

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## EMMA GOLDMAN REPORTS ON SPAIN

*Revolution Goes on in Spite of Stalinist Sabotage—Communists Hated in Spain—C.N.T. Growing in Moral Prestige.*

Well, here I am, back from poor tragic Spain, by no means less convinced of the ultimate success of our heroic comrades than I was when I went there. True, I found appalling conditions. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. have lost very considerably of their strategic position—the murderous Stalin gang is in control and is doing its rotten job openly and underhand. But while the Moscow gangsters are in power politically, hard on their job to exterminate their opponents by every foul means, they have no roots whatsoever in the Spanish people. On the contrary, whatever appeal they had in the beginning of the Revolution has been lost to them since they tried so hard to introduce Stalin's blessings in Spain. It is an absolute fact that the Communists are hated more intensely than the fascists . . .

### C.N.T. Moral Strength Growing

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

On the other hand, the

C.N.T.-F.A.I. have gained moral prestige far beyond that which they held before the May events. Wherever I went, and I travelled more extensively on this visit, and with whomever I spoke I found the influence of the C. N. T.-F. A. I. growing. That gives me reason to believe that the power of the Communists is artificially created, hence doomed to perish, while the position of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the estimation of the Spanish workers and awakened peasants is stronger than ever . . .

### Blum Prepared Ground For Stalin

As to the masses at large, they were, of course carried away by the "solidarity" of comrade Stalin. But, they too, have learned that his "generous" help to the Spanish people was that of the usurer who makes capital out of the dire needs of his clients and, once in his clutches, the strangle hold continues far beyond the value of the aid rendered the victim by the money lender. And if that strangle hold continues, it is entirely due to the criminal alliances of the so-called Democratic countries with the Non-Intervention agreement for it is

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## LARGO CABALLERO ADDRESSES PUBLIC OPINION OF SPAIN

### POLITICAL MACHINATIONS EXPOSED

Only seven or eight months ago Largo Caballero's statements and pronouncements made front page news with every leading newspaper in the world.

It is not so long ago that he was spoken of in certain sections of radical movement (mainly communist) in hushed tones, as the Spanish Lenin, the great revolutionary statesman leading the country and the working class, through the chaos of civil war and revolution, toward the bright future of a socialist commonwealth.

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

And as to his former adulators, Caballero is becoming the center of a furious campaign of slanders on their part, resembling more and

more in its utter recklessness and cynicism the similar campaigns conducted against the P.O.U.M. leaders.

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

### A Curtain Raiser

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

His speech, far from being an insignificant affair as presented by the sycophant press correspondents of the Louis Fisher type, once more

## Fighting Democracy Within Unions

Two months ago the U.G.T. (an old trade union organization corresponding in its structure and basic policies to the social-democratic unions of Western Europe) was split wide open by the communists and their allies from the right wing of the Socialist Party.

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

It is a little difficult to imagine the disciples of Stalin in the role of ardent defenders of trade-union democracy. One always suspects a "nigger in the woodpile" whenever the communists become too vocal about the "trampling of the majority will" in the unions. The subsequent developments in the struggle between the two central bodies within the U.G.T. fully bear out those suspicions.

### Faking a "Majority"

On the surface, there seems to be some justification to the communist outcries about Caballero's

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## INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FIGHT ATTEMPT TO MILITARIZE ECONOMY

*C.N.T. Against Russian Methods in Industry—Unified Wage Versus Stakhanovism—Factory Committees Upheld.*

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

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

### Drive for Militarization

And along with this goes a renewed drive for militarization,

for placing an ever widening field of national economy on a military basis. Militarize railways, marine transport, war industries, telegraph services, communications, peasant collectives—such is the refrain now being repeated in all its variations by the communist press and speakers.

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

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

### Dictatorship In Industry Demanded

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

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### PROTEST EMBARGO ON AMMUNITIONS TO LOYALIST SPAIN.



Black Wings Over Spain. Children, Women, Crippled Slain. :: Heroes Fighting For Their Land, Strong and Hopeful Workers Band.

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

demonstrated the tremendous popularity of this man, who, whatever his faults and errors might be, embodies in the eyes of the Spanish masses an epoch of socialistic work. (Caballero is 78 years old.)

The speech was delivered in one of the largest halls in Madrid which together with four other big halls and numerous public squares, where

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### Read Our Literature on Spain

"THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN by Rudolf Rocker... 15c (A superb account of the latest developments in Spain)

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN SPAIN by Dashar ..... 10c

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

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AFTER THE REVOLUTION WHAT? by D. A. de Santillan ..... \$1.00

## SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## MASS VIGILANCE OF FREE WORKERS BEST DEFENSE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION

When Catalonia was under control of anarchist workers and peasants, the country was living under the freest regime ever existing in modern times.

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

Barcelona became the powerful magnet drawing to itself the free spirits of Europe, the hounded victims of fascist persecution wandering all over Europe. They flocked to Barcelona where no one asked them for party affiliations, official documents and residential permits.

No one discriminated against them because of their opinion, beliefs and manner of activity. Anarchists, republicans, socialists, communists of all shades were accorded the same treatment, were made to feel that at last they found a place where the sacred rights of asylum were not a matter of mere lip service, as they are now in France, England and the United States, or a decoy to entrap political opponents, for which end they have been degraded in Soviet Russia.

Barcelona was at that time not only the center of new revolutionary hopes but the oasis of liberty such as it was believed in at the time when faith in social progress was undimmed by the sense of frustration born out of the catastrophic developments in Italy and Germany.

It was the more remarkable that Catalonia was going through one of the greatest revolutionary upheavals, aggravated by a fierce civil war raging at its borders. Were this revolution and war against fascism endangered by the free regime established by the anarchist workers of Catalonia?

Had there been any need of clamping down on freedom in order to defend the revolution against fascist plots, the workers themselves would have been the first to demand the curtailment of their liberties. But the truth is that no other city in Spain was as free from the danger of the so-called "fifth column" as the anarchist controlled Barcelona.

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

That was due not to any sleuth work on the part of the special bodies created for the task of revolutionary self-defense. It was mainly the RESULT OF MASS VIGILANCE EXERCISED BY THE GREAT MASS OF CATALONIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

The best defense a revolution can have is a vigilant attitude on the part of the working population toward their enemies. And that can be obtained only under conditions of freedom and self-government.

That is why the danger of fascist plots grows in measure that the working masses are deprived of their elementary rights of self-defense. That is why now that the blessings of the Russian regime are being carried over to Catalonia we hear more and more panicky reports about the growing strength of the fascist underground organizations in Barcelona.

These reports do not only emanate from fascist sources whose boastful assertions about vast and growing sympathies for the fascist cause on the part of Barcelona population are on par with other manufactured propaganda. The "fifth column" is raising its head in Barcelona—such is the fact attested by the general alarm cry issued by all anti-fascist organizations.

Under the pretext of a more efficient struggle against fascism and its underground organizations, the present rulers of Catalonia are gradually curtailing the rights and privileges of the population. Barcelona is no more the great libertarian center of the world. The press is muzzled, the right free assembly interfered with in many ways, the radio monopolized, fascist-like, by the government and the right of asylum for political refugees is as cynically trampled upon as in Soviet Russia.

The further they proceed upon this course the more they prepare the ground for the fascist forces within and without the country. And if the day of the final triumph of those forces is still remote in Spain, it is due not to the vigilance methods imported from Russia, but to the irrepressible spirit bred in the workers and peasants of Catalonia by years of anarchist work and propaganda.

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

## DEMOCRACY IN UNIONS FOUGHT

(Continued from page one)

high-handed methods of running the organization. The National Committee represented by the federations (that is by the Central Committees of such federations) voted against Largo Caballero and his policies.

But as it has been proven by the U.G.T. press, and by Caballero in his last speech, the Federation Committees are in themselves semi-fictional organizations which long ago have lost any organizational contact with the U.G.T. MANY OF THEM DID NOT PAY DUES FOR MORE THAN THREE YEARS.

They were nominal organizations, and one does not have to know much about communist methods in order to realize why those bodies lent themselves so readily to communist manipulations. The Stalinist recipe for "capturing" trade-union organizations is the same all over the world.

### Caballero Demands Convention

However, while there may be some doubt as to the standing of those Federation Committees which became the tools of Stalinist split tactics, there can be no question as to the final arbiter of the disputes. IN EVERY TRULY DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION SUCH POWER RESTS WITH THE REGULAR CONVENTION.

The Largo Caballero faction is quite willing to abide by the decisions of such a convention. Moreover the Executive Committee controlled by that faction issued a call for such a convention to open up December 12.

And in calling it, the Executive Committee is making all efforts in order to render it a genuine democratic instrument of the will of the great masses of the U.G.T.

### Convention Spurned By Communists

This proposal to settle differences by the essentially democratic method of holding a convention was not only rejected by the newly discovered partisans of trade-union democracy but was violently attacked by the communist press and their orators.

Their line of "argument" (the real arguments are of course the torture chambers of the Che-Ka) is that such a convention is not necessary since, believe it or not, they—the Communists and their allies—already "represent" the majority of the U.G.T., the government of the country, the interests and needs of the people, the supreme demands of war. To call a convention is to challenge all those "supreme" representatives.

"By calling this convention"—writes the Communist organ "Claridad" (Nov. 10)—"the split-off Executive Committee (ed. note: the old, legally elected Executive is dubbed a "split-off") recommended the proletariat that it refuse to help the Government, that it refuse to subordinate its interests to the task of winning the war, that it stop working toward obtaining victory over fascism."

### Ominous Resemblance

The language is ominously suggestive of the one used several months ago against the P.O.U.M. And signs are multiplying showing that in its drive to capture the unions of U.G.T. the communists and their allies are as little prone to pay any regard to such democratic niceties as conventions and free discussions as in their infamous campaign against the P.O.U.M.

Already the leading organ of the

## INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FIGHT ATTEMPTS TO MILITARIZE ECONOMY

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That is why militarization of railroads, the introduction of which was attempted by the fascist dictatorship of Primo-de-Rivera, is now upheld by the so-called National Committee of U.G.T., that is, by the communist faction which in defiance of all democratic procedures tried to capture the U.G.T. \* (Claridad, Nov. 10)

### Equality Derided

And that is also why all the combined enemies of Spanish unions direct their fire against one of the greatest achievements of the Spanish working masses

\*) (One can get a good idea of the kind of "union" this rump faction is building up by usurping the name of U.G.T. No genuine worker's union, backward as it may be will demand curtailment of its own rights in industry and self limitation to the vanishing point as a factor of control. Even conservative unions, given a normal period of growth, move spontaneously in the direction of increased power in industry and not self-effacement. Which once more goes to prove that the role of communists and fascists in perverting the very essence of unions is one and the same.)

—and that is the establishment of a unified wage. This form of remuneration, spontaneously evolved by the worker's unions of Spain, constitutes one of the most important steps in the direction of a genuine socialistic society.

During this year of heroic struggles and revolutionary reconstruction the Spanish workers succeeded in leveling down the glaring differences in income between the various categories of workers and technicians. The basis of remuneration in the collectivized industries became a unified wage revolving, with very few changes, around a certain standard of living to which every worker was entitled, regardless of his skill or position.

The monstrous differentiation of income now existing in Russia between various categories of technicians and workers is unknown in revolutionary Spain. And it is to introduce this differentiation, introduce piece work, sweatshop methods, Slakhanovism (now discredited even in Russia), to atomize the working class, to break up the natural bond of solidarity intensified by the sense of equality and common interest in the collectivized enterprise,—it is in

U.G.T. is being systematically attacked by the government censorship. It comes out at ever wider intervals. Even more savage is the repression unleashed against the other papers.

Members of the U.G.T. known for their militancy are now beginning to crowd the jails and prisons of "democratic" Spain. Veiled threats to "liquidate" the Caballero wing are being heard more and more often. (\* And the entire apparatus of the state is thrown on the side of the small group of politicians which by deft manoeuvres succeeded in splitting the U.G.T. and arrogate to itself the sole right of "representing" the millions of organized workers.)

\*) Louis Fisher, *THE CONFIDENCE MAN of the Spanish Che-Ka*, predicts in the "Nation" that "the Caballero faction will be silenced within three months." And it is quite characteristic of the travesty of liberalism, represented by the "Nation," that this repugnant statement did not elicit a single editorial comment.

### WE HAVE A NUMBER OF SPANISH ALBUMS FOR SALE.

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the name of the sordid system which in Russia has made every industrial enterprise a nest of espionage, bred discord and distrust among workers, that the communists of Spain opened up their drive for militarization.

### C.N.T. Unions Take Up Challenge

Against this drive the C.N.T. unions have resolutely set their face. Here is a typical case related by "L'Espagne Nouvelle."

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

"The Spanish syndicalists declared themselves ready to execute all the telephone work needed at the front and the rear guard. But they refuse to give up their civil rights outside of their work, the right to hold their meetings, to criticize their chiefs, to defend their conditions and to organize the industry."

### Stakhanovism—Negation of Socialism

And as to the drive against the unified wage the official organ of the C.N.T. in Madrid (C.N.T., Nov. 12) expressed it very emphatically in the following statement:

"The C.N.T. will never work with anyone—let the communists have no illusions about that—who attempts to put into practice the principle of piece work, the principle upheld by the employers and now enunciated by Cabo Giorla (a leading Communist) in the slogan: "a higher wage for more and better work."

"This is the negation not only of socialism but of every labor movement. And the C.N.T. is made up of workers. By workers, who quite often make the greatest sacrifices, without any remuneration, for the freedom of Spain."

# INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY AT WORK

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

A certain amount of chaos and disorganization was deemed inevitable during this period. It could be overcome only after the new economic order has found its proper balance and new administration organs evolved to manage this most complex branch of national economy.

The Russian experience gave added strength to this conviction. The phenomenal breakdown of railway transport during a very long period of reorganization brought the country to the very verge of economic ruin and total collapse. And even now that some order came to prevail, we hear of recurrent crisis and relapses, of Draconian measures used to enforce discipline on the roads.

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

And with all this the Spanish railway workers achieved a signal degree of success. Not only was the expected breakdown prevented during the first period of transition but, as it is recorded by many an unbiased observer, the roads are now in a better condition than before. **WORKER'S DEMOCRACY ACHIEVED THROUGH INDUSTRIAL UNIONS IS INDISPENSABLE FOR ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY DURING A REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD—SUCH IS THE STRIKING LESSON AFFORDED BY THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SMOOTH FUNCTIONING OF THE SPANISH ROADS AND THE DISMAL CONDITIONS PREVAILING ON THE RUSSIAN ROADS IN THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION AS A RESULT OF THE BUREAUCRATIC ATTEMPT TO ELIMINATE THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FROM ECONOMIC CONTROL.**

Particularly illuminating in this respect is the story of how the Catalonian railwaymen took over the road system of their province. It is told by the "L'Espana Antifascista" in one of its latest issues. Here we present a summary of the somewhat lengthy reports dealing with the initial period of control as well as with the later developments.

## International Capital In Control

The Catalonian railroad system is one of the oldest in Spain. Like all the other important industries of that country it was mainly controlled by foreign banks and the Jesuite Society.

The bank controlling the net of Catalonian railroads before the revolution ("Stern and Cie") is interlocked with the mightiest financial institutions of France. The Rothchilds, the Schneiders (munition interests), the utility interests of France were sharing control of those railways with the leading insurance company of Spain dominated by the Jesuites of that country.

The Spanish high nobility acted in the capacity of a "comprador" that is minor partners of native stock, taken in for their political influence and prestige. Among those minor partners were also the Generals Mola and Goded—that is, the leading figures of the fascist revolt.

## Drifting Into Bankruptcy

The combined control of international finance, clerical hierarchy and a parasitic nobility could not but lead to conditions prevailing in every semi-colonial country. The roads were in a state of chronic bankruptcy. Although running through the richest, most industrial

and rapidly expanding province of Spain, the railroads of Catalonia were anything but a solvent enterprise. Overcapitalization, heavy indebtedness, high rates went hand in hand with a systematic underdevelopment of capital resources. Things went so far that by 1936 some of the roads suspended regular dividend payments and were forced to fall back upon their reserve capital in order to pay their bondholders.

On the eve of the fascist revolt government subsidies loomed as the only way out of total bankruptcy.

## Workers Chief Sufferers

It stands to reason that the main burden of financial mismanagement fell upon the workers. Unemployment, low wages, insecurity, industrial espionage, lockouts, company unions—the attempt to impose such unions upon the workers led to bloodiest strife—became more and more accentuated in measure that the Catalonian railroads were plunging into financial bankruptcy. And the more the workers revolted against those conditions, the more pronounced became the sympathies of the railway magnates toward the gathering forces of fascist revolt. The railway companies of Catalonia became the strongest backers of the fascist rebellion. The seizure of those railroads was the central point of the tactical plan evolved by the fascist generals under the guidance of their Nazi and fascist mentors.

## Workers' Unions On the Job

What happened to those plans is now known to everyone. Very few people know, however, that the high degree of revolutionary solidarity, spontaneity and readiness for mass action shown by the railway workers of Catalonia proved to be one of the decisive factors in foiling the excellent plans of the fascist plotters.

On July 17 Franco gave the signal for revolt, on the 18th a general strike was declared on all the Catalonian railroads, on the 19th the enemy was repulsed, and on the 20th first measures were taken to resume services along the

## Just Received from Spain "THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY"

by Augustin Souchy  
(a 48-page pamphlet describing the Stalinist plot in Barcelona)  
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left behind. For the present, I only wish to say that even this savage siege has not dampened the spirits of our comrades. Their spirit burns at white heat that gives them strength and determination to continue the process of building a new Spain. **One must see their work and hear their story to realize that the Revolution is far from dead.**

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

"Just like the Spanish territory with its riches so are also the virgins of nationalist Spain turned over to the 'saviors of civilization'—the officials and soldiers of Hitler and Mussolini gangs. According to Quipo de Llano, (the General ruling southern Spain) 'the virgins in nationalist Spain offer themselves with full enthusiasm, fully aware that they serve a noble cause.'"

"And in order to placate their conscience Father Goma y Tomas issues the following saintly and comforting pastoral:

**"BELOVED DAUGHTERS OF MARY! YOUR OFFER IS FREE FROM SIN. IT IS THE HOLY SPIRIT THAT IS STIRRING WITHIN YOU. IT IS FOR SPAIN, IN ORDER TO BUILD THE PROMISED RACE AND A CHRISTIAN HEARTH THAT YOU ARE STIRRED TO CAST OFF THE WHITE VESTMENTS OF PURITY. YOU HAVE ALREADY GAINED GLORY: FOR YOU HAVE GIVEN EVERYTHING FOR THE LOVE OF GOD."**

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

entire line. 48 HOURS AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLT THE FIRST TRAIN STARTS CARRYING THE NEWLY FORMED BARCELONA MILITIAS TO ARAGON. FOUR OR FIVE DAYS LATER NORMAL PASSENGER SERVICE WAS FULLY ESTABLISHED. And now, notwithstanding the bad state of rolling stock and lack of a sufficient number of repair shops, trains come and leave on schedule.

## Revolutionary Action Saves Transport

The rapid resumption of railway services enabled the Barcelona militiamen to reconquer Aragon. And it also made possible the almost instantaneous resumption of normal economic activity by the victorious workers and peasants of Catalonia. The normal functioning of the system since that time was one of the most powerful factors in stabilizing the newly emerged revolutionary economy.

How was that achieved? It was mainly due to the fact that the workers acting through their organizations—C.N.T. and U.G.T.—did not waste any time in taking over the management of the railways. The old administration was swept out immediately after the suppression of the revolt. Shop committees began functioning in the shops, stations, along the roads and also in the administration offices.

The co-operative attitude of the administration personnel, excepting, of course, the top salaried executives, was one of the most important factors in putting the railway into working shape. Cashiers, statisticians, accountants, station masters joined this work through their respective sections. By now their organization is an integral part of the administrative apparatus running the railways of Catalonia.

This apparatus is built on the principles of full industrial democracy. Shop committees elect delegates to the Central Committee. Every service is administered by an elected sub-committee. A careful selection of high technicians was made from the point of view of their loyalty to the worker's cause. A number of them are by now working under the control of the Central and other sub-committees. With their help bureaus have been built up for such technical tasks as purchasing, testing of engines, analyzing materials etc.

## Difficulties

The difficulties with which the roads have to contend are very great. Foremost among them is the lack of fuel (Catalonia does not possess its own coal resources) and a shortage of other materials necessary for construction and repairs.

There are also difficulties of a financial nature. War taxes greatly the carrying capacity of the roads, and there is of course, a con-

siderable falling off of freight and passenger traffic as due to the general crisis produced by war (30% reduction).

## Reconstruction and Expansion

And with all that the workers succeeded not only in securing the normal functioning of the railway transport but already a certain degree of industrial expansion has been achieved and plans are being worked out to start immediate construction on a larger scale. New lines are being contemplated, electrification on a large scale is a matter of the very nearest future (work on it has already started), and a great deal of repair work is going on all along the lines.

In order fully to realize the extent of the worker's achievements one has to take into account the fact that the workers, upon seizing control, FOUND AN EMPTY TREASURY AND A HIGHLY DETERIORATED ROLLING STOCK. And since the roads are now maintained on self paying basis, the capital necessary for expansive construction and repairs, if not maintenance, had to come from increased efficiency.

## Industrial Democracy Spells Efficiency

It certainly did not come from impaired living standards of the railway workers. Wages were raised (from 4 and 8 pesetas a day to 10 as the minimum) and personnel expanded since all former employees who had been fired by the old administration were taken back into service and, what is quite important, railway rates were lowered.

True, a considerable saving was achieved by doing away with the fabulous salaries of the executives and by bringing down the salaries of the technicians. (maximum salary—900 instead of 1200—1800 psts. a month).

This in itself does not account, however, for remarkable result achieved by the railway workers of Catalonia. It is the enthusiasm for work, the spirit of solidarity manifesting itself in daily routine work, the general interest shown by the workers as well as the lower paid technicians that was mainly responsible for those achievements.

"All the employees," writes the "L'Espana Antifascista" "put their intelligence and their will fully at the disposal of the collective."

"The repairing of exploded boilers" reports a delegate of the French railway union upon his return from an official visit to Spain, (quoted in "Combat Syndicalist", no. 194) "IS NOW DONE IN 23 HOURS INSTEAD OF 56 HOURS REQUIRED BEFORE THE REVOLUTION."

In short, it is industrial democracy at work.

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certain that if the anti-fascist forces could have freely purchased arms for Spain, Stalin could never have laid his crushing hand on the Spanish Revolution, nor could his satraps have infested the whole political life of Spain. Even at this late hour, Stalin's rule in Spain would collapse like a house of cards if Blum's still-born child were buried at last. It was Non-Intervention, now exposed to the world in all its farcical and lying hypocrisy, and nothing else that forced our comrades to make the compromises that they have made.

## Revolution Still Goes On

To deny the evils I found on my second visit to Spain would be a betrayal of my whole past and would ill-serve the Spanish comrades. Their losses are tre-

mendous, yet they do not weigh in the scale against their gains. I am not speaking only of their moral influence. I am speaking of the constructive work on the 19th of July which, in many instances, has grown, improved and has been perfected so much since last year. To me, it is miraculous for a people to go on building in the face of war, food shortage and a deadly political regime that has filled the prisons, destroyed some of the collectives and that disposes of all opponents in the dead of the night, thus endangering everybody's life who will not swear by the Stalin-Negrin combine.

I hope to write about the devastating march of the Lister and Marx brigades through some of the collectives in Aragon and of the havoc they



## PERSECUTIONS OF REVOLUTIONISTS STILL CONTINUE

### A SAD FACT FOR AN ANTI-FASCIST COUNTRY

We are reprinting here portions of an official communication sent by one of the secretaries of the International Workingmen's Association. (World Federation of anarcho-syndicalist unions with which the C.N.T. is affiliated.)

The letter deals with the situation in regard to political prisoners in Spain, and, particularly, with the savage persecution of foreign revolutionists, many of whom shed their blood in defense of Spanish freedom.

The persecution of those people is the more heinous an outrage that it is taking place under the accompaniment of appeals to save Spanish democracy. Without undue exaggeration it may be said that THIS CYNICAL TRAMPLING OF THE MOST ELEMENTARY DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE BLACKEST PAGES IN THE SHAMEFUL RECORD OF A GOVERNMENT THAT OWES ITS EXISTENCE TO FOREIGN INTRIGUE AND BLACKMAIL.

### 2,000 Prisoners

... "We have no exact figures as to the number of anarchist prisoners. Comrade Besnard in his report to the coming convention of the International Workingmen's Association places the number of such prisoners as high as 2,000, which, in my opinion, is about right.

"I only have data on prisoners in Catalonia. Toward the end of October there were 800 prisoners from our ranks (C.N.T.-F.A.I.). Most of them are charged with unlawful possession of arms. In most of the cases, however, our comrades have been acquitted by the courts, that is, whenever their cases were brought up before public trials.

### Russian Methods Imported

"This, however, does not take place so often, the greater number of arrests are made without any charges being presented at all. The prisoners spend many months without being interrogated and without being let known why they are detained. They are absolutely deprived of any legal rights.

"This is especially the case with the prisoners kept in the so-called Che-Ka jails, run by the police divisions of the Communist Party. Those prisons were secret only a few months ago but by now they have been incorporated into the omnipotent police apparatus of the State.

### Prisoners From Other Organizations

"One must also bear in mind that not only are there prisoners from our ranks but that the U.G.T. (socialist trade union) and other anti-fascist organizations supply a good number of them. The "Fragua Social" (anarcho-syndicalist daily in Valencia) contains many appeals on the part of such prisoners asking for amnesty.

### Foreigners In Tragic Situation

... "Especially tragic is the situation in which the foreigners are finding themselves. In Catalonia, for instance, aliens were not included among the "government" prisoners (that is those held on definite charges) who were recently released from prison. Foreign prisoners are invariably expelled after many months of detention and without being told why and wherefore.

"IN MANY CASES THE EXPELLED ARE MILITIAMEN WHO FULFILLED THEIR DUTY AT THE WAR FRONTS. Some of them lived in Spain for a number of years and possess documents proving their legal status. ALL FOREIGNERS WHO ARE CONNECTED WITH THE C.N.T. IN THE SLIGHTEST DEGREE HAVE BEEN PRACTI-

## C.N.T. PAPER SUSPENDED FOR TEN DAYS

On Monday, Oct. 25, an explosion took place in the restaurant where Comorera, the leader of the Communist Party of Catalonia, happened to dine.

It was difficult to find out immediately the cause of this explosion, but at the very same evening the Press Bureau, acting under orders of the special police (Public Safety) sent out a communication to all newspapers stating that this explosion was a terroristic act directed against Juan Comorera. This communication was singularly devoid of any details and it ran counter to the information gathered by the anarcho-syndicalist daily "Solidaridad Obrera" tracing this terroristic act to a gas pipe explosion.

As a rule public opinion of Barcelona shows a great deal of reserve in regard to the official communiques. The C.N.T. paper shares the same attitude. Instead of printing the official communication, it put in an article explaining the whole affair and ridiculing the attempt to make political capital out of a trivial explosion.

"Believe us, friends—it wrote in a pointed article—we do not intend to become a party to any mystification and we do not intend to help anyone in this task. . . .

"The columns of "Solidaridad Obrera" have a higher mission and since, the paper belongs to us, much as it may displease you, gentlemen, and not to those that try to fish in troubled waters, we refuse to take part in this farce." . . .

As a result "Solidaridad Obrera" was suspended for ten days, the alleged reason being that it "ridiculed and undermined authorities."

Very little of ridiculing and undermining is now required. The authorities do it themselves. THE PREPONDERANT MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IN BARCELONA MAKES FUN OF THE FANTASTIC REPORTS ABOUT TERRORISTIC ACTS.

And it is quite fully aware of the sinister designs underlying attempts to give circulation to those fantastic reports.

(From the Russian Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. published in Barcelona.)

According to the French weekly "Libertaire" of Nov. 18, the well known paper "L'Oeuvre" came out with a sensational exposure of Russia's commercial dealings with Franco. During the entire period of civil war the SOVIET STATE TRUST "NAPHTA" DID NOT STOP SELLING OIL TO FRANCO'S AGENCIES.

And it certainly kept on supplying Franco through Italy, for, as the well informed socialist daily "Populaire (Blum's paper) tells us," almost the entire supply of oil used by Italy is being furnished by the Soviet Union. ("Populaire," Oct. 11, 1937)

## LARGO CABALLERO SPEAKS

(Continued from page one) it was transmitted by a system of loud speakers, was crowded to capacity by throngs of workers and soldiers.

Having pointed out that attempts were made to bribe him by all sorts of flattering offers to play the game laid down by the Communist Party he proceeded to tell his audiences how and in what manner all this changed to bitter hatred the moment the Moscow agents became convinced that in Caballero they have a man of sterner qualities than the straw men raised by them to national prominence.

What were Moscow's demands as presented through the Spanish Communist Party.

They were first of all the outlawing of the P.O.U.M.

"During this meeting they demanded from the government that it dissolve a political organization that is in opposition to the Communist Party. I, who was persecuted by the reactionaries of the country for

CALLY OUTLAWED. THE SAME HOLDS TRUE ABOUT THOSE WHO ARE CONNECTED WITH THE P.O.U.M.

"Comrades of all nationalities are subject to this wave of persecutions. But the Italians and Germans are the particular victims. THE FACT IS THAT FOR THE POLICE OF NEGRIN'S GOVERNMENT A PASSPORT ISSUED BY HITLER OR MUSSOLINI IS A VALID DOCUMENT AS FAR AS GERMANS AND ITALIANS ARE CONCERNED WHILE ANY DOCUMENT ISSUED BY THE C.N.T. PRODUCES THE OPPOSITE RESULT. It is a sad fact for an anti-fascist country."

**PROTEST TO THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR AND BARCELONA AUTHORITIES THE FLOUTING OF THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES.**

EVERY CENT COLLECTED BY THE UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS OF NEW YORK CITY GOES DIRECTLY TO THE MOST GENUINE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE.

IT GOES TO THE C.N.T.-F.A.I. IT GOES TO FEED AND CLOTHE THE ORPHANS OF WAR, THE REFUGEES FROM FASCIST PROVINCES

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More than ever do we need here a paper carrying the message of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to the American people.

Send in your contributions immediately.

elements that taunted him with concluding the pact with the C.N.T. found it necessary, for reasons of political expediency, to launch an appeal for unity with the C.N.T. in the name of the split-off Executive of the U.G.T.

### Unity at What Price

After having paid glowing tribute to the anarchists and their work in the revolution, Caballero passes to the problem of unity under the pretext of which the communists made an attempt to build up a totalitarian apparatus for the counter-revolutionary purpose of putting an end to the conquests of the revolution of July 19th.

"As to unity of the socialist and communist parties, I never objected to this as such. Both parties ought to have a revolutionary program.

"At one time the Communist Party put up, as the indispensable condition of such unity, the demand to break away from any union with the bourgeois parties. Do they still maintain the same attitude? Quite the contrary!

"What they aim now is to go back to the situation prevailing before the days of July 19. And if the price of unity is that the blood shed in our country should only go to bring back into power the very class that is responsible for this war, I say that never will Largo Caballero march along this road."

### What Is Dictatorship of Proletariat

The speech contains a brilliant analysis of demagogic work of the communists among youth, their attempt to draw in the worst enemies of the revolution into the youth alliance, the frustration of this policy and the demoralizing effects of this work. And it ends up with outlining Caballero's own idea of dictatorship of proletariat, which is as much above the communist conception as the revolutionary regime established by the Spanish workers after July 19 towers above the sordid realities of Soviet Russia of today.

"The dictatorship of proletariat should not be confounded with the dictatorship of a group of privileged persons. When Marx spoke of the dictatorship of the proletariat he did not mean thereby the dictatorship of a certain party or a certain organization." . . . (\*)

\*) (Historically this is not altogether correct. Marx was much nearer in his concept of dictatorship to that now exemplified by the Communist Party. It was this tendency toward party dictatorship on the part of elements grouping around Marx that brought about the split within the First International.)