

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

A BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS

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## SPANISH MASSES MOBILIZE FOR DECISIVE STRUGGLE

—*Situation Like in July, 1936.*  
—*Demoralization Overcome.*  
—*"Fight to the Last Bullet."*  
—*Men to the Front: Women Into the Factories.*  
*Anarchists Lead by Example.*

The French bourgeois press is again frightening its readers with the black-red spectre of Catalonia gone anarchist. Again, it informs its readers, the situation of July 1936 is repeating itself and the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) is taking matters into its own hands, becoming more and more the ruling force of the region.

Those panicky reports are exaggerated to a great extent. If anything, the international situation, which was mainly instrumental in having the libertarian movement of Spain adopt in the past the policy of self-limitation, still operates heavily against the full assertion of the power of a movement commanding the loyalty of the majority of Catalonian population.

The Spanish workers and peasants still have to pay heavily for the dribbles of arms and munitions, for the scanty protection on sea and in the air which they get occasionally. And since it is Soviet Russia which, according to the indirect information, has been rendering some sort of assistance, the popular will had to bend again in compliance with the wishes of an alien power.

### A NEW SHIFT OF POWER

And yet, of late, the popular will has been reasserting itself to an ever greater extent. A shift in the realignment of political forces has taken place which has placed the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in a position closely resembling that of 1936. There is some ground to the newly raised panic now being worked up by the bourgeois press of Europe under the alarming slogan—"The F.A.I.

is again in the saddle."

The truth is that the government apparatus built up not only as a means of defense against the fascist aggression but as an intended dike against the revolutionary movement of the Spanish workers and peasants, broke down during the last month of catastrophic reverses. It broke down not only because of the superior strength of the enemy but also because of the widespread treachery of its own elements. (Such is the report of the *New York Times* correspondent who writes of the sinister role of the officers and generals of the Popular Army in the defeats on the Aragon front.)

### 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, everything would have been lost, and that is why the government had to bow to necessity, go back upon its former policy of eliminating the C.N.T. and F.A.I. from leading positions and even recognize in principle the

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## 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) the observations recorded here are of great 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 fortunate in arriving just at the time when they were shooting a film called *Castilla se Libera* (Castile has liberated itself). The three scenes which were shown to us were splendidly done from every point of view and are 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 promised copies of 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 studios of the *Scena Espaniolo-Americana*. We arrived just at the time when a Spanish fair was being filmed, with all the artists present in their different regional costumes.

Among them were two most strikingly handsome young Spanish girls—dancers—who could well compare with Argentina and other great Spanish dancers, who are being paid phenomenal sums on the American stage. The manager, when he heard my name, rushed forward, embraced me as his own, and insisted that I must join the group of artists who were being filmed. I was never surrounded by a more colourful and intensely eager crowd of young people. Not only that, but he would have r— Madrid in a few words so that they can reproduce it in sound. It was a very stirring 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 as near as possible in his own quaint Spanish.

We learned that the leading artists of the collective—for it was a collective—receive the same salaries as before the 19th of July. The salary

of the supporting caste, however, was increased. As far as one can get authentic answers in the presence of a manager, the artists all seemed satisfied with their lot. I do not mean to suggest that this manager was a fearsome person. He was but one with the others, mostly members of the C.N.T., who were in charge of the work from beginning to the very completion of the films they were making.

### Anarchist Women At Work

Madrid is the birthplace of the *Mujeres Libres*. It was there that a group of university women with our comrade, Mercedes Compasade,

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## 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 skilful hand guiding the propaganda of international fascism is beginning to show itself in the sudden flow of articles on the principles of "social reconstruction" and "high ideals of Christian justice" of Franco and his henchmen now appearing in newspapers like "the *New York Times*," which claims neutrality in the civil war of Spain.

Journalists of repute are sent to fascist Spain where they interview in all earnestness the authors of the horrible crimes of Guernica and Barcelona

bombings on such matters as "equitable redistribution of land, social justice for workers." "Many emphasize—writes ("New York Times") Harold Callender, at one time a decent journalist—that the Franco movement is distinctly proletarian and revolutionary, the revolution to be made by the Right, instead of Left internationalists."

### What Kind of a Revolution?

None of those journalists can be sufficiently naive as not to see the kind of a "proletarian revolution" now being effected  
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## AVELINO GONZALES MALLADA

The news of the tragic death of Avelino 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 Antifascist Solidarity), came as a double shock to all genuine friends of the Spanish cause.

It wasn't only the loss of this truly heroic figure, snatched away in the midst of the tremendously important task of rallying the workers here in America behind the S.I.A. and its activities, that stirred deeply those that 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 bereavement. 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 if to emphasize anew the meaninglessness of human endeavor against the backdrop of purposeful drives and heroic struggles such as are now taking place in Spain.

Avelino 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 antimilitarist ranks of the anarchist movement of France. His broad international

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## Don't Fail to Come to the SPRING FESTIVAL and BALL

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Excellent Jazz Orchestra — Refreshments

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# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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Vol. II, No. 12



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## CHAMBERLAIN SHOWS HIS HAND

Now that His Majesty's government laid bare before the world the cynical terms of its understanding with Italy concerning Spain, there can be no doubt as to the meaning and significance of the non-intervention scheme conceived by Chamberlain and his associates as a part of his by now too obvious plan to reduce the labor and liberal movements of Western Europe to a state of utter impotence.

The prologue to this widely laid plot conceived behind the stage of European diplomacy has come to an end. The curtain is rising and now we can see the main outline of this drama enacted openly in full view of an astounded world, astounded at the shameless hypocrisy of a government which still claims to represent the "oldest and most advanced democracy in the world."

It was a bold and diabolical scheme that underlay the pacifist plan for non-intervention in Spain, for the localization of the Spanish conflict and the prevention of a European war. And there is hardly anything that betrays as much the picayune mentality of the "leaders" of the European labor movement as the innocent swallowing of those "pacifist" pleas entered by the accomplices of Hitler and Mussolini.

The civil war in Spain, as can be clearly seen in the perspective of the latest developments, was but a fit historic occasion to put those slowly maturing plans into action. The financial magnates of Europe, who poured out hundreds of millions of dollars in order to put Hitler and Mussolini in power, saw in the Spanish civil war the right opportunity to cash in on their heavy investments in the dictatorships.

They saw their chance not only to wipe out the only active source of social rebellion left in Europe but to deliver a crushing blow to all the progressive and liberal movements of the continent by turning over the strategic keys of Europe into the hands of the fascist dictators.

Spain is such a strategic key, even more so than Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. And in presenting it as a free gift to the Nazi-Fascist alliance, the financial rulers of Britain and France showed that they are less concerned with particular interests of their own countries than with an all-European scheme of fascization of the economic and political life of the entire continent.

This scheme succeeded in its first test afforded by Spanish events because of the lack of a sufficiently broad international outlook on the part of the European labor movement. International solidarity is still conceived as a noble sentiment and not as a vital necessity, much more urgent than the realistic programs of the daily struggles.

The international plot underlying the British-Italian policy in regard to Spain was not met by an equally bold scheme of international action. Both factions of the labor movement kept their heads too dangerously close to the ground: one—stuck in the rut of narrow national policies of their home government, and the other—a prey to the machinations and plots issuing from the Moscow government and guided by the cynical and necessarily self-defeating considerations of national egoism.

The bankruptcy of both factions, the ease with which they abandoned the heroic Spanish people to the fascist invaders shows clearer than ever the necessity of a true international orientation necessary to save Spain, and through the latter the rest of the world, from the fate prepared for it by the emerging coalition of the Chamberlain-Mussolini-Hitler governments.

### REFUGEES ARE CROWDING THE SHRUNKEN TERRITORY OF LOYALIST SPAIN

Women, Children, Helpless Old People  
THEY NEED YOUR IMMEDIATE HELP

Send to: United Libertarian Organizations

45 West 17th Street

New York, N. Y.

## SPANISH MASSES MOBILIZE FOR ACTION

(Continued from page one)

anti-fascist front (that is, one based upon participation of trade unions in the government) 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 *Libertaire*—the situation now begins to resemble more and more the one of July-November of 1936. The collaboration of the C.N.T. in the government of war and resistance was imposed by the necessity of giving courage and confidence to the great mass of workers and peasants who have remained faithful to the C.N.T.

"On the other hand, Negrin and his allies were forced to adopt in regard to the revolutionary militants an attitude which is more in harmony with the exigencies of the moment. The scandal of arbitrary arrests was put to an end. One of our comrades who came 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 breakdown of the Aragon front and the bombardment of Barcelona, a demoralization which did not even spare our own ranks, was succeeded by a new wave of mass enthusiasm and a firm resolution to resist to the very end."

This spirit is fully expressed in the manifesto issued by the newly organized Executive Committee of the three great libertarian organizations—the National Confederation of Labor, (C.N.T.) the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.) and the Libertarian Youth—in which it declares that "resistance will continue to the last union, the last man, the last bullet."

The same is reiterated by the appeal issued by the General Secretary of the C.N.T., Mariano Vasquez who exhorts . . . "every village, every hill, every stone of our soil should become a fortress occupied against the enemy. The proletariat in the rear-guard should be mobilized. Industries of secondary importance should be abandoned for the moment, and the workers should join voluntarily the ranks of the army or enlist for the building of fortifications. And one should keep a vigi-

lant eye upon the 'fifth 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 invigorating effect upon the masses of people. As is known, the libertarian movement of Spain acting through its Executive Committees already decided upon the mobilization of its entire membership. Even those beyond military age are mobilized by their respective organizations 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 Syndicaliste."

"The last plenum of the C.N.T. organizations of the Central Region adopted a resolution to the same effect. The resolution demands that the women occupy immediately those positions which do not require any preliminary apprenticeship. For the other industries rapid courses of apprenticeship should be organized immediately. Women should be also drawn in for administrative work in the unions and other economic organizations.

"Already in the suburbs of Madrid almost the entire work is done by women. This was effected as a direct result of the decisions of the C.N.T. organization. In the rest of the country the displacement of men by women is proceeding rapidly. All the men 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 heroic effort which will 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 Dashar . . . . . 10c
- The Life of Durruti . . . . . 20c
- The Tragic Week in May by Augustine Suchy . . . . . 10c

## FEUDALISM RESTORED IN FASCIST SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

in fascist Spain. Compulsory labor introduced in the mines of Asturias and Andalucia, serfdom in the villages, the savage extermination of the Spanish proletariat, forced labor in the building of German and Italian fortifications and military roads in Spain,—all that cannot escape the attention of any half-decent journalist with an eye upon social realities. And, certainly, no one has a right to ignore the wholesale expropriation of the Spanish peasantry now taking place at the instigation and the benefit of the Italian and German masters of Franco and his gangster bands of the so much advertized Requete and Falange.

### New Feudal Owners

Of this ever growing process of expropriation we have the following information supplied by a well-known Spanish journalist in Valencia—Jose Espana—who writes in the local Spanish paper ("Cultura Proletaria"):

"The latest news received from fascist Spain tell that the Germans and Italians are taking over the land in the prov-

inces of Malaga, Cadiz, Huelva, Cordoba and Sevilla.

"As a result of this continuing expropriation, in Cadiz alone more than 20,304 owners of small peasant holdings have been turned loose, their land having been taken away from them. The same is true of other provinces. About half a million hectares were taken away from the peasants in the province of Malaga; 180,000 in Cordoba; 145,000 in Sevilla; 122,000 in Huelva and close to 200,000 in Granada."

As the author points out in the other parts of the same article the colonization of Germans and Italians is taking place at the expense of the poor peasants, who are driven off their land like in the old times of feudal conquests or the British enclosures. The rich peasants and the landlords are not molested. If anything, they stand to gain enormously from this great addition to the army of landless peasants ready to sell themselves into serfdom and semi-slavery.

Like the other fascist countries, rebel Spain is relapsing into semi-savagery of early feudalism. But to the paid propagandists, writing under

From a letter sent to the French syndicalist publication by a group of foreign anarchists recently released from Spanish prison.

. . . You know as well as we do the tragic situation of the Spanish proletariat, the crimes committed by the Stalinists, the imprisonments and assassinations of comrades.

And still we urge upon you to demand the sending of arms.

THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO VANQUISH FRANCO AND TO LIQUIDATE STALINISM WHOSE STRENGTH IN SPAIN IS ONLY DUE TO THE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION OF THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT . . .

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the guise of dispassionate journalistic research, this is "a proletarian revolution made by the Right" and inspired by principles of Christian Justice."

# EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

(Continued from page two)

began the publication of the magazine by that name, dedicated to the enlightenment and emancipation of the Spanish women. The paper has since been transferred to Barcelona, but some of the originators, together with a staff of young women, are continuing their work in Madrid; and a formidable work it is.

The *Mujeres Libres*, among other tasks, also busy themselves in visiting the wounded in hospital, inspecting the children's schools and the distribution of a tremendous amount of printed matter circulating among the civil population to acquaint them with the purpose and the importance of the anti-Fascist struggle. They have classes for children and adults which embrace all sorts of subjects, including a class for chauffeurs. The comrades told us with pride that several of them had already qualified and were holding driving licences. In addition there is a class for languages.

Then there is the Prosperidad Group that has 90 members affiliated with the M. J. They comprise delegates from various local federations; among them the most active is Maria Teresa who is at the same time the principal of the school and all other efforts that are being made for the enlightenment and emancipation of Spanish women and for the care of children, especially those who have become orphans by the Christian grace of Franco. They are playing their great part in the task of raising the physical and mental standard of Spanish women, held in bondage for so many centuries, and especially in their devoted care of children. No more loving attention could one possibly give one's own child than these comrades of the *Mujeres Libres* are giving to the innocent victims of Franco. I was particularly moved by the children aged from two to ten years, who were crowded together in a room turned into a cinema, and were hanging on every performance of Micky Mouse and fairy tales, and sagas by Grimm and Anderson.

## Libertarian Press In Madrid

We also visited newspaper offices of "C.N.T." publications, the *Castile Libre* and *Frente Libertario*. All of these papers are housed and printed in one building. Great was my astonishment when I discovered that the Communist Party and the Socialists also had their papers printed in the same place. But then the Spanish people are full of contradictions. I am sure this could never happen in any other country, especially in the face of the open and insidious activities against our people by the C.P.

I was surprised to learn that our two papers had a circulation of 55,000 daily in Madrid alone, and more than 100,000 in the rest of Castile, while *Frente Libertario* is being printed in 100,000 copies; whereas the two publications of the C.P. in Madrid have only a circulation of 26,000. This goes to prove that in spite of all the efforts since the May events to undermine the position of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the latter are morally as strong as ever.

## Anarchist Youth

Of course one could not leave Madrid without paying a visit to the headquarters of the Libertarian Youth. In fact, before I had a

chance to go there, the comrades sent a delegation to ask Comrade A. I. and me to address them at a large meeting they were holding that same evening. Unfortunately my Spanish is still far from the mark—certainly far from speaking in public. I therefore spoke for a little while in English which Comrade A. I. interpreted for me. The youngsters, most of them still in their teens, were far older than the youth in Europe in their knowledge of revolutionary history, in their devotion to their ideal and in their complete consecration to the anti-Fascist struggle and to the Revolution. I appreciated more than their applause a set of their paper, "Revolution," which they dedicated to me and which was signed by many of these youthful comrades.

Besides all these impressions that had crowded in on me during my short stay in Madrid, I carried away with me the warm feeling of comradeship and solidarity given me by the comrades of the C.N.T. in their own living quarters. No finer or more generous hospitality have I enjoyed anywhere in my many travels during the many years of my activities in our ranks.

## What the Collectives Can Do

On the 24th of September, 1937, we began our return trip to Valencia, visiting several collectives on the way. The largest and most important is in Azuquema, about 40 kilos. from Madrid along the road to Guadalajara. It has a population of only 1,500.

The collective is on the estate of the Count of Romanones. This Grandee paid very little attention to the cultivation of that rich and beautiful estate consisting of 720 acres and known far and wide by the name of Miralcampo. The main occupation of Count Romanones was race-horse breeding for his own amusement. When the Revolution of the 19th of July broke out, this gentleman took to his heels, and the peasants took possession of the estate, which is now collectivised and employs 200 men.

The land through which the River Hanares flows was flooded from time to time, gradually inundating the largest part of the land. Nevertheless the Count never took steps to check the danger. This has been accomplished by the workers themselves since they turned the estate to the use of all. Two engineers from the technical syndicate in Madrid were sent down to direct the harnessing of the river by means of filling in the inundated part with small stones and casing them in nettings of wire. These stones had to be brought to the river bed by means of a wheelbarrow which meant no end of difficult and hard labour; but every one of the members kept at the task with willingness and devotion. Certainly the accomplished task demonstrated the constructive capacity of the workers and held out hope for a great regeneration of Spain once Fascism will have been driven out of the country.

The old overseer of Miralcampo remained with the comrades in the collective. He took as much pride in looking after the variety of flowers, and perhaps more, than under his previous owner. He assured us that the work was much pleasanter because he had no master to drive him. He also assured us that the standard of life of the members

of the collective, as well as that of the town of Azuquema, had greatly improved.

According to the European standards 350 pesetas a month is not very high; they are, however, infinitely higher than they were before the 19th of July when the peasants were paid 3 and 4 pesetas a day luring the season and permitted to starve for the rest of the year. In addition to the amount paid, fully 50 per cent of the members of the collective eat together in the collectivised kitchen, and pay 60 pesetas a month each. Children are given their food free.

## Growth of a Collective

We had ample opportunity to verify this. We had left Madrid at an early hour without anything warm to drink. We were quite hungry when we arrived at the collective. We were generously invited to join the others in their morning repast which consisted of hot coffee, good baked bread and melons. I have never before had a chance to be so close to the toilers of the soil and to enjoy their unspoiled and uncorrupted fellowship at the same table. It was indeed a great treat.

Here, too, I found several people who could speak French. One of them was the father of the Secretary of the Collective, an old Anarchist who had lived a number of years in France. He constituted himself my guide and escort and explained everything in the minutest detail with great pride. Through him I learned that they work eight hours a day, that the richness of the soil had been increased; that before the 19th the crops realised 400,000 pesetas; now they exceeded a million.

## Publicity Is Necessary

The entire agricultural production of 1937 consisted of the following: 300 loads of melons; 250,000 kilos. of potatoes; 128,000 kilos. of barley; 175,000 kilos. of wheat; part of it had been sent to the Centre Federation of Peasants in Madrid, part to the front and the surplus for the needs of the collective. Of the crop in 1936 125,000 pesetas worth of produce was contributed free of charge to the needs of Madrid. The comrade also spoke of the increase in livestock and in the quality of it. Among others, one of the members from Ganiz, a peasant who formerly tilled his own bit of ground, had contributed 8 milking cows of the finest quality. The collective also has built its own bakery, rabbit hutches and chicken coops.

There are two syndicates in the town of Azuquema. One belongs to the U.G.T. The other belongs to the comrades of the C.N.T. But as the workers of the former did not go in for collectivization of their land, quite a number of them are working in the collective of the C.N.T. Of course, a school was organized, not only for the children of the members but for the members themselves, as many of them had remained in illiteracy and ignorance until the 19th of July.

The comrades wanted us to remain for a mid-day meal. They were loath to see us go. They were so overjoyed by our visit, assuring us that rarely did people from outside Spain take the trouble to visit them and see for themselves that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. were not only concentrating on winning the war but on building a new Spain. They wanted

## C.N.T. REPRESENTATIVE IN THE GOVERNMENT

The new Minister of Education, comrade Segundo Blanco Marlinez, is one of the outstanding militants of the C.N.T. organization.

He already distinguished himself in the insurrectionary movement of 1918, having belonged at that time to the Metal Workers Unions. He was put on the employer's blacklist as a result of his active participation in the movement. Compelled to leave his trade, he joined the Union of Construction Workers and thus became an excellent mason.

In 1926 Segundo Blanco held the position of General Secretary of the National Committee of the C.N.T. He was arrested and kept in prison for eighteen months on account of his active participation in the movement against Primo de Rivera's dictatorship.

Later, he became Secretary of the Regional Committee of Asturias and of the local Federation of the C.N.T. unions of Gijon. He was one of the active figures of the October revolt of 1934, having been condemned to death by the authorities after the suppression of this insurrection.

Segundo Blanco took a prominent part in the struggle against the military rebellion of 1936. From the very first moment he was President of the War Committee in Gijon, member of the provincial Council of Asturias and Leon, and, later, member of the Supreme Council of those two provinces, having taken part in the work of the War Committee in the capacity of Councilor of Industries.

Prior to assuming his duties as Minister of Education, Segundo Blanco was Secretary of the Defense section of the National Committee of C.N.T.

("Libertaire")

is to proclaim this in every country and to make known the truth of the situation so that it may counteract the libellous misrepresentation which they had heard appeared in capitalistic papers in every country. I should have loved to remain at least another day, but as I have already said, cars were scarce in Spain, and we were admonished to return to Valencia as soon as possible.

## Small Owners

### Joining Voluntarily

We arrived in Telmes a town of 1,780 inhabitants, on the Madrid-Valencia road in the afternoon. At the Secretariat of the C.N.T. we were given the information we were seeking. We learned that until the 19th of July there was no organization of any kind, trade union or of a political nature in that town. Today the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. have their own local syndicates, but it was the C.N.T. members who organized a collective mainly composed of former small owners, numbering in all 435 members.

A tomato-canning factory had been turned over by its owner voluntarily. In the agreement with the collective he pledged himself not to demand the return of his machinery should he decide to leave the collective, and in his presence the titles to his property were destroyed. True his motive was not entirely selfless; the poor man was head over heels in debt amounting to 15,000 pesetas which he could not hope to repay in many years to come. By entering the collective he was relieved of that responsibility. The debt was paid for him. Partly out of self-interest and partly out of gratitude he now works as ardently as he did when the plant belonged to him.

The owners of an olive oil and soap factory followed the good example of their colleague from the tomato plant. Thus two-thirds of the members of the collective are former small owners. The rest are labourers. They now own the lands, tools, implements and livestock in common. The collective covers an area of 140 acres. The soil yields wheat, potatoes, corn, beans, barley, tomatoes, sweet peppers and olives. They own 15 cows, 60 goats and 100 mules. The collective has instituted family wages, arranged as follows: a married man receives 8 pesetas a day; a single person 6 pesetas;

in addition married couples receive an adequate allowance in cash and 125 kilos. of olive oil a year plus 40 kilos. for each child. The houses are municipalised.

The syndicates have their secretariat which consists of a council of economy composed of three sections—agriculture, manufacture of agricultural products, industry and one section of statistics and accounting. The structure of the syndicate is that of an organization performing a double function, that of production and consumption. The collective which is affiliated with the syndicate has a school attended by 70 children; 2 teachers, also members of the collective, work on the same principle as all the other members. All the material for the school is supplied free of charge.

I had a touching experience in this collective which shows the quality of the Spanish people in its most hard-worked and formerly enslaved and exploited ranks. The dwelling of the former owner of the tomato factory, though consisting only of two rooms, was spotlessly clean and had a few pieces of decent-looking furniture. I wondered whether all the population of the town had similar "luxurious" living quarters. I was assured by a comrade that this is not the case. He would take me to a place where a family of five were living in two stone rooms cut out of the rock, without windows, the air coming in during the day through the only opening, the door. It was really a cave, yet it was kept in the greatest order and with pathetic bits of crockery to give the place some colour and to make up for never-penetrating sunshine.

I asked if I might wash my hands, as they had become quite soiled and we were going to have a meal before departing on our way to Valencia. The wife, who could not be more than 35, but looked 50 from frequent child-bearing and everlasting frugery, brought a clean white towel and the last remnant of a piece of toilet soap which she undoubtedly cherished very much. It was her homage to me as a foreign comrade who, she had been told, would write about their struggle and their new hope. I should not have felt more deeply moved and honored by any token given me by people of wealth.

Emma Goldman

London, March, 1938



## WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BETRAYALS AT THE FRONT

To many the significant statement made by Lawrence A. Fernsworth in the "New York Times" of April 24 as to the "major role played by the old army officers in the disasters on the eastern front" came as a great shock. The general opinion prevailing here was that those disasters were due solely to the technical superiority of the fascist armies, which of late became especially pronounced in view of the intensified aid given to Franco by Mussolini and Hitler.

### Pertinent Questions

For didn't the official and

semi-official agencies of the government, the international Stalinist press included, keep on vouching for the loyalty of the high command, the old army officers? Weren't the latter enrolled in their majority in the antifascist parties, and especially in the Communist Party of Spain? (Its official press frequently boasted of this fact.)

And wasn't General Sebastian Pozas, the former head of the Eastern army and now a prisoner charged with the heavy crime of betrayal, for which "he will have to face responsibility,"—wasn't the same general appointed by the Negrin-

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outlook characterizing his writings was to a large extent the result of the numerous contacts with outstanding international figures of the libertarian movement then flocking to Paris.

It was as a mature militant, enriched by those numerous contacts that Mallada went back to his native Asturias where he took a prominent part in the organizing work of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. For a number of years he edited the weekly organ of the C.N.T. of the Asturias region, also holding the important position, exceedingly dangerous for that period, of secretary of the same organization.

He was imprisoned several times, but to him, like to the revolutionary workers of Tzarist Russia, the prison was a university. It was during those enforced "vacations" that he supplemented his knowledge by reading and intensive studying. And as a result of those studies, this mechanic by trade became a teacher of mathematics and languages in the college of Gijon.

In 1931 he was placed by the C.N.T. organization in charge of the new daily founded in Madrid (C.N.T.). He edited this daily until 1934, at the same time maintaining close contact with the organization in Asturias. It was those contacts and his role in the October revolt of 1934 that made necessary his flight to France after the cruel suppression of the miners rebellion.

Back in Spain after the victory of the Popular Front at the February elections of 1936, Mallada became one of the leading organizers of the antifascist resistance in Asturias. When the militarists revolted in July 1936, he organized attacks on the Simancas barracks in Gijon, where he fell severely wounded. His 17 year old son was also wounded, while his older son (19 years old) was killed in the battle.

Mallada was for a time, a member of the War Council of Asturias and Leon; it was then that he was unanimously elected Mayor of Gijon, the largest city in Asturias. He was a great orator, a man of broad culture and original ideas. His articles dealing with the basic problems of the Spanish revolution betray a wide range of intellectual interests and a profound knowledge of the country.

Mallada left Gijon one day prior to the fascist entrance into the city. The boat on which he left was held up on the high seas by the fascist cruiser. Happily, his identity remained unknown to the captors, who deeming this fishing boat with obscure refugees of little value as compared to the "big fish" for whom they were looking, ordered the skipper to stand still with his 60 ton boat and to wait for the return of the cruiser from another piratic search. However, the skipper, who knew well the sea, managed to escape in the darkness amidst a storm and reach French territorial waters. Mallada went immediately to Barcelona, and thence to Madrid.

It is of such stuff that the militants of the libertarian movement of Spain are made of. And it is the realization that the same heroic quality distinguishing the life of an outstanding militant like Mallada is asserting itself in the lives of thousands of others like him, who have built up the great libertarian movement of Spain and who are maintaining it now against the terrific odds, that gives us hope that revolutionary Spain will emerge triumphant from the tragic situation in which it has been placed by the cowardice of politicians dominating the international labor movement.

Communist Coalition to establish "order" in Catalonia, to "tame the extremists" and keep the "uncontrollable" anarchists in check? Wasn't it General Pozas that counted so much in the high councils of the Stalinist outfit in Catalonia—the so-called P.S.U.C. (United Socialist-Communist Party)?

Those and many other similar questions are liable to be asked in all earnestness by those who placed too much credence in the official reports and information.

### Camouflaged Enemies

There is nothing surprising, however, in those belated revelations when we come to consider the social composition of the Communist Party of Spain. A few citations from an article by the editor of the French magazine "La Revolution Proletarienne" (the editor is one of the best informed persons on Spain, having toured the country several times during the civil war) dealing with this topic will help us to understand the role of the camouflaged fascists in the military catastrophe of the Aragon front.

"At the present time the Communist Party of Spain consists greatly of people who were seeking protection: bourgeois and old members of the reactionary parties. Those that could not escape to Franco entered the Communist Party which offered them the surest protection, since it was in the control of the police and since the Communist Party proved itself the staunchest defender of the bourgeois order.

"In Valencia, for instance, the leader of the Communist Party is no other person than the ex-leader of the Gil Robles Party (Gil Robles—leader of the reactionary Catholic Party

## 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 Peninsular Committee of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, comrade Germinal de Sousa, joined as volunteer the ranks of the newly organized cadres leaving for the front. Germinal de Sousa is accompanied by the military secretary of the F.A.I. Committee, comrade Campana, and by Delsol de Miguel, secretary of propaganda.

Such is the quality of the so-called anarchist "leaders". Like Ascaso, Durruti, like David Antona, the C.N.T. General Secretary in 1936 who during the Madrid revolt of the military fought rifle 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 tasks. They lead by example—and therein lies the source of the irrepressible power of the libertarian movement of Spain.

prior to the revolt) in the very same city.

"That is why in the villages of Castile all the "Caciques" (political bosses under the monarchy and Primo de Rivera dictatorship) joined en masse the Communist Party. And that is why even the daily organ of the Catalonia" liberal bourgeoisie, "Humanidad"—which is certainly far from being a red publication—was compelled to denounce the attempt made by the Communist Party of Catalonia to restore many of the conditions and mores of the old regime, saying in fact that this Party is greatly made up of the most reactionary elements of the ancient regime."

### Betrayals Foreshadowed

In the time of a great crisis this social composition of a Party, which is like the proverbial radish—red from the outside and white underneath—is bound to assert itself

in the tragic manner described by the Spanish correspondent of the "New York Times."

That tragedy was foreshadowed in the treason of the high command of the communist division (Karl Marx) during the summer offensive at the Aragon front. As is known, more than half of the general staff of this division were executed as a result of this betrayal and wholesale desertions of camouflaged fascist element to the enemy.

### The Direct Line

An even more sinister aspect of this situation was the fact that the two divisions which held the front against Franco's latest victorious offensive on the Aragon front were exactly those that "distinguished" themselves in the Communist-engineered attempt to smash up the collectives in Aragon. There is a direct and quite obvious line connecting the digging of trenches in the rear of C.N.T. divisions (done in order to prevent them to come to aid of the smashed up peasant collectives) and the phenomenal betrayal of the officers of those very divisions which played such a sinister role in the latest debacle.

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 abnormal children, so that they could obtain the special attention and treatment required.

"Food, health, hygiene, psychology, instincts, life . . . all that in its multiple aspects is the object of attention and study for the men who cooperate in the development of this system of teaching, which is the soul of the NEW UNIFIED SCHOOL.

"By educating the children today anti-fascist Spain is preparing generations of free men for the new Society of tomorrow. New horizons will mark their way forward."

**THE FATE OF THE SPANISH STRUGGLE Is the Fate of the CIVILIZED WORLD**

## THE NEW EDUCATION IN SPAIN

The New Unified School introduced in Catalonia and other regions is one of the greatest achievements of revolutionary Spain. It is libertarian in its underlying conception and basic aims. By now it enlisted the enthusiastic support of the educational forces of the country. In this sense one might say that it is non-partisan, although it was the anarchists that conceived 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 "Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I." deal 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 in the sanitary, social and pedagogic sense. Children are maintained, studied and educated. Each child has its own index card, on which his anthropological and hereditary characteristics are carefully noted. Defects and taints are closely observed and then the child is quickly treated and classified for the kind of teaching and education it should receive.

"Children between three and six years of age pass on to the department called Maternal School. At that age the child

is observed and directed in its play, the games being freely selected by the child in close contact with nature, and as it is under the observation of the teacher it will tend to raise his games to a higher level that will help in the accomplishment of the object pursued in his teaching.

"On reaching the age of six years, the child commences to attend the group studies. Then it goes to the workshop as an apprentice and, 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

**DEMAND THE LIFTING OF EMBARGO ON SPAIN**