connivance of the authorities, already grew into a sinister and hated power, tending to displace the Popular Tribunals.

Thus, for instance, the Spanish Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (April 22) reports that in the city of Murcia a secret Che-Ka was in operation for some time. The general public was alarmed by sudden disappearances of people, among them a number of prominent republicans of the C.N.T.

The police was strangely inactive, showing that this secret body enjoyed some protection in the “hollower spheres.” The city was terrorized for quite a time until the C.N.T. took matters into its own hands.

The result of this investigation was the detention of hordes of assassins which, according to a document signed by the Popular Front Committee, Libertarian Youth Organization and the local Federation of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party, however, was strangely silent on that matter. Nor was the government of that province very explicit about it: the threats of this criminal conspiracy led quite unhesitatingly to the C.N.T. Committee’s condemnation of the secret body.

The C.N.T. was instrumental in unearthing this underground Che-Ka, but in view of the high protection offered this band in so-called “responsible” quarters, it has no illusions about the difficulties of driving these plotters of assassins behind bars. That is why it is issued a solemn warning to all those elements that any further attempt to import what the Bulletin calls “foreign systems of political dictatorship and terror” will be met with the classical methods of reprisals which the C.N.T. had been using against the Spanish tyrants and insulators.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY VERSUS CAPITALIST CONTROL

French workers backing the British merchant marine are here in the presence of international control officers who were watched in case arms were concealed on board—suddenly went on strike. The dockers objected to any store for arms which would have been destined for the Spanish government forces. The control officers who are British, Italian and German, have protested to headquarters that the French workers are preventing them from carrying on their work. They insist on winning the rest of the cargo.

U.L.O. FUNDS RECEIVED DURING APRIL

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Corrected bal. Apr. 23 should read, instead of $953.46. $1453.46

Sent to Spain May 13, $14,000.00—Expenses, $12.50

balances on hand

$953.27
TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE OF SPANISH WORKERS

A CABLEGRAM FROM VALENCIA
May 24, 1937

Catalan C.N.T.-U.G.T. program demands state control of industry, and collectivization and equal salaries. C.N.T. rejects.

In Valencia U.G.T.-C.N.T. unity is growing.

Ed. Note. In Catalonia the Com- munist Party and the "unity" program bears the imprint of the latter's policy to liquidate the revolution in Catalonia. The program is in the nature of a transactional measure designed to facilitate such liquidation.

State control of industries means wiping out the Spanish syndicate workers who since July 19 of being active in industries, Catalonia. Putting an end to collectivization would frustrate the great peasant movement in Catalan villages which has for its aim the complete emancipation of the rural population from the power of the city overlords and private trader. And in the light of the sharp differentiation of incomes in Soviet Russia, presented there as the last word of socialism, one can very easily understand the particular hatred of the Moscow-controlled party toward one of the most progressive aspects of the Spanish revolution's economy—the equalization of salaries and wages.

By virtue of a law of March 29, Spain the U.G.T. is independent of the Communist Party, although it cannot altogether escape its influence. That is the movement for unity between the U.G.T. and C.N.T. finds left obstacles than those in Catalonia. And therein lies one of the most hopeful aspects of the present situation in Spain.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT OF BARCELONA EVENTS

British Comrade Presents Issues and Events of the Tragic Struggle

Reprinted from Glasgow Paper "Barcelona Bulletin"

Barcelona, May 5th, 1937

You all have heard, no doubt, of the present trouble in Barcelona. The trouble broke out on Monday afternoon, the 3rd, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, the quietest time of the day here, as the shops are all closed, and every one is either housed or eating in a restaurant, and not walking about the streets. The general strike ended the telephone building by force. As the move was quite unexpected, they succeeded in disarming the militia in charge there, and in gaining control.

We knew about it on Monday afternoon, but although there was a feeling of electricity in the air, and some fighting on the Plaza Catalunya, nothing further happened during the afternoon. At night time, when we went to return home, there were patrols out everywhere. At one corner we would meet the civil guards, and the next the C.N.T. guards. All men were stopped and searched for arms. We were stopped because we had a man with us, and they made no attempt to search us at all, not even the police.

We were told by the back way to get in left the back, although there were few places. And he fully assured us all the qualifications demanded by Moscow from its hired agents.

While we were checking up on the Cobbe, we found 900 sacks of potatoes hidden away by him. That was the time when the Barcelona workers with their factories in town at last, having been deprived of them for nearly two months. In the course of a great variety (Continued on page two)

WE READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

The Truth About Spain (by Rudolph Rocker)... 5c

The Revolutionary Movement in Spain... 10c

Because terror: the police were firing from their building further up the street, and from nearby houses, and the C.N.T. were replying from the Casas, from the balconies and from the roofs. The C.N.T. have a plenty of guns, most guns and bombs; and the other side seem to have the same. The noise is terrible. Already there have been many killed and wounded.

There have been deliberate shotting-up on the part of the civil guard of members of the C.N.T. A motor left here yesterday afternoon, and it was stopped just up the road, and the occupants forced to flight. They were shot deliberately in cold blood. Some say that the police were not members of the U.G.T., they are provided by the right wing. They also shot up two motors full of C.N.T. people, and refused to let the ambulance attend to them.

It is as follows to report that the Communist Party is a menace to the workers in their struggle. It is a party upholding reaction and delivering, loving and seeking power in its place, which means also all.

There has been a proposal from

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

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION
A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

Vol. 1, No. 19
NEW YORK, JUNE 4, 1937
Price 3 cents

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIGHTING IN BARCELONA?

*The background of the recent outbreak in Barcelona and the latter role played by the Catalan Socialists is portrayed here by our who made a close study of the situation in Catalonia, Marcelino Garcia, the writer of this article (editor of the "Cultura Proletaria") spent close to six months in Spain. He was in the thick of events and, unlike the correspondents of the bourgeois press, he did not have to fall back upon journalistic gossip and official propaganda for his information.

The UNILOYAL ALLIANCE OF COMMUNISTS AND BOURGEOIS POLITICIANS

The responsibility for what took place in Barcelona does not lie with the Fascists, which, according to abundant reports of the bourgeois press, were found that way into the ranks of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., but rather on the sections of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Catalonia, who, in order to break the revolution, have allied themselves with all the corrupt elements of the country, with the forces of reaction, with the Civil Guard (the old reactionary police force of the country) and with certain elements of the Assault Guards (a comparatively new police force built up after the fall of the monarchy).

In other words, the responsibility for what has happened—and for what is likely to happen in the future—lies squarely upon the shoulders of Moscow sectarians and the bourgeoisie allies. The communists in this case pursue their old tactic of splitting and betraying their comrades by setting the Fascists and destroying those proletarian movements which are the only ones that have a chance to show their dictatorship will.

THE MEASURE OF A MOSCOW LEADER

This maneuver, control of destruction, of making alliances with the bourgeois and provoking conflict between the workers is, of course, directed by Moscow. But the latter's agent in Catalonia is Comorana, the most prominent leader of the Communist Party in that province.

It will, therefore, be necessary to say a few words about this gentleman. Comorana is a criminal type in every respect. Even the existence of a reactionary bourgeois, lacking any political experience, made him fearful to himself to the highest bidder. He betrayed and cheated his comrades whom he had the opportunity to do so.

Officially, Comorana was a socialist. But actually he was innocent of any political convictions. His highest aspiration is to make money and, at the same time, he is the chief agent of Moscow policies ever since the merger of the Socialist and Communist parties of Catalonia.

ATTEMPTED COUP THWARTED BY HEROIC RESISTANCE OF BARCELONA WORKERS

FRENCH MARINES SUPPORT CATALANIST STALINISTS

The more detailed information given by the British, French and Spanish newspapers enable us to piece together a more complete story of the events taking place in Valencia at the first week of the month of May. And it fully confirms the view developed in the previous issue of this paper, namely: the so-called revolt of the anarchists in Barcelona was not a revolt at all; it was an act of self-defense against an open attack of the counter-revolutionary forces organized under the banners of the Communist Party and the Catalanist-Stalinist bourgeoisie groups.

A Plot in Preparation

The attack had been planned for a long time in a manifesto issued by the C.N.T. for the events points out that plans for an attack upon the C.N.T. were made in the month of April and it was only at the last minute, finding no support of our comrades that those plans were thwarted at that moment.

The political crisis was a part of the same conspiracy, the proof of which is that in spite of the considerable concessions made by the C.N.T. in order to have the crisis solved, particularly the same elements continued their drive in the direction of curtailting the power of the revolutionary bodies.

An attack was made upon the border town of Puercura, punitive expeditions were sent against several anarchist villages, pressure was exerted to put into practice the decree abolishing Workers' Patrols and the personal warrants of the old police forces. This decree was suspended under the pressure of the C.N.T., but now the talk of its renewal is coupled with a Socialist-Fascist attempt to abolish the Popular Tribunals and replace them with urgency courts composed of appointed magistrates.

Member of Former Fascist Organization Leader of Plot

All that, however, was but a prelude to the vaster plan of seizing power by a sudden coup which would make the Catalanist-Stalinist-bourgeois coalition the undisputed masters of Catalonia.

Who was heading the conspiracy?

There was Antonio Aguade. (Newly rewarded for his treachery with a cabinet seat in the new counter-revolutionary government of Valencia). This is what the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Valencia (Fragua Social, May 12) writes of this party of the Catalanist Stalinites:

"A few months ago a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was unearthing in Catalonia. It was headed by Declaras, the leader of the separatist organization (closely allied with the Italian Fascists). The President of the Parliament, Cass averes, involved in this plot, escaped abroad. The Chief of Police, Reveret, was (Continued on page three)

(The Spanish workers need your continued aid. We cannot rest until these heroic fighters lay down their arms in victory. Only working class solidarity can achieve victory. Send funds to I. Radinovsky, c/o U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.)
WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FIGHTING IN BARCELONA?

(Continued from page one)

Comunera left for Valencia, issuing orders to occupy the barracks from the mills until he would come back. And Calvo to Badajos. Calvo did not have to wait for bread for several days, waiting until Comunera came back from his Ministerial voyage.

BRIEFING THE POLICE AND LEADING COMMUNIST PARTIES

While the masses of Barcelona population pile up armaments and potence, the bourgeoisie, the important pressmen in the police stations, are not equipped with the two products so essential in the food diet of the Barcalona workers.

What was the aim pursued by the police in these police policies? It was to gain for the Communist Party and its petty-bourgeois allies the sympathy of the police forces. That is why he kept on panpering them, also promising the reactionary elements that by aiding forces with them, they would be able to put down the Bolshevism and its agitators. And what's more, he promised the old police forces that the mass of police forces will be rehired by the police force (built up by the revolution) would be abolished and the authority of the police forces would be established in full.

WIDE OPEN TOWN PROMISED BY COMMUNISTS

Comunera also promised those elements temporarily of gambling and prostitution places, the open markets of the city, and other similar points closed up by the C.N.T. and P.A.I.

The editor-in-chief of “Solidaridad Obrera” (anarchist-syndicalist daily in Barcelona), the genuine representative of the working masses of Catalonia, has in his possession a series of documents showing that during all this period of war and revolution those very elements—police and police allies and the C.N.T. and P.A.I. were selling armaments to Fascists at the price of 7,500 pesetas per package.

And it is those elements that now are being forced to stay and help Calvo to the Fascist “Sant Cau," of being the “uncivilized" people who fight against the Republicans. Those who have not been arrested by the C.N.T. or other organizations will not be able to cross the border with READ AND SPREAD THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

The will of the great mass of workers and peasants and that is why it must be an obedient tool of foreign governments.

And like all such tools it will be discarded when its usefulness is gone. Today it still serves the purpose; it camouflagles the drive for a military dictatorship by its speciously democratic character. But let the revolutionary forces weaken for a moment and the drive for such a dictatorship becomes visible. Already the first act of this "democratic" government was to dissolve the Madrid municipality and to turn over the civil power to General Misja. This is only the first in the long range "democratic" policy of the Stalin government, which, acting in conjunction with the French Counter-Revolution, is working directly in the direction of a dictatorship in Spain as the only guarantees against the victory of revolutionary forces.

And the price of this guarantee will not be only the defeat of the most ardent hopes of the Spanish workers and peasants, another Paris Commune on a much vaster scale, but national disaster for the country, indicated already in the social insur- genuis (with the concurrence of Vaticana) plans for the pacification of the country and the restoring of "orderly democratic government."
BRITISH COMRADE REPORTS BARCELONA EVENTS

(Continued from page one)

The Generalissimo to form a new Government of Catalonia was in hotly debated in the Barcelona conflict. But the C.N.T. want the police (civil guard) disbanded, and brought under the control of the syndicates in future. There is a settlement coming, I think. They intend to make a compromise.

There is a conference at the Government, and everything will be worked out by the Generalissimo on the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of Police, both of whom are in sympathy with the syndicates at the present time.

Comrade Verder, the Chief of Police's representative in Madrid, was in Barcelona last week. He had received a message from the Generalissimo supporting the C.N.T. and the U.C.T. and the syndicates. He also received a message from the Generalissimo supporting the C.N.T. and the U.C.T. and the syndicates.

Luis V. F. L. A.

The Generalissimo issued the Ration Cards. These cards had been issued in an attempt to prevent the distribution of the Ration Cards to the workers. But the C.N.T. want the police (civil guard) disbanded, and brought under the control of the syndicates in future. There is a settlement coming, I think. They intend to make a compromise.

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FAMOUS ANARCHIST THINKER ASSASSINATED BY BARCELONA CHEKISTS

The international anarchist movement suffered a heavy loss. Camillo Berneri, one of the most brilliant anarchist thinkers, a great and inspiring figure, as such is frequently found in the intensely idealistic Italian anarchist movement, was murdered by the Communist agents in Barcelona.

He was murdered in the same vile manner as Carl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Dragged out, together with his companion, from his house at the day the fighting began in Barcelona, he was found dead on the streets two days later, his body pierced by bullets and slashed open with a knife.

It was a premeditated murder, for once Berneri found fighting from his home and not found fighting on the streets. He was on the proscription list of the sinister alliance—the unyielding unalliance of Stalinists, corrupt police officers and underworld characters of Barcelona. He was singled out because of his great service in the cause of the Spanish revolution, the services of a powerful, trained intellect and a noble character thoroughly permeated with the spirit of the revolutionary teachings of anarchism.

Camillo Berneri came to Spain together with many other heroic Italian comrades and fought on the numerous battlefronts. He came there after fifteen years of life as an exile, haunted by the democratic governments of France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. A professor of philosophy in several Italian universities (before his escape from Italy in 1926) he placed his vast culture and learning at the service of the anarchist movement.

In Spain he joined the military fighting at the Aragon front. But later the Italian and Spanish comrades prevailed upon him to take over the editing of an Italian publication in Barcelona (Guerra di Clasi). Under his editorship the paper became one of the most powerful publications, exercising an influence far exceeding the relatively small circle of Italian anarchists in Spain. He brought his great knowledge of theory and history of the revolutionary movement to bear upon the complicated problems of the revolution, exercising a profound and ever-increasing influence upon the vanguard of the anarchist movement in Spain.

And as a result of that Berneri became one of the best hated men in the Stalinist and bourgeois circles. And he also became a marked man, one of the first to be picked out according to the secret list of the secret Che-Ka now built up by the Moscow agents in Spain. (Berneri was taken out by a company consisting of six Amasguards and six Communists.)

The most evident sign of Fascist degeneracy is the hatred of men of intellect, of honest thinkers and fearless searchers after truth. On him as the first victim of the secretly planned purge, the Stalinists have shown once more that what exists in the socialist movement which the same terrible disease which now haunts the life of the people in Germany and Italy.

It was by military aid given at one of the most critical moments of the Spanish struggle, was accomplished by the secret influence of the Socialists and the insignificant Communist Youth.

It was a curious form of “merger,” since it was not preceded by any discussion or any democratic procedure of any kind—merging the rank and file of the Socialist Youth organizations. It was engineered from the top in purely bureaucratic manner.

The leaders of the Socialist Youth decided upon it, and immediately upon the merging taking place the joint Communist Party, not only at rank and file members, but as members of its Central Executive Committee.

A Totalitarian Tool of An Aspiring Dictatorship

This simple act of betrayal on the part of the leadership of the Socialist Youth organization placed the latter under the complete domination of the Communist Party. Its press, as it is proven by the ex-editor of the socialist paper Claridad, Leonardo Peres, is prepared by communists. It follows slavishly the line laid down by Moscow, having launched a vicious campaign against the “trotskyites” (a year earlier in communists—those who fight for socialization is a Fascist agent?” (Quoted from Aretx, April 28). “How is it that its application.

The Hand of Moscow Government

The answer is simple. Nothing has changed in the Spanish situation to warrant a radical turn of the erstwhile revolutionary youth into the direction of extreme reformism. It is the intervention of the powerful outside-agency—the Moscow government—that wrought such powerful changes.

The intervention of the Moscow government, backed up as

WHITHER PROLETARIAN YOUTH OF SPAIN?

The Bankruptcy of the Communist-Controlled Organizations

Next to the Communist Party in importance as an anti-revolutionary factor in present-day Spain is the so-called United Socialist Youth, an organization which, contrary to its name, is not a genuine organization of socialist youth, but is a synthetic creation, created by the Communist Party and inflamed by it to the measure of a sizable factor.

Socialist Youth for Revolution a Year Ago

Nominally, it is still predominantly socialist in character. Its membership consists of sincere socialists with a good sprinkling of active revolutionists. And how could it be otherwise?

Only a year ago it was in the forefront of revolutionary struggles. The Socialist Youth was the main prop of the left-wing faction within the Socialist Party. Its leaders declared themselves in favor of an immediate social revolution, of a closer understanding with the C.N.T., F.A.I. and a resolve to struggle against the economic costs of Fascism. No other organization that is outside of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.—reflected as much as the leftward swing of the Spanish masses which became so noticeable after the October revolt of 1934. And certainly the political issues of the last year events could not have reversed the direction of popular sympathies. If anything the Spanish masses have become more, and not less revolutionary during the last year.

Reforms Overnight

How is it that the very same organization which only a year ago fought so stubbornly against the reformist policies of Prato and other leaders of the “old guard,” declares now through its General-Secretary (Santiago Carrillo) that those who fight for socialization is a Fascist agent?” (Quoted from Aretx, April 28). “How is it that its}

Camillo Berneri Anarchist Thinker Assassinated by Communist Agents

leaders now come out with statements which not even the representatives of the catholic Basque government dare backing up. For even the latter have no lip service to the profoundly social nature of the struggle now going on in Spain. But here is what the Secretary of the United Socialist Youth writes in the socialist daily Claridad (May 1):

“We are fighting for a democratic republic. We are sincere about it, for we realize that if we fought for a socialist revolution in our country we would assure victory to the Fascists.”

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Subscribe to the only English paper in this country representing the point of view of the most dynamic force of Spanish life—the anarcho-syndicalist union (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federacion (F.A.I.).

Price of one year’s subscription, one dollar.

REVOLTS WITHIN AND WITHOUT

This policy could not but run up into powerful opposition of the revolutionary elements within and without this organization.

It stands to reason, of course, that the Libertarian Youth set itself respectively against the policies of the Communist authoritarianism among the youth. Of no less importance, however, is the wave of revolts and oppositionary outbursts which this policy provoked within the membership of the United Socialist Youth.

The Asturian member of the Central Executive Committee of this organization resigned in protest against the reformist policies and dictatorial methods of the Communist leadership. A vigorous protest against those very policies was raised by the Levante (Valencia) locals and prominent Madrid members. (The ex-editor of the Socialist daily Claridad.)

And as the editor of the C.N.T. daily pointed out in connection with those revolts (C.N.T. May 4): “We witness now within the Unified Socialist Youth not an ordinary crisis but a volcanic agitation which is bound to break forth soon with a tremendous force. This will lead not to the death of this organization, which contains thousands of active militants, but to the wiping away of the treason against revolutionary principles committed by its present leaders.”

C.N.T. BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH (Barcelona)

| Short Wave Length: 42.88 meters | FREQUENCY | 6,995 Kc. |
| Normal Wave Length: 222.95 meters | FREQUENCY | 1,348 Kc. |
The Master's Voice

Will Diplomacy Achieve What Fascist Tanks and Aeroplanes Failed to Do?

No one who followed up the political development in Spain during the last few months will be greatly surprised at the reported proposal to "neutralize" Madrid by having the Loyalists withdraw from it while pledging the Fascist high command to abstain from any attacks upon the evacuated city.

The proposal, as reported in the "New York Times" of June 7, emanates from the Spanish government itself and is seemingly in line with the general plans of the so-called "democratic" coalition of the Great Powers to enforce a truce upon the struggling forces in Spain.

It is the first step in the direction of such an armistice. The newly formed government must be given more time to organize a counter-revolutionary army. With forces within the country and to stale effectively any movement of protest against such infamous proposals. At the present Mr. Negrin still finds it necessary to rally the aroused public opinion by making a gesture at internal unity. He still speaks the language of the old government, scoring the idea of negotiating with the Fascists about an amicable settlement.

But Mr. Delbos, the French Foreign Minister, who, previously to his diplomatic trip to Brussels, had had an amicable talk with the Loyalist government concerning the Spanish situation, declares to the Belgian journalists: "If we could only bring about the acceptance of an armistice, we should be very near to the end of the conflict; we all are in agreement to make such an attempt."

"(Manchester Guardian," May 25.)

The British paper in its issue of May 24 reports that "this British government is taking soundings in the capitals of the principal countries concerned about the possibility of a truce in Spain." And can there be any doubt that when the Negrin government speaks its authentic voice as it did in its last proposal to "neutralize" Madrid, it is done at the bidding of Messe, Litvinov, Eden and Delbos?

The master's voice is the voice of those gentlemen, for it is their pressure that brought about the fall of Largo Calandario's government. The fall of the now, counter-revolutionary government against the will of the great majority of workers and peasants of Spain. The preponderant majority of the population of Loyalist Spain is organized in the anarcho-syndicalist and socialistic unions—the CNT. and U.G.T.—and both are inalterable opposed to the new government.

And so is also the army, made up of the most militant members of those two organizations. The army is restrained in its urge to put an end to the counter-revolutionary machinations by the realization of the supreme necessity of maintaining unity against the Fascist enemy. But it is biding its time, waiting impatiently for the time when it will be able to turn its arms against the counter-revolutionary bastion home.

The reactionaries within the country, by arms against the counter-revolutionary bastion, and the virtual control of Foreign powers knows it. The reactionaries within the country, by arms against the Fascist bastion, and the virtual control of Foreign powers knows it.

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THE TRAGIC DAYS IN BARCELONA

The Armed Proletarian Plebiscite
From the French Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

On May 17th, the third, Barcelona learned again of the power of the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Catalonia. Just as it happened on July 15th, the entire workers' population of Barcelona mobilized within a few hours. This movement was a veritable plebiscite. All the workers' suburbs, all without any exceptions, were transformed into forts for the assault. The barracks of the police, Republican and Communists military located in all ares had been taken by the workers or declared themselves neutral as it was the case with the Communist barracks of Serris.

CLASS DIVISIONS SHOWN IN THE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF FORCES

The workers' suburbs of Barcelona remained faithful to the C.N.T. and will always remain so. The police, the Republicans and the Communists dominated the barracks centralizing the city inhabited by those social layers of population from whom the above-mentioned groups issue.

But it is not all the police forces that took part in the fight against workers. Many of them remained passive and it was only a small number of them that let themselves be swept into the struggle against the workers and architects of the CNT.

COMMUNIST OUTRAGES

A general strike was declared immediately. Only the war industries continued functioning. The police of the CNT, under the guidance of the CNT syndicates, the revolutionary workers in armament and the police barracks and the locals of the leftist parties from which communists were directed at the workers in the streets. The headquarters of the Regional Committee of the CNT, at war, ready for action during these days.

And again the CNT, not involun-
tarily, began to consider that it was necessary to arrest in his homes the Communists and a day

According to the report of many Italian refugees who succeeded in fleeing the war, Berlin was deserted, empty and rifled of the state of unrest prevailing throughout the country, and especially in Piamonte and Lombardia.

The Spanish Workers Will Have to Fight on Two Fronts
The Spanish revolution has come to a turning point in its development. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. are in opposition. From now on we shall have to defend ourselves against the CNT.

During the last 10 months, it was comparatively easy to win the aid of the international proletariat and to take on the common enemy: Fascism. But now the Spanish proletariat has two enemies: 1) Spanish Fascism backed up by international capitalism on whose sides are arranged Soviet Russia and the Fascist states. And 2) international capitalism has its accomplices in the Left republicans, the socialist and the Communists. The CNT and the F.A.I. have now to face the most difficult problem. We hope that you will realize our difficult situation and that you will support us in this hard work. We ask you to support us in all the means at your disposal.

The peninsular Committee of the F.A.I.

The embargo placed by the French government on the shipment of arms to the Spanish leftists almost immediately after the beginning of the civil war, was not prompted by the fear of war or international complications. The fear of revolutionary Catalonia was much more of a determining factor in evolving this policy. The incidents related here by one of the defenders of Irún confirm fully the latter view. At the most critical hour the French government withheld the shipment of arms to the Spanish leftists, as soon as Irún fell, that very transport of ammunition was shipped out to the Fascists who had just taken control of the city.

This was not just an act of sabotage on the part of some Fascist-minded officials. Representatives were sent to the French government through the French ambassador, Hlum's cabinet was fully apprized of this particular situation. The French government, necessary arms could not have been effectuated without the express approval of the French government which was interested in delivering a blow to revolutionary Catalonia by enabling the Fascists to drive in the Irún workers, the town became a hotbed and the Basque province.

Here is what Colonel Ortega, a retired officer from the Irún workers, was quoted by the news, this was in the days:

"The workers and peasants in the area of Irún are not aware of the facts, or if they are, they are not telling us the whole truth."

We Expect Soon
A PAMPHLET FROM SPAIN on the BARCELONA EVENTS by AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

In (English)
And We Have For Sale:
"The Life of Durruti..." etc.
"The Truth About Spain..." by Rudolph Rocker... etc.
"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Dashay

10c
"THEM WANT TO CONVERT SPAIN INTO A COUNTRY OF SMALL PROPRIETORS, THAT IS A COUNTRY OF SLAVES"...  

Socialist Leader Characterizes Policy of Communist Party

One of the officially announced tasks of the newly formed counter-revolutionary government of Spain is to fight the agricultural collectives and the peasant syndicates—the prime movers of the great agrarian revolution sweeping the country since July 19.

It is quite in keeping with the general role assumed by the Communist Party in consolidating the counter-revolutionary bloc that the leading part in this drive against the revolutionary peasants belongs to the Communist Ministers and party leaders.

Unlike the Communist Minis- ter of Agriculture, thundering against the peasant collectives and syndicates, upholding the rights of the individual proprietary (the village "Eulak") and the speculator.

Whose interests does the Communist Minister represent?

We find an answer to it in the statement made by Ricardo Zalabas, a member of the Executive U.G.T. (Socialist controlled unions) and General-Secretary of the Federation of Land Workers, belonging to another organization.

The statement (it appeared in the Socialist paper Adelante and was reprinted in the anarchist syndicalist daily CNT), was made in answer to the open threats of the new Government made through its Communist mouthpiece—the Minister of Agriculture.

Reactionary Elements in the Villages Want to Destroy Collectives

"Our primary concern now is to make secure the revolutionary conquests, and above all to protect the newly formed agricultural co-ops organized by our sections against whom a world of enemies rose up.

"The reattainments of yesterday—by agents of the big landowners, are given all the aid of assistance by the Government, (ed. note: the Agricultural Department is controlled by Stalinists) while we are deprived of the very minimum of our money from our small holdings.

What Stalinist Plans Amount To

"Those very reactionary elements are now planning to seize all the collectivized estates, to parcel out the land, to divide up the live stocks, vineyards and now belonging to the peasants collective. They aim to deliver a crushing blow to the agrarian revolution and to convert Spain into a country of small proprietors, that is a country of slaves.

"The want to take advantage of the fact that our comrades, Europe now fighting on the war fronts. Those comrades will join the forces that the efforts and sacrifices will be of no avail, that they only led to the victory of their enemies of old, now flaunting membership cards of a pro-letarian organization. (Ed. note: those elements are now the mainstay of the Communist Party.)

"The Federation of Land Workers will defend its work with all means at its disposal against all those who want to fall back upon old solutions favoring the small proprietor at the expense of agricultural worker."

THE LIBERATION REVOLUTION OF SPAIN IS IN DANGER

It is threatened not only by the Fascist powers, but by the still more dangerous coalition of France, England and Soviet Russia, all leagued against the revolution.

The more reason for all libertarians to unite in defense of it.

Build a Federalation of Libertarian Organizations throughout the whole country.

WAR COULD HAVE BEEN WON A LONG TIME AGO, IF...  

PROMINENT ANARCHIST ACCUSES POLITICIANS

—Is it true that the Valencia government is not very generous with the Aragon front?

—Yes, it is true; for had we obtained arms, or money to purchase arms, at the very beginning of the civil revolution, Catalonia would have been able immediately to put into field 100,000] million Alonso to put an end to the military uprising.

"This is what we proposed to the Giral government in Madrid before the Largo Caballero government had been formed. Giral accepted our proposal, having issued orders to place at our disposal the means necessary for arming Catalonia. But before this plan was put into effect Giral's cabinet fell and the plan of arming Catalonia dissolved into smoke.

The new government did not want to see Catalonia winning the war, for this would have lead to the spreading of the Catalan example to the rest of Spain.

Financial Subsidies

—As much munition now manufactured in Catalonia?

"Ed. Note. As it was frequently pointed out by the international press of the radical movement, the changed attitude of the Central government toward the arming of Catalonia came as a result of the pressure of the Giral by the Russian government."  

From an interview with D. A. De Santillan. (D. A. De Santillan — prominent anarchist thinker, Minister of Economy in the former Cabinet of the Catalan government.)

(Reprinted from "Cultura Prolitaria")

SOCIALIST YOUTH REBELS

Toward a Revolutionary Alliance

The anarchist daily in Valencia, "Novedas," May 27, (it appeared again after its recent suspension by the authorities) reports that the U.S.R.R. (the League of the Union of the Leo (one of the most influential sections of the national organizations), issued a statement, hiding the fact that the present government.

As it was pointed out in the recent issue of the "Spanish Revolution," the National Committee of this organization fell, through some very mysterious process, into the hands of the Communist Party. Its classic method of dealing with those stragglers within the Socialist Youth organizations was to breed them with the work of Fascist agents and Trotskyites.

The "Novedas" points out, how- ever, that this peculiar development seems to have been occasioned by the wave of indignation and protests against the treachery of the Communist Party now sweeping the ranks of the Socialist youth. A truly democratic convention of this organization, (and democracy vanished in the letter as soon as the Communist official control) publishing in this paper would show how closely all their sentiments are the great masses of anarchists (Libera- rian) and Socialist Youth of Spain.

And the last events are rapidly forcing a revolutionary alliance between the two in spite of all the attempts of the Communist leaders to strike it.

(Ed. Note. The interview was held before the latest political development in Barcelona and in Valencia. The situation is now more favorable for the new Santillan had in mind when speaking to the correspondent of "Cultur Prolitaria.")

THE ANARCHISTS DEMAND

Full respect for the revolutionary proletariat, the spinal column of our victory.

To recognize that to wage war against Fascism is to defend the Revolution.

To grant the proletariat freedom of action in its achievements.

To do away with the policy of manoeuvring, demagogy and slanders.

To secure freedom of press and organization for all the revolutionary sectors.

To root out all the camouflaged Fascists.

To uphold loyally all the compromises arrived at and to forego all attempts to establish dictatorship of any kind on the part of anyone.

To ratify the Revolutionary Workers' Alliance between the C.N.T. (anarchosyndicalist unions) and U.G.T. (Socialist controlled unions).


Funds Collected for Spain During May, 1937

BY THE U.L.O. OF NEW YORK

Receip No. 212—Zanes, Chicago, Ill. $15.65

212—Zaneo, Charlotte, N.C. $5.25

212—Zere Wills, Greeko Rocka, Pa.—Concert suocies Ben. Lodges $75 C.W. $210.00 and 4392 TWO 36.25

212—J. P. Sawans—Collection Box 16 & 25 Room. 9.50

212—Bastonier—Bergeron 5.00

212—Anne Hope—Omni 5.00

212—W. G. G. Davis—New York 2.00

212—John Remit, Superior, Wyo. (Proceeds of Dance) 99.50

212—McHale—Omni 3.50

212—McBride—Omni 2.00

212—E. Jones—Omni 2.00

212—Freedom Group (Provisionary) 14.67

212—Moynihan Colony (Bastion) 3.50

212—Bastion—Ness 3.50

212—Schiromer 5.00

212—Fukie U.S.O. Agency Payroll, New York 15.75 5.50

212—Henry Oja, Zino, Minn. (Social Affairs at Swan Club Hall) 18.05

—Total on hand $774.57

—Previous Balance 93.38

TOTAL ON HAND $867.85