

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## Spanish Workers Unite for Revolution

### Anarchist and Socialist Unions of Catalonia In Revolutionary Alliance

#### Revolutionary Alliance Proposed by the C.N.T.

One of the most important decisions taken at the last congress of the C.N.T. (held in May 1936, in Saragossa) was to conclude a revolutionary alliance with the socialist trade unions (the U.G.T.). Like every alliance it implied certain concessions and compromises. A bureaucratically controlled trade union like the U.G.T., narrow and confined in its outlook, is not exactly the right vehicle for the realization of libertarian communism.

But the realities of the situation had to be met. The C.N.T. did not intend to set up the dictatorship of an enlightened minority within the working class. It sought to conciliate certain sections of the working class even in those provinces where it had a preponderant majority. Revolutionary unity and proletarian democracy are the basic principles of the C.N.T. tactics. That is why it had to find a way of drawing the more backward section of the working class now organized in the socialist unions (U.G.T.) into the struggle for a new social order.

#### Bureaucracy of U.G.T. Lukewarm to Proposal

The revolutionary alliance proposed by the C.N.T. at its last convention was an attempt to discover such a way of revolutionary collaboration with the more backward section of the working class. And had such a pact been concluded at that time, events would have taken an altogether different course. The Fascist rebellion would have been stifled at its very source instead of letting it spread out. But in spite of the pressure of the rank and file of the U.G.T. for the concluding of such a pact, the bureaucratic leadership succeeded in sabotaging this proposal. And even after the outbreak of the Fascist revolt when revolutionary unity was becoming a living fact, the Socialist politicians in control of the U.G.T. tried to evade the issue of crystallizing this actual unity in the form of a revolutionary pact stating clearly the basic aims of common revolutionary action.

It was, only in Catalonia, where such revolutionary action

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## MUSSOLINI PLOTTING INTERVENTION

### ITALY FAILS IN ITS FIRST ATTEMPT

Several weeks ago a brief report appeared in the press telling of an attempt made by the Fascists to land troops on the Catalonian coast. The attempt failed because of the vigilance of the population. The Solidaridad Obrera of Oct. 31 gives a full description of this attempt. Some of the details are highly interesting, pointing to some sinister preparation now being made by Italy.

That some foreign power, presumably Italy, was back of this attempt was shown by the fact that the ships bombarding the coast came from and left in the

direction of Majorca Island, now held by Italy. Also, the manner in which the enemy's artillery functioned convinced the experts that it was some foreign ship that did the bombarding. That was also confirmed by the fact that submarines were sighted near the ship. And it is only Italy or Germany that could supply submarines.

In frustrating this attempted invasion, the Catalonian people displayed remarkable spontaneity and vigilance. The peasants and workers of the villages and towns around this attempted

landing spot did not wait for any orders from above to make themselves ready. As soon as the news of the bombardment spread in the neighborhood—and it spread with lightning-like rapidity—the roads leading to that particular spot became jammed with vehicles of all kinds carrying armed men from the surrounding towns and villages. The spontaneous manner in which the organization of those armed men was effected well bespoke the revolutionary ardor animating the workers and peasants of Catalonia.

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## REVOLUTIONARY FLEET IN AGGRESSIVE ACTION

From time to time the capitalist press prints reports of the demoralization of the loyalist fleet and its inactivity, brought about by dissensions within the ranks of revolutionary sailors. Like most of the news coming from that source, those reports are highly colored by the Fascist sympathies of the correspondents or the news agencies. The revolutionary fleet has not lost its fighting ability nor has the morale of its personnel suffered any impairment. The description given by the Moscow "Pravda" of the work done by it only recently in lifting the blockade from the northern coast of Spain gives us a different picture from the one drawn by the capitalist press.

It was not an easy job. The fleet started from Carthagena (not far from Valencia) and, with the exception of Malaga, it had to give wide berth to all the ports on the southern and western coasts of the peninsula (and that, of course, had also to be done in regard to the Portuguese ports). The fleet was fre-

quently attacked by the enemy's aviation, which was getting, in this case, the full assistance of the German fleet in having signaled to it the whereabouts of the revolutionary ships.

The entire preparation for the expedition lasted only a few days, during which the fleet fully equipped itself for the long and dangerous cruise. The fleet consisted of two cruisers and six destroyers. On the way it was joined by another cruiser arriving from New Guinea. (The cruiser was in the hands of the rebels for a whole month, but on the way to Spain the sailors overpowered the officers and took hold of the ship.) The purpose of the expedition was to clear the northern coast of the pirate ships of the rebel fleet which by mining such ports like Bilbao and Gijon, and threatening directly the neutral shipping, succeeded in cutting off the northern forces from vital sources of supply.

The revolutionary fleet fully succeeded in its task. The rebel fleet went into hiding upon the appearance of the revolutionary

ships. The ports were cleared of any mines, the immediate danger of bombardment was removed, and supplies began to pour in through the northern ports. The successful offensive of the Asturian miners was made possible only as a result of this lifting of the blockade.

The most remarkable feature of this expedition was the almost complete lack of officers in it. The officers of the Spanish navy were Fascist in their preponderant majority. *The work was done by the sailors themselves who planned and executed this remarkable feat through their*

*ship committees.*

The Moscow "Pravda" is forced to admit that revolutionary democracy worked well in the navy. But why then this communist-inspired drive for the eradication of revolutionary democracy from the militia and the instituting of the autocratic rule of the commissars? If ship committees stood well the test of one of the most difficult expeditions, which ordinarily require the guidance of well trained officers and the discipline of a drilled body of sailors, why could not similar democratic organizations function in the army?

## WHY THE MADRID GOVERNMENT FAILED

Everyone of us knows what were the general causes leading to the victories of the rebel armies on the Madrid front. The flood of German and Italian arms placed the rebel hordes in a much superior position. The march from Seville to the gates of Madrid was to a considerable extent the triumph of the most

modern military technique over that of an earlier decade.

But that does not tell the entire story. There were other causes accounting for the weakness of the loyalist armies at that sector of the front. The Madrid government lost a great deal of valuable time. It showed a lack of

organizing ability. The revolutionary energies of the masses of people were not given adequate expression, and often the government found itself at cross purposes with the spontaneous tendency of the masses of workers and peasants to build up their own organs of revolutionary defense.

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Popular Militia in the First Period of Civil War



**All funds collected for our bulletin, "Spanish Revolution" should be turned in at once. If sufficient money is forthcoming we will be able to print the paper more regularly and perhaps soon make a weekly of it. Send contributions and sales collections to**

**UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS**

**I. Radinowsky, Treasurer  
45 West 17th Street  
New York City**

## SPANISH REVOLUTION

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### THE MESSAGE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

Immediately after the outbreak of the Fascist revolt in Spain, the representatives of the libertarian organizations of New York met for the purpose of finding ways and means of organizing effective help for the Spanish workers.

And one of the means chosen was the launching of a vigorous publication for the purpose of informing the public opinion of the country of the real character of the Spanish struggle.

That was necessary because of the total ignorance in which the American public opinion was kept in regard to Spain not only by the capitalist press, but also by the liberal and radical publications. The libertarian movement of Spain, which thus far has been the real driving force of the Revolution, was so little known in this country that its very appearance upon the historic stage of events was considered by many in the nature of a miracle, of an historic freak, of an illusory phenomenon of passing interest and significance.

Very few in this country realized that the workers of Spain took up arms not in defense of bourgeois democracy, but in order to build up a new social order based upon the principles of solidarity and justice. Very few grasped the true significance of the events taking place after the outbreak of the Fascist revolt three months ago. The communist and socialist press was just as misleading in this respect as the capitalist sources of information. They all attempted to belittle, to understate, to ignore and cover up the significance of the greatest event of modern life, comparable in its far reaching effect to the October revolution of 1917.

The present publication was launched to overcome this widespread ignorance. It was named the "Spanish Revolution" because of the deep conviction of all the libertarian organizations that what is now taking place in Spain is the beginning of a great revolution opening up a new era in the life of humanity. It is a revolution that, unlike the October revolution of 1917, is consciously oriented upon the great values of the socialist ideal. It is more constructive in its effects than the Russian revolution, and it lacks the destructive fury of a blind elemental outburst which nearly placed the October revolution on the verge of ruin.

To bring the message of this revolution to the hearts and minds of the great number of workers, farmers, intellectuals, now disheartened and discouraged by the sight of a seemingly irresistible Fascist tide, is in itself one of the greatest tasks now facing every libertarian in this country. To show to all those people that in Spain a new social order is now being built, not at the price of total eradication of liberty, not by setting up a totalitarian State, not by endowing one man with the unlimited power of an oriental autocrat, but through the full exercise of revolutionary democracy, the free cooperation of all the progressive forces,—to stir up even a small section of the public opinion with the awareness of this fact is to perform the greatest service to the cause of the world-wide fight against reaction and Fascism.

And this is the aim of our publication. We are out to tell our readers of the basic aims of the driving force of the Spanish revolution. And no revolution can be understood apart from the system of ideas underlying the work of its vanguard. We will try to reveal the manifold phases of the great revolutionary process in its unfoldment. We are going to bring as much light as we can upon the intricate problems now facing the workers and peasants of Spain in their efforts to recast the entire life in the mold of their basic aspirations.

To do it requires a much more powerful organ than the one we are publishing now. We need a weekly to keep up with the rapidly changing situation. And we need a much larger circulation. There are enough people in this country sufficiently interested in the course of the Spanish revolution to warrant us in our expectation of building up a circulation of 20 to 25 thousand copies. We have thousands of our own comrades eager for authentic news and information.

It can be done. A weekly of wide appeal can be built up if all of us realize the supreme importance of this task. And it is to undertake the immediate work in this direction that we call upon all our comrades and sympathizers.

**"If the world permits the crushing of the Spanish revolution, it will be guilty of one of the greatest crimes ever committed against humanity."**

—Max Nettlau.

### REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE, NOT ORGANIZED REVENGE

Every great revolution must first of all make a clean sweep of all existing laws and institutions. The creation of new forms of life and their regulation must be based upon the intuitive sense of the revolutionary masses. A revolution is successful when this innate sense of right is given full play without being hampered by antiquated laws and norms.

Catalonia, the most revolutionary province of Spain, is now proceeding along this course. The new popular tribunals now being set up in that province are based upon the idea that the revolutionary masses must build their own norms, proceeding from their own sense of right and wrong.

The tribunals were brought into existence by the need of dealing with the counter-revolutionary activities of the fascist sympathizers. A revolution must defend itself not only on the war front but also in the rear. Revolutionary civil war is not confined to one sector: it permeates the entire social life for quite a considerable time. The enemies within have to be guarded against as much as the enemy without.

But unlike the Russian revolutionists the Catalonian workers do not strike out in blind rage. The organs of revolutionary self-defense have nothing in common with the monstrous Extraordinary Commissions (the famous Tcheka), which banished all considerations of justice from their operations. They are tribunals for revolutionary justice and not for blind revenge. That shows itself in the structure of those Tribunals as well as in the rules laid down for their functioning.

We are giving here a brief summary of some of the outstanding features of the decree setting up such tribunals. (The decree is published in full in the "Solidaridad Obrera, Oct. 16.)

The purpose of those Tribunals is to fight against counter-revolutionary activity in all its forms, such being considered:

- Armed rebellion against the administrative organs created by the revolution.
- Espionage, transmission of important news of political and economic nature to fascists, foreign governments or counter-revolutionary organizations.
- Sabotage of the new economic order.

d) Terrorist activities.  
e) Counter-revolutionary agitation. And by way of safeguarding the population against the flood of denunciations inevitable at such a period, and often inspired by personal motives, the sphere of action of the Revolutionary Tribunals is broadened to include false denunciations, to be punished with the same severity as the crime alleged by it.

The structure of the Popular Tribunals is based upon the same principles of revolutionary democracy as all the other revolutionary institutions. The members of such tribunals are elected by the syndicates and parties now making up the anti-fascist front.

Revolutionary justice is incompatible with Star Chamber methods, and that is why the rights of the accused are scrupulously safeguarded. Trials are to be held in public, a certain time limit is placed upon the preliminary period of investigation (the accused cannot be held in detention for a long time without having charges preferred against him; the same limits are placed upon the period elapsing between his detention and the date of trial.) The accused is granted the right of choosing an attorney of his own, the right to appear as such being given to any citizen.

The latter provision, doing away with the privileges of the so called legal profession, is in keeping with the basic provision according to which "the members of the Tribunal are to decide according to their moral convictions, the old norms being applied only in measure that they accord with the free conscience of the members of those Tribunals."

Moral convictions and not antiquated laws as the source of the new norms of social regulation, fair, open trials and not inquisition proceedings, democratic control and not arbitrary rule of dictators speaking in the name of the revolution,—such are the distinguishing marks of the new organs of revolutionary justice.

And revolutions are safe where such regard is shown to demands of justice.

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

### SPAIN — THE HARBINGER OF A FEDERATED EUROPE

Slowly but surely the federative principle upheld by the anarchists as the basic guide for common action is now beginning to dominate the constructive efforts of the Spanish revolution. At first Catalonia, then the Basque provinces (they had already established an autonomous regime of their own), and now comes the province of Arragon—one of the most important battlegrounds of the armed forces of the revolution.

As soon as a sufficient number of towns and villages were freed from Fascist domination, a Supreme Council was formed, representing all the actual revolutionary forces of the province. The old bureaucratic apparatus was swept out of existence, giving place to a political structure similar to that of Catalonia. A net of local revolutionary committees, based upon the unions of workers, peasants and also upon the armed revolutionary units operating in the province,

began to spread throughout the province. The formation of the Supreme Council of Defense came as the ultimate step in linking up the local committees into a well-knit body.

The Spanish revolution is proceeding along a course which is already pointing to a new political future for Europe. What is now taking place in the revolutionary province of Arragon—that is the sweeping away of the old bureaucratic apparatus, the emergence of the new type of communes and their federation into higher political units—is being repeated throughout Spain, that is wherever the centralized power of the government decays so far as to call for the necessity of local revolutionary initiative. And the new revolutionary Spain emerging as the federation of free communes is the harbinger of a new federated Europe which will arise upon the ruins of its present militarist states.

### Tune In To Barcelona

To hear the C.N.T. Broadcasting Station at Barcelona, Spain, adjust your dials to short wave 42.88 meters—6995.1 kilocycles.

Programs conducted alternately in many languages including English, between the hours of 5 P.M. to 10:30 P.M. Spanish time, or 12 noon to 5:30 P.M. New York time.

"If our right to participate in the management of affairs is to be based upon the degree of participation in the armed struggle against Fascism, we surely deserve it. The C.N.T. now has the greatest number of fighters at

the front. The provinces which have shown the greatest loyalty and the strongest anti-Fascist sentiment are, with few exceptions, those in which the C.N.T. predominates.

—From "Frente Libertario" (anarchist paper for militiamen)

### READ OUR LITERATURE ON SPAIN

- "The Truth About Spain"  
by Rudolph Rocker — 5c
- "The Revolutionary Movement in Spain"  
by Dashar — 10c
- Send to U.L.O.  
45 W. 17th Street, N. Y., N. Y.

## INDUSTRIAL UNIONS TAKING CONTROL OF INDUSTRIES

The first phase of revolutionary reconstruction of the economy of the country was marked by a spontaneous wave of socialization initiated by the workers themselves. The workers would seize the enterprise, set up their own management and run it for their own benefit.

It was an inevitable phase since the initiative of such revolutionary steps must come from the workers themselves. And inasmuch as the workers have to struggle through the process of fitting the enterprise into the chaotic structure of a nascent economic order, they acquire the necessary experience enabling them to exercise the function of democratic control in a collectivized industry.

However, this phase could only be temporary in its nature. It led to certain injustices and inequalities with which the revolutionary workers could reconcile themselves only because of their temporary character. Thus some enterprises thrived, en-

abling the workers to draw a much higher income than the rest of the workers in the same industry. At the same time other enterprises which had to overcome certain difficulties inherited from the old regime, or because of the generally chaotic state of the economy, were running up heavy deficits. That is why in measure that the original chaotic conditions were overcome the syndicates began to take over the control of the industry as a whole. A description of such industry (wood industry) now operating under full control of the industrial union is given in an interview with the president of the union published in "Solidaridad Obrera," (Oct. 21). We quote some of the most relevant points reported in the paper:

"In our industry we have no more enterprises belonging to the employees only. All the enterprises are completely controlled by the syndicate; the purchase of raw material, the payment of wages, payment on

invoices; in other words the administration of the enterprises is in the hands of the union.

"We don't accept cooperative ownership or isolated collective control of the employees. All that sets up petty group interests against which we often have to fight. We don't want to put up a number of small shareholders instead of one owner.

"The workers in our industry get a stipulated wage in accordance with the general norms worked out by the plenum of the regional committees.

"We work for the front, for the schools, for the city. We make furniture of the highest grade and we have already obtained great successes in this field. Thousands and thousands of furniture pieces manufactured by us since the revolution are finding a wide market all over the province.

"The industry is run as a whole, the surpluses of every enterprise going to the general fund, from which we draw for improvements, reorganization and building of new enterprises."

C.N.T. have made certain important concessions. The pact contains certain provisions which, taken apart from the context of those peculiar conditions under which the anarchists of Spain are working now, may seem as unwarranted yielding to principles alien to our basic philosophy. And that is the creation of conscripted militias converted into a popular army. Taking into view the drive of the communists and socialists against the democratic committees within the militia units and their attempt to substitute in place of the latter the autocratic rule of the commissars, the provision of the pact envisioning the creation of a popular army should contain more specific points guaranteeing the rights of the democratic committees within such an army.

Nor is there sufficient stress in this pact upon the total elimination of political parties from any control of the revolution. The original draft of a revolutionary alliance proposed by the C.N.T. at its last convention was more specific in that respect. The comrades are quite aware of those compromises. But the sacrifices imposed by the necessity of a war to a finish against Fascism are not confined to human and material resources. In order to forge the unity that is absolutely indispensable now for the staving off of the immediate Fascist danger important concessions had to be made to the authoritarian movements of the country.

And with all that the pact represents one of the greatest triumphs of the revolutionary tactics of the C.N.T. Revolutionary unity of the Spanish working class is becoming a fact, and that—upon the basis of full recognition of the immediate necessity of a radical transformation of the capitalist order into a higher social system.

## SOCIALIZATION AND NOT NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

\*"The Spanish Minister of Agriculture has issued a decree proclaiming the nationalization of all estates belonging to persons mixed up in the Fascist putsch. As usual, the social facts have preceded the resolutions of the state. The Spanish agricultural workers did not wait for the state in order to solve this important problem. They have been quicker than the government. In all places where the Fascist putsch has been suppressed, the peasants took possession of the land. They showed singular clarity in regard to the problem of agriculture. They are better informed than the state. The Spanish agricultural workers ex-

propriated all large landed estates, whether their owners were directly connected with Fascism or not. Social justice and the necessity to do away once for all with feudalism in Spain, led them to apply direct action. The socialization of the land, carried out by the workers themselves, was the only solution of the problem. Nationalization, as punishment for participation in the military insurrection, can not possibly settle the agricultural problem of Spain.

Our government must understand that July 19th has definitely cut the legal democratic knot. The privileges of the old order are destroyed, a new society is in the making. The syndicates of the agricultural workers have socialized the land, production and consumption while the government still prates that the land shall be expropriated for the benefit of the state. This shows dense ignorance of the revolutionary will of the masses. In Catalonia and Levante congresses of the agricultural syndicates have already taken place. Even in social democratic Castille, regional conferences were held. The socialistic U.G.T. was represented at many of these gatherings. All congresses had the slogan: "Socialization of the Land! Through and for the workers! Socialization! Not Nationalization! Organization of production through the workers' organizations!"

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

\*ED. NOTE—The article refers to the policy of the old Madrid government controlled by the socialists and communists. The reorganization of the government along the lines demanded by the anarcho-syndicalists also resulted in radical change of its policies. The demand of workers for immediate control of the collectivized lands will find its adequate expression in the new policies.

the population by the Fascist hordes are indescribable. In many places our comrades are tied by their necks to horses tails and then dragged around the city. Girls, 13 years of age, raped first then shot, dismembered, packed in boxes and delivered to the homes of their parents. Pregnant women forced to drink a mixture of castor oil and petroleum, then have their bellies slashed open, their unborn children torn out from their wombs and then left to die a horrible death. Can we now stop and quarrel over differences of opinion in the face of such an enemy? . . ."

Those lines speak for themselves. Our Spanish comrades do not yield as far as the general line of revolutionary action is concerned. But in secondary matters, departures from it are allowed in order to maintain a strong united front against the horrible danger facing them now.

## REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE OF CATALONIAN WORKERS

(Continued from page one)

has gone the furthest in cementing the various factions of the working class, that the efforts of the C.N.T. have finally borne fruit. On Oct. 22, both labor unions—the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. and the socialist U.G.T. entered into a solemn pact clearly formulating the basic revolutionary aims of the present moment.

The document is too long to be cited here in full. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a general presentation of its character and to a few comments upon some of its outstanding points.

### What the New Pact Stands For

The pact recognizes the social nature and aims of the revolution. It declares itself in favor of the expropriation of the big industries, establishing workers' control in every enterprise, whether privately owned or collectivized. Nationalization of banks and the joint control over the entire system by the workers organizations and the Treasury Department of the Catalonian Council are upheld as the immediate tasks of the new revolutionary economy.

Foreign commerce, which is of such vital importance to Catalonia, is to be placed under the rigid control of the Economic Department of the Catalonian Council.

The pact also sanctions the basic principles of the policy pursued hitherto in the fields of agrarian relationships and the reorganization of the municipalities. All the land is to pass into the ownership of the municipality (commune), while collective cultivation is made optional with the peasants. This, as well as the taking over by the municipalities of the houses and rents, consti-

tutes one of the most important points of agreement reached by both labor organizations.

### Significance of the New Pact

At first glance it may seem that all those points of agreement only sanction what has already been accomplished or is being accomplished by the pressure of the revolutionary forces of Catalonian proletariat. But its importance is greater than that. The U.G.T. of Catalonia is by now a very influential section of the national organization, which, led by the socialists and communists, has thus far declined to come out with an open acknowledgment of the social nature of the Spanish revolution. Until recently the Madrid government, and especially its communist wing, tried to confine the revolution to aims which should not take it beyond that of an ordinary bourgeois democratic regime.

But now that one of the most important sections of the Spanish socialist movement (the pact was also signed by the united socialist-communist party of Catalonia) has signed a pact which openly states that the immediate task of the present-day policy of the labor organizations is to transcend the limitations of a bourgeois economy and to venture out boldly in the direction of a new social order,—now the task of sweeping in the socialist-controlled labor organizations into the task of revolutionary reconstruction becomes so much easier.

It is in view of the tremendous effect that such a pact is bound to have upon the working class of the other provinces of Spain, and also because of the exigencies of the bitter struggle against Fascism that our comrades of the



## MUSSOLINI PLOTS INTERVENTION

(Continued from page one)

Nor were the regular armed forces of Catalonia behind in this thrust against the invading enemy. Several hours after the sighting of the enemy fleet, the military command of Barcelona had 15,000 militiamen ready to start out for the attempted landing spot.

It was not necessary though. The resistance shown by the spontaneously gathered forces was such that the enemy failed in every attempt to land troops. After several hours of intense bombardment of the village, the fleet left in the same direction from which it came.

### ITALIAN DESIGNS

The attempt to attack Catalonia from the sea failed. But is it going to be the last one? The information given by the French left press about the Italian preparations on the Majorca Islands points to certain plans now being hatched by the Italian government. The attempted invasion was only in the nature of reconnoitring and what will follow may prove to be of a more serious nature, that is unless the international proletariat exert a much greater pressure in the direction of frustrating such attempts.

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

"Large contingents of Italian soldiers are landing daily on the Majorca Island. Their obvious destination is the coast of the province of Taragonne. The intention of the higher command is not only to cut the line of communication between Madrid and Barcelona but establish a base of operations against Barcelona itself."

"From the same source we learn that 112 bombers and pursuit planes are kept ready for an air raid upon Barcelona.

"The Italians are now building with feverish haste a line of fortifications running along the entire length of the Balearic Islands.

"Eight Italian submarines, manned by the Spanish rebels but officered by Italians are ready to leave at any moment from their naval base at Genoa. Their task is to stop any 'undesirable' vessel from reaching Barcelona."

This information confirms the general reports printed in the local press about the German and Italian plans to interfere more actively on behalf of the rebels.

*The Spanish revolution is in great danger and it is the duty of every one of us to redouble our efforts in defense of it.*

## CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE CATALONIAN VILLAGES

The struggle against the timorous policies of the socialists, communists and the petty-bourgeois parties in regard to the agrarian revolution is not confined to the central provinces only. In Catalonia and Levante the struggle is taking on a different character.

There, the main outlines of the anarcho-syndicalist program have already been embodied in the decrees issued by the Supreme Council. The land is turned over to the communes and the voluntary building up of collectives for the cultivation of land is upheld as the guiding policy of the unions, municipalities and organs of the Supreme Council.

But the struggle against the policy on the part of the petty-bourgeois elements continues in the form of hidden bureaucratic sabotage and insidious propaganda.

One of the outstanding figures of the anarchist movement of Spain, Federico Urales, gives a vivid picture of such resistance in his article published in "Solidaridad Obrera," Oct. 20.

According to Urales some of the Barcelona papers have already opened a campaign against building collectives in the villages. This campaign is finding quite a response in the apparatus set up by the Agricultural Department of the Supreme Council. Although fearing to come out openly against the decisions of the Council, this element entrenched in the apparatus exerts hidden pressure upon villagers in order to discourage

them from building collectives for communal cultivation of land. (Until recently the socialist and communist parties of Spain also frowned upon collective cultivation, considering it in the nature of "dangerous experiments.")

Whose interests do those elements reflect?

According to Urales it is the pressure of the richer peasants that finds its expression in this silent sabotage of some officials and in the open campaign of the Barcelona press. The upper layer of the peasant population is against collectives. They are for parcelling out the land. They find ways of circumventing the decree according to which a peasant family is to have only as much land as it can cultivate without hiring labor. That element realizes that collective cultivation deprives them of the supply of hired labor since all the poorer peasants are becoming members of such collectives.

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

Those are only tendencies against which the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain stands on guard. The revolution is only beginning. The pressure of the agricultural workers and the bulk of peasantry for collective cultivation will not be thwarted.

## Why Madrid Gov't Failed

(Continued from page one)

The correspondent notes the general tendency of the Madrid authorities to work bureaucratically and to place exclusive reliance upon the officers of the army in matters of war defense. At the first month, the various committees tried to interfere actively in the organization of defense, but that was discouraged by the government. The results of this displacement of popular initiative by bureaucratic methods made themselves felt very soon. The government had very few officers to rely upon and even those few showed an astounding lack of initiative.

Here is what the correspondent writes of the Toledo-Madrid sector of the war:

"There was no kind of leadership at the front. Even strategic points were left without trenches or barbed wire. Too often the government front line consisted of a line of men out in the open country without any kind of shelter. *The officers should have known better.*" (Italics ours.—Ed.)

But what was the cause of such apparent laxity? The correspondent, of course, has nothing to say on that matter outside of the incidental remark that "unlike Catalonia or the other eastern provinces, Madrid has thus far escaped any far-reaching changes in her general economy." In other words, the socialists and communists, who until recently were in full control of the Madrid government, stood faithfully on guard of Spanish capitalism. But could anything be more conducive to the demoralization of the forces of defense than this timorous attitude?

For in order to safeguard the capitalist economy against the pressure of the workers' and peasants organizations, the Madrid government had to fall back upon a bureaucratic apparatus, part of which consisted of elements hostile to the popular cause. The country was not covered with a net of revolutionary committees taking the entire power in their hands and making a clean sweep of the old laws and institutions. It is those local committees that constitute the real strength of the revolution of Catalonia, Arragon and the other provinces in the east and south of Spain. The stifling of such committees could not but lead to the results described by the correspondent of the bourgeois magazine.

**Build a united front of all libertarians for the defense of the Spanish revolution. Build a federation of groups and unions to carry the voice of the Spanish revolution to American people.**

**"THE CENTER OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION IS NOW BARCELONA."**

—Sebastian Faure.

## Revolutionary Councils But Not A Centralized Government

The question of anarchist participation in the Madrid government still agitates many of our friends and enemies. To both it is a source of amazement and perplexity.

It would, perhaps, be less of a stumbling block if people went less by verbal standards and more by basic evaluations. It was not an old type of government that the anarcho-syndicalist joined, but a revolutionary committee. The government was remolded into a type of supreme revolutionary body under the pressure of the anarchists. And certainly no one will see any contradiction between the basic principles of anarchist tactics and the joining of such a committee. To do so would be to deny the anarchists the right to join a strike committee or any other body of a similar nature.

The motives and the struggle for participation are presented to some extent in the following excerpts taken from the English bulletin of the C.N.T. and the "Solidaridad Obrera."

From the C.N.T. Bulletin:

"In Catalonia and Levante the C.N.T. has the absolute majority. It also counts a considerable number of members in Aragon, Andalusia and all other regions of Spain. Just now, its moral importance and its number of memberships are growing enormously, even in regions where the C.N.T. used to be in the minority, as for instance in Castille. Nevertheless, the government of Largo Caballero has excluded the organization, comprising more than half of the fighting Spanish workers, from the responsible direction of war.

In Catalonia, the C.N.T., in cooperation with all other anti-Fascist forces have created the Council of the Generalidad. The C.N.T. participates in this Council, which coordinates all anti-fascist efforts for the great revolutionary struggle.

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

and other antifascist movements are cooperating. In the liberated parts of Aragon, all antifascist efforts are coordinated in the Council of Defence, under the presidency of the Anarchist comrade Ascaso. Only Madrid continues the old political party form of government and intrigue."

From the "Solidaridad Obrera."

"The Madrid government pretends to be for a unified command. We have always stressed this point and in Catalonia we have already established in our Council the unity in the command. But this example does not seem to mean anything to the central government. Largo Caballero should understand that the government he is directing has not the necessary authority to solve the problem of victory over fascism. The Caballero government lacks the support of the proletarian masses who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of Spain. These masses and our organizations took the initiative to save Spain from the rebel generals. Unity of command can only be achieved by altering the formations of those political organs who are directing the affairs of the nation. To ask for unity in the command and to refuse at the same time the participation of our strong and powerful organization in this command—as the socialist party does—means striving after a peculiar and even dangerous monopoly, means open contempt of the great revolutionary masses, who are ever ready to give up everything for the Revolution, and without whose quick and direct action, the military putsch could not have been suppressed. We must show the world real unity by creating one leading organism, comprising all workers' organizations, and taking full responsibility for the constructive advance of the Revolution. The sad experiences of the past and the danger of committing again the same errors of old, force us to create a new leading organism with the participation of all revolutionary efforts.

## The Kind of Work The Spanish Revolution Needs

"I have been lax in acknowledging receipt of the "Spanish Revolution," but I was extremely busy trying to get other groups and organizations to help out our Spanish brothers in their heroic struggle. To date I have only succeeded in acquainting the workers of this section with the nature and perspective of this struggle. That was achieved with the help of the literature received from you.

I have given out the literature to the workers without charge (that is, the "Spanish Revolution," "Vanguard," and the pamphlets, "The Truth About Spain" and "The Revolutionary Movement in Spain.") I expect to refund the literature by asking for voluntary contributions.

"On Wednesday, Oct. 21, my local, No. 1, Gillespie, in which we fortunately have some influence, again voted a donation of \$525 to the workers in Spain. I only hope that it may arrive in time to help.

"Yours for the Revolution,  
John Batuello."