

# SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## INTERNATIONAL DIRECT ACTION WILL SAVE SPAIN

Premier Negrin flew to Paris to enter a desperate plea for arms.

Premier Negrin is a socialist and so is Leon Blum, the head of the newly formed government of France. Both are members of the Socialist International whose avowed aim is to throw the weight of the organized strength of the international working class back of any struggle for socialism and democracy.

Leon Blum knows that nowhere is such help needed as much as in Spain. He knows that not since the epic struggles of the Russian workers and peasants in 1918-1920 has the need been so great for vigorous action on the part of the international proletariat as during the last twenty months of desperate fighting in Spain.

Leon Blum knows it, and so does every class conscious worker in France. Hundreds of workers' delegations visited Spain during those twenty months and by now their reports have penetrated the farthest corner of proletarian France. And regardless of one's particular interpretation of events and tendencies, the average socialist and trade union member of the working class of France knows that the Spanish workers and peasants are struggling against fascist reaction in the name of a new social order which they are now realizing amid great difficulties, dangers and hardships.

The workers, peasants and liberals comprising the Popular Front of France know even more than that. They realize that not only is the future of socialism involved in the struggle taking place in Spain, but the very existence of democracy itself. No intelligent man and woman of France who can read a geographic map or follow up the daily papers with a glimmer of understanding, can fail to realize the extent of the danger held out to France by the Nazi-fascist conquest of Spain, which will turn the Mediterranean into a fascist lake, will create a powerful base for invading France and will sever the life line of French communications with the colonies.

And still the socialist Premier of France, backed up by a powerful socialist movement, by a huge trade-union organization, by the liberal public opinion,—wavers, hedges about, fritters away the most valuable time in consultations, conferences, while the triumphant hordes of Germany and Italy sweep on. Premier Negrin—shriek the semi-fascist telegraphic agencies—was rebuffed.

What is the cause of this suicidal irresolution, of the rankst betrayal of international solidarity?

Months ago we were told that England was back of it, that England kept the French government from a more resolute policy in regard to Spain. But the British policy of buying off the Nazi-fascist bloc by concessions collapsed in the most shameful manner. No one with the least grain of intelligence can see any justification for this policy even from the narrow, selfish point of view of national interests. "Concessions" such as the swallowing up of Central Europe and the conquest of Spain by Hitler and Mussolini will reduce France to a third rate power, to a dependency, will hamstring it even more effectively than the loss of colonies or provinces.

Whatever aims British foreign diplomacy is pursuing, they are not so subtle as to keep spell-bound the statesmen of the French Popular Front after the dismal failures of the last few weeks. Leon Blum is not the prisoner of British diplomacy; he is the prisoner of his past, the prisoner of the accumulated traditions of the Second International which substitutes parliamentary activity for vigorous action along the lines of direct economic pressure.

The French working class which feels deeply the Spanish tragedy and which instinctively realizes how indissolubly its own destinies are bound up with those of the Spanish workers and peasants has a weapon of tremendous effectiveness which already brought the French bourgeoisie to its knees. That is the power of the General Strike, of direct economic action.

The British workers whose economic strength is unpar-

## EMMA GOLDMAN ON SPAIN

*A Record of Direct Observations and Impressions  
of The "Most Heroic Country in The World"*

I have been back in England for some time, but it has been impossible to settle down to writing an account of my findings and impressions on my second visit to Spain. I am sure that the comrades everywhere will want to know what is happening in the most heroic country in the world to-day, and I want to try to give what I myself have seen and have experienced.

1936-1937

Always I shall remember the deep impression made on me on my first visit when I arrived at Port Bou, the French-Spanish border, late on the 17th of September, 1936. I presented my British passport which was scorned by the border guards. I then took out my C.N.T.-F.A.I. credentials, and the stern faces lit up with enthusiasm and friendliness. I was led off by these comrades to the headquarters of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

and received as much affection and solidarity as if they had known me all their lives. The same attitude I met everywhere in my extensive travels while I was in Spain in 1936. I soon convinced myself that the generous hospitality extended to me was no exception. Everyone who came to Spain at that time who could show that his sympathies were with the anti-Fascist struggle and that he was interested in the great revolutionary constructive work, was

greeted as a comrade and given every opportunity to gather material at first hand.

All this was changed after the May events in 1937. The events in that month were really the motive for my return to Spain. The various rumors afloat in England of what had happened during the early May days and the attempt by the C. P. to annihilate the revolutionary achievements of our comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., determined me to go back to Spain.

The comrades of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. thought it unwise for me to re-enter Spain by way of Port Bou. The friendly border guards of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had been replaced by their Communist allies and the police, and they made it difficult—even well-nigh impossible—for anyone known

(Continued on page three)

## SPANISH UNIONS SIGN MUTUAL PACT

Tucked away among the disquieting news of the fascist advance on the Aragon front, there appeared the brief report of a formal agreement concluded between the two great unions of Spain—the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. and the socialist-communist U.G.T.

The news is of much greater importance than the space allocated to it in the daily dispatches from Spain would lead us to believe. It really amounts to a new significant turn in the inner policies of rev-

olutionary Spain. And while the exact terms of the agreement are not known yet, we can state, on the basis of the proposals and counter-proposals advanced by both organizations, that it promises to be

alleled have much more powerful means of impressing upon their die-hard government their sympathies with the Spanish working class than the fatuous interpellations of the parliamentary leaders of the Labor Party. A wave of strikes, direct action along revolutionary lines would have deprived Mr. Chamberlain of the freedom of action in the international field which he has been enjoying in order to betray the democracies of the world.

Revolutionary Spain can be saved. It can be saved by the vigorous action of the international proletariat which must once for all realize that occasional gifts, money collections and Red Cross activities of any kind count very little in the epic struggle now assuming international proportions.

Arms for Spain—this slogan must become the rallying cry of every labor organization throughout the world. Every means at the disposal of those organizations should be used in order to enforce this demand: from mass meetings, demonstrations to general strikes embracing vital industries.

It was those methods that in the past insured the most essential victory for the working class and it will be the same method of direct action that will force the official democracies of the world to fulfill their elementary duty toward the Spanish struggle for liberty.

beginning of the end of the fatuous and half-hearted attempts to restore the old capitalist economy persistently made by the Negrin government ever since it came into power.

C.N.T. Conference

A Turning Point

The pact was preceded by a long period of negotiations, newspaper discussions and programmatic declarations. And all that started immediately after the grand conference of the C.N.T. unions held in the month of January with the view of laying down the basic lines of the new economy.

The impression produced by this conference representing close to two millions of workers in the key industries and agricultural collectives was tremendous. In face of the challenge held out by the very fact of a realistic economic program of revolutionary reconstruction being discussed and adopted at this conference, it became difficult to hide any longer under the shady and suspicious formula: "let us win the war first and then we shall see."

(Continued on page four)

Read the "Spanish Revolution"

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## SPANISH REVOLUTION

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## EDITORIAL COMMENT

As it was to be expected, the news of a panic in Barcelona, of disorders, of the flight of the population proved to be fabrications of the purest order.

What really took place is something of the opposite kind: the sudden danger produced an electrifying effect upon the proletarian masses of Catalonia. Whatever the intentions of the Government may be—the presence of the separatist element in the government lends color to the rumors of armistice negotiations—the firm resolve of the great masses of workers, who have the final say upon this matter, is to fight to the last man and the last bullet.

Let us not forget that it was this firm resolve that saved Madrid, which was given up as lost by the military specialists, by the Government and by the "authoritative" opinion of the world. The miracle of Madrid may yet be repeated on a larger scale by the workers of Catalonia.

\* \* \* \* \*

Every local newspaper carried the somewhat enigmatic report of the anarchists from the border town Puigcerda who, having been released from prison by the government, took over the entire border zone, telling the "socialist-communist" officials to clear out in one hour.

What peculiar power—one must ask—do those two anarchists possess, if they can tell the entire administration of the border zone, which has at its disposal the heavily armed border patrols, to clear out in one hour?

The truth is that those two individuals are backed up by the population of the border zone which, headed by the libertarian organizations, was carrying out one of the most remarkable experiments in collectivization. The work was shattered by the agents of the government during the reaction which set in after the Negrin government came into power.

The "socialist-communist" administration (the so-called P.S.U.C.—a Stalinist outfit which is neither socialist nor communist in the true sense) acted in the capacity of government agents and not as representatives of the population. And now that the workers and the peasants are taking up arms again, they are telling those agents of the petty-bourgeoisie to go back where they came from.

\* \* \* \* \*

Whom the Gods want to destroy, they endow not only with an extraordinary amount of stupidity but with the kind of cowardice which dragged down the German social-democracy to its shameful defeat.

And if the latest news is true, of Leon Blum truckling down to England's wish to keep the French border shut to any shipment of arms to Catalonia, the French socialists have let themselves be dragged down along the same road of self-destruction.

In turning down the desperate pleas of the Spanish workers for arms, the French socialists, who are the leading power in the Popular Front Government, are signing their own death warrant. The British government, as it was stated by the well-informed correspondent, "hates the Popular Front Government." In social outlook, the leading elements of the British government are not very far from the councilors of King George III. And unless the British working class swings into action, the Chamberlains and Halifaxes will as surely betray the French government in time of need as they have already betrayed Spanish democracy.

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## A MODERN SCHOOL AT THE FRONT ZONE

## The Schools

The schools of Vallehermoso are rationalist in tendency and are located at Calle Fernandez de los Rios 42. This modern and attractive building is composed of several pavillions, which give it the appearance of a colony of small hotels. Nevertheless it was an asylum of the old type, under the control of the Provincial Council for the Protection of Miners. This was the situation until the 19th of July, 1936, on which date, by reason of the military rebellion aided by international fascism, the people took over all capitalistic institutions, suppressing the majority of them and adapting to the new conditions those that were useful.

The schools maintained by the Atheneum commenced to function almost as soon as the movement started. They were inaugurated on the same premises where the Atheneum was installed, but already six months ago, on the first anniversary of our struggle, there were so many pupils enrolled in the cultural institution of Vallehermoso that the schools had to be moved to their present quarters, where they have been carrying on their work since July 1937.

In this simple manner the rev-

olution entered one of the most typical strongholds of the old system and made a wonderful school out of an old asylum.

During the day three hundred children of different ages and sex attend the classes. At night, a great number of workers can be seen entering the school. Some go for elementary instruction and others take up languages or general culture. The children who now study there would most likely have remained illiterate under the system that collapsed in 1936. The men lacked all opportunities to study. Some could not even sign their names. But now everything has changed. Everybody is given the opportunity to study. Seven teachers give constant attention to as many classes, and the class rooms are equipped with modern material.

## No Money Is Required.

All teaching in the Vallehermoso rationalist schools is absolutely free of charge, both for minors and adults. The Atheneum does not receive a single penny from its pupils either directly or indirectly. It covers its own expenditure and that of the schools with its own means, that is with the normal income derived from the village.

## Workers Distrust Government

Negrin discloses Reich-Italian bids: but he rules out a deal.

—"New York Times"

"I think my lady doth protest too much."

Never was the working class so much in fear of a compromise peace as now. Among the thousand inscriptions hostile to the government which appear daily upon the walls of the houses in Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid and other places, those betraying such fear are among the most frequent.

The organ of the F.A.I. in Valencia "Nosotros" published on December 17 the following:

"The soldiers of the second battalion, of the 153rd brigade (it is made up almost exclusively of the F.A.I. members) will never accept a compromise peace. They do not want peace. They demand arms. They demand the mobilization of the rearguard."

No other government in Spain had to declare so frequently that it will not make peace with the fascists. But the more it swears to the contrary, the greater the fears of the working class. The workers fear that the government is using its growing power in order to put an end to civil war by an armistice which would impose a military dictatorship upon the country.

—"Independent News" (French publication)

## WORKERS' UNIONS IN MADRID

Our Construction Workers' Syndicate of Madrid alone, has had already over five thousand casualties. Further, we have over thirty thousands of our comrades on construction work mobilized on a war footing and receiving war wages. The nine Fortification Battalions who help to save Madrid by the side of those who were handling the guns is the best argument with which to answer our critics. Our comrades in construction groups are doing intensive work behind the lines, as it is necessary to construct a strategic railway.

The units of our popular army did not have to bother about organ-

izing means of transport, for it was already available, and our army proved itself capable of being mobilized and employed wherever necessary. It was precisely the working class Syndicates which built up that basic organization for the individual and collective defense of our independence.

The same may be said of our Sanitary Services. In a war such as ours, it was essential to work with all possible zeal and self-sacrifice, so as to prevent the appearance of any epidemic among the wounded or among the excessive population. Thanks to the healthy conditions

We consider that this fact is worthy of mention because it emphasizes the value of the work carried on there day after day. Also it demonstrates the productive capacity of the cooperative work which is often identified with the self denial of the people.

Another fact worthy of mention is that in the Atheneum not only do the pupils pay no fees but also they are not asked any questions in regard to their political views or the social activities of their parents. The schools of the Atheneum are open to every child or adult who wishes to attend. All that is necessary is to fill up the application form.

## The Laboratory

Further, the schools of Vallehermoso are provided with a Natural History and Physics Laboratory, and this laboratory has fine zoological, botanical and mineral collections. It has also a miniature electric plant.

The children learn about the realities and phenomena of nature as if they were playing a game. They learn to understand the marvelous mechanism of life and come in contact with the soul of things. They learn to produce as men do, and to love, preserve and improve everything around them. As everything belongs to the people, of which they form part, they are careful not to spoil or destroy those things they use.

## Twelve Bombs Hit The School

One night last November, the black birds of Fascism carried out a raid on Madrid. They dropped twelve bombs on the Schools and destroyed the hall where the laboratory was installed. Fortunately, the material and collections were saved and the laboratory was placed in a more secure part of the building.

This laboratory situated a few steps from the front line, which has already been bombarded, is the most outstanding detail of the schools. It is like a white pennant placed amid the barbarities of war, an active expression of Progress advancing in spite of contrary winds and rough seas. And both this laboratory and these schools are the result of great libertarian efforts and libertarian work.

achieved by our Syndicate, there was not a single centre of infection to be found anywhere. This great hygienic work, as well as all activities regulating the functions of hospitals were and are gladly carried out by the members of our Sanitary Syndicate. Organized labor contributed all its capacities to the struggle and thus the people's army found itself duly supported by the fundamental elements which were organized.

From the technical point of view, also, considerable help has been contributed everywhere, culminating in the creation of schools to train experts in every profession. Our organization is giving everything to win the war, and to raise a new, progressive and peaceful Spain from its present ruins. Every Syndicate is aiming at the same object.

This activity on the part of the militant members of the C.N.T. of the Local Federation of Madrid is the best demonstration of their desire for unity. The action of our fellow workers is always above criticism. "Deeds instead of words" has always been the practice of the C.N.T. Our critics have a lot to learn.

—C.N.T.-F.A.I. Bulletin

# EMMA GOLDMAN ON SPAIN

(Continued from page one)  
as an Anarchist to pass the frontier. Besides that, the comrades also feared the possible danger to me who am known by the Communists as their "arch" enemy. The C.N.T. arranged for me to fly from Marseilles.

## The Unconquerable Will to Fight

On my arrival in Barcelona I proceeded to the Via Durruti without anybody being the wiser who I was or about my quest. There I met all my dear comrades with whom I had been associated on my first visit for three months. They were all very happy to see me, and of course I delighted in seeing them again still safe, still imbued with their fire of conquering Fascism and building a new social world.

On the 16th of September, 1937, I had my first experience of the horrors of bombardment. On that day Franco sent down German and Italian bombs which resulted in the mutilation and death of many children and adults and the wounding of a large part of the population of a suburb called Barcelonette. The day of my reunion with the comrades was therefore made sad and painful owing to the dreadful sacrifice of mostly women and innocent children.

The same night we went by auto to Valencia. Comrade Augustine Souchy was my escort. Among the many changes I found was the lack of petrol and the lack of cars, the Government having commandeered both for the needs of the war. As a result we travelled thirteen hours from Barcelona to Valencia, a journey which ordinarily should not have taken more than six hours.

## Reconstruction Work Goes On

Among the most interesting institutions in Valencia was the Agricultural Department which we visited for several days in succession. The change in that department from a year before was extraordinary. In 1936 it was impossible to get any definite idea of the workings of the collective farms, not to speak of any statistics. Everything was in its beginning. Nothing worked regularly or with any efficiency. This time I found the institution in perfect order with dozens of departments for every phase of agriculture. In one year the scientists and specialists who joined the work of agriculture of

the C.N.T. had achieved great experimental results, such as the method of getting the utmost value out of rice, the preserving of dried tomatoes which can be kept for years without injury, and need but to be put into hot water to regain their natural size and flavour. These and ever so many other experiments have been carried on within the framework of the established Agricultural Institute in Valencia. I came to know that similar institutions had been built in Madrid and in Barcelona. I will speak of them later.

## What Workers Can Do

In addition to the fascinating work our comrades were doing in the agricultural department in Valencia, we also had a chance to see the effect of the resourcefulness of C.N.T.-F.A.I. members in the textile industry. An old monastery was turned into a modern workshop, employing large numbers of men, women and girls on the basis of mutual aid and co-operation. A group of unemployed workers of the same trade had undertaken the task of creating this new collective. It was all done by voluntary agreement, without one single worker having been coerced into it. While the venture had not yet reached perfection, the workers connected with it knew exactly what they wanted, and were pressing ahead in spite of all obstacles and the imminent danger from bombardments. This collective factory was not merely for the production of things, but planned as a place for the physical and cultural life of those co-operating in the scheme. A dining-room was in the midst of building; a dispensary, a lecture hall and reading room and ever so many other plans were already under way. We found a radio installed with connections to the shops where, while the women and girls were working, they could listen to the news, to good music or to their own moving song called "The Son of the People"; altogether a very remarkable undertaking by the workers themselves as a demonstration of what they will be able to do once Fascism is crushed and the road made free to the realization of the Revolution.

## C.N.T. Fighters In The Army

The same day we had a long

interview with Comrade Avelino Entrialgo of the Council of Defence. We learned that the number of fighters in the Popular Army who belong to the C.N.T. amount to 35 per cent. of its total strength. A distinction must be made between the brigades entirely composed of members of our organization and the mixed brigades. We have 100,000 men in our own brigades and 250,000 who are serving in the mixed brigades. From the military schools more than 5,000 officers have been trained who belong to the movement, the said schools also belonging to the C.N.T. The Lister brigade also has C.N.T. members in its ranks. From these figures the reader will be better able to appreciate the outrageous charges of cowardice against our comrades made by the wretched capitalist and communist press.

Last, but not least, I had occasion to talk to comrades of the F.A.I., young militia boys who were in the Military Training College. They told me much of the attempt on the part of the Communist allies of the anti-Fascist front to impose their dictatorship on them. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. Press was forbidden in the training school, but after a hard struggle and many threats of strikes, our young military students succeeded in establishing their right to be themselves and to read whatever publications appealed to them most.

## Anti-Militarists At Heart

I was particularly anxious to know the reaction of these young comrades to militarization. They were of course opposed to it, but explained that, Spain being attacked not only by the Fascists but also by the imperialist countries calling themselves democracies, they felt that the voluntary militias were neither numerous enough nor sufficiently trained and equipped to offer successful fight against that formidable international array against anti-Fascism. These young people assured me that our comrades at the front have in no way changed through militarisation and that they were determined to gain whatever knowledge and experience they could, not merely to conquer Franco and his hordes, but for the purpose of defending their revolu-

**MORE THAN EVER  
THE SPANISH WORKERS  
NEED IMMEDIATE AID!**

tionary gains in the rear. It was very refreshing indeed, and encouraging, to see these young comrades, their enthusiasm and their faith in the ultimate triumph of their ideal.

## The Miracle of Madrid

We left Valencia in the afternoon for Madrid, but had to go very slowly and carefully owing to the fact that one road leading to the Fascist front, the other to Madrid, were so intertwined that we might just as well have made the wrong turn and paid an unexpected visit to Franco's German and Italian friends. It does not require much imagination to know just the kind of reception we would have been given. We were lucky in having a comrade, a first-rate chauffeur, who brought us safely to Madrid and to the hospitable quarters of the National Confederation of Labour. The comrades there received us kindly and insisted that we must stop with them during our stay in their city.

The following day we went to visit Comrade Val, the Secretary of the Centre Committee of Regional Defence, one of the live wires among the active comrades in Spain. He at once offered to take us all through Madrid to let us see the havoc left by constant bombardment from Fascist planes. No one who has not seen the terrific destruction wrought by the constant bombardment can possibly realize the fortitude of the Madrid people who have withstood the frightfulness of Franco for eighteen months.

I have described my impressions before, which appeared in nearly our entire press, so I will not repeat the story. I can only say that never in my wildest fancy did I imagine such a miracle possible as the one that met me in Madrid at every step.

## Slanders and Reality

I learned the amazing fact that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have 56,000 men at the Madrid front; besides the large numbers in the mixed divisions. The Capitalistic and Marxist Press have fed the world on lies and misrepresentations of the C.N.T. and F.A.I. They have dared to charge them with running away from the front. The correspondent of the New York "Nation," Mr. Louis Fisher, stands out as the most dishonest of his pro-

of the C.N.T. union of theatrical workers. It was escorted by a strong body of police, and once in possession of the headquarters, it behaved as if it conquered the place. At the same time all the theatres, movie houses and other amusement places were occupied by the police upon orders from the "communist" Minister of Economy.

"The answer of the workers to this provocation was immediate. On the same evening all the performances were stopped, and an energetic protest made to the Catalonian government, which, incidentally, was not apprized by Comorera of his move.

## Government Backs Down

"The conflict threatened to assume serious proportions, the great mass of Barcelona workers having been aroused to a high pitch of indignation by this high-handed action. Our comrades stated clearly that they were ready to defend their rights. In face of this firm attitude the government annulled Comorera's decree, suspended the control body set up by the latter, returned the headquarters seized

profession, for it was he who wrote in the New York "Nation" last year that on the 6th and 16th of November, 1936, the Anarchists took fright and ran away from the Madrid front." This was the more reprehensible because he must have known that Buenaventuri Durruti was then still alive and in charge of the column which stood its ground in repulsing the first attack of Franco and his hordes. But that is beside the point. It is impossible to meet all the malignity sent out to the world by the various war correspondents. We have more important work to do.

## Peasant Collectives in the Central Province

Our next attention was devoted to the Centre Federation of Peasants. It is housed in the private palace of a Count and is serving a much better purpose than when he was in possession. We collected a tremendous amount of data which Comrade A. I. is adding to his already monumental material on collectivization to form a book. I can only give a brief outline of the information given us by the Secretary of the Federation.

We learned that 700 syndicates and 300 collectives are affiliated with this Federation. The membership of the federation is 100,000. In view of the fact that the Federation had begun its work only a short time ago, it was amazing to see the amount already achieved. Thus the Federation has departments of statistics, propaganda, interchange and sections dealing with oil, wine and all other kinds of provisions. We were taken into the scientific laboratory which, though not yet completed, already gave promise of an important and unique institution. The main stress laid there is on chemical and agricultural experiments and analyses. It is done with a view to improving and increasing the quality and quantity of output. In connection with this an experimental school for agricultural engineers was organized. The turnover from the 15th of July to the 15th of August, 1937, amounted to 11 million pesetas. This sum we were assured does not represent the full economic strength of the Federation because the local and territorial federations interchange among themselves and turn over to the Federation only the surplus of their products.

The Federation consists of two sections, labourers and small landowners. The syndicates are very hospitable to the owners because they feel that eventually they will realize the superior method of working the land in the collective way than by individual drudgery. So much more could have been gathered from the interesting account of the Secretary, had we but the time to remain long and make a thorough study of every detail of the ramifications represented by the Centre Federation of Peasants.

(To Be Continued in next issue of "Spanish Revolution")

by the police, ordered the release of the previously arrested union committee and the evacuation of the theatres by the police. At the same time a committee was formed to settle the conflict. It was made up of representatives of the C.N.T., U.G.T. and the Catalonian government.

"This case shows once more that the C.N.T. is fully backed up by the working class, that it gives full expression to the aspirations of the Spanish proletariat in spite of the obloquy heaped upon it by the reactionary politicians of the Communist Party."

## WORKERS THWART TOTALITARIAN ATTEMPT

Theatre and movies are viewed by every totalitarian government as important tools of propaganda. Hence the rigid program of "coordination" pursued by them in regard to this form of cultural activity.

In loyalist Spain the totalitarian elements within the government manifested the same tendency toward silencing the theatre as an

organ of free cultural expression. But since theatres belong to the unions, most of whom are affiliated with the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T., the struggle for totalitarianism took the form of attacks against union management in the name of "supreme interests of the state."

The reactionary, near-fascist nature of this struggle and the effective resistance shown by the work-

ers who fully realize its larger social implications was fully brought out in the recent conflict deliberately brought about by the communist Counsellor of Economy, Juan Comorera, and thwarted by the vigorous action of the Barcelona workers.

We quote the following from the German Bulletin of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

of Catalonian Stalinists) issued a decree placing all the collectivized theatres, movies and amusement places under government control. The alleged reason was that the general situation in regard to this branch of economic activity was not clear and therefore necessitated government intervention. The real reason was that the membership

of the union controlling those socialized enterprises was affiliated with the C.N.T.

## Police Occupation

"Immediately after the promulgation of this decree, the control body appointed by the Councilor presented itself at the headquarters

## A Fascist Decree

"A few days ago an event took place which was very characteristic of the general campaign waged against workers' unions and which brought into relief once more the outspoken counter-revolutionary tendencies of the government.

"The rather notorious Comorera (Councilor of Economy and leader

# SPANISH UNIONS SIGN PACT

(Continued from page three)

The result was a more receptive mood on the part of the socialist-communist leadership of the U. G. T. unions to the proposal for a common program of action advanced by the anarcho-syndicalist C. N. T., and also a series of counter-proposals made by the U. G. T. signifying a considerable advance on the part of the more moderate elements of anti-fascist Spain.

## U. G. T. Leadership In Semi-Official Capacity

The present leadership of the U. G. T. is mainly dominated by the right wing of the Socialist Party and by the official Communist Party of Spain, that is by the same elements who are in control of the government. The readers of the *Spanish Revolution* know by this time that this official domination did not come about through the process of democratic elections, but was imposed above not without the help of the police and other State agencies.

In other words, the proposals advanced by them reflect not the opinion of its rank and file membership, which is much nearer to that of the C. N. T., but the most influential circles in the government. They are much more of a government program than a trade-union program.

The proposals of the U. G. T. entirely ignore the political program, which is quite in keeping with the main idea often expressed by the elements in control of this union, and that is: "the business of the political parties is to govern and that of the unions—to obey." They take it for granted that the government should be controlled by the parties of the Popular front, an outdated political combination brought into power last year by the pressure of foreign influences.

## LIBERTARIAN YOUTH IN SPAIN

### An Impressive Convention — 300,000 Represented

Four hundred delegates representing three hundred thousand members of the Libertarian Youth organizations met in the last congress held in Valencia amid scenes of great enthusiasm.

After having listened to the greetings and speeches of welcome on the part of the fraternal organizations, the delegates proceeded with their regular business. There were eleven important items on the agenda, all of which were fully discussed and voted upon.

The present attitude in the war was fully approved by the convention. As to participation in the various government agencies, objections were made by the Barcelona delegation which declared itself against it on the ground that the members of Libertarian youth, by entering those agencies, lose their rebelliousness and revolutionary dynamism. Italy and Germany of the pre-fascist period were cited as examples.

Important decisions were taken on the questions of eligibility to important positions in the Libertarian

## A New Point Of Departure

The economic program, however, presents very important departures from the course hitherto followed by the government. The program favors nationalization of industries, preparatory steps toward nationalization of banking, formation of a Supreme Economic Council, nationalization of land, legal recognition of agricultural collectives enjoying the rights of usufruct as much as individual peasants.

All that may seem to be a very modest program in view of the fact that the revolution of July 19 is already approaching its second anniversary. But one also has to take into consideration the rather striking fact that this program is advanced by elements which until recently were shouting themselves hoarse asserting that no revolution had taken place and that things should revert to the conditions of pre-July days.

## Industrial Democracy Ignored

Since the program was formulated by politicians and for politicians it leaves very little room for any form of industrial democracy. The nationalized industries are to be run by technicians nominated by the government. Workers, of course, have no voice in choosing the administration, but "their wishes as to the managing personnel are to be consulted." The same holds true of the Supreme Economic Council, which according to this program, is to be appointed by the government, although workers representation is granted in the Industrial Councils which are to form the lower branches of the Supreme Economic Council.

## C. N. T. Amplifies Proposals

There is very little in this program to suggest its alleged trade-union source. But, as it was pointed out, it is the politicians now in control of the U. G. T. unions that are responsible for it. And as for those politicians, the program represents a great forward stride as compared with their former defense of capitalist economy. The program, however, could not be accepted by the C. N. T. to whom industrial democracy is an integral part of socialism. And it is in order to bring out the value of such democracy, embodying it in a realistic program of economic reconstruction, that the C. N. T. answered the proposals of the U. G. T. with counter-proposals of its own.

The C. N. T. program adopts nationalization of heavy industries, banking, railroads, utilities and shipping. Those industries are to be controlled by the Supreme Economic Council which is formed upon the basis of joint representation of the labor unions and the State.

During the transitional stage of nationalization of banking full credit is to be extended to workers' collectives. This is important in view of the tendency on the part of the government to starve out financially the economic enterprises of workers.

In the field of agriculture the C. N. T. program specifies economic encouragement of collectives and recognizing the right of usufruct only to those small holders who cultivate their land with their own hands.

Outside of heavy industry the C. N. T. program demands the legal recognition, and economic encouragement of workers' collectives which control almost all the light industries of Barcelona. The program also lays special emphasis upon consumption which are to eliminate gradually the middle man from the field of commerce.

## The International Proletariat holds the destiny of the Spanish Revolution in its hands.

The workers of the world will dig their own graves if they do not come promptly to the aid of the Spanish people.

## MEETING IN NEW BRUNSWICK

For the first time in many years, libertarian organizations will be heard in New Brunswick, N. J. On March 27, Sunday evening, at the large Workmen's Circle Hall at 53 New St., they will hold a monster mass meeting on behalf of the Spanish anti-fascists.

Among the speakers listed to address the workers of New Brunswick, N. J., are Jack Shannon, I. W. W. organizer, Douglas Stearns, who fought in the heroic Battalion of Death, and Sam Weiner, labor organizer and speaker.

Special arrangements are being made by libertarians in the surrounding small towns to be present at this meeting, which will be the beginning of a series of meetings to stimulate help for Spain.

The meeting is being held under the auspices of the United Libertarian Organizations and the Stelton Libertarian Youth.

## The Social Aspects Of C. N. T. Program

Unlike the U. G. T. proposals the C. N. T. economic program does not ignore the other issues closely interlinked with the basic points of reorganization. Those are the reorganization of the government along the lines of the former Anti-fascist front, that is—the inclusion of the labor unions as an important factor of the government; the wiping out of the old laws; the formation of a Council for National Education based upon union representation and aiming toward a full reorganization of education along rational, scientific and revolutionary lines.

A very important item in this program is the demand for a dec-

**The "Spanish Revolution"—we wrote in the last issue—must live as long as the great struggle of the Spanish people continues.**

**A number of our readers realize it as well as we do. They realize the necessity of carrying on an English publication, the only one here in America, which presents the struggle in Spain from the point of view of the great libertarian movement of that country.**

**We reprint here some of the letters stressing this vital need. Those letters come from all parts of the country and all of them eloquently tell why we need the "Spanish Revolution" Sustaining Fund.**

Hubbards Woods, Ill.  
To the SPANISH REVOLUTION:  
Enclosed is \$25.00 for the "Spanish Revolution." It continues to be the fullest news bulletin I know of from Spain, and so should be supported by all anti-fascists no matter what their affiliations are.

Yours,  
Fairfield Porter  
\* \* \*  
Calgary, Altoona, Canada  
Fellow Workers:

I enclose \$1.50 money order which goes to carry on the good work of the paper. I hope to be able to give you more help than I have in the past—

Yours for a better world,  
A. F. Harbaugh  
\* \* \*  
Port Angeles, Washington  
Fellow Workers:

I am of the opinion that it (Spanish Revolution) is as valuable a piece of literature for the education of the workers that I have ever come across. It gives all the latest developments in the Spanish situation. This is of the utmost

## Money Collected for Spain, Nov., 1937 to Feb., 1938 (Inclus.) By U. L. O., NEW YORK

Receipt No.	Amount
269—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	\$ 10.30
270—S. Gorelick, Kansas City, Kansas	15.00
271—Mohegan Group (Bannister)	5.00
272—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	4.00
273—Liza Brilliant	5.00
274—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	4.50
275—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	7.00
276—Mohegan Colony (Bannister)	8.75
277—Frank Lang, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
	\$ 60.55
PREVIOUS BALANCE	\$602.82
CASH ON HAND	\$663.37

claration of the basic democratic rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly, and the severe condemnation of any form of persecution in the antifascist ranks.

## A Great Historic Document

We do not know the exact terms of agreement, the degree to which departures from this minimum program were allowed by way of a compromise. But even as a mere plan the C. N. T. proposals represent one of the greatest socialist documents of our time showing the possibilities of a realistic approach toward the great aims of an industrial democracy.

## "SPANISH REVOLUTION" SUSTAINING FUND

No. 1086, Mohegan Colony, \$11.10; 1098, Anna Radinowsky, \$1.00; 1099, 1097, Freedom Group Officers, \$8.22; Russian Toilers, \$5.00; 1100, Liza Brilliant, \$2.00; 1101, Mohegan Colony Group, \$5.00; 1102, Free Workers Group, \$5.00; 1103, Fernandez, \$1.00; 1119, Through I. Radinowsky, \$4.50; 1120, Spanish Fed. of Libertarian Groups, \$20.00; 1121, Cultura Proletaria, \$20.00; 1132, Mohegan Colony Group, \$10.50; 1133, Free Society Group, \$25.00; 1134, Greshkan, \$5.00; 1135, Liza Brilliant, \$2.00; 1136, J. Sannesen, \$1.00; 1137, Anna Olay, \$1.00; 1141, Fairfield Porter, \$25.00; 1155, Fannie Pokrass, \$2.00; 1157, Jane Prassov, \$2.00; 1160, \$2.00; 1161, Jewish Anarchist Federation, \$25.00; 1166, Dora Pearl, \$1.00; 1167, Mohegan Colony Group, \$13.00; 1168, I. A. Herman, Secy., Kropotkin Lit. Society, \$16.38.

NOTE: Money received from the sale of the *Spanish Revolution* or to cover payment for bundles is not listed here. Only donations and contributions are mentioned above.

**KEEP THIS COLUMN ALIVE  
AND GROWING. IT IS THE  
LIFE OF THE PAPER!!!**

importance as it points out the sabotage that is being carried out by the politicians against the proletariat—

I am willing to distribute them and will pay as much as I can to pay for them.

I am positive that it has had a far reaching effect on the Stalinist organizations in this part of the country—We have been able to put them on the spot so much that even those who were most active in support of Communism, A LA STALIN, are beginning to "wise up" at least.

E. D. Cook

\* \* \*  
Milford, Illinois.

Fellow Workers:  
Enclosed find \$1.00 for copies of the "Spanish Revolution" to be sent to each of the following. . .

Most of them are in positions, from time to time, to have groups of people of various sizes hear their opinions. My wish is to give them the facts and shape their opinions nearer to the truth and thus more nearly on the correct road.

H. M.