

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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New Society Born in Catalonia

Anarcho-Syndicalists Build Free Socialism In Catalonia

Under this title an article appeared in the *Giustizia e Libertà*, an Italian anti-Fascist paper published in Paris. The article was written by Carlo Rosselli, a well known anti-Fascist, an ex-professor of Economics in the Genoa University who was sentenced to several years of hard prison labor by the Mussolini government. He was one of the first to volunteer for the Aragon front where he was in command of the Italian section of the Ascaso brigade.

"Catalonia holds now in its hands the destiny of Spain. The pessimism shown in some circles seems to me wholly unwarranted. We must bear in mind that even if Madrid is surrounded* and a good part of the South is in the hands of the enemy, the entire mediterranean coast, all Catalonia is fervently anti-Fascist. And Catalonia alone means 24% of the population, half of the wealth of the country and three quarters of Spanish commerce and industry.

"In three months Catalonia succeeded in erecting a new social order upon the ruins of an old system. This is due mainly to the anarchists who manifested a remarkable sense of proportion, a realistic grasp of things and an organizing ability. Barcelona has a normal aspect now. All public services, amusement places, theatres function regularly.

"All the revolutionary forces of Catalonia have united upon a program of a syndicalist and socialist nature: socialization of big industry; consideration for small property and workers control. This program is adhered to by all anarchist, socialist and left-republican (Esquerra) organizations of Catalonia.

* The article was written before the heroic defense of Madrid began. The pessimism referred to by the author was quite in evidence then in the liberal and socialist circles.

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"Anarcho-syndicalism, defamed until recently, has shown itself as a great constructive force.

"Santillan* told me recently of the creation of a powerful war industry. A French technician told him: 'in respect of industrial mobilization you, Catalonians, have achieved in three months as much as we, during the World War, succeeded in doing only after two years.'

* Santillan—economist and writer. One of the outstanding theoreticians of the anarchist movement of Spain.

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NATIONALIST PLOT SIGNIFICANT LANDMARK IN DEVELOPMENT OF SPANISH REVOLUTION

As we go to press we learn of the latest discovery of the Fascist plot in Catalonia. A number of leading Catalonian Separatists were involved in it, the ramifications of the plot going as far as the Commissariat of Public Order. (The General Commissioner was one of the main instigators of the plot.)

Within the next few days we shall learn a great deal more about the details of the whole affair. But its general meaning is clear now. The united front built up so patiently by the anarcho-syndicalists of Catalonia had some weak spots in it and it is through those crevices that the semi-fascist elements attempted to bore a path in order to explode the revolutionary structure of Catalonia from within.

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.

The collaboration with the political representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie was in the nature of a compromise. It was dictated by the exigencies of a war situation. This political experiment can succeed only in measure that those elements fully accept the idea of a proletarian hegemony. The existence of the lately discovered plot showed that not all of them reconciled themselves to this idea.

The better it is for the Revolution. The thorough clean-up that is to follow the discovery of the plot will sweep out the last remnants of the political forces that still believe in an independent policy on the part of the petty bourgeoisie. From now on there will be only one road left for them—and that is the full and loyal cooperation of the petty bourgeoisie with the revolutionary forces which are now rebuilding Catalonian life along the lines of libertarian socialism.

BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

Five hundred thousand people marched to the grave of Buenaventura Durruti. They did not goose-step in military-like formations as the drilled and robotized crowds of dictator-ridden countries do. They marched in the spontaneous fashion of revolutionary crowds, swept by the deep feeling of grief for a lost revolutionary hero. It was a spontaneous outpouring, a spontaneous manifestation of popular sympathies, of a deep-felt sense of reverence for one who in his life and actions came to embody so much of the hopes and aspirations of the toiling masses of Spain.

He was a revolutionary hero and not a "professional" revolutionist of the kind which did so much to discredit the idea of revolutionary action in the eyes of the working masses of the world. He did not divorce moral responsibility from revolutionary action. His heroic life was impelled by a sense of revolutionary duty, freely accepted and acted upon in the manner of a free individual. He did not stultify himself before a "Leader," did not glorify the soulless discipline of a revolutionary automaton.

Hence the great power welling from the innermost being of this man who only four months ago was still working at his factory bench. It is the same power which now emanates from the great mass of revolutionary workers of Catalonia, enabling them to perform the miracles of revolutionary reconstruction so much admired by every observer. The revolutionary masses of Catalonia responded so readily to the magnetic force of an idealist revolutionary like Buenaventura Durruti, because they felt him to be one of them, a man who came to represent somewhat more vividly the heroic qualities of a class that is aware of the creative stirrings of a new world.

And because Durruti's life was imbued with that sense of individual moral responsibility, the sense of spontaneous solidarity, the revolutionary passion of a libertarian, it is because of this fact he succeeded in inscribing by his epic life and death one of the most glorious pages in the heroic struggles of the Spanish proletariat. From his youngest days he served the revolutionary cause with the modesty and unobtrusiveness of a true revolutionist. He did not fight for leadership, for superior commanding positions. There were none in the anarchist movement which he embraced so fervently. He fought alongside the workers of Barcelona in the darkest hours of the Fascist dictatorship of Primo De Rivera. It was then that his name already became a legend to the great mass of Barcelona workers, who, unlike the drilled and disciplined workers of the Marxist countries, did not resign themselves meekly to the Fascist dictatorship. He fought the Fascists with their own weapon. The acts of Fascist terror were not let go unanswered. Untrammelled by pedantic "revolutionary" theories, by a brain-spun strategy derived from holy texts and writings, he reverted to individual terror, which in the time of complete Fascist domination, kept the fire of revolutionary enthusiasm burning among the masses of workers.

(Continued on page two)



Revolutionary Militia in the Trenches

Cowardly Policy Brought Moors to Spain

For a number of years the Spanish imperialists waged a ruthless campaign against the Moroccan tribes. Although succeeding with the help of French and British imperialists in breaking the fierce resistance of the native warriors, they must have left a rancorous resentment and a smouldering hatred in the wake of their punitive expeditions. How is it that the same gang of militarists succeeded in turning those very tribes into obedient instruments of their nefarious designs against the Spanish people?

We find an answer to this

question in the information given by the "Revolution Proletarienne" of Nov. 10, on the attitude of the former Madrid government to the Moroccan problem. The picture drawn by this magazine is of the dismal, familiar kind: a cowardly democratic government, hiding behind a smoke screen of liberal and socialist phraseology, but failing at the same time in its elementary democratic duty of liberating the exploited colonial peoples; and on the other hand—clever Fascist demagoguery turning to advantage those fatal mistakes. This is what the magazine has to say on this subject:

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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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BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI

(Continued from page one)

He tasted to the bitter end the life of a revolutionary hounded at home and in exile. Driven from one country to another, persecuted by the police of almost every "democratic" country of the world, he kept on wandering from one refuge to another, leading the tortured life of an anarchist exile.

He went back to Barcelona immediately after the revolution of 1931. He could easily have compensated himself for the years of suffering by some soft political job which were open at that time to every expatriated exile. But like many of those comrades who made the anarchist movement the great moral power it is now in the life of the Revolution, Durruti spurned any offers of that kind. He went to work in the factory, and it is from there that his clarion call for a new real revolution resounded throughout the whole country. While working at the factory bench, he became a greater power than the socialist politicians occupying prominent ministerial positions.

He was the first to raise the banner of revolt against the sham of the new democratic government. He exhorted the workers to bestir themselves to a new mighty effort toward a genuine revolution and not the kind of which the politicians spoke in 1931. And because of his tremendous influence, he was singled out for persecutions by the new governing powers. He was banished to Africa, beaten and tortured in the prisons, hounded at his place of work and driven from one factory to another.

But around him the steel wall of proletarian solidarity kept growing in strength and power of resistance. In spite of all the persecutions and machinations of the government, the workers of Barcelona flocked to the banner of social revolution raised by Durruti and his comrades of the anarchist federation. It was due to Durruti and thousands like him, nameless heroes of a great movement, that the workers of Barcelona were not caught napping in the great critical hour of the Fascist revolt. Together with other countless heroes, Durruti fought at the barricades of Barcelona where the destinies of the Spanish revolution and that of the fate of the international proletariat hung in the balance.

And then—from the street barricades of Barcelona to the most dangerous sector of the front, leading one of the most valiant brigades of comrades, which already made history by saving Madrid in its critical hour. The "General" Durruti—that is what the capitalist and communist press wrote of him. But he was no more a "general" in their sense than he was a "Leader" of the Stalin kind. He led his men by the power of personal example, of moral persuasion, of revolutionary enthusiasm and deep faith in the cause of the common man that permeated his being. He demanded discipline, but the free self-control of a class-conscious revolutionist, and not the drilled automatic obedience insisted upon by the socialists and communists in their attempt to shape the fighting forces of the Revolution in the pattern of the Russian army. And now even the enemies have to recognize that his brigade was one of the best fighting units in the military sense.

His death came as a fitting climax to his heroic life. Always in the front ranks of his fighting men, sharing the risks and hardships of every comrade in his brigade, he finally succumbed to the numerous wounds received during the fight for Madrid. Always fighting shoulder to shoulder with the masses of workers battling for a new humanity, exercising leadership by personal example and revolutionary action displayed on a high moral plane—such he remained to his last minute. And in revering him the great masses of workers that poured out spontaneously to pay homage to his epic life and death, also paid a deep felt tribute to the libertarian movement which molded and shaped the heroic qualities of this man into the pattern of a new humanity.

Tune In On Barcelona

To hear the C.N.T. Broadcasting Station at Barcelona, Spain, adjust your dials to short wave 42.88 meters—6995.5 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.

WHAT THE FASCIST RULE HOLDS IN STORE FOR SPAIN

FASCIST TERROR in Seville

We are reprinting the following from the British liberal daily, "Manchester Guardian": The writer of this article disavows any undue sympathies for the Spanish Lefts. The account of Fascist terror is based upon personal investigation and checked-up reports.

The account given below speaks for itself. The Fascists are aiming at the wholesale extermination of the workers and intellectuals. And in Seville they have partly succeeded in doing so. The shooting of prominent liberals of the pinkest variety tells a great deal about the extreme swing of the Spanish reaction. And that also explains the growing attraction which the social revolution, now taking place in many parts of Spain, holds for those social layers which are not impelled to it by their economic position. There is no middle road between Social Revolution and the total annihilation of culture, and the description given below of conditions now reigning in Seville bears it out once more.

Wholesale Shootings in Seville

"According to most reliable information the terror prevailing here is becoming more and more appalling. Every morning armed bands of Falangists (Spanish

Fascists) drag people out of their houses and shoot them. Usually they select their victims by lists, but sometimes they choose workmen and working women from streets by hazard. (This particular point is confirmed by Pierre Ichoc, a French journalist of by no means Left sympathies, who was eyewitness to such scenes.)

Murdering in the Name of Jesus

"A fanatically religious atmosphere invests the whole town. All the Falangists have the Sacred Heart of Jesus embroidered or pinned on their sleeves. In streets, little shrines to the Sacred Heart have been put up. When anyone in prison claims to have been put there by mistake, he is told that he has to prove that he was married by the Church and not by the State and that his children were baptized, which is something very few Sevillian workmen under thirty can manage.

Wholesale extermination of workmen and liberals.

"Already 8,000 have been shot in Seville. Syndicalists, socialists, anyone who sat on trade union committees, anyone in whose house was found a book on Russia, on socialism, anarchism. But the Fascists have a special hatred for middle class republicans. Freemasons have

been shot, many chemists, most school teachers (men and women) and a number of doctors, including the president of the Sevillian Medical Association.

A number of buildings have been converted into prisons. These and the old prisons are overcrowded. Soldiers are billeted on the families of all prisoners, and they have to supply them with food and clothing. Since the property of all persons associated with the Left has been confiscated, one wonders how thousands of women in Seville whose husbands have been shot or imprisoned, are going to support themselves and their children.

"Even shopkeepers are being executed in considerable number. One might say that more than half of the leading citizens of town have been shot. Most of them were liberals of a moderate type, and were hostile to socialism. The excuse was that they were anti-clericals.

"Many of them were shot in order to have their property expropriated from them. When arrested, they were made to sign over all their bank accounts on the understanding that they would be released afterwards. They were shot immediately after having signed such papers. Their families were even forbidden to wear mourning."

COWARDLY POLICY BROUGHT MOORS TO SPAIN

(Continued from page one)

"During the two years following the proclamation of the Republic the liberals and socialists of the Republican government did nothing for the native population of Morocco. The same may be said about the government of the People's Front which ignored this problem during all the five months of its stay in power, that is those that preceded the Fascist rebellion.

"Franco knew that it was necessary to have the Moroccans as their allies. He granted the Moroccans liberties which the Republic refused them. Franco, for instance, granted the native Moroccans the right to publish their own papers. But it is exact-

ly this right that the Moroccans tried in vain to obtain from the People's government. For a number of months the Moroccans kept on petitioning the government of the People's Front about the issuance of a native paper in the Arabian language. The government did not as much as answer this demand. One of the first acts of Franco was to grant the Moroccans this demand.

"By now we may already reveal the fact that some native Moroccans wielding great influence in their country, known patriots but democrats at the same time, demanded that the Largo Caballero government (before the entrance of the anarch-

syndicalist into the government) make a definite promise of certain autonomous rights to the Moroccans if they succeed in liberating themselves from Franco's rule. Those demands, although discussed by the Cabinet Council, were tabled afterwards, and the prominent Moroccans who sent out such feelers were not even answered."

However, the entrance of the anarch-syndicalists into the government has changed matters in this respect. According to the same magazine, the pressure of the anarcho-syndicalists resulted in the working out of a plan of full autonomy for Morocco, which is going to be made public very soon.

Forward With the Work of Building a Federation of United Libertarian Organizations

The ranks of the United Libertarian Organizations are growing. The last report received was from Detroit where an active International Libertarian Committee has been unfolding active work for the Spanish revolution. They have been collecting money, arranging mass meetings, pushing vigorously the sale of the "Spanish Revolution" and literature on Spain.

New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit have already lined up behind our program of rallying all the libertarian forces for a concerted effort to place the work of helping the struggle of our Spanish comrades on an organized basis. But this is only

the beginning. The larger tasks are still ahead of us. We have to expand our paper, start publishing pamphlets on the Spanish revolution and also send out speakers to all parts of the country.

There are other cities in this country containing various groups and sympathizers. They all should follow the example of those four cities in which definite organizations have been set up for the purpose of stirring up the workers of the country to the great significance of the Spanish events.

Let us hear from you, comrades! Let us show that we can rise to the great historic occasion

and face the great responsibilities thrust upon us in virtue of our position as one of the important sections of the international libertarian movement.

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

Libertarian Revolution Winning Petty Bourgeoisie to Its Economic Program

The Petty Bourgeoisie and the Proletarian Revolution

The victorious sweep of the Fascist reaction in some countries was to a considerable extent due to the support it obtained from the numerous classes of petty bourgeoisie. And this in turn was brought about by the inability of the revolutionary elements to find a common language with that class. The prevailing opinion was that during the revolution the petty bourgeoisie would inevitably find itself on the other side of the barricades.

The Spanish revolution has shown that this is far from being inevitable. The realistic course of revolutionary reconstruction pursued by the anarcho-syndicalists of Catalonia and other revolutionary provinces of Spain have wrought great changes in the attitude of the petty-bourgeoisie. If successful, this policy of collaboration will open a new chapter in the revolutionary struggles. A revolutionary union of the workers with that class will deprive the Fascist counter-revolution of its mass base. On the other hand the same policy of drawing the petty bourgeois economy into a wider cooperative scheme will save the Revolution from the horrors and the subsequent moral degradation of the Russian revolution.

The article reprinted below is

a part of an editorial appearing in the "Solidaridad Obrera" of November 15th. The opinions expressed by the writer are not mere theorizing, but are based upon the living practice of the Catalonian revolution.

"... In laying down the basic norms of the Revolution the C. N. T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) adhered to a solution which would leave intact the small commerce, industry and the owner of small property. This point of view found the most enthusiastic approval on the part of the greatest majority of unionized workers.

Full Communism Can Be Realized Only Gradually.

"In countries where an attempt was made to realize full communism at once, the difficulties with which such an attempt was met were of a stupendous nature. Here in Spain they would be almost insuperable. The individualist character of the Spanish nation can become a factor of great value if directed along the right course. But if we try to suppress it in the course of the transition from capitalism to communism, we might obtain results that would tell very heavily upon the productive forces of the country.

"The C.N.T. is aware of the importance that the winning over to our side of the petty bourgeoisie might have for the triumph of the Revolution. That is

why it did not hesitate to insist that the institution of small property be retained. Moreover, we are convinced that in retaining small property, in enabling the small merchant and manufacturer to function, we are making it easier for the present transitional system to evolve into a communist society. The distribution of products will be more perfect. The transition of the bourgeois super-capitalist system to that of communism will be effected without a bloody havoc, without upsetting the life of a country like ours which carried out such a vast economic and social Revolution within the brief period of a few weeks.

Workers Control of Industry Makes Possible Revolutionary Collaboration with Petty Bourgeoisie.

"Without any fear of equivocation, we might say that the formula found by the C.N.T. is so perfect that our proletarian Revolution already revealed to the world the original phenomenon of a petty bourgeoisie working enthusiastically side by side with the workers. The petty bourgeoisie will realize more and more that the proletarian revolution has removed the main hindrance to its development—and that is super-capitalism. With the big industry in the hands of workers unions, with the nationalized banks converted into a public service, the hindrance to the assertion of free initiative of the small merchant or artisan will largely disappear."

Technicians Work for Revolution

One of the most remarkable features of the great revolutionary work now going on in Catalonia and the adjoining provinces of the Eastern coast is the loyal cooperation of the technicians and professionals with the revolutionary forces. They do not turn their back upon the revolution as similar groups did in the October revolution of 1917.

This is due greatly to the preparatory work done by the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain. The C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) always tried to draw those elements into its movement and inculcate within them the realization of the need of close cooperation with the workers for revolutionary purposes. After the revolution the Union of Free Professions affiliated with the C.N.T., rapidly grew in number and importance. School teachers, doctors, university professors and engineers now work side by side with manual workers in rebuilding the life of the country along lines of the revolutionary policy of the C.N.T.

An interesting sidelight on the activity of one of those groups (the section of engineers and technicians at the C.N.T. union of Free Professions) is given by

the reporter of the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Nov. 1.)

This section, according to the reporter, contains now the best technical forces of the country. (Catalonia). It is already mapping out a comprehensive program of the economic reorganization of the country, of raising the productivity of the industries and also the general level of technical qualification of the workers.

The latter task is to be carried out by organizing a net of technical and professional schools for workers, covering every specialized field. The C.N.T. technicians are already working upon the plans of such a comprehensive technical education.

The section is also busily working upon the building up of an the experimental divisions now to unify and direct the work of the experimental divisions now set up in the factories.

And though the problem of industrialization of the country is not one of immediate actualities, the section is already making the necessary work of preparing the statistical data and sketching out general outlines, to be submitted when the control and regulation of the country will have assumed the forms enabling the regulating bodies to tackle the problem of industrialization.

OPEN LETTER to RUSSIAN WORKERS

The open letter, part of which we reprint here, reserved as it is in its tone and expressions, fully exposes the duplicity and hypoc-

ris of a government which still dares to speak in the name of democracy and liberty while trampling them daily under its feet.

falls in line with its aspirations and potentialities.

"And what does it matter to us, anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists, that in some communities we might find ourselves in the minority, that those very communities might resign themselves to a regime of the type of bourgeois democracy or state socialism? What is important that we shall obtain the right to live our own life in full harmony with our own aspirations, be it even Libertarian Communism itself. (Ed. Note: That is in those communities which are controlled by the libertarian forces.) This gives us the hope of winning over by example those communities which escaped our ideological influences.

"The Socialist Federal Republic admits such a diversity of patterns and systems, for it starts out with the idea that economic needs are the basic links binding communities together, and that those needs will impell the latter to establish a close system of interrelationships.

"But for the present moment the most important thing that all of us have to learn is to compose our differences within a broad plan of mutual understanding. In order to arrive at such an understanding, the Spanish proletariat must take the Socialist Federal Republic as the starting point of all the constructive tasks imposed by the Revolution.

"... From the first days of the Fascist revolt we were here fighting against the reactionaries. Our group was on the Aragonian front, having taken the name of a comrade whom you know well and whose death in the German concentration camp stirred up the indignation of the entire world.

"Having united our hearts with the name of this martyred comrade, we feel it our duty to take up the defense of a woman who for a long number of years had been the companion of Ehrich Muehsam.

"Some of us know her as well as we knew him. And we know that she remained faithful to the cause of the revolutionary workers.

"It is already more than half a year that she was arrested in your country, having disappeared since then, so that we cannot even establish any contact with her.

"In the name of our common cause, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the world we ask that Zenzel Muehsam be freed. While the Spanish people carries on a life and death struggle against Fascism, Zenzel Muehsam should not rot her life away in Russian prisons or exile.

"And that is why we keep on demanding: Freedom for Zenzel Muehsam! Let no other ship come from your country unless it carries aboard Zenzel Muehsam.

A group of machine gunners of the name Ehrich Muehsam.

THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL AIMS OF THE C. N. T.

The course now followed by the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain is full of compromises and concessions. Everyone realizes that the program now carried out by them is yet far from the full idea of anarchism which has been and still is the guiding faith of millions of organized workers in Spain.

The present day policy is partly dictated by the demands of a war situation. But to a still greater extent it is guided by the realization of the necessity of a transitional system for the present period. Libertarian communism cannot be carried out immediately after the breakdown of the power of the capitalists. It presupposes a system of transitional measures in the domain of political and economic relationships which will clear the way for the active forces remolding life in the direction of our ideal.

What are the basic ideas of such a transitional system now guiding the work of the anarcho-syndicalist confederation? We give here excerpts from the speech delivered on this topic by Juan Peiro, one of the prominent figures of the C.N.T. (now a member of the national government).

The speech deals mainly with the political aspects of the immediate program of revolutionary transformations. It upholds federalism as the basic principle of the new political system which

the Revolution is now erecting in place of the old regime.

"... The historic hour of the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

"In 1931 the republicans and the socialists could not discover the road of revolutionary action demanded by that movement. And it is hardly possible that they will find it now, for the rhythm of the Revolution and civil war now demands deep changes in the economic and social order and not mere political reforms.

"But if the republicans and socialists lack the moral authority to mark out a road for our Revolution, we anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists assume such responsibility. The C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor) and the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) have proven sufficiently that they possess the necessary thoughtfulness and the spiritual values necessary to become the guiding brains of a new world."

The speaker then points out that the high spiritual qualities of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement are indispensable now in view of the need of finding a revolutionary way of working together with other forces on the basis of some form of a transitional regime.

The Political Form of the Transitional System.

"The end of the war will find its completion in a transitional

system. And that will be so because there is no more rational, more just and logical way out. If we all contributed toward the victorious end of the war, it is just that we all taste the fruits of the Revolution.

"To me the most adequate form of the transitional system created by the war and the Revolution is a Socialist Federal Republic. And I am asking the comrades not to be taken aback by the term "Socialists." We are all socialists, even those who call themselves anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists. But not all socialists are federalists. What is important is that a Republic of a socialist type should accept the premises of federalism, which grant to every community the right of self-government in the fullest meaning of this term. Such a federalist system will give us a sufficiently wide room to experiment with our political, economic and social ideas.

Free Experimentation for Every Community.

"The Socialist Federal Republic will have to be built upon the basis of complete liberty for every community, all such communities being linked up by a system of economic federalism leading to the most comprehensive and elevated form of moral and economic solidarity. And this means that the free communities of the Socialist Federal Republic will be given the right to adopt the kind of socialism which

WORKERS RUN DEPARTMENT STORES

The organization of distribution was always considered one of the most difficult tasks of the revolutionary period. Even now the distributive mechanism of Soviet Russia is the weakest link of its nationalized economy. Poor service, inferior quality of commodities, lack of efficiency are quite common now in most of the stores of Soviet Russia. And as to the first period of the October Revolution, it is known to everyone that the bureaucratic method of nationalization led to the complete demoralization of the mechanism of distribution.

The more amazing it is to read of the phenomenal successes achieved by the C.N.T. workers (C.N.T. — Anarcho-Syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in taking over and running one of the largest chain of clothing stores of the country. There are ten of them in that part of the country which is controlled by the loyalists, the main store being situated in Barcelona. It was in Barcelona that the first step toward the socialization of those enterprises was taken. Its success led to the gradual taking over by the workers committees of all the ten branches in the leading cities of the country.

The full story of how those enterprises were taken over and how they function now is given in the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Nov. 1). Here we give only a brief account of it, presenting the most interesting features of the whole process.

The firm is one of the oldest, having been founded in 1850 and having grown since into one of the richest in the country. It thrived during the war and like most of the firms that profited during the war, it found the lean years following the war, and especially the years of world crisis, rather hard going. Overcapitalization, wasteful management, exorbitant salaries of the higher

ups (which, of course, went hand in hand with low wages for the great mass of workers and employees), led to the gradual whittling down of the earnings of the company. By 1935 the company was in the red, and before the Fascist revolt, the financial situation became very desperate.

When the workers took over the stores, they found that not only was there a lack of revolving capital, but that the enterprise was burdened with heavy debt. Besides, there was the additional difficulty of having the liquid funds immobilized in the bank due to the temporary limitation placed by the Catalonian government upon the withdrawal of deposits.

All those difficulties, however, were overcome by the workers. Immediately upon the socialization of the enterprise, the workers set up a technical and administrative committee, both of which set to work energetically in reorganizing the enterprise and finding the necessary means to keep the stores going.

One of the first steps of the committees was to ask all the creditors for the cancellation of all the old debts of the Company, promising at the same time the most punctual discharge of any future obligations in case credits were extended to them. This appeal worked. New credits were found. The prompt payment of all accounts is creating a very favorable impression among all who deal with those committees. Now there is a plentiful supply of credit, enabling the workers to extend the scope of their enterprise.

Sales have tripled the two months of September and October. This is due to the methods used by the workers in disposing of their stocks. They are going in for a large turnover and low prices. They are catering to the mass of workers and sales meth-

ods have been changed accordingly.

In Barcelona alone there are more than three hundred people employed in the shops and stores of that socialized Company. Before the revolution all those workers were divided into numerous wage groups. High salaries and monthly and yearly premiums at one end, and starvation wages at the other—characterized the wage structure of that firm. One of the first steps of the workers committees was to do away with all those differences. Now a single unitary wage scale has been set up allowing only for small variations in accordance with age and experience of the employee. This equalization of salaries produced a remarkable impression among the workers, conducing in a direct manner to the atmosphere of fellowship and cooperation now prevailing in the stores and shops of those socialized enterprises.

Not only did the worker's control produce a remarkable effect upon the turnover and the material well-being of the workers but it was also instrumental in initiating considerable improvements in the shops and stores in accordance with the demands of hygiene and sanitation. During all the years of its financial prosperity the Company never bothered at all about sanitary conditions for its employees. And that is why the workers committees turned their attention to the work of modernizing the shops and stores. By now this work of refitting those places has almost been completed. There are no more unhealthy, dingy places in this enterprise run by workers.

All of which, as the writer of this article concludes, explains the tremendous enthusiasm now shown by the workers and employees of the former "El Aguila" (the Eagle) and now the "Workers Society of the C.N.T."

Catalonian Workers Build Free Socialism

(Continued from page one)

"That this mobilization of resources is succeeding is evidenced by the improved equipment of the soldiers at the front: our army is now on the way of becoming one of the best equipped in the world. A miracle? Yes, but one whose secret lies in the adherence of the masses to the revolution, in the organizing ability shown by the labor unions and their leaders.

"I am not an anarchist, but I believe it is my duty to tell the world my opinion of the anarchists of Catalonia, of those who were so often represented as a purely destructive, if not an altogether criminal, force.

"I was with them at the front and in the trenches and I came to admire them. The anarchists of Catalonia are one of the advance guards of the coming revolution. A new world was born with them and it is a pleasure to serve this world.

"In Catalonia a new form of democracy and socialism has

been born, a form representing a theoretical and practical synthesis of the Russian experience with the heritage of the Western World.

"The leaders of the Catalonian anarchists are not confused old people, debilitated by years of parliamentary activity. They are young revolutionists of thirty and thirty-five years of age. They matured in prison and exile. Like all Catalonians they are endowed with a practical sense, supplementing their broad vision. They are not hampered by a meticulous and static doctrine. Their socialism is fed upon experiences and their personality is too vigorous not to respond to the iron demands of war and revolution. Within a month there will be an army of 300,000, with which victory will be assured. Battles may be lost, but the war will be won.

"The reason for this faith is simple: a new world is budding forth, the masses of people have tasted the fruits of liberty not only in the field of organization,

but also in the factories, fields, and on the war fronts. And they will never resign themselves to slavery."

The above quoted opinion is not an exaggerated statement of an enthusiastic convert to the cause of Catalonian anarchism. The rapid improvement of the revolutionary army in equipment and fighting ability is attested by the Valencia correspondent of the British "Daily Herald," who writes:

"A new army has been created and is now being equipped with the most modern arms of Spanish make. (Ed. note. The role of Russia in supplying arms has been greatly exaggerated by the pro-Fascist press.) The rapidly growing war industry of Catalonia made possible the transformation of the ill-equipped and unorganized brigades of the irregular type into mobile, well equipped and partly mechanized army units.

"New military schools have been set up and they work now at full swing. The course of instruction is calculated for elementary military grades of vari-

AN APPEAL TO THE FRIENDS OF THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

When the libertarian organizations of New York first undertook the publication of the "Spanish Revolution" we had no definite idea of what its future might be. The response to the first few issues was so favorable, however, that we felt we were treading on safe grounds when we undertook to publish the bulletin as a bi-weekly. From all over the country, groups and individuals receiving "Spanish Revolution" were very generous in their financial response. But the situation has changed somewhat. While the influence and circulation of the bulletin is steadily growing, the past few weeks have witnessed a serious decline in the amount of money sent in for the publication. We find that a number of groups have been lax in remitting for bundles sent to them. All such groups are, therefore, urgently requested to check up their accounts and to turn in all funds due as soon as they possibly can.

The paper cannot appear on time unless the copies printed are distributed and paid for.

At present, when the need for our bulletin is greater than ever before, we are faced with financial difficulties. You, the readers of "Spanish Revolution," know what a valuable service it is performing on behalf of our heroic comrades in Spain. We are appealing to you to help us in this emergency so that we can keep going and expand the scope of our work. Help us build up a publicity fund so that emergencies like the present one cannot arise again. To that end all friends of the "Spanish Revolution" are urged to send in donations. Whatever means you may use for collecting such donations, (money can be collected in a variety of ways) please send in all collections at once.

Since you all know to what extent the help we can give our comrades in Spain depends upon favorable and widespread publicity, we need not press this question any further. All contributions should be sent to:

U.L.O. — I. RADINOWSKY, Treasurer
45 West 17th Street New York City

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102—Grishkan, Sec'y J.A.F.	\$262.00
103—Dr. H. Block, Chelsea, Mass.	5.00
104—Proletarische Gemeinschaft	38.00
105—John Battuelo—Progressive Club, Gillespie, Ill.	5.00
106—John Fedorhoff, Ansonia, Conn. List 157	4.80
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I. RADINOWSKY, Treasurer, U.L.O.

In 1919 the workers of the world came to the rescue of the Russian revolution. It is now time that a similar effort be undertaken on behalf of the revolution in Spain which promises to turn an even more glorious page in the history of humanity.

ous branches. The training in those schools lasts six weeks.

"The Catalonian factories working for war already manufacture airplanes, tanks, armored trains, machine guns and rifles of the latest make."

And as the writer of the "Giustizia e Libertá" pointed out, this almost miraculous pace at which the Spanish revolution is arming itself is due mainly to the organizing genius of the Catalonian anarcho-syndicalist movement.