

SPANISH REVOLUTION

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U.G.T. Condemns Stalinist Disruption of Anti-Fascist Front

In the midst of a war in which an entire world has lined up against a people fighting for freedom against fascism and dictatorship, the Communist Party dares to oppose those things for which the Spanish proletariat is laying down its life. While calling for "unity of the proletariat" it labels itself the "one party of the proletariat"—Such a unity can only be that of subjection and tyranny. It calls for unity while at the same time condemning the alliance between the two labor organizations in Spain—the C.N.T. and U.G.T. We reprint below a severe condemnation of the disastrous policy of the Communist Party taken from "Correspondencia de Valencia" (U.G.T. Organ):

The enthusiasm that our cause awakened in proletarian and democratic circles abroad at the beginning of the year, is starting to decrease visibly. This phenomenon may have such lamentable consequences that we must seek diligently for the causes and find the remedy. With the calm with which we always approach such delicate questions,

we offer our contribution in the frank and direct spirit that the situation requires.

The main responsibility for this decline in enthusiasm is the unfortunate exclusivist policy of the C.P. in Spain. The desperate desire to establish themselves in a dominating position, their unbridled mania for raising all the problems and using all the slogans with which the Communist International is fighting in China as well as in Australia, all this, together with an unequalled capacity for harmful and insulting conduct, absolutely incompatible with all genuine proletarian democracy and definitely opposed to the temperament of the Spanish people, is the fundamental cause of our internal quarrels and of our weakened international position. The campaign that the Communist press is carrying on at the present time against the international Delegation presided over by Maxton, leader of the Independent Labor Party, in alliance with the Communist Party in England (a campaign that may have such lamentable results for the Spanish Revolution) is a piece of stupidity worthy of anti-revolutionary provocateurs, trying to make an enemy of that organization that has to its credit the floating of the first ship that forced its way through the blockade of Bilbao.

Communists Show Little Concern Over Loss of North and National Independence

But what matters the reputation of veteran revolutionaries and of effective activity, or the loss of the north or even the loss of our national independence, to this collection of unprincipled characters, if in the process of saving the Revolution, one insignificant person among those whom they have labelled Trotskyites should escape their inquisitorial net.

In all its nakedness, the problem is this. The international aid of the Communists alone is not enough for us to win the war, as has already been proven. We also need the energetic action on the part of the masses in the democratic countries. But this

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MAURIN REPORTED ALIVE

According to the "New Leader" organ of the British Independent Labour Party Joaquin Mourin, the famous P.O.U.M. leader who was said to have been executed by the Fascists in September 1936, is now being held in a Fascist prison in Saragosa. The "New Leader" states:

"Maurin has been in the Fascist military prison at Jaca, thirty miles from the front at Huesca, for over twelve months. Bearded and disguised, he was attempting to make his way back to Barcelona from Garcia, where he had been organising revolt against the Fascists. He was caught, but was not recognised, and remained unrecognised until a fortnight ago.

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NEGRIN CABLES TO U.L.O. CONVENTION

The U.L.O. convention held in N.Y. last week-end sent the following protest to Dr. Negrin, Premier of Spain:

WE DEMAND IMMEDIATE CESSATION ATTACKS AGAINST C.N.T.-F.A.I. AND OTHER ANTI-FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS TO INSURE VICTORY OVER FRANCO STOP HALT DEPORTATIONS PERSECUTIONS FOREIGN ANTI-FASCIST VOLUNTEERS AWAIT REPLY.

CONVENTION UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS JACK WHITE SECRETARY

His reply follows:
VALENCIA OCT. 14 1937
MR. JACK WHITE

SECRETARY CONVENTION UNITED LIBERTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS 45 WEST 17 ST. ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT TELEGRAM BEST THANKS STOP ASSURING YOU IMPUTATION PERSECUTIONS ETC. ABSOLUTELY FALSE STOP PLEASE DONOT BE MISLEAD BY ENEMIES TACTICS

DR. NEGRIN MINISTER. Since this cable arrived at Spanish Revolution was going to press we must leave comment on this cynical reply to our next number.

The cynicism of Premier Negrin's reply is only equal to the increasing persecution of militant anti-Fascists in Spain. We must ask Dr. Negrin, who killed Camillo Berneri, Antonio Martinez, arrested Joaquin Ascaso, murdered Andres Nin, destroyed the work of the collectives and authorized the depredations of Lister, el Campesino, etc.?

Our answer must be intensified protests against abridgement of workers' rights in Spain and ever increasing support to the Spanish anti-Fascist cause.

SPAIN'S MINISTERS SCOFF AT C.P. CHARGE OF P.O.U.M.-GESTAPO LINK

The following is a summary of some of the significant facts from the report of the second workers delegation to Spain to investigate the Spanish governments persecutions of revolutionary anti-fascists:

The task of the delegation (made up of representatives of workers' organizations from several European countries—headed by Maxton and Weil-Curiel) consisted mainly of interviewing Ministers, other officials in the government, and prominent Spaniards.

All the Ministers interviewed were of the opinion that none of the P.O.U.M. people arrested were guilty of espionage. They did say that they were to be tried for complicity in the May events.

Sr. Irujo, Minister of Interior, stated that there would be two trials, (besides the trial against the assassins of Andres Nin) one in Madrid, to hear the cases of 103 Fascists arrested as spys, including Golfin. (His case was linked by the police with those of the P.O.U.M.)

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"UNCONTROLLABLE" LISTER DIVISION TRIES TO SMASH COLLECTIVES

The propaganda department of the Valencia government has created a number of heroes for the international audience.

Among such heroes are Lister, El Campesino, Modesto, etc. They may be famous to the outside world but to the Spanish workers and peasants they have become notorious. Their work has been, in the main, rear-guard duty and serve the purpose of the Stalin-Negrin government in destroying the creative work of the proletariat.

Below is an account of the reaction in Aragon in which Lister was a leading figure.

A short time before the Aragon council was deposed, the Lister Division was sent there, not to fight at the fronts established by Durruti but rather to achieve victories in the rear akin to those which were accomplished in Mora de Toledo and Cobena.

Before the arrival of the Lister Division in Aragon, there had been a meeting of the representatives of the Aragon Popular Front, at which time unanimous approval of the work of the Regional Council was adopted. Nevertheless, the Stalin-Negrin-Prieto government decided

to depose that Council.

The "Chamber Press" of the Communist Party and Senor Prieto prepared a series of misleading publicity items. Articles were brought out about Aragon, distorting conditions. The most scandalous statements were made by the same character assassins who had previously, time without number, dared abuse and insult the Aragon militiamen who suffered and fought under the most atrocious conditions imaginable, soldiers who never knew retreat.

(continued on page two)

U.G.T. SPLIT THREATENS

Everything is not well within the socialist controlled unions of Spain (U.G.T.) Ever since it concluded an official pact of mutual defence with the anarcho-syndicalist organization (C.N.T.) the drive of the political coalition now governing the country for complete control of the organization has taken on increased proportions. And the result is a fierce internecine struggle artificially maintained at a high boiling point in order to bring it closer to an inner split toward which the Communist politicians have been working ever since the organization began to assert itself as an independent organization.

What was the reaction of the

governing coalition of Spain toward the pact of friendship between the two powerful labor organizations we already know. Its answer was to unloose a wave of persecutions against the C.N.T. and a policy of terrorization against those sections of U.G.T. which have stood up for complete independence from any political control. The dissolution of the Aragon Council, an offensive against the rear-guard of Catalonian workers, the arrest of prominent people within the C.N.T., assaulting headquarters and meeting places, breaking up and dissolving C.N.T. army units—those are the well known landmarks of a

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ANTI-FASCIST VOLUNTEERS DEPORTED FROM SPAIN ARE STILL IN DANGER

The hundreds of foreign anti-fascist volunteers, whose deportation from Spain was announced in the previous issue of "Spanish Revolution," are now in France awaiting deportation to their lands of nativity (most of these workers had been charged with "illegal entry into Spain") In many cases this will be Germany and Italy. A widespread and vigorous protest by French workers, especially the comrades of the "Anarchist Union" of France and the C.G.T.S.R., (the revolutionary syndicalist unions) was responsible for keeping these victims of the Negrin-Stalinist counter-revolution from a certain doom at the hands of Hitler and Mussolini.

They are now being housed and fed in France thru the generous contributions of comrades in France and other countries.

However, they are still in grave danger. Protests must continue to pour in to the Spanish and French governments if these heroic anti-fascists are to be saved. Demand the right of asylum for political refugees and the right of these victims to be able to work for a living in the country of refuge. Our comrades have already held a tremendous mass protest meeting in Paris and a whole series of such meetings is planned in all important sections of that country.

The latest news informs us that the Spanish Government is demanding the extradition from France of Spanish nationals who escaped to France in order to avoid persecution by the Negrin government for their revolutionary anti-fascist views and activities.

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SPANISH REVOLUTION

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SPAIN BETRAYED BY LIBERALS AND DEMOCRATS

The tragic situation now facing the Spanish proletariat is not due to any fatal mistakes or wrong policies pursued by its revolutionary vanguard. It is entirely due to the two-fold betrayal of the elementary principles of internationalism and democracy on the part of the workers and liberals of western Europe and America.

Two elementary demands were raised by the Spanish revolution and in failing to meet them, western democracy not only exposed the Spanish workers and peasants to the greatest dangers ever facing a nation fighting for its freedom, but also undermined, almost fatally so, its own position in the inevitable life-and-death struggle against a militant Fascist aggression.

The first of those demands was to fight against the infamous blockade raised by the would-be democratic governments in the name of the farcical non-intervention agreement. It was the elementary duty of the European democracy to prevent the carrying out of that blockade to expose the hypocritical policy of the British government to lay bare before the public opinion of the world the Machiavellian designs conceived by the enemies of the Spanish revolution and forced upon the democratic nations of Europe under the specious slogan of preserving peace in Europe.

Had the labor and democratic organizations of Europe conceived their duty to the Spanish proletariat in the light of this task of preserving peace in Europe, they would have spurned the proposal to acquiesce in the plan "to localize the conflict to Spain and prevent it from spreading to Europe." The latest developments have already shown that the attempt to "confine the conflict to Spain proper" and has given a tremendous impetus to the maturing plans of the Fascist powers for transforming this conflict into a world conflagration. To check the Fascist powers by pursuing a firm policy in regard to Spain is to safeguard peace in Europe and not to endanger it—this has now become fully confirmed by the ominous course of events during the last few months.

And no government in the democratic countries of Europe would find within itself sufficient power to oppose the clearly expressed will of the labor and democratic organizations to insure peace in Europe by putting the Fascist powers in their place. A series of mass meetings carried out on a large scale in the big centers of England, protesting the Machiavellian policy of the British government would be sufficient to bring the latter to its senses and bring its Spanish policy more in accordance with its avowed liberal aims. A more emphatic form of mass pressure exerted by the French workers would have brought about a considerable change in the intransigent attitude of the Blum government toward the closing of the Spanish frontiers for arms transportation. **WAS ANY SUCH EFFORT MADE ON BEHALF OF THE BLEEDING SPANISH REVOLUTION?**

The liberal and proletarian organizations of the world failed in this task of defending the Spanish people by safeguarding it the elementary right granted by every precept of International Law. They became a party to the gigantic hoax perpetrated under the name of non-intervention plans. They let themselves be drawn into the subtle designs conceived by the British imperialists and carried out in the cynical spirit of their diplomatic traditions.

Not only were such efforts lacking at the most critical hour of the Spanish revolution, but the labor and liberal organizations of Europe failed to bestir themselves in the defense of elementary democratic rights of the Spanish people endangered by the encroachments of the powerful enemy from within—the counter-revolutionary forces rallied by the Communist Party of Spain and whipped into a fighting shape by the Moscow government. Irrespective of any partisan sympathies in the internecine struggle forced upon the Spanish workers by the newly formed counter-revolutionary bloc, there is hardly a sincere democrat, liberal or socialist who could acquiesce in such outrages of elementary demands of democracy as the assassination of political opponents, the outlawing of revolutionary forces of international standing by branding them as "Fascist agents" and instituting an openly terrorist regime of the Che-Kist variety.

But where are those genuine friends and lovers of Spanish

"UNCONTROLLABLE" LISTER DIVISION

(continued from page one)

Lister brought with him to Aragon two scribes: Lino Lovas Calvo, an intellectual adventurer adhering to the cult of the "Philofascists" of the Ortega y Gasset fraternity, and Clement Cimirra. Clement Cimirra is one of those heroes of the pressing days, who, ran away from Madrid. But Cimirra was turned back by the anarchist militiamen at Tarancon. It is not difficult to understand why Cimirra does not like the anarchists!

These two scribblers were assigned to the job of selling the people on the virtues of the heroes of Quijorna and the vices and shortcomings of the C.N.T. They made a very clumsy job of their commission. They first indulged in the usual tricks of itinerant writers who were given something to write about, and told what vein the story is to be written but who knew nothing about their subject. So they reported conversations with reactionaries who had not been permitted to leave their homes for more than a year, they gathered information from tramps on the highway whom they designated for their purposes members of "collectives." They reported great demonstrations of affection for the government among the folks they claimed they visited and harrowing tales of horror and terror that had been perpetrated upon the peasant population by the terrible syndicalists and anarchists. But they overreached themselves and it became necessary for the Communist press to discontinue printing their fulminations.

After the Aragon Council was dissolved it was essential that the government be represented there and a certain Sr. Mantecon was sent to Caspe, the capitol of Aragon, in the capacity of Governor-General. The socialists, republican and members of the libertarian movement have abided by his orders, but the communists on the other hand—just the very ones who should obey his commands implicitly—ignore him and do whatever they want because they know they are backed by the 11th Division.

Lister, on his own responsibility, began a series of mass-meetings at which he unburdened his woes and those of the Communist Party without let or hindrance, nor failed to place his own ego to the fore as a revolutionist of great promise if the people would only trust him. He accomplished nothing for it was not long before, without any order or authority from the government, his troops began their systematic raids of all anti-Fascist locals except those of his own party—the Communist Party. The best of the highly prized libraries in Aragon were destroyed with all the fury of a Nazi campaign. The most highly respected natives of anti-Fascist Aragon were made the victims of the most vicious insults.

democracy? Why are they silent in the face of such monstrous outrages as the assassination of Nin, the closing down of papers, the raiding of headquarters of labor organizations and the dissolution of such democratic bodies as the Supreme Council of Aragon?

More than any other revolution, the Spanish revolution depends upon the international solidarity of the working class and the vigilance of the liberal public opinion of the world. And it is only in measure that those two forces are aroused to the realization of supreme historic importance of the issues raised by the Spanish revolution that the latter will be able to pursue its course without the dismaying detours and dead-ends into which it is seemingly swept along by the international tide of Fascist and Stalinist reaction.

There were numerous kidnappings, a number of murders and similar acts of terror. They even resorted to the taking of children and holding them for hours, plying them with questions and instilling terror in their minds.

The Regional Committee was arrested at the caprice of Quijorna and Cerro Rojo, as well as the entire staff of the "Nuevo Aragon," official organ of the Aragon Council. The furniture in the labor centers has been destroyed and the anarchist commanders Ortiz and Sanchez were basely insulted.

The granaries of the collectives were broken open and robbed. Militant C.N.T. veterans were arrested with or without charges and thrown into filthy cells. Military taxes were imposed upon the poorest of the peasants and shepherds, post office cars were confiscated. No conceivable provocation has been overlooked in the mad attempt of these red fascists to bring the members of the C.N.T. to the point of exasperation so that they would lose their heads and supply the excuse for an armed invasion of Aragon by the government.

So what was Lister sent to Aragon for? Was it to establish order where there was no disorder or to bring about a reign of terror? All Aragon was startled with the announcement of the government that the Council was to be dissolved and the knowledge that its President, Joachim Ascaso, was to be jailed, but it did nothing to prevent it. It was just this attitude of resignation that made Lister fail in his mission. He went there in high hopes and well equipped to handle any likely resistance. The real purpose was to create a situation which would warrant execution of the sinister plans of the Communist Party in Spain as laid down by Stalin as the price of England's and France's support of Soviet Russia, namely, to crush all semblance of revolutionary organization.

Our people in Aragon have taken into consideration the circumstances existing in Spain today and although members of the C.N.T. regional committee have been thrown in jail by the communist police, neither the organization nor the people upon whom these Communist depredations have been visited have lost their equilibrium and up to the present their only answer has been eloquent silence.

It may be that these near sighted politicians honestly believe that outrages that are being permitted are hurting only the anarchists. No, it is not hurting the anarchists: It is hurting all the people of Loyalist Spain and it is searing them with hatred: this wilful blindness is breaking all fraternal bonds: it is invoking struggles in the rear similar to those that keep the camp of the enemy torn asunder. This is a policy of deliberate suicide.

What would the government and

FOOTNOTES

Bob Smillie, the late youthful delegate of the British "Independent Labor Party" in Spain made the mistake of showing too much sympathy for the P.O.U.M. and the anarchists and opposing the machinations of Stalinism in Spain. Bob Smillie died allegedly of "appendicitis" in the course of a prolonged visit in the jails of the Spanish Tcheka. It is most curious that this unfortunate comrade who is supposed to have died of a surgical operation which is very seldom fatal, had already had his appendix removed some time before he left England. This second "operation" was quite a shock to his parents, who therefore drew the appropriate conclusions.

In the Fascist sections of Spain a new version of the Ten Commandments is being circulated by the clergy. The fifth commandment which reads, "Thou shalt not kill" has now been revised to read, "Thou shalt kill with justice!"

Thanks to the obliging activities of the Stalinists, the semi-fascist *Liga Regionalista*, led by the wealthy boss Cambo, which had not shown its face in public since July 19th, is now beginning to play an important part in Catalan politics. The *Liga* now even has a representative in the Generality of Catalonia in the form of minister without portfolio. Moreover, the G.E.P.C.I., "syndicate" of small business men and manufacturers, which is in reality the economic counterpart of the *Liga*, has become the bulwark of Stalinism in the U.G.T.

In recognition, no doubt, of their services, the P. S. U. C. Stalinist party in Catalonia, has given membership cards to sixty thousand members of Cambo's party.

the people of Spain or the people of the world have to say if the other divisions in Aragon were to indulge in the same sort of orgies that the eleventh division is indulging in? What would happen if some of the soldiers so capriciously arrested by such irresponsible hoodlums as Torres, Trigo and their cohorts should be released by force of arms? Up to the present the C.N.T. has always put the stake that the people have in the war above all sectarian interest. Up to now, each new provocation has but intensified the serenity and strength of the C.N.T. which could, if it would, crush all its opponents.

In all Aragon nobody has made as many sacrifices as those of the C.N.T. It was our men who, at the cost of their lives and their blood reconquered Aragon from the fascists: it was they who have made the authority of the legitimate government through the military units, tied in with the Popular army, the Municipal and Regional Council, possible: It was they who organized and carried out an endless series of public services: it was they, who, through their farm and cattle collectives assured the sustenance of the population in the rear and the soldiers at the front—almost exclusively, the work of the past year in Aragon which has brought order out of chaos, which has made things grow where they had never grown before, has been the fruit of the toil of the men and the women of the C.N.T. Those who destroy this work are more anti-C.N.T. than anti-Fascist.

GRAUS PROGRESSES UNDER LIBERTARIAN COLLECTIVIZATION

Barbers, carpenters, those in charge of transport, the shoemakers, are all united in the strong economic link of common interests, work and real brotherhood. The "bosses" have been eliminated, as well as the professional rivalry and envy which under an individualistic regime are the salt of bitterness. Everyone fraternizes in his work. At meetings one notices the representatives of different co-operatives upholding equal points of view without hesitation or jealousy of any kind. The same thing happens with the shepherds, smithies, doctors, etc. They all work and live well and happily, and all have their wishes equally fulfilled.

Iron works, grocers' shops, hotels, workshops, windmills, all belong to the collectivity.

Each corporation in the assembly is assigned a spokesman, although there is very little talking, since each one knows his obligations and doesn't try to avoid them.

YOUTH, MOTHERS, CHILDREN AND THE AGED

Men over sixty are exempt from work. This represents one of the first rules of collectivization. They've worked enough during their life under the despotism of chiefs where the product of their work was completely absorbed.

When a collectivist wishes to marry, he is given a week's holiday and his current earnings, a house is procured for him as well as furniture through the co-operative. All the services of the Collectivity are at his disposal for all his needs. From the time man is born, to the time of his death, the Collectivity protects him, safeguards his rights and duties, which he, himself, confirms democratically in the Assembly. In such a way there are no discrepancies between the representatives of the corporations in the various branches of production. The collectivist has everything within arm's reach, bread, work and means of perfecting himself and overcoming difficulties. The children are the subjects of intense care. They are not allowed to work until fourteen years of age. Mothers are the object of great attention, especially during the pre-natal period.

The young girls work in all establishments and workshops where clothes and things are made for the fighters.

STATISTICS & ORGANIZATION

One may, perhaps, deduce from these simple facts that such an idyllic regime cannot last long and that it will remain at this stage. But this regime of life is based on an organization perfectly balanced and adjusted to a realization of technical order.

All branches of territorial economics are studied in their initial state, in their development and possible developments, not in a superficial manner but from a statistical point of view.

Everything is systematically organized. Each branch of production has its check with the exact data of its development, of its daily, hourly and yearly possibilities. In such a way no count is lost and everything reaches the highest point of real and secure coordination. If it had been possible to successfully carry out the same rigour in the systemization all the gigantic works of reconstruction in the same way as it has been done in Graus, Collectivization would everywhere be an accomplished fact.

RURAL HOUSES CONSTRUCTED IN GRAUS

In the vicinity of the town, first class piggeries have been constructed containing about 2,000 animals of all ages. Feeding of the animals is

CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE OF SPANISH COLLECTIVES

The attempts to destroy the achievements of the Spanish workers liberating themselves from economic and political inequality and oppression were given extensive publicity in recent numbers of "Spanish Revolution." This was done in order to place the blame for these developments squarely where it belonged, to show who were and are the enemies of the Spanish people. In doing this we perhaps created a general picture that was unbalanced. In future issues we intend to place before our readers more material on the constructive side of the revolution. This will not lessen the perfidy and brutality of the working class betrayers but will place their treachery in bolder relief.

With the defeat of the fascists in vast territories after the great battles of July 19, 1936 only one road lay open for the workers—to take over the land and the factories abandoned by their class enemies. Had not the Spanish workers wished to do this the necessities of the situation would have forced them to take such action for they would have found themselves without the material means of surviving and carrying on the struggle against fascism. But the Spanish workers were prepared to take over the economic and social machinery of the country. A long period of working-class education, in which the necessity and methods of working-class control had been stressed and taught by the C.N.T.-F.A.I., had borne fruit.

It would be a mistake to think that it was only in large industrial centers that socialization took place. Catalonia, the most industrialized region of Spain, was the stronghold of anarcho-syndicalism and when the workers there had defeated General Gode, they immediately set up workers committees to control the economic life. But Spain is a predominantly agricultural nation and unless the peasants set up a socialized agricultural economy there would follow an immediate leavage and battle between town and city that would have disastrous effects upon Loyalist Spain. Those who knew the history of Spain had no doubt what



conducted on very scientific lines with all the treatment and care which livestock needs.

In other districts outside the city other breeding establishments have been set up as well as chicken farms with various laboratories for research. The main centre occupies the site of an ancient camp and garden. The most varied kind of fowl are to be found in this establishment. About 10,000 of these animals will be breeding by Autumn.

All systems are completely new. The head of this establishment has invented a very modern incubator with enormous yielding powers. Thousands of baby chickens jump about in specially heated rooms, as well as many ducklings and geese. Hundreds of hens are accurately classified. From all parts of Aragon workers make trips to this school of reconstruction in the new Spain.

A SCHOOL OF ARTS & CRAFTS — A MUSEUM

The inhabitants of Graus have shown particular aptitude in the creative arts. The magnificent schools bearing the name of Joaquin Costa are exceedingly popular as well as a

library containing indices to the most modern works of human thought in its various phases. The Collectivity also has a printing house.

Many youths of the district attend the Arts and Crafts school and get practice in the various trades and crafts. In this same building is to be found an historical museum as well as sculptures in wood and marble, some being of considerable artistic value.

Graus is also in charge of a refugee children's colony. They are fortunate enough to reside in a magnificent palace in the midst of a beautiful garden.

The people of the Aragon countryside are always up-to-date in their war news. Their communications are perfectly installed, and every possible advantage is taken of territorial zones rich in carbon and pyrite. Its industries work on normal economic basis and are exploited to their fullest extent.

The gigantic change effected in this town of Aragon is positively amazing. If the whole of Spain were Graus, then the war and the revolution would have already triumphed permanently.

(Translation from "Frente Libertario" of Madrid)

direction the peasants would take. The advance of the Durruti column clearing Aragon of the fascists was like a summer thunderstorm. In his wake sprang up a newly liberated and independent people. With the former masters gone they created that form of life which would give them the greatest freedom and justice—Libertarian Communism. It was a spontaneous and popular upsurge that created this new life. The forced collectivizations practiced in Russia by Stalin, with its tragic consequences, found no duplication here. This was testified by virtually every foreign visitor who spent some time in the Spanish collectives.

Everywhere a basic socialist framework was created and the examples set by the more advanced villages, with their superior organization resulting from socialization, determined the direction the others were to take.

But agricultural socialization was not a phenomenon unique to Aragon. All over Spain the same process took place—in Levante, Andalusia, Estremadura, wherever the peasants were free to develop and determine their own lives.

The result of these social changes on Spanish life is known by all. The productive yield of the land is greater, area under cultivation has been tremendously extended. In all, the agricultural output has been approximately doubled. (This was stated even in many of the bourgeois papers in Europe and America.)

It was these social conquests which determined the policies of England, France as well as Russia. The British and French ruling class, although threatened by an Italian and German victory in Spain, nevertheless feared more the effect that the example of a liberating social revolution would have upon the workers in their respective countries. The policy of England and France was therefore to prolong the war while working to liquidate the social revolution. Russia was as much opposed to the social revolution as was England and France, for a revolution re-establishing the basic principles and practices of socialism threatened the very foundation of Stalin's pretensions and would result in the alienation of his international popular support. Besides, he wished England's and France's assistance in the coming war. Stalin pulled the chestnuts of international "democracy" out of the fire and his foreign legion became the vanguard of the counter-revolution in Spain. The exploits of the Communist Party in Spain have been thoroughly exposed in the various issues of the "Spanish Revolution."

In spite of the losses in political power suffered by the Spanish workers as a result of the world-wide international conspiracy against them, their economic conquests remain the practically intact even in the face of vigorous attacks against them.

We are printing on this page some of the interesting facts concerning the work of the collectives in the towns of Graus and Amposta.

ASPECTS OF COMUNAL LIFE IN AMPOSTA

TREMENDOUS RICE HARVEST

Amposta has a population of 10,000 and is essentially an agricultural village. It is known for its rice growing of which it is the first center of production in Catalonia. The last harvest (1936) yielded 36,000,000 kilos (2½lbs to the kilo) of rice, of which 60% was classed as white rice, the rest was ground and the different types of meal obtained were prepared for animal consumption.

The workers who are in charge of the agricultural exploitation are increasing the production of rice by bringing under cultivation certain waste lands which, irrigated by the fertile waters of the Ebra, will produce rice abundantly and increase the well-being of this laboring and free people.

NEW MACHINERY INTRODUCED

The peasants have built a poultry farm of the most modern type. The equipment which cost about 200,000 pesetas will enable the peasants to produce thousands of chicks per week.

The agricultural collectivity will easily be able to develop its program of increased production since it already has 14 tractors, 15 threshing machines and 66 horses.

Among the factories established are tile and plaster works, public facilities and other trades. They are all under workers control and contribute to the development of economic life.

EDUCATION

Amposta had formerly been very backward in education. Now the village possesses 38 classes of which 15 were created after the military uprising. Education is compulsory bringing the children off the streets and providing them with a school to cater to their youthful needs. Besides, three courses have been opened for adults. Plans are now being worked out for a school of Arts and Trades.

AMPOSTA IN THE WAR

The village of Amposta has sent hundreds of men to the front. Clothes and all that is needed is provided by the collectivity and tens of thousands of pesetas have been collected for the war. Numerous refugees are most hospitably taken care of by the town and provided with all necessities. A war impost has been placed on wages. Those earning up to 56 pesetas pay one peseta a week, those who get more pay 10% of their wages. Those who get less than 35 pesetas pay nothing at all. Three thousand pesetas per week are collected in this way.

PROVISIONING

Concerning the provisioning of the town the solution has been found in the exchange of foreign products in the locality, for the rice that is harvested in abundance. There is a consumers cooperative where the major part of the population concentrates its purchases. The total weekly receipts attain an average of 12,000 pesetas.

SANITATION

The municipal Council is taking steps to bring sanitary conditions into the city. They are completing a network of sewers and aqueducts for drinking water. The Council has already built a hospital, a dispensary and a tuberculosis sanatorium.

In all this great and constructive labor the most perfect understanding and cooperation has existed between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. who initiated and control this work. (From "Nueva España Antifascista" September 30, 1937)

MAURINE REPORTED ALIVE

(Continued from page one)

"The news that he was alive came in a letter from his wife—written and addressed, of course, anonymously, but his handwriting and personal references were unmistakable. Only two people were let into the secret. It was realized that if a whisper of his identity became known to the Fascists his life would immediately be in danger.

"As soon as the telegram conveying the news that his identity had been discovered was received, John McNair visited Fenner Brockway on holiday, and a detailed programme of action to save Maurine's life was decided upon. One must obviously act in a situation like this with great care; action may have the opposite effect to that desired. But it can now be reported that the Spanish Government of Valencia has agreed that an approach should be made for an exchange of prisoners, etc., and there is some hope that Maurine may be liberated in return for the liberation of a prominent Fascist prisoner."

P.O.U.M. SPY CHARGES DERIDED COMMUNISTS PREPARING U.G.T. SPLIT

(continued from page one)
 leaders. The delegation was informed that the famous "N" document found on Golfin, purporting to implicate Nin as a Franco spy, was phoney and in no way implicated any of the P.O.U.M. leaders.) The other trial was to hear the charges against P.O.U.M. leaders accused of fomenting the May riots in Barcelona. Mr Irujo also stated that he intended to propose to the Council of Ministers that an amnesty be declared for all political and social prisoners except those charged with "betrayal" and "espionage." The only ones who might oppose this, he said, were the representatives of the extreme Right Wing, namely the Communist Party. In answer to some specific questions he pointed out that some of the P. O. U. M. members were charged with espionage, but that they would be tried on both charges separately. He added that there was no proof of espionage against any of the P.O.U.M. leaders.

Mr. Ortega y Gasset expressed to comrades Maxton and Weil-Curiel the esteem he had for the P.O.U.M. leaders. He had no suspicion that they were spys.

Mr Prieto, too, felt that the P.O.U.M. leaders were not guilty of espionage. But he did think that they were responsible for the May "uprising" (Ed note: That the responsibility for the May fighting in Barcelona rests with the Communist and *Estat Catala* provocateurs was amply proved by complete factual documentation in *"Spanish Revolution"* and many other labor publications.) Mr Prieto in discussing the general military and international situation very significantly pointed out that the delegation came from countries whose aid to Spain was not very effective, but that Rus-

sia had sent very effective aid in the form of arms etc. The piper, apparently, must be paid!

But Prieto did finally say that "What was most serious was that the arrest of the P.O.U.M. leaders was not decided on by the government, but the police made these arrests on their own." Ortega, chief-of-police, claimed that he had been unaware of the incarceration of Nin; it had been done by his subordinates, who were controlled by the communists. Ortega was dismissed because he failed to produce the person of Nin.

The delegates were moreover told that the trial for the May days would be public.

However, these assurances mean nothing, for, the delegation was informed just before they left Valencia that the prosecuting judge, in his written charge says that the P.O.U.M. leaders: "acted in collusion with foreign individuals belonging to the German Gestapo, who as yet have not been presented; they have committed during the month of May . . . hostile actions . . ." It is obvious that in spite of their patent invalidity the "spy" charges are going to be used, unless the protests of the international labor movement can prevent it.

Has the Minister of Justice acted in bad faith? Has the delegation been deceived? Or are there undercover forces at work among the police which cannot be controlled by the government? We are inclined to believe that the latter is the case.

The first delegation (headed by Fenner Brockway) exposed the Madrid spy charges. But the second delegation now gets hints of a new "spy plot" charge, this time a purely Catalan affair. And the second delegation intends to expose the mechanism behind this new frame-up. As yet we know of no trials that have been held.

U.G.T. CONDEMNS STALINISTS

(continued from page one)
 action can never be developed into a substantial movement if the Communists are the only ones to decide upon the course to be followed. Nor can they feel any enthusiasm for a communist dictatorship, much less allow themselves to be insulted without retaliating. If the C.P. continues upon this course, we can never count upon such aid. And the reader knows the consequences. In the face of that exclusive and terroristic policy of the Spanish Communists, we would like to point out the prudence and efficacy of the U.G.T. The simple

contrast between the latest resolutions adopted by this great trade union body, searching in a realistic manner for the revolutionary solidarity and the aid of the International Proletariat, and the mad-dog language that alienates such assistance. The C.P. press exposes in undeniable terms the anti-revolutionary irresponsibility of the Communists in this hour of peril of our war.

We have no doubt whatever that if the C.P. does not make a fundamental change in its line of conduct in Spain and abroad, that we can expect days of irreparable tragedy.

(continued from page one)
 systematic policy which has by now become classical in its bold counter-revolutionary outlines.

And withal it was not a very successful policy. The C.N.T. remains as ever a bulwark of strength, gaining even a larger place in the loyalties of the Spanish working class. That is why the center of attack is being shifted more and more toward the U.G.T. which always had a comparatively large opportunistic and reformist element within its ranks. The latter was considerably augmented by the influx of the non-proletarian elements recruited by the communist party wherever it succeeded in obtaining local control. Those are, as the C.N.T. papers point out, ex-members of yellow unions formed in the past by the Primo De Rivera government and the near-fascist Rightist leagues, ex-fascists, some of whom are known to have been active in the administrative organs responsible for the suppression of the Asturian revolt of 1934.

It stands to reason that all those elements, as well as the middle classes, when faced with

the necessity of joining some sort of union, showed their preference for a comparatively mild and innocuous union like the U.G.T. In many places the latter is controlled by those non-proletarian elements. And it is those elements that the communist party chose as the driving wedge against the growing unity between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.

The prestige of the Soviet Union, the powerful financial resources of the latter placed at the disposal of its Spanish agents, the direct means of physical intimidation and political pressure — The entire system of semi-fascist methods employed by the Moscow agents everywhere in order to break down the independence of the labor unions — was thrown against the U.G.T. for . . . not having paid their per capita dues, the capture of a number of local organizations by the Communist Party, placing more and more difficulties in the work of such a purely proletarian organization like the Union of land workers. (Its leader, Zabalza, has made himself popular with the Spanish workers by his merciless expo-

tures of the fascist policy of the Communist Minister of Agriculture, Uribe, in regard to the poor peasants and land collectives.)

That the Communist Party will succeed in carrying out its policy of capturing the U.G.T., is hardly believed by anyone conversant with the Spanish situation, with the growing hatred toward the Communist Party on the part of the genuinely proletarian element of the U.G.T. But if capture is out of place, splitting the union for which the Communist Parties have become notorious all over the world, is quite within the range of probability. A rump union, having the official backing of the Spanish Che-Ka and the other governmental agencies will become a powerful weapon in the hand of the Communist Party in its drive toward the disruption of the crystallizing unity between the C.N.T. and U.G.T., the militarization of unions and their subjection to the totalitarian scheme of things planned by the Kremlin government ever since it found itself in the position of arbiter of the destinies of the Spanish revolution.

U.L.O. CONFERENCE PLEDGES INTENSIFIED AID TO SPAIN, REAFFIRMS SUPPORT OF C.N.T. F.A.I.

With the advent of the civil war in Spain the libertarian and syndicalist organizations, realized the necessity for greater unity in order to express their fullest solidarity with the Spanish workers' struggle against Fascism and their heroic social reconstruction. In New York the initiative was taken with the formation of the United Libertarian Organizations which undertook to give material aid to Spain and also to issue a news bulletin on Spain, the bi-weekly *"Spanish Revolution"* which is even up till the present the only paper published in this country, exclusively devoted to Spain.

As a result of the counter-revolutionary activities going on within Spain and the blockade from without the general public interest in Spain has been on the wane. It is however, precisely because of this that it is necessary for us to give our fullest support to the revolutionary struggle against Fascism and to expose the counter-revolutionary forces and its allies. Now more than ever, must our voice be heard. And it was for this reason that the second convention of the United Libertarian Organizations on October 9, and 10 in the Vanguard Hall, New York City was of utmost importance.

The sentiment of the delegates to the convention was that we re-affirm and extend our solidarity and support of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Among the letters received from groups which were unable to send delegates the following are of special interest: The Toronto Libertarian Groups wrote, . . . "We would like to congratulate your organization on the splendid work it has accomplished during the past year . . . we want to assure you that we are with you to the best of our ability." The Free Society Group of Chicago, Ill. wrote, " . . . We are vitally interested that the conference shall be a success in co-ordinating all the forces to rally around the *"Spanish Revolution,"* to have it come

out regularly and be financially self-supporting. . . We shall do our utmost in spreading and selling the paper because we realize it is the only paper of its kind that dedicates all its space to the issues in Spain and the importance of getting it before the masses."

The report of Comrade Jack White, secretary of the U.L.O. emphasized the necessity of more energetic work if our voice is to be heard by the American workers. More mass meetings, street meetings and literature are necessary to bring the truth about Spain before the general public. He proposed that we renew our efforts in spreading *"Spanish Revolution"* and that a new subscription drive be started.

For the past year we have been following the policy of telling the facts about Spain and of supporting the revolutionary struggle against Fascism as exemplified by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and to explain these things to the workers in the light of the basic ideals for which the C.N.T.-F.A.I. stands. The delegates agreed that this should continue to be the editorial policy of *"Spanish Revolution."* A general sentiment for a larger paper was expressed.

Comrade I Radinowsky, treasurer of the U.L.O. gave us the figures of the money raised for Spain.

It is interesting to note that out of all the money raised for our brothers in Spain, only the exact amount necessary for sending it across was expended here. In other words, less than three tenths of one per cent is being used here as contrasted to the other organizations which used for "administration and publicity" as much as fifty per cent. As most of the money sent to Spain by various libertarian and syndicalist groups did not go thru the U.L.O. a resolution was passed: That all libertarian and U.L.O. groups throughout the country be asked to send in a

complete report of all money raised for the Spanish workers so that a complete financial report can be gotten out from New York.

James Price, reporting for the Philadelphia U. L. O. urged closer and more constant contact between the N.Y. U.L.O. and the one in Phila. To make the above effective a decision was made that the next regional U. L. O. conference will take place in Phila., Pa. in about three months. The convention went on record as urging the formation of regional United Libertarian Organizations which would hold conferences every three months and a national convention once a year.

The convention concluded with a resolution to cable our greetings to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and our protests against the persecution of revolutionists to Negrin and to De Los Rios.

JOAQUIN ASCASO FREED BY THREAT OF STRIKE

Joaquin Ascaso, former president of the Aragon Council of which the recent dissolution by the Valencia government was reported in the *Spanish Revolution*, has been released. He was arrested on the trumped up charge of embezzlement of funds. Of course, these charges could not be proven. But some charges had to be made and the usual charge that is levelled at revolutionaries, that of being a Fascist spy, was too patently ridiculous to be even voiced. A vast commotion spread throughout Spain when the Aragon Council which had done such tremendous and heroic constructive work was dissolved. The protests following the arrest of Ascaso were so tremendous that even the reactionaries in the Government had to listen. There was even the threat that a general strike would be called to obtain his release. The courts had to bow before the wave of popular resentment against their high-handed "justice."

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