

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## FASCISTS ARE DOOMED IN SPAIN

### ANARCHISTS PRESENT PROGRAM FOR SPAIN

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

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

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

#### THE SUMMARY OF

#### MONTSENY'S SPEECH

(Like many other documents of importance which we presented to our readers in the past issues of the *Spanish Revolution*, this speech has to be recast in the form of a general summary fitting the limited space of our paper.)

#### Anarchists As Ever

The starting point of her speech was the assertion that the anarchists of Spain have not revised their basic principles and that they are bent as ever upon the realization of their central goal—the eradication of authority in the life of humanity. The present policy was brought about

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### Union Democracy for Revolutionary Army

The armed forces of the Spanish workers and peasants are now taking on more and more the shape of a regular army. This is demanded by the conditions of modern warfare, by the fact that they had to face an enemy who was in full possession of modern technic and equipment.

But certain sectors of the anti-Fascist United Front are trying to model this new army too closely on the pattern of the Russian army. An attempt is made to introduce the institute of political commissars, to concentrate all power in the hands of the military superiors and the political organs of control set up by the War Ministry.

And as it is inevitable in such a process, the rights of the militiamen are being curbed to an increasing extent. The anarchist daily published for the militia, *Frente Libertario*, reports frequent attempts to force the militiamen into joining the "cells"

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### PROMINENT ANARCHIST PREDICTS SPEEDY VICTORY

At the beginning of the new year I am venturing the opinion that the fate of Franco and his mercenaries is sealed. The events of the next few months will confirm this opinion.

The assistance rendered to Franco by the German and Italian Fascists is now being watched in France and England with growing anxiety. The national independence of Spain would be of little concern to those two great powers, were not their own interests involved. Just as in 1870 the question of succession to the Spanish throne was instrumental in bringing about the Franco-Prussian war, so does the Fascist uprising now deeply involve the Fascist powers in a widely-laid scheme of expansion at the expense of the Spanish people.

And that is beginning to meet the resistance of other great powers. The "Temps," the organ of the French big in-

dustrialists, writes:

"It is quite natural to expect that France and England will not tolerate the flocking of strong German forces to Spain."

Decidedly the appearance of Germany as a military power south of the Pyrenees constitutes the greatest danger for France and may also lead to England retreating in the Mediterranean before Italy's pressure. Until now France and England were vacillating, like Buridan's classic ass, between two equally strong fears: of an anarchist and communist Spain on one hand and a Fascist Spain on the other hand. The last would mean the firm planting of German and Italian military power upon Spanish soil. However, the formidable forces sent by Germany to Spain opened the eyes of France to the situation.

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## REVOLUTION ONLY BEGINNING IN SPAIN

(A COMRADE WRITES FROM BARCELONA)

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

The writer is a man of independent judgment and is not given to official praise singing. This imparts to his observations a certain freshness of approach not found in the reports of those who are too tightly bound by official interpretations.

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

#### Revolutionary Army Has Upper Hand on Aragon Front

The writer visited the Aragon front now held by the Catalonian forces, among whom the anarchists constitute a preponderant majority. He spoke to a number of leading comrades and also

military specialists, all of whom concurred in the opinion that the revolutionary militia is in full control of the strategic situation.

More than three quarters of the Aragon province is now in the hands of the revolutionary army. That also goes for almost every strategic point of importance. The two main strongholds—the cities of Huesca and Zaragoza—are nearly surrounded. Their fall, which is expected as a matter of course, will clear the road for a vigorous drive upon Navarre and Pamplona. This will enable the Catalonian forces to effect a junction with the Asturian and Basque troops, as a result of which the smashing of the Fascist army caught between the Madrid and Catalonian forces will become a simple military operation.

#### Reluctance of Central Government (Valencia) Main Factor in Slowing Down Offensive on Aragon Front.

Why isn't this plan put into

operation? Whence the impression of a hopeless deadlock given by the standstill at the Aragon front?

The unanimous opinion of all those with whom our comrade discussed the situation is that inadequate arms and insufficient ammunition are the only causes of the temporary halt in the advance of the Catalonian forces. And not a small part in prolonging this situation is played by the strange attitude of the central government (Valencia) which keeps the strings of its purse tightened when it comes to financing the military campaign on the Aragon front.

This is the opinion not only of the anarchists but also of prominent military specialists. One of them, now in charge of the technical side of the artillery forces of Catalonia, confirmed the same in a personal talk with our comrade. His words in this respect carry weight because he is not allied with a definite revolutionary camp; he is a sincere

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# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

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## REVOLUTION AND WAR ARE INSEPARABLE

We are reprinting the following article from "Solidaridad Obrera" (anarcho-syndicalist daily in Barcelona), of Jan. 10. Its clear-cut language does not leave any doubt as to where the Spanish anarchists stand now on the question of bourgeois democracy.

This official statement was not issued by the Propaganda Bureau by way of reaffirming a general point of the anarchist program. It bears closely on the attempt now being made by the socialists and communists to check the further course of the revolution under the pretext of having first to consolidate the bourgeois democracy.

The thousands of proletarian fighters who now battle at the various fronts do not struggle for a "democratic Republic." They are revolutionary workers who have taken up arms to make a revolution.

To postpone the triumph of such a revolution until the war is ended is to weaken considerably the fighting forces of the proletariat. And to attempt a return to the political situation prior to the Fascist revolt is to betray the militant workers who fell heroically in the streets and fields of Spain.

### DEMOCRATIC ILLUSIONS HARMFUL DURING REVOLUTION

Revolutionary workers have always regarded democracy as one of the forms which the bourgeois State assumes in order the better to repress the libertarian urge of the working people. That is why we always came out in the sharpest manner against the reformist theory of the "lesser evil."

The bourgeoisie does not voluntarily give up the democratic masquerade. It is driven towards it by the inner contradictions of the capitalist system and by the direct pressure of the revolutionized masses. It is only then that it falls back upon a dictatorship, that is Fascism, as a heroic remedy, as a political arm to be used against the directing organization of the revolutionary proletariat.

That is why it becomes an immediate necessity to put an end to all democratic illusions. Democracy does not and cannot give anything. The bourgeoisie made it in its own image and likeness and it is utopian to think that it can serve any other purposes than the ones for which it was created.

### THE CHOICE IS BETWEEN FASCISM AND REVOLUTION

Contrary to what the liberals say, the alternative is now Fascism or revolution. There are no intermediate solutions. The hesitations, the doubts of some ostensibly revolutionary parties favor only our enemies.

If we want to raise the spirit of our fighters at the front, to imbue the masses with a real will to fight, we have to press onward with the Revolution, to liquidate the last remnants of bourgeois democracy, to socialize industry and agriculture. And at the same time we must create the directing organs of the new situation in accordance with the ultimate aims of the revolutionary proletariat.

We want to be definitely understood: we are not fighting for a democratic Republic; we are fighting for the triumph of the proletarian Revolution. REVOLUTION AND WAR ARE NOW INSEPARABLE IN SPAIN.

(Bureau of Propaganda of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.)

"Spain is now in the center of the world's attention. We now present to the world the example of a country which took up the struggle for liberty with all the odds seemingly against us . . . Our revolution is now showing the road to the revolutionists of the whole world. And the greatest joy of our work consists in the realization that we opened a new road for humanity, which will soon be followed by all the nations of the world in their struggle for the conquest of bread and liberty." (From Federica Montseny's Speech.)

# PRESS AGENTS AT WORK

## Mr. Fisher's Apology

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

Compared to his previous slanders, the last one telling of the cowardice of anarchist militia at the Madrid front sounds mild enough. It does, however, take on greater significance when viewed as a part of the whispering campaign now carried on against the anarchists by those who shout the loudest about "loyalty" to the United Front.

Thus the *Humanite*, the French communist daily, writes more and more often about the "inactivity on the Aragon front" where the anarchist militia are in the majority. The anarchist militia paper *Frente Libertario* complains bitterly of this whispering campaign, which very often goes hand in hand with sabotaging attempts to withdraw necessary arms and ammunitions from anarchist brigades.

And if some naive people did believe that Mr. Lou Fisher's slanders did not emanate from this latest "party line," the rejoinder sent by him to the protests printed in the *Nation* should open their eyes to it. While hypocritically upholding the United Front, he reiterates

the same charge in the form of an incidental remark which shows all the marks of a communist press agent technic.

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

## Ralph Bates Explains Catalonian Situation

Another "independent" journalist reports of the marvelous success of the communists in Catalonia. Ralph Bates is generally known to the American readers as a writer of novels on Spain and the author of several turgid articles on the anarchists of Catalonia. (His declamations on the mystic qualities of the Spanish soul were about as helpful in understanding the anarchist movement as Mr. Duranty's invoking of Dostoyevsky in unraveling the mysteries of Moscow trials.)

And because of the alleged "non-partisanship" of Mr. Bates, the general public was rather inclined to give credence to the sensational statement about the decline of Catalonian anarchism made by him upon his arrival to this country. That Mr. Bates is now a member of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party of Catalonia and that he was brought here by the Communist Party of the United States for specific purposes is known to very few in this country. Most of the readers of the liberal and radical publications take his opinion as objective statements of an unbiased observer.

His last article in the *New Masses* of Jan. 26 is written in the manner of such specious detachment. He reports of the miraculous growth of the U.G.T. unions, of the Unified Socialist-Communist Party, of the pact concluded between the anarchist unions and the U.G.T., conveying the impression that both are about equal in influence and revolutionary initiative.

But since his party affiliations have now become known, it may be fair to offset it by the explanation given by one of our comrades in Barcelona, who writes us about this "growth" of the U.G.T.: "It would be needless to say that the C.N.T. has control of the most important industries and transportation in the nation. After the uprising of July the 19th the petty-bourgeois element began flocking to the U.G.T. This increased the membership of this organization. But with all that our forces dominate Catalonia."

And as to the revolutionary initiative shown by the U.G.T. and the Unified Socialist-Communist Party of Catalonia, Mr. Bates should be able to explain to us the rather strange fact that in Catalonia the Unified Socialist-Communist Party and the U.G.T. unions speak of collectivizing the industry while in other parts of the country they vigorously oppose the spontaneous movement of the workers toward the same goal. Is it the proportionate strength of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. in Catalonia (about which Mr. Bates is rather silent) that is responsible for the "splendid isolation" of the Catalonian U.G.T.?

## REVOLUTIONARIES AND POLITICIANS IN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

The Brigade is made up of workers of all nationalities: Frenchmen, Germans, Polish, Italians and others. Many of them are old fighters who participated in the revolutionary wars of Russia, Hungary, Germany and Austria. It contains a number of Stalinites, mostly students of the Comintern schools, who attempt to impose blind obedience and to eliminate political discussions of any kind. But the soldiers of the Brigade reacted on several occasions against such attempts. Thus, for instance, THEY REJECTED THE PROPOSAL OF THE DELEGATES OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY TO PLACE THE TRICOLORED FLAG (the national French banner) ALONGSIDE OF THE RED BANNER.

... They also carried the point that they themselves should pass on rewards for bravery and outstanding exploits.

... At the head of the Brigade is Andre Marty. (Ed. note. One of the most popular militants in the French Communist Party. Convicted at one time for his part in the mutiny of French sailors on one of the battleships sent by the French government in support of the White army.) And, of course, in most cases he follows slavishly the Stalinist policies.

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

### READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

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

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

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45 WEST 17th STREET  
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## THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Of late the Moors are beginning to show signs of unrest and disintegration as fighting units. The Spanish press reports an increasing number of desertions, mutinies which have recently taken place on the civil war front.

Thus the CNT, the official daily of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor, writes:

"In the Badajos sector a number of Moorish infantrymen were shot. They were caught in a mass attempt to cross the Portuguese border in order to escape further service in the Fascist army."

"French Morocco (the border province of Oran) is becoming an open road for a wave of deserters. In some cases the latter bring with them ammunition and army equipment."

In the rear recruiting becomes more and more difficult. Agents of the Franco government are assassinated by recalcitrant villagers. Thus the papers report of the murder of the chieftain of one of the tribes, who was killed by the Riffs because of his zeal in recruiting soldiers for the Moorish army in Spain.

Every Revolution Has Its Own Historic Pattern

## ANARCHISTS PRESENT PROGRAM FOR SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

by the need of adapting themselves to an extraordinary revolutionary situation, the exact forms of which could not be foreseen.

The anarchists of Spain brought to life, inspired and educated a great mass movement which sprung up after the Russian revolution but which was guided by ideals which were very far from those dominating Russian life. It was this movement that, historically speaking, proved to be the most effective check upon the growing totalitarian tendencies of Fascism and state socialism.

This movement has already shown the power of adaptation and necessary flexibility without which it could not face the great historic tasks of a revolutionary period. Authority was resorted to in its moral and physical form, but the anarchist ideal was not lost sight of, it was not divorced from the immense task of revolutionary reconstruction. For authority cannot be annihilated by a sudden act; it can be driven toward zero point by a constant struggle against its ever diminishing forms.

### Historic Decision Between Two Courses of Action

Two courses of action lay open for the anarchist movement after the suppression of the Fascist revolt in Barcelona. One, to reach out for an immediate realization of Libertarian Communism. The anarchists were strong enough to attempt such a course. They carried great moral weight with the workers, among whom they were opposed only by a debilitated socialist movement that was torn by factional struggles and weakened by an opportunistic spirit.

This attempt, however, was not warranted by the situation facing the anarchist movement. Under those conditions the proclamation of libertarian communism in Catalonia would be catastrophic in the same measure as an attempt made by the authoritarian communists to impose their ideas.

It would render the international situation enormously diffi-

cult, exposing the Spanish people, which found itself almost totally unarmed, to the danger of an immediate attack by Germany and Italy. It was necessary to obtain some sort of a respite in order to get arms, whip the irregular forces into the shape of a modern army capable at least of holding its own in a civil war that demands the use of up-to-date arms and ammunitions.

### Anarchists Wanted to Prevent Dictatorship

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

This necessitated a different course of action. It meant open collaboration with the other anti-Fascist forces in order to prevent the displacement of the anarchist movement from the position of a guiding force in the revolution. And, given such a realistic attitude, the anarchists of Spain can never be eliminated as they were in other countries.

### A Revolutionary Minimum Program as the Basis for Unity After the War

The real revolution will only begin when the war is ended. It is only then that it will acquire the necessary sweep for a thorough reorganization of social life. This can be pursued on the basis of the same unity, provided a common understanding is reached now among all the forces as to the basic lines of this revolution. As the speaker formulates it, "it is necessary to search out a point of contact, a platform which will permit us to follow a common road upon the basis of a minimum of realizations in the

political and economic field."

### Federalism the Minimum Demand in the Political Field

Spain was formerly a rickety body with a monstrously developed head. Bureaucratic Madrid ruled, suppressed and exploited the rest of Spain. This must give place to a federalist structure in which every region will have the opportunity to develop in accordance with its needs and prevalent ideas. An Iberian Federation of Socialist Republics is the minimum program upon which all the anti-Fascist forces must agree as the common work in rebuilding the country after the war.

### Control of a Socialized Economy by the Industrial Unions Minimum Demand of Economic Platform of Unity.

The economic reconstruction of Spain after the civil war cannot proceed upon the basis of private property. It would be nothing short of a real catastrophe to give back the bourgeoisie its economic power. This would render impossible any work of economic reconstruction, which demands a certain measure of self-sacrifice on the part of the working population.

Such sacrifices will never be made for the enrichment of a few, who in addition were deeply implicated in the Fascist plot. The workers will impose themselves such sacrifices if the direction of economic life is in their hands—and that is why there can be no other solution than an economy managed by the workers themselves through the medium of their economic organizations, the industrial unions. The control of a socialized economy by the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor) and U.G.T. (Socialist Trade Unions) is the only basis for a united revolutionary front for the continuation of the Revolution after Fascism has been driven from the country.

And, as the speaker ended, "it is this proletarian unity that will open a new road for humanity, for the conquest of bread and liberty for the whole world."

to the Socialist party, one to the Syndicalist party (a comparatively small group of ex-members of the Anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor who, while retaining some of the anarcho-syndicalist ideas, have drifted away into the political camp), one to the Republican Union and one to the Esquerra party of Valencia (a semi-socialist and semi-liberal party of the petty bourgeoisie).

The Communists declined representation on the ground that they were entitled to more than one delegate (Ed. note. That shows the extent of their actual influence in the country. While laying claims to the position of a monopolistic power in the revolution, they represent but a small minority which would never rise to the position it now holds in the Central government were it not for the Russian ammunitions.)

## SPEEDY VICTORY PREDICTED BY PROMINENT ANARCHISTS

(Continued from page one)

### WHAT FRIGHTENED FRANCE AND ENGLAND

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

(1) To Germany: (a) ceding the Canary Islands as a naval and aerial base.

(b) Ceding of Spanish Morocco and Guinea.

(c) Granting unlimited rights in the exploitation of the Asturian mines in the north and the Riotino (copper) mines in the south.

(2) To Italy: (a) Ceding the Balearic Islands.

(b) Ceding the Spanish colony of Rio de Oro on the west coast of Africa.

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

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

**STOCK EXCHANGES  
REACT TO FRANCO'S  
FAILURE  
From the purely commercial**

point of view, Franco's chances begin to look rather poor. Until Franco touched Madrid, international capitalism had faith in Franco. The shares of the British financial syndicate (the one in control of the mines of Andalusia), kept on rising. But now they are going down rather precipitously. The same is true of the French consortium which speculated on Franco's victory. Its shares already dropped from 350 to 280 points.

### TOWARD A SYNDICALIST SPAIN

The new year will bring us victory over Fascism. But this is only a part of our task. After the civil war will come the social revolution, the socialist reconstruction of the country.

This victory was made possible by the firm unity of the Spanish proletariat.

And now we shall be faced with the problem of building up a socialized economy, of defending the positions conquered already, of wresting the rest of Spain from the Fascist control. The C.N.T. has a program. It demands that the economic life should be placed under the control of the syndicates. And if the U.G.T. (the socialist trade unions) subscribe to the same program, the triumph of the proletariat is assured.

**A. Souchy.**

## UNION DEMOCRACY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

(Continued from page one)

planted by the political commissars, to stop the circulation of anarchist papers at the front and to make use of controlling positions to indoctrinate the rank and file with certain political beliefs in the barrack manner of the old army officers.

Those are only tendencies, asserting themselves to an ever greater extent, but still kept in check by the independent spirit of the militiamen, who in many cases retain their committees in spite of the vigorous efforts made by the politicians and organs of Supreme control to stamp them out.

And in measure that those tendencies become more and more pronounced, the anarchists are beginning to throw all their power back of the spontaneous movement to check those attempts to transform the newly formed army into a blind instrument of political control. Ascaso, the chairman of Aragon Council of Defense, at one time vigorously criticized this policy of bureaucratic centralization imposed by Soviet Russia as a condition of rendering assistance in arms and ammunitions. His criticism was passed in silence by the general press, but the tone of the anarchist papers becomes more and more outspoken in this regard.

The anarchists, however, do not confine themselves to verbal

criticisms. Apart from building their own forces in accordance with the libertarian ideas, of setting up their own apparatuses and committees, they have lately launched a new organization which promises to become a powerful factor in safeguarding revolutionary democracy in the army. This new organization is the Union of Armed Forces, which was formed in Madrid at the beginning of this year.

The *Frente Libertario* reports that thousands of militiamen have already joined this union, and judging by the enthusiasm aroused by this organization among the militiamen, by the wave of applications coming from all sections of the army, there is ground to expect that within a short time this union will embrace the great majority of militiamen.

The formation of this union marks a new phase in the development of the Spanish revolution, and also a radical departure from the time-worn ideas of building a revolutionary army, upheld by the authoritarian socialists as the only way of effectively defending the revolution. The soldier does not lose his right of a free citizen, of a revolutionary worker to defend his material, political and moral interests through a specific organization representing his will in the most adequate manner.

## NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE FOR SPAIN

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

Valencia, one of the most revolutionary provinces of Spain, has of late been granted wide autonomy. It has not yet risen to the status of a semi-independent state like Catalonia, but the pres-

sure of its powerful anarchist movement is already leading in this direction

This is shown by the nature and composition of its new Supreme Council formed along the lines of the supreme organ of Catalonia. It is mainly built upon workers' unions which have the preponderant number of representatives: five of the Anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) and five of the Socialist controlled unions (U.G.T.).

The rest go to various ideological groupings and political parties. One to the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia), one



# REVOLUTION ONLY BEGINNING IN SPAIN

(A COMRADE WRITES FROM BARCELONA)

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

"If," he said, "we had the necessary armaments and if the Madrid government were willing to spend a part of its gold supplies for the purchase of such arms, I can assure you that by March we would already establish contact with the forces operating in the Bilbao sector, and we would be in a position seriously to threaten the Fascist forces north of Madrid . . . I went to Madrid several times and each time I asked something for the campaign in Aragon, I was told that it is necessary to reserve the gold supply for the reconstruction of Spain after the war, as though this were now more important than the crushing of the Fascist forces."

\*) Ed. note. This is quite in line with the information obtained from private sources telling of a deliberate attempt to starve out the anarchist forces on the Aragon front. The supply of ammunition from Soviet Russia is directed to those sectors of the front where the anarchists do not control the situation. A smashing victory by anarchist forces moving from the Aragon front is not altogether to the liking of those who are now busy pulling wires behind the scene of Spanish events with the view of eliminating the revolutionary forces.

### A Grand Offensive in Preparation

However, our comrade assures us, ammunitions are now being rapidly manufactured and the moment is not far off when the re-equipped militia will start on

its march. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the militia is so high that it becomes somewhat of a task to restrain them from starting an offensive without waiting for orders. That orders will come soon and that Zaragoza and Huesca will not be much in the way of unfolding an offensive on a large scale is now the opinion of almost every one on the Aragon front.

### Libertarian Communism Dominant in Aragon Province

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

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

The older generation of peasants is stimulated in this course of intensive cultivation by the opportunity to still its land hunger. But the younger generation, according to our writer, is swept by an intense revolutionary ardor. It is overwhelmingly an-

archist in its sympathies. This, our author explains, is partly due to the great influence exercised by Catalanian anarchists on the Aragon front.

### In Catalonia the Anarchists Did Not Go As Far As In Aragon

In Catalonia the anarchists are supported by an immense majority. Our comrade asserts that if they decided to do away immediately with the State and politics they would not meet with serious difficulties on the part of the population. And with all that, as is known, the anarchists entered into a compromise with the political parties agreeing only upon a partial realization of their ideals. As a result Catalonia is now lagging behind Aragon in revolutionary achievements.

Our comrade sees something to the points made by the anarchists in Catalonia.\* The difficulties of the international situation, the danger of facing civil war in the rear while straining all efforts to crush the Fascists, the complexities of the highly developed economy of an industrial state like Catalonia—all those factors were presented to him by the leading figures of the movement. Our author, however, reserves his judgment on this matter, being of the opinion that the anti-Fascist struggle should not have overshadowed the need for an immediate reconstruction along the lines of libertarian communism.

He is confirmed in his belief by the attitude of the politicians and certain elements of the mid-

\* A fuller presentation of their view is given in the speech of Federica Montseny summarized in the current issue of the "Spanish Revolution."

dle classes toward this act of anarchist tolerance. They sabotage the work of the anarchists by refusing arms to the Catalanian anarchists, by starving them financially, by smuggling money to the foreign banks of London and Paris.

The political groups are not only sabotaging the work of the C.N.T., but they keep up their interminable bickering and quarreling, often endangering the unity necessary for the common front against Fascism. It is the C.N.T. that, much against its will, has to impose upon them the necessary degree of harmony and unity.

### Vigilance Not Relaxed

The anarchists, according to our author, show an excess of tolerance toward politicians. But there is no relaxation in their vigilance toward the enemies of the working class. Barcelona is now more quiet and orderly than New York. That does not mean, however, that the anarchists can be caught napping there. They have the power to check any move on the part of their enemies and in this they will be supported by the vast majority of workers who now keep on arming themselves. For (ed. note—all those who believe the Trotskyite slanders about anarchists disarming the workers, take note) as our comrade points out on the basis of personal observation, "not all the guns go to the front, they have greatly risen in price since they are bought by the people, by the proletariat not with the idea of sending them to the front but to keep them in case a thorough housecleaning will be needed soon."

cratic Governments. One must act and not just rot away.

### HEROISM OF THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS

Captain White quoted from impartial men who spoke with admiration of the heroism and the work done by the Spanish Anarchists. He spoke at length of collectivized villages, and in particular of a small fishing port so admirably described by Mr. Langdon-Davies in a book he had just published. Quoting from Sir Chalmers Mitchell, he compared the work being done by the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. and as a final remark expressed surprise that Mr. Strachey could have written as he did, in a well-known publication, that the workers in Spain had been drawn into "a rigid anarchist mould." This, to his knowledge, was far from the truth. The Anarchists were the most tolerant and understanding men he had met.

—From "Spain and the World."

## ENGLISH SOCIALISTS ON THE ROLE OF SPANISH ANARCHISTS "FASCISTS' DEFEAT IN BARCELONA AN EPIC OF WORKING CLASS HISTORY"

London, January 18th, 1937.

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

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

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

Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the I.L.P., was the next speaker. He said that it was essential to understand to what extent the men of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were responsible for the quelling of the Military Revolt in Catalonia. We must bear in mind that eighty per cent. of the workers in Catalonia belonged to the C.N.T. and that over half the workers in Spain belong to that organization. "If

we are enquirous," he said, "it is our duty to be fully acquainted with the part played by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Revolution." The speaker then vividly described the way the Anarchists defeated in 24 hours the strong Rebel resistance. "The way the Fascists were defeated in Barcelona is going to live as an epic of Working Class history."

### FREE INDIVIDUALS

From these results Mr. Brockway considered that we could draw important conclusions. The great solidarity that existed among the Anarchists was due to each individual relying on his own strength and depending on leadership. The Spanish workers will be successful because they will not be content just to defeat Fascism and accept a Status quo of a Parliamentary democracy. The weakness and inaction of democracies invariably breed Fascism. In Spain the control will be in the hands of the Workers. Mr. Brockway, after expressing his pleasure at being present, hoped that those gathered at that meeting would go away decided that they would search for the truth, and try to apply to the situation in this country the vast experience obtained from Spain. The Organizations must, to be successful, be combined with a free-thinking people; not a mass, but free individuals.

The last speaker, Captain White, an Irish republican, suggested approaching Anarchism as he did, from an individualistic standpoint. He did not believe in discussing the philosophy of Action, but considered it necessary that one should act at the psychological moment. He deprecated the poor logic of demo-

A new book of great importance will be soon ready for print. The name of the book is "AFTER THE REVOLUTION: WHAT." Its author is Diego De-Santillan, the former editor of the anarchist daily in Buenos-Aires. "La Protesta," and now the minister of economy in the Catalanian cabinet.

The book deals with the problems of the transitional period. The translation is being done by the well known writer Max Nomad.

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