

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## TERUEL IS HELD BY ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST FORCES

### The City Was Taken by a C.N.T. Division

According to the latest information received from Paris by the "Spanish Labor Press Bureau," Teruel was taken by the 25th division, that is, a division mainly composed of C.N.T. units now incorporated in the Regular Army.

This division was the first to enter Teruel and, judging by its past record (it was the same division that took Belchite an important strategic center on the Aragon front,) we may say assuredly that it will be the last to leave it if and when circumstances beyond the control of the loyalist forces will demand a retreat.

The commander of this division is Miguel Garcia Vivancos, a member of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) and a proletarian fighter of great ability. He was one of the first to answer the call of the C.N.T. for volunteers in the first week of the fascist revolt. "To Zaragoza" that was the cry of the heroic youths who left Catalonia under the red-black banners of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

Vivancos was one of them and now he is leading a division of the same youths in the same direction. To Zaragoza! To strike at the key position of the entire front which will decide the fate of the greatest struggle taking place ever since the October revolution of 1917! This is the inspiring goal of the revolutionary workers and peasants now wearing the uniforms of the 25th division of the popular Army.

The significance of the leading part played by the C.N.T. division is sufficiently known by those who control the sources of press information. They showed their awareness of this significance by . . . ignoring it.

The newspapers, which only get the information peddled out by the government sources, have nothing to say about the 25th division, but there is a great deal said about the Lister (Communist) division. The readers will therefore find quite illuminating the comments made by comrade Beobachter, one who recently came back from Spain.

He knows the situation on the Aragon front not from hearsay. And harsh as his statements may sound to many an ear attuned to the calls for unity, it has to be kept in mind that they are based on personal observation, expressing in addition the sentiments of the great mass of workers and peasants whom he studied at close range.

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## ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE GREETES C.N.T. DELEGATION

Oswald Garrison Villard, Norman Thomas, Plead for Support of Spanish Struggle

The New York workers extended a big welcome to the C.N.T. delegates in their first and only appearance in this city before an international audience.

The meeting drew a large crowd which filled to capacity the big Webster Hall. Brief speeches were made by the noted liberal Oswald Garrison Villard, ex-publisher of the Nation, who introduced the speakers, by Sam Brown and Norman Thomas.

### Norman Thomas' Speech

The latter roused the audience with his incisive remarks about the unique significance of the work carried on by the Spanish workers and peasants through their unions. During his visit to Spain—he told his audience—he was enormously impressed by the strength of the labor unions, as contrasted with the weakness of the government, the sweeping manner in which they took hold of the

economic and administrative life of the country and their heroic work without which fascism would have swept triumphantly throughout Spain.

The harmonious co-operation of both unions—C.N.T. and U.G.T.—presages the great international proletarian unity to come, a unity that is not going to be achieved by stamping out liberty, by an all powerful totalitarian state. And it is this solidarity of the

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## CRISIS IN U.G.T. OVERCOME

Delegates of Second International Arbitrate Differences

We already wrote of the split that took place in the socialist controlled trade-union body—the U.G.T. The issues involved were of the most momentous nature. They were the independent functioning of the union and the allegiance to the revolutionary cause of the great mass of Spanish workers and peasants of Spain.

### The Issues Involved

The preponderant majority of the U.G.T. membership followed the leadership of the ex-Premier Largo Caballero—one of the builders of this organization—in upholding his orientation upon the further pursuance of revolutionary reconstruction, a close alliance with the anarcho-syndicalist unions (C.N.T.) and equal representation of the unions in the government and all important economic and political organs.

The split-off faction, represented

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two unions, forged by common work and struggles, that serves as a guarantee that Spain will not follow the Moscow road, that the Spanish revolution will not have for its finale the gruesome executions of Moscow which now dismay and horrify the civilized world.

### Serafin Aliaga

Serafin Aliaga, the delegate of the Spanish libertarian youth

## ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC LIFE—IMMEDIATE AIM OF SPANISH WORKERS

by Mariano Vasquez

Secretary General of C.N.T.  
(The National Confederation of Labor)

The international proletariat has to render itself full account of what has taken place in Spain.

We often said that the Spanish proletariat found itself facing, on July 19, an insurrection in which were involved the bourgeoisie, the clergy and the military caste. The Spanish people had to defend themselves by answering violence with violence, by putting down fascist attempts wherever it was possible to do so.

But on the day following the victory over the fascist traitors, the Spanish workers found themselves facing a new and unforeseen problem: there were no more employers, since 80% of the bourgeoisie were directly involved in the rebellion, and as a result of that—the places of work were abandoned by the owners.

What was to be done? Production had to go on. Half of Spain was in the hands of the fascists. It had to be wrested from their control. It was necessary to provide the means to carry on the war and to satisfy the needs of the civil population.

### Mastering the Economy

The Spanish people did not lose time on reflections. The workers went back to the factories, shops and stores. They held general meetings at the point of production. They designated from their midst competent comrades capable of directing the work. And the factories, workshops, offices, laboratories and transport began functioning anew.

This was something altogether new. The Spanish proletariat found itself facing an unforeseen fact, something that had no precedent in the past history. Other difficulties arose in thousands. The entire procedure and system of inner functioning had to be changed. Many trials and attempts had to be made until smooth functioning was attained in places of production. And by now the Spanish workers have learned to produce more with less efforts, in spite of the tremendous obstacles facing them in their task.

But the Spanish proletariat does not stop at those achievements. The Spanish workers are fully aware of the fact that the revolution achieved, is not a complete, integral revolution, that they have to acquiesce in many things which they would willingly dispense with, but they do not let themselves concern too much with that aspect. They keep on building up, stone by stone, the new pyramide of prosperity and collective well-being.

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## C.N.T. A RISING POWER IN SPAIN

(Major Atlee's Statement)

Ed. note: During the recent stay in Spain Major Atlee, the parliamentary leader of the British Labor Party, was interviewed by the reporter of "Castilla Libre," the anarcho-syndicalist (and most widely read) daily in Madrid. Among other questions the reporter asked Mr. Atlee his opinion on the

C.N.T. The answer given shows that some glimmer of understanding of the significance of the C.N.T.—a new force upon the European horizons—is beginning to dawn even upon the minds of those who shared the longest the current prejudices against the anarchist movement.

—What is, according to your opinion, the revolutionary future of Spain likely to be—asked the reporter.

—I cannot answer this question in a concrete manner. But it is clear to me that the Spanish people is now striking out a new path for European politics and that out of the experiments in the building up of the new society there will emerge new social norms, yet unknown to the world at large.

—Is the work of the C.N.T. known in England?

—The C.N.T. is known in my country. There is some confusion as to its course of action. But more and more is it being realized that the C.N.T. in Spain is a rising power, that it is fighting in behalf of the people, which is its mission, the C.N.T. being a proletarian force.

(Solidaridad Obrera, Dec. 8)

## SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## BEWARE OF ANOTHER MAY DAY PROVOCATION

Now that the semi-official spokesman of the Negrin government came out in the "New York Times" with his astounding revelations concerning the true purposes of Luis Companys' visit to Brussels, there can be no doubt that the Spanish revolution is approaching one of its most critical periods in the brief but eventful history of its tragic struggles against its enemies from within and without.

The revolution is fighting for life not only in Teruel but also at the equally dangerous front held by the inner enemy entrenched at the most strategic position of government control with the help of foreign powers.

While at the Teruel front the heroic workers and peasants of Spain die in thousands in defense of the revolutionary conquests of July 19, the most authoritative representatives of the government humble themselves at the doors of the outspoken enemies of the revolution, the close associates of Franco and Co., with offers of economic power and sell-out of Catalonian workers.

"The real purpose of Companys' visit—tells us this semi-official spokesman—was to enter conversations with business men and financiers of Rightist tendencies . . . The government would like to have an understanding with these men for the restoration of their properties."

And who are those "business men and financiers"? Those are the very same people who financed the rebellion in 1936, who plotted with Mussolini's and Hitler's agents right under the noses of the "trustful" government of Azana and Co. 80% of those people had to flee Catalonia—writes the secretary of the C.N.T. in this issue of our paper—so deeply were they involved in the fascist plot.

There is Cambo, for instance, "the principal Catalan financier" who allied himself with Gil Robles' Catholic Party. And Gil Robles, as is known, was one of the principal instigators of the fascist rebellion. But Cambo was more than a mere casual ally of Gil Robles. He was one of the chief backers of Primo de Rivera's brutal dictatorship, he was the head of the deeply hated "Lliga Regionalista," the financial center of every reactionary move in Catalonian and Spanish politics.

Even the cynical correspondent of the "New York Times" is somewhat taken aback by this readiness of the so-called democratic government to come to terms with men of such fascist associations as Cambo or Juan Ventosa, who, as the correspondent informs us, "IS NOW THE REPUTED FINANCIAL ADVISER TO GENERAL FRANCO."

And back of those figures are still more sinister forces of international capitalism, of the 200 families of France who finance the fascist movements in their own country, the British bankers of the City who are mainly responsible for the treacherous policy of Downing Street in regard to the Spanish people.

Those are the people who controlled the mines, railroads, the electrical works of Spain and Catalonia, who poured out millions to finance and equip the fascist armies, and who, like Sofina, for instance (European electrical trust; formerly in control of electrical power in Spain) have their hands now in every fascist pie of Europe and are the principal backers of every fascist intrigue and plot all over the world.

Neither Negrin nor Companys, in pursuing this policy, represent the wishes of the preponderant majority of the workers and peasants of Spain. Even Companys' own party—the party of the liberal middle classes, the Esquerra—is in its majority against this policy. Even the rank and file of the bureaucratically controlled Catalonian U.G.T. rebelled against the policy of sabotaging workers' collectivization. And as to the C.N.T., we learn from trustworthy sources that it had made its uncompromising attitude so clear to the government as to make Mr. Fernsworth's ("New York Times" correspondent) gleeful anticipations of the coming liquidation of the revolution too patent a product of the Perignan mentality. (Perignan—French border town; center of malicious fabrications and slanders about the Spanish revolution.)

## TERUEL IS HELD BY ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST FORCES

IS LISTER DEAD?

Comrade Beobachter writes of Lister's True Role in Aragon

(Continued from page one)

In Aragon, and precisely at Teruel, the soldiers of revolutionary Spain have achieved a great victory, their first victory in which a city of some importance has been taken by them.

It is significant that this victory had to be achieved on a front which is notoriously an anarchist front; that is, one in which the forces of C.N.T. and F.A.I. are predominant over the forces led by all the other political parties. If I call the attention to this fact, which is, that this front was held almost exclusively by libertarian militiamen even up to this day—although these volunteers are now incorporated in the regular army—it is because this front has been continuously slandered and defamed by the press of the Negrin government, which accused the anarchists of refusing to fight.

### Teruel Could Have Been Taken Months Ago

The truth of the matter is that this front was systematically sabotaged by the government from the very beginning of the revolution, leaving it without armament up to the time of the offensive against Zaragoza a few months ago, when the anarchist division received some new armament. "Give us armament and we give you Zaragoza," was the slogan of the anarchists on the Aragon front for more than a year. The armament from Russia went to Madrid, it went to Andalucia where the communist divisions operate mostly, but not to Aragon. The fascist hordes were kept back by the anarchists with almost empty hands. And with all that Franco's mercenaries could never advance a single step. Now they go backward on the anarchist front of Aragon.

Who first entered Belchite? The anarchists of the 25 division. Who first entered Teruel? Again the anarchists of the 25 division. But nobody mentioned this fact, and

certainly not the sectarians of Negrin's government, which only knows to slander, persecute and imprison the anarchists in its systematic work of destroying the achievements of the workers and peasants. The only one who gets any credit of the present victory is the Lister Division, because it is a communist division. And Lister didn't even enter Teruel. But the communists control the censorship, and in virtue of that they take to themselves the honor of everything good that is being done in loyalist Spain.

### Is Lister Dead?

The news had been transmitted somehow that Lister had been killed on the Teruel front. The news is false. Lister is not Durruti. The anarchist leader could be seen at any time—particularly when the fighting was going on—in the first lines amongst his comrades; Lister takes good care of his safety.

The only front in which Lister can be seen in the first line is the rear-guard front: the front of counter revolution. Lister did distinguish himself in the attack against the revolutionary workers' and peasants' collectives, syndicates and municipalities.

Already six months ago, in the Toledo sector, Lister showed his devotion and the devotion of his party to counter revolution by arresting more than 70 peasants and workers of the C.N.T. and putting them against the wall and shooting them for being revolutionaries. The shooting was performed near the little church of Mora de Toledo.

### Lister's Work in Aragon

After performing such a "wonderful" job in Mora de Toledo, Lister was sent to Aragon, the anarchist Aragon, by Negrin's government in August, to perform the same feat. In Aragon, Lister did still better than in Mora de Toledo. He didn't shoot so many anarchists, but he had a great time—while the

## GENERAL SECRETARY OF C.N.T. TELLS OF PLANS FOR 1938

(Continued from page one)

### The New Plenum

The year of 1938 will be inaugurated by the C.N.T. with an attempt to solve the basic problems of the proletarian economy.

The C.N.T. called an enlarged Plenum at which certain capital renovations will be passed upon. The Plenum will be represented by the local and regional federations and also by the National Industrial Federations. Neither political nor military problems will be taken up at that Plenum. Only problems of work and economy will be on the agenda.

Among many other points of the agenda, I want to stress the following ones:

Payment for work: The

Plenum will analyse and pass upon the system of payment in accordance with the circumstances. It will establish a balanced wage for all producers.

**Setting up of an Industrial Union Bank:** This Bank will be created in order to provide credit facilities for collectivized industries.

**Intensifying the work of consumer's co-operatives. Industrial planning. Checking up industries with the view of eliminating those that are useless or not indispensable:** This is of great importance in view of the necessity of balancing war needs against the industrial potentialities of our country.

**Laying down general norms of work.**

But too powerful are the forces now leagued against the Spanish revolution to permit any too easy optimism. The venal pen of Mr. Fernsworth did, perhaps, run too fast on its master, but there can be no doubt that there is some purpose behind its sudden revelations. And we cannot forget that the May Day provocation was also preceded by similar revelation and intimations of coming events.

anarchists were holding back the fascists in the trenches and couldn't abandon them—in assaulting with his troops numerous C.N.T.-F.A.I. collectives, syndicates, cooperatives and municipalities, smashing them, destroying everything they could find on the premises—furniture, typewriter, etc.—robbing them of their products and their money, stealing all their means of transportation—cars, trucks, etc.—and arresting a few hundred anarchists, beating and killing a score of them.

He wasn't alone however, in performing this wonderful work for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Other Marxist divisions helped him all over the territory; the Karl Marx division, for example, the same Karl Marx division which later on, at the beginning of September, in the government offensive against Zaragoza, had its entire General Staff go over to the fascist at Zuera, taking along the plans of the offensive and thus causing its failure.\*

### No Cause for Popular Grief

Lister dead? The peasants and workers of Aragon would not cry even if that were true. No matter how much he may be exalted by the communist propaganda machine, the workers and peasants of Aragon will hate him, like a scourge, in the same way in which they hate his bloody Party, which has sold them out to the so called democratic, but imperialistic countries and to the bourgeoisie.

Lister entered Aragon like a conqueror. Probably Franco wouldn't have done worse. But some day he and his party will have to give an account of their murders and treason to the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain.

Beobachter

\* These are officially verified facts related by the Spanish and foreign press.

More of this "conquest of Aragon" will be told by comrade Beobachter, who was in Spain during this assault upon the collectives, in the following issues of our paper.

The mere enumeration of those problems on the agenda of the Plenum will give one an idea of its capital importance.

The resolutions of this grand assembly of worker's representatives will mark a line of supreme achievements for the Spanish proletariat.

### Prosperity for All

That is how the anti-fascist and proletarian Spain keeps on working and struggling. There is no pessimism in our ranks even though, due to the fact that we were abandoned by the European democracy, and even by the proletariat, we have not yet succeeded in wresting the rest of Spain from the hands of the fascists.

The Spanish workers have confidence in themselves. They are anxious to obtain the aid of the international proletariat, but withal they go on with their achievements. And right in the midst of the destruction caused by the black bombers of Mussolini and Hitler, among the thousands of corpses strewn on the battlefields and bombarded cities, the Spanish workers, through their own industrial unions and dispensing with any "mentors,"—keep on building, slowly but tenaciously, the edifice of the future, of prosperity for all, a prosperity for those that work and suffer.

—Mariano Vasquez

## C.N.T. DELEGATES SPEAK BEFORE ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE

"Spain will not follow Moscow's road" — Norman Thomas.  
 "Spain—a new period in the life of humanity"—Serafin Aliaga.  
 "Spain will be the first socialist democracy in the world"  
 —Juan Lopez.

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 made a stirring, eloquent plea on behalf of the great struggle now carried on by the Spanish people. There can be no neutrals in this struggle, he declared, or passive onlookers, for the fate of anti-fascist Spain is the fate of the world.

It is a struggle which rises above any partisan interests, for it is waged around the basic right of the workers and peasants of every nation, the right to be the masters of their political, social and economic destinies.

Those destinies will be shaped in the liberated Spain in accordance with the federalist traditions and the character of the Spanish labor movement, the tremendous role of which in the present struggle is not yet fully realized in other countries.

### A New Chapter in Human Progress

Spanish labor has great revolutionary traditions, it is schooled in direct revolutionary action and that is why, unlike the German proletariat, it found itself adequate to meet the great historic test. And what is more, it revealed before the astounded world great constructive capacity by creating a new economic organism in the midst of the fiercest war and in face of the opposition of the capitalist powers of the world.

Spain is opening a new period in the history of the social progress of humanity. As in all great revolutions of the past, the Spanish revolution is carried on simultaneously with war. And it is this revolution that gives the war now going on in Spain its universal character which the organized

workers of the world must defend as a matter of their own self-preservation.

### Juan Lopez' Speech

The threads of the same idea were taken up by Juan Lopez, the delegate of the National Committee of the C.N.T. and ex-Minister of Commerce in the Largo Caballero Cabinet, who in a masterly speech unfolded the historic roots, the international significance and the perspectives of the Spanish revolution.

The social revolution in Spain—he declared—is threatened on both sides by fascist capitalism and the imperialism of the so-called democratic nations, who are pursuing the same aim of controlling the Spanish peninsula, politically and economically, for war purposes and who try to impede the triumph of the social revolution.

### Historic Roots of Spanish Militancy

The latter was made possible in Spain due to the leading role of anarcho syndicalism in the labor movement, which prevented the debilitating effect of reformism upon the fighting power of the proletariat. That is why Spain became the first country in which the struggle against fascism—native and international—assumed such a clear-cut character.

The Spanish proletariat has shown a great deal of revolutionary initiative because it succeeded in escaping the control of the middle classes and the democratic intellectuals, who bankrupted during the revolution of 1931 and who used the power which fell into their hands as a result of that revolution in order to continue

the work of reactionary capitalism and to help foreign imperialism.

### Spain—The Forestage of Impending War

The rivalries of the two opposing camps of imperialism are bound to lead to war. Spain has already become the foreground of this impending conflict. That is why along with direct intervention there is also the intervention of a more subtle, but no less insidious kind, of the democratic powers. Had there been no foreign intervention, the Spanish workers would have been able to assure the triumphant march of the revolution, the triumph of which will be the starting point of the regeneration of the labor movement all over the world.

The policy of intervention is not only represented by the fascist powers. It is also promoted by England who fears the revolution in Spain and who has imposed upon France the weak and vacillating policy exemplified by the sham non-intervention pact.

### Revolution Will Win

This policy, as well as that of open intervention by fascist armies, will fail. The revolution cannot be sidetracked nor will the imperialists succeed in settling their accounts at the expense of the Spanish people.

The war will be long; it will be so because of the framework of foreign complications. And even when the war is

**Worker's democracy and the triumph of the revolution are both inseparable. Both are the sole objective of the Spanish proletariat and of the workers of the world.**  
 ("Frente Libertario")

And so the tragedy taking place on the larger scene of the political struggles of the Spanish revolution began to assert itself in the U.G.T.

### Issues Settled by Strong Arm Methods

Caballero appealed to union democracy, to the Constitution of the union, to the rank and file. But his newspapers were taken away from him by force, the meetings of his followers suppressed and he himself driven to silence.

Whatever the outcome of this struggle of the rank and file membership against government interference would be, it would doubtless weaken the U.G.T., that is a considerable portion of organized workers of Spain. Fortunately, the voice of the international proletarian opinion began to assert itself in time. Under the pressure of the Executive Committee of the Second International both factions agreed to arbitrate their differences. And as the result of more than a month of

As to the socialist men of the press, they now watch the outcome of the Spanish struggle with some anxiety. For what if, after all, anarchism became a power in one European country?

What if, in the west of Europe, there came into existence a form of socialism which presented an alternative to the form of socialism already in the East?

At present, we accept Stalin's regime and The Third International because, whatever its faults and shortcomings, it is the only established system of communism in the world. What if, in Spain, another system were established which claimed to be a more essential kind of communism?

(HERBERT READ, noted English critic and essayist in the MODERN MONTHLY)

ended, the military power gained by the Spanish revolution will be used for the cause of liberty of other peoples oppressed by fascism and capitalist imperialism.

### First Labor Democracy In The World

And as to the future of Spain after the victory, it will certainly not be that of a totalitarian Marxist dictatorship. It will not be that of a bourgeois republic, nor will it be pure anarchism that will prevail in the immediate future. It will be that of a democracy of a socialist type, for Spain will become the first truly labor democracy in the world.

*In Republican Spain the two great Western democracies are sometimes represented by men who not only lack sympathy or understanding for the Spanish Republic but who hate it with a personal hatred.*

*And these are some of the people who in their "objective" reports "inform" the democratic Governments of Europe on conditions in Spain. And it is largely on the strength of these reports that the Government shapes their policies. It is an important and a grave matter.*

—Manchester Guardian.

## CATHOLIC MINISTER OF JUSTICE FORCED TO RESIGN

### IS TOO LIBERAL FOR THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS

Following a long struggle between the Stalinists and Mr. Irujo, the latter had to resign his position of Minister of Justice in Negrin's Cabinet.

From the point of view of the defense of the imprisoned C.N.T. and P.O.U.M. comrades, this represents a rather disquieting development. Irujo, although a devout Catholic, was very much opposed to the policy of repressions insisted upon by the Stalinists. It was Irujo that protested strongly in the name of democratic principles against the Stalinist demand for executions.

Of late, he was among those who were favorably inclined toward a political amnesty and the liberation of the anti-fascist prisoners.

Irujo was not opposed by the Stalinists because of his demand for freedom of Catholic worship and the release of Catholic prisoners. The Stalinists pursued the same program. Not until Irujo showed his opposition to the political persecutions was he fought by the Communists. It was when Irujo publicly declared that such acts like the murder of Nin and the frame-up of the P.O.U.M. were provoked by the Stalinists and imposed upon the government that the Communists opened their campaign against him.

It is also disquieting that the new Minister of Justice is a member of the Azana's party and that he is ready to take orders from the Stalinists.  
 —"Independent News."

negotiations, arbitration and personal visits by prominent members of the Executive Committee of the Second International, a final solution has been arrived at.

### Crisis Overcome

According to the latest cable received by the local Spanish paper "La Voz," Leon Jouhaux, secretary of the French Trade Union body, came to Valencia, announcing that the crisis has been overcome and that his proposition conceding four positions to Largo Caballero's faction in the Executive Commission of the U.G.T. was accepted by both wings of the union.

We do not know whether this means equal representation, but it does mean that the U.G.T. will not be a blind instrument of political

parties. And in this sense Jouhaux is more than right in hailing it as an important step toward the coming victory over fascism.

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## CRISIS IN U.G.T. OVERCOME

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 by the communists and the right-wing socialists, opposed this independent revolutionary line. It savored too much of syndicalism so much hated by politicians of all varieties. And because this faction was but the mouthpiece of the politicians in the unions it came out with the demand for "self-limitation," for divesting the unions of all the important functions which they have come to fulfil in the life of Spain.

"The business of the unions is to obey; it is the political parties that are to govern the country." And by governing was not meant the purely political, administrative role or the conduct of war. It also included, according to the communist politicians, the shaping of economic policies, the framing of the basic social pattern which is to take the place of the one spontaneously erected by the revolutionary masses of Spain.

### Rank and File Oppose Political Domination

It stands to reason that the latter

did not exactly take to a program which leaves to the unions such "exalted" functions as paying out the young recruits part of their wages, lengthening the hours of work, introducing piece work and Stakhanovism, carrying out automatically all the decrees of the government (the resolutions passed by the Stalinist controlled Catalonian U.G.T.) and refraining from voicing their opinion on such questions as what is to be done with the factories, indemnification of owners, economic planning. Those, as is known, were reserved in this program for the party of "the best," "the select," "the vanguard."

The masses followed Largo Caballero in his rejection of this program. But the political police, the Che-ka torture chambers, the censorship were with the politicians. And, alas, the guns necessary to fight off the fascists could be obtained from Russia and France only upon condition that they be controlled by pol-



## WHO IS BACK OF POLITICAL PERSECUTIONS IN LOYALIST SPAIN?

### MEMBER OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT REPORTS VISIT TO SPAIN

#### Workers in Valencia Threatened to Pull Down Prison If Prisoners Were Not Released

John McGovern, member of British Parliament, was sent to Spain by the International Bureau and his own Party (Independent Labor Party) to investigate the situation in regard to the continued imprisonment of revolutionaries by the Negrin government.

Upon his return to England he issued a report (now printed in pamphlet form) clearly stating that the only instigator and abettor of this campaign of persecution is the Communist Party of Spain which is acting in this case upon direct orders from Moscow.

We are reprinting here a few excerpts from this report as it appeared in the official paper of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain ("The New Leader")

On November 24 we left Paris for Barcelona, arrived on the 25th, and began our work immediately. Our great desire was to strengthen the Workers' Front and win the war against Franco and his capitalist allies.

We had a two-hour interview with Senor Irujo (Minister of Justice) and his personal secretary, who is the minister's brother. We had a very frank discussion over the question of prisoners and the possibility of an amnesty for all anti-Fascists. Senor Irujo informed us that the question of an amnesty had been considered by the Government, and that every Member, with the exception of the Communists, had been wholly in favor of releasing every genuine anti-Fascist prisoner. The Communist members of the Government were violently opposed to the release of any of the prisoners. On November 21 a large army of workers from the C.N.T. and other militant Socialist bodies went to the gates of the Valencia Prison and threatened to pull down the prison if the prisoners were not released.

#### "A Scene I Will Never Forget"

Our first prison visit was to the Carcel Modelo Prison, where there are 500 anti-Fascists, 500 Fascists, and 500 criminals. The Director and doctor gave us complete freedom. We spent two hours interviewing anti-Fascists. We were locked in the prison wing, and freely interviewed members of the P.O.U.M. (Gironella, Adroher, Eurique). Everyone wanted to tell us of the operation of the Russian Cheka, of threats of death, detention,

and third degree. The anti-Fascists were from Spain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Holland, Greece, and America. Many were wounded and had fought at Madrid.

We saw one remarkable drawing by an Italian prisoner. The scene was an underground cellar with an armed guard at the door. The prisoner was pinned against the wall by two armed guards with rifles and bayonets, and a Cheka officer was pointing a revolver at his heart. There was a large sewer at the side into which, he was informed, his body would be thrown after he had been shot.

We met Senor Fernandez, who was the Chief of Police when John McNair and I arrived at Barcelona in November, 1936

Before we left, the entire army of prisoners sang two C.N.T. songs and the "International," and then gave deafening cheers for C.N.T., F.A.I., P.O.U.M., and I.L.P. delegations. They also hissed the Spanish Cheka. This was a scene that I will never forget.

The Director asked us to go quietly. He had never seen the prisoners so moved, and feared a revolt. Here was indeed a tragedy: hundreds of genuine anti-Fascists crowding at the iron bars with clenched fists that were half a salutation and half defiance.

#### The Home Secretary Doesn't Know

The Home Secretary, Senor Zugazagoitia (of the Prieto wing of the U.G.T.), saw us for a further two hours. He

deplored the disappearance and death of Andres Nin and Kurt Landau and assured us that he was still having energetic inquiries made. The accusations of association with Franco were, he believed, outrageous. He explained the difficulties raised by refusal of the French Ambassador to permit the return of French subjects who were prisoners or to allow foreign prisoners to go through France. He accused the Ambassador of Franco sympathies.

I asked, "How is it that Fernandez, Chief of Police in the previous Government, is in prison for the killing of an official by his men while Burillo, Communist Chief during Nin's disappearance and murder, is free?" He could not explain why. He answered, in reply to an allegation of Cheka domination, "Well, we received aid from Russia, and had to permit certain actions which we did not like." He also promised to speed up amnesty of all genuine anti-Fascists. . . .

#### Cheka Versus Government

Our most sensational, illuminating and tragic experience

## FAMOUS SCIENTISTS PROUD OF THEIR C.N.T. UNION CARD

Many of us heard about the famous Russian scientist Timiriazov, who at the ripe old age of 75 years threw himself with youthful ardor into the struggle for a new social order waged by the Russian workers in 1917-1919. This noble act, now immortalized in the beautiful film "The Baltic Deputy," will long serve as an inspiration to the generations to come, showing the way to transcend the narrow attitudes of the ivory tower scientist in the name of a new humanity.

Revolutionary Spain possesses a number of such heroic figures. Unlike the well known philosopher Unamuno, who was swept by the middle class hysteria into the betrayal of his liberal convictions, those scientists and thinkers heeded the call of social duty, sounded by the revolutionary tocsin of July 19. They joined the worker's organizations, they joined the Union of Liberal Professions which is now an integral part of the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.)

Many of them have already inscribed a glorious page in the great reconstruction work carried on by the workers of the C.N.T. Laboratories, research departments significant, far reaching pedagogic experiments—all those are the contribution of many a great figure in the scientific world of Spain who left their secluded cabinets to join hands with revolutionary workers.

#### Famous Scientist Active Militant

There is Gonzales de Reparaz, for instance, a venerable old scientist of 70 years, active member of the C.N.T. who serves it tirelessly with his pen and research

"The victory toward which we are aiming is not a victory in a capitalist war. The Spanish proletariat has been looking forward toward this victory for a number of years. It is the triumph of workers over reaction, of our revolution over national and foreign capitalism.

("Castilla Libre.")

was our attempt to enter Calle Vallmajor Prison, which is held by the Communists. We had credentials from the Director of Prisons and the Minister of Justice, but these were treated with contempt. We were met with a complete refusal to allow us to see either prison or prisoners. Following this we went to the Cheka Office, but again from a Russian and a German we were refused permission. I said, "We have credentials from the Director and Minister of Justice. Are you more powerful than the Government?" They were taken aback by my question, but still refused to grant admission.

This was indeed a challenge to the Government. We were now on tip-toe of expectation as to the result. The secretary of the Minister of Justice assured us that he would secure our admission. He said, "You must not leave Barcelona with

the impression that the Government do not govern this prison." We waited. We paid three further visits, by arrangement, to the secretary. He could not secure a permit.

Every excuse was made to save the face of the Government and the Minister of Justice, but the plain truth is that the Russian Cheka have their thumb on the Government. There are two International Brigades in Spain, one a fighting force and the other an International Cheka which is responsible for arrests, tortures, imprisonments, abductions, and murders of persons who are opposed to its brutality.

#### Free the Anti-Fascist Prisoners!

If Spain is to win her workers' struggle, a halt must be called to the work of this second Inquisition. The prisoners must be freed.

We believe we have marked a future milestone in the battle for an amnesty for anti-Fascists.

Russia is paralysing militant action, weakening the struggle, and storing up for herself a storm of indignation, and anger against her arrogant brutal and terrible actions in Spain.

his deep felt admiration for the libertarian ideas of the C.N.T., for the ardent spirit of militancy evinced by its membership in behalf of those ideas. The great cultural program unfolded by the C.N.T.—one of the proudest achievements of the anarcho-syndicalist workers of Catalonia—found in him an ardent collaborator and active promoter.

#### A Study In Contrasts

The revolutionary proletariat of Barcelona paid homage to his name by coming out in the streets to say the last farewell to this deeply revered old scientist. And how different in spirit was this great outpouring from the "mass" demonstration arranged by the fascists under the windows of the old university of Salamanka. Protesting some utterance by Unamuno, they kept on shouting "Death to Unamuno! Down with the intellectuals."

Unamuno died in ignominy, unwept and unnoticed by the Spanish people, while the death of the scientists who fight together with the proletariat evoked one of the grandest manifestations of grief and sympathy.

Two worlds, two destinies! The world of rising hope in humanity and the declining world, sinking into barbarism and hatred of reason!

works. Famous geographer, historian and anthropologist, he works now actively on the staff of the anarcho-syndicalist daily "Solidaridad Obrera." His exposures and profound analyses of the political situation, his militant revolutionary line already incurred the hatred of the Stalinists in Catalonia who threw this venerable old scientist into jail on the pretext of some minor infraction of censorship rules. And it was only the pressure of an aroused public opinion that saved Gonzalez de Reparaz from the clutches of the Che-Ka. Undaunted, he still continues his work for the C.N.T.

#### Famous Astronomer Proud Of His Union Card

Another venerable figure just passed away. Solas y Coma, world famous astronomer, honorable member of Spanish Academy of Science, President of the Society of Astronomers, was also one of those who like Kropotkin and Elsie Reclu was too keenly aware of the great issues involved in the proletarian struggles to confine himself to the role of a mere on-looker. Like Alberto Carsi and Gustavo Cochet—other famous scientists—he took out a card with the anarcho syndicalist Union of Liberal Professions and Teachers (an affiliate of the C.N.T.)

And he carried his union card with pride, having expressed

#### FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM IN SPAIN, DETROIT, MICH.

	Collected	Sent Out	Expenses	Balance
July 31st, 1936 to July 31st, 1937	\$8,702.97	\$8,068.30	\$521.88	\$112.79
For the month of Aug., 1937	479.93	210.33	2.43	
For the month of Sept., 1937	327.82	100.00	24.09	
For the month of Oct., 1937	1,182.78	1,206.60	1.75	
For the month of Dec., 1937 to date	220.67			930.81

This Committee has sent all the money through the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and auxiliary organizations of Spain, either directly or through the medium of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. delegation in Paris, with the exception of some sums that had been expressly contributed for other purposes also directly connected with the anti-fascist struggle in Spain, as for instance the help to the Spanish Children, which was sent through the "Spanish Orphans' Fund of "Spain and the World," London, England.

The total cash on hand today is \$930.81, which will be sent after the next meeting of the Committee.

#### FINANCIAL STATEMENT FUNDS COLLECTED FOR SPAIN FREE SOCIETY GROUP, CHICAGO, ILL., AUG. 1936 to SEPT. 1937 RECEIPTS

Schedule "A." Donations and Collections (including publications	
"Spanish Revolution" and "Spain and the World")	\$1,131.16
Subscription Lists	182.55
R. Book	1,028.07
Bazaar	244.70
Theatre Party	119.25
Picnic	70.03
Schedule "B." Sale of "Spanish Revolution"	67.94
Sale of Buttons	40.85
TOTAL INCOME	\$2,884.55
DISBURSEMENTS	
Schedule "A." Postage, Bank, Printing, Miscellaneous	\$ 35.32
Schedule "B." Money Sent to Spain	2,305.00
Schedule "C." Donations and Sales	
To "Spanish Revolution," N. Y.	\$178.84
To "Spain and the World," London	15.20
	\$ 194.04
Schedule "D." Paid for Buttons	29.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	\$2,563.36
CASH ON HAND	\$ 321.19

THE  
SPANISH WORKERS  
NEED YOUR  
CONTINUED AID