

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## C.N.T. FORCES — SHOCK TROOPS OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

Teruel was taken after ten days of intense fighting under atmospheric conditions which made it exceedingly hard to advance against an enemy formidably armed and enjoying the advantages of an extremely favorable terrain and fortifications afforded by nature itself.

This victory is of tremendous importance for us and it will certainly result in completely changing the war outlook and putting an end to the alarmist rumors which began to spread of late.

It was the first important offensive carried out with a high degree of efficiency.

### 25th Division In The Fore

Within a few days a concentration of troops consisting of three divisions was effected near Teruel.\* One of them was the 25th Division commanded by Garcia Vivancos, the same Division which distinguished itself by its valor in the taking of Belchite.

This Division is almost exclusively made up of militants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., of workers who were in the thick of battles ever since July 19. According to the information sent out by the Liaison Committee of Teruel the C.N.T.-F.A.I. forces were the first to enter Teruel and it was those forces that kept up the fierce fighting in the interior of the city.

It was the 116th Brigade which belongs to the 25th Di-

vision, that seized the cemetery—one of the strategic keys to the city. Likewise, of great importance was the action of the 118th Brigade, which is also made up of C.N.T. members, whose officers encouraged their men by throwing themselves with unheard of bravery upon the enemy tanks.

It has to be pointed out that detachments of the 116th Brigade entered Teruel on the night of the 20th while the enemy was still in possession of the city. They brought very valuable information from their raid.

### The Shock Troops of Anti-Fascist War

The action of the artillery of the 25th Division was also on a very high level of efficiency. A whole column of enemy reinforcements seriously menacing the 11th Division (Lister) was completely wiped out by artillery fire. One can say that this was one of the most glorious days of the war and that the C.N.T. forces have proven themselves as shock troops of irresistible driving power and high fighting ability.

—From "Nueva Espana Antifascista"

\* Edit. note: According to the French weekly "Libertaire" more than 70% of the forces taking part in the Teruel operations were the old C.N.T.-F.A.I. militias, and among them—the so much calumniated Iron Column.

Nothing, perhaps, shows more conclusively the predominant role played by the anarcho-syndicalist forces in the capture of Teruel than the following telegram sent by the governor of the Aragon province to the National Committee of the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia):

ACCEPT MY ENTHUSIASTIC CONGRATULATIONS ON THE GREAT ROLE PLAYED BY YOUR ORGANIZATION IN FORMING THE POPULAR ARMY WHICH TOOK TERUEL."

## What Is The Significance of the Teruel Victory?

### WHAT IS THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION?

Is There a Rising Revolutionary Wave in Spain?

Come, hear those questions dealt with by competent speakers at the MASS MEETING to be held Friday, January 28th, at the Libertarian Center 229 Avenue A (corner 14th St.)

#### SPEAKERS:

M. OLAY—Director of Spanish Press Bureau.

F. BRANDT—Journalist and correspondent, foreign press.

S. WIENER—Lecturer and writer.

I. SHANNON—I.W.W. organizer.

Auspices: United Libertarian Organizations :: 8:00 sharp

## LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT DRAWS YOUNG INTELLECTUALS

### Conference of Libertarian Students Held

The libertarian struggles of the Spanish workers organized in the C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor) and the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation of Labor) are beginning to draw ever greater sympathies on the part of the genuine intellectuals of Spain. The ranks of the C.N.T. workers are now being swelled by an increasing number of scientists, writers, technicians and educators who have come to realize the great historic significance of the battle waged by the C.N.T. workers against the menace of totalitarianism.

(Continued on page two)



## GARCIA VIVANCOS

COMMANDER OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST DIVISION  
A Proletarian Fighter, Faithful to the Libertarian Cause

Garcia Vivancos, the Commander of the heroic 25th Division which took Teruel, is a taxi driver by trade. He is an old militant in the ranks of the anarchist movement of Spain. 25 years of his life (he is 43 years old) were spent in the militant battles of the anarchist labor movement.

He was closely associated with Durruti and Ascaso\* in their life long struggles. Together with those great figures of the Spanish revolutionary movement, he formed the group of militants during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera which answered in kind the terroristic acts committed by the hangmen of the dictatorial regime against the workers.

Vivancos was one of the first to leave for the Aragon front, having distinguished himself by his valor, presence of mind and great military ingenuity. It is those qualities that singled him out for command when the militias were organized into regular units of the Popular Army. But, as he is characterized by the magazine issued by the 25th Division, "beneath the military uniform there will always remain the proletarian fighter, true to the last to the cause of proletarian emancipation."

\* Ascaso—Durruti's close friend and associate in revolutionary struggles; was killed during the street fighting in Barcelona while leading a column of workers against the fascist-held military barracks.

## LOYALIST FORCES PREPARE BIG OFFENSIVE

### TIME PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE LOYALISTS

- Fascists in fear of the population
- Russian influence on the wane
- Madrid is impregnable
- Danger of sea blockade.

We are presenting here this excellent report, as it appeared in the "Manchester Guardian," on the outlook of the military situation. The writer is one of the best informed correspondents and, within certain limitations, his sober evaluation and direct information will prove very helpful in correctly appraising the situation in Spain.

The limitations, however, cannot be ignored. They are of the kind which characterize the reports of all the bourgeois correspondents who do not see much beyond the purely military aspects of the struggle. The social aspects of the latter are a closed book to them, and inasmuch as they have to report on it, they fall back upon official information supplied by the government.

### Time Aids Loyalists

The Republican success on the Teruel front does not change one's view that the Government is not yet ready for a big offensive, though it does suggest that the Government troops are already admirably trained and equipped for manoeuvring and for comparatively small-scale operations calculated to upset the enemy's plans.

What the Republican leaders say is that in six months or a year the armaments on the Government side should be equal to those on Franco's side; that the spirit of the Government troops and of the population should be as good as and even better than to-day. The rebels, on the other hand, have the workers and most of

the peasants against them; the population is terrorized, and, in the absence of any victories, their prestige should go down completely. This prestige has hitherto been kept up only by the easy victories in the North, against which the Government could do nothing.

### Armaments Situation Improved

The Government has an army of about 500,000 men, with an admirable morale and—an important recent development—a highly trained and highly mobile reserve force of completely fresh troops, numbering between 100,000 and 120,000 men. These can be thrown into battle at the shortest notice, to any critical point of the front.

The armaments position of the Government is improving. A large part of these armaments are now manufactured in Catalonia, not only the smaller weapons but also tanks, and some thirty to forty aeroplanes a month—a figure which, it is hoped, will be doubled in a few months.

There is still a certain shortage of good pilots, but Spanish pilots are being intensively trained both in Spain and—why deny it?—abroad. In the heyday of one-sided "non-intervention" Russia and to a lesser extent, Mexico were practically the only sources of foreign arms, and Russia literally saved the Spanish Republic, a fact which has not been without political repercussions there. (The fact that Moscow had to be paid is irrelevant; elsewhere the Republic could get no arms for either love or money.) To-day the Republic is finding it less difficult to procure arms elsewhere, in addition to those she manufactures herself, though the French, I was often told, "are still a bit sticky."

(Continued on page four)

## DANCE - ENTERTAINMENT proceeds for "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

to be held at the Vanguard Hall

Saturday, February 19th  
22 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.

Auspices: Vanguard Group

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## THE HEIRS OF THE LIBERAL VALUES OF CIVILIZATION

The world is swept by a wave of savagery and moral disintegration. One country after the other succumbs to the worst forms of political tyranny, which only a few years ago were deemed to be rapidly vanishing from the face of the earth.

"Europe will be Fascist"—proclaimed the strutting madman in Rome. And in strange obedience to this wild prophecy, the expanding sea of political barbarism begins to close in upon the narrowing islands of European democracy.

Chekho-Slovakia is isolated. France is rapidly losing her dominating position in European affairs. The Fascist International is openly preparing a repetition of the Spanish events upon French soil. And England, ruled by a caste which only mimicked the democratic spirit born out of the great revolutionary struggles of the XIX century, is helplessly drifting along the powerful wave of international reaction.

Frightened by the latter, the liberal elements of the world begin to turn in despair to the power which seems to them as the only one possessing sufficient vigor to resist the downward trend of our civilization. And in their eagerness to find umbrage with this power—the power of the Soviet bayonets, of the regimented cadres of the Communist Party—they seem to be ready to yield meekly to the harsh demands of the latter in respect to the great liberal heritage of our civilization.

This heritage—the liberal elements are told—is only a superfluous luxury. It has to be thrown overboard in a time of great stress. Fascist dictatorship can be fought against by an equally harsh dictatorship of the Communist Party oriented upon progress and the future instead of savagery and chaos.

There is one country, however, which refuses to accept this harsh dilemma. It threw itself fiercely against the forces of international reaction, raising an almost insurmountable barrier to the spread of fascism in Europe. But in doing so, it did not yield to the temptation, held out before it in a very alluring form, of following in the footsteps of Russia, where the victory over the forces of the counter-revolution was paid at the frightful price of the loss of civic liberties and self-government.

It is in the skilful way in which the revolutionary proletariat of Spain—the moving force of the great epic struggle going on in that country—succeeded in avoiding the great danger now facing many a civilized country, because of the supine attitude of the liberal elements, that the great historic significance of the Spanish events lies. The mantle of the true guardian of the humanistic values by which our civilization lives has passed from the shoulder of the panic-stricken European intellectuals to the Spanish workers and peasants who knew how to face the great danger of Fascist barbarism not by succumbing to the lures of a fashionable totalitarianism but by laying the groundwork of a true industrial democracy.

"No pasaran" they sang throughout Spain when Franco's hordes were battering their way to Madrid. "No pasaran"—they shall not pass—the same refrain is echoed now in the factories, fields and trenches of Spain, not only in regard to Franco and his hirelings. It is equally directed against any attempt to impose a dictatorship, against any attempt to curtail the basic rights of workers and peasants as the sole owners of the national wealth and their equally important rights as free citizens of the industrial commonwealth.

To those who at the present moment keep on emphasizing our moderation and restraint we want to say that the C.N.T. has not gone back upon its basic aims nor does it intend to do so in the future.

More than ever does the C.N.T. feel itself strengthened by the allegiance of its component organizations, by the enthusiasm and self-discipline evinced by the latter in their daily work.

We are the same as ever and we are where we were before.

—From the "CNT"  
(anarcho-syndicalist daily in Madrid)

# INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION HOLDS CONGRESS

## DIRECT ACTION URGED ON BEHALF OF SPAIN

We hear a great deal about international solidarity of the proletariat, about the various international organizations with their millions of members, powerful political influence and high statesmanship of their leaders.

Measured, however, by the simple test of direct aid to the Spanish workers, this highly reputed international solidarity proved to be of quite tenuous a quality. Not only did the international proletariat permit the so-called democratic governments to knife the anti-Fascist struggle in Spain by their farcical non-intervention agreements, but it has not done much by way of preventing the direct supplying of Franco now openly done not only by Fascist powers but also by the munitions makers of many a "democratic" country.

## MASSES READY FOR MILITANT ACTION

This laxness is not due to any lack of interest or militancy of the rank and file of European workers. Those who know the anti-Fascist mood of the European masses realize that given a proper initiative and this mood will soon tell itself as a powerful factor in the foreign policies of many a country. It is the lack of such an initiative on the part of the leading international organization that has such a dampening effect upon the militancy of the rank and file.

## DIRECT ACTION IN BEHALF OF SPAIN

It is in this respect that the Special Congress of the International Workingmen's Association (anarcho-syndicalist International, with which the C.N.T. is affiliated) has such far-reaching significance. This International organization of workers is built upon the principles of direct action on the part of the economic organization and there is no doubt that the application of those principles in the field of international solidarity will put an altogether different complexion upon the struggle of the international proletariat in behalf of Spain.

## C.N.T. REPORT APPROVED

The Congress, as reported by the "CNT" (anarcho-syndicalist daily in Madrid) was represented by the C.N.T. by the Swedish Syndicalist unions, by anarcho-syndicalist unions of France, Argentina (F.O.R.A.), Chile, Holland; by delegates of underground organizations of Poland, Greece, Italy, Portugal.

The C.N.T. submitted an extensive report giving account of the main line followed since July 19. The conclusions of the report were that the lack of solidarity on the part of the international proletariat determined the retreat of revolutionary forces.

The congress approved the C.N.T. report and also accepted a general

# LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT

## DRAWS STUDENT YOUTH

(Continued from Page one)

### A Powerful Libertarian Current

And, perhaps, the most encouraging sign of this awakening of the intellectuals is the recent conference held by the libertarian students of Spain. The conference drew a very large number of delegates—800 of them—and by its organizational work, as well as by the deep impression made upon the general youth of Spain, may well prove to be the turning point in the struggles of the youth movement all over the world.

### TOTALITARIAN BACKGROUND

The significance of this conference can be understood the better if placed against the background of the fatal hold exercised by the totalitarian ideas—of Left and Right variety—upon the youth all over the world. (Excepting, perhaps, the Anglo-Saxon countries.) Viewed from that angle, the powerful current set up by the conference of libertarian students of Spain may yet prove its great significance by deeply and radically affecting the general trend of rebellious youth all over the world.

### Main Task of Conference

The main purpose of this conference

was to give definite expression to the powerful sentiment of sympathy toward the C.N.T.-F.A.I. on the part of the student youth.

That the libertarian movement had many sympathizers among the students was known much prior to the conference. Before the revolution of July 19 there existed in Catalonia an influential organization of libertarian students. After July 19, every Teachers' Union affiliated with the C.N.T. opened a section for the student youth, which became an active part of the organization.

However, it was known that those organizations did not include a large number of unaffiliated libertarian students, who needed a special organization of their own in order to crystallize the widely diffused and growing libertarian sentiments of the students. And it was for this purpose that a conference was called by the National Committee of the Libertarian Youth.

### Problems of Libertarian Culture

The conference was carried on amid great enthusiasm on the part of the delegates as well as the youth crowding the spacious hall of the headquarters of the Union of Gas Workers, turned over by the latter organization

outline of a plan to be followed by the International Workingmen's Association in its work of mobilizing the proletariat in order to put an end to the farce of "non-intervention."

# INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' ALLIANCE

Great stress was laid in the discussions of the plan, finally accepted by the Congress, of appealing to all international workers' organizations with the view of forming a Workers' Anti-Fascist Alliance which would set itself immediately the task of organizing an efficient boycott of the products of Fascist countries and facilitating the victory of the anti-Fascist cause in Spain.

# BOYCOTT THROUGH ACTION

This boycott, as conceived by the delegates of the Congress, is not the namby-pamby affair of which the Greens and other such "leaders" of labor organizations permit themselves to talk occasionally. It means chiefly action on the job. It means stopping effectively any manufacturing and shipping of ammunitions to Franco. And it also means to unloose such a powerful wave of revolutionary direct action on the part of the workers which will immediately put an end to all the left handed intrigues of the "democratic" governments against revolutionary Spain.

# 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 events leading to the October revolt of 1934)
- "The Life of Durruti" . . . 20c
- "After the Revolution, What?" by D. A. de Santillan. \$1.00 (Presents the constructive ideas of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism)
- "The Tragic Week in May" by Augustine Souchy . . . 10c

to the libertarian students for their conference. Apart from purely organizational problems—that of rallying all the students of libertarian sympathies for the great task of defending and promoting the Revolution—the conference also dealt with problems of revolutionary culture, new education, and the larger aspects of the struggle against the greatest danger of our time—the warped mentality forced upon youth by totalitarians of all shades and varieties.

# SLOGANS OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference was wound up with a big mass meeting which was well attended by young workers and students of the city (Valencia). The speakers—delegates of that conference and representatives of the National Committee of Libertarian Youth—dwelt upon the decisions and the larger perspectives held out by the conference symbolized by its rallying slogans—

We are fighting for: *the city that is emerging—*  
*The University*  
and against: *the edifice that is crumbling—*  
*The Prison.*

## WORKERS BUILD EFFICIENT WAR INDUSTRY

It is now generally admitted that the re-equipment of the Loyalist army is mainly due to the efficient functioning of its war industries. The time of exclusive dependence upon foreign supplies is gone. The munition factories of Catalonia, and to a lesser extent, those of Levante and Madrid, are now playing a predominant role in placing the loyalist army on the high level recently evidenced by its successful offensive on the Teruel front.

This tremendous role was made possible by the heroic work of the labor unions who succeeded in raising a demoralized industry to its present state of high efficiency. And, perhaps, in no other branch have the industrial unions stood so well the test of management and control as in this most important industry of fighting Spain.

The story of those heroic efforts is told by the Acting Secretary of the Industrial Union of Metal Workers, belonging to the anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.).

We quote from the anarchist daily in Valencia "Nosotros."

### A Ruined Industry At First

"Immediately after July 18th the metal workers found themselves cut off from any assistance on the part of the higher technicians. (There were, of course, notable exceptions.) Economically, our factories were in a state of utter ruin. The workers, however, grappled with the difficulties in an intelligent manner, having succeeded, after arduous labor, in transforming the metal working industry into a powerful and efficient war industry.

### C.N.T. Workers In the Lead

"The most patent results of this work have been produced in Catalonia where the manufacturing of war materials grew already to sizable proportions three months after the Fascist revolt.

"Levante followed suit. The workers, following the lead of

the C.N.T., threw themselves with great ardor into the work of building up the war industries.

"A very good illustration of this arduous work is the case of the town of Alcoy whose metal workers (all of whom belong to the C.N.T.) have improved the production of war materials to an astonishing extent; astonishing not only to Spanish but also to foreign experts.

### Miraculous Work Done in Madrid

"And as to the Central region, we can say definitely that in Madrid the metal workers have made one of the greatest achievements.

"The metal working industry of Madrid was always of the most primitive kind. Until July 19 it could hardly be considered an industry at all. It had only a few small shops here and there, which worked for the construction industry.

"It was this pitifully inadequate industry that was rebuilt by the Madrid workers to its

present size and shape. By now the Madrid factories produce hand grenades of all calibres, aeroplane bombs, cartridges and automatic arms. And it was the C.N.T. that imbued the workers with the spirit necessary to effect such changes.

### Politicians Sabotage Unity of Workers

"The sentiment toward unity on the part of the workers of both organizations, C.N.T. and U.G.T., is very great, and, one might say, such unity is already an accomplished fact in many places, although a certain party (communist) does everything possible to prevent such a unity from working itself out in practice.

"In the factories of Levante and the Madrid region the unity among metal workers is a living fact, but in Catalonia this is greatly retarded by the opposition of a certain party (communist) which is the irreconcilable enemy of the unification of both unions. However, the problem of workers' unity is not so acute in Catalonia for the simple reason that the immense majority of the metal workers belong to the C.N.T.

### Self-Sacrifice and Heroism of Rank and File

"The work accomplished in the munitions factories is nothing short of heroic. The workers put in voluntarily 14 and more hours of work a day. Many are the cases of prostration at the work benches as the result of such overwork. But the workers hold on to their task with a feverish enthusiasm, without demanding any compensation in exchange for their extra service.

"There are also many factories which the workers have fully placed at the disposal of the government. (That holds true of the money and material.) Now some of them find themselves ruined."

**"Long live the F.A.I.-C.N.T." was the battle cry of the thousands who died storming the heights of Teruel.**

The faith in the revolution is persistent and widespread.

### A Justified Impatience

"Many foreign revolutionaries living in Spain are carried away by impatience. They speak of the raging counter-revolution, of the numerous assaults committed by the bourgeois-Stalinist bloc against the constructive work of the unions. And, indeed, it is our duty to speak of it. It is our duty to denounce the misdeeds committed against the revolution by the would-be revolutionists.

"But this does not mean that the revolution is lost in Spain. Just the contrary. The persecutions, to my opinion, are a natural reaction to the emphatic self-assertion of our movement, which knows where it goes. The repression, assassinations, assaults against the collectives are the most manifest proof of the fact that the revolution exists. And who will dare to say that the excesses committed against our comrades were unretaliated, that our comrades just permitted those excesses to take place without wincing?"

against the C.N.T. by Trotsky and his disciples on the alleged ground of having completely capitulated to the forces of the counter-revolution. The latter, as is known, is represented by the Left Marxists as being fully triumphant while, in pursuance of the same narrow sectarian urge of scoring a point of argument, the resilience and vitality of the revolutionary forces is utterly ignored. It is to those who were shell-shocked by the persecutions and counter-revolutionary drives of the Negrin Government into an uncritical acceptance of the rancorous animadversions of Trotsky and his disciples that the opinion quoted below may prove to be of salutary effect.

progress has already been accomplished. Most certainly, the romanticism of the flag-waving period is left behind. But the enthusiasm of the first days, when the belief in a rapid victory was quite strong, is not gone.

## REVOLUTION A LIVING FORCE IN SPAIN

Elsewhere in this issue we are quoting Fenner Brockway, the Secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Britain, to the effect that, contrary to those who affirm that the cause of the Revolution is lost in Spain, the rising revolutionary wave, now greatly in evidence in that country, will bring the Social Revolution back to its former sweep.

The same opinion is expressed by a French observer of Spanish events, Jean Dupoux, one of the editors of the anarcho-syndicalist "Le Combat Syndicaliste" who recently returned from an extended tour over Spain.

His opinion is of especial interest in view of the campaign now unloosed in this country

### Faith in Revolution Strong

"Contrary to what is said in certain circles, it is clear to anyone who had lived in Spain for some time that a tremendous

## SPANISH FASCISTS SUPPLY ARMS FOR PLOTTERS IN FRANCE

### EFFECTS OF "NON-INTERVENTION" POLICY

The rebellion in Spain was plotted, equipped and guided by the Fascist powers of Europe. The same powers are now using the Fascist-held territory of Spain as a spring board for similar activities in France.

The recent plot uncovered in France (that of the Gagoulards, the French Ku-Kluxers) was hatched in Berlin and

Rome, but it was Fascist Spain that served as the supply base for the underground activities of the French "Black Legion."

The close connection between the Spanish Fascists and the French plotters was fully brought out by the official investigation, of which the French socialist daily "Populaire," writes:

### Arms Shipped from Spain

"It was soon established that the automatic arms found in the hidden storehouses were of Italian and German make. But private individuals cannot buy and transport large quantities of machine guns. It presupposed the connivance of some of the authorities.

"And when the latter were unmasked, where did they escape? To Salamanca and San Sebastian, to the headquarters of the Fascist generals in Spain.

Whence came the case of cartridges seized on the Picpus Boulevard? From the munition factory in Toledo.

"For now that Franco is abundantly supplied by sea, he does not stand any more in need of the dangerous and costly method of smuggling. But the latter has not stopped. Only it flows in the opposite direction."

The paper relates numerous cases of such smuggling revealed by the French border guards. It also cites the opinion of several military authorities, according to whom this smuggling of arms from Fascist Spain to France has been going

on for months. But the plans of the Spanish Fascists go much further than mere shipment of arms to the French plotters.

### Active Assistance Promised

"The so-called 'Mancini Plan,'" reports the same newspaper, "provides, in case of a Fascist uprising in France, the invasion of the Basque provinces of France by a mixed Spanish-Italian army.

"This proves conclusively that Franco is more than aware of the plots in France: that he is prepared to take an active part in the events to come."

### The Effects of Blum's Policy

The socialists and republicans of France are becoming uneasy over the ever-increasing role played by Fascist Spain in organizing the counter-revolutionary plots within their own country. But who made possible the conquest of the border provinces of the north by the Fascists? Who knifed the defense of Irun, San Sebastian, Bilbao and Santander?

Had the socialists and republicans of France pursued a more far-sighted policy in regard to the supplying of armaments to the Loyalists, there would be no danger of Fascist aid from Franco's government.

For Spain is fighting the battle of the civilized world and the socialists and republicans of France may learn too late how costly it was to ignore this obvious truth.

### MORE THAN EVER THE SPANISH WORKERS NEED YOUR AID

Send to

I. Radinowsky, c/o U.L.O.  
45 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.

"This, however, did not take place. The workers, technicians did not let themselves be carried away by egotistic interests, they did not forsake the revolutionary faith in the name of which thousands of their comrades gave away their lives. Collectivization was expanded, giving place to the syndicalization (control of Industrial Unions) of industries.

"And there is no doubt that the economic Plenum of the C.N.T. unions which is to take place soon will signify the high water mark of this process of economic organization along syndicalist lines, which cannot but lead, sooner or later, to the full control of the economy by the industrial unions.

### SUBSCRIBE TO THE "SPANISH REVOLUTION"

### C.N.T. Plenum

The author sees the proof of the continued advance of the revolution in the gradual extension of union control over the original units—factory collectives—which took over the industrial and commercial enterprises. The special economic conference called by the C.N.T. is a result of this extension of union control which is gradually leading to a planned economy along syndicalist lines.

### Toward A Planned Economy

"The small collective, through the medium of which the employees of the enterprise expropriated and ran the latter, could have taken a different course. It could have led to a mere increase of private owners.\*

\*Ed. Note: This outcome was confidently predicted by the Marxists of all shades—the P.O.U.M. as well as the Stalinists—who were indoctrinated against socialization as a method of economic revolution.



## SOCIAL REVOLUTION WILL COME BACK IN SPAIN

—FENNER BROCKWAY

We are glad to present to our readers the following excerpts from a report on Spain written for the British "New Leader" by Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain.

The rise of the revolutionary wave reported by Brockway is in line with the general expectations of those who have not been carried away by the panicky mood produced by the necessary retreat of revolutionary forces.

Despite the forced resignation of Senor Irujo,\* it must not be assumed that the Communist Party is increasing its influence in Spain. In government circles it may still have power but, among the mass of the people, there is evidence that its influence is dropping. I have spoken to many recent visitors to Spain other than McGovern\*\* and they report that mass indignation is rising against the Communist Party not only in the ranks of the C.N.T. but in the U.G.T. and among workers generally.

At the same time, the revolutionary sections of the working class are becoming bolder in action. This is specially true of Valencia and Madrid. The P.O.U.M. is supposed to have been declared an illegal organization but it is now acting openly in both these towns.

At the recent Valencia demonstration to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Durutti, the P.O.U.M. representative was publicly advertised as such to speak at the meeting. He has remained on the City Council ever since the suppression of the party; his fellow-members, C.N.T., U.G.T. and liberal, declined to depose him. It was after the Durutti meeting that thousands of workers demonstrated outside the prison, demanding the release of the P.O.U.M. leaders and others.

At Madrid, where the C.N.T. was comparatively weak at the beginning of the civil war, its daily newspaper now has a circulation greater than the combined circulation of the right-socialist and communist papers.

All the signs indicate that the social revolution will come back in Spain.

\*John McGovern, member of British Parliament, was sent to Spain by the International Bureau and the British Independent Labor Party to investigate the situation in regard to the persecution of revolutionists in Loyalist Spain.

His stirring report on the situation was reprinted in a summarized form in the "Spanish Revolution," Jan. 10.

\*\*As we reported the resignation of Irujo, Minister of Justice in the Negrin Cabinet, was forced by the Communists, the main reason being his opposition to the policy of persecution insisted upon by the Stalinists.

## POLITICIANS SABOTAGE AID TO SPANISH PEOPLE

All over the world workers, intellectuals and liberals of all shades, all those who are interested in giving direct aid to the Spanish fighters, are forming branches of the S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity).

The organization is non-partisan. Its aim is to send food, clothing, medicaments to Spain, to maintain hospitals for the wounded and crippled militiamen, to house the war refugees, to build colonies for the orphaned children.

It is especially active in France where it succeeded in drawing to its ranks thousands of genuine anti-Fascists who realize that above all partisan interests and struggles stands the supreme need of helping the Spanish people in the most direct and immediate manner.

### Stalinists Antagonistic

But because of its non-partisan character, the organization incurred the displeasure of the Stalinists, who, as is known, claim to monopolize every activity on behalf of Spain. They are, of course, impotent as far as checking the activities of this organization in other countries. The great mass of anti-Fascists are becoming wary to an increasing extent of the Stalinist attempt to capitalize for their own political purposes the great work of aiding the Spanish fighters. And it is the reaction against this mixing of politics—and of what kind—with this important work that brought about the formation

of those non-partisan organizations.

But the Stalinists possess a terrible weapon: they control the French border, and, incredible as it may seem, they use this weapon in order to prevent the shipment of food and clothing to Loyalist Spain. We quote here an official report printed by representatives of this organization in the French weekly *Liberaire* (January 6.).

### A Heinous and Ridiculous Action

"It is already fifteen days since our truckloads of food and clothing are stuck here at the border, having been prevented from crossing into Spain by the Stalinist controlled Custom authorities who demand an enormous duty for the entrance of products sent as a manifestation of deepest solidarity for the Spanish people.

"This would be ridiculous, were it not so heinous a matter.

## Loyalist Forces Prepare Big Offensive

(Continued from Page one)

### RUSSIAN INFLUENCE WANING

The Russian influence has been strong. In recent weeks, however, since the Republic is no longer as dependent on Russian arms as before, a certain reaction against Communist influence may be observed, and not only from the Anarchists and the ex-P.O.U.M. people but also from certain members of the Negrin Government even though it still includes two Communist Ministers.

The rôle\* of the political war commissars in the Army is being curtailed. This action against the "excessive" influence of the political commissars largely accounts for the recent resignation of Del Vayo from the head of the War Commissariat. Del Vayo, himself pro-Communist,\*\* frankly believed in the superior discipline and driving force of that party:

\*The struggle in reality is between two forms of political control. The Institute of Political Commissars was forced upon the emerging Popular Army by the Soviet Government which by placing members of the Communist Party in key positions succeeded in flooding the army with its own commissars.

The Prieto faction is gradually ridding the army of this political control in order to substitute a control of its own, mainly concentrated in the direct appointees of the government.

\*\*Del-Vayo, as it has been found out by now, took out a card in the Communist Party more than a year ago. He was one of those camouflaged Stalinists through whom the Communist Party "bores from within" in other organizations.

It was Del-Vayo that carried the Stalinist ultimatum to Largo Caballero demanding that the latter also join the group of camouflaged agents of the Communist Party. Caballero's refusal brought about his downfall in which Del-Vayo played an ignominious part.

"As soon as we were apprised of the whole matter we sent a telegram to the Spanish Ambassador in Paris."

(There follows the text of the telegram respectfully asking the Ambassador to intervene in this matter.)

"On the same day a reply was received from the Ambassador, addressed to the main office of the S.I.A. (International Anti-Fascist Solidarity.)

"AS SOON AS I RECEIVED YOUR COMMUNICATION, I TELEGRAPHED TO M. THE HEAD OF THE CUSTOM OFFICE IN BARCELONA. PLEASE COMMUNICATE THIS NEWS TO THE PEOPLE IN PERPIGNAN." (French border town.)

### Protesting in Vain

"Eight days after our protests and intervention of the Ambassador, the custom authorities are still in the same state of mind in regard to the passage of our truckloads. M., the head of the Custom authorities, a dyed-in-the-wool Stalinist, did not even condescend to send a reply to the Ambassador's inquiry."

## MADRID IS IMPREGNABLE

Madrid itself is as good as impregnable; a direct attack on Madrid would cost the rebels 100,000 casualties and would probably fail even then. More probable would be an attempt to cut off Madrid through another Guadalajara offensive, accompanied by a simultaneous offensive from the south of the "bottle-neck." But this southern side of the "bottle-neck" is as strongly fortified as Madrid itself; as for Guadalajara, the number and the mobility of the Government troops there are incomparably greater than during the famous rebel offensive in March (nothing, by the way, amuses Spaniards more than Mussolini's decision

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

## CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

by BERTRAM D. WOLFE  
WORKERS AGE PUBLISHERS  
(Book review)

Little by little the Left Communists of various denominations are beginning to recover from the shock produced upon them by the Spanish anomaly, the "twist" of historic development manifesting itself in the lack of a providential vanguard—"a single, monolithic Leninist Party"—which would take upon itself the monopolistic guidance of the course of the Revolution.

The puzzling phenomenon of the sudden revolutionary sweep of the anarcho-syndicalist movement, that is, a movement which, according to all holy texts and authoritative predictions, was to die away long before the social revolutionary struggles would reach their climax, has also found its proper explanation in the dialectics of recent historic events. The ascendancy of the C.N.T. does not have to be passed by in a shamefaced manner: it can now proudly be pointed to as an obvious "miscarriage" of the historic process, one which in a purely negative manner prepares the way for the "fulfilment of prophecy," the reign of the true Marxist-Leninist vanguard which is to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in that pure uncontaminated form of the period when Lovestone, Wolf and other leaders of the Communist Opposition were still respected figures in the Moscow Comintern.

### LOVESTONITE APOLOGIES

For, let there be no mistake: the "Civil War in Spain"—a lucid and excellently written pamphlet dealing with the revolutionary course of events in Spain since July 19—is a Lovestonite document, written for the purpose of glorifying the P.O.U.M., that is an organization claimed by the Lovestonites as their Spanish counterpart. And that is why a whole chapter of this pamphlet, allegedly written for popular consumption, is given to squaring accounts with Trotsky and his followers.

The Communists come in for their justified share, but that is mainly because they degenerated from the pristine purity of a true Leninist vanguard. (It seems though, that in their dealing with the anarchists the Spanish Stalinists tried very hard to cleave closely to the line followed by Lenin in the October Revolution.)

And as for the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the long perspective of a year and a half

## FOOD SHORTAGE

to name a street in Rome after Guadalajara).

From the Government point of view there are two real dangers in sight: a blockade, with the assistance of Germany and Italy, and immense new deliveries of army material to the rebels. In time the Government expects to equal the rebel armaments: but so long as they are able at least to maintain the present proportion (and everything shows that they can do that, unless the rebels receive some altogether colossal shipments of both arms and men) they can hold out indefinitely. It is more doubtful whether Franco can "hold out" indefinitely. For the Government the most vital immediate problem is food; if the food situation improves, the "Verdun of Anti-Fascism" will not break down. And in time, but not before they are ready, the defenders of this Verdun will take the offensive.

of revolutionary developments permitted the author of this pamphlet to build up a plausible case fitting in quite well with certain abstract ideas of revolutions. But, alas, it is only by simplifying the situation to that of an illustration to a Leninist primer that it can fit the concrete historic reality of the Spanish revolution.

### TRAGIC REALITIES IGNORED

There is no inkling in this pamphlet of the terrible and tragic situation in which the revolutionary forces found themselves as a result of direct and indirect intervention of Fascist states and the coalition of Soviet Russia and would-be democratic powers.

And, as it is to be expected in sectarian literature of that sort, the real achievements of the Spanish revolution in the field of social reconstruction are minimized and the uniqueness of the creative course—the new type of industrial democracy brought to life—is entirely glossed over. One can hardly learn from this pamphlet in which way the Spanish revolution differs in its constructive aspect from the Russian pattern.

### A QUESTIONABLE PATHOS

The pamphlet is written in a serious vein, but at times it evinces a rather unconscious humor, and that is when Bertram D. Wolfe, the author of the pamphlet, works himself up to a denunciatory pathos over the alleged indifference of the C.N.T. toward the P.O.U.M. persecutions. Apart from being palpably untrue—even under conditions of censorship the anarchist press keeps on defending the P.O.U.M.—statements to that effect sound rather strange when issued by people who until recently condoned every crime committed by the Leninist-Trotskyite-Stalinist government in regard to Anarchists, Left social revolutionists, Communist oppositionists and any other group of people that dared to think for themselves.

We grant Bertram D. Wolfe the sincerity of his repentance, but not the right of moral indignation over the tactics of an organization the deep loyalty of which to principles of liberty and tolerance is beyond any dispute.