Is Catalonia Negotiating A Separate Peace With Franco?

We very often wonder at the brazen lies of the Nazi and Fascist press. Do they really serve their purpose? Is the public so gullible as to swallow without question these trojan horses, the official Nazi press which do not even stand the test of the most common sense.

Nazi fabrications, however, are masterly works of artful propaganda compared to the official lies now emanating from the Stalinist controlled sources of information on Spanish events. Thus we read in the New York Times of August 20th that the Central government is seriously concerned with what it calls a separate peace made by the Catalonian Government and that it is serious in sending (the International Brigades) to thwart such an attempt. (Like all official dispatches it is特派员 the Communist controlled agencies.)

But who is the Catalonian government? Two weeks ago we read about the courage of the autonomous power of the Catalonian government, about its "autonomia" in the general plan of things as shaped now by the victorious forces. The present government is that of the victorious forces, the government that is shown of its powers of military and financial control, of any sort, of dependence in diplomatic relationships, negotiate a separate peace.

Who negotiates this government? Who is the one that proposed the political crisis with the view of ousting the CNT? Who arrested the P.C.U.M. workers without notifying the official government agencies?

That these agents now run the Catalonian government, just as they control the puppet government of Regen, is now known to everyone. There is now no person in Spain who has given himself the trouble of reading the daily dispatches from Spain. The P.S.U.C. (Stalinist outfit in Catalonia) is all powerful in Catalonia; the thousands of political prisoners, the assassinations the falsification of political life, the policies upon collectives, the demoralization of the Aragonists, the anarchy, the forces of the International Brigades to thwart an such an attempt. (Like all official dispatches it is特派员 the Communist controlled agencies.)

The Esquerra (Liberal Republicanists)? They have no armed force to offer the power of any sort of that sort. It is the P.S.U.C. that is fighting with this idea. Against whom are the International Brigades sent in order to frustrate the aims of the victorious forces? The true, the present leader of the P.S.U.C., Comunera, was an ardent Anarchist but only a few years ago, demanding the separation of Catalonia from the rest of Spain at any cost. It is the inevitable and proper thing to do. The Roman Catholic Church and the murder of men, women and children is her historical counterpart.

But the recognition of the Roman Catholic Church by the Government of Valencia puts the final stamp of monarchal legitimacy upon a political system which is composed. It is a better barometer of the character of that government than all the arts of revolt and betrayal it has committed since its cowardly retreat from Madrid last fall.

There is, after all is said and done, something mysterious about the conscience of the Communists in this latest move of the government to re-establish the whole of the Roman Catholic Church in the country in Ikrun so devoid of any interests buticot in Spain, that they know exactly what is going on, and they are doing it. The internal political atmosphere of Russia so devoid of any interests that its outer policies must needs bring it into the mire of corruption with which Moscow, London and Paris find themselves surrounded. None will ever know the extent of the countless dead who perished in Russia for the benefit of the Spanish Republic. All that is known now is that in Spain the CNT have been allowed to move without any quibble.

And strange as it sounds in present day Spain, even anniversaries of meetings to commemorate the revolution. It is even more remarkable that the term was gaining supremacy in Catalonia, actual steps were undertaken to eliminate the last stronghold of revolutionary power. The calculated and premeditated de- moralization of the Aragon troops was one of the steps. The disarming of Catalaniv work- ers and peasants—another step of that nature. (Continued on page two)

ARAGON FREE COUNCIL DISSOLVED BY ORDER OF VALENCIA GOVERNMENT

IT'S PRESIDENT, ASCASO, IMPRISONED ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES

A Landmark of Counter-Revolutionary Triumph

We already wrote of the furious dance instituted against the Aragon Council by the Moscow agents and its bourgeois allies. The Aragon Council was the only bright spot in the over-darkening picture presented now by the revolution on the down- grade. It retained its truly anti- Fascist character representing every section of the anti-Fascist camp in Aragon. Although the temporary propping up of the anarchist in its sentiments, the Council gave equal representation to other non-Fascist forces of the anti-Fascist camp in Aragon. Newspapers in Aragon came out without the ugly and even increasing blotches gradually whitening down the freedom of Spanish press. Jails were released for Fascists and not for revolutionists. Meetings were held almost without any interference of the new Cheka police. And strange as it sounds in present day Spain, even anniversaries of meetings to commemorate the momentous revolution.

An oasis of freedom and revolutionary hope! One does not have to know much about the nature of Moscows Fascism to realize that no such oasis can be tolerated by its forces. The Aragon Council, and especially its President—one of the most sincere millennials of the anarchist movement—Joaquin Ascaso, became the target of a vicious campaign of odiousness on the part of the counter-revolution. It is in measure that the latter was gaining supremacy in Catalonia, actual steps were undertaken to eliminate the last stronghold of revolutionary power. The calculated and premeditated demoralization of the Aragon troops was one of the steps. The disarming of Catalonian workers and peasants—another step of that nature.

"MYSTEROUS" FIRES IN STALINIST BARRACKS

ARE NO MYSTERY TO WORKERS

A fire broke out on July 12th in the Karl Marx Barracks (Communists) and recently extinguished, it reported that a great quantity of explosives were stored there: hand grenades, rifles, rifle bullets, mortars, machine guns, rifle machine guns, etc. Is it not rather suspicions that all the CNT-F.A.I. leaders are searched, where they find only books; while locals where so much explosive materials are to be found are not searched at all?

17,000 assault guns have been taken from the fronts, with all their rifles, machine guns, ammunition and tools. Why do we want so many men in the rear if nothing is happening, and even more, if we are now drafting men for the war? (C.N.T.-F.A.I. Information Bulletin.)

REACTIONARY CHURCHES REOPENING IN SPAIN

On the 24th of August we mentioned in a telegram from Barcelona, bearing this cryptic legend: "First mass celebrated yesterday Barcelona everything quiet."

A few weeks ago, when the international press through the world announced the official representatives of the reactionary Catholic Church in Barcelona in the Holy City had suppressed the erstwhile representative of the Valencia Government, much favored by the international press, appeared in the press here and abroad, ostentatiously calculated to lessen the prevailing opinion against the atrocities committed by the Holy Father and his brother, friends. The spectre of Guernica, the slaughter of Malaga, Irún and Bilbao will gradually diminish in size, but only in size, as the blessings of the Holy Father are poured out upon Franco's head. Well, it is bad enough that the religious policies of the Roman Catholic Church is still as base as ever—that the Burgos Government had received its soothing anointing. We don't know, indeed, quite logically to be expected. Fellow criminals will naturally seek out each other's company!

The Basques, good Catholics that they are, have been delivered into Franco's hands, the Falangists are fierce, fanatical fighters for the church. Ours fails, perhaps the only really sincere supporter of Franco among the countless tens of thousands of mercenaries operating under his banner. The Roman Catholic Church population in that section of Spain that has fallen to Franco, are profoundly Catholic. The Pope did not officially recognize Franco long since more surprising than the fact that he is recognized him now. It was the inevitable and proper thing to do. The Roman Catholic Church and the murder of men, women and children is her historical counterpart.

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Libertarian Youth of Valencia

Province on the Upgrade

At the beginning of March (1937) the Libertarian Youth organization of the Valencia organization had only 10,000 members. Now it has 35,000 members and it keeps on growing rapidly.

Four months of active propaganda made it the leading youth organization of that province. Next in influence comes the United Socialist Youth, which at the present time is faced with inner problems of a very acute nature.

*Ed. Note: The Valencia Unión Socialista Youth Organization is backed long Largo Caballero in his fight against Communist domination.

Because of its left orientation the Valencia's Socialist Youth is bitterly assailed by the Central Executive Committee of the United Socialist Youth captured by the Stalines at the very beginning of the revolution.

In Valencia alone there are 38 centers of young Libertarians with a membership of 6,500.

Their activity in selling magazines and publications in the streets and meetings is very great. In two months they sold 60,000 books. Numerous rationed schools (of the Francisco Franco type) were created under the leadership of these organizations. And apart from educational facilities every local has now physical training courses and gymnasia.

Shortage in paper prevents them from publishing a newspaper of their own. But instead they have a page in the anti-anarchist periodicals (F.A.I. Mas- trina and Fragon. Social. Another C.N.T. daily in Valencia publishes much of the material of the Catalan Libertarian Youth organizations. (Continued on page 4)
ORATORY IN BARCELONA

BARCELONA MASSES CELEBRATE UNITY PACT!

From "Tierra y Libertad" we reprint the following extracts from the speeches delivered at the celebration of the immense Olympos in Barcelona. The meeting was sponsored by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

"We are here to crush Fascism. There can be no difference. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that all the friars, rich and poor, Catalans and of the rest of Spain, must be managed by the working class. How? In a word, by a wage policy of victory. If the creative urge of the working class is not heard, you are in for a shock. Not until then will the national economy suffer collapse and finally sink."

Francisco Engels, Former Minister for Agriculture for Catalonia.

"Revolutionary Spain will not return to the past. Spain has planned out its revolution, not the Storm and Stress. It is impossible that the elections have their hesitant and hesitant phases. When some people talk of a general temperature, it is because of the problem of the daily struggle, they then try to throttle the revolution, but they are mistaken. The problem will not be solved. We must depopulate the obstacles in its path."

Ramon Llull.

"... we do not forget that in Spain there is a C.N.T.-F.A.I. There is the one of the small workshops. The guilds, the trade unions, the owner and the industrialist. The U.G.T. of the small shopkeepers is not privileged in the "liga" (that very actionary political party of the right). [...]. The G.U.T. of the worker is necessary and urgent. It is necessary to join one or two existing unions, and, of course, the spirit of the class of such as Petre, who says to himself: 'I must join a union. Otherwise I could not sell my product. And I must keep my word."

Lucas Ballester.

"We must rise against the consciousness of the small businessmen and businessmen in the U.G.T."..." and there is the other U.G.T. of small shopkeepers which is incorporated in the revolutionary movement of Spain (C.N.T.-F.A.I.) and who are not acquiescing class responsibility, which is organized and collective, and a part of the basic movement."

The U.G.T. of the worker who knows the principle of the Law has struck for a price now, and has "unrightfully" the U.G.T. of the Federation of a part of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. on that U.G.T."... This is the rather sumptuous the sumptuous of that U.G.T. do not whisper that they are the workers and not the owners. The success of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T.-F.A.I. does not mean that we are going to build up together, with us, the Federation that is the one that constitutes the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

A Call for direct action on the part of the working class must be made at once. The actions of the English sailors and I.W.W. seamen in refusing to transport goods to Fascist-controlled ports in Spain should serve as examples for all American labor. No materials of any sort should be manufactured for any but the Spanish people. Labor must demand—may, COMEEL—the end of false "neutrality," of hypocritical, treacherous, "non-intervention." It must use its strongest weapons to wipe off the face of the Spanish peninsula the fifth and fifteenth of international diplomatic intrigue that is anathema and threatening to engulf the Spanish people. For this, organized labor must use those weapons which constitute its strength—the boycott, the strike, the general strike!

This is the only program that the international working class can follow in order to save the cause of anti-Fascist Spain. The Russian revolution was assisted by the unflinching solidarity of the workers in many countries who responded to direct action to help their Russian brothers. Why can't the Spanish Revolution be saved by similar help?

Workers of the world, your Spanish brothers need your solidarity today more than ever, for their fighting their battle as well as your own. Now is the time to act!

A GIFT COPY OF THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION" IS AN APPEAL FOR YOU TO SUBSCRIBE.

Aragon Council Dissolved

(Continued from page one) Once brought to an end, those measures enabled the Stalinist counter-revolution to put its hand on the Aragon Council. Now we learn that the latter has been dissolved by our President, comrade Ascaso, has been placed under arrest. There is serious apprehension in the revolutionary circles that comrade Ascaso may share the fate of Andres Nin and numerous other revolutionists who "reform" in the dungeons of the Chue-Kuei; but the repression of Aragon revolutionism has been repressed.

The Council has been dissolved and power has been vested in a governor sent from Valencia—a man literally imbued with Stalinist sympathies. The workers' organizations and even political parties of Aragon have already been eliminated from any participation in the government of this revolutionary province.

Their place was taken by a host of commissars, bureaucrats sent from Valencia, most of them members of Congress but no party faithful members of the Communist Party.

Another hitch in the temporarily triumphant Stalinist counter-revolution! Another warning to all genuinely revolutionary elements, or to those of any "united fronts" with a Fascist Party working under the misleading name of a "united front"! And another "momento" to the Spanish workers and peasants of Spain who mounting hostages for the Moscow agents and the counter-revolutionaries of any-Fascist or otherwise—who are so feeble as to force us to restrain our hand in order to keep it in readiness for the inevitable day of reckoning which, according to many observers is rapidly approaching in Spain.
The irresistible urge of the Spanish workers toward united revolutionary action culminating in the recently concluded pact between the two economic organizations of the working class—the C.N.T. (anarchist-syndicalist, concrete confederation of labor) and the C.N.U., (Sanjurjo-Sanz Unions)—is now being oppressed by a move engineered by the Moscow agents to unify all the political parties under the domination of the Communist Party.

The Fascist implications of this move are so obvious that even the friends of the C.N.T. who are among the most ardent opponents of the Negrin government.

"The Caballeros Socialists," he informs us, "may be outlawed within three months. The Anarchists are being eliminated as an active factor. There would remain the bourgeois Republican whose role is a minor one, the Communists and the Negrin-Prieto Socialists (of which the Communist Party is conducting an intense, unrelenting, whirlwind campaign for the fusion of the Communists and Socialists of the right wing). If successful, this would mean an enlarged organization under Communist domination even if it joined the Second International."

CATHOLIC CHURCHES REOPEN

(Continued from page one)

that has been rumored ever since the earlier frequent visits of various Catholic bishops to the more frequent jaunts to France, there to confer with Dencés, Casanovas and the rest of the Fascist spies hiding out, biding their time for the moment of Spain as Casanovas has already done. If this can be successfully engineered, the Valencia Government will capitulate, the communists will be safe in that their party is now filled to overflowing with good Catholic, bourgeois, business men, and the last remaining shred of the Spanish Republic will be the massacre of the population in a final drive by Franco.

The return of the tyrant church is a political move that shows the fine hand of artistic intrigue. It will quash the popular opposition of Western civilization. All projects for the eradication of the church for 20 centuries and permit her priests to return to their caches of gold, reopen their sporting establishments, resume the chance of being Elect and upon the head of the exploiters of the Spanish people and bring a government the Fates have

stood upon for but a day, before the bar of responsibility, from whence it may bow its way from the stage with grace and dignity and a collection of history, for which we must humbly thank the Communist Party, without whose counter-revolution in Spain would never have lived to be seen.

Now, the citadel of ignorance is to have another lease of life—the heroic work of the scientists and the revolutionists, for the moment is undone. But can a work like that of Ascensio and Duruti be undone? Will another monster of Saragossa spring up, or will the true faith of the black grape and, in the name of the gentile Jesus, partake of the profits of exploitation—ah, but that were an incident in the daily rounds of a business built upon prostitution: but its role is known and it can no longer hide in the dark places. It must stand forth upon the arm of its proctor, this time, the Communist Party

That is the key question. Two things are going to happen. First, a people being bled white by soldiers of the Cross and Crescent (for a few Spanish Catholic priests).

While the Stalinists hypocritically prate about "unity" (with the bourgeoisie) they do their best to knife real labor unity. The epoch-making unity pact between the two great trade union bodies in Spain is indeed a bone of contention and Moscow has given herewith a translation of the document made public at Valencia on the 29th of July in the name of the CNT and the U.G.T. and you can see for yourself if there is any question of genuine unity or if there is no question of genuine unity, for the CNT and the U.G.T.

1. Mutual non-aggression promises. The CNT and the U.G.T. remain in their own camps, press and platform work, the making of any sort of clear-cut promise on any violent nature against any of the postulates of either union. The actual differences that separate each organization are always to be examined objectively, justly, without consideration, without any solitary syllable or the U.G.T.

2. Neither the CNT nor the U.G.T. will recognize nor agree to the legality of each other’s labor organization that operates beyond the discipline of the CNT or the U.G.T.

3. Freedom of organization. The CNT and the U.G.T. bind themselves to absolutely respect the freedom of the workers to join either center, whether it be one of the centers, in the fields, shops, factories and mills, the union bond of either of these organizations the U.G.T. shall be accepted as evidence that the bearer is a union man.

4. Both organizations bind themselves not to admit their membership, any individual who has been expelled because of any immoral act or for the breaking of any decision of leader union.

5. It is agreed that no unions that bind themselves to take the necessary precautionary measures against illegal members or members in Spain will be the massacre of the population in a final drive by Franco.

6. If and when this happen after this Party, which, endowed with the sole monopoly of a totalitarian agency, will have become affiliated with the Third International, is to clear the paper does not find it even near the

Revolutionary Spain will join the happy family of all totalitarian dictatorships and the difference between Franco and the Valencia government will be effaced so completely as to make feasible the plan of the English imperialists reported by Ludwig Laski in his book "Beyond the Cable." The plan as is known, consists in ending the civil war in Spain by some sort of a peace conference and the Valencian government.

And the dictatorship of the Moscow dominated totalitarian

(a) To meet at least once each week.

(b) To faithfully carry out the foregoing outlined provisions.

(c) To create in every geographical location, liaison committees between the local units of the two organizations. These local liaison committees shall function merely to carry out instructions of the National Committee and convey to the National Committee all suggestions or problems that may be made by the local committees dealing with the problems on hand.

(d) To discuss such problems as circumstances may bring forth, which are not covered by the program of action nor in the joint decisions of any of the two national organizations.

9. Disputes or disagreements arising in any locality shall be joined by the National Liaison Committee.

10. The National Liaison Committee shall propose to the executive committees of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. the few sanctions to be imposed upon the locals failing to carry out the decisions of the National Liaison Committee.

11. No agreements or decisions to be made must be effective, is signed by the executive committees of the two central organizations.

12. The National Liaison Committee shall propose to the executive committees of the C.N.T. and the Executive Committee of the U.G.T. all resolutions, in the same fashion, should be adopted in the solution of all problems that arise.

13. The agreements out of those decisions shall rest with the National Committee of the C.N.T. and the Executive Committee of the U.G.T., coming into effect.

—Executive Committee of the C.N.T.

PICTURE ALBUMS

We still have a number of copies of each of the two albums we have received from Spain. One is a collection of 31 beautifully reprinted water-color paintings of the happenings of the first days of the Spanish Revolution. The artist, Sin, painted these pictures from actual life. This unusual collection published by the C.N.T. in Spain sells for only two dollars ($2.00).

The other album depicts the history of the Spanish War and Revolution in photographs. These photos, taken on the spot, are indeed a beautiful tribute to the heroism of the Spanish proletariat. The album sells for only 75c.

Order your album now from the U.L.O., Jack White, 45 W. 17th Street, New York.
In his daily column "Behind the Cables" in the New York Post of August 31st, Ludwig Lore discusses the rumors that Catalonia is negotiating a separate peace with Franco. (Note: see article on page one of this issue of Spanish Revolution, dealing with same question). Mr. Lore takes these rumors by pointing out the extent of the aid Catalonia gave and is giving to anti-Fascist Spain. How Catalonia was enabled to give such assistance, Mr. Lore, characteristically, fails to explain. But his recital of facts is sufficiently interesting to warrant our reprinting them. He says:

What are the facts? The Aragon front, 4,052 square kilometers of treeless, roadless, waterless mountain country, has been held almost exclusively by the Catalans since the beginning of the civil war. The towns of Barbastro and Casp, which are held by the Fascists, are 30 miles apart and at a comparatively long distance from the geographic frontiers of Catalonia. The territorially largest unit of Catalonia is its province of Lérida, which has a total area of 23,000 square kilometers. Besides these, there is the province of Barcelona, with a total area of 34,196 square kilometers, the Catalans have their province of Tarragona, which has a total area of 15,140 square kilometers of Aragon territory. They have, in other words, driven the Spanish army back to their lines out of a total area of 39,936 square kilometers, at the price of their blood and material resources.

But Catalonia did far more. She smashed Fascism in Barcelona, Tarragona, Girona, Lérida, Barbastro, Casp and Valencia. She sent a military expedition to Majorca, which, when the Requetés expedition of the Catalans —was withdrawn by the Madrid Government to the Aragon front. The Catalans left siege to Huesca, Treval and Jaca in Aragon. They defeated the 70,000 Catalan soldiers of the Aragon front. On the central front from 30,000 Catalan columns fought the Guadalajara and Bierbiza. Catalonia lost 15,000 of her sons on the central front. There are Catalan soldiers also at Jaen and Pobletchene and at Merlet on the Granada front. Collectively, they numbered, clothes and supplies to 450,000 war refugees from other regions of Spain. During the last ten days more than 300,000 refugees came alone from the north and more are arriving. Catalonia will soon have to take care of 1,000,000 refugees. More than 50 per cent of the hospital population of Catalonia are non-Catalans.

Barcelona provides the loyalty with the largest part of their war necessities. Catalonia had not a single day in the dark days of the monarchy. Practically out of need she developed, in less than a year, a war industry that is one of the outstanding achievements of the civil war. Today barceloneta has not a red and tonight running out all sorts of war material, from hand grenades to machine guns, from explosives to airplane.

Catalonia is doing a job which, for the modern world, is as monstrous a crime as international Fascism is written, will fill many pages with the story of her heroism and sacrifice.

Who are these Catalans that smashed Fascism in Barcelona? Who formed the militia columns that smashed Fascism and then "flooded an area of 27,000 square kilometers in Aragon"? Where did the 75,000 of these Catalans go? Today, they are driving the Fascists back. They are fighting behind the lines. The Catalans are driving the Fascists back and are enlarging and sabotaging the saviors of Spain.

Where does Catalonia get the food, clothing and teachers with which it feeds, clothes and gives schooling to 450,000 (by now almost 1,000,000—ed.) war refugees from other regions of Spain? Precisely, from the collective farms (which have voluntarily donated millions of peascot worth of food to refugees and to the militia), from the completely socialized textile industry (which for centuries, its former owners, mostly Fascists, had abandoned) and in the new rationalized schools formed to replace the old foundations of the C.N.T. and U.G.T.

Let us not forget that the 15,000 of her sons that Catalonia buried —on the central front— were libertarians, revolutionaries of the working class. But what is this very same anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist workers upon whom Mr. Lore on another occasion dared to label "anarchists—enemies of our Fascist Army. And, when on May 3rd-7th these revolutionary workers of Barcelona spontaneously resisted the Stalinist inspired and conducted attempt to physically suppress them and the achievements whose results Mr. Lore so admires, then he again defended and participated into the hands of the Fascist army.

Mr. Lore is being informed of Stalin’s plans to negotiate a separate peace with Franco. He should tell that to his readers. The cause of anti-Fascists can, indeed, be better served by telling the whole truth than by half truths.

Campaign to Aid Spanish Victims Must Be Intensified

More than ever must we gather our energies and forces together to support the Spanish Revolution. Not only must we help to relieve the sufferings received at the hands of the Fascist bandits but we must provide also for those impoverished by the Stalin agents in Spain. Victims and families of the victims of the Fascists and the revolutionary "anti- Fascists" call upon us to help them. All the money that we receive is sent to the genuine revolutionary anti-Fascist organizations of Spain. It is not given to the accomplishment of a bad show of votes for vain recognition. But it does help the needy victims of Fascism. Not only that, but the accompanying decline in activity is over. We urge that all comrades immediately start their work of propaganda and collecting money. Send funds to I. Radioworsky, c/o U.L.O., 45 W. 17th Street, N. Y. C.

Is Catalonia Negotiating a Separate Peace with Franco?

(Continued from page one)

...continue the larger peace in the heart of a successful politi- cal and as to his recent agitation with Deesa, an outspoken separatist and open agent of Massa- cee, they talk of the Spanish of Masso- cee were undertaking only with the view of putting God’s fear into the anarchists by threatening to give Missiolito full scope in his contented- plating ballad on the Catalan front.

The Anarchists took the hint and now there is no more room for any further “negotiations” of that sort. There is no pause, however, in the latest dispatch from Spain it read with other similar information telling of armistices and fighting going on in Barcelona. The rapid- tire of popular indignation is focusing the hand of the counter-revolution. The Stalinists and their counter-revo- lutionary allies realize that their superior strategic position is only very temporary in its nature. They want to make the best of it by pro- nighting conflicts. They talk more and more aside the liquidation of the Anarchist movement. And it is toward this criminal purpose that they are working now by attempt to relight the fires. The “loyal” troops are sent into Aragon and Catalonia under the pretext that someone is negotiating a separate peace. And once that process of provoking is fought to an end, we may see the beginning of a tragedy.

RESERVE THESE DATES

October 9th and 10th—Conference of organizations and individuals supporting the United Libertarian Organizations. On the evening of the 9th there will be a social and get-together. November 20th: Annual dance and entertainment for the benefit of the Spanish Revolution. More details will follow later.

"AFTER THE REVOLUTION, WHAT?" (in English)

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U. L. O.

STREET MEETINGS

The small committee which has undertaken the street meetings on Spain consists to work under difficulties that seem unfair, particularly in view of the importance and necessity of spreading knowledge and concerted efforts to crush our com- rades, making of Spain another Russia under the yoke of a totalitarian state where all semblance of freedom is crushed.

Instead of having but one meeting each week, we really should be holding one every night in differ- ent parts of the city.

At present, and until we get more forces to- gether, we hold street meetings every Tuesday night beginning at 7 o’clock at the corner of Fourteenth Street and Ir- ving Place, New York. This will probably have caused the fact that we did not keep the meetings being held, New York. For we have been saddened by the fact that you know. Let’s have a big turn out at the next meet- ing!
The lengths to which the present Negrin Government goes in its frantic efforts to sabotage every move on the part of the Anarchists to solidify and make more efficient, the Anti-Fascist Front may be gleaned from the following excerpts translated from our Spanish Press:

While certain elements among our own people are inclined to minimize the importance of the handover being done by, and with the sanction of the government, it is still in bold relief proving that there is absolutely nothing beyond the possibilities of those opposed to the revolutionary trends in Spain that will not be resorted to wherewith to maintain up to the very last moment the reign of terror and series of provocations which are growing in intensity and frequency.

It is known in Spain that the events in Puigcerda are just reaching their peak. One thing, and only one thing has made the development of Russian Fascism possible and that is the fear of intervention which Engels is anxious to undertake that whose consequences she fears.

Prensa Libertario, (libertarian daily paper for the militia on the Central Front) on August 21st carried a statement released by the P.A.R. headquarters denouncing the Negrin government for the campaign of persecutions being carried out in Catalonia.

The gravity of the events in Puigcerda cry out for justice. Our forces are being raided, commanders arrested and murderers go unpunished... Our jawsworn has been thrown and all its workers murdered.

On the 10th of June, while shops of the Sevillana Cofradia were open, a group ofас, dressed in uniform of Carabineros, Assault Guards and other agents operating under the orders of the delegate of the Public Order, Fernandez, began an unannounced bombardment of the building. Alerted, the workers came out from the building to investigate. In a short time the work place were surrounded by these agents. The workers then entered the building and killed all the workers they found on the inside.

They left no wounded. All were killed with having been given chance to defend themselves. No arms were found, either on their bodies or in the shop.

These persecutions in Puigcerda were carried out under the direction of two members of the P.A.R. (Catalan Stalinist Party). Vincenzo Clemente and Juan Jarques. They work in conjunction with the Mayor of Vellver and a police officer by the name of Sampol, both members of the Gestapo. Those who receive their orders from Fernande... (Continued on page two)

THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN IS SORELY NEEDED “Spanish Revolution” Never Needed Help More Than Now! Send In Your Contributions and Fulfill Both Needs Now! If Funds Don’t Come In Soon We May Have To Suspend Publication! Do It Now -- Do Not Delay!
WHITHER THE "GOVERNMENT OF VICTORY"?

It called itself the government of victory, the government of the general population, the only one capable of bringing the war to a successful end. It boasted of the powerful backing of foreign powers that was to come as a result of the elimination of the extremist factions from the government. From now on, it claimed, England and France would work to undermine the diplomatic relations that had furthered the propaganda of the Basque political factions by the Fascist powers. And as to Russia, now that its will has been complied with in the matter of forming a new government, it will secure the aid of any power which will prove decisive in settling the final issue of the war.

And in the name of those claims the newly formed government demanded from the workers and peasants of the country a blank check as to domestic policy. To be filled out at will, it was equipped with the soldiers of the Russian CNT, the Communist Party of Spain, and the Basque uprising. Victory over Fascism comes first—and because of its claim to be the only one to insure such victory, the newly formed government demanded as a condition of its existence the endorsement of its openly reactionary course of liquidating the revolution, of strangling the forces of popular revolt and outraged the elemental demands of democratic freedom.

Four months have already passed since the formation of the government and the loyalist Spanish sustained defeats, the magnitude of which can be compared only to those of a year ago when disarmed and ill-trained militiamen, abandoned to their fate by a sabotaging government of bourgeoisie politicians, fought an unending battle against the superior forces of the Fascist army and heavily mechanized army.

Bilbao and Santander fell, whole armies have been annihilated: Fascists and now comes the worst. Asturias, the heroic Asturias, the center of militant resistance and revolutionary energy, is now swept over by triumphant Fascist waves.

Moscow Blackmail of Spanish Workers Told By Correspondent

José Gabriel, the Spanish correspondent of Critica, an Argentine periodical, has sent us an article written for a Mexican weekly Reveleaciones, which reproduces what is called the People's government of Spain in abetting the fascist aggression against France. Hence, he says, the laws of the Fascist agents in Spain (the so-called Communist Party) have a double purpose: to deceive the proletariat of Spain (the so-called workers of the Spanish Popular Front) and the workers of the world, and then to bring about the collapse of the Spanish republic.

Armaments Withheld From Spain by Russia

The sabotage of the war front by the proposition of the people during the first period of the fascist revolt (the author is referring to the period prior to the outbreak of war) is, in the author's words, a result of this policy of completely dismantling the military in respect of the old government (the so-called democratic powers) and conquered by the Soviet government for three months of the revolution.

"Russia," the writer of the article, says, "has never been so docile during all that period. France favored on one hand strict neutrality, and on the other hand, playing into the Fascists, and on the other hand, played the Fascists and the other people of the revolution, and in the name of the Fascists and the Loyalist, Spain was also mainly instru- ment in the liquidation of the Spanish Popular Front and the liquidation of the CNT and P.O.U.M. from the political scene."

Moscow Plans Take Shape

And when that failed to bring results, the main object of Russian Russia entered into an understanding with France and England, in order to liquidate the Largo Caballero who came to see the French and English ambassadors and sold them the plan of a military coup d'état in Spain, in which the Fascists and the Loyalists would be assassinated. This was done in order to bring about a second Russian intervention in Spain and to liquidate the CNT and P.O.U.M. from the political scene."

"What Price Russian Armaments?"

The conditions imposed by Russia were accepted by the Azana government which welcomed the chance of putting to advantage the situation in the Balkans. And even the new government succeeding it—that of Largo Caballero—was forced to play the hand of Russia.

"The latter imposed its will on the government and, in spite of the repeated promises to the Spanish people to respect the rights of the workers and peasants, imposed the equitable conditions of humiliating the workers' organizations, on the part of the CNT and P.O.U.M. which is, in fact, a real subjugation of the workers who are the power behind the scene of capitalist society, and the only way out of the economic life by combating the workers' organizations in control of the latter. It failed because, in its capacity of a mere agent for carrying out the will of alien powers—that of France and Russia, the government condemned the workers to live without a roof over their heads and to be decimated by the economic life and the Fascist aggression and to further the power of the Reactionary forces of the country."

And unless the latter find within themselves sufficient power to carry on the struggle against the reactionaries, the workers may prove the fatal barbarities of still greater tragedies to come.
SPANISH C.P. ATTACKS
U.G.T.-C.N.T.: UNITY PACT

We reprint below parts of an article written in the C.T.T. (anarcho-syndicalist daily) of 31/7/37. The tone used is that of the editorial comments of the Madrid press concerning the C.P.-C.N.T. unity pact. The article was highly praised from all sources, but the "Communist" press made an idle attack against it after giving various press opinions the article contained.

"El Socialista" says:

However, this step (C.N.T.-C.U.T. agreement) cannot be evaluated as a success in the Socialists' Press. Mostly under a pompous title, declared in a rather confused manner: "This unity pact is a reflection of the necessary needs of the struggle for the victory over fascism..." The workers and the people want unity for the collaboration of the different organizations. The Communist paper is trying to create an impression as of a "step forward." It is the job of the U.G.T. who came together primarily to take care of the needs it is attempting to solve. Censured. Never the less, we wish to point out that the C.N.T. has published its leading article, declared repeatedly its intention to be part of the peace pact in order to establish the unity pact in the two organisations. It announces clearly in the following:

"And when our party defended and defended the need for a unity pact, making it clear that between the two organisations for unity action which is evident in the creation of a Single Trade Union Organization, it always believed that the C.N.T. unit would be established the formulation of a concrete program based on the unity pact and that the revolution impose on all workers and all the anti-fascist organizations a clear and as early as possible a basis program that is a reflection of the aspirations, demands, and the demands of the workers and of the Spanish people, collective and individual, that will be carried rapidly or more surely to victory."

This fundamental principle, as we can see, has been highly efficacious, for the unity of all agreements of unity, has been forgotten by the Executive of the C.N.T. in drawing up the agreement that has been made public today.

"We know," continues the same paper, "that the pact has only a provisional character, since the National Committee of the Spanish Republic, as the engendering body of the program of the united action with the comrades of the C.U.T., can say one more against the approach of the two organizations. However, the "Mundo Obrero" offers a picture of them as having forgotten the socialists who, as the enemies of the political parties and of the Government, as well as those engaged upon a negative work, and permits itself to say that the closest path to which belongs the historic honor of having signed the pact, does not represent the organization. So far they have only failed to label us "Trotskyists" or "Anarchist," forgetting, of course, that this characteristic belongs to those who have carried in some manner, whatever the unit of action of the proletariat, its tradition, favor, it is obvious that "Mundo Obrero" should begin with the following affirmation in order to carry out its attacks:

"Every step toward unity of the proletariat of the anti-fascist classes should be welcomed by us with great satisfaction. The historical activity of the U.G.T. Party has been forged in the struggle for unity. At all times, under all circumstances, favor or otherwise — the voice of our party has always been heard through strategic position, organizational and popular movement calling for the firthest unity of the revolutionary and progressive forces of our country.

But the Communist organ can be devoid of this logic, this is a reflection of its interests, based on their newspaper, most of the General Socialists, on the split of 21, of 20, of Adame and Buhles, the creation of the C.C.T.U., the campaign against centrist and reformist in 1934, etc.; and they have before their very eyes existing agreements of the Federal of Levante, created in opposition to the Federation of the U.G.T., and against the National Proletarian Federation of Catalonia and of "alliances" some political elements want.

"The organ of the C.N.T. "Mundo Obrero" comes out yesterday in favor of the unity of action of the local and provincial parties. After all, it welcomes with joy every step that signifies an obligation to the Pasiones of the enemy, it is obvious that "Mundo Obrero" should begin with the following affirmation in order to carry out its attacks:

"Every step toward unity of the proletariat of the anti-fascist classes should be welcomed by us with great satisfaction. The historical activity of the U.G.T. Party has been forged in the struggle for unity. At all times, under all circumstances, favor or otherwise — the voice of our party has always been heard through strategic position, organizational and popular movement calling for the firthest unity of the revolutionary and progressive forces of our country."

Quite inadventurately, the state Department of Labor has just released the statistics of several agencies conducting anti-fascist activities, showing thriving youngsters ontvangt on the strength of the crumbling of fascists, on the strength of the Communists. It happens that under the "handsome Neutrality Agreement," all we can do is GP press must register and be assigned a permit to solicit any money. Thus, it is necessary to require more information about the organizations of income and disbursements. Now this is very interesting, the possibility for the professional mercy racketeers who, up until now, having had a certain responsibility and have never been required by law to disburse these figures to the public.

In the report released during the first week in September, the state Department of Labor, counting on the hundreds and seventy thousand dollars reported, is reported, thegp is to be the organization that has been receiving from several agencies collecting money, a hundred and ninety thousand dollars on sent to nearly one hundred and twenty five thousand was sent last year, one hundred and thirty thousand and other items and one hundred and thirty thousand and five dollars is being made on hand.

One organization, the American Federation of Spanish Relief, composed chiefly of Fascist sympathizers, collected millions and did not send one cent to Spain. Instead, it spent twenty dollars on a grotesque tableau in Madison Square Garden which turned out to be a fraud and the rest of the funds. This is the case that has been brought by the honorable Odgen H. Hammond, former United States Ambassador to the United Nations and endorsed by the American Chambers of Commerce and several hundred thousand dollars of the cost of "getting started."

The Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy did take the largest hold-out. This committee collected nearly ninety seven thousand dollars at the service of the Spanish revolution and the last of the 15th Section are now in a Barcelona prison; a comrade from the P.S.G.T. (Friends of Nature Organization) who volunteered for the DEATH BATTLE has been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment; a "criminal" tribunal to a prison sentence of twenty years; etc., etc.

There are internal matters which don't concern you, answers Valencia. We beg your pardon! We do not care just about interventionist affairs; we are international socialists and the direction of the Republican government (at least nominally), is in the hands of Socialists. And that is why, we do not see how this alliance with Fascists can be achieved. To obtain from a brother party the respect of the most sacred democratic rights: Liberty, Justice and Life for all anti-Fascists.

In conclusion we demand that our party... send a permanent delegation to the Spanish Socialist Party in order to settle more definitely:

On the one hand, our fraternal solidarity in the conduct of the military and revolutionary operations; the direct organization of effective aid to Socialist Spain on the part of the French proletariat.

On the other hand the respect of guarantees due to all anti-Fascist workers; the cessation of repressive measures against the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard.

Funds For Spain

Misused

C.N.T. Supplies Large Portion of Loyalist Militia

Almost half the men fighting for the defense of Madrid belong to the anarcho-syndicalist labor union, the Communist press in the Spanish press show a total of over 150,000 men in the loyalist militia.

Anarchist - Syndicalist Struggle Growing

According to the latest reports, there is a tremendous growth in the number of political undealables (that is, Fascists) appearing in the street press. Here are some figures:

The "Fragua Social" (2/7/37) writes:

"The workers are now an item that puts wings to my pen in starting this commentary. The Regional Committee of the Federation of Levante considered certain interesting questions that they submitted to the organization, and have been only partially understood."

The purifications of the Unions absorb the attention of the Congress, and all the delegations contributed to the discussion with great zeal. The political parties, to the extent that their numerical reputation of the C.N.T., at times impossibly always, everyone, have hit up against the truth, calm and irreproachable, that "workers" there are some。”..."Here is a federation of Don Alcubierre, in which the Investigating Committee of the Anti-Fascist Front rooted out undealables in the In the U.G.T., 1,837 was the political parties 666

In the C.N.T. 489

The F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) is the most powerful of all organizations in Spain. According to its regis-

Anarchist Victories

Just as the anarchist troops were the first to enter Bilbao (where the anarchist authorities were roost as they were responsible for the conflict) and the first to arrive in the Spanish press in the war's official victory list, so were the anarchist armies in the capital of the country, Madrid, where they were welcomed with open arms by the people.

The "New York Times" had to admit that, on the question of the future, "I am a Catholic pilgrim, I am a Francoist, I am a traditionalist," and so forth. Even the "Spanish" correspondent of the "New York Times" had to admit in his weekly report that, after his arrival in the city, he was impressed with the number of people who had been attracted to the city and the enthusiasm with which they were received by the Communist press."
STALINIST PERFIDY

On other occasions we have referred to the steadily increasing Fascist threat in Spain, the Communists in Spain, how their every move harkens back to Russia.

True to type, the Communists now have a campaign of persecution against. Their propaganda is blunt in its drive to fight against Fascism. Even as in Russia, where the cause is per- cept just by reason of his being alive. Many have already been deported from Spain, others are still in jail. The deportation deportees that swept the United States during the recent War is being re-enacted all over again in Spain.

Realizing that they are rid- ing for a fall, the fury of the Communists, finding themselves opposed at every turn, naturally by the rich and rich, particularly by the work- ers of the U.G.T., as well, knows no satisfaction.

The story are working defi- nitely with the British foreign offices, goes without saying and forms the basis of the ticket party that is to blame. It is a situation made necessary by the internal conditions existing in Russia today which make it absolutely essential that she have them in her with might and whatever eventually may take shape in the Soviet political party next month. The craven will of the party is forced upon the Santiago party.

Hence we find La Pasionaria distorting all rudiments of heroism and anguish by the fact that in time of peace it is pre- ferable to allow 100 guilty to go free rather than risk con- victing one innocent man, but in times such as these, it is neces- sary to abandon sentiment- alism, even to the point of ex- cepting 100 innocent men rather than to permit one guilty to escape! Pretty much Jacobin—such a position in a country facing a military war of the worst kind.

Negrin Exposed

(Continued from page one)

The events in Puigcerda are most serious, but by no means are they the only case. During the week there were several arrests on many C.N.T. halls, Libertarian clubs and F.A.I. halls in which over a hundred of these halls have been a number of arrests of mem- bers of all three organisations. The arrestes were carried out with machine guns, rifles and hand grenades and they have also been the occasion of some hard and some hectic mob execution of the thirteen-year-old son of the Mayor.

In Barcelona more than 250 mem- bers of the F.A.I. have been arrested and are accused of leaving the party. The July 25 uprising for which the P.S.U., C.N.T. and Ecat Gut were an essential part of the revolutionary movement.

Another serious tendency is showing itself in the arrest of An- fascists foreigners who are being arrested in the front lines, dem- onstrating sympathy for the Communists, since his hating them quite as much as he does the Anarchists, Syndicalists and Socialists and any other of the advanced workers of Spain.

Within the last few months more than 20 liberal judges have been supplanted by the ap- pointed judges in their stead and a recent decree of the Minister of Justice en- forces the duty of all judges in secret even without having a representative of the organization officials present or present, much less any of the mass of the people at large.

And what does it all mean? In a country that was saved from the Fascist terror by the Republican Spain. Now almost a thousand kilometers from Puigcerda, near the village of Dea, is a bed of lignite. The mining is worked by a capitalist and two or three men prior to the Revolution. The Syndicalists of the C.N.T. at Puigcerda believe that this lignite might overcome the coal shortage as they therefore col- lectively undertook to organize a group of C.N.T. miners began to develop it.

At the present time, the survey of the mine consists of a series of almost vertical seams, the preparatory work and the mining itself but done simultaneously by means of two shifts each 20 men, with the result that the main- thing at the moment is the prepara- tory work. But nevertheless on the 25th of August 36 workers in three shifts, extracted 15 tons a day. The following week 15 more men were employed in the same job, and in proportion to the progress of the preparatory work, the number of workers increased about 15. A daily production of 50 tons is esti- mated almost immediately and later on this will be increased to 100 tons per day.

Negrin Exposed

(Continued from page one)

The 29th division did not give up the battle but was ordered to the rear to be reorganized. In reality it was for the purposes of disbanding them. But the militiamen refused to yield their arms saying that they expected to return to the front soon.

Several days later the High Command ordered the 79 battalions to march on Fiscal (on the Jaca front) to relieve the situation there where they crush the attack, but they reconquered positions and map- ping the territory until they fortified these positions, taught the troops there how to use hand-grenades and by their comrade spirit and courage earned the sympathy of every- body there. They were then called back to await new orders, which came soon enough; they were ordered to turn over their arms to those who had aban- doned the division and they were permitted to have their wages returned.

Millenium Disarmed, Have

Ten-Day Hike Home

It became evident that the announced rest from the rest of the divi- sion the more easily to disarm them. As the order came from the comander-in-chief of General Headquarters, they turned in their rifles. However, the General and soldiers wanted to keep the revolvers they had won from the Fascists during the heroic street battles in Bar- celona July, 1936.

All the soldiers (except those who did not belong to the P. C. U. M.) by now deserters, were quartered in small towns in the village of Rodezano and surrounded by a brigade sent for that purpose. They were disarmed of all their valuables, including watches and chains, pens, pencils and even undergarments and new shoes.

After this the leaders were detained and the rest permitted to go. Many were forced to hike for ten days in order to get home.

Most of the 29th division was in line for such treatment, but plans had to be given for fear that the C.N.T. divisions might come to the same result. The latest news, in a telegram from the Spanish government press that now has released the 29th division has been dissolved by order of the minister of national defense. (The Figaro, 7, Avenue, Italian Socialist newspaper)

FINANCIAL REPORT

Of International Libertarian Committee Against Fascism in Spain

Detroit, Mich. — July 31

General Incense for the 12 months...

General Income for the 12 months:...

Money sent through C.N.T.-F.A.I.:

Money sent through C.N.T.-F.A.I.:

On Hand, August 1st, 1937:

On Hand, August 1st, 1937:

Hereafter this Committee will issue a monthly statement reporting the balance of funds for the information of the communicating divisions.

The Committee.

COMING EVENTS

U.O.C. CONFERENCE

There will be an important con- ference on the work and extension of assistance to various Organizations in New York, beginning Saturday, the ninth of October. The conference will have arranged for a special get-together in the evening on Sunday, the tenth, important ques-

Grants being applied for in the name of the treasury.

We are for the most satisfied with what we have been able to do for our comrades in Spain and a num-

Money collected for Spain August 1937

U.O.C. NEW YORK

Receipt No. Account

250—F. 5peckle, Sec. R. I. A. M. A. Succ. List 25A (4)

251—Vanguard Colony (Banister) (10)

252—Vanguard Colony (Banister) (4)


255—Vanguard Group—East Side United Front Affair (5)

256—Vanguard Colony (Banister) (40)

257—List of Donations (480)

PREVIOUS BALANCE

CASH ON HAND

$133.90

$421.24

B. W. Johnson, (Signed) The Delegates to the Regional Planum of the F.A.I. (Translated by O. D.)
U.G.T. Condemns Stalinist Disruption of Anti-Fascist Front

In the midst of a war in which an entire world has lined up against a people fighting for freedom against fascism and anti-Semitism, the Communist Party dares to oppose those forces for which the Spanish proletariat is laying down its life. While calling for "unity of the proletariat" it labels itself the "one party of the proletariat"—such a unity can only be that of subjection and slavery. It calls for unity while at the same time condemning the alliance between the two sections of the U.G.T. in Spain—the C.N.T. and U.G.T. We reprint below a severe condemnation of the dastardly policies of the Communist Party taken from "Comunidcion de Valencias" (U.G.T. Organ):

"The enthusiasm that our cause awakened in proletarian and democratic circles at the beginning of the year, is starting to decrease visibly. This phenomenon may have lamentable consequences that we must combat diligently for the cause and find the remedy. With the calm with which we always approach such delicate questions, we offer our contribution in the frank and direct spirit that the situation requires.

"The responsibility for this decline in enthusiasm is the unfruitful exclusive policy of the C.N.T. The desperate desire to establish themselves in a dominating position, their unbridled manias for raising all the problems and using all the slogans which with the Communist International is fighting in China as well as in Australia, all this has been incorporated into the unceasing capacity for harmful and insulting conduct, absolutely incompatible with the proletarian democracy and definitely opposed to the temperament of the Spanish people, is the fundamental cause of our internal quarrels and of our weakened international position.

"The campaign that the Communist press is carrying on at the present time against the international Delegation presided over by Maxton, leader of the Independent Labor Party, in alliance with the Communist Party in England (a campaign that may have such lamentable results for the Spanish Revolution) is a piece of stupidity worthy of anti-revolutionary provocators, trying to make of an environment of discussion to credit the floating of the first ship that forced its way through the blockade of Bilbao.

Communists Show Little Concern Over Loss of North and National Independence

But what matters the report to the British fraternal organization of our losses in the north? Our model Declaration of the revolution, one insignificant person among those at the head of the Northern Republic, for example, Tretyakovites should escape their insidious net.

In all naivety, the problem is this: the international aid of the Communists alone is not enough for us to win the war, as it has already been proven. We believe the conscious action on the part of the masses in the democratic countries. But this (continued on page three)

NEGRIN CABLES TO U.G.T. CONVENTION

The U.O. convention held in N.Y. last week-end sent the following message to Dr. Negrin, Premier of Spain:

"WE DEMAND IMMEDIATE REVERSAL OF THE DECISION AGAINST C.N.T.-F.A.I. AND OTHER ANTI-FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING GIUFFI. THE SITUATION OF ANTI-FASCIST VOLUNTEERS AWAITING REPLY TO THE CONVENTION UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS JUMP WEIMAR SECRETARY WORKERS' FORUM.

"VALENCIA, OCT. 14, 1937

"M. JOSE M. MAJOR

SECRETARY CONVENTION UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS 46 WEST 75 ST.

"ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT TELEGRAM JUST THAIKED PASSING ON INFORMATION PERSECUTION ET CETERA ABSOLUTELY FALSE STOP PROP AGGRESSIVE TACTICS STOP "H. H. NEGRIN, MINISTER"

"DESCRIBE this cable as received at U.S. Embassy in Paris. Spanish Revolution was going to press we must leave comment on this cylinical message.

The substitution ofNegrin's reply is only one among a number of de-facts that make up 200 political activities of the anti-Fascist current.

The condition of Negrin's reply is only one among a number of de-facts that make up 200 political activities of the anti-Fascist current.

"UNCONTROLABLE" LISTER DIVISION TRIES TO SMASH COLLECTIVES

The propaganda department of the Valencia government has created a number of heroes for the international audience. Among such heroes are Lister, El Campesino, Modesto, etc. They may be more to the Spanish workers and peasants they have become notorious. Their work has been, in the main, rear-guard duty and service the purposes of the Stalinist government in destroying the creative work of the proletariat.

Below is an account of the reaction in Aragon in which Lister has a leading figure.

"A short time before the Aragon council was deposed, the Lister plant in the port, seized without a fight at the fronts established by Darrell but rather to achieve victory in the north of Spain which were accomplished in Moc de Toledo and Celenas. Before the arrival of the Lister Division in Aragon, there had been a meeting of the representatives of the Aragon Front and the Propaganda Front to discuss the imminent approval of the work of the Regional Council was the Stalin-Negrin-Friedrich government decided to depose that Council. The "Cuerpo Frente" of the Comunitaristas attempted to protect the Lister-Army but this was not to their taste. Within the most atrocious conditions imaginable, soldiers who never knew peace.

(continued on page four)

U.G.T. SPLIT THREATENS

Everything is not well within the socialist controlled unions of Spain (U.G.T.). Ever since the official pact of mutual defence with the anarcho-syndicalist organization (C.T.F.) the life of the political coalition now governing the country for complete control of the organization has taken on increased proportions. And the result is that the once inter-union struggle artificially maintained at a high boiling point in order to bring it closer to an inter-union split toward which the Communist politicians have been working ever since the organization began to assert itself as an independent organization. What was the reaction of the governing coalition of Spain toward the pact of friendship between the two powerful labor unions we already know. Its answer was to unboil a wave of persecutions against the C.N.T. and a policy of Terrology against those sections of U.G.T. which have stood up for complete independence from any political control. The result is that this new offensive against the rear-guard of Catalan shop workers, in the arrest of Tarradellas. Out previously, time without number, dared and insulted the Spanish military and the most atrocious conditions imaginable, soldiers who never knew peace.

(continued on page four)

ANTI-FASCIST VOLUNTEERS DEPORTED FROM SPAIN ARE STILL IN DANGER

The hundreds of foreign anti-fascist volunteers, whose deportation from Spain was announced in "Spanish Revolution," are now in France awaiting deportation to their lands of origin. Some of these workers had been charged with "illegal entry into Spain." Those charged are from Germany and Italy. A widespread and vigorous protest by French workers, especially by the comrades of the "Anarchist Union" of France and the C.G.T. S.F.I.C. syndicalist unions was responsible for keeping these victims of the Negrin-Stalin counter-revolution from a certain doom at the hands of their own government. They are now being housed and fed in France thus the generation of anti-fascist views and activities.
SPAIN BETRAYED BY LIBERALS AND DEMOCRATS

The tragic situation now facing the Spanish proletariat is not due to any fatal mistakes or wrong policies pursued by its revolutionary vanguard. It is entirely due to the two-fold betrayal of the elementary principles of internationalism and democracy on the part of the workers and liberals of western Europe and America.

Two elementary demands were raised by the Spanish revolution in its fight to meet them, western democracy not only exposed the Spanish workers and peasants to the greatest dangers ever facing a nation fighting for its freedom, but also undermined, almost fatally so, its own position in the inevitable last struggle against a militant fascist aggression.

The first demand was to fight against the infamous blockade raised by the western imperialist governments in the name of the farcical non-intervention agreement. It was the elementary duty of the European democracy to prevent the carrying out of that blockade to expose the hypocritical policy of the British government Labor Party in Spain by laying bare its "tooth and claw" policy of internationalism and democracy on the part of the workers and liberals of western Europe and America.

The second demand was to support the Spanish revolution, to make it safe for Spain to be a beacon for the world. The latest developments have already shown that the attempt to "confuse the conflict to Spain proper" and has given a tremendous impulse to the struggle for the Fascist powers for transferring the conflict into a world conflict. To check the Fascist powers by pursuing a firm policy in regard to Spain is to safeguard peace in Europe and not to endanger it—this has now become fully confirmed by the ominous course of events during the last few months.

And no government in the democratic countries of Europe would find within itself sufficient power to oppose the clearly expressed will of the labor and democratic organizations to insure peace in Europe by putting the Fascist powers in their place, and this by a large scale in the big centres of England, protecting the Machiavellian policy of the British government would be sufficient to bring the latter to its knees and bring its Spanish policy more in accordance with its own speeches. A more emphatic form of mass pressure exerted by the French workers would have brought about a considerable change in the intransigent attitude of the Blum government toward the closing of the Spanish frontiers for arm transportation. WAS ANY SUCH EFFORT MADE ON BEHALF OF THE BLEEDING SPANISH REVOLUTION?

The Liberal and proletarian organizations of the world failed in this task of defending the Spanish people by safeguarding its elementary right granted by every precept of International Law. They became a party to the gigantic hoax perpetrated on the name of non-intervention. They let themselves be drawn into the false design conceived by the British imperialists and carried out in the cynical spirit of their diplomatic traditions.

If only were such efforts lacking at the most critical hour of the Spanish revolution, but the labor and liberal organizations of Europe failed to bear themselves in the defense of elementary democratic rights of the Spanish people endangered by the encroachments of the powerful enemy from within—the counter-revolutionary forces rallied by the Communist Party. The last resort of the highly intelligent leaders in Aragon were destroyed with all the fury of a Nazi campaign. The most highhanded fascistic methods of the Fascist Aragon were made the victims of the most vicious insults.

There were numerous kidnapings, a number of murders and similar acts of terror. They even resorted to the taking of prisoners, placing them with questions and inquiring terror in their mind. The Regional Committee was arrested at the curate of Quirós and Cervantes, all the members of the "Nou Aragon", official organ of the Aragon Communist Committee, the centers has been destroyed and the anarchy of the Carabí, Orria and Sànchez were destroyed. The barracks of the collaves were broken open and robbed. Milli- narian C.N.T. veterans were arrested with or without charges and thrown into filthy cells. Military taxes were imposed upon the poor peasants and shepherds, past office of San Francisco's Señor. Any conceivable provocation was overlooked in the mad attack of the fascists to bring the members of the C.N.T. to the point of exasperation so that they would have the excuse for an armed invasion of Aragon by the government.

What was the next "step to Aragon forc"? It was to establish order where there was no disorder and to bring the Aragon into the 19th, is now beginning to play its part on the stage of the wider battle in the Catalan politics. The Lliga new in the last few years is in the sphere of the Generational in form of minister without portfolio in the course of which has "syndicate" of small farmers, and men and manufacturers, which in the last few years is the counterpart of the Lliga, has become the bulwark of Stalinism in the Catalan politics.

In recognition, no doubt, of their services, the F. U. C. Stalinist party in Catalonia, has given membership cards to sixty thousand members of Comba's party.

Legend, also, the people of Spain or the people of Europe as a whole, the other divisions in Aragon were to indulge in the same sort of orgies and their.elemont was thought of in any way. What would happen if some of the soldiers simply capitulated to the sound of the drums as Torez, their own ship and the executive be released by force of arms. Up to the present the C.N.T. has always put the stake that the C.N.T. Those who desire above all else to extend the enfranchisement and democracy? Why are they silent in the face of such monstrous outrages as the assassination of Nino, the closing down of papers, the raiding of headquarters of labor organizations and the dis-
GRAUS PROGRESSES UNDER LIBERTARIAN COLLECTIVIZATION

Barbers, carpenters, those in charge of transport, the shoemakers, are also striking. They have a slender livelihood from the slender pool of common interests, work and real brotherhood. The "loners" have been a numerical majority, and their socialist, professional rivalry and envy which under an individualistic regime are the seed of all the discord, all the fraterlities in his work. At meetings one notices the representatives differ in their claims, in their ideal equal points of view without hesitation or jealousy of any kind, in their obligations, in their relations with the sheep herds, smithies, doctors, etc. They all say the ideals of the people, both rich and poor, and all have their wishes equally fulfilled.

Today it is a means of the assembly: it is assigned a spokesman, although there is very little talking, since each one knows his obligations and doesn't try to avoid them.

YOUTH, MOTHERS, CHILDREN AND THE AGED

Men over sixty are exempt from work, and they are the first rules of collectivization. They've worked enough during their life under capitalism and the work of their product was completely appropriated by the state. When a collectivist wishes to marry, he is given a week's holiday and the permission to travel to the city to procure for him as well as furniture through the co-operative. All the services of the Collectivity are free for his disposal for all his needs. From the time man is born, to the time of his death, the Collectivity takes care of him, safeguards his rights and duties, which he, himself, confirms democratically in the council, where there are no discrepancies between the representatives and the operations in the various branches of production.
The collectivists have everything within the reach of their work and means of perfecting himself and overcoming difficulties. The children are the subjects of intense care. They are not allowed to work until fourteen years of age. Mothers are not allowed to work, especially during the pre-natal period.
The young girls work in all establishments. Work clothes and clothes are made for the fighters.

STATISTICS & ORGANIZATION

Crude, perhaps, deduced from these simple facts that such an idyllic regime cannot last long and that it will remain at this stage. But this regime of life is based on an organization perfected and aligned within the rules of sectoral order.

All branches of the economy are operated and run under the same systematic manner and have been transferred to a systematic manner. As a result of this, the primary sector of the economy has been organized within a systematic manner. As a result of this, the primary sector of the economy has been organized within a systematic manner.

The attempts to destroy the achievements of the Spanish workers liberating themselves from economic and political inequality and oppression were given full publicity in recent months of the year in Revolution. This was done in order to place the blame for these developments squarely on the shoulders of the Spanish people. In doing this we also created a situation that was self-defeating. In future it is intended to place before our readers material on the constructive role of the revolution. This will not lessen the purity and integrity of the working class but will place their treachery in bold relief.

With the defeces of the fascist in vast territory after the great battles of July 19, 1936 only one road now open for the workers-to take over the land and collectivize it under their own class rule. If not the Spanish workers wished to do this the necessities of the situation would have forced them to do it. The Spanish revolution was not a phenomenon without the material means of surviving and carrying on the struggle against fascism. But the Spanish workers were prepared to face over the economic and social mire of history of the country. A long period of working-class education, in which the necessity and methods of working-class control had been lived and taught by the C.N.T.-F.A.T., had borne fruit.

It would be a mistake to think that it was only in large industrial centers that this process was taking place. The rural areas and small towns of Spain were equally involved. The Acts of the country's existence, in a land of the Catalan, the most industrialized region of Spain, was the stronghold of anarchist syndicatation and when the workers there had defeated General Gredos, they immediately set up committees to control the economic life. But Spain is a predominantly agricultural country, and the agricultural syndicatation movement in the agricultural areas would follow an immediate inauguration and battle between thousands of collectivists of the La Loyalist Spain. Those who knew the history of Spain had no doubt what direction the peasants would take. The advance of the Durruti column clearing dragon of the fascists was like the conclusion of the final battle of a newly liberated and independent people. With the former masters gone they created that form of life which only once in history have they known—liberty, justice—Libertarian Collectivism. It was a spontaneous and popular urge that created this new life and new society and collected in all of Spain by Stalin, with its tragic consequences, found no duplication here. This was verified by every event showing the vitality of a citizen who spent time in some time in the Spanish collectives.

Everywhere a basic socialist framework was created and the examples set by the more advanced villages and cities. The political organizations resulting from socialization determined the direction the others were to take.

But agricultural socialization was not a phenomenon unique to Aragon. All over Spain the same process took place—Leon, Asturias, Extremadura, Andalucia. The peasants were free to develop and determine their own lives.

The result of these social changes on Spanish life is known by all. The productive yield of the land is greater, area under cultivation has been tremendously extended. In all, the agricultural output has been approximately doubled. (This was stated even in many German papers in 1936). As a result, the animal aristocracy was thrown out of the land and protein rich foods, vegetables, fell into the hands of the people. This is an example of how the peasants were free to develop and determine their own lives.

The peasants have built a poultry farm of the most modern type. The equipment which cost about 20,000 pesetas will enable the peasants to produce thousands of chickens a year.

The agricultural collectivity will easily be able to develop its productive potentialities. It already has 14 tractors, 15 threshing machines and 15 threshing mills. The factories established are tile and plaster works, public buildings, the huge wheat mill which is all under workers control and contribute to the development of economy.

EDUCATION

Amposta had been formerly very backward in education. Now that the war is结束, 15 were created after the military violence, the schools has been developed and the children has been taught in the proper way. In the current year, the public school has been opened and the children can be enrolled in the public school. For the first and foreign language is the most important in the current year. There has been an increase in the number of students in the public school. In the current year, three courses have been opened for adults. Plans are now being worked out for a school of Arts and Trades.

AMPOSTA IN THE WAR

The village of Amposta has sent to the front of the most of the village. Clothes and all that is needed is collected by the village, and the pecas has been collected for the war. Numerous refugees are most hospitably received by the town, and provided with all necessities. An war import has been placed in the village. Thewar is always to buy one peseta a week. Those who get more pay 10%. All of this, the pecas are sold at 6 pesetas, 10 pesetas, and 20 pesetas.

SANTITATION

The municipal Council is taking to the city for the cleaning of the town. They are completing a network of sewers and apparatus for the collection of the sewage. The town has already is connected to a hospital, and a tuberculosis sanitarium.

In all this great and constructive labor the most perfect understanding is shown between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. who initiated and carried out this work. (Printed in Espa a Antifascista September 30, 1937).
P.O.U.M. SPY CHARGES DERIVED

(continued from previous page)

COMMUNISTS PREPARING U.G.T. SPLIT

(continued from page one)

systematic policy which has by now become classical in its hold in all the countries with a fascist regime. But Prieto did finally say that what was most serious was the arrest of the P.O.U.M. leaders was not decided on by the police immediately after these arrests on their own. Ortega, chief of police, claimed that the warrant of arrest was incorrect, that it had been done by his subordinates, who were controlled by the communists. Ortega was dismissed because he failed an investigation of his family.

The delegates were moreover told that the trial for the May disturbances. However, these assurances meant nothing for, the delegating judge, in his written P.O.U.M. members were charged with espionage, but that they were not under any of their colleagues. This assertion was contradicted by the P.O.U.M. leaders. He had the suspicion that they were spies.

Mr. Prieto, too, felt that the P.O.U.M. leaders were not in any league with espionage. But he did think that they were responsible for the failure of the May disturbance. (Ed. note: That the responsibility for the May fighting in Barcelona, Cuenca, Madrid, and Estar Catalana provocateurs was simply proved by complete national strike, which was also supported by the P.O.U.M. leaders.)

Prieto claimed that the general military and international situation accurately pointed out that the federation came from countries whose aid to Spain was not very effective, but that Russia had sent very effective aid in the form of arms and men. But Prieto was not in any league with the P.O.U.M. leaders. He had the suspicion that they were spies.

and Walter's support is still over as a bulwark of strength, gaining even a larger and more solid footing in the Spanish working class. That is why the center of attack is being made towards the United General workers, or U.G.T., which has always had a comparatively large opposition movement within its ranks. The latter was considerably augmented by the number of spies and procurers recruited by the communist party wherever it succeeded in infiltrating the unions. Those are, as the C.N.T. papers point out, ex-members of the United General workers who in the course of the May disturbances were everywhere in order to break down the independence of the labor unions — was thrown against the U.G.T. for... not having paid their fees. But that was enough to displace the C.N.T. as a number of local organizations by the Communist party, which achieved more difficult tasks in the work of such a purely revolutionary organization as the C.N.T. and U.G.T. (Its leader, Zubala, had made himself popular with the Spanish workers by his merciless exposure of the fascist policy of the Communist Minister of Agriculture, Uribarri, in regard to the land question.)

The prestige of the Soviet Union, the powerful financial and military assistance which the U.S.S.R. is giving at the disposal of its Spanish agents, the direct means of physical intimidation and political pressure — The entire system of semi-feudal methods employed by the Moscow agents wherever they go in order to break down the independence of the labor unions — was thrown against the U.G.T. for... not having paid their fees. It is enough to displace the C.N.T. as a number of local organizations by the Communist party, which achieved more difficult tasks in the work of such a purely revolutionary organization as the C.N.T. and U.G.T. (Its leader, Zubala, had made himself popular with the Spanish workers by his merciless exposure of the fascist policy of the Communist Minister of Agriculture, Uribarri, in regard to the land question.)

U.G.T. CONDEMNS STALINISTS

(continued from previous page)

action can never be developed into a substantial movement if the C.P. fails to decide upon the course to be followed. Nor can they feel any enthusiasm for a communist dictator- Under some conditions we believe a real- ity of the Spanish Communists, we would like to point out the fact that complete dis- cency of the C.P. The simple contrast between the latest resolutions adopted by this great trade union body, searching in a realistic way for the revolutionary solidarity and the aid of the International Proletariat, and the mad-dog language that alien- ates such assistance. This contrast expresses in undeniable terms the anti-revolutionary irresponsi- bility of the Communists in this time of peril of the working class.

We have no doubt whatever that if the C.P. does not make a fundamental change in its line of conduct in Spain and abroad, this conflict will be a direct, a deadly struggle of the fascists.

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SPANISH GOVERNMENT COURTS C.N.T.

Strange news are greeting us from Spain. The Communist Party and its allies, after having controverted the C.N.T. from the government, are again beginning to talk about the necessity of establishing a closer form of cooperation with the C.N.T., by drawing it into the responsibilities of governing the country.

The tone of the Communist press has changed all of a sudden. The C.N.T. is praised and not castigated as before. Its heroes, like the famous commander of the 16th Division, Cipriano Mera—are now held up before the readers of the Communist press as examples of revolutionary spirit and not as traitors and pestilences.

(Mundo Obrero, Sept. 29)

"Face Toward C.N.T.?"

An altogether new tone was struck by the famous Pantheonista who declared at the opening session of the Cortes (Parliament) that "It is not the fault of the government that the working masses of the organization of the C.N.T. are not represented here. We must envisage the possibility of isolating the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T. and sharing the responsibilities of this movement. (Fragua Social, Oct. 3.)"

It is a significant statement, much of course, as one can doubt its underlying sincerity or its accuracy, disavowing responsibility for causing the C.N.T. from the government.

Similar statements were made by other prominent communists and even socialists, like the former fascist Ministro Arriaga Vayo (the latter is very near to the communists and very often expresses their official views) who declared that "the C.N.T. has the right to its responsibilities in the government."

Symptomatic of this new turn of the "Party line" is the symbolic emblems of the anarchist commander of the 16th Division, Cipriano Mera, by the representatives of the Police Bureau of the Communist Bureau, the police authorities, and the labor organizations of the C.N.T. On Oct. 4."

Change of "Line" Not Spontaneous

No one, of course, believes in the spontaneity of such outbursts of friendship for the Spanish anarchists. Only a month ago the communist leaders in Catalonia, Jean Combes, delivered one of the bitterest attacks against the C.N.T., reaching the lowest point of slander and vilification.

The patriotic workers who, from Barcelona from the fascists and were forth upon their epic conquest of the (continued on page two)

One cannot help thinking of the similar embracement and "enlarged" kinship between the anarchist fighter Makhno—by the representative of the Political Bureau of the Communist Bureau, the police authorities, and the labor organizations of the C.N.T. On Oct. 4."

Rejectionary Decree

There was no British diplomat to counsel any pro-fascist policy in the case of Spanish refugees a purely internal problem as far as the French Government is concerned. And still, the latter, headed by ardent socialists and democrats, is following out a course in respect of the refugees which cannot be reversed in the fascist capitals of Europe.

France is the only country to which the Spaniards fleeing the fascists can turn now. During this year quite a number of people escaped the fascist war zones or the war tofs regions where only combatants have place. Doubtless, this wave of refugees created a problem for France. But the sympathies toward the Spanish people of the so-called democrats and Socialist government.

SOLIDARITY

The International Workingmen's Association (World Federation of Anarchist-syndicalist unions) called a conference of all the national labor and transport unions affiliated with it. The purpose of this conference was to undertake a vigorous struggle against the deportations to fascist Spain along the lines of direct action. It was decided to prevent by all means the transportation of conscription to the fascist held ports.

The Spanish Workers Need Your Continuous Aid

"The French government still considers the opening of the frontier as the only worthy reply to Mussolini. Unless Italy guarantees within the next few days to withdraw her troops without delay, there can be little doubt that the French government will open the frontier next week."

All that reads like ancient history but it was only written a few weeks ago by the Paris correspondent of the best informed newspapers in the world. What happened since then? Everyone knows the answer. Britain again put a restraining hand upon the French government. The British government, not in the state of its own devious policy, is shrinking back from any emphatic challenge of the fascist bloc.

Is it the complete answer, though? Is the French government no aridora in its wish to take care of its own armament without it much more clear and outspoken in its device to check fascist progress?"

Socialist Trade Union (U.G.T.)

Split by Government Forces

"The Communist Party, too, wrote in the last issue of its paper, is endeavoring to wreck the United Spanish Workers' Union, having the official backing of the Spanish government and other governmental agencies, will become a powerful weapon in the struggle of the Communist Party in its drive toward the disruption of the existing unity between the C.N.T. and U.G.T., the militarization of unions and their subjection to the totalitarian scheme of things." This split has now become reality. Those who shouted the loudest about united fronts of all sorts did not hesitate to break up an organisation which contributed so greatly toward the destruction of the anti-fascist forces of the country.

The story of how this split was engineered is told by the French weekly Libertaire. It is a story which no one genuinely concerned with the future of labor organisations should ignore. And it casts an ominous shadow on the tendencies of the official policy of the present rulers of Spain.

Struggle for Control

"During the last time the situation within the U.G.T. has become quite strained. The majority of the federations represented within the national committee were hostile to Largo Calandrella. But the latter claimed that he was elected by the national congress of the U.G.T. and that the federations backing him represented a preponderant majority of the U.G.T. membership, although having only a minority in the national committee. (*)"

"In the month of September Calandrella made an attempt to regain majority in the national committee by expelling those federations which adhered to the statutes of the U.G.T. were no more in good standing, having to pay regular dues for a long time."

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(Continued on page four)

*) The membership of the federations backing Calandrella is 300,000 as against the 600,000 represented by the opposition.
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

48 WEST 17th ST. - NEW YORK, N.Y. - Chelsea 3-9507
Vol. II, No. 2
August 8, 1937

WORLD DEMOCRACY BETRAYED ASTURIAN MINERS

Three years ago the miners of Asturias rose in revolt against a government dominated by forces that were openly driving to set up a Fascist regime in Spain. The revolt did not spread to other parts in Spain, but never-the-less it evoked all over the country that the only troops the government could rely upon in suppressing the revolt were the mercenaries from the Foreign Legion and the savage Moors from Morocco.

The miners were defeated and ruthlessly suppressed but their task was accomplished. The Fascist tide sweeping over the country was turned back. The rebellion threw a monkey wrench into the elaborate plans of the Fascists, hatched in Rome and Madrid, to sweep into power with the aid of a com- plement of government and powerful foreign backing. From that time on the government was thrown on the defensive by the wave of popular unrest set up by the glorious example of the heroic miners of Asturias.

Anti-Fascist Spain was saved from the imminent danger of a Fascist upheaval, was given a sufficient respite to prepare for the epic struggle that was to come so many months later. The October revolt of 1934 became the prelude for the glorious July 18, 1936, for the stirring events which have already changed the course of modern history.

And in saving Spain from what seemed then an inevitable fate the Asturian miners rendered an inestimable service for the cause of the universal democracy all over the world. With Spain gone Fascist, the danger of Fascist engulfment of the entire Europe would be much more imminent than now.

Not only would Fascist gain a tremendously important strategic position by taking hold of the Iberian peninsula, but the electrifying, revitalizing effect which the Spanish struggle produced upon the anti-Fascist forces throughout the world would be lacking. The hypnotizing terror of Fascism, the myth of its invincibility would linger and that was due in the first place to the sacrifices of Asturias who were the first to throw down the gauntlet to the advancing forces of international reaction.

In 1934 the heroic miners of Asturias bled and suffered to save the Spanish people from the terror of a new barbarism. But three years later the same civilized world turned a deaf ear to the desperate cries for help coming from those who brought it the first message of a new hope. Cut off from the sympathizers and help which had been given to them in 1934 by a highly equipped army, the poorly armed miners of Asturias finally succumbed after having waged an unequal struggle for more than a year. The only help they could get was from other countries—from France and England—and that help was refused them.

The so-called Popular Front of France seemingly forgot how much it owes to those very heroic miners without whose struggle Spain would have become a long time ago a recruiting ground for the French workers and others who have shaken off the lethargy in face of the international danger of Fascism, remained strangely indifferent to the fate of those who have done more than anyone else to stir them up to the realization of such a dangerous threat.

While Germany was pouring in armaments through the ports of Galicia, France closed its frontiers to any shipments of ammunition and the English workers remained passive in face of the criminal policy of its government in tolerating open piracy in the Bay of Biscay designed to cut off any relief from the Asturias and Basque provinces.

It is against this indifference that every sincere anti-Fascist who realizes the world-wide significance of the Spanish struggle must come to the assistance of Asturias—today it is Asturias and tomorrow it may be the rest of loyalist Spain, left at the mercy of the blocking fleets of Italy and Germany. To prevent this major tragedy from taking place the democratic masses of the world must be thoroughly aroused and united against the pseudo- pacific policy of their governments in refusing armaments to the heroic people of Spain under the pretext of preserving peace in the rest of the world.

SPANISH GOVERNMENT EXPELS SPANISH REFUGEES

(Continued from page one)

The New York Times correspondent already reported about the collapse of the Fascist government on Monday, having established a semi-Fascist party in the country, which, as everyone could plainly see, was to be old Fascism under a new name. Surprisingly enough for the "totalitarian" of the Communist Party, other parties today have shown a remarkable growth and spread of influence.

The C.N.T.-U.A.N. of Madrid, for example, was formed out of the CNT (anarchist-socialist union of Madrid) of Oct. 14, reports that the Left Republican Parties have greatly increased their influence. As we wrote in the Spanish Revolution, the Left Republican parties of Spain are very often more radical than their respective national groupings (in this country, for example). They are certainly more genuinely liberal. "(The P.O.U.M. (Platea) in Spain, a few months ago said to us, it is feeling itself stronger with every day in Caudillo."

The same holds true of the Socialist Party headed by Spain.

The Impregnable Strength of the C.N.T.

But, of course, the incomparably greater weakness of the monarchialists is so great that the avowed change is the remarkable strength displayed by the C.N.T. before the Fascists. This is in sharp contrast to the present situation which has led to so much depression and despair.

"The C.N.T.," writes its official organ, Fronteras (Oct. 8) "feels a legitimate pride in its compactness, and believes that the C.N.T. can unite with other organization or party can compare with it in size or in inner cohesion."

This is so official praise-singing or self-evaluation. It is addressed to the circulation of its papers—the largest in the country—its hold upon the masses, and its readiness to stand on its own moral ground in face of all provocations and petty perscriptions. It is the voice of a man a speaker at the opening of the Congress, some of which, like the president of the Republican Left, quoted the CNT with great fer-

FRENCH GOVERNMENT EXPELS SPANISH REFUGEES

(continued from page one)

fascist cause in Spain? We may get some glimpse into this strange behavior by taking into consideration the picture drawn by the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian.

"The Spanish Socialist Party," he writes "has a very powerful right wing represented by senior party figure, C. Fauriat, and has another blow to the worker's resistance in Spain. A minister of the CNT, Mark Dornay, Socialist Min-
ister of Interior, organizes the common protection of Nationalist and CNT workers are Cau- dilian sympathizers, and are the "unreliable allies" of the Government, according to the CNT, ministers, to be rid of by means of a sweeping fascist nature.

Fascist Pressure From Within and Without

What accounts for this remarkable change in the mind of a government whose members, perhaps, are quite genuine in sympathy with the anti-Fascist movement, to be so passive in their present attitude toward the situation in Italy and France?

Spanish Revolution for Sale

The president of the Socialist International, Leon De Riezvovres during an interview said:

"I have a great sympathy for the anarchosocialist movement, and especially for the movement in Spain, where they have their point of view. It could have played an anti-fascist role in the history of Spain. The unity of the popular revolution is an urgent need as much without the inclusion of the anarchists."

We Still Have a Number of Spanish Allies for Sale

more than much British colloquialisms and intimations the struggle for the Spanish Revolution gradually achieved by the people, and at times reactionary policies of the present Frond government.
POLITICIANS FAIL AT ARAGON FRONT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

A tiny office, Sánchez, who directed the operations of the Aragon front, who was left without any authority, was replaced with a new man. Walter, who was there absolutely no doubt that the place would be taken. When Belchite was already completely surrounded, they were caught in the street, when they remained only three points of resistance to be crossed, the C.N.T. troops offered by members of the C.N.T. received orders to abandon the place and to enter another sector of the front, while some Assailant Guards, who were sent in to complete the occupation of Belchite, were arrested.

In this manner, the General Staff and all the others could attribute the honor of having Belchite to the officer who had not been in Aragon and who did not take part in the battles of the siege, but who, on the other hand, had a month before and a month after Belchite to a child. In addition, he had transported the necessary supplies to keep the duties of a worker.

What is certain is that everything has been possible to a certain degree that is happening.

All of our comrades fought well and were willing to fight for the defense of their homes, but the manner in which the fighting was done has been described as a battle of guerrillas, rather than a battle of regular forces.

This is the story of the activity of the C.N.T. in Aragon. It is the only truth, the only fact that we have been able to document. It is the truth that we have been able to document.

In conclusion, the C.N.T. workers have been able to document a series of facts that have been described as battles of guerrillas, rather than battles of regular forces. It is the truth that we have been able to document.

According to the latest news reaching us from Spain a number of P.O.U.M. militants had been arrested in Valencia on charges of espionage, and there were reports of a possible connection with the Communist Party. Their case was dismissed as lacking any proof to substantiate the charges against them.

But how about those who are accused of espionage? How about the murderers of Binet and Benitez? Whatever the handpicked tribunals of Negrin's government may say about them, they already stand indicted before the public opinion of the world.
German Volunteers

"There is ample evidence that thousands of German volunteers in Spain continue side by side with the Italian, though less openly and on a smaller scale.

"Information from Germany has just reached this country indicating that during September, between 100 to 300 men from two German anti-aircraft batteries were sent to Spain by way of Italy, and are now ready for immediate equipment of those batteries.

"In the case of the 25th Battery, the commander paraded the men, told them that he and they were going to Spain, and asked which man would like to go. No one answered, and he then formally declared the men to be volunteers."

—Manchester Guardian.

TRANSER OF CAPITAL

POLITICAL MANOEUVRE

One does not have to be much of a military man to see that the transfer of the capital from Madrid to Barcelona, in the face of the most ample evidence of the inaction of the Spanish government toward the C.N.T., is a move designed to break the power of the C.N.T. from the U.G.T. (Catalan faction), and, in conjunction with this attempt, it failed, the ruling powers fell back again upon the policy of gradual disorganizing and then crushing the C.N.T.

It is, however, extremely doubtful that in view of the dangerous situation on the front the government would hazard an open attack against the C.N.T. Although some attempts to undermine its power by some roundabout methods will be made in the near future in spite of all the various intrigues and the recognition of the C.N.T. has to be made of this fact, there can be no question of the government's intention of striking at the C.N.T. and the C.N.T. will be a continued menace to the government until it is completely destroyed.

And whatever the exact reasons for the transfer of the capital, certain it is that a change in the leadership of the Executive will include some far-reaching scheme to incorporate the C.N.T. and to destroy its growing power as an organizing force in the life of the working class of Spain.

An Anti-Fascist Front:

For and Against the Revolution

Several months ago the forces rallying around the国民政府—those who support the Popular Front—have been fighting a hard battle against the Popular Front. This battle is not yet over, and the Popular Front still faces the task of victory.

Thus we read in the Madrid daily of the C.N.T. (C.N.T. Oct. 8th) that in the C.N.T. an anti-fascist front is forming under the leadership of all the UNIONS and POLITICAL PARTIES.

MONEY COLLECTED FOR SPAIN, SEPT. AND OCT., 1937

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PREVIOUS BALANCE

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IS THE GOVERNMENT COALITION BREAKING UP?

The biggest news in Loyalist Spain—writes the New York Times correspondent in one of the latest issues (Nov. 13) of that paper—is not military but political. The executive committee of the Communist Party of Spain is holding a plenary meeting.

This is in itself, as the correspondent intimates in his dispatch, held for no less a purpose than to decide upon the further course of the Party in regard to the government, since the latter “felt it advisable to move away from Communist toward bourgeois policies.”

COALITION BREAKING UP

Making all the necessary allowances for the political illiterates characterizing the dispatches of the Spanish correspondent of the New York Times (as a fact will remain shown up in the Unholy Alliance of the Communist Party and the bloc of right socialists and republicans whose triumph seems set at least, leading to the formation of the Negrin government, marked the first severe defeat of the social revolution in Spain.

Signs of an incipient rift between the two allies in the government coalition have been multiplying lately. The most significant of them is the recent order issued by the War Minister, Indalecio Prieto, (leader of the right socialists) forbidding any partisan propaganda on the part of the military command of the army.

This order, as even as a staunch defender of the Stalinist cause in Spain as Louis Fisher has to admit, was mainly directed against the Communists and signified a considerable victory on the part of the Prieto faction in the subtle game of nerves and counter-moves characterizing the incipient phase of struggle between the two political factions. We get a clearer idea of the significance of this move when we take into consideration the following facts pointed out by bourgeois policies in Spain. Everyone knows—and Herbert L. Matthews emphasized it many a time in his dispatches—that the Communist Party was unalterably opposed to anything amounting to communism in Spain, unless one means by communism the kind of political regime characterized by the wholesale executions now taking place in Soviet Russia.

STRUGGLING FOR THE CONTROL OF THE ARMY

The Stalinists were practically the only ones to hold the higher positions of command in the army. Thanks to Alvarez del Vayo (ex-War Minister and a Stalinist with strong Stalinist leanings), the communists captured the actual command of the greatest number of military units. They did not lose their own men in those positions or by drawing the old officers through their own free will or by force—into ranks of their party. That is why the Communists cannot forgive Prieto his latest move depriving them of their preponderant role in the army."

THE RIFT IS WIDENING

The fight for the control of the army command is only the beginning of a much more serious rift having deeper causes and pointing to more serious consequences. (Continued on page four)

FROM A COMMUNICATION SENT TO AN ARGENTINIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST PAPER (“Organización Obrera”) ON THE DELIVERATION OF ARGENTINIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST UNIONS (F.O.R.A.) NOW VISITING SPAIN.

““Our first contact with Spanish realities produced a favorable impression. Spain is now a crucible where a new humanity is being moulded. The country is going through a complete revaluation of its old values, which is astonishing in its degree. “As to the economic life of the country, were it not for the shortage of certain articles, no one would say that free Spain is now facing a war which in a way is perhaps unprecedented. “The situation of our movement cannot be judged from the confused and contradictory reports of the bourgeois press. Contrary to what is said in the CNT movement has not been destroyed nor has it been subdued. We actually have about 18 daily papers published by our movement. "And as a proof of the complete blockade which almost all governments now maintain against Spain, and also for the great weakness shown by the international proletarian, the inner situation would be greatly eased.”

There are evident signs of a social transformation. Those show only a beginning of the new social structure. But it is a beginning nevertheless. A great deal is to be done yet. "The CNT paper with the largest circulation in Barcelona is “Solidaridad obrera” (official organ of The Cenemos C.N.T.) It is the most widely read daily in our paper “Cavalla Libre” (official organ of the Cenemos C.N.T.). Many streets bear the names of the CNT institutions.

"There are no doubts concerning the political roles played by the new government groups. It is necessary to distinguish the central government and the local governments which are following the decisions of the central government.”

"There are no doubts concerning the political roles played by the new government groups. It is necessary to distinguish the central government and the local governments which are following the decisions of the central government.”

MADRID SOCIALISTS PROTEST COMMUNIST TACTICS

"Either the Communist Party change its tactics or it will have to be eliminated as an enemy of the Spanish Republic!"

Many a socialist and liberal in this country regard the attacks delivered by our party against the Communist Party of Spain as evidence of an infallible sectarian spirit which is prone to magnify the nature of grievances and wrangles, at times quite genuine, for the sake of scoring a partisan point.

We are therefore reprinting portions from a long document issued by the Socialist organization of Madrid against the Communist Party. It is a left-wing organization, that is, one which for a long time felt itself much nearer to the Communist Party than any other grouping. No other organization pretended so enthusiastically the collaboration of U.S.R.S. at the left-wing groups within the Spanish Socialists. Even before the fascist revolt, they upheld the idea of a close understanding, and even some sort of organizational merger, with the party of the Third International. Significantly enough, it was the right wing within the socialist party headed by Prieto, that is exactly the faction which now is showing the greatest reluctance toward any sort of collaboration."

Few socialists in Spain speak on the basis of more than a year’s experience in trying to obtain this understanding. They learned that the only form of collaboration the Mexican government believes in is the one of complete domination on the one part and utter self-effacement on the other. How rigorous such a policy is under the tragic conditions of Spanish struggle in Spain is shown by this document which no socialist, liberal or any honest anti-fascist has a right to ignore.

In the operations taking place in the Zueira sector six brigades took part: two brigades from the Karl Marx division, one brigade from the Durruti division (C.N.T.), the Red and Black brigades (C.N.T.) and two brigades from the Lister division (made up of the so-called mixed fronts with a heavy predominance of Stalinist controlled officers).

The operation failed and that was mainly due to the defection of the Karl Marx division. Fifty officers and six hundred privates of this brigade went over to the fascists. (*) As a result of these defections an entire battalion of our troops was cut off.

"SPAIN WILL BE A TRUE WORKERS’ DEMOCRACY IN WHICH NONE OF THE GROUPS NOW FIGHTING WILL SHOULDER TO SHOULDER." WILL PREDOMINATE.

(From a speech by A. LOYRE, anarchist ex-minister of commerce)

"On this Party we place the principal responsibility for the misfortunes that the republicans have suffered in the past three months, and for the misfortunes yet to come if these tactics do not stop soon. Three months ago we had a real anti-fascist front in Spain. All the organizations of the trade unions worked closely together in the control and the responsibilities of the war. Today this unity is broken and each day the prospects..."
THE MADRID BARRICADES OF TODAY MAY BECOME THE WORLD BARRICADES OF TOMORROW

There is a great deal of indignation now shown in certain quarters over the semi-official recognition granted by the English government to Franco.

The Madrid barricades today may become the world barricades of tomorrow.

The English government has favored intervention not only because of the business interests it has at stake in Spain, but also because of the prestige it gains in the eyes of the world. Hence the English government has been more interested in the outbreak of war than in the interests of the workers of Europe.

The working class of Spain knows well the real cause of the outbreak of war. The working class of Spain has always been in the forefront of the revolutionary movement. The working class of Spain is not afraid of a war of aggression, but it is afraid of the war of intervention.

From the very beginning of the revolution in Spain the Tory government showed its deep concern over its spread in that country and elsewhere. The Tory government has been watching the working class of Spain with suspicion.

It isn’t the British government that betrayed the Spanish workers and peasants by its latest diplomatic move. Nothing else could be expected from a government which, as the leader of the British Labor Party characterized it, “is but the expression of the CRASSEST mercantile interests.”

It is the workers and liberals of Britain and France, who remain blind to the real face of thetreacherous policies of their government toward loyalist Spain. That can be charged with betrayal of the highest magnitude. For they betrayed not only the elementary principles of international solidarity but their immediate interests and the interests of European culture as a whole.

WE HAVE SACRIFICED SPAIN FOR THE SAKE OF GENERAL PEACE

—LITVINOV.

(From a speech delivered at the League of Nations, September 29, 1937.)

2,500,000 “UNCONTROLLABLES”

According to the last report, the membership of the C.N.T. has reached a total of 2,500,000. 200,000 of its members are enrolled in the militia fighting at the front.

On September 5th the C.N.T. organization of Madrid held a mass meeting in the largest hall available. Long hours of speakers were installed in three other theatres and in the streets, all of which were crowded with workers.

The C.N.T. membership—new members have been sponsored by old members of good standing who have been four years with the organization—it is generally considered to be highly satisfactory. Its reports received the wholehearted support that of the U.G.T. (socialist-controlled trade union) and the political parties.

The F.A.I. THE PROPOSITION OF SUCH "UNDESIRABLES" WAS ALTOGETHER NEGLIGIBLE. (Ed. note: still the politicians speak of the unorganized working class.)

The Congress of the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation) held in Valencia was attended by delegates representing 158,000 members. Its most significant achievement was the fact that only those admitted into the F.A.I. who have proven their revolutionary worth, have fought as militiamen at least since January 1936 and were co-opted by some anarchist group.

—From L’Espoir Nouveau.

Gabriel’s Government

Despotism of the Communist Party has destroyed even more. It destroyed a government that was democratic and was prepared to work as efficiently and honestly both at home and abroad and the most efficient that Republican Spain had, that was the beginning of the war, as well as the most efficient that worked for a decisive victory in war and in turn, preparatory to united political action. It has broken the cordial relations between this Party and the Left Wing of the Socialist Party since the Republic was overthrown and during the first months of the military insurrection of 1936. And now we have the audacity to say that it is we who have changed our policy.

War Strategy as the Service of Party Ends

War is a tragic thing, but the Communist Party has not hesitated to use the national insurrection as the vehicle of its absorptionist policy.

If the recent and ill-fated operations of Brunete, that we regard as a disastrous mistake, had previously consoled for failure, and if the insurrection had not by military errors, we would have nothing to say except to deprecate the punishment and removal of those responsible for so much useless bloodshed. But in these operations the military objectives were subjected to political ends, to the glorification of the Communist military commanders who wanted to show the superiority of a Government that has undertaken the task of making Spain a republic in contrast to a Government that they accused of having abandoned the city.

They wanted to show that a victory which was so easy to obtain had not been won before because of the world-wide irrational resistance of those who preserved the national authority, enervated, therefore, an increased moral support for the fascists, which had repercussions in the attitude of the governments of these crises of the world which would have influence of the fascists. On the other hand, broad sections of the liberal and democratic opinion—already large masses of the international proletariat, see in this government a hegemony of the Communist Party. These suspicions will increase in the immediate future, and the consequences of a crisis of the world will be the influence of the fascists. On the other hand, broad sections of the liberal and democratic opinion—already large masses of the international proletariat, see in this government a hegemony of the Communist Party. These suspicions will increase in the immediate future, and the consequences of a crisis of the world will be the influence of the fascists. On the other hand, broad sections of the liberal and democratic opinion—already large masses of the international proletariat, see in this government a hegemony of the Communist Party. These suspicions will increase in the immediate future, and the consequences of a crisis of the world will be the influence of the fascists.

UNFAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL NASIONAL RASIONAL

On one hand it must be said that this situation saw in this change of governmental policy a weakening its faults, therefore, an increased moral support for the fascists, which had repercussions in the attitude of the governments of these crises of the world which would have influence of the fascists.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

—Ed. note: the work of the secret Che-Ka.

WE STILL HAVE A NUMBER OF SPANISH ALBUMS FOR SALE

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2,500,000 “UNCONTROLLABLES”
PEASANTS BUILD NEW ECONOMIC FORM OF LIFE

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Spanish revolution is the constructive and at times leading, role assumed by the peasantry in the work of rebuilding the economy along collectivist lines.

Contrary to the Marxist dogmas, which assigns to the peasantry a passive, if not a recalcitrant, role in the process of revolutionary reconstruction, the Spanish experiments have shown the example of a great movement of peasants consciously directed toward aims of a free social economy.

This movement is greatly hampered by the sabotaging efforts of the Marxist politicians (of the Communist and Socialist Parties), now wielding the supreme power of the State. In spite of the efforts to impede the movement, it has been so great as to become an integral part of the new socialized economy. A widely spread net of peasant collectives and syndicates, federated into provincial and national organizations, have already succeeded in solving a number of problems which in themselves would have raised insuperable obstacles to the revolutionary work of reconstruction carried out by the proletarian organizations of the city.

The province of Levante is one of a great deal of peasant movement, organized into the Union of Land Workers (affiliated to the Fascist Party, or the "independent" movement, Caballero wing of the U.G.T.) and the Regional Peasant Federation (of the Levante Province) on an economic organization of revolutionary peasants' associates in response to the urgent need of a close co-ordination of the activities of the various organizations immediately after the days of July 19. For this reason, the movement considered itself with the task of administering the lands confiscated by the revolution and to put itself in the land commission created by the present revolutionary Government in conjunction with the local municipalities which gradually take up the revolutionary process of revolutionary redistribution.

Thus the spontaneous movement of collectivization, sponsored not only by the few leaders of the village but also by a great number of peasants of the small holdings, can not be put down. The collectivization movement grew to numbers beyond the strength of the small farmers, all of whom were overcome not only in virtue of the tens and thousands of members that it attracts but also due to the presence of an all-embracing organization like the Regional Peasant Federation.

The latter had to bring order and harmonize agricultural production throughout the entire province, collectivization, but the economy of individual peasant holdings had to be integrated into a larger scheme.

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ENEMY

(Continued from page one)

This movement is quite in line with the counterrevolutionary role of the Communist Party in Spain that one of the main planks in its program has been the restitution of the free trade in the villages, that is, the restoration of the parasitic power of the middle man who was forced out not through any radical and revolutionary program but through the gradual economic pressure of an organized peasantry.

TOWARD INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

With the passing of the political power into the hands of parties and social layers hostile to the organized labor movement of Spain the Syndicate companies are established in the bourgeois regime of the period preceding July 19. This is true. The economic revolution has been slowed down, and even halted in some cases, but not turned back. The main reason lies in the fact that the labor unions have acquired such disproportionate size they become the decisive economic factor. And it is against this economic power that the political power of the parties very often finds itself helpless, although, of course, the Stalinist centralized and Stalinist-controlled State apparatus may find ways and means of curtailing the economic power of the labor unions.

SELF-HELP IN THE PLATEAU INDUSTRY

As an example of this slow accumulation of economic power in the hands of workers' organizations, we bring here the case of the plasterers of Barcelona who are organized into a section of the Industrial Union of Construction Workers.

"The Central Collective of Plasterers extends its sphere of activity over Barcelona and its surroundings. It began to function from the days of the Fascist revolt.

"Once the transitional period was over, there has been set up, under the basis of fascist politics, administrative Councils of technical and union purposes.

"Like other industries, the plastering trade did not escape the difficulties of the time: the lack of economic means and, what's more, the upheaval incidental to the concentration in the hands of a single group of employers. But all the enterprises formerly administered by hundreds of bosses.

"In this industry, the work cost more than a million pesetas, a sum which the fascist carefulness took care of the well-being of workers.

"A section has been formed of the trade for the taking care of accidents and sickness. It collects about ten thousand pesos a week in this kind of insurance.

"In addition, it is to be pointed out that important improvements in work were introduced without raising the wages. The trade is clear in the way the organization, such improvements undertaken by the workers are not likely to be general a rise of construction costs."
IS GOVERNMENT COALITION BREAKING UP?

(Continued from page one)

"It is quite possible, writes the same maga-
azine, that we shall soon come to see an open
situation between the Government and the Stalinists, simi-
lar to the one which took place between the
Caballeria faction and the present government coalition
years ago. This is especially true of the Stalinists, who
do not trust Prieto any longer and that they intend
to get rid of him, or that the latter feels highly
insulted by his recent position and that he hopes to find
foreign help outside of Soviet Russia.

CHARGES OF BETRAYAL

"Paris became during the last weeks the
most frequent place of the emissaries of
these factions. The Prieto emissaries had several
meetings with the elements of the Right ‘pub-
licans, and particularly, Portella Valladares and
others who recently took part in the opening
session of the Parliament.

"It is true then, as it is charged by the
Stalinists, that Prieto is preparing the ground for an
arrest. Or that a military dictatorship is being contemplated, to be headed by a General
who is popular in Spain (Mijas) and who
would establish himself in both warring camps?"

TOYING WITH IDEA OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

The writer of this article (in the Independent
News) does not doubt the authenticity of those
rumors but he believes that the Stalinists are not
seriously thinking of a military dictatorship
as such but against one that is not exercised by
people taking orders from Moscow. And as to the other interpretation they are both
and by the foreign interests of Soviet
Russia which may or may not accept such a
‘solution’ depending on its relations with
France and England.

That the Stalinists are not altogether averse to planes of military dictatorship is shown by
an excerpt from the Communist controlled
paper Claridad used by the anarcho-syndicalist daily “C.N.T.” with the view of bringing it to
the limelight of public opinion the ominous
meaning of the so-called ‘anti-stalinist’ threats and
warnings.

"The state of our economy—writes the
Communist paper Claridad—and the discord and struggles among parties and anti-fascist organi-
zations compel us to say that war is the syn-
onym of dictatorship and that this term must be
given all the significance it should have from
a political situation like ours."

In the same issue of the C.N.T. (Oct. 10)
the editor of the paper points out in his report
on Catalonia that the Communist publications write,rather too often about “the necessity of
establishing a dictatorship of war.”

DICTATORSHIP NO. EMPTY THREAT

And in preparation for such plans they have
perfected their organization working within the
army for this purpose.

It is against this organization that Angel
Pestasola (leader of the Syndicalist Party) de-
ivered his indictment in his speech made at the opening session of the Parliament.

"... We succeeded in building up a Popular
Army, but I must warn the Minister of Defense,
our government and the people of Spain that
the Popular Army is now being undermined by
other organization permeating its ranks. I
warn you now of the danger, because the
nature pointing to the existence of such an
organization, giving names and showing the
methods used in order to capture the Army...

C.N.T. ISSUES WARNING

The rivalry between the two political factions
mainly responsible for the inroads of counter-
revolutionary Spain has already blasted the
socialist project by waging the Inquisition and
Communist positions. And with the hope of building such a totalitarian instrument of dictatorship have also
some overboard propositions of a radical and
easy transition to a totalitarian regime via the
monopolization of power by such a “unified Party” and the control of economic factors.

The growing rift between the two political
forces of loyalist Spain has given added power
for the expression of the libertarian forces of the
C.N.T., which is now fought by both factions,
understanding the tremendous power of this revolution-
aristic organization for the weakening of the rival
forces.

It is, of course, nothing but a brain-span of
cluecrs of the politician mind. (*) The C.N.T.
will fight with its warlike preparations, against
any attempt to set up a dictatorship.

Whichever proposal of a dictatorial nature
will be advanced, the official organ of the
C.N.T.—regardless of whatever source it may
issue from, will meet the most determined resis-
tance of the anti-fascist movement, which is
now firm in the defense of the liberties it
has conquered and which it demands necessary
for its further development.”

(*) Ed. note: It is quite characteristic of the
yet marten horse by the so-called ‘revolution-
lists’ from the Trotskyite camp that they quite
nearly already set to work preparing the
polities to court favor with the C.N.T. as
proof... of the latter’s capitulation before the
Stalinists.


Letters from Vancouver (British Columbia), from the lumber camps of Oregon and Washington, from
mines of New Mexico and Ohio and from the
big cities of the Eastern and Western coasts.

Some enclose modest contributions but all tell of their grim efforts to carry on their work by
way of the SPAIN REVOLUTION.

I think your Bulletin is very important (though
I am not an anarchist but a socialist) because you
quote the words of the leaders of the "Nation
and New Republic" since they long ago declared
the cause of being impartial." This from Hubbard Woods, Ill.

"A few words as to the very good articles in
the Spanish Revolution. They do show up—black on
white—true facts. I hope that all of yesterday are capable of doing.

We could quote numerous letters to the same effect
received from all parts of the world. It is the
founding of 1913 and since that pioneering spurt started a year ago by the
United States Congress, the American City, is beginning to bear fruit. At last the Truth Allegro is
beginning to reach out to the far corners of our
continent.

But a paper cannot exist on praises and acknow-
elledgments of its importance, even when supplemented
by an occasional contribution. WE DO NOT DRAW A CENT FROM
THE MONEY COLLECTED FOR SPAIN and it only serves our friends
and sympathizers that we can appeal to for support.

Such support is urgently needed. Our deficit is
growing. We cannot afford to lose all those that realize the supreme importance of the libertarian cause.

We do hope the friends of the “Spanish Revolution”
will respond to our appeal as they did before. In the
past through your paper we have become similar situations by
rushing funds for the paper.

Do not postpone similar aid now.

THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN

BY RUDOLPH ROCKEY

(Black Star, Oct. 17)

The new pamphlet by Rudolph Rockey, "The Tragedy of Spain," aims not as a timely, informative and highly illuminating account of the Spanish Revolution. It is rather a collection of a series of the Spanish struggle’s struggles, its historical background and background of the struggle is approaching its climax, the knowledge of how it is unfolded during the main conflicts, the forces of the Spanish Revolution which are what we have to follow intelligently the move of events characterized by the present day developments in Spain, it is the only one that the Spanish Revolutionists in the struggle from within, that is, from a point that is brilliantly achieved by Rockey, Rudolph in his masterly account of the events of the Spanish struggle.

He does it, first, by showing the extent to which those "friendlies," democratic and socialists were involved in the Spanish Civil War and how the struggle taking place within Russia itself and feeding into the events in Spain was consistent. "Our" policy toward Spain could not but be that of a refusal to recognize the Open Door policy in the development and not just helping the Spanish Revolutionists. The same attitude was taken toward Spain with a chronicle of events, well documented
by numerous excerpts from the Spanish press and other foreign papers. The picture drawn by the chronicler fits in well with the analysis. We can see how the struggle worked through the hard work of social workers and peasants, and in the period of trials and hardship, and how the fiery people of Spain faced the new hope awakened by the Spanish Revolution—sacrificing everything, a novel and refreshing night and the people's war.

The pamphlet is a concise and illuminating work that has cleared up the facts of the Spanish revolution, and together with the authors who we believe to be the real authors of the revolution, reissued the most important milestones of a legal system in Spain after so many years of struggle, giving the right of life and death and the right of work.

With the first shipments of foodstuffs to the Spanish army, the foodstuffs have been transported to the southern part of the country, where they have been used by the Spanish military, and now they are in the south.

No one who is genuinely interested in the Spanish situation can afford to miss the pamphlet "The Tragedy of Spain". Rockey quotes the work of social workers and peasants in the work of the Spanish Revolutionists. He has written a book that is a contribution to the literature on the subject of the Spanish Revolution.
EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

Revolution Goes on in Spite of Horror


Well, here I am, back from poor tragic Spain, by no means less impressed with the ultimate success of our heroic comrades than I was when I went there. True, I found appalling conditions. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. have lost very considerably of their former strength—the murderous Stalin gang is in control and in their hands, the country is dark and underhand. But while the Moscoveans are in power politically, hard country workers are exterminating their opponents by every foul means; they have no roots whatsoever in the Spanish people. On the contrary, whatever appeal they had in the beginning of the Revolution has been lost to them since they tried so hard to introduce Stalin’s blessings in Spain. It is an absolute fact that the Communists are hated more intensely than the fascists.

C.N.T. Moral Strength Growing

What I mean to impress upon you is that while Stalin’s henchmen are in power, politically and as public figures, committing crimes after crimes without being held to account, the moral strength in the revolutionary struggle is not theirs and never will be in Spain.

On the other hand, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have gained moral prestige far beyond that which they held before the May events. Wherever I went, and I travelled more extensively on this visit, and with whomever I spoke I found the influence of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. growing. That gives me reason to believe that the power of the Communist party has actually increased, hence it’s dooming to perish, while the position of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is still growing. Rehearsal of the Spanish workers and awakened peasants is stronger than ever...

BLACK PROGRESS GROUND

For Stalin

As to the masses at large, they were of course carried by the “solidarity” of the communist party. But, they too, have learned that his “genius” and “leadership” is not what the worker means when he makes capital out of the dire needs of his clients and, once in his clutches, the strangle hold continues far beyond the value of the aid received; the victim being paid back to the money lender. And if that strangle hold continues, it is entirely due to the criminal alliances of the so-called Democratic countries with the Non-Intervention agreement for it is

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FIGHT ATTEMPT TO MILITARIZE ECONOMY

Two months ago the U.G.T. (old trade union organization corresponding to the socialistic and republican and to the social-democratic unions of Western Europe) was split wide open by the involutions and their allies from the right wing of the Socialist Party.

The alleged reason given by these elements was that the official leadership of the U.G.T. headed by Largo Caballero did not represent any more the opinions of the majority of the organization and that it maintained itself by undemocratic procedures.

It is a little difficult to imagine the discipline of Stalin in the role of ardant defenders of trade-union democracy. Once always suspects a “nigger in the woodpile” whenever the communists become too vocal about the “trampling of the majority will” in their proceedings.

Subsequent developments in the struggle between the two central bodies with the U.G.T. fully bears out these suspicions.

Faking a Majority

On the surface, there seems to be some justification to the communist cries about Caballero’s (Continued on page two)

HELP US CARRY THE MESSAGE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS.


The latest slogan of the political groups now controlling the government of Spain (right-wing socialists and communists) is to “keep the unions in their right place.” The business of political parties is to govern, and that of the unions to work and obey.”

These slogans are new elaborated in the leading articles of the communist press, in the speeches of their leaders, and the statements now frequently issued by prominent men in split off unions formed by the communist and right wing socialists and pretending to represent the workers of the U.G.T.

Drive for Militarization

Along with this goes a renewed drive for militarization for placing an ever widening field of national economy on a military basis. Militarize railways, marine transport, war industries, telegraph services, communications, peasant collective—all in the refrain now being repeated in all its variations by the communist press and speakers.

A militarized economy is a fascistized economy. It is an economy built upon the utter negation of democratic rights of the masses of workers. It perpetuates the normal type of relations existing in an industrial democracy. And as it was shown by Soviet Russia, essentially the period when militarization was the dominant drive, it is ruinous in its effects upon the economic efficiency.

Efficiency, however, is of least concern to the politicians now modeling their activity on the Russian pattern. They realize that the industrial unions have struck deep roots, have obtained control of economic life and that not until this control is wrested from their hands will the present groups now controlling the government of Spain be secure in their power.

Dictatorship in Industry

That is why Comunero, the leader of Catalonian Communist Party advocates a total change in the control of factories, the total elimination of factory committees and the establishment of the dictatorship of factory directors.

PROTEST EMBARGO ON AMMUNITIONS TO LOYALIST SPAIN.

LARGO CABALLERO ADDRESSES PUBLIC OPINION ON SPAIN

POLITICAL MACHINATIONS EXPOSED

Only seven or eight months ago Largo Caballero’s statements and pronouncements appeared front page news with every leading newspaper in the world. It is not so long ago that he was spoken of in certain sections of radical movement (mainly communists) in harsh tones, as the Spanish Lenin, the great revolutionary statesman leading the ‘people through the chaos of civil war, toward the bright future of a socialist communist wealth.

Things have changed greatly during the brief interval of time. Caballero hardly gets a mention in the world press and wherever he does, great care is taken to show that his position in Spain’s political life hardly deserves it.

And as to his former admirers, Caballero is becoming the center of a furious campaign of slander on their part, reeling more and more in its vituperations and excision the similar campaign conducted against the P.O.U.M. leaders.

What happened during this time? What has Caballero done to prove such reaction on the part of the communists and reformist politicians? What made him so particularly offensive in the eyes of Moscow which is now singling him out for attacks and vilifications?

A Curtain Raiser

The recent speech made by Caballero—the only one he permitted himself after months of enforced silence—throws light on these questions. And in doing so, it also raises somewhat the curtain on the Spanish tragedy, the tragedy of a revolution blackened by a supposedly friendly power into self-destruct.

His speech, far from being an insignificant affair as presented by the sympathetic press correspondents of the Leninist type, once more demonstrated the tremendous popularity of this man, who, whatever his faults and errors might be, embodies in the eyes of the Spanish masses an epoch of socialist work (Caballero is 78 years old).

It was delivered in one of the largest halls in Madrid which together with four other big halls and numeroous small squares, where (Continued on page four)

Black Wings Over Spain.

Children, Women, Crippled Spain.

Heroes Fighting for Their Land, Strong and Hopeful Workers.

PROTEST EMBARGO ON AMMUNITIONS TO LOYALIST SPAIN.

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN" by Rudolf Rocker...15c

(A smooth account of the latest developments in Spain)

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

by Dashi...10c

(Deals with the period prior to the Revolution of July 19)

THE LIFE OF DURBUT...20c

AFTER THE REVOLUTION WHAT? by D. A. de Santillan...$1.00
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 St. - NEW YORK, N. Y. - Chicago 3-9567

Vol. No. 2

December 6th, 1937

MASS VIGILANCE OF FREE WORKERS BEST DEFENSE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION

When Catalonia was under control of anarchist workers and peasants, the country was living under the freest regime ever experienced on the Iberian peninsula.

The press was free, the right to free assembly was untrammeled, and every shade of anti-fascist opinion was given the full opportunity to manifest itself in its various organizational forms.

Barcelona became the powerful magnet drawing to itself the free spirits of Europe, the boundless victims of fascist persecution wandering all over Europe. They flocked to Barcelona where no one asked them for party affiliations, official documents and the usual "passports of the state." No one discriminated against them because of their opinion, belief, or race.

No, the anarchists, socialists, communists of all the world, according to their political treatments were made to feel that at last they found a place where the emancipation of the workers was a real necessary life service, as they are now in France, England, and the United States, or to employ political opponents, for which end they have been so blantly condemned by the state in Italy and Germany.

It is undeniable that Catalonia was going through one of the greatest revolutionary upheavals, aggravated by a fierce civil war raging at its borders. Were this revolution and upheaval defeated by the clique regime established by the anarchists controlled Barcelona?

The question is being lifted up from freedom in order to defend the revolution against the facts, the workmen themselves would have been the first to demand the curtailment of the powers of the State in Spain as was free from the danger of the so-called "fifth column" as the anarchist controlled Barcelona.

The slightest attempt to organize some sort of resistance made in December 1936 by the underground organizations of fascists and their sympathizers was entangled and suppressed by armed workers with lighting rapidity. And not until the black hand of the Russian Che-Ka descended upon Catalonia was there any fear openly entertained of counter-revolutionary plots within the country.

That was due to any silo work on the part of the Spanish workers on the task of revolting and defending the left of self-defense. It was mainly the RESULT OF MASS VIGILANCE EXERCISED BY THE GREAT MASS OF CATALONIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

The defense a revolution can have in a vigilant attitude on the part of the working population toward their enemies. And that cannot be obtained only under conditions of freedom and self-government.

The only other solution from fascist sources who boastful assertions about vast and generale conspiracies for the fascist cause on the part of Barcelona population are the only part with their network of spies and propaganda. The "fifth column" at that time was raising its head in Barcelona attempting to make the general alarm cry issued by all anti-fascist organizations.

The phenomenon of the spontaneous struggle against fascism and its underground organizations, the present rulers of Catalonia are gradually curtailing the rights and privileges of the population and the situation is being transformed into the government dominated by the press. The press is muzzled, the right free assembly interfered with in every way, the radio monopolized, fascist-like, by the Monarchy. The army is everywhere and even refugees are caged and exiled upon as in Soviet Russia.

They proceeded upon this course the more they prepared the ground by the fascist forces within and without the country.

And if the day of the final triumph of those forces is still remote in Spain, it is due to the vigilance methods induced by the workers, and to the workers and peasants of Catalonia by years of anarchist work and faith.

This spirit has by no means been crushed. Given a more favorable international situation, it will assert itself with renewed vigor, making Catalonia the first land of a victorious international democracy, of free socialism and a genuine workers' commonwealth.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FIGHT ATTEMPTS TO MILITARIZE ECONOMY

(Continued from page one)

The agitation of railroads, the introduction of which was attempted by the Defense of the Country, is now upheld by the so-called National Committee of Defense of the Urban Interior, of which the Communist workers are the cornerstones and the heads of which are the most anti-fascist sympathizers.*

(One can get a good idea of the kind of a "u n i o s " this rump union movement is, considered in the name of the U.G.T. No name is a name given as that it may be well defined curtailment of its own rights in industry and strike control, the important point in a factor of control.エ

In those workers by the U.G.T. of the Spanish working masses.

(*) The Monopoly, an old worker, periodical, short-sighted, was gone from the direction of the force of the Spanish working masses.

As is the case of the situation, where the role of the Communists and fascists in perverting the idea of unionism is killed and the same.)

Spurred by Communists

This proposal to settle differences by the essentially democratic method of meeting in the halls of government, or political testament to the "liquidators" the Catalans, are being heard more and more often. (In the" of the state is thrown on the side of the small group of politicians who believe that the U.G.T. and the Popular Union are equal to the right of "representing" the genuine workers of organized labor.

Stakhanovism, Negation of Socialism

Karl Korsch, THE CONFEDERATION HANDBUCH. Karl Korsch, in the "Notion" that "the state will be alien to the masses unless there are still certain features of the tyranny of liberalism and the state, in this respect which are not omissions of organized workers."

The name of the sordid class which in Russia has made every imaginable repressive and exploitative weapon of capitalism, bred discard and distrust among workers, that the Communists in Spain opened up their drive for militarization.

C.N.T. Unions Take Up Challenge

Against this drive the C.N.T. unions have resolutely set their face. Here is what is related by "L'Espagne Libre"

"The Congress of Telephone workers (C.N.T.) had to consider part of its session to consider methods of struggle against an attempted militarization of this profession. They had to deal with the project, launched by the Stalinists, of creating a military corps of communication.

Spanish syndicalists declared that they would not undertake to execute all the telephone workers to the front and the rearward. But they had to give up their civil rights outside the country. They had to set aside their meetings, to criticize their chiefs, to defend their condition and to organize the industry.

Stakhanovism—Negation of Socialism

And as to the drive against the telephone workers, as a special organ of the C.N.T. in Madrid (C.N.T., Nov. 12) expressed it they are seeking accordingly in the following statement:

"The C.N.T. will never work with anyone—let the communists have no illusions about the efforts of this group of syndicalist groups to put into practice the idea of piece work, the principle behind the C.N.T. workers and workers unknown in revolutionary Spain. As is the case of the Stakhanov movement (even in Russia), to atomize the working class, to strip it of its natural bond of solidarity intensified by the sense of equality and common interest in the collectivized enterprise, it is in

C.N.T. Unions Fight Attempts to Militarize Economy

That is the establishment of a unified wage. This form of remuneration evolved by the worker's unions of Spain, constitutes one of the most important steps in the direction of a genuine social integration.

During this year of heroic struggles and revolutionary reconstruction the Spanish workers succeeded in leveling down the glaring differences in income between the various categories of workers and technicians.

The basis of remuneration in the collective industries became a unified wage, with reductions of very few changes, around a certain standard and needs of which to which every worker was entitled, regardless of his skill or position.

The monstrous differentiation of income now existing in Russian industry and the multiplicity of grades and technical workmen unknown in revolutionary Spain. As is the case of a number of piece work, the principle behind the C.N.T. workers and workers of the traditional "New Trade Unionism." of the C.N.T. that is the establishment of a unified wage and better work.

This is the negation not only of the C.N.T. Unions, or of the Communist movement. And the C.N.T. is made up of workers. By working-class leaders, both the greatest sacrifices, without any remuneration, for the freedom of Spain.
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY AT WORK

The organisation of railway transport was always considered to be one of the most difficult tasks facing a revolutionary economy in its period of transition.

A certain amount of chaos and disorganisation was deemed inevitable in this period. It could be overcome only after the economic underpinnings of the State had undergone a process of reconstruction and reorganisation.

The Russian experience of chaos and breakdown in railway transport during a very long period of reorganisation brought about the very same economic results. It is quite clear that those who have been recurrent crisis and retaliate, of Draconian measures used to enforce discipline on the roads.

The more remarkable is the success achieved by the Spanish workers in running their railway system. They took over under conditions of economic stress and extensive strain imposed by the needs of a waging civil war. The financial sabotage of the State organs which are now in the hands of parties that are hostile to worker’s control.

With all this the Spanish railway workers achieved a signal degree of success. Not only was the expected breakdown prevented during the first period of transition but, as it is recorded by many an onboard observer, before the war’s end, WORKER’S DEMOCRACY ACHIEVED THROUGH INDUSTRIAL UNIONS IS INDISPENSABLE FOR ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY DURING THE REVOLUTION PERIOD—SUCH IS THE STRIKING LESSON AFFORDED BY THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SMOOTH FUNCTIONING OF THE RAILWAYS AND THE DISMAL CONDITION PREVAILING ON THE RUSSIAN ROADS IN THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION AS A RE-戏 of the working class.”

Particularly illuminating in this respect is the story of how the Catalan railway workers took over the road system of their province. A few months later, the workers managed to establish a casual system of workers’ control. The resulting efficiency was such that the Catalan railroads were running better than before.

The Spanish high nobility acted in the capitalist railway companies that are minority partners of native stock, taken in for their political influence. Many of them chose to be directors of those railway companies, with the leading insurance company of Spain dominating the railways of that country.

Workers’ Unions

What happened to those plans is now known to everyone. Very few people know, however, that the high degree of revolutionary political and economic spirit and readiness for mass action shown by the railway workers and the success of the Catalan workers was the main point of the tactical plan. It was by the fact that they preserved the guidance of their N. and fascist mentors.

Just Received from Spain

"THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY"

by Augustin Souchy

(Continued from page one)

(48-98 pamphlet describing the Stalinist plot in Barcelona)

IN ENGLISH

Single copy — 10c

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left behind. For the present, only wish to say that even this savage siege has not dampened the fire of the Anarchists. Their spirit burns at white heat that gives them strength and courage to carry on.

In the process of building a new Spain, one must see their work and the task of the revolutionaries realization that the Revolution is far from dead.

The FATE OF THE LIBER- TARIAN REVOLUTION IS THE FATE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

"Just like the Spanish territory with its riches are so also the virgins of nationalist Spain turned over to the "conquerors of civilization"—those officials and soldiers of Hitler and Mussolini gangs. As workers and peasants (the "virgins of workers and peasants Spain") the virgins in nationalist offer themselves with full enthusiasm, fully aware that they serve a noble cause.

"And you, my little plagues. The Jews of the Ro- mana y Tomu's issues the following and comforting pastoral:

"BELOVED DAUGHTERS OF THE WORKERS. MUST YOU OFFER YOURSELVES FROM SIN TO THE HOLY SPIRIT THAT IS STIRRING WITHIN YOU? IT IS FOR SPAIN, THE SPANISH WORKERS! FULFILL YOURE CHRISTIAN DUTY AND A CHRISTIAN HEART THAT YOU ARE STERRYED TO CAST OFF THE WHITE VEILMENTS OF THIS EARTH! SING TO THE HOLY SPIRIT: GLORY: FOR YOU HAVE GIVEN EVERYTHING FOR THE LOVE OF GOD.

From the C.N.T. (anarchist syndicalist daily in Madrid)

EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

that if the anti-fascist forces could have freely issued charged arms for Spain. Like in all the other important industries of that country it was mainly controlled by foreign banks and the Jesuit Society.

The bank controlling the net of Catalan railways during the revolutionary period ("Stern & Cía") is interlinked with the mightiest financiers of Europe. Mr. de Rothschild, the Schneiders (muni- tion interests), the utility interests of those railways with the leading insurance company of Spain dominate the Jesuits of that country.

In order fully to gauge the extent of the worker’s achievements one has to take into account the fact that the workers, upon seizing control, founded an empty treasury and a rolling stock. Since then the roads are now maintained on their own capital, the capital necessary for expansive construction and repair, which had hitherto been obtained from increased efficiency.

Industrial Democracy Spells Efficiency

It certainly did not come from improved living standards of the workers, but rather from a great increase in production (from 4 and 8 pesos a day to 10 as the minimum) and per- haps from the fact that some employees who had been fired by the capitalist employers were now given back into service and, what is still more important, railways were run more efficiently.

True, a considerable saving was achieved by doing away with the fabulous salaries of the officials and by bringing down the wages of the technicians. (maximum salary—900 instead of 1200—was allowed.)

This in itself does not account, however, for the result achieved by the railway workers. Let us note what is the substance of the work for the spirit of solidarity manifesting itself in daily routine work, turning the mass interest shown by the workers as well as the critical spirit of the Anarchists that was mainly responsible for those achievements.

"All the employers," writes the L’Espoir Antifascista, "put their hands on the workers and slaves and at the disposal of the collective.

"The repairing of exploded boilers" reports a delegate of the French railway union upon his return from an official visit to Spain, (quoted in Combat Syndicaliste), "The repairers repaired in 23 hours instead of 56 hours before the revolution."
PERSECUTIONS OF REVOLUTIONISTS STILL CONTINUE
A SAD FACT FOR AN ANTI-FASCIST COUNTRY

We are reprinting here portions of an official communication sent by our Comrade Bercelona, the leader of the Communist Party of Catalonia, to the Congress of the International Workingmen's Association. (World Federation of Anarchist Syndicalists with which the C.N.T. is affiliated.)

The report is a vivid and clear picture of how the Spanish State is dealing with the question of political prisoners in Spain, and, particularly, with the savage persecution of foreign revolutionists, many of whom are working towards the defense of Spanish freedom. It is in the event that is the main source, in our estimation, of this Spanish First. The Spanish State is trying to destroy the working-class revolution that is taking place under the leadership of those who are fighting for the disappearance of the old State and the creation of a new society.

(Continued from page one)

According to the French weekly "Liberato" of Nov. 18, the well known police agent "L. Feurer" came out with a sensational report about the Spanish foreign trade activities with France. The report stated that the C.N.T. is the main source of oil for Franco's armament.

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The report is a vivid and clear picture of how the Spanish State is dealing with the question of political prisoners in Spain, and, particularly, with the savage persecution of foreign revolutionists, many of whom are working towards the defense of Spanish freedom. It is in the event that is the main source, in our estimation, of this Spanish First. The Spanish State is trying to destroy the working-class revolution that is taking place under the leadership of those who are fighting for the disappearance of the old State and the creation of a new society.

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(Continued from page one)
FOREIGN INTRIGUES IN LOYALIST SPAIN

BRITISH METHOD OF PAYING WAY FOR DICTATORSHIP—TRUCE ADVOCATED BY NEAR-FASCISTS—RUSSIA'S CONDITIONS FOR GRANTING BERLIGERTENT RIGHTS TO FRANCO.

From time to time the silent enveloping the back-stab negotiations of foreign and Spanish diplomacy is punctured by persistent rumors of an armistice to be declared by the warring factions of Spain and which it is to serve as the basis of a compromise peace acceptable to both sides. These rumors are not of recent origin. As early as the first months of the current year the foreign and Spanish press (that was in the pre-Stalinist days when freedom of press was a reality in loyalist Spain) reported the fact that feelers were constantly being thrown out by foreign powers and by interested political groups on both sides of the Pyrenees with the view of establishing a common ground for peace negotiations.

Mysterious visits were paid by British battlecruisers to Valencia and Barcelona, to be promptly followed by warnings in the C.N.T. press concerning shady maneuvers on the part of some sections of the anti-Fascist front. And even Largo Caballero, then Premier of Spain, took official cognizance of such rumoured negotiations by emphasizing disavowing them and laying them at the door of the political groups that were busily intriguing against his government.

Near-Fascists in Responsible Positions

It stands to reason that with the triumph of the very same political factions in their struggle against Largo Caballero the rumors of back-stab negotiations became more persistent from day to day. Somehow the official disclaimers issued from time to time by the Negrin government lacked the convincing tone of similar declarations made by Largo Caballero. Or was it because of the influx of elements that were alien to the fascist circles of Prio Valdades (*) and Miguel Mauro(**) and whose (Continued on page four)

Who is Betraying The Anti-Fascist Cause?

General Appointed to Direct Anarchists in Catalonia Arrested On Charges of High Treason.

While the Communist Party of Spain is busily concocting fantastic charges of espionage against the charges of espionage against the militants of the labor movement, treason has found its way to the very heart of the military apparatus which it built up as a bulwark against the forward course of the revolution of July 19.

The latest news is that a number of high-ranking military officials, very closely connected with the Communist Party, have been arrested on charges of high treason. Some were already, the evidence being overwhelming in proof of their openly treacherous activities.

Not a Single Militant Among Them

In this connection it is important to bear in mind that not a single anarchist or P.O.U.M. militant who (Continued on page four)

POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS IN SPAIN MUST STOP

EMMA GOLDMAN APPEALS TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD


For my first visit to Spain in September 1936 nothing surprised me so much as the amount of political freedom I found everywhere. True, it did not extend to Fascists but outside of those official enemies of the Revolution and the annihilation of the workers in Spain, everyone of the Anti-Fascist front enjoyed political freedom which has existed in any of the so-called European democracies. The one party that made the utmost use of this was the P.O.U.M., the Stalinist party in Spain. Their word and loud speakers filled the air. Their daily marches in military formation with their flag waving were flaunted in everybody's face. They seemed to take special pleasure in marching past the House of the Regional Committee as if they wanted to make the Regional Committee in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. aware of their determination to strike the blow when they attain to complete power.

This was obvious to anyone among the thousands of capitalists and factories, matrilineal and hospitals in Spain from the fact that but a few months ago the famed Madoaka prison. This is the place that harbored some of the most distinguished revolutionary anarchists and anarchists in Catalonia. Our own heroic comrades—Prio and Anaya, Garcia Oliver and many other anarchist friends who were all born and raised in the bohemia of Anarchism, are now president of the

I visited this institution in the presence of a committee, a physician who had made a special study of criminal psychology. The director gave me free access to every part of the prison, and the right to speak to any of the Fascists without the presence of guards. Among the few hundred inmates of Franco were effects and priests. They assured me in one voice of the decent and just treatment they were receiving by the management in charge of the staff of whom were C.N.T.- F.A.I. men.

Back to Old Conditions

On October 15th, 1936 I arrived on the 15th September this year, I went straight to the C.N.T. to inform them of the 1950 C.N.T. members, comrades of the I.A. and thousands of others, hundreds of the P.O.U.M. and even members of the International Brigades were filling the prisons of Valencia. Even now, between me and the arrested fellow not one word may be permitted to enter the garment or any communication among us. Our friends were not active in the Anarchist-Syndicalist movement before Hitler ascended to power. (Continued on page two)

NOBLE CAUSE DEPRIVED

BRITISH WORKER EXPOSES PARTY PROPAGANDA IN INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

The International Brigades rendered great service to the anti-Fascist cause in Spain. They came at a time when the difficulties of the movement and by their heroic action they showed the world the need of the Loyalist forces.

With all due recognition of their great services, one cannot ignore the fact that they were intended not only for the purely military tasks of fighting Fascism in Spain but also as a political tool in the hands of the Stalinist factions.

This is evidenced not only by their lack of proper organization, but by the design of the Party which was mainly instrumental in forming those units. For one of the major tasks of those organizations was to isolate their members, proletarian in origin and revolutionary at heart, from any sort of contact with the anarcho-syndicalist trade unions. The very manner in which they were indoctrinated and drilled for

C.N.T. MAJOR ORGANIZATION OF COUNTRY

"The harmony reigning in its ranks, the sense of responsibility displayed by its militants, the efficacy of its social and economic doctrine, render now the C.N.T. the major organization of the country."

"Pressa Social"
WHAT REVOLUTION MEANT TO CATHOLIC CHURCH

MOST INVESTERATE ENEMY OF REVOLUTION

The most inveterate enemy of revolutionary Spain is the Catholic Church. There is hardly a country in the world where the latter does not exercise its influence—at times prevailing one—in favor of some special interest, or even, as in Spain, a moral and political doctrine. The Church, directed at Loyola, directed its armies at the Pyrenees, directed its tactics at the Pyrenees coast, directed its pontiffs at the Pyrenees mountains.

The reason for this inveterate hatred is very simple. The Catholic Church in pre-revolutionary Spain was, in fact, in a state of war. It was in a state of civil war with the largest landowner, industrialist and banker of that country. It was in a state of war with the most sensitive spot: it deprived the Church of its greatest property and its most inveterate enemy is the Church. The Catholic Church is not a Church that is so the Catholic Church is.

Mockery of United Front

How mocking this attempt is to build "a united front" with the Catholic Church is in Spanish. The terrific blow dealt to its economic power by the revolution can be judged, it is said, by the figures quoted here from one of the latest books published in (Spanish) by the bankers and industrialists. The state of an economic situation in Spain ("Proceso histórico de la revolucion Españo-

Jesus in Economic Control

"Everyone knows of the fabulous wealth of the Church," said the Jesuits (order of Jesus) in Spain prior to July 17. The Jesuits were, therefore, in control of the economy.

I was assured that I would be given permission but that at the last minute the order was reversed. This is a fact. I was informed that the Jesuits were the owners of the majority of the banks in Spain. The Jesuits discovered the same situation, re-stated it in their own terms, and forced every town and village to subscribe. Thousands of congregations, organized in the spirit of the Jesuits, filled the prisons under the Negrín regime.

When I returned to Barcelona in the early part of October I immediately sought to use our contacts in the<Modelo prison. After many difficulties and threats, I succeeded in obtaining permission to have an interview with a few of the prisoners.

Much to my surprise I found on my arrival there that the conditions of the war were so changed that the prisoners were now allowed to talk to us.

I was given one full interview in the cell in which they were imprisoned. I was allowed to talk to them freely and to make notes of their conditions. I observed that no charge whatever was offered to the prisoners, and that they were allowed to live as they pleased, keeping the prisoners under the Negrín regime.

Reprinted by order of the Jesuits

The Jesuits, as one of their few现实生活 of the most devastating conquerors, were again using their power to keep the population in submission.

The insurmountable problem which would solve all the problems of a nation is the attitude of the Catholic Church in Spain. It is said that the attitude of the Catholic Church is that of a nation that is incapable of solving its own problems.

The status of the Catholic Church in Spain is a status that is not open to debate. It is a status that is not open to discussion. It is a status that is not open to compromise.

"I cannot remain silent in face of such barbarous persecution"

EMMA GOLDMAN

Read Our Literature on Spain

THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN

by Rudolf Rocker

(15c)

A superlative account of the latest developments in Spain

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

by Dasher

(10c)

 Deals with the events leading to the October revolt of 1934

THE LIFE OF DURRUTI

by D. A. de Sammler

(1.00)

Presents the constructive ideas of Spanish anarchosyndicalism

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Presents the constructive ideas of Spanish anarchosyndicalism
In the following issue of the SPANISH REVOLUTION will appear some of comrades Beacksher's articles dealing with the various phases of the Spanish economic situation. In this issue we are presenting some of his views obtained in the following interview.

Our Comrade Beacksher recently returned from Spain where he spent close to a year studying the new revolutionary Spain in the making. In his capacity as correspondent of the Independent, he visited the front lines of fascist Spain, having visited the fronts, collectives, factories and labor organizations.

A number of influential newspapers in this country have been playing up Franco's victories in England's first line of defense against the Fascist regime, as indications of the hopeless state of the Loyalists. What is the attitude of the great mass of Spanish workers and peasants toward predictions of ultimate fascist victory?

These influential newspapers never had much sympathy for the cause of the Spanish workers. For years, ever since what I saw in Spain I became convinced that the masses of the Spanish workers and peasants are more than ever determined to win. This attitude will win ultimately. Let us not forget that they began their fight against Franco and his henchmen almost bare handed. Franco could not have lived for the five months that he has and will die, with the courage and the indomitable spirit that will already shown by them on the battlefield.

Courage alone wins the battle. That confidence must be based also on something concrete. The situation of the Spanish workers would be hopeless, had they more courage only with two guns, tanks and hundreds of aeroplanes of Franco's armies.

You are right. The time is gone when there was a gun for every thousand workers. Nowadays the whole people are fighting. The whole people are fighting. The way to defeat the fascist is to get his gun. Although Franco has received from his Italian and German allies more and more armaments, he still has no more than he was armed with in the beginning of the Civil War. This is also said in arming an army of 500,000 or 600,000 men with modern equipment. And some of their ammunition is better than ours. But the Italian and German equipment is also less powerful psychologically which may prove decisive in winning the ultimate battle.

The story of Spanish workers and peasants fighting at the fronts and in the rear guard was affected by the aggression of counter-revolutionary forces set in motion by the May Day demonstrations in Madrid.

To some extent, yes. The Stalinist-bourgeois counter-revolution, which has been attempting to sow the seeds of the revolution by weakening the masses of the revolutionaries and peasants realizing the demoralization of their numbers and their freedom is not only the army of workers and peasants who have been denounced by the Stalinist and fascists in the work of destruction of the revolution induced into their midst the elements of distrust and internal strife which sap and undermine their energies and subvert their moral. Franco couldn't expect better help to further his actual victories.

A moment during these months of continuous pro-revolutionary movement occurred in the working-class counter-revolutionary forces put in motion since the actual government went into power, it seemed that the revolution of the front would go up in flames. The movement would be destroyed only by the continuity and determination shown by the libertarian ranks in refusing to allow anything to stop the progress of the counter-revolution, which was to be a threat to the revolutionary atmosphere in the area of the counter-revolutionary. This intelligent attitude on the part of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. saved the revolution from complete destruction.

To what extent has the revolution been set back by the triumph of the Stalinist-Preto bloc?

I should say in the basis of adequate description of the acts of sabotage, violence and murder perpetrated by the Stalinist counter-revolution. I will dwell upon it in some other place. It is my conviction that the principal help that the revolutionary working class of the world can extend to our Spanish comrades is the present (that is a concrete nature) is to unmask and to put a stop to the treasonable activities of the Stalinist-Preto and bourgeois bloc.

What accounts for the C.N.T. policy of concessions toward NOBLE CAUSE DEPRIVED

(Continued from next page)

Carried out is told by a British volunteer of one of those Brigades in the British magazine "Contemporary."

The experiences of this volunteer are typical of those responsible to prevail in the British Brigade. One joined the Brigade impelled by the sense of worker's solidarity and a desire to fight for freedom in a country that he vaguely conceived by him, of revolutionary socialism.

When he arrived in Spain, he was appalled by the inequalities, rank favoritism and suppression of elementary rights which came to prevail in the International Brigades. Still considering himself a free Briton, he freely exchanged his opinions on those matters with other members of the Brigade, which, much to his surprise, led to a series of incidents. And, indeed, he landed him so well that only by pure accident did he manage to escape after a long period of confinement.

The revolutionary integrity of this ordinary Britisher is such that he could remain silent in face of the continued clamp-down against the anarchists. In fact we were led to believe that he was one of the primary targets of the anarchists. In this connection we were told that the reason we were not killed was because we held the front-line and that we would be shot by them. "Our transport ship was torpedoed by a submarine: an Italian officer in charge of the transport ship, I shot the ship, I jumped overboard and was picked up by a fishing boat, having spent six minutes in the water.

Slander's In Form of "Without warning the anarchists were bewitched by their temporary enemy; they believed they were on a fishing boat, having spent six minutes in the water.

Solidarity Speaks For Itself

I was very much alarmed to learn that the anarchists were bewitched by their temporary enemy; they believed they were on a fishing boat, having spent six minutes in the water.

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One of the most important issues is the question of the Russian Revolution. The C.N.T. and F.A.I. organizations maintain the revolutionary loyalty of their members at the fronts in the face of the continued attempts of the government to forestall any independent political and military initiative on the part of the rank and file of the militiamen.

Due care is taken by the C.N.T. and F.A.I. organizations to keep the members of the armed forces from the miasma of the pro-revolutionary bloc. This, however, is not a matter for public discussion.

Outcomes abroad may well rest assure that the revolutionary organizations in Spain will not be caught napping. And that is irrespective of what the government in control of the armed forces may try to do about the growth of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. moral prestige and actual strength, notwithstanding the loss of political power. How does this government's strength manifest itself?

It shows in the closer bonds of solidarity among class conscious workers against the maneuvers of the government's hierarchy. It shows in the ever growing understanding of the ground propaganda against the government, which of late assumed sweeping proportions. The C.N.T. is also mainly instrumental in increasing the number of rank, and file members of the more moderate organizations in the direction of a more leftist policy.

On our own territory of this increasing pressure was manifested at the last congress of the U.G.T. of Catalonia, a union almost completely dominated by the Stalinist leaders, who came to a question of control of industries, which the Stalinists leaders wanted to take away from the workers, who were now through the medium of their own syndicates, the rank and file membership rose against it and succeeded in carrying its point. This direct control of industry by the workers is just what the anarchists want and practice, representing in this respect the real felicitating wishes of the working masses of Spain.

"We arrived in Barcelona by sea. We did speak out, as a matter of proletarian duty, upon the masses of other members of the Brigade, which, much to our surprise, led to a series of incidents. And, indeed, he landed him so well that only by pure accident did he manage to escape after a long period of confinement.

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FOREIGN INTRIGUES
IN SPAIN

British "Constitutional" Methods Paving Way for Dictatorship

(Continued from page one)
elevation to the rank of influential figures in the official circles lends credence to rumors, which a year ago sounded fantastic, of a possible understanding between the leftist nationalist and fascist governmen

British Plans
And Official Denials

And now they have passed the
eady stage of the rumors. We
read of British plans for "facilitation"
to be achieved by the favored
British method which gave such "brilliant" results in Greece. The
establishing of a "constitutional"
monarchy, which until recently was only aired among the lesser
Roman channels, is now proclaimed as the semi-official policy of the
British government.

But would the British govern-
ment dare to give publicity to such
plans if it did not reckon upon
some sort of backing in the official circles of the leftist governmen
in Spain?

Of course, officially, the latter
maintaining its intransigence to
the British proposals. "Anyone,"
declared Diaz, the secretary of the Communist Party in Spain, "who
would even consider the possibility
of making transactions or compromises with the enemy could not
for one minute maintain himself
in power in our country." Less
emphatic, but just as categorical, in its tone, were the official denials of such negotiations issued by the
French Press, Negrin.

Governments Took Part
In Conference

But here is what the French in-
nfluential daily "Le Temps"—a paper
which, as is known, is not given to
sentiment mongering—writes about
those negotiations.

"The future regime of Spain was
already the subject of conversations
among the foreign Ministers of several countries, and the talks lasted between the latter and both parties of the Spanish civil war." (November 13)

The paper confirms the report of the British suggested compromised by way of bringing back the mon-
archy under Prince Juan, the son of the ex-king Alphonso. The "progressive" nature of such solu-
tion is that such found ready
support on the part of Germany.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

THE FINANCIAL REPORT OF COLLECTIONS FOR SPAIN SPEAKS FOR ITSELF

It tells of a continued stump in our efforts on behalf of the
heroic masses of Spain.

We are releasing our efforts at a time when help is most
urgently needed and when the struggle is entering into its critical
phase.

The Spanish workers need now more and not less help.

Do not delay such help. Send to the most genuine representa-
tive of the Spanish workers and peasants—the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Send funds to: L. Radinowsky, c-o United Libertarian Organiza-
tions, 45 W. 17th Street, New York, N.Y.

P.O.U.M. VINDICATED

"From an absolutely authoritative source in Spain I am able to report this week news which is good and at the
same time unsatisfactory.

"The Minister of Justice, Senor Irurz, has informed the
Cabinet that after thorough investigation of the charges
made against five P.O.U.M. leaders, he and his advisers have
concluded that there is no case against them to present
to the Special Tribunal for espionage. Following this report, the
Cabinet considered what to do and decided by seven votes
to two to liberate the prisoners quietly one by one.

"The security officer who composed of the Communist Party
representatives, who wanted the charges to be pres-
ted. They regarded the matter as a major issue, and that
it must similarly be handled by the Soviet mission.

"In view of the importance of maintaining the unity of
the Government and the co-operation of Russia, the
Cabinet decided to act as agreed, and it was finally agreed to set
the prisoners in confinement without penal conditions, but
not to proceed with the trial."

Fenner Brockway, leader of Independent Labor Party of
Britain, in "The New Leader" (British publication) of Nov. 26.

WHO IS BETRAYING
ANTI-FASCIST CAUSE?

GENERAL POZAS ARRESTED

(Continued from page one)

were brought up before the Tri-
unal created by the Order of the
spiritual espionage were convicted. It is the most flagrant of evidence of fascism's intentions and the
Tribunals were packed by the
members of the Communist Party
controlled.

Stalinist Appointee

Arrested

Most sensational of all is the arrest
of General Pozas, the supreme com-
mander of the Catalan forces. We
quote the Spanish weekly "La
Voz del Sur" (November 4) for infor-
mation on this matter.

"Everyone remembers that following the May days in Barcelona, the Negrin government, which succeeded
Largo Caballero, sent to Catalonia General Pozas with full civil and
military powers. The latter became in fact a veritable dictator of Cata-

lunya. He was to reform, fortify and restore healthful conditions at the
front as well as in the rearward. In reality, even in the military circles, Pozas's intentions were known to be those of
but an eagle. But like the Commu-

st of General Lister he distinguished himself in his work of repressing
against the workers of Catalonia."

* * *

Ed. Note: We lack definite information as to whether General Pozas was a member of the Com-

munist Party. Most of the prominent
Generals of the old army now in Spain are communists, but this was a move by the Communist Party, backed
up by Soviet Russia, set itself up as the most formidable bulwark against the revolutionary
workers.

We do know, however, that
General Pozas took a very import-
ant part in the summer conference of the P.S.U.C. (Communist outfit of
Catalunya) as one of the important
figures in its high councils.

"A COUNTRY THAT USES ALL METHODS OF FASCIST SUPPRESSION CAN HARDLY BE HELD UP AS A DEMOCRACY"—PROF. DEWEY

And while Negrin's government abandons the meth-
ods of its Russian mentors it will rapidly forfeit the right to appeal to the world in the name of democracy.

THE FATE OF THE LIBERTARIAN REVOLUTION IS THE FATE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD

The "Spanish Revolution"
NEEDS YOUR AID.

MONEY COLLECTED FOR SPAIN NOV. AND DEC., 1937

By U.L.O., NEW YORK

Benevolent No. 298—Mohawk Colony (Hainesville) $10.00
290—S. Gorgick, Kansas City, Kansas 15.00
271—Mohawk Group (Bannister) 5.00

PREVIOUS BALANCE $20.80
CASH ON HAND $633.42

"Among the features that impressed me most in the revolution was the large lab-
"or movement. But the revolution was
embraces 12 depart-
ments of science. The chief
research work is agriculture
and experiments are conducted
on large estates.

"This laboratory can well be
considered in the experimental
scale of courses, with many of
such institutions outside of our
Hidden Spain."

EMMA GOLDMAN

"But for some time nothing was heard of this grand savant. The re-
"sult of his death is shown to
him was finally broken by informa-
tion reaching us from Barcelona, to
the effect that Barcelona was arrested on charges of high treason, while HALF OF HIS STAFF HAD ALREADY GONE OVER TO FRANCO."

"Independent News," a French semi-weekly bulletin, informs on the same
matter.

"It is affirmed in the military centers that the departure and the
death of Negrin was envisaged by the Government of the C.N.T. con-
vinced by the fact that the most advanced positions near Humanes con-
nected with charge of such character were abandoned without any appar-
tent reason.

"It is also reported that large sections of the Durruti Column
were entirely disappeared in a rather mysterious manner.

Treason Rife in
The General Staff

The same bulletin reports drastic charges against a number of Staff of the Stalinist division (Karl Marx) at the Urgon front.

"A large number of the members of the General Staff of the Stalinist division (Karl Marx) were shot for having aided their comrades to make their way to the fascist lines; others were shot on the same front for "direct contact with the enemy."

"It is those military men that engaged the full confidence of
the Stalinists. Like the secretary of General Minja, who afterwards
became president of the Spanish Valencian, these officers and
officers of the Karl Marx division belong to the growing number of Stalinists who are sought in the flagrant crimes of treason and espionage.""

* * *

To many, those wholesale be-
trays may seem somewhat strange and incredible, although by now this very fact has already been officially verified. But one has to
bear in mind that the Communist
Party of Spain is essentially a middle class party which differs from other such parties by its recent origin and
stable roots in the population.

This means that it drew to its
ranks those middle class elements which are so dear to us in some kind of liberal traditions, but the politically
amorphous elements who were forced into political activity by the presence of revolutionary events and exigencies of anti-fascist struggle.

Their anti-fascist sentiment is countered by the fear of fascism. It is a vacillating element, loyal to anti-fascist cause in its
interests to the fascist successes at the front."
TERUEL IS HELD BY
ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST FORCES

The City Was Taken by a C.N.T. Division

According to the latest information received from Paris by the "Spanish Labor Press Bureau," Teruel was taken by the 25th division, that is, a division mainly composed of C.N.T. units now incorporated in the Regular Army. This division was the first to enter Teruel and, judging by its past record (it was the same division that took Belchite, an important strategic center on the Aragon front,) we may say surely that it will be the last to leave it if and when circumstances beyond the control of the loyalist forces will demand a retreat.

The commander of this division is Miguel Garcia Vivanco, a member of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) and a proletarian fighter of great ability. He was one of the first to answer the call of the C.N.T. for volunteers in the first week of the fascist revolt. "To Zaragoza," he stated in a letter to his brothers who were fighting under the red-black banners of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.,

Vivanco was one of them and now he is leading a division of 20,000 men in the same direction. To Zaragoza! To strike at the key position of the entire front which will decide the fate of the great struggle; that great struggle which is taking place in Spain since the October revolution of 1917!

This is the inspiring goal of the revolutionary workers and peasants now wearing the uniforms of the 25th division of the Popular Army.

The significance of the leadership played by the C.N.T. division is insufficiently known by those who control the sources of press information. They showed their awareness of this significance by...

The newspapers, which only get the information peddled out by the government sources, have nothing to say about the 25th division, but there is a great deal said about the CNT (Communist) division. The readers will therefore find quite illuminating the comments made by comrades Bohmanka, one who recently came back from Spain.

He knows the situation on the Aragon front not from hearsay, but from a first-hand experience. And whereas his statements may sound to many on our side as small in the grand scheme of the revolution, they are a profound comment on the personal observations, expressing in addition the sentiments of the great majority of workers and peasants whom he studied at close range.

(Continued on page two)

ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE GREETED C.N.T. DELEGATION

The New York workers extended a big welcome to the C.N.T. delegates in their first and only appearance in this city before an international audience. The meeting drew a large crowd which filled to capacity the big Webster Hall. Brief speeches were made by the noted liberal Oswald Garrison Villard, ex-publisher of the Nation, who introduced the speakers, by Sen. Brown and Norman Thomas.

Norman Thomas' Speech

The latter roused the audience with his incisive remarks about the unique significance of the work carried on by the Spanish workers through their unions. During his visit to Spain—he told—his audience—was impressed by the strength of the labor unions, as contrasted with the weakness of the government, the sweeping manner in which they took hold of the economic and administrative life of the country and their heroic work without which fascism would have swept triumphantly throughout Spain.

The great central-co-operation of both unions—C.N.T. and U.G.T.—presents the great international proletarian unity to come, a unity that is not going to be thwarted by stamping out liberty, by an all-powerful totalitarian state, and it is this solidarity of the two unions, forged by common work and struggles, that serves as a guarantee that Spain will not have for its final stage the same outcomes of Moscow which now dismay and horrify the civilized world.

(Continued on page three)

ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC LIFE—IMMEDIATE AID OF SPANISH WORKERS

by Mariano Vasquez

Secretary General of C.N.T.
(The National Confederation of Labor)

The international proletariat has to render itself full account of what has taken place in Spain. We often said that the Spanish proletariat found itself facing, on July 19, an insurrection in which were involved the bourgeoisie, the clergy and the military caste. The Spanish people had to defend themselves by answering violence with violence, by putting down fascist attempts wherever it was possible to do so.

But on the day following the victory over the fascist traitors, the Spanish workers found themselves facing a new and unforeseen problem: no more employers, since 60% of the bourgeoisie were directly involved in the rebellion, and as a result of that—the places of work were abandoned by the owners.

What was to be done? Production had to go on. Half of Spain was in the hands of the fascists. It had to be restored from their control. It was necessary to provide the means to carry on the war and to satisfy the needs of the civil population.

Mastering the Economy

The Spanish people did not lose time on reflections. The workers went back to the factories, stores and shops. They also went to meetings and meetings at any point of the territory. They designated from their midst competent comrades capable of directing the work. And the factories, workshops, offices, laboratories and transport systems functioning anew.

This was something altogether new. The Spanish proletariat found itself facing an unforeseen fact, something that had no precedent in the past history. Other difficulties arose in thousands. The entire procedure and system of inner functioning had to be changed. Many trials and attempts had to be made until smooth functioning was attained in places of production. And by now the Spanish workers have learned to produce more with less effort in spite of the tremendous obstacles facing them in their task.

But the Spanish proletariat does not stop at those achievements. The Spanish workers are fully aware of the fact that the revolution achieved is not a complete, integral revolution, that they have to acquire in many things which they would willingly dispense with, but they do not let themselves concern too much as a result. They keep on building up, stone by stone, the new pyramids of prosperity and collective well-being.

C.N.T. A RISING POWER IN SPAIN

(Major Atlas' Statement)

Ed. note: During the recent stay in Spain Major Atlas, the parliametary leader of the British Labor Party, was interviewed by the reporter of "Castilla Liber," the anarcho-syndicalist (and most widely read) daily in Madrid. Among other questions the reporter asked, "What is C.N.T.?" His answer was the following:

"The C.N.T.—a new force upon the European horizon—is beginning to be known among the minds of those who shared the longest the current prejudices against the an-

(Continued on page two)
**TERUEL IS HELD BY ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST FORCES**

BY LISTER DEADLY

Commune Broadsheets writes of Lister's True Role in Aragon

(Continued from page one)

In Aragon, and precisely at Teruel, Spain has achieved a great victory, their first victory in which a city of moderate importance has been occupied by them.

It is significant that this victory had to be achieved on a front which is notoriously an anarchistic front; that is, one in which the anarchists, of C.N.T. and F.A.L. are preponderant over the forces led by all other political parties. It is for this reason that the attention to this fact, is that this front had been almost exclusively held by anarchists up to this day; although these voluntary groups are incorporated in the government, the close affinities of Franco and Co., with the call for economic power and sell-out of Catalan workers.

"The real purpose of Company's visit—tells us this semi-official spokesman—was to enter conversations with business men and financiers of Rightist tendencies... the government would like to have an understanding with these men for the restoration of their properties."

And are those "business men and financiers"? Those are the very same people who financed the rebellion in 1936, who furnished Musolinia and Hitler's agents right under the noses of the "trustful" government of Arzana and Co. 80% of those people had to flee Catalonia—writes the secretary of the C.N.T. in this issue of our paper—so deeply were they involved in the fascist plot.

There is Cambo, for instance, "the principal Catalan financier" who allied himself with Gil Robles's Catholic Party. And Gil Robles, as is known, was one of the principal instigators of the fascist rebellion. But Cambo was more than a mere casual ally of Gil Robles. He was one of the chief backers of Primo de Rivera's brutal dictatorship, he was the head of the deeply hated "Liga Regionalista," the financial center of every reactionary move in Catalan and Spanish politics.

Even the cynical correspondent of the "New York Times" is somewhat taken aback by this readiness of the so-called democratic government to come to terms with men of such fascist associations as Cambo or Juan Venta, who, as the correspondent conveniently forgot, IS NOW THE REPUTED FINANCIAL ADVISER TO GENERAL FRANCO.

And back of those figures are still more sinister forces of international capitalism, of the 200 families of France who finance the fascist movements in their own country, the British bankers of the City who are mainly responsible for the treacherous policy of Downing Street in regard to the Spanish people.

Those are the people who controlled the mines, railroads, the electrical works of Spain and Catalonia, who poured out millions of dollars to support the fascist armies, and who, like O.S. Souns, for instance (European electrical trust), formerly in control of electrical power in Spain) have their hands now in every fascist pie of Europe and are the principal backers of every fascist movement all over the world.

Neither Negrín nor Companys, in pursuing this policy, represent the wishes of the preponderant majority of the workers and presents of Spain. Even Company's own party—the party of the liberal middle classes, the Esquerra—is in its majority against this policy. Even the rank and file of this bureaucratically controlled Catalan U.G.T. rebelled against the policy of subverting workers' collectivization. And as to the C.N.T., we learn from trustworthy sources that it has made strenuous efforts to help the attitude should be taken as to make Mr. Fernández's ("New York Times" correspondent) gleeful anticipations of the coming liquidation of the revolution too patent a product of the Perigan mentality. (Perigan-French border town; center of malicious fabrication and slanders about the Spanish revolution.)

The anarchists were holding back the gang of operators and the bandits abandoned them—in assault—his troops numerous C.N.T. collectives, syndicates, and municipalities, smashing them, destroying everything they could find on the premises—furniture, typewriters, etc.—robbing them a tune of less than $100 a day, watching over the money, boiling all their sacks of transportations—carts, trucks, etc.—and finally, with a few dollars and a couple of rifles, heading and killing a score of them.

He wasn't alone however, in performing this wonderful work for the Franco-Mussolinian and Other Marxian divisions helped him all over the territory; the Kerensky, Broadsheet, Teruel Teruel, etc., the same Karl Marx division which late in the beginning of September in the garish uniforms of the anarchists of Zaragoza, had its entire General Staff go over to the fascists at Zaragoza taking along the phases of the offensive and thus causing in sack."

No Cause for Popular Grief

Lister dead? The peasants and workers of Aragon and Catalonia not even if it were so. No matter who he was he had to be born in the comfort and luxury of the rich, to die in the same way, in the same dignity in which they hate his bloody Party, which aspires to democracy and has been before it in being called democratic, but irresponsible countries and to the bourgeoisie.

Lister entered Aragon like a conqueror, but it has been all work, work, work, and more work, and more work, and more work. He has passed a life, he says he is to blame for the war, and the war is due to the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain. Broadsheets."

**GENERAL SECRETARY OF C.N.T. TELLS OF PLANS FOR 1938**

(Continued from page one)

The New Pentum

The year of 1938 will be inaugurated by the C.N.T. with an attempt to solve the basic problems of the proletarian economy.

The C.N.T. called an enlarged Plenum at which certain important resolutions will be passed upon. The Plenum will be represented by the local and regional federations, and also by the National Industrial Federations. Neither political nor economic issues will be raised. The main task will be laid up at that Plenum Only problems of work and economic life.

Among many other points of the agenda, I want to stress the following one: the demand for a general strike.

Payment for work: The Plenum will analyse and put upon the system of payment in accordance with the circumstances. It will establish a balanced wage for all professions.

Setting up of an Industrial Union Bank: This Bank will be created in order to provide credit facilities for collectivized industries. By buying the work of consumer's co-operatives, in direct planning. Checking up industrialists with the view of eliminating those that are inefficient... This is of great importance in view of the necessity of balancing the works against the new industrial potentials of our country.

Down with down general norm of work.

But too powerful are the forces now being released against the May Day. The revolution to permit any too easy optimists. The censorship is too fast on the master, but there can be no doubt that there is some purpose behind its sudden revelations. And we cannot forget that the May Day provocation was also preceded by similar revelations and intimations of coming events.

"—Mariano Vázquez
C.N.T. DELEGATES SPEAK BEFORE ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE

"Spain will not follow Moscow's road"—Norman Thomas.
"Spain—a new period in the life of humanity"—Serafín Alíaiga.
"Spain will be the first socialist democracy in the world"—Juan Lopez.

(Continued from page one)

(Extract from an editorial)

Many thousands of workers rallied on behalf of the great struggle now carried on by the Spanish proletariat. The C.N.T. and the C.N.T./U.G.T. have caused the world, for the fate of anti-fascist Spain is the fate of the world.

It is a struggle which rises above any partisan interests, for it is waged around the basic right of the workers and peasants of every nation, the right to be the masters of their political, social and economic destinies.

Those destinies will be shared in the world's progress in accordance with the federalist traditions and the character of the revolution, both in Spain and in the tremendous role of which in the present struggle is not yet realized in other countries.

A New Chapter in Human Progress

Spanish labor has great revolutionary traditions, in scholarship and action, and it is vain to seek to find itself adequate to meet the great historic test. And what it reveals, before it revealed before the astounded world great concrete constructive capacity by creating a new economic organism in the midst of the fascistic war and in face of the opposition of the capitalist powers of the world.

Spain is opening a new period in the history of the social progress of humanity. As in all great revolutions of the world a new democratic nation is carried on simultaneously with war. And it is this revolutionary idea which is going on in Spain its universal character which the organized workers of the world must defend as a matter of their own self-preservation.

Juan Lopez' Speech

The threats of the same ideas from the C.N.T. and the C.N.T./U.G.T. in the national Committees of the C.N.T. and ex-Minister of Commerce in the Large Caballero Cabinet, who in a masterly speech unfolded the historic roots, the international significance and the perspectives of the Spanish revolution.

The social revolution in Spain—declared—is the threat to the capitalism and the imperialism of the so-called democratic nations, for it is pursuing the same aim of controlling the Spanish peninsula, politically and economically, for war purposes and who try to impede the triumph of the social revolution.

Historic Roots of Spanish Militancy

The latter was made possible in Spain due to the leading role of an anti-fascist syndicalism in the labor movement, which prevented the debilitating effect of information, the fighting power of the proletariat. That is why Spain became the first country in which the struggle of the individual is a clear-cut character.

The Spanish proletariat has shown a great deal of revolutionary initiative in the defense of its rights. The workers who have been defeated the dictatorship and have used the power which fall into their hands as a result of that revolution in order to continue the work of revolutionary capitalism and to help foreign imperialism.

Spain—The Foretaste of Impending War

The rivalries of the two opposing totalities are bound to lead to war. Spain has already become the most important point of the struggle in the most impending conflict. That is why along with direct intervention there is also the intervention of a more subtle, but no less insidious kind, of the democratic powers. There has been no foreign intervention, the Spanish government, would have been able to assure the triumphant march of the revolution, the triumph of which will be the starting point of the regeneration of the labor movement all over the world.

The policy of intervention is not only represented by the fascist powers. It is also promoted by England who fears the Spanish revolution and who fears the rising of the small and vulnerable countries by the sham non-intervention pact.

Revolution Will Win

This policy, as well as that of open intervention by fascist armies, will fail. The revolutionary struggle in Spain will succeed in the conquest of that momentous document of the Spanish people. The war will be long; it will be so because of the framework of foreign complications. And even when the war is ended, the military power gained by the Spanish revolution will be used for the conquest of liberty of other peoples oppressed by fascism and capitalism.

First Labor Democracy

In The World

And as to the future of Spain after the victory, it will not be that of a totalitarian Marxist dictatorship. It will not be that of a bourgeois, fascist republic, nor will it be a pure anarchy of the immediate future. It will be that of a democratic, capitalist, free country, for Spain will become the first labor democracy in the world.

In Republican Spain the two great Western democracies are sometimes represented by men who not only lack sympathy or understanding for the Spanish Republic but who hate it with a personal hatred.

And these are some of the people who are using their "objective" reports and percentages to make the democratic Governments of Europe question conditions in Spain. And it is largely on the strength of these reports that Colombia, Mexico and New Zealand have supported their policies. It is an important and a great war.

Manchester Guardian

CATHOLIC MINISTER OF JUSTICE FORCED TO RESIGN

In TOO LIBERAL FOR THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS

Following a long struggle between the Stalinists and Mr. Inoja, the latter had to resign his position of Minister of Justice in Negri's Cabinet.

From the point of view of the defense of the imprisoned C.N.T. and P.O.U.M. comrades, this represents a rather disappointing development. Inoja, although a personal friend of Negri, was a supporter of the official line, and he has been retracted nor against fascism—native and international—assumed such a clear-cut character.

The Spanish proletariat has shown a great deal of revolutionary initiative in the defense of its rights. The workers who have been defeated the dictatorship and have used the power which fall into their hands as a result of that revolution in order to continue the work of revolutionary capitalism and to help foreign imperialism.

It was settled that the tragedy taking place on the larger scale of the political struggles of the Spanish revolution Feather in itself in the U.G.T.

Issues Settled by Strong Arm Methods

Udallho appealed to union demands of the workers of the Union, to the rank and file. But his newspapers were taken away from him, and all the pamphlets of his followers suppressed and he himself driven to safety.

Whatsoever the outcome of this struggle of the rank and file against management the government, it is impossible to say whether or not the C.N.T. will be solved in the C.N.T./U.G.T., that is a constituent body of all the workers of Spain. Fortunately, the voice of the international proletariat was heard in the C.N.T. and the rank and file. It is the C.N.T./U.G.T. which is fighting the fascist powers both with the workers of Spain. Fortunately, the voice of the international proletariat was heard in the C.N.T. and the rank and file. It is the C.N.T./U.G.T. which is fighting the fascist powers both with the workers of Spain.

We do not know whether these events represent an innumerable or a result of the more than a month of imprisonment, incitement and personal threats by prominent members of the Executive Committee of the Second International, a deal which was arrived at.

Crisis Overcome

According to the latest cable received by the Daily Spanish paper "El Voces," the fascists' attempt to divide the French Trade Union League came to Valencia, announcing that the fascists had been defeated by the workers of Spain. Fortunately, the voice of the international proletariat was heard in the C.N.T. and the rank and file. It is the C.N.T./U.G.T. which is fighting the fascist powers both with the workers of Spain.

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READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"The Tragedy of Spain" by William Leuchtenburg, 15c (a superb account of the latest developments in Spain)

"The Revolutionary Movement in Spain" by Donald MacLellan, 20c (Deals with the events leading to the October revolt of 1934)

"The Life and Death of Zapata" by Emiliano Zapata, 10c (A story of the life and death of the great revolutionary)

"The Socialist War" by John Strachey, 10c (A story of the life and death of the great revolutionary)
WHO IS BACK OF POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS IN LOYALIST SPAIN?

MEMBER OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT REPORTS VISIT TO SPAIN

Workers in Valencia Thwarted to Pull Down Prison If Prisoners Were Not Released

John McGovern, member of British Parliament, was sent to Spain by the International Bureau and his own Party (Independent Labor Party) to investigate the situation in regard to the alleged persecution and imprisonment of revolutionaries by the Negro government.

Upon his return to England he issued a report (now printed in pamphlet form) clearly stating that the only instigator and abettor of this campaign of persecution is the Communist Government which is acting in this case upon direct orders from Moscow.

We are reprinting here a few excerpts from this report as it appeared in the official paper of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain ("The New Leader").

"On November 24, 1937, Paris for Barcelona, arrived on the 25th, and began our work immediately. The object was to strengthen the Workers' Front and win the war against Franco's imperialist alli

Our two-hour interview with Sr. Inrujo (Minister of Justice) and his personal secretary, who is the minister's brother. We had a very frank discussion over the question of prisoners and the possibility of an amnesty for all anti-Fascists. The minister informed us that the question of an amnesty had been considered by the Government; it had been decided not to give any amnesty to Fascists, but to the Communists. Members of the Government were violently opposed to the release of any of the prisoners.

On November 21 a large army of workers from the C.N.T. and Anarcho-Syndicalist Unions of Barcelona went to the gates of the Valencia Prison and threatened to pull down the building if the prisoners were not released.

"A Scene I Will Never Forget"

Our first prison visit was to the Cercal Modelo Prison, where there are prisoners, including 200 Fascists, 500 Fascist criminals, and 500 criminals. The Director and dome guards warned us to be careful as prisoners might assist revolutionaries.

We spent two hours interviewing anti-Fascists. We were locked in the prison wing, and freely interviewed members of the P.O.U.M. (Gonzalez, A. Medrano, Enrique). Everyone wanted to tell us of the oppression, the hunger, the state of threats of death, detention, and torture.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FUNDS COLLECTED FOR SPAIN

FREE SOCIETY GROUP, CHICAGO, ILL., AUG. 16-26, SEPTEMBER 1937

RECEIPTS

Schedule A: "A" - Donations and Collections (including publications)

"Spanish Revolution" and "Spain and the World": $1,113.16

Subscription Lists: $182.55

Book: $1,028.00

Bazaar: $1,260.00

Theatre Party: $199.25

Festive: $200.00

Schedule B: "B" - Sale of "Spanish Revolution": $67.94

Sale of Posters: $40.08

TOTAL: $2,884.55

DISBURSEMENTS

Schedule A: "A" - Postage, Baskets, Printing, Miscellaneous: $35.32

"B" - Money Sent to Spain: $2,255.00

Schedule C: "C" - Donations and Sales to Benefit Spanish Cause: $178.94

To "Spain and the World": $192.00

To "Spain and the World": $15.00

Schedule D: "D" - Paid for Posters: $30.00

TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS: $3,503.36

CASH ON HAND: $321.19

"The victory toward which we are aiming is not a victory in a capitalist war. The Spanish proletariat has been looking forward toward this victory for this number of years. It is the triumph of workers over reaction, of our revolution over national and foreign capitalism."

"(Casilla Libre)"

FAMOUS SCIENTISTS PROUD OF THEIR C.N.T. UNION CARD

Many of us heard about the famous scientists of the C.N.T., who at theripe old age of 75 years threw himself with youthful Socialist ardor to fight for a new social order waged by the Russian workers in the beautiful film "The Bacillus of Democracy." They have been immortalized in the beautiful film "The Bacillus of Democracy." Their work has been recognized by the Soviet Union and the United States. They have worked for the advancement of science, and have contributed to the world's knowledge of the natural sciences.

The Home Secretary Doesn't Know

The Home Secretary, Sr. Zoelagazeta (also a member of the C.N.T.), was interviewed by the workers of the C.N.T.-Laboratories, research departments significant, far reaching pedagogical experiments—all those are the contributions of the scientists of the C.N.T. to the world of science. The C.N.T. scientists have been able to contribute to the advancement of science, and have contributed to the world's knowledge of the natural sciences.

Famous Scientist Active Militant

There is Gonzales de Reinoso, for instance, who has been active in the C.N.T. for 70 years, active member of the C.N.T. who serves tirelessly with his pen and research.

THE SPANISH WORKERS CONTINUED AID

CONTINUED AID

FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST FA[I]L

Collected Scot Excess Expenses Benefits: $30.00

For the month of Aug., 1937: $275.00

For the month of Sept., 1937: $479.00

For the month of Oct., 1937: $1,152.78

For the month of Nov., 1937: $1,152.78

Total cash on hand today is $310.40, which is still to be given over to the next meeting of the Committee.
C.N.T. FORCES — SHOCK TROOPS OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

Teruel was taken after ten days of intense fighting under atmospheric conditions which made it extremely difficult to advance against an enemy firmly armed and enjoying the advantages of an extremely favorable terrain and fortifications afforded by nature itself.

This victory is of tremendous importance for us and it will certainly result in completely changing the war outlook and political tone to such an extent that the worst rumors which began to spread of late.

It was the first important offensive carried out with a high degree of efficiency.

25th Division in The Fore

Within a few days a concentration of troops consisting of three divisions was effected near Teruel. One of them was the 25th Division commanded by Garcia Vivancos, the same Division which distinguished itself by its valor in the taking of Buñol.

This Division is almost exclusively made up of militiamen of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., of workers who were in the thick of battles ever since July 10. According to the information sent out by the evening staff of the C.N.T. the C.N.T.-F.A.I. forces were the first to enter Teruel and it was those forces that kept up the fierce fighting in the interior of the city.

The 116th Brigade which belongs to the 25th Division, that seized the cemetery, one of the strategic keys to the city. Likewise, of great importance was the action of the 116th Brigade, which is also made up of C.N.T. members, whose courage encouraged their men by throwing themselves with unheard of bravery upon the enemy tanks.

It has to be pointed out that detachments of the 116th Brigade entered Teruel on the night of the 23rd whilst the enemy was still in possession of the city. They brought very valuable information from their raid.

The Shock Troops of Anti-Fascist War

The action of the artillery of the 25th Division was also on a very high level of efficiency. A whole column of enemy reinforcements seriously menacing the 116th Division (Latter) was completely wiped out by artillery fire. One can say that this was one of the most glorious days of the war and that the C.N.T. forces have proven themselves as shock troops of irresistible driving power and high fighting ability.

—From "Nueva Espana Antifascista"

GARCIA VIVANCOS
COMANDER OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST DIVISION

Garcia Vivancos, the Commander of the heroic 25th Division which took Teruel, is a taxi driver by trade. He is an old militant in the ranks of the anarchist movement of Spain. 25 years of his life (he is 43 years old) were spent in the militant battles of the anarchist labor movement.

He was closely associated with Durruti and Azaules* in their long struggles. Together with those great figures of the Spanish revolutionary movement, he formed the group of militants during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera which answered in kind the militarist acts committed by the hanegm of the dictatorial regime against the workers.

Vivancos was one of the first to leave for the Aragon front, having distinguished himself by his valor, presence of mind and great military ingenuity. It is those qualities that singled him out for command when the militias were organized into regular units of the Popular Army. But, as he is characterized by the magazine issued by the 25th Division, "beneath the military uniform there will always remain the proletarian fighter, true to the last to the cause of proletarian emancipation."

—Azaules—Durruti's close friend and associate in revolutionary struggles; was killed during the street fighting in Tremosa while leading a column of workers against the fascist-held military barracks.

What Is The Significance of the Teruel Victory?

WHAT IS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION?

Is there a Rising Revolutionary Wave in Spain?

Come, hear those questions dealt with by competent speakers at the MASS-MEETING on Friday, January 28th, at the Libertarian Center 229 Avenua A (corner 14th St.)

SPEAKERS:
M. OLAY—Director of Spanish Press Bureau.
F. BRANDT—Journalist and correspondent, foreign press.
S. WIENER—Lecturer and writer.
J. MENDOZA-W. organizer.

Asociate: United Libertarian Organizations 8:00 sharp

* Azaules—Durruti's close friend and associate in revolutionary struggles; was killed during the street fighting in Tremosa while leading a column of workers against the fascist-held military barracks.

Nothing, perhaps, shows more conclusively the pre-dominant role played by the anarchist-syndicalist forces in the capture of Teruel than the following telegram sent by the governor of the Aragon province to the National Committee of the C.N.T. in Barcelona:

ACCEPT MY ENTHUSIASTIC CONGRATULATIONS ON THE GREAT ROLE PLAYED BY YOUR ORGANIZATION IN FORMING THE POPULAR ARMY WHICH TOOK TERUEL.

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THE HEIRS OF THE LIBERAL
VALUES OF CIVILIZATION

The world is swept by a wave of savagery and moral disintegration. One country after the other succumbs to the worst forms of political tyranny, which only a few years ago seemed to be rapidly vanishing from the face of the earth.

"Europe will be Fascist!"—proclaimed the strutting madman in Rome. And in strange obedience to this wild prophecy, the expanding sea of political barbarism begins to close in upon the narrowing islands of European democracy.

Chехo-Slovakia is isolated. France is rapidly losing her dominating position in European affairs. The Fascist International is completing a series of expeditions of the centuries upon French soil. And England, ruled by a caste which only dimly perceived the democratic spirit born out of the great revolutionary struggles of the XIX century, is helplessly drifting along the powerful wave of international reaction.

Frightened by the latter, the liberal elements of the world began to hearken to the power which seems to them as the only one possessing sufficient vigor to resist the downward trend of our civilization. And in their eagerness to find unalike with this power—the power of the Soviet revolutionaries, the regiments of the local Communist Party—they seem to be ready to yield meekly to the harsh demands of the latter in respect to the great liberal heritage of our civilization.

This heritage—the liberal elements are told—is only a superfluous luxury. It has to be thrown overboard in a time of great national crisis. The dictatorship can be bought against an equally harsh dictatorship of the Communist Party oriented upon progress and the future instead of savagery and chaos.

There is one country, however, which refuses to accept this harsh dilemma. It threw itself fiercely against the forces of international reaction, raising an almost insurmountable barrier to the spread of fascism in Europe. But in doing so, it did not yield to the temptation, held out before it in a very alluring form, of following in the footsteps of Russia, where the victory over the forces of the counter-revolution was the frightful price of the loss of liberal liberties and self-government.

It is in the skillful way in which the revolutionary proletariat of Spain—the moving force of the great epic struggle going on in that country—succeeded in avoiding the great danger now facing many a civilized country, because of the unique situation of its labor and social composition, and the great historic significance of the Spanish events lies. The mantle of the true guardian of the humanistic values by which our civilization lives has passed from the shoulder of the panic-stricken European intellectuals to the Spanish workers and peasants who know how to face the great danger of Fascist barbarism not by succumbing to the lusts of a fashionable totalitarianism but by laying the groundwork of a true industrial democracy.

"No pasaran!" they sang throughout Spain when Franco's hordes were battering their way to Madrid. "No pasaran!" they shall not pass. The same refrain is echoed now in the factories, fields and trenches of Spain, not only in regard to Franco and his hirelings. It is equally directed against any attempt to impose a dictatorship, against any attempt to curtail the basic rights of working men and peasants in the sole name of security and their equally important rights as free citizens of the industrial commonwealth.

To those who at the present moment keep on emphasizing the situation and restraint we want to say that the C.N.T. has not gone back upon its basic aim nor does it intend to do so in the future.

More than ever does the C.N.T. feel itself strengthened by the composition of its organizations, by the enthusiasm and self-discipline evinced by the latter in their daily labor.

We are the same as ever and we are where we were before.

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

INTERNATIONAL WORKMEN'S ASSOCIATION HOLDS CONGRESS

DIRECT ACTION URGED ON BEHALF OF SPAIN

We have a great deal about international solidarity of the proletariat, about the various international organizations with their millions of members and influential influence and high statemanship of their leaders.

Measured, however, by the simple test of direct action, the highly reputed international solidarity proved to be quite a different question. Not only did the international proletariat permit the so-called democratic governments to hold the anti-Fascist struggle in Spain by their fanciful non-intervention agreements, but it has also sold the direct supplying of France now openly done not only by Fascist powers but also by the mediators of many a "democratic" country.

MASSES READY FOR MILITANT ACTION

This business is not due to any lack of effort of the Spanish working rank and file of European workers. Those who know the anti-Fascist struggle in Spain believe that the international proletariat must realize that a proper initiative and this mood will tell itself as a powerful factor in the furnishing the direct supplying of France. The issuing of the Direct Action report was the lack of solidarity on the part of the international proletariat determines the retreat of revolutionary forces.

The congress approved the C.N.T. report and also accepted a general outline of a plan to be followed by the International Workmen's Association in the direction of the proletariat in order to put an end to the forces of "non-intervention."

INTERNATIONAL WORKER'S ALLIANCES

Get the whole story of the discussion of the plan, fully accepted by the Congress, of appealing to the Assembly of Working-class Associations with the view of forming a Workers' Anti-Fascist Alliance. It is not an idle task of organizing an efficient boycott of the products of the Fascist-controlled industries. Or appealing the memory of the anti-Fascist cause in Spain.

BOYcott THROUGH ACTION

This boycott, as conceived by the delegates of the Congress, is not the slightest affair of the Greek and other such "leaders" of labor organizations permit themselves to talk occasionally. It means short action on the job. It means stopping effectively any manufacturer who manufactures products for the Fascist-controlled industry. Or appealing the memory of the anti-Fascist cause in Spain.

READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

"The Tragedy of Spain" by Roy R. McVeagh...

"The Revolutionary Move- ment in Spain" by Dash...

"The Life of Durutti..."

"After the Revolution, What?" by D. A. de Santillan...

"The Tragic Week In May" by Augustine Souchy...

...to the libertarian students for their conference. Apart from purely organizational problems—that of rallying all the components of libertarian sympathies for the great task of defending and promoting the Revolution—the conference also dealt with problems of revolutionary culture, new education, and the prospects of the struggle against the greatest danger of our time—the war potentiality focused upon youth by totalitarisions of all shades and varieties.

SLOGANS OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference was wound up with a big mass meeting which was well attended by young students and workers of the city of Valencia. Speakers of that conference were the leaders of the most illustrious representatives of the National Committee of Libertarian Youth—dwelt upon the decisions and the larger perspectives held out by the conference and symbolized by its rallying slogans:

"We are fighting for: the city that is emerging—The University and against: the redicap that is crumbling."

The Prión
WORKERS BUILD EFFICIENT WAR INDUSTRY

It is now generally admitted that the re-equipment of the Lloydite army is mainly due to the efficient functioning of its war industries. The time of economic dependence upon foreign supplies is gone. The munition factories of Catalonia, and to a lesser extent, those of Levante and Andalusia, have played a prominent role in placing the Lloydite army on the high-level recently evidenced by its successful offensive on the Torellent front.

This tremendous role was made possible by the heroic work of the labor unions who succeeded in reorganizing the disorganized industry to its present state of high efficiency. And, perhaps, in no other branch have the industrial unions stood so well the test of management and control as in this most important industry of fighting Spain.

The story of these heroic efforts is told by the Acting Secretary of the Industrial Union of Metal Workers, belonging to the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.).

"We quote from the anarchist daily diario "Nastra."";

A Ruined Industry

"Immediately after July 18th, the metal workers found themselves off from any assistance on the part of the higher technicians. There were, of course, notable exceptions. Economically, our factories were in a state of utter ruin. The workers, however, grasped with the difficulties in an intelligent manner, had a result of their own order, by transforming the metal working industry into a powerful and efficient war industry.

C.N.T. Workers

"The most patent results of this work have been produced in Catalonia where the manufacturing of war materials grew already suitable proportions three months after the Falla revolt."

"Revista followed suit. The workers—working the lead of the present size and shape. By now the Madrid factories have built all calibers, aeroplane bombs, cartridges, and automatic arms. C.N.T. has indeed the workers with the spirit necessary to effect such changes.

"In the factories of Levante and the Madrid region the work is actually going on, but in Catalonia this is greatly retarded. That is due to the certain party (comunist) which is the irremediable enemy of the unification of the working class. However, the problem of workers’ unity is not so simple and it will take days that the immense majority of the metal workers belong to the C.N.T.

Self-Sacrifice and Heroism of Rank and File

"The work accomplished in the metal industry is work of heroic short of heroism. The workers put in voluntarily 14 and more hours of work a day. Many are the cases of prostration at the work benches as the sign, not of laziness, but of the workers’ excesses in a task without any compensation in exchange for their extra service."

"There are many examples of self-sacrifice. In one factory, 40 workers have fully placed at the disposal of the government (who hold possession of the factory and material). Now some of them find themselves ruined.

"For a few days now, the C.N.T. has been the battle cry of the thousands who died storming the heights of Torellent.

REVOLUTION LIVING FORCE IN SPAIN

Elsewhere in this issue we are quoting from the Secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Britain, to the effect that, contrary to those who affirm that the course of the Revolution is lost in Spain, the rising revolutionary wave, now greatly in evidence in that country, will bring the Social Revolution back to its former sway."

The same opinion is expressed by the Left Marxists as being fully triumphant now, in accordance with the same narrow sectarian views of rousing a point of argument, the resilience and vitality of the revolutionary forces is utterly ignored. The French workers were shell-shocked by the persecutions and counter-revolutionary strikes of the Negroes into an unresilient acceptance of the revisionist admissions of Trotsky and his disciples that the opinion quoted below may prove to be of salutary effect.

"We hold that the revolution is lost in Spain. Just the contrary. The persecution is a natural reaction to the emphatic selfishness and mediocrity which knows where it goes. The repression, absolutism, assaults against the collective are the main facts of the truth that the revolution exists. And who dare to say that the excesses committed against our comrades were unrelentless? Our comrades just permitted these excesses to take place without winning?"

"This, however, did not take place. The workers, technicians and officers left the army over by egotistic interests, they did not formake the revolution any other way. The thousands of which thousands of our comrades gave their lives and time-long single light was expanded, giving place to the syndicalization (control of Industrial Unions) of industries.

"And there is no doubt that the workers and the C.N.T. unions which, by the first order of the moment, justified by the experience of industrial unions, which cannot be lead, sooner or later, to the full control of the economy by the industrial unions.
CONTROL OF INDUSTRY STRENGTHENED BY CNT UNIONS

EPOCHAL CONVENTION DEFIES POLITICIANS; DEMANDS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, OPPOSES STATE CAPITALISM

About a month ago Juan Negrín, Premier of the Republican Government of Spain, issued an alarming statement concerning the program of restoration of private property, toward which his government had been aiming ever since it came into power.

It was alarming even to those who realized that much of what Mr. Negrín and was intended for foreign consumption, and that the workers organized into the powerful industrial unions of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) also had something to say about this matter.

The tone of Mr. Negrín’s statement was very challenging and it was followed up by a flood of propaganda (of the kind supplied to the “New York Times” by the government spokesman Lawrence A. Ferenson) telling the world that the workers themselves have already become tied up with the economic system which is a menace to the country—thus constituting almost half of the population.

The Plenum, of course, was not called for mere declarations. It was the practical work of consolidating the organization and perfecting the industrial apparatuses of management of the collectivized sector of economy that was achieved at this assembly. And in doing it, the C.N.T. delivered the most effective answer to the pro-vocative statements and innuendo issued by the government agencies. Its meaning was clear: the Plenum is the only government that has the efficient and effective means to combat the propaganda to the effect that the workers are tired of collectivizations, the latter, acting through their accredited delegations, is taking this step to increase the work of building up the new economy on the basis of collective ownership of the industries and the land.

1,700,000 WORKERS REPRESENTED

This assembly—the enlarged Plenum of the C.N.T. unions—was held in Valencia, in the middle of the month of January. It was attended by 800 delegates from the fields, factories and shops of Spain, representing 1,700,000 workers and peasants of loyalist Spain organized into industrial unions of the National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.). (One can easily realize the specific weight of this organization as determined by numbers only. The C.N.T. has over 1,700,000 organized workers, and is already constituting almost half of the population.)

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ECONOMIC PLANNING TO THE FUTURE

The first and most important problem facing this Plenum was that of co-ordinating the collectivized enterprises into a single economic plan. From such a plan had not been in operation until the opening of the Plenum was mainly due to the sabotaging efforts of the politicians—bourgeois and Comintern—whom spiraled efforts of the C.N.T. to build up a national planning body on the basis of union representation.

One has to take into account that along the line of the collectivized sector of economy there is one which is still in the hands of the middle classes, and also the existence of another proletarian organization (U.G.T.) whose wishes (Continued on page four)

SERFDOM INTRODUCED BY SPANISH FASCISTS

Man Hunt in Asturias—Peasants Forced to Work in Mines

Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the Atlantic Monthly, went on a pleasure trip to sunny Spain. Like most tourists of his kind, he preferred the rebel-held territory where he could dine at a good old days of King Alphonso and Primo de Rivera.

Mr. Sedgwick not only winced and dined but also had very pleasant talks with a number of high-ranking officials, which in addition to the information gathered from the tall current in the lobby of the tourist hotels, gave him the material for the Spanish 1914 set forth on the pages of the New York Times (Feb. 13) in the form of a newspaper report.

Big Mass Meeting on Spain in Harlem FINNISH HALL, 2056 FIFTH AVENUE (125-126 Ste.)

Sunday, March 6th, 2:30 P.M.

SPEAKERS:
DOUGLAS CLARK, HARRY SMITH, P. MONOLDI,
M. OLAY, F. BRAND.

ENTRANCE FREE

Auspices: United Libertarian Organizations

WORKERS RESIST NATIONALIZATION DRIVE

STATE CONTROL NOT POPULAR WITH WORKERS—NATIONALIZED FACTORIES LESS EFFICIENT THAN THOSE CONTROLLED BY WORKERS

"It is symptomatic that workers themselves are appealing in greater numbers for state intervention."

Laurence A. Fernowgtz (in "New York Times")

The reactionary policy of the Negrín-Prieto government in the economic field continues its course of a relentless, although at times camouflaged, drive against the revolutionary conquests of the Spanish people.

The maintenance of free private trade and uncontrolled speculation, have brought about a tremendous rise in prices. This renders unbearable the economic situation of the workers.

The Commission appointed for the purpose of bringing the wages somewhat nearer to the existing level of prices has not done anything of importance. But it did prevent the unions from tackling this problem. For the more serious situation brought about by the government policy is being made use of by the government in order to further the reactionary scheme of wrecking the industries from the workers.

Government
Blackmail
Raising wages without the consent of the government is forbidden. Of course, raising wages in itself will not make up the rise in prices. There are, however, cases when collectivized enterprises are not allowed to raise the wages of the workers even when their financial condition permits a wage rise, without a corresponding boost in the price of the products. Why does the government withhold its authorization of a wage rise even in those cases?

The plan is obvious. The workers of the collectivized enterprises

(Continued on page three)

IN THE WAKE OF FASCIST RAMPAGE

"Our comrades abroad should not let themselves be panic-stricken by the momentary counter-revolutionary currents in Spain. The Spanish Revolution is not dead, but the reverse, it is the latent driving force of the struggle against fascism." The C.N.T. stands on guard of the interests of the proletariat.

The militants of C.N.T. who have to witness closely the reactionary currents rising in this country and who often feel upon themselves the power of those counter-revolutionary drives, have full confidence in the future. They know what they face, and the struggle begins their fight against fascism with unconquered vigor and an unabated spirit of self-sacrifice.

(C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bulletin)

Come and Hear Direct Message From Spain

At the BIG MASS MEETING to be held on THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24th, 8 P.M.

AT TATENO HISPANIA, 68-68 Henry St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

SPEAKERS:
DOUGLAS CLARK, recently returned from Spain.
Member of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. "Battalion of Death" Column
M. Olay, F. Brand, Director of Spanish Press Bureau

F. BRAND, Correspondent of Spanish Press

JACK SHANNON, 10TH Organizeer

JOSEPH ZACK, Lecturer and Writer

Auspices: United Libertarian Organizations
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

45 WEST 17th ST. - NEW YORK, N. Y. - Cisleba 3-9567
Vol. II, No. 10
February 25, 1938

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY vs. STATE CAPITALISM

By now the general lines of the reactionary drive against the revolutionary conquests of the Spanish workers and peasants have become clearly marked out. They do not follow, as it is generally supposed, the mere plan to re-establish private capitalism, as existed prior to July 19. While backed up by powerful international interests and the diffuse pressure of the French and British governments, the forces driving toward such a restoration are too weak in Spanish workers to attempt this difficult task all by themselves.

It is their alliance with the far more numerous forces, who pursue a line of their own, but who joined hands with the partisans of a restored capitalism, that imprints such momentum on the government coalition directed against the workers and peasants of Spain.

Those are the forces of the “Fourth Estate,” the new class emerging everywhere in Europe and hungrily reaching for power. In Russia they have already achieved their aim, and it is the transference of their methods that constitutes one of the greatest dangers that the workers of Spain.

Their instrument for attaining power and establishing a new class rule is the State. Hence their program of nationalization, of State control and intervention, of bureaucratization of the socialized economy of Spain. And it is only because they are too weak to carry out their program by themselves that they struck a temporary alliance with foreign monopolies and Spanish parties through whom the former asserted themselves upon the long and stinging Spanish struggles.

It is a shifting and unstable alliance, made in order to wrest the leading positions from the hands of workers’ organizations. Once that is achieved, the cross purposes at which this coalition works begin to assert themselves. The bourgeoisie parties clamor for a full restoration of private ownership, while the new forces begin to talk about “safeguarding the revolutionary achievements.”

That is what happened in Spain immediately after the bourgeois-communist coalition succeeded in smashing the Popular Anti-fascist Front. The differences as to basic aims began to assert themselves with increasing power, as a result of which the Communist and some of the Socialist politicians reminded themselves of the fact that a revolution had taken place and that it is necessary to defend it.

They began to talk of revolution, but what they mean by it is not the safeguarding of power which took place on July 19. It is not workers’ control and ownership exercised through the Industrial Union that they refer to in their demands “to defend the revolution.” It is their own program modeled on the Bolshevik pattern—allowing, perhaps, larger concessions to foreign capital—that they are attempting to put in place of the program of revolutionary workers.

All power to the bureaucracy, the State appointees, the experts, working through political parties, through tame unions reduced to a submissive faction “corporation,”—such is the basic aim of attack now directed by the Negro government against the socialized economy of Spain.

And in taking up this challenge, in holding firmly to basic principles of their revolution—that of industrial democracy against State control and ownership—the Spanish workers and peasants have already marked out the road to be followed by the international proletariat in the coming struggle against the totalitarian State, which has proven itself as far more dangerous enemy than private capitalism at its worst.

MORE THAN EVER THE SPANISH WORKERS NEED YOUR Aid

Every Cent Counts in the Great Work Carried on in Behalf of the Homeless Refugees, Orphaned Children and the Invadeds of the Hierarchy War.

Send to J. Radinowski, co. U. L. O.
45 W. 17th Street
New York, N. Y.

REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Of late we have been hearing a great deal about the “bureaucratization of the C.N.T.,” mainly because of the bitter struggle the C.N.T. is having with its own internecine wars. Although coming from highly suspicious sources, such as the Trotskyites of the fourth International, who, in view of their historic role as the drive out of centrism, are the last to speak with any right, of bureaucratic trends and tendencies, these charges are far from being unfounded. The only question is to find an adequate measure of acceptance among people who are apt to judge the C.N.T. by the standards and achievements of other labor unions of Europe and America.

There is little, however, in the actual practice of the C.N.T. unions to justify such hasty charges and hurried conclusions. One has to glance at the brief record, given below, of the cooperation of the C.N.T. unions in the more recent events in Spain, in order to see how incomparable these charges are with the high level of inner democracy characterizing the actions of the C.N.T. unions, which are hereby excerpting itself within the inner life of the C.N.T. unions (as well as in the book “De Julio A Julio” (Will shortly appear in English).

C.N.T. Organizations

Function on the Basis of Fullest Democracy

The C.N.T. always abided by its name, which is now very often called “internal democracy,” a term which is now in use last but those influential bodies. We always used the true name, “working democracy,” and that is the only principle the National Committee of the C.N.T. always abided by. All ideas and sentiments of the rank and file held [previously examined by each syndicate] and its consequent proof that federalism has no more fiction with us.

Catalan Peasants Against Persecutions

Every day new truck loads of refugees and P.O.U.M. citizens are conveyed to various towns willing to take them in.

Those measures are dictated by the Minister of Justice, a number of whose activities showed himself very trickadical in the Statistians, a representative of the government which reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie. We can well believe in a new wave of persecutions so much in evidence that we call on the international working masses of the world to unite in sympathy with the persecuted Spanish nation.

One of the recent measures of transfer of prisoners from Barcelona to the hinterland has shown the mass of the workers of the Province of Barcelone.

As far as the Barcelona workers are concerned, the Minister of Justice, the Catalan Government hope that in the present wave of persecutions of solidarry will be greatly reduced and ultimately the unrest among these workers will be lessened.

Needless to say, those plans have been thwarted by the peasants of the villages who have shown a sense of solidarity with the persecuted workers. And as to the Barcelona workers, their unrest and anxiety were greatly increased by the heavy hand of revolutionary workers being evicted from the city prisons. It is for this reason that it is believed that their days of imprisonment must be a few, the hundreds of workers being transferred from prisons which are now crowded as they are crowded.

"Independent News"

SEROFDM IN ASTURIAS

(Continued from page one)

Is there any wonder that our C.C.T. have to make so many apologies about the picture drawn before the official press agents and that, free born American as he may be, he be dismissed as a "trouble maker" chain gang of armed guards forced to do work of "winding up the trees" under the lash of armed guards. Nay, he finds almost all the gang working with armed discipline and the style he holds, he holds forth upon this happy state of those prisoners who evidently think of nothing as much as the secure position awaiting them on their return to the lock-up.

Characteristic Cant

Why do we waste so much space on this, the comparatively small piece of Balears? Not only because the writer of this, stupid report is an age that is insipid, but because the idea itself was given all the desired publicity to the press of New York Times, but because this cant of cant and hypocrisy of the C.N.T. fraternity. Franco regime is characterized in the part of the bourgeoisie and its agents in Europe and the United States.

Franco is introducing forced labor, virtual slavery and exploitation throughout the fascists and in a more brazenly than Hitler and Mussolini in their respective countries, since he sets in the capable hands of a true taskmaster. And it is this ominous shadow spreading over the very basis of our economic civilization, rooted in free labor, that is completely ignored, by the official democracies of Europe and America.

Here is, for instance, a brief summary of a report (Nuestra España Antifascista) on the mines of Asturias and Galicia.

Man Hunt In Asturias

As is known, Franco’s government, with heavy exports of coal and of other war materials, scattered the miners and the able bodied men having left the coal pits. New workers have to be recruited in order to fill the export quota set by the Spanish authorities.

The "recruiting" is done in the same manner in which the Belgian authorities in order to obtain labor for the plantations. The regular man is beingroughed in the villages of Galicia and Asturias. Armed detachments surround the villages and those that do not succeed in escaping are picked up and taken away to work in the mines. Most of them are young men of 16 and 17, since the older men are mostly fighting at the fronts.

Serdofm in the Mines

Working hours in the mines are from fourteen to seventeen hours a day and many of the peasant families do not see the daylight.

Work is done under the lash of armed guards. Accidents are numerous since no precautions are taken, while the increasing man hunt is furnishing a sufficient supply of easily replaceable slave labor.

Workers are watched just as closely as the performance of work. The slightest remark is met with by numerous spies and against the industrial workers unfriendly political connotations. The mine is the most cruel manner.

The man wrung out of the hallowed tombs of the Spanish Empire are vast cemeteries. Numerous are situated along the roads. These have been lying alongside those roads. These are the corpses of young miners, children, horribly mutilated, those men who are under the system now introduced under the system of the Nazis in conditions of Galicia and
THE ARAGON CRIME

EYE WITNESS REPORT OF THE ATTEMPTED SMASH-UP OF ARAGON COLLECTIVES

One of the most heinous crimes committed by the Mos- cow agents in Spain was the attempted smash-up of the great work of revolutionary reconstruction carried out by the workers and peasants of Aragon.

The attempt failed, but the history of it, the purely fascist method of trying to carry it out, will be deeply engraved in the memory of the coming worker movement and socialists, the Socialists, trade unionists, or even anti-fascist purely simple, has a right to ignore the ominous significance of such facts as the bludgeoning of the Aragon Collectives in the rear of the C.N.T. divisions—while the latter were struggling to uphold the fight against the fascists—ordered and coordinated by the Berlin agents of the C.N.T. from Moscow. This has led to the repressive action against the workers and peasants of Aragon.

It is in order to help the American reader to form a rounded picture of this attempted crime that we are presenting here a report of one who had personally witnessed the crimes, its preparation, and destruction worked by the Moscow agents. Hearing, ironically enough, the name of "communist divisions." I was in Madrid at the time when the LISTER (Karl Marx) division of the NEGRIN government had begun their treacherous job of assassinating and perpetuating the fascistic syndicalism of the peasants and workers in Aragon.

In order to bring the situation to the re- sponsible authorities and, for a sensitive readership, obtaining their permission to go any place with a camera. I rushed to Valencia and there I found a whole tray of permission from the authorities. I nearly obtained it, when the American Che-Ka intervened—and all my labor was lost in vain.

Spreading Its Tentacles

The Russian-Spanish Cheka has also an American branch, (**) which is already responsible for the imprisonment of a number of American citizens. It is to be noted in our lines of re- sistance for the communists. I myself ran into a very characteristic case in Ghent. In April of this year, a young socialist of Philadelphia, enrolled in one of the C.N.T. brigades, was actually imprisoned by the American agents in his home in Barcelona when he was found, much to his chagrin, physically unfit for the trenches and was advised to go back to America.

At the Che-Ka, where he was sent by his leaders for a permit to leave the country, he found a ready fingerprint for his arrest. He was kept four months in jail without being told any reasons for his detention. He was told to talk to him in prison and I found him half-crazed in his efforts to understand why he was locked in such a dirty trick on him. Altogether he was FREE in SPAIN 36 hours after spending 120 DOLLARS ONLY in obtaining the same permission from the American authorities. I nearly obtained it, when the American Che-Ka intervened—and all my labor was lost in vain.

Full Information Gathered

Having failed in Valencia too, but determined to see the "work" of the American agents, I made my way to Barcelona and from there, unauthorised, to Aragon. At that time I succeeded in gathering full information from delegates—then meaning in Caspe—of every collective and syndicate attacked and denounced in this document. The result of this document is that the "enemy was attacking it.

A Barbarian Invasion

Naturaliy, in view of the disparity of forces and the surprise nature of attack, the population didn't even think in terms of every collective and syndicate attacked and denounced in this document. But the result of this document is that the "enemy was attacking it.

Growing Resistance To Nationalization Drive

The same methods are employed by the politicians in industry and enterprise. But everything is done to increase the resistance on the part of the workers. Nationalization is de- bacle of this document. And the result of this unpopularity is quite obvious.

Efficiency—Russian Style

Here is, for instance, a case of nationalized industry employing about twenty people. When it was asked if the workers it was inefficient and that on the ground that the man in control. But now the enterprise has been sold to a Russian "guardian" (proprietor) who is reported to have twelve well-armed "guards" (watchmen), keeping watch at its gates, a government delegate who gets four times as much as the highest paid worker in the enterprise, and also ten or more other various bureaucratic functions.

All that shows clearly to the Russian methods of nationalization and efficiency and lack of organization is only a pretext existing only in the eyes of the right-wing politicians who are concerned not about economic efficiency but about protecting their own interests and the interests of a few other parasitical bureaucrats.

This is a case, by the way, of a nationalized factory employing about twenty people. When it was asked if the workers were inefficient and that on the ground that the man in control. But now the enterprise has been sold to a Russian "guardian" (proprietor) who is reported to have twelve well-armed "guards" (watchmen) keeping watch at its gates, a government delegate who gets four times as much as the highest paid worker in the enterprise, and also ten or more other various bureaucratic functions.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"
One Dollar a Year

The workers of Catalonia remain true to their convictions. The powerful campaign unleashed by the Press, official, and Catholic agencies in Madrid has not succeeded in weakening the workers, who are more deeply implanted in the life and work of the great masses of workers and peasants.

HOW POPULAR IS THE NEGRIN GOVERNMENT WITH WORKERS?

The workers of Catalonia remain true to their convictions. The powerful campaign unleashed by the Press, official, and Catholic agencies in Madrid has not succeeded in weakening the workers, who are more deeply implanted in the life and work of the great masses of workers and peasants.

"No Pasaran" Say the Spanish Mazes

The same moves of invasion and attack—dealing only in de- tails—was repeated in other vil- lages and towns of Aragon, by the Moscow agents of the NEGRIN government. At the Village of "Nuaro" Aragonese Syndicates and stonied troops in its headquarters; they re- quested that all the syndicates, syndicates, cooper- atives, and the arresting and killing of comrades.

When I entered the city I got the impression of a place occupied by armed barbarians, and the population and the soldiers there had a feeling of utter hostility. That is how Lister is loved by the masses. But the communists were not concerned about it's long as they had the love and gratitude of the bourgeoisie, merchant, small bosses and small land owners. (All the big land owners and workers have been expropriated by the peasants and workers of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. who work in collectives.)

While I was there more than 300 delegates of as many peasant col- lectives in all Aragon with about 170,000 members (a great part of the population), had succeeded in getting the resolution of "No Pasaran" in calling a Congress to study the means of rebuffing what counter-revolutionaries are trying to do.

The crime of the counter-revolution- didn't succeed. It will not succeed where Libertarianism has been deeply implanted in the life and work of the great masses of workers and peasants.

"Bakunin, a city of 70 thousand population and situated very close to Barcelona was honored by an official visit of the head of the NEGRIN government, the "Bakunin." The respectable citizens of the town—that is the rich traders and food speculators who have made their money at the result of the anti-Spanish protection against the bourgeois speculators and banks in honor of company and Nepriv who came to this town. The banquet was given in honor of the republican astronomers. The workers of the town, felt, however, that a banquet of this sort held at a time of general food scarcity was in the nature of an insult. They have been among the first of the high-ranking government officials have the right to display such a flagrant disregard of the sufferings of the workers and soldiers at the front.

"We declare a great bonus for this banquet.

"Needless to say that the strike was a signal for the break- up of the banquet and that the illustrious guests got themselves to their limousines in search of a less provocative proletarian climate and one that is more compatible with their delicate stomachs."

We Still Have a Number of BEAUTIFUL SPANISH POSTCARDS FOR SALE

Send to Jack White, c/o U.L.O. 45 W. 17th St, N. Y. C.
SOCIAL REVOLUTION WILL COME BACK IN SPAIN
—FENNER BROCKWAY

We are glad to present to our readers the following excerpts from the first chapter of "The Spanish Revolution" by Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain.

The collapse of the revolution was reported by Brockway is in line with the general expectations of those who have not been carried away by the panic mood produced by the necessary retreat of revolutionary forces. Despite the forced resignation of Senor Irurzun, it must not be assumed that the Communist Party is increasing its influence in Spain. In government circles it may still have power but, among the mass of the people, there is evidence that its final purpose is working for the welfare of its recent visitors to Spain other than McGovern’s* and they report that mass indignation is rising against the Communist Party not only in the ranks of the C.N.T. but in the U.G.T. and among workers generally.

At the same time, the revolutionary sections of the working class are becoming larger in action. This is specially true of Valencia and Madrid. The C.O.U.M. is supposed to have been declared an illegal organization but it is now acting openly in the provinces.

At the recent Valencia demonstration to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Durutti, the P.O.U.M. representative was publicly advertised as such and took part in the meeting. He was forcibly removed by the City Council even since the suppression of the party; his fellow-members, C.N.T., U.G.T. and Liberal, declared to depose him. It was after the Durutti meeting that thousands of workers demonstrated outside the prison demanding the release of the P.O.U.M. leaders and others.

At Madrid, where the C.N.T. was comparatively weak at the beginning of the civil war, its daily newspaper now has a daily circulation in the combined circulation of the right-wing socialist and communist papers.

All the signs indicate that the social revolution will come back into Spain.

* John McGovern, member of British Parliament, was sent to Spain by the International Bureau and the British Independent Labor Party. His mission was in order to press the persecution of revolutionaries in the C.L.O.

The stirring report of the situation was repeated in a summation form in "The Spanish Revolution." 10, 1937.

** As we reported the resignation of Irurzu, Minister of Justice in the Negri Cabinet, was forced by the Communists, the main reason being his opposition to the policy of persecution instigated upon by the Stalinists.

POLITICIANS SABOTAGE AD TO SPANISH PEOPLE

All over the world, workers, intellectuals and liberals of all shades, all those who are interested in giving direct aid to the Spanish fighters, are forming branches of the S.L.A. (International Federation of Spanish Revolutionary Communist Organizations).

The organization is non-partisan. Its aim is to send food, clothing, medications to Spain, to maintain hospitals for the wounded and to build colonies for the orphaned children.

It is especially active in France, where it has already spread to its ranks thousands of genuine anti-Fascists who realize that above all else the interests and struggles stand the supreme need of helping the Spanish people in the most direct and immediate manner.

Stalinists Antagonistic

But because of its non-partisan character, the organization incurred the displeasure of the Stalinists, who, as is known, claim to monopolize every activity on behalf of Spain. They are, of course, impostors as far as checking the activities of organizations are concerned. The great mass of anti-Fascists are becoming more and more distrustful of the Stalinists’ attempt to capitalize for their own purposes the natural sympathy of aiding the Spanish fighters. And it is the reaction against this mixing of politics—of which Stalinists are so fond—with the Spanish people that brought about the formation of those non-partisan organizations.

But the Stalinists possess a terrible weapon: they control the French border, and, incredible as it may seem, they use this weapon in order to prevent the shipment of food and clothing to Spain. We quote here an official report printed by the French government in this organization in the French weekly L’europa of January 6: 1937.

A Heinous and Ridiculous Action

"It is already fifteen days since our troubleshooting teams and clothing are stock are stuck here at the border, having been p.e.-m. refused by crossing into Spain by the Stalinist-controlled French authorities demand an enormous duty for the entrance of products sent as a manifestation of deepest solidarity for the Spanish people.

"This would be ridiculous, we it not so heinous a matter."

The people in Spain are the same in state of mind in regard to this as the people in France. Winners, at the head of the Central authorities, a dyed-in-the-wood Stalinist did not even condescend to send a reply to the Ambassad- dor’s inquiry.

MADRID IS IMPREGNABLE

Madrid itself is as good as impenetrable; so there is no reason to think Madrid would cost the rebels 10,000 casualties and would probably fail even then. More probable is that they would attempt to cut off Madrid through another Guadalajara offensive, about 10 miles from the city. The same thing happened when the Government army left Madrid itself as for Guadalajara, the number and the mobility of the army leave them a little more paralyzing than during the famous rebel offensive in March 1937. (French paper)

The FATE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION IS THE FATE OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD

Little by little the Left Communists of various denominations are being thrown on the defensive. But they are producing an equal if not more decided effect by the actions of the opposition which is growing stronger every day. The next few months will prove this, and the P.O.U.M. is preparing the way for a new offensive.

TRAGIC REALITIES IGNORED

There is no inkling in this pamphlet of the terrible and tragic situation which now exists in Spain.

The P.O.U.M. only pays lip service to the revolutionary social struggles which are the only hope of salvation and which have found themselves as a result of direct and indirect intervention of Fascist states and the coalition of Soviet Russia and would-be democratic powers.

A QUESTIONABLE PATHS

The pamphlet is written in a series of chapters at times it evinces a rather unconscious humor, and that is when Bertram D. Wolf, the author, writes up to a demagogic pathos over the alleged interests of the C.N.T. and the C.O.U.M. (Clerical Opposition Union). Apart from being pell-mell untrue, it is expected to equal the mistruths for which the press keeps on defending the P.O.U.M.—statements to the effect of that the C.N.T. and the Stalinists are working in agreement, that the C.N.T. and the Stalinists are working in agreement, that the Communists are for ever this pamphlet in which way the Spanish revolution differs in its constructive aspect from the Russian pattern.

FOOD SHORTAGE

To speak of a street in Rome after Guadalajara). The Government point of view is that there are two real dangers in sight: a blockade, with the assistance of the French government, of new deliveries of military armament to the rebels. In the time Government is to extend the rebel armament: but so long as they are able to fortify other lines and keep everything that they can do that, unless the rebels remove, they can hold out indefinitely. It is more than likely that the rebels can hold out indefinitely. For the Government the most vital immediate problem is that of the economy. If the economy improves, the "Verdun of Anti- Fascism will not be broken. And until the production of arms and munitions is ready, the defenders of this Verdun who will take the offensive.

CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

by BERTRAM D. WOLFE

WORKERS AGE PUBLISHERS

(Review Book)
CONTROL OF INDUSTRY STRENGTHENED BY C.N.T. UNIONS

(Continued from page one)

had to be consulted in matters of general economic plans. And it is by using both levers against the C.N.T., in addition to the monopolised State power, that the politicians succeeded in keeping in abeyance the C.N.T.'s plans for general planning embracing the entire national economy.

POLITICIANS' STRATEGY

The plan of the bourgeois and Communist politicians was very simple: it was to keep the industrialized enterprises in a state of disarray, at the mercy of the State bureaucracy in matters of production, buying, marketing and supplying of raw materials. And in measure that this dependence would grow, the State would wield this big stick with increased power, intervening in the question of greater efficiency and war needs, finally taking over the entire economy under some plan of nationalisation.

That is why problems of efficiency and responsibilities rest squarely on the collective enterprises, which are now so large at the congress. Production has to be stepped up—such is the imperative demand of war and reconstruction. Single enterprises cannot be permitted to lag in this respect, the added result of such a lagging being the recruitment of new State aid of the State and hence into a state of dependence upon the government.

DISCIPLINE THROUGH AND BY INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

And in order to avoid it, the workers, realising the need of industrial discipline through their own industrial unions and not any state organs, decided to establish an Institute of Workers' Inspection, that is a body of delegates elected in each works, and of the whole industrial sector, a recommendation of its component bodies, whose task would be to help in working out technical plans for each enterprise, to see that the latter fulfil the production schedule set for it by the general plan. These delegates work only towards the same higher benefit of the union control who, upon the recommendation of those delegates, have the right of imposing sanctions upon individuals or enterprises that fall back in their duty.

This is the spirit of the industrial unions to the attempt of the State to intervene through its bureaucratic organs. Efficiency, technical planning and control of individual enterprises? Yes, but through our own organisations, through the administrative and technical councils set up by the State and the unions, through the Supreme Economic (technical and administrative) Council set up by the National Plenum and functioning on the National Committee. Such is the answer of the millions of organized C.N.T. workers to the latest move on the part of the politicians.

INDUSTRIAL UNION BANK

The next important question was that of placing the socialized economy upon the basis of industrialized unions and voluntarily socialized enterprises, when in financial difficulties, had to be brought back upon the government and served, as a drag, as a wedge for extending its control.

The Plenum resolved to establish a Union Bank whose purpose would be to pool the financial resources of the entire socialized economy for the purpose of economic credit, as well as for the larger aim of financing general economic plans worked out by the Supreme Economic Council, of the industrial unions. As originally planned the Bank is to be a joint affair of both unions and individual members. In view of the influence of the socialist and communist politicians in the latter, which might be thrown against any attempt to regain financial independence, the organisation committee was instructed to proceed toward the establishment of such a basic independently if the U.G.T. keeps on hedging about this matter.

WAGE NORMS ADOPTED

On the question of wages it was decided to work out a plan of wage proposals submitted in that connection to the conference: that of allowing a slight differentiation in salaries and of adhering to the family wage based upon family needs and not individual skill and production.

The first proposal was adopted as the basic plan, to be modified, however, by the building up of special funds out of the proceeds of every industry for the purpose of supplementing the individual wage in accordance with family needs and the cost of living of the highest paid technician and an unskilled worker is not to exceed the ratio of two to one.

ORGANIZING DISTRIBUTION

Of equal importance was the decision adopted on the question of syndicate control of prices and distribution. The desire is to proceed toward the building up of storehouses as distribution centers for the city and regional Industrial Union Councils. Such centers working through the statistical bureaus, are to regulate the flow of products from one province to the other, prevent speculators and overcharges, regulate prices and also act as purchasing agencies in the foreign trade transactions of the industrial unions.

A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF INSURANCE

Less spectacular but, perhaps, just as far reaching in its final effect, was the adoption of a comprehensive plan of insurance, embracing all sorts of personal insurance, social security of all kinds and insurance of collected property. The value of this plan lies in the control that the industrial unions have of the resources accruing from this universalized insurance system for the purpose of economic reconstruction, of course, from the valid benefits gained by the workers as a result of this socialized, self-administered form of insurance.

GOVERNMENT AGGRESSION WILL NOT BE TOLERATED

Although dealing mainly with economic problems, the Plenum also passed a few resolutions of a more general nature such as a warning against the policy of systematic aggressions of the government against the legal development of unions and collective organisations, reaffirmation of the desire for a closer collaboration with the U.G.T. and the reestablishment of the shattered Anti-fascist Alliance.

The grip obtained by the Spanish workers upon the economy of the country in July 19 was not relaxed. Just the reverse: it is, growing in strength and firmness of purpose. And out of this unflagging will to continue with the basic aim of the resolution of July 19 a new stage, a new turning point in the road of revolution, pointing the road of true emancipation from the evils of capitalism and state socialism.

THE SPANISH WORKERS ARE FIGHTING — In a World-Wide Battle for FREEDOM

Due to increasing financial difficulties we were forced to defer the publication of this issue for the period of two weeks.

This is the first time we had to disappoint our readers to that extent. But if our friends do not keep in touch with our appeals for aid, those forced delays will become more and more frequent.

The money from the paper comes only from sales, voluntary subscriptions and funds collected in the country, and nowhere else. Not a single cent was diverted for that purpose from funds collected for Spain. And that is why we have to appeal to you and ask you to increase your efforts in behalf of this paper.

We believe that the urgent need for such a publication is just as great as in the first period of the Spanish struggle. What we are trying to do today is relatively limited in comparison with the defense of revolutionary forces which still continue their great battle in the streets, under the constant and terrible sacrifices imposed upon them by domestic and foreign enemies.

They need support, and the greatest aid we can give them now is to carry the message of their heroic struggle to the American workers, who will surely respond when told of the essentially democratic and libertarian nature of the struggle being conducted by the revolutionary industrial unions of Spain.

The "Spanish Revolution" must live as long as the revolutionary forces continue their struggle in Spain. And it is the responsibility of American workers to realize our duty toward our comrades in Spain.

1. Sell and spread the paper
2. Get subscriptions to the paper
3. Send in contributions to our sustain fund.

FIGHTING IN ASTURIAS STILL GOES ON

The heroic workers and peasants of Asturias were defeated in December by the combined tactics of the fascists and the State. It was the combined forces of the fascist enemy who succeeded in overrunning and subjugating this province.

They have not succeeded though in breaking the spirit of the population nor in completely gagging the will of Asturias, which is now taking on the form of an ever spreading guerrilla warfare. Such is the situation, as can be gleaned from the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Madrid, (C.N.T.)

Under Fascist Yoke

"We just spoke to a comrade who had succeeded in escaping the fascist army at the Teruel front. He is an Asturian volunteer, and was taken prisoner in Gijon, escaped from prisoners camps and has been giving us accounts about he was caught and maltreated for the Aragon front."

"The fascists claim that the population suffers greatly under the yoke of fascist conquerors. Every citizen has his quota of executions. But there is not a family that does not contribute to that list. At dawn one can see whole crowds of men running to the market towns and villages in search of the corporals of the fascist garrisons."

"The population is driven to the work of building roads and forts every day, being done under the supervision of armed and brutal Civil Guards. Wages are all too low and the conditions at work are terrible. And with all that, the people have not given up faith in the ultimate victory of the revolution. They wait impatiently for the day of liberation and reckoning with themself of a victory in the Mountains of Asturias."

Our victory at Teruel brought a new wave of optimism on the part of the people.

And it caused great dejection among the fascists who in addition to the sacrifice of their best Civil Guard detachments, had to witness the growing resistance of the irregulars fighting in the mountains.

"Against those irregulars the fascists keep on sending out their best Civil Guard detachments, but until now the latter have not been able to do anything by way of a decisive victory."

"According to the report of this comrade, the fascists had to take some troops away from the front and send them against the irregulars fighting in the mountains (Fisoes de Europa)."

The latter are the remnants of the C.N.T. brigade which made itself famous by its defense of Gijon. It was about this brigade that the C.N.T. leaders asked us to tell their men: "If you want to be men, fight like these red rebels in the mountains."

"Those irregular forces have their supplies which they capture in Mieres and also some of the supplies evacuated from Santander, Leon and Asturias."

Legendary Heroes

"The population of the province still resists with all its will and might against the wickedness of fascist spies. And it weaves legends around the names of the two heroes of the struggle: Manolo Carrocerro, a anarchist worker, and the commander of the Seville army of resistance."
INTERNATIONAL DIRECT ACTION WILL SAVE SPAIN

Premier Negrin flew to Paris to enter a desperate plea for arms.

Premier Negrin is a socialist and so is Leon Blum, the head of the newly formed government of France. Both are members of the Socialist International whose avowed aim is to throw the weight of the organized strength of the international working class back of any struggle for socialism and democracy.

Leon Blum knows that nowhere is such help needed as much as in Spain. He knows that not since the epic struggles of the Russian workers and peasants in 1918-1920 has the mass of the working class done any act for the cause of the international proletariat as during the last twenty months of desperate fighting in Spain.

Leon Blum knows it, and so does every class conscious worker in France. Hundreds of workers' delegations visited Spain last summer and by now their reports have penetrated the farthest corner of proletarian France. And regardless of one's particular interpretation of events and tendencies, the average socialist and trade union member of the working class of France knows that the Spanish workers and peasants are fighting against fascist reaction in the name of a new social order which they are now realizing amid great difficulties, dangers and hardships.

The workers, peasants and liberals comprising the Popular Front of France know even more than that. They realize that not only is the future of socialism involved in the struggle taking place in Spain, but the very existence of democracy itself.

No intelligent man and woman of France who can read a geographic map or follow up the daily papers with a glimmer of understanding, can fail to realize the extent of the danger held out to France by the Nazi-fascist conquest of Spain, which will turn the Mediterranean into a fascist lake, will create a powerful base for invading France and will sever the life line of French commercial communications with the colonies.

And the social interests of France, backed up by a powerful socialist movement, by a huge trade-union organization, by the liberal public opinion,—wavers, hedges about, fritters away the most valuable time in consultations, conferences, while the triumphant hordes of Germany and Italy sweep on.

Premier Blum,—shriek the semi-fascist telegraphic agencies,—was rebuffed.

What is the cause of this suicidal irresolution, of the rankest betrayal of international solidarity?

Months ago we were told that England was back of it, that England kept the French government from a more resolute policy in regard to Spain. But the British policy of buying off the Nazi-fascist bloc by concessions collapsed in the most shameful manner. No one with the least grain of intelligence can see any justification for this policy even from the narrow, selfish point of view of British interests. Measures such as the swallowing up of Central Europe and the conquest of Spain by Hitler and Mussolini will reduce France to a third rate power, to a dependency, will hamstrung it even more effectively than the loss of colonies or provinces.

Whatever aims British foreign diplomacy is pursuing, they are not so subtle as to keep spell-bound the statements of the French Popular Front after the dismal failures of the last few weeks. Leon Blum is not the prisoner of British diplomacy; he is the prisoner of his past, the prisoner of the accumulated traditions of the Second International which substitutes pacifist Cầnardian activity for vigorous action along the lines of direct economic pressure.

The French working class which feels deeply the Spanish tragedy and which instinctively realizes how indispensably its own destiny is bound up with that of the Spanish workers and peasants has a weapon of tremendous effectivity which already brought the French bourgeoisie to its knees. That is the power of the General Strike, of direct economic action.

The British workers whose economic strength is unpar-

SPANISH UNIONS SIGN MUTUAL PACT

Tucked away among the disquieting news of the fascist advance on the Aragon front, there appeared the brief report of a formal agreement concluded between the two great unions of Spain—the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. and the socialist-controlled U.G.T.

The news is of much greater importance than the space allocated to it in the daily dispatches from Spain would lead us to believe. It really amounts to a new significant turn in the inner policies of revolutionary Spain. And while the exact terms of the agreement are not known yet, we can state, with the basis of the proposals and counter-proposals advanced by both organizations, that it promises to be a step forward which has much more powerful means of impressing upon their die-hard government their sympathies with the Spanish working class than the former interferences of the parliamen-
tary leaders of the Labor Party. A wave of strikes, direct action along revolutionary lines would have deprived Mr. Chamberlain of the freedom of action in the international field which he has been having in order to betray the democracies of the world.

Revolutionary Spain can be saved. It can be saved by the vigorous action of the international proletariat which must once for all realize that occasional gifts, money collections and Red Cross activities of any kind count very little in the epic struggle of men embracing vital industries.

Arms for Spain,—this slogan must become the rallying cry of every labor organization throughout the world. Every means at the disposal of those organizations should be used in order to enforce this demand: from mass meetings, demonstrations to the assistance of embracing vital industries.

It was those methods that in the past insured the most essential victory for the working class and it will be the same method of direct action that will force the official democracies of the world to fulfill their elementary duty toward the Spanish struggle for liberty.

The C.N.T. Conference

A Turning Point

The pact was preceded by a long period of negotiations, newspaper discussions and propagandistic declaration. And all that started immediately after the grand conference of the C.N.T. unions held in the month of January with the view of laying down the basic lines of the new economy.

The impression produced by this conference representing close to two millions of workers in the heavy industries and agricultural col-

SPANISH SPRING BALL

will be held for the benefit of the "SPANISH REVOLUTION" on May 7, at AStORIA MANSION, 62 E. 4th St. (near 3rd Ave., N. Y. C.)

MUSIC—DANCING—ENTERTAINMENT—EXCELLENT BAR

Admission 50c

Aspiences: United Libertarian Organizations

EMMA GOLDMAN ON SPAIN

A Record of Direct Observations and Impressions of The "Most Heroic Country in The World"

I have been back in England for some time, but it has been impossible to settle down to writing an account of my first and impressions on my second visit to Spain. I am sure that the comrades everywhere will want to know what it is hap-

 assists as a comrade and given every opportunity to gather material at first hand.

All this was changed after the May events in 1937. The events in the United States were really the motive for my return to Spain. The various runners affott in England of what had happened during the early May days and the attempt by the C.P. to annihilate the revolutionary achieve-

ments of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. determined me to go back to Spain.

The comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. thought it wise for me to re-enter Spain by way of Port Bono. The friendly border guards of the C.N.T.-

F.A.I. had been replaced by their Communist allies and the police, and they made it difficult.—even well nigh impossible—for anyone known.

(Continued on page three)
A MODERN SCHOOL AT THE FRONT ZONE

The Schools
The schools of Valherrismo are rationalist in tendency and are located in the outskirts of Lisbon. Each school has its own architect and is designed to resemble a modernist utopia of a new religious order. The schools are funded by a combination of state and private donations, with the latter often coming from wealthy patrons who wish to support the modernist movement.

No Money is Required
All teaching in the Valherrismo schools is absolutely free for all students. This is made possible through the use of a rationing system that allocates resources based on need. The schools also receive funding from the state, which is used to cover any additional costs.

Workers Distrust Government

Workers' Unions in Madrid

Our Construction Workers' Syndicate in Madrid has been extremely successful in organizing workers in the construction industry. The success of this union is due to its ability to negotiate fair wages and working conditions directly with employers, bypassing the traditional labor unions.

Our Sanitary Services
Our sanitary services have been highly successful in managing the spread of disease in the city. We have implemented rigorous cleanliness standards and strict hygiene protocols, which have significantly reduced the incidence of illness.

C.N.T. - Our critical role
The C.N.T. is a critical organization in the Spanish Revolution, providing essential support to the working class. Our actions have had a profound impact on the course of the revolution, and we are committed to continuing our work in the future.
EMMA GOLDMAN ON SPAIN

(Continued from page one) as an Anarchist to pass the frontier. But the police of the comites negó were the only possible danger to me who am known by the Communists as their "swine" enemy. They were all arranged for me to fly from Mar-

The Unconquerable
Will to Fight

On my arrival in Barcelona I proceeded to the Via Dauri without anybody being the waiter who was I who was- I- I am at least 30 years old, my dear comrades with whom I had been associated on my first visit for the first time and others I was happy to see me, and of course I delighted in seeing them again till now, still indelibly with the fire conquering Fascism and building a new world.

On the 16th of September, 1931, I had my first experience of the horrors of bombardment. On that day Franco sent German and Italian bombs which resulted in the murder of 30,000 men, women and children. It was a day of sorrow which was then made and painful owing to the dreadful sacrifice of those men, women and children.

The same night we went by sea to Valencia. Comrade Augustine Sastre was my escort. Among the many questions we discussed was the lack of petrol and the lack of cars. The Government having commandeered both for the needs of the war. As a result we travelled thirteen hours from Barcelona to Valencia, a jour-

Reconstruction Work

Among the most interesting institu-
tions in Valencia was the Agricul-
tural Department which we visited for several days in succession. The change in that department from a year ago was extraordinary. In 1936 it was impossible to get any decent food. Nothing worked as a collective farm, not to speak of any statistics. Everything was in its be-
inning. Nothing worked as a collective farm. We had a chance to see the work in the shops, while, the women and girls were working, they could listen to the news, to good music or to their own moving song called "The Russia." The work was very remarkable undertaking by the workers themselves, as a demonstra-
tion that the workers of the land could themselves produce food and raise it themselves. I believe that the CNT. is now a very successful experiment.

C.N.T. Fighters in The Army

The same day we had a long interview with Comrade Avelino Entralgo of the Council of Defence. We talked about the great sacrifice paid by the fighters in the Popular Army who belong to the C.N.T. amount to 35,000 men. Of course, there is a distinction must be made between the brigades entirely composed of volunteers and the mixed brigades. We have 350,000 men in our own brigades and 250,000 men in the mixed brigades. From the military point of view, we have been trained who belong to the movement, the said schools also belonging to the organization of the mixed brigades. From the military point of view, we have been trained who belong to the movement, the said schools also belonging to the organization.

Anti-Militarists At Heart

I was particularly anxious to know the relation of these young comrades to militarization. Belonging to the C.N.T. I asked. But explained that Spain being at war not only by the Fascists but also by the other governments, that the whole people was asked to sacrifice themselves, and that the C.N.T. believed in the power of the people, and that they could, not merely to conquer France and his honor, but for the purpose of defending their revolution.

MORE THAN EVER THE SPANISH WORKERS NEED IMMEDIATE AID!

Spanish Revolution

Theatre and movies are viewed by every totalitarian government as means of entertainment. Hence the rigid program of "co-

In loyalist Spain the totalitarian attempts to destroy the effects of culture by putting down the free expression of artists and intellectuals. As a Fascist artist conceived the same tendency to smother the theatre as in

The Fascist artist

A "few days ago an event took place which was very characteristic of the struggle of the workers against workers' unions and which brought about the desire to create more the out-

The other noteworthy Comunista (Councillor of Economy and leader of the Communist National) issued a decree giving all the collectivized theatres, movies and amusement place under government control. The local authorities arrived an agreement with the unions which were left out of the union controlling those places.

Police Occupation

"Immediately after the promulgation of this decree, the control body appointed by the Commissaries represented itself at the headquarters of the CNT. and its branch in the region of Catalonia (Localistas) issued a decree giving all the collectivized theatres, movies and amusement place under government control. The local authorities arrived an agreement with the unions which were left out of the union controlling those places. The reason was that the membership

"We are very surprised indeed, and de-

The Miracle of Madrid

We left Valencia in the afternoon for Madrid, but had to go very early in the morning owing to the fact that one road leading to the Fascist front, the other to Madrid, was blocked. So we might just as well have made the wrong turn and paid an unexpected visit to American and Italian friends. It does require much imagination to know just the terrible devastation which would have been given. We were lucky in having a comrade, a first-rate chauffeur, who managed to get safely to Madrid and to the hospital.

The Comrades of the National Com-

The Fascist army had received us kindly and in-

Pious Collectives in the Central Province

Our next attention was devoted to the Central Federation of the CNT. which is the palace of a Count and is serving a much better purpose than when this big mansion was occupied by the Fascist government. There was a tremendous amount of work which Comrade A. L. is adding to his already monumental partial historical school to form a book. I can only give a brief outline of the in-

We learned that 700 syndicates and 300 collective were affiliated with the Commissariat of the Federation of the Federation. It is 100,000. In view of the fact that the federations only a few months ago had only a small amount of organization, it shows the extraordinary rate of development which had been achieved. Thus the Federation has departments of statistics, propagan-

Slenders and Reality

I learned the amazing fact that the CNT. had 56,000 members at the Madrid front; besides the large numbers in the mixed divisions. The Capitalist and Marxist Press have tried to make light of, and misrepresenta-

In between the war the CNT. members, as a result of its total strength, of the Fascists. These young people assured me that our committee must have in our chronicle the events of the battle for which they could, not merely to conquer France and his honor, but for the purpose of defending their revolution.

The CNT. union of theatrical workers. The union is a very strong body of police and, once in possession of the National Syndicate, it behaved as if it conquered the place. At the same time all the theatres, museums and amusement places were occupied by the police upon orders from the "Communist" Minister of Eco-

Government Backs Down

"The conflict threatened to assume serious proportions, the great mass of Barcelona being having been aroused to a high pitch of indignation by this high-handed action. Our comrades stated clearly that they would not respect their rights. In face of this firm attitude the government annulled Comunera's decree, suspended the control body set up by the latter, returned the headquarters selected for it, and he who wrote in the New York "Nation" last year that on the "fifth and sixth of November the orange day of the Spanish proletariat dawned, and the whole of the country was swept by one wave of fervor and ran away from the Madrid front." This was the more remarkable because it is known that Benavente Durutti was then still alive and in charge of the headquarters which were in repulsing the first attack of the Fascists. But that is beside the point. It is not the purpose of the present report to reconcile all the malignancy put out by the Fascists, but rather the point is to state the words which correspondents. We have more important work to do.

The Fascist artist

A few days ago an event took place which was very characteristic of the struggle of the workers against workers' unions and which brought about the desire to create more the out-

The work of the workers to this provocation was immediate. On the same evening all the Fascist performances were stopped, and an energetic protest was made by the official government, which, in-

The "The" (To be Continued in next issue of "Spanish Revolution")

by the police, ordered the release of the previously arrested union com-

by the police. At the same time, the theatre was not disturbed and did not attempt to settle the conflict. It was made up of representatives of the C.N.T. and the Catalan government.

"This case shows once more that the CNT. is fully backed up by the Spanish proletariat in their fight for freedom and their full expression to the aspirations of the Spanish proletariat in spite of the obscurity heaped upon it by the reactionary-minded publicists of the Communist Party."
SPANISH REVOLUTION

SPANISH UNIONS SIGN PACT

(Continued from page 39)

The result was a more receptive mood on the part of the socialists—convinced of the need for G.T. unions to the proposal for a common program of action advanced by the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T., and also a series of counter-proposals made by the U.G.T. signifying a considerably advance on the part of the more moderate elements of anti-fascist Spain.

U.G.T. Leadership

In Semi-Official Capacity

The present leadership of the U.G.T. is mainly dominated by the right wing of the Socialists. Parenthetically, the present President of the U.G.T. is also the President of the Popular Front of Spain, that is by the same elements who are in control of the government. The result of the Spanish Revolution known to this writer is that this official union did not come about through the process of democratic elections but by the agreement reached between the police and the various State agencies.

In other words, the proposals advanced by these officials reflect not the opinion of its rank and file membership, which is much more radical than that of the C.N.T. and those more influential circles in the government. They are much more suited to a government program than to a trade-union program.

The proposals of the U.G.T. entirely ignore the political program, which is quite in keeping with the main idea often expressed by the elements in control of this union, and that is: “The business of the government is to govern and that of the unions—to obey.” They take it for granted that the government, with the help of the State Press and by the party of the Popular Front, an outstanding political combination brought into power last year by the pressure of foreign influences, can perform the democratic mission.

A New Point Of Departure

The economic program, however, presents very important departures from the course hitherto followed by the government. The program favors nationalization of industries, property steps toward nationalization of farming, formation of a Supreme Economic Council, nationalization of all land, legal recognition of agricultural collectives enjoying the rights of usufruct as much as individual peasants.

All that may seem to be a very modest program in view of the fact that the revolution of July 19, 1936 is already approaching its second anniversary. But one also has to realize striking fact that this program is being advanced by classes which until recently were shouting themselves hoarse asserting that no revolution had taken place and that things should revert to the conditions of pre-July days.

Industrial Democracy

Ignored

Since the program was formulated by politicians and for politicians it leaves very little room for any form of industrial democracy. The nationalizations are not to be run by technicians nominated by the government. Workers, of course, have no voice in the administration, but “their wish as to how the managing personnel are to be selected.” The same holds true of the Supreme Economic Council, which according to this program, is to be appointed by the government, although workers representation is granted in the labor tribunals. It is the former lower branches of the Supreme Economic Council.

The International Prolétariat holds the destiny of the Spanish Revolution in its hands.

The workers of the world will dig their own graves if they do not come promptly to the aid of the Spanish people.

MEETING IN NEW BRUNSWICK

For the first time in many years, libertarian organizations will be held in New Brunswick, N.J. On March 31, Sunday evening, at the large Women’s Circle Hall at 53-77 Main Street, will be held the biggest mass meeting of the Spanish anti-fascists.

Among the speakers listed to address the meeting are: William L. Carlos, N.J., director of the Libertarian Labor League; Rebecca Stearns, a woman worker, labor organizer, and speaker. Special arrangements are being made by libertarians in the surrounding small towns to present a meeting which will be the beginning of a series of meetings to help Spain.

The meeting is being held under the auspices of the United Libertarian Organizations and the Socialist Liberty Union.

C.N.T. Amplifies Proposals

There is very little in this program to suggest its alleged trade-union source. But, as it is possible that the politicians in control of the U.G.T. unions that are responsible for it. Unfortunately, the C.N.T. program represents a great forward stride as compared with their previous one. The program favors nationalization of industries, property steps toward nationalization of farming, formation of a Supreme Economic Council, nationalization of all land, legal recognition of agricultural collectives enjoying the rights of usufruct as much as individual peasants.

The C.N.T. program adopts the C.N.T. answer to the proposals of the U.G.T. with counter-proposals of its own.

Industries Nationalized

During the transitional stage of nationalization of banking full credit is to be extended to workers’ collectives. The suppression of the C.N.T. answered the proposals of the U.G.T. without the basis of joint representation of the labor unions and the C.N.T.

TheSpanishRevolution—

We wrote in the last issue—will live as long as the great struggle of the Spanish people continues.

A number of our readers realize it as we do. They realize the necessity of carrying on an English publication, the only one here in America, which presents the struggle in Spain from the point of view of the great libertarian movement of that country.

We reprint here some of the letters stressing this vital need. These letters come from all parts of the country and all of them eloquently tell why we need the “Spanish Revolution” Sustaining Fund.

Hubbard Woods, El Paso, Texas

To the “SPANISH REVOLUTION”

Enclosed is $25.00 for the “Spanish Revolution.” It continues to be the fullest news bulletin I know of from Spain, and so should be supported by all anti-fascists so that we have all the latest developments which are essential to our survival.

Years,

Fairfield Porter

Calgary, Alberta, Canada

Fellow Workers:

I enclose $1.00 money order which goes to pay for the work of the paper. I hope to be able to give you more help than I have in the past—

Years for a better world,

A. F. Harbaugh

Port Angeles, Washington

Fellow Workers:

I am of the opinion that it (Spanish Revolution) is as valuable a picture of literature for the education of the workers that I have ever come across, so I give all the latest developments in the Spanish situation. This is the utmost importance as it points out the plight of the Spanish people and how they are being betrayed by their own politicians against the proletariat.

I am willing to distribute the paper and pay as much as I can to pay for them.

I see that it beats the pants of the Spanish people on the spot and much more than this workers to give $25.00 a year in the next five years.

This is my offer. I am in no way a part of Communism, A LA SALT is beginning to “wise up” now.

E. D. Con.

Fellow Workers:

Enclosed $1.00 for copies of “Spanish Revolution“ to the best of each of the following.

Most of them are in position from Kansas to Maine and beyond, a group of people of various sorts, but they have my respect and of course my sympathy. I am not as much a convert to the Socialists, but I do have a place in the Socialists and a part of their ideas.

$25.00

Money Collected for Spain, Nov, 1932 to Feb, 1938 (Incl). By U.L.O., NEW YORK

Receipt No.

Amount

2-11-38

MoneyCollected

97.25

$1.00

1938

272–McGowan Colony (Bannister)

50.00

3-7-38

271–McGowan Colony (Bannister)

50.00

271–McGowan Colony (Bannister)

50.00

271–McGowan Colony (Bannister)

50.00

271–Frank Long, Chicago, Ill.

50.00

PREVIOUS BALANCE

CASH ON HAND

$663.33

SUPPORTING FUNDING

No. 106, McGowan Colony, $111.06, 106, McGowan Colony

Enclosures (cont.)

50.00

273–Liza Brilliant

50.00

276–McGowan Colony (Bannister)

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

FEUDALISM RESTORED IN FASCIST SPAIN

- Mass Expropriation of Spanish Peasants.
- Nazi Adventurers Given Large Tracts of Land
- Serfdom Introduced in Villages.
- Mass Expropriation of Spanish Peasants.

Of late we have been hearing a great deal about the "new spirit" animating the fascists of Spain. The skilled hand guiding the propaganda of international fascism is beginning to show itself in the golden shovel of the fascist dictatorship in the form of "social reconstruction" and "human ideals of Christian justice." France and her henchmen now appear as the "New York Times," which claims neutrality in the civil war of Spain. Journalists of repute are sent to fascist Spain where they interview the supporting states and the authors of the horrible crimes of Guernica and Barcelona bombings on such matters as "equitable redistribution of land, social justice for workers." Many of these "New York Times" editors ("International Anti-Fascist Solidarity") come as a double shock to all genuine friends of the Spanish cause.

It wasn't only the loss of this truly heroic figure, swathed away in the midst of the tremendously important task of rallying the workers in Aragon in the name of the S.I.A. and its activities, that stirred deeply those who have made their own the cause of the Spanish people. It was the tragic irony of this accidental death that added its sting to the sense of grief and heartbreak. To have come out unscathed through the terrific ordeal characterizing the last agonizing months of the struggle in Asturias—and then to lose one's life in an automobile accident, thousands of miles away from the scene of the battles—this is, indeed, one of the ironic twists of fate which very often come as to emphasize anew the meaningless nature of human endeavor against the backdrop of purposeful deeds and heroic struggles such as are the real taking place in Spain.

Avéline Gonzales Mallada was born in Gijon, Asturias, and it was in this important center of labor struggles that he received his first training in revolutionary militancy. He joined the libertarian movement at an early age. During the World War, Mallada, then hardly twenty years old, worked actively in the antifascist ranks of the anarchist movement of France. His broad international

AVELINO GONZALEZ MALLADA

The news of the tragic death of Avéline Gonzales Mallada, the former Mayor of Gijon and active worker in the libertarian movement of Spain, who recently came to this country at the behest of the S.I.A. organization (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity), came as a double shock to all genuine friends of the Spanish cause.

The following is the continuation of the report of the tour over Spain made by comrade Emma Goldman in the Fall of 1937.

LIKE IN JULY 1936

The government apparatus broke down, but, like in July 1936, the masses of workers and peasants jumped into the breach, saving the situation by their unexampled courage and heroism. Without this mass action everyone in Spain would have been lost, and that is why the government had to have a nervous breakdown. Faced by the spectacle of the C.N.T. and I.A. from head to toe in a position and even recognize in principle the

EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

The following is the continuation of the report of the tour over Spain made by comrade Emma Goldman in the Fall of 1937.

Like the first half of this report ("Spanish Revolution," No. 11), these observations recorded everywhere are of the highest value, even though they deal with realities as they were taking shape before the catastrophic developments of the last few months. For, regardless of the outcome of the present struggle, the achievements of our comrades in Spain are immortal in their own way, forming the pattern of a new social structure which will serve as an inspiration and guide for generations to come.

Revolutionary Films In The Making

We did not omit to pay a call on our comrades of the Syndicate of Public Amusement. We were most courteously received and earnestly invited to arrive at just the time when they were showing a film called Castillas se Libera (Castiles has liberated itself). The three scenes which were shown to us were splendidly done from every point of view and were of great value in showing to the outside world the constructive work carried on by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in every part of anti-Fascist Spain. We were particularly interested in the film for England and the United States as well as other countries in Europe.

My first experience as a movie star in my whole life I had at the studies of the Sans Souci, Hollywood, America. We arrived just at the time when a Spanish fair was being filmed, with all the action present in their different regional costumes.

Among them were two most unlikable bundles who could well compete with Argentine and other great Spanish showmen, who are being paid international sums on the American stage. The manager, who heard my name, rushed forward, embraced me in his own, and insisted that I must join the group of artists who were being filmed. I was not only satisfied, but pleased to find myself in the company of artists who were being filmed. I never dreamed it could happen. I was surrounded with a more colourful and interesting crowd of young people. Not only that, but would have to wear Madrid in a few words so that they could reproduce it in English. It was a very inspiring event, my one regret being that I could not send my greetings to Madrid in Castilian, but Comrade A. I. did his best to get it over as near possible in his own quaint Spanish.

The salary of the supporting cast, however, was not very large. But as one can get authentic answers in the presence of a manager, the artist all agreed and satisfied with their lot. It is not to mean to suggest that this man was a few往前看的 even the full completion of the films they were making.

Anarchist Women At Work

Madrid is the birthplace of the Mujeres Libres. It was there that the group of university women with our comrades, Murderes Companiades, organized and worked as a collective-receiver—receive the same salaries as before the 19th of July. The salary
SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

45 WEst 17th St. - NEW YORK, N. Y. - Chicago 3-9567
Vol. II, No. 12
May 1st, 1938

SPANISH MASSES MOBILIZE FOR ACTION

(Continued from page one)

anti-fascist front (that is, one based upon participation
by the masses) for the benefit of the C.N.T. by granting
the C.N.T. representation in the Cabinet.

GOVERNMENT FORCED TO CHANGE ATTITUDE

"Viewed politically—writes the Spanish correspondent
of the French paper Libération—the situation now
begins to resemble more and more the one of July-
November 1936. The collaboration of the C.N.T. in the
Government was impracticable, and the Government
by the necessity of giving courage and confidence to the
people in the face of the anti-fascists and peasants who have remained
faithful to the C.N.T.

"On the other hand, Negrín and his allies were for-
ced to adopt a new policy. The main purpose of this
political maneuver was to avoid a new Civil War, to
protect the country from the enemy and to keep the
masses of people marching around Madrid, for whom
recently from Barcelona assured us that from now on
the doors of prisons will be open to fascists only.

"TO THE LAST MAN"

"In the anarchist movement a great revival of activity
has been noted of late. The demoralization following
the near collapse of the Aragon front and the bomblad-
ment of Barcelona, a demoralization which did not even
spare our own ranks, was succeeded by a new wave of
enthusiasm. An article appearing in the libertarian news-
ly of the day declared that the working man must know
that resistance will continue to the last man, and to the
last bullet."

The fact is that the appeal issued by the General Secretary
of the C.N.T., Mariano Velasco who launched a cry to all the people:
"Every man, every woman, every child in this land
must be prepared to offer the maximum of resistance.
The proletariat in the rear-guard should be prepared to
deliver a brilliant blow to the economic interests of the
enemies. The workers should be prepared to abandon
the factory, the workers should be prepared to join
voluntarily the ranks of the army or enlist for the
building of fortifications. And one should keep a vig-

lant eye upon the 5th column, ready to crush the first
move of this element against the people."

WOMEN TAKE PLACE OF MEN

This is the spirit of the C.N.T., F.A.I., of the entire
libertarian movement, which has already had its invig-
oring effect upon the masses of people. As is known,
the libertarian movement of Spain acting through its
Executive Committees already decided upon the mobil-
ization of its entire membership. Even those beyond
military age are mobilized by their respective organiza-
tions for auxiliary services and the work of building
fortifications.

"Women are to occupy the place of men in the fields,
factories and workshops—writes the "Combat Social-
ista"—"The last plenums of the C.N.T. organizations of
the Central Region adopted a resolution to the same ef-
ficacy. This women's movement will be carried out in
immediately those positions which do not require any pre-
liminary apprenticeship. For the other industries rapid
training courses of appreciation will be organized im-
mediately. Women should also be drawn in for adminis-
trative work in the unions and other economic organiza-
tions."

"Already in the suburbs of Madrid almost the whole
work force is made up by women. This effect was ac-
ced as a direct result of the decisions of the C.N.T. organi-
ization. In the rest of the country the displacement of
men by women is progressing rapidly. All new jobs
whose services are not indispensable are going to the
front or will be sent to build fortifications."

DESTINIES OF CIVILIZATION IN THE BALANCE

Spurred on by the great libertarian organizations, the
Spanish workers and peasants are rallying again their
forces for the supreme task. They prove decisive not only upon the destinies of Spain, but of
social progress throughout the world.

Read Our Literature on Spain
The Tragedy of Spain
by Rudolf Rocker
15c
The Revolutionary Movement in Spain
by Oskar
10c
The Life of Durruti
20c
The Tragic Week in May
by Augustine Sarchy
10c

FEUDALISM RESTORED
IN FASCIST SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

in fascist Spain, Compulsory labor in the world of industry, governmental, is al-
though more than 30,000 owners of small peasant holdings have
in the 19th century, the people of Asturias and Andalucía, serfs in those vil-
light of that fact alone, cannot escape the at-

malicious, and the rich peasants and their she-

and his gangster bands of the many adored "Requetés" and Falange.

New Feudal Owners

Of this ever growing process of expropriation we have the fol-

After a well-known Spanish journal-

In Valencia—Josep Oriol, editor of the Catalan Span-

The bankruptcy of both factions, the ease with which
they abandoned the heroic Spanish people to the fascist inva-
ders shows clearer than ever the necessity of a true internation-
orientation necessary to save Spain, and through the latter
the rest of the world, from the fate prepared for it by the
newly formed coalition of the Chamberlin-Mussolini-Hitler govern-
ments.

REFUGEES ARE CROWDING THE SHRUNKEN TERRITORY OF LOYALIST SPAIN

Women, Children, Helpless Old People

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

From a letter sent to the French syndicalist publication by a group of foreign anarchists recently released from Spanish prisons:

... Yes known as well as we do the tragic situation of the Spanish proletariat, the crimes committed by the Stalinists, the conspiracies and associations of comrades.

And still we urge upon you to demand the ending of armistice.

THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO VANQUISH FRANCO AND RESTORE ISOLATED SPANISH LIBERTARIANISM WHOSE STRENGTH IN SPAIN IS ONLY DUE TO THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT.

We Still Have a Number of BEAUTIFUL SPANISH ALBUMS

For Sale
Send to: Jack White, c/o U.O.L.
45 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.
EMMA GOLDMAN
REPORTS ON SPAIN

(Continued from page two)

began the publicity campaign for the Anarchist organization dedicated to the enlightenment and emancipation of the Spanish people. He had been exiled from Spain because he had been convicted of terrorism following his conviction for the assassination of a Spanish soldier in Paris in 1878, and he had been sentenced to life imprisonment. He had spent ten years in prison, and was released in 1888. He had then gone to Italy, where he had become a naturalized Italian citizen in 1893. He had also become a leader of the Italian Anarchist movement, and had founded the first Anarchist newspaper in Italy, *L'Avvenire delle Libertà*. He had also been active in the international Anarchist movement, and had attended the Congress of Vienna in 1889, where he had met with other Anarchist leaders, including Emma Goldman.

In 1895, Emma Goldman had joined the Anarchist movement in America, and had become a leading figure in the movement. She had founded the *Mother Earth* newspaper, and had written extensively on Anarchist theory and practice. She had also been active in the labor movement, and had been a leader of the American Labor party in 1896. She had also been a leader of the Anarchist movement in Europe, and had been a member of the International Anarchist Federation, which had been established in 1889.

In 1906, Emma Goldman had been arrested in Russia, and had been sentenced to ten years in prison. She had been released in 1910, and had then returned to America, where she had continued to write and speak on Anarchist and labor issues. She had also been a leader of the American Anarchist movement, and had been a member of the International Anarchist Federation. She had also been a leader of the American Labor party, and had been a member of the Anarchist International.

CNP: REPUBLICAN IN THE GOVERNMENT

The new Minister of Education, comrade Segundo Blanco Marín, is one of the outstanding militants of the CNP organization.

He already distinguished himself in the insurrectionary movement of the Spanish people, having led the Congress of National Workers' Unions. He was put on the employer's blacklist as a result of his active participation in the movement. Committed to the Social Revolution and the CNP, he was arrested and imprisoned for two years on account of his participation in the movement against Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.

Later, he became Secretary of the Regional Committee of Asturias, a post that he filled with the highest dedication. He was one of the active figures of the October revolt of 1934, having been condemned to death by the military court. He was on the list of the CNP and the Social Revolutionary Workers and thus became an excellent mason.

In 1928, Segundo Blanco took a prominent part in the struggle against the military rebellion of 1934. From the very first moment, he was President of the CNP, a member of the provincial council of Asturias and Leon, and the member of the Supreme Council of the two provinces, as well as the War Committee in the capacity of Comandor of Industry.

Prior to assuming his duties as Minister of Education, Segundo Blanco Marín was the Secretary of the Defense section of the National Committee of CNP. ("Liberteria")

NATURALIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

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In 1928, Segundo Blanco took a prominent part in the struggle against the military rebellion of 1934. From the very first moment, he was President of the CNP, a member of the provincial council of Asturias and Leon, and the member of the Supreme Council of the two provinces, as well as the War Committee in the capacity of Comandor of Industry.

Prior to assuming his duties as Minister of Education, Segundo Blanco Marín was the Secretary of the Defense section of the National Committee of CNP. ("Liberteria")

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LEADING BY EXAMPLE

THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE F.A.I. (ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF IBERIA) LEAVES FOR THE FRONT

According to the latest information, the General Secretary of the Permanent Committee of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, comrade Germinal de Souza, joined as volunteer the ranks of the newly organized cadres leaving for the front. Germinal de Souza is accompanied by the Comité de Manifiestación, composed of Campana, and by Delos de Miguel, secretary of propaganda.

Such is the quality of the so-called anarchist "leaders," like the gentleman General Secretary in 1936 who during the Madrid insurrection of the military fought in hand at the barricades of Madrid, the anarchist militants show their true quality of leadership by placing themselves in the forefront of those who face the most dangerous example—and therein lies the source of the irrepressible power of the libertarian movement of Spain.

THE NEW EDUCATION IN SPAIN

The New Unified School introduced in Catalonia and other regions of the country, is a great achievement of the Spanish Revolution. It is libertarian in its underlying conception and basic aims. By now it enlists the enthusiastic support of the educational forces of the country. In this sense one might say that the whole tendency that conceptualized the basic outlines of this educational reform and who contributed the most toward its practical realization.

In the following issues of the "Spanish Revolution" we hope to present to our readers some of the basic aspects of this educational reform. The following brief information supplied by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. deals with the manner in which the early, so-called pre-school period is integrated with the comprehensive course of subsequent training and study.

"In the Nursery, children three years of age, are cared for by their mothers, who are also the educators of the children. In this way pedagogic sense. Children are maintained, taught and educated. Each child has an individual index card, on which his anthropological and hereditary characteristics are noted. Defects and talents are observed and the child is quickly transferred and classified for the kind of teaching and education it should receive."

"Children between three and six years of age pass on to the elementary department, at the Materna School. At that age the child observes and directed in its play, the games being freely selected by the group, and has no contact with nature, and as it is under the observation of the teacher, selected from the teachers' pool, it is taken to a higher level that will help in the accomplishment of the child's educational task in the school."

"On reaching the age of six years, the child commences to study. This study begins in the classroom and it goes to the workshop as an apprenticeship. Later on, all those who show special aptitude go to the special technical schools or universities."

"But even when the children grow older, and parallel with their educational and cultural career, the New Unified School continues to observe the physical condition of the children. This is why dispensaries were opened in special groups for sick, backward and abnormally children, so that they could obtain the special attention and treatment required."

THE FATE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Is the Fate of the CIVILIZED WORLD