

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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PLANS ADVANCED FOR A SOCIALIZED ECONOMY

We draw the attention of our readers to the highly important resolutions on revolutionary reconstruction to be adopted by the regional Plenum of the anarcho-syndicalist unions (C.N.T.) of Catalonia.

The resolutions point to a new upswing of revolutionary energies on the part of the Catalonian workers. The C.N.T. is taking a resolute stand on the problem of deepening the revolution and pushing energetically the work of building up the new socialized economy.

The revolution is marching forward in spite of all the attempts to stop it in the name of the alleged necessity of concentrating all the energies exclusively upon gaining the war. (The bourgeois-Stalinist refrain.)

The resolutions are reprinted from the February 6th issue of the F.A.I. paper "Tierra y Libertad," (F.A.I.—Anarchist Federation of Iberia).

1) To push forward the program of socialization, without taking into account the limitations imposed by the collectivization decree*. For since the industrial economy of Catalonia is based to a great extent upon small enterprises, such restriction will make impossible the full emancipation of workers.

2) In order to carry out this socialization it is necessary to obtain in every enterprise a close understanding between the workers' unions of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T.

3) This socialization should be backed up by the creation of a union bank which will provide the necessary credits to undertake and maintain the exploitation of the economic resources that are or might be in our possession. Moreover, all the existing resources should be placed at the disposal of the popular organizations under the control of the labor unions.

4) The problem has to be faced, of rapidly augmenting the mining resources, especially those of Catalonia.

5) Steps should be taken to rid the cities of their excess population and re-direct it to the fields, industrial and mining centers. A good portion of the unemployed part of the city population which now lives in forced idleness and weighs down heavily upon the economy of the revolution, should be employed in agriculture, on the farmsteads and in the building of canals.

6) To further the economic relationships between the city and

*Ed. comment. A decree passed by the Council of the Generalidad a few months ago, confining the process of collectivization to big industry only.

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"SPANISH REVOLUTION"

Why Germany Withholds Aid

The original plans of Germany in regard to Spain have suffered a temporary fiasco. It cannot flood the country with troops and ammunition at the rate it originally planned.

This is due to the rivalries of the imperialist states. But that does not tell the whole story. No small factor in the slowing down of Germany's aid to the Spanish Fascists is the unreliability of the "volunteers" sent to Spain. This is reported by the Paris correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" (Feb. 9), who writes:

"Germany's apparent reluctance to send more troops to Spain—apart from considerations of a general kind—is attributed, to a number of concrete facts. Among those are the heavy casualties—about 1500—suffered by the German troops in the last week and also to numerous cases of desertions, including that of eight officers among the German troops around Madrid.

"It is believed that the reports of serious discontent in Germany over the dispatch of troops to Spain are not unfounded, and that the discontent has had a certain influence on the German government."

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Economic Problems of Spanish Revolution

This was the subject of a very important speech delivered by one of the prominent members of the C.N.T., Mariano Cardona Rosel, in which he outlined the present phase of economic reconstruction and its most pressing problems.

The speech is one of the series arranged by the F.A.I. (Anarchist Federation of Iberia) and C.N.T. (anarcho-syndicalist Confederation of Labor) in one of the largest halls of Barcelona. All those speeches deal with some important aspect of the revolution now taking place in Spain.

Summary of Rosel's Speech

In spite of the war, which absorbs the major part of the energies of the working class, the

(Continued on page three)

STOP PARTY STRIFE— ANARCHISTS DEMAND

During the last month the violent campaign carried on by the communist press against the P.O.U.M. (semi-Trotskyite party of Spain) has taken on a particularly vicious character. The pages of their daily press are full of such "polemic" outbursts as "let us liquidate the direct agents of Franco," "the P.O.U.M. is paid by Hitler and Mussolini," "Their troops are deserting the front" and such other rather too familiar incitations to violence and "direct action."

The anarchists, who have sacrificed a great deal in order to obtain some sort of unity among anti-Fascist forces, have finally found it necessary to intervene

in order to put an end to this demoralizing campaign. They are doing it in the tactful form characterizing all their efforts to establish unity and which has already made them the greatest force for revolutionary democracy.

The problem was approached in the typically anarchistic way: a conference of both Marxist sections was called and ardent appeals for unity were made to both of them. The results thus far are satisfactory. The great moral authority which the anarchist movement carries with the masses of Catalonia cannot be challenged with impunity on an issue on which no fair-minded persons can have two opinions.

The following brief report reprinted from the Bulletin of the Catalonian Generalidad will give us some idea of this highly important meeting:

"Through the initiative of the Peninsular Committee of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, a general conference was called yesterday afternoon, at which representatives of all anti-Fascist sectors of Catalonia were invited to take part in the discussions having for their aim to end the demoralizing polemics carried on by the Marxist sectors.

"Much was said regarding the sacrifices made by each side in the struggle against Fascism, which was attentively listened to by the participants and in conclusion it was agreed by all that the mutual interest in this battle dictates the "indestructible unity" of all the anti-Fascist sectors, transcending for the time being differences of their party tactics.

(Continued on page two)

ANARCHISTS AGAINST P.O.U.M. PERSECUTIONS

The international communist press has been lately informing its readers that the anarcho-syndicalists of Spain have joined the Stalinists in condemning the P.O.U.M. The "Pravda," "Humanite" and even the American press (see "Western Worker," Feb. 15) have come out with startling statements to that effect, going even so far as to specify places and names.

To what extent this represents pure fabrication on the part of the communist press we can judge from the emphatic denial of such complicity made by the "Solidaridad Obrera" (anarcho-syndicalist daily in Barcelona), Jan. 30, in one of its editorials appearing under a very characteristic title, "We are not You."

Referring to the vicious character of the campaign against the P.O.U.M. now being carried on by the communist press, the editorial says:

"Until now we kept out of it. But we believe that the moment has arrived when we have to state quite clearly that we are not going to make ourselves a party, actively or passively, to any aggression which may be waged against any sector of the anti-Fascist front.

"At no meeting held in Barcelona did the comrades of the Libertarian Youth or of the C.N.T. ever express their indignation against the P.O.U.M. We recommend to the comrades of 'Ahora' (a communist paper in Barcelona) that they refrain from fabricating arguments based upon our alleged opposition to their adversaries." (Ed. note: The same admonition is valid in respect of the communist press of the whole world.)

PEASANTS SUPPLANTING STATE AND CAPITALISM

The article reprinted below is taken from the French Anarchist magazine "L'Espagne Nouvelle."

It deals with the most important phase of revolutionary reconstruction in Spain. The emergence of a new revolutionary economy in the villages and its spontaneous interlinking with the socialized economy of the cities is, perhaps, the most remarkable feature of the libertarian revolution in Spain.

The humble peasants of Spain are blazing new paths for the emancipation of labor from capitalism and from the still greater danger now looming ahead—the control of economic life by a

totalitarian State. The full significance of this work is only now beginning to dawn upon the radical world which is coming to see more and more the great originality and the pioneering nature of a revolution that broke with all time-worn methods and procedures.

The "Free Municipality" (Village Commune) First Step in the Emancipation of Peasants from State and Capitalism

"The first problem presenting itself before the Spanish village was that of conquering the right to live and of making itself inde-

pendent of the State and Capitalism.

"This was achieved by the creation of 'free communes' (municipios libres) and of 'collectives.' "In constituting itself a 'free commune' the village placed the political and administrative sovereignty in the hands of the general assembly of all its members. With one blow were abolished conscription, legal recognition of property title-deeds, lease and share-cropping contracts, mortgages of all kinds. The regime of custom took the place of one based upon legal and impersonal property.

(Continued on page four)

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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THE POLITICAL PATTERN OF THE NEW EUROPE

The federalist idea which the anarchists are now trying to carry out in Spain is still considered by many as a purely Spanish issue, of no particular relevance to the great revolutionary struggle waged all over the world. And what if Spain goes Federalist, people still keep in asking, if various provinces of the Iberian peninsula succeed in obtaining the widest sort of autonomy, in which way will that solve the burning question of economic reconstruction with which the world, and especially Europe, is now faced?

That questioning attitude is the result of the generally prevailing opinion that a new, progressive economic society can be built up without making similar efforts in the direction of a new political organism. People are still prone to believe that all we need now is to build up a socialized economy and that the rest will come by itself.

But if anything was demonstrated by the tragic developments of the last few years, it is that without a progressive form of political organization no economic changes of the most radical kind will solve the basic ills of modern society. Socialism without a basic minimum of freedom is just as much of a monstrosity as any form of Fascism. And to secure such a minimum of freedom, the new social order must embody the federalist principles for which the anarchists of Spain are fighting now.

This struggle is of particular significance in view of the situation in which Europe may find itself at any moment. The terrific catastrophe into which it is rushing now will unloose revolutionary forces compared to which the elemental forces of the October revolution were but feeble stirrings. Europe will be soon cast into the vast crucible of revolutionary reconstruction during which the problem of federal unity of all its various states and regions will become as much of a necessity as the recasting of its economic order.

Without evolving such a federal unity, without striking out boldly for an all-European Federation, the coming European revolution will lead to frustration, to some form of socialist imperialism which will collapse just as surely as any other form of imperialism.

Socialist Europe will be a Federated Europe. This will be dictated by the great variety of conditions entering into the make-up of the new revolutionary society. But that means making allowances not only for national traditions, but for the great differences existing among the various localities on the question of how to build up a new social order.

It is this kind of federalism that the Spanish anarchists are now trying to carry out. The All-Iberian Federation at which they are aiming now has very little to do with the Soviet Federation which is so only in name. The basic principle of the Spanish federalism is the right of every region to proceed with its own experiments in the field of social reconstruction. And it is this basic right that is denied by the totalitarian state of Soviet Russia.

Let the anarchists succeed in weaving this basic principle into the emerging political structure of Spain and the fear-ridden Europe will see before itself the clearest demonstration of how to settle not only its vexed problem of national rivalries, but the still more difficult problem of embodying the widest variety of socialist ideas prevalent among its labor movements into a higher form of socialist society that is to emerge upon the ruins of the present imperialist states.

The Iberian Socialist Federation will become the political pattern of the great revolution toward which Europe is swept along by the irresistible march of events.

"We are now going through a profound revolution which will lead to the realization of the basic principles of a free economy."

—From Rosell's speech in "The Economic Problems of the Revolution."

POLITICAL TRICKERY EXPOSED

We already reported in one of the previous issues of the "Spanish Revolution" (February 8) that, according to the generally prevailing opinion in Catalonia, the present inactivity on the Aragon front is due to the communist-inspired attempt on the part of the high military command to starve out the troops fighting in Aragon in point of supply of armaments.

The motives underlying this systematic sabotage of one of the most vital sectors of the front are clear. The anarchists are predominant on the Aragon front and a decisive victory there would put an end to the lately revived hopes of going back to the old order of things. And that is why the old Machiavelian policy pursued eighteen years ago in Soviet Russia in regard to the Makhno-led peasant militia of Eastern Ukraina is now being attempted on a larger scale in regard to the anarchist troops of the Aragon front.

Every known trick is being used to divert the shipment of ammunitions to Aragon while the communist press is gradually working up an affected indignation over the fact that "the troops on the Aragon front are slow in coming to the aid of Madrid." The following excerpts from the "Solidaridad Obrera" (January 29 and 30) expose the political manoeuvres underlying this campaign suddenly staged against the Aragon militia.

Anarchists Impose Unity

(Continued from page one)

"The Anarchist comrades have posed the question before the other sectors with clarity and precision, pointing out that, if they continued airing their differences in tactics in such a venomous fashion, it would lead to mutual destruction. It was emphasized that all sectors were faced with the threat of an arrogant and powerful enemy who could be fought victoriously only by a close union of all anti-Fascist organizations. After lengthy discussions, the representatives of all organizations have unanimously considered the importance of eliminating every poisonous and insulting campaign, either by word of mouth or press, against each other which might prejudice their mutual cause. The revolution is placed in constant danger by such polemics. Common sense tells us that the revolution can be assured in only one way; efficient defence against the attack of our common enemy and an 'indestructible' unity of all enemies of reaction."

Revolutionary Ethics Upheld

The "Solidaridad Obrera" adds—

"We fully uphold our revolutionary positions. We do not forego our right to advocate our ideas or to criticise, in a noble and loyal manner, tactics that appear to us as being somewhat

What Everyone Knows About The Aragon Front

"The inactivity on the Aragon front continues to be the center of discussions. In the official centers and in the columns of the press this vitally important question is bandied about, although no one attempts to treat it deeply enough. Everyone knows that an offensive on the Aragon front would be of great help to Madrid; that the chances of a successful outcome of such an offensive are quite good and that the fighters on this front are more than willing to exchange their present sedentary life for one of greater activity which would afford the chance of a victory for the cause of the proletariat.

Things Known But Not Spoken About

"There is something else which everyone knows but which no one tackles as the case deserves. Those are the shabby political manoeuvres which envelope our war and which are engaged in by those who call themselves the champions of the Popular Army and of Liberty.

"The army fighting on the Aragon front is exclusively proletarian in its make-up. It consists of the best militants who were the first to answer the revolutionary call to arms. To accord a triumph to this army of workers would be to enhance the prestige of our proletarian

fighters which, according to some double-faced politicians, would rather tell unfavorably upon the political military formations which they vainly try to create."

Fear of Anarchists Cause of Sabotage of Aragon Troops

In another issue of the paper the same question is taken up again.

"... There is a shortage of rifles and other armaments, which are withheld from us. Why? It is very easy to answer this question, just as easy as to answer the communists, who guided by an excess of zeal which makes one think of insincerity, permit themselves to ask with a studied candor, why attacks are not made on the Aragon front... No attacks are made on the Aragon front because nothing was done to facilitate such an attack. And that was not done because there is a definite interest in the direction of not doing it. And that interest is motivated by the desire to cause the breakdown of anarcho-sindicalism which is now predominating in Catalonia.

"Since it is the anarchists that are most strongly represented on the Aragon front, the 'shabby political manoeuvres' are directed toward preventing the anarchist movement from making a full show of its possibilities... They prefer to lose the war rather than to see the triumph of the ideals of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

slippery in their nature. But we believe that it is possible to fight for the revolution, to work for the upbuilding of the revolutionary economy, to defend the right of the proletariat to dispose of the future of this country, and

to maintain at the same time cordial relations with parties which in virtue of the interests they represent are necessarily opposed to our revolutionary line, but which still have certain points in common with us."

Plans Advanced for Socialist Economy

(Continued from page one)

the country. The city should come to the aid of the peasants not only in respect of supplying them with labor, but also by placing at their disposal all available financial means, improved technical methods and other means necessary to the well-being of the peasants, but lacking now in the villages.

7) To develop systematically, inasmuch as circumstances permit, the exchange of products, basing it upon municipal and syndicate storehouses. That will permit the concentration of financial resources and the rapid elimination of private commerce.

8) To increase the export of those products that might be accepted by foreign countries, which, due to the pressure of their own workers' organizations, are not altogether hostile.

9) To affirm to an ever greater extent the economic solidarity among the separate industries as well as among the separate pro-

ductive zones of the region.

10) To coordinate the economy of Catalonia with that of other regions not only through the medium of industrial federations but also by direct agreements having for their aim to establish a mutual harmony among all provinces.

11) To demand the suppression of bureaucracy, of high salaries and police forces whose existence is altogether unjustified at the present moment, constituting a danger for the revolution and also weighing down upon the economy of the country.

The Spanish workers and peasants are shedding their blood for the cause of humanity. It is your fight as well as theirs.

Help this heroic struggle. Send contributions to I. Radinowsky, Treasurer, United Libertarian Organizations, 45 West 17th Street, New York, N. Y.

ANARCHISTS IN ASTURIAS

(The following is an excerpt from the report of the Asturian delegate to the National Committee of the C.N.T., anarcho-syndicalist labor confederation—Ed. note.)

C.N.T. on the Asturian Front

The C.N.T. formed at the very beginning four battalions made up of its members only. Apart from that there are numerous C.N.T. members in the other battalions. Their relations with the Marxists are good. The armed militiamen admit a single army command which is made up of representatives of the C.N.T., socialists and communists.

There are about 80 thousand workers in Asturias of whom nearly 25,000 are organized in the C.N.T. Numerically, we are stronger than the U.G.T., which has its principal stronghold in Oviedo and therefore has not yet succeeded in coordinating all its trade-union forces. The battalions, when off duty, pass on their arms to each other without concerning themselves with political tendencies.

In the Rear

The province is administered by a provincial committee representing all syndicates (labor

unions) and political parties. Those functions that bear directly on production and consumption are administered by committees made up exclusively of representatives of labor unions. They carry on their work of coordinating economic activities with the neighboring provinces.

Many of the industries have been collectivized. Houses were turned over to the community and property in land has been abolished.

The carrying on of the war in Asturias has prevented us from fully realizing this work of socialization.

The administration of cities is placed under control of the delegates of the C.N.T., U.G.T., F.A.I., Libertarian Youth, Unified Socialist, Republican parties. All those organizations are equally represented in the administration of the cities.

The Pact Between the C.N.T. And U.G.T.

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. signed a pact concerning their common work in the control committees. Norms were adopted for the building up of such committees which are placed above any party and are presided over by the numerically strongest syndicate.

"We say now what we always kept on repeating: the Spanish people are not fighting for a democratic republic which is nothing but a paper constitution. This paper constitution does not express the creative power of the Spanish revolution."

—JUAN LOPEZ

Anarchist Minister of Com.

The C.N.T. and the U.G.T. plan to base their activities upon the following aims: to win the war and to organize the revolution.

Both organizations also decided at the Gijon Conference to reduce the local press to two organs: "C.N.T." and "Advance" (socialist). The alliance of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. is of particular significance. The U.G.T. in Asturias is a real labor movement with admirable revolutionary traditions. It differs in this respect from the U.G.T. of Catalonia which was improvised by professional politicians after July 19 and which has been made into a docile instrument of their policies.

(From "L'Espagne Nouvelle.")

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MALAGA?

The fall of Malaga was due not only to the military superiority of the Fascist forces. The sabotage of some of the sectors of the United Front had also something to do with it. This is openly stated by the anarcho-syndicalist daily of Barcelona, *Solidaridad Obrera*, Feb. 9, which, as a rule, has been very reserved in its language, refraining from any criticisms that might seriously impair the relations among the various elements of the United Front.

The statement was issued on the eve of the imminent fall of Malaga. Names are not mentioned in this indictment and warning. But anyone who has followed up the Spanish news for the last several months will have no difficulty in guessing who those saboteurs might be. They are the same who above all are interested in checking the course of the Spanish revolution, and switching it back to the old impotent democratic republic which was directly instrumental in

bringing about the Fascist revolt. The article points out at first the purely military causes of the defeat, but then it adds a few lines about the work of the defeatists from within:

"It is repugnant to us to see the defeatist work of those who at the present moment are attempting to impose upon Spain and Catalonia a hegemony which they never had. Were they paid by Franco, they could not succeed any better. Their work of intrigues, petty tricks, discouragement and placing obstacles in the road of revolutionary unity began to bear fruit already. As a result we have Malaga. This defeatist road is now followed by the sowers of confusion, by political climbers, by the traitors and counter-revolutionists whom the people will come to know very soon.

"One thing is certain: very little is left for any more warnings and, come what may, the C.N.T. will fully discharge its duty."

"Our war industry, which until the Fascist revolt hardly existed in this country now employs 50,000. Not only does it supply our own needs, but it even furnishes us with a surplus."

—Terradellas (Catalonian Counselor of Finance.)

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SPANISH REVOLUTION

(Continued from page one)

social revolution keeps on advancing. In the villages, collectivization proceeds with an ever accelerated pace. In some localities socialization has been pushed very far, approaching some form of Libertarian Communism. This is taking place not only in those localities where the C.N.T. predominates. Even where the U.G.T. (union of peasants and workers controlled by socialists and communists) has the majority, the peasants are drawn into the process of collectivization. This tendency is now dominant all over Spain, that is in the part which is held by the loyalists.

In the cities the confiscation of factories and commercial enterprises on one hand and establishment of workers' control on the other, have given the Spanish workers a leading place in the general control of economic life.

Capitalist Forms Survive

Along with that, however, there also exist numerous capitalist enterprises although in measure that the socialized sector of economy grows, the former tend to disappear.

The policy of the leading state organs favors not the growing sector of socialist economy, but the vanishing one of capitalism. It is this divorce between the spontaneous development of the revolutionary economy and the attitude of the legislators that

causes now the greatest difficulties.

Revolution Needs Its Own Economic Organ

Those difficulties can be overcome by the revolution creating its own economic organ in the form of a National Economic Council. Such a Council has not been created because of the differences existing among the various sectors of the anti-Fascist front as to the nature and composition of such a Council.

The speaker's opinion is that such an Economic Council should exercise supreme authority in economic matters and that it should be based upon a mixed representation of labor unions and state organs, with the former predominating.

Such an Economic Council should have as its function not only the regulation of daily economic problems, but also laying the foundation for a planned economy along the lines of free socialism.

The admission of the state organs into the National Economic Council is somewhat of a departure from the principles of the C.N.T., but it is the speaker's opinion that, in view of the fact that the process of socialization has not yet reached its logical end, the other sectors of economy must be represented by the state organs.

Socialization and Not Nationalization

The problem of socialization versus nationalization is now being discussed among Spanish workers. The speaker holds that nationalization, which means turning over the control of the economy into the hands of the State, should be definitely rejected. It will distort the course of the revolution and create insuperable difficulties.

A Supreme Economic Council created along the lines suggested above, and, according to the speaker, steps are being taken in the direction of setting up such a Council, will evolve a method which will enable them to apply successfully the other solution: socialization or the control of industries by labor unions.

Controlled Inflation Favored

As a revolutionary, the speaker favors the radical transformation of private banking into a medium of socialized credit. But for the time being, the realities of the situation dictate a slow course in this respect.

It is a problem that can be settled only on a national scale. For the present, however, the urgent problem is that of preventing the collapse of private banks which function within the frame of a partly socialized economy.

That can be done by starting upon a policy of controlled infla-

tion which cannot last any longer than the war. Toward the end of the war the socialization of the economy will have been completed, and that means the full liquidation of the inflation through the medium of a new socialist currency made altogether independent from any metallic content

Planned Economy Needed

Unemployment still exists in the cities as well as in the villages. Wages are paid out to workers of many unproductive enterprises. All that can be overcome only by starting immediately upon an all-comprehensive plan of economic reconstruction. Such a plan should not be delayed until the war is won. The war will not be ended so soon, and the very necessity of carrying it to the end dictates the need of an immediate plan of organizing the economy as a whole, expanding many of its branches and reorganizing those which are not productive at the present moment.

Doing Away with High Incomes

One of the first tasks of the planned Supreme Economic Council should be to abolish all high salaries, which still abound in spite of the efforts on the part of the workers to do away with them.

A maximum salary of 600-800 pesetas a month should be set up for every category of officials, including those that now hold the highest positions in the State hierarchy.

Wages and salaries should be based upon the needs of the in-

dividual and the family. That is, a certain minimum should be set up as a standard, to be supplemented in accordance with the number of dependents in every family.

Indemnifying Foreign Property

In order to avoid foreign entanglements, both labor unions agreed to indemnify all confiscated foreign property. The latter will not be permitted to stand in the way of any program of socialization. It will be confiscated, but the indemnification of such confiscated properties will permit them to establish normal relations between the socialized economy of Spain and the capitalist world.

The payments on foreign debt are comparatively small since the total sum of the latter is no more than several hundred million pesetas. A much greater burden will be imposed by the necessity of paying for the confiscated mines, factories and other similar holdings. All that will be indemnified on the basis of a strict estimate of its value.

But great as this imposed burden may be, it should not be forgotten that Spain is a solvent country, that it possesses great mineral wealth. The workers, in control of this wealth, will be able to pay off the obligations to foreign capitalists only with part of the subsoil wealth exploited by the socialized economy.

This is the only way of enabling the revolution to proceed peacefully with its task of economic reconstruction.

LIBERTARIAN YOUTH OF SPAIN FIGHT REFORMISTS

An important national conference of the powerful organization of Libertarian Youth (anarchist) took place at the beginning of the month of February. The brief report of the proceedings printed in the "Solidaridad Obrera" (Feb. 4th) gives us same idea of the powerful revolutionary current represented by this organization:

THE STRANGE ATTITUDE OF THE MARXISTS

In their reports all the delegates complained of the lack of solidarity shown by the socialists and communists toward our people. Intolerable things are done by them on the Aragon front and that cannot be passed by in silence. "If arms are given to us in Aragon, we will start an offensive. But if the sabotage continues in this respect, we shall be forced to take measures to have it stopped."

. . . The Plenum asks the C.N.T. representatives in the

National Government that they point out to the Council of Ministers the necessity of putting a stop to the counter-revolutionary campaign which the socialists and communists carry on now against the anarcho-sindicalist troops. The Conference demands an equal division of arms and munitions between the Marxist and anarchist forces.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND NOT BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The delegates expressed themselves against a merger with the Youth Alliance as pro-

posed by the United Socialist Youth. (Ed. note: Including Catholics and those of the middle class.) An alliance of that sort confines its task to the defense of the bourgeois democratic republic, while we, the delegates declared, are fighting for the triumph of the revolution.

Those that do not fight for the revolution should be unmasked and declared as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the workers.

The Conference protests against the statements of the General Secretary of the United Socialist Youth, Carillo, made to the effect that all those who favor the socialization of land and industries are a part of the "fifth column." (Ed. note: hidden Fascist sympathizers.) Such

Ever since we began publishing this paper, we made it our policy not to divert a single cent for it from the money collected for Spain. WE INTEND TO ADHERE TO THIS POLICY EVEN IF THIS MEANS THE SUSPENSION OF THIS PUBLICATION.

And we shall have to suspend it if our friends do not come to its immediate aid.

No paper of this kind can be self-supporting. It must necessarily depend upon donations, collections and other forms of financial aid. We appeal to everyone who realizes the urgent necessity of informing the American public opinion of the struggles and aspirations of the Spanish revolution to help us to keep alive a publication which is dedicated to this purpose.

SEND CONTRIBUTIONS TO
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NEW YORK, N. Y.

Economic Chaos in Fascist Spain

The Buenos-Aires newspaper *El Correo de Asturias* published some declarations made by Manuel Alonso Alvarez, the ex-mayor of Villaroz, a town in the province of Cadiz. He belonged to the "rightists" and is in sympathy with the Fascist movement. He even took part in the latter, but he found it impossible to work with the Fascists and was, finally, compelled to seek refuge abroad.

He stated that the Fascists executed a great number of prisoners taken in their advance upon Madrid. His reports were that the fields in the territory held by the Fascists remain uncultivated. According to him, there is hardly a piece of land in the rebel-held territory which is adequately attended.

In speaking of the measures taken by the rebels to issue their own money, he said that the people in general use the real Spanish money (of the loyalist government) for the purchase of most necessary articles, and that the rest of this money is hidden by the population in their gardens and other places.

In the struggle around Madrid the Fascists suffered tremendous losses. The wounded soldiers coming from that sector state that it is impossible to take the capitol. One of the wounded soldiers coming from the Madrid front told Alonso that out of the four thousand Fascist soldiers fighting at that sector there remained only forty-three.

The soldiers are supposed to get nine pesetas a day but in reality two or three people of each company get that sum. Any attempt on the part of the soldiers to claim their money is met with threats and punishments on the part of the officers.

—(From *La Batalla*)

"But all those advocates of a lost cause are given the lie by the work of the Spanish workers and peasants. For the latter, in their tentative attempts to build up a socialized economy are guided not by ideological slogans but by the irrefragable outburst of vital needs and passions which, in view of the situation, leave only one alternative: Fascist slavery or full regeneration in the Iberian Federation of Workers."

PEASANTS SUPPLANTING CAPITALIST ECONOMY

(Continued from page one)

"The village itself now has the right to confiscate uncultivated lands, vacant houses, crops and work instruments that are not being utilized, the property of fascists and emigres, of church congregations, anonymous societies etc. It creates its own justice through its own armed forces and it exercises justice through its own organs: the village assembly or the "popular tribunal" settle court cases and suppress crimes. The village creates its own law, suppresses or modifies the usage of money.

Agricultural Collectives

"The 'free commune' wipes a clean slate of the legal privileges and puts into practice the principle of customary law: 'the land should belong to the one who cultivates it.' This, however, does not solve the economic problem in its entirety. Economic inequality among the members of the village still remains. The small holder can never obtain the productivity and the necessary economic security if he has to fall back upon his own (or his family's) labor power and his own tools of production. The 'collective' was created to overcome those economic difficulties.

"The 'collective' is a productive association uniting all those members of the 'free communes' who want to put together their lands, crops, work, instruments

and above all their efforts as producers.

"Everyone is admitted to such a 'collective' with equal rights: the landless worker, the tenant farmer, the small holder. The statutes of those collectives (which vary from place to place and are subject to modification by the village assembly) anticipate a form of distribution which is fixed for every head of the family, with additional shares going to other members of the family. The scale is calculated in terms of money, although in many places the actual distribution is done in products.

"Thousands of such collectives have already been organized, allowing for a great variety of forms and patterns. But there is not a single case where the joining of such a collective was imposed by direct or indirect compulsion. Those who prefer to hold on to their individual holdings are perfectly free to do so."

Peasant Unions the Connecting Link Among Collectives, Villages and Cities

(Collectives solve the economic problem within the villages. They cannot, however, solve the larger problem of coordinating the efforts of all communes, of equalizing the economic opportunities of every commune and collective. This is being done in the revolutionary provinces of Spain not

by the State but by the peasant syndicates.)

"The agricultural unions (the anarcho-sindicalist C.N.T., the socialist U.G.T., the Union of Tenant-farmers) have played a predominant role in the coordination and the solidarity of the agrarian communes. At first, syndicates (unions) started with defending the proletariat and semi-proletariat of the villages against the big land owners. But afterwards (that is, following the revolution) they took over the control of the man power, the regulation of the prices of the products, the organization of exchange with other communities.

State Socialism Prevented by Syndicates

"This 'go-between' role of the syndicates was compulsory to some extent, since it was only through the intervention of the syndicates that state socialism inevitably leading to Fascist 'corporatism' was prevented from imposing itself upon the new social order instituted in the villages by the spontaneous action of the peasants.

"Only the syndicates were able to organize this motley environment where capitalist norms still survive, where class war still goes on, where the most chaotic demands are all intermingled and where the rule 'every one for himself' still holds good. Only the syndicates were able to establish a provisional accord between the city and the village, between the necessity of supplying food to the civil population and the militiamen on the front, between the social aspirations of the working masses and the political, military, financial and economic situation of the moment.

"And meanwhile, in measure that the 'municipality' (village commune) becomes transformed into a 'collective,' there grows up the net of exchanges and free,

spontaneous solidarity which interlinks the 'agricultural collectives' (or rather the agricultural collective and the socialized factory, and also the collective and the supply center of the militia organization). Little by little this new system based upon free services and distribution according to the needs is taking on a distinct organic form. We see emerging a Federation of 'collectives' or co-operatives of production and distribution constituting the cells of a new world.

Communist and Bourgeois Politicians Fight Peasant Movement

"With this two-fold structure of the syndicates (workers and peasants unions) and agricultural collectives we see established in Spain a system of production and distribution competing at the same time with private capitalism and state socialism.

"However, due to the war and the difficulties created by it, state socialism and private capitalism have taken courage, seeking now to regain their lost positions. The defensive alliance of these two sectors is the decisive fact of the last months. It is characterized by the alliance of the Spanish Communist party with the most conservative forces of bourgeoisie liberalism.

"Enough of socializations,' they say. 'The state, the Central government is the only one to take charge of the confiscations necessary for the national defense. All the workers should do now is to demand higher wages, the peasants—to sell their products at the highest price possible. The manufacturer should be left free to set his price and regulate his production and the merchant to fight out his battles.' . . . Such is the language now used everywhere by all those to whom the Parliament and the Valencia government are the authentic representatives,

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